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Spectral Modernisms: Decolonial Aesthetics and Haunting in the Aftershock of Morocco's Agadir Earthquake (1960)

by

Riad Kherdeen

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor in Philosophy

History of Art

and the Designated Emphasis in

Critical Theory

in the

Graduate division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Anneka Lenssen, Chair

Professor Julia Bryan-Wilson

Professor Sugata Ray

Professor Stefania Pandolfo

Summer 2024

Abstract

Spectral Modernisms: Decolonial Aesthetics and Haunting in the Aftershock of Morocco's Agadir Earthquake (1960)

by

Riad Kherdeen

Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art
and the Designated Emphasis in Critical Theory

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Anneka Lenssen, Chair

This dissertation presents a study of the entanglement of the catastrophic earthquake that struck the southern, coastal city of Agadir, Morocco on February 29, 1960 and modernist art and architectural production in Morocco. At the heart of this line of inquiry is the question of how have histories of decolonization and aesthetics been provoked and accelerated by non-anthropocentric agents? I posit that an ecological event, namely the 1960 Agadir earthquake, gave rise to yet also haunted decolonial projects, nation-building efforts, and modernist (re)formations in Morocco. The first chapter presents a history from below that centers the trauma and haunting left in the wake of the earthquake while placing blame for the disaster not on "nature" but on the tangible legacy of violent and neglectful French colonial urbanism in Agadir that was perpetuated by the Moroccan government after independence. The tandem second chapter offers a deep analysis and a critique of the top-down planning, urbanism, and architecture by the local and international teams of experts (including Mourad Ben Embarek, Abdeslam Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, Elie Azagury, Jean-François Zevaco, Pierre Mas, Henri Tastemain, and Louis Riou) put in charge to manage the reconstruction that ended up having disastrous consequences for the earthquake survivors. By the end of the 1960s, two architects who began their careers working on the Agadir reconstruction, Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, teamed up with artists Farid Belkahia, Mohammed Melehi, and Mohamed Chebâa of the Casablanca École des Beaux-Arts (School of Fine Arts) to create multidisciplinary integrated spaces in the form of hotels commissioned by the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism that I argue in the third chapter are aesthetic aftershocks of earthquake. Rather than taking the earthquake as a mere starting point that fades into the background of the reconstruction that features one of the most significant ensembles of modernist architecture and urban planning in Morocco following official independence, I foreground the earthquake and lingers in its wake. Doing so enables radically new ecocritical readings of the architecture, urban design, paintings, sculptures, literature, and multidisciplinary integrated spaces that are featured in the book while also offering fresh insights into questions of politics, race, class, and gender in North Africa during the 1960s and 70s.

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This project would not have been possible without the lessons, guidance, support, feedback, exchanges, and insights of numerous individuals. The seeds for this dissertation were originally planted in 2013 when I met Jean-Louis Cohen for the first time as part of the process for applying to graduate schools. As I am someone who is part of the Moroccan diaspora and a student of art and architectural history, Jean-Louis was excited to speak to me about Casablanca, as he spent nearly a decade conducting fieldwork research there with Monique Eleb for their tome *Casablanca: mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine* that they first published in 1998. Having passed away in August of 2023, ten years after we first met, it is unfortunate, to say the least, that he will not be among the readers of this dissertation and future related publications.

My first experience with art history came when I enrolled in AP Art History at my high school in the suburbs of Denver, Colorado. I am grateful to my teacher Sarah Ramsey for first introducing me to the art historian's craft of close looking and visual analysis. Little did I know at the time that I would then go on to teach my own students of art history the very same tools of the trade many years later. I went to New York University with the intention to become a physician, and while I was a premed student the whole way through, I decided to major in art history to balance out my science coursework and to take advantage of the bounty of museums and art spaces New York has to offer. I was also pulled in by the warm, caring, supportive, and exceptional faculty of the Department of Art History. I am indebted to Barry Flood for my historical grounding in the history of art and architecture of the lands of Islam, to Ken Silver and Carol Krinsky for becoming a modernist myself, and to Dennis Geronimus for involving me so much in the life the Department; special thanks also go out to Pepe Karmel for the many conversations we have had about the global dimensions of modernism.

Uptown at the Institute of Fine Arts, where I first began my career as a graduate student, I had the good fortune of learning from many esteemed, kind, and generous scholars. Again, I am forever grateful to my late MA advisor Jean-Louis Cohen for my grounding in architectural history and for pushing me to always question everything that we think we know. I am also a better modernist thanks to Rob Slifkin for our deep investigations into minimalism and to Tom Crow for the lessons on modernisms in Los Angeles; to them both I also owe my first forays into critical theory and postcolonial studies. I also ventured across the street to the Conservation Center so often that I felt like an honorary member of the conservation community; I am especially thankful to Michele Marincola for indulging my interests in technical art history. My thanks also to Avinoam Shalem for further orienting me toward modern art in the Arab World. Fellow graduate student Johanna Sluiter provided much relief from the rigors of the classroom while still proving to be an engaged interlocutor on modern architecture in North Africa. When it came time to apply for doctoral programs, I would not have gone far without the help of Clare Davies, Holiday Powers, Sarah Rifky, all of whom kindly read drafts of my application materials and provided invaluable input and feedback.

My training and formation at UC Berkeley have most profoundly shaped who I am as a thinker, a research, a teacher, a colleague, and an art historian. There are no words to express how lucky I have been to work with my advisor Anneka Lenssen and to be her first advisee. From our first meeting over Skype when I was a prospective student, we seem to have clicked intellectually and personally. I never cease to be in awe of her staggering intellect, her genuine kindness, her relentless work ethic, her compassionate mentorship, her deep political and pedagogical commitments, and her endless generosity and patience. Anyone who knows Anneka

can attest to how uplifting and inspirational even a quick conversation with her can be. She has helped to fund numerous fieldwork trips, read countless fellowship and job applications and dissertation drafts, guided me on how to navigate the vast Berkeley bureaucracy, and championed my project on all fronts. She always encouraged me to pursue my intellectual interests that took me well beyond the disciplinary boundaries of art history while still knowing when to reel me back in and make sure that I am fulfilling my obligations as an art historian. Anneka is also uncannily clairvoyant; my dissertation originally included a chapter on Agadir, but it was her sage advice that pushed me to put the earthquake at the heart of this project. She did not bat an eye at me, thus, embarking on a dissertation about an earthquake with chapters not conventionally organized around particular events, figures, periods, or materials. Without Anneka's steadfast support, I would not have been able to win the fellowships and awards that allowed me to carry out the extensive research across four continents needed to write this dissertation. I also learned from her how to be a global modernist specializing in the region of South West Asia and North Africa (SWANA). Throughout my time at Berkeley, I knew that Anneka was always looking out for me, and I cannot thank her enough for all that she has done for me and for all the she will continue to do.

I am also grateful to my committee for all that they have taught and given me. Sugata Ray, who conducted my interview as part of the Berkeley application process, stepped up to the role of honorary secondary advisor when Anneka was on leave to complete her book manuscript. He took me under his wing and met with me on countless occasions to discuss theories and methodologies for how to go about writing ecocritical and oceanic art histories, as he himself is responsible for blazing some of these trails. Our Stronach Travel Seminar to India was also one of the greatest joys of my time at Berkeley. My first interaction with Julia Bryan-Wilson came when she contacted me as chair of the admissions and fellowships committee to break the life-changing news that I had been accepted into the program. Ever since then, Julia has been one of my greatest advocates and defenders. I have fond memories of the dissertation writing group she led every year for her many students across campus and the special atmosphere of caring scholarly exchange she cultivated in that space. Reading with her in the tutorial-style for my qualifying examination on art and labor was an unbelievably rich and rewarding experience. Stefania Pandolfo has taught me how to think across time and epistemologies. From our many conversations in French and Darija between Morocco and California, we have bonded as fellow Moroccanists with shared intellectual commitments and interests. That Stefania has been personally connected to many of the artists, architects, literary figures, and scholars that are featured in my dissertation has greatly enhanced some of my arguments, insights, and inquiries. I must also commend Stefania for her *tour de force* seminar on the unconscious. As a collective, my committee has also shown me how to be a scholar whose work is deliberately political; how to not take myself too seriously; and how to laugh about the oddities of academic life along the way. Beyond my committee and through the Critical Theory program, I have greatly benefited from coursework, conversations, and overlaps with Whitney Davis, Greg Levine, Todd Olson, Ivy Mills, Zamansele Nsele, Dilana Angelova, Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, Lauren Kroiz, Atreyee Gupta, Aglaya Glebova, Lisa Peraccini, Winnie Wong, Lisa Trever, Patrica Berger, Keith Feldman, Weihong Bao, Pheng Cheah, Soraya Tlatli, Rob Kaufman, David Bates, Alva Noë, and Églantine Colon. Thanks also to Faith Enmark, Gudny Gunnarsdottir, Clay Hall, Amy Tamayo, Julie Wolf, and Patty Dunalp for all of their administrative acumen and support behind the scenes.

I entered Berkeley alongside an exceptional group of people. My immediate cohort within the History of Art Department have been a tremendous source of inspiration, comradery, excitement, and happiness. Grace Kuipers first impressed me with her multilingual chops and her witty sense of humor. She came to be my closest friend at Berkeley, and she invited me to her family home in Washington, D.C. on several occasions, including a lovely Christmas Tree decorating party. We have shared many laughs together along the way, and I have cherished our conversations about comparative modernisms, primitivism, extraction and ecology, and spending time in multiple countries. Joel Thielen, a fellow Coloradan, helped me to think about ecology across time in rejection of the notion of historical periodization. Claire Ittner, ever so calm and collected, was always ready to commiserate about our longing for New York and to speak about materiality and technique. Delphine Sims's deep knowledge of the history of photography was a model for what deep mastery over a specific subject looks like, and her cheerful demeanor was sure to put a smile on all of those around her. In addition to my cohort, I have grown from discussions, coffees, feedback, and the wisdom of Shivani Sud, Ty Vanover, Jon Soriano, Yessica Porras, Verónica Muñoz-Nájar Luque, Becky Levitan, Mary Lewine, Stephanie Hohlios, Grace Harpster, Jez Flores García, Ellen Feiss, Susan Eberhard, Thad Dowad, Sarah Cowan, Jess Bailey, Joseph Albanese, Ramon De Santiago, Angela Pastorelli-Sosa, Ariana Pemberton, Michele D'Aurizio, Elizabeth Fair, Andrea Jung-an Liu, Tausif Noor, Lesdi Goussen Robleto, Amanda Su, and Lubna Safi.

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Notes on Translation and Transliteration

Unless otherwise noted, all translations and transliterations in this dissertation are my own. I have often used the English versions of institutions with French or Arabic names, such as the *École des beaux-arts de Casablanca* (School of Fine Arts of Casablanca) or the *Service de l'urbanisme* (Service of Urbanism) to facilitate readability. Non-english names and words are italicized and usually placed in brackets or footnotes to provide the original source languge to readers. I have mostly followed the transliteration guide of the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (IJMES), except for names, terms, places, and other words that have common English transliterations, such as Agadir. While his name has been transliterated in multiple ways, I have opted to use the most commonly used version of Mohamed Chebâa (sometimes appears as Mohammed Chebâa, Mohammed Chabâa, for example).

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Introduction

The Earthquake

Not all future-thinking collectivities are created by choice. For many Morocco-based cultural and political figures invested in a decolonized future, the decade of collective reinvention started with disaster. During the waning moments of leap day in 1960 (Monday, February 29), on the third night of the month of Ramadan at 11:40 P.M., the earth shook violently for nearly fifteen seconds beneath the coastal city of Agadir in southern Morocco. As locals were gathering with friends and family to eat, drink, celebrate, and share stories after a full day of fasting, while others yet were at mosques engaged in special Ramadan nighttime prayers known as *tarāwīḥ*, their lives would forever be changed—if they even survived the temblor, that is, since up to half of the then population of 45,000 perished during those seconds in which time stopped, those seconds that were millions of years in the making. As modern/colonial time ceded to geological time—shifting scales of time, conflating the present with the past and the future, displacing the living and the human—an entire city crumbled. Few buildings remained erect, most of which were in the *ville nouvelle* (the "new city" where the European settlers and tourists and elite Moroccans resided), while the Kasbah and other working-class neighborhoods like Founti, Talbordjt, and Ihchach, which were segregated and urbanistically separated from the *ville nouvelle*, were nearly entirely leveled with hardly any survivors.[1]

Though the earthquake may have registered an unremarkable 5.8 on the commonly used moment magnitude scale (M_w), unusually strong surface shaking occurred due to the relatively shallow depth (fifteen kilometers) of the earthquake, resulting in a maximum perceived intensity of X ("extreme") on the Mercalli intensity scale. (To put that in context, the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami that ravaged Indonesia and the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami that caused the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear emergency in Japan both reached a IX, or "violent," on the Mercalli intensity scale.) It has been estimated that up to half of the then population of about 45,000 people was killed by the earthquake, and another third of the population sustained injuries.[2] Incidentally, the earthquake came only two weeks after the French military tested its first atomic bomb in the Sahara Desert during the height of the Algerian War as part of their covert nuclear arms testing project codenamed *Gerboise Bleue*—yet another violent act of colonial aggression that some have even blamed for triggering the Agadir earthquake altogether, among other horrendous outcomes.[3] In the Anthropocene, humans have entered into an

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[1] Geologists and seismologists used the framing of "risk" to survey the damage and make recommendations for the masterplan of the reconstruction. Daniel Williford, however, has argued that focusing on seismic risk during the rebuilding of the city "obscured the French Protectorate's long history of urban neglect and assigned responsibility for the devastation of the city's poorest neighborhoods to 'natural' forces or ineffective 'traditional' building practices. As a technoscientific object, seismic risk masked the role of material inequalities in the distribution of damage and transformed political questions surrounding Agadir's rebuilding into technical ones." Daniel Williford, "Seismic Politics: Risk and Reconstruction after the 1960 Earthquake in Agadir, Morocco," *Technology and Culture* 58, no. 4 (2017): 983-984.

[2] *The Agadir, Morocco Earthquake February 29, 1960* (New York: American Iron and Steel Institute, 1962), 12-15.

[3] While causality has yet to be proven, it cannot be ignored that the French dropped their first atomic bomb in Reggane, Algeria on February 13, 1960, about two weeks before the Agadir earthquake. The first bomb they dropped was 70 kilotons (for comparison, the first atomic bomb, nicknamed "Little Boy," dropped over Hiroshima was about 15 kilotons; the next bomb, known as "Fat Man," dropped over Nagasaki was about 20 kilotons). At the time, president of Liberia William Tubman accused the French of causing the earthquake in Agadir with their nuclear arms testing; see Homer Bigart, "Tubman Assails South Africans," *New York Times*, March 24, 1960, 10. While the idea that nuclear weapons can set off earthquakes more than a dozen kilometers from the drop site has

unprecedented historical phase in which the scale and magnitude of their collective force is as significant as that of other geological forces, able to intervene in various earth systems that impact all forms of life on the plant.[4] That humans are capable of triggering earthquakes through the detonation of nuclear arms or hydraulic fracturing ("fracking") to extract fossil fuels from deep rock formations reveals the increasing complexity of the ecological systems humans are both impacted by yet also impacting at the same time. The political, economic, social, and cultural valences of these entanglements lie at the core of this dissertation.

Viewing the earthquake as a historical opportunity, the nascent Moroccan state quickly intervened and decided to build a new Agadir as a bold show of power and one of the first major acts of state-building following national independence from French and Spanish colonial rule in 1956, effectively seizing this catastrophic event as a watershed moment to begin building toward a decolonized future, despite the assistance it sought from the international community including its former colonizer France. In so doing, the Moroccan authorities violently expunged all traces of the earthquake and evacuated all residents to create a *tabula rasa* upon which construction of the new Agadir would take place. As the Moroccan government worked to clear away and cleanse nearly all material traces of the earthquake to stave off disease from the thousands of rotting corpses buried beneath the rubble and to make way for a new city, the earthquake and the disaster seemingly disappeared out of sight. How do we, as scholars of visual and material culture, account for the presence of absences obscured by the dialectic of destruction/construction, for the spectral traces of colonial violence that lingered through time into an ostensibly postcolonial period, for the silence that reverberated in the aftershocks of the earthquake and haunted the architects and planners tasked with designing and constructing the new Agadir? As the Moroccan contemporary artist Yto Barrada asked in her 2018 exhibition exploring the ghosts of Agadir, "How does one conceive reconstruction after a disaster?"[5]

In line with Barrada's attempts to reckon with these pasts, this dissertation offers a study of the rebuilding of Agadir that foregrounds both the earthquake and the long, spectral shadow cast by histories of colonialism. If, as environmental historian Spencer Segalla provocatively suggests, the 1954 Orléansville earthquake in Algeria helped to catalyze the Algerian Revolution at a crucial time, what happens when we position the 1960 Agadir earthquake alongside economic, political, and cultural developments that took place in Morocco and take seriously, as Segalla writes, the "inseparability of the human and the environmental, of disaster and decolonization?"[6] Eco art historian Sugata Ray has called attention to what he refers to as "geoaesthetics," which as "a critical frame serves to engage tractions between the ecological and

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been largely dismissed by the American government, scholars like Gary Whiteford have convincingly shown causal links between nuclear arms testing and earthquakes, and he has pointed out that an atomic explosion anywhere in the world can be detected by seismographs all over the world as the shockwaves travel through the earth's crust. See Gary T. Whiteford, "Nuclear Bomb Testing and Earthquake Patterns," *Peace Research* 21, no. 4 (1989): 31–67. Over sixty years later, in February 2021, dust from the Sahara Desert blown north by strong winds into France not only turned the sky red, but it brought with it trace amounts of cesium-127 nuclear radiation attributed to the Gerboise Bleue project, showing the ongoing spectral effects of this event. Samia Henni has recently explored this top-secret French nuclear arms program in the Sahara between 1960 and 1966 and its harmful impacts on soldiers and local communities through her archival exhibition *Performing Colonial Toxicity* at the Mosaic Rooms in London, on view from March through June 2024.

[4] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History: Four Theses," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 2 (January 2009): 197–222.

[5] This question comes from an interview for the exhibition conducted by Jean-Louis Cohen. Lotte Johnson, *Yto Barrada: Agadir* (London: Barbican Art Gallery, 2018), 32.

[6] Spencer D. Segalla, *Empire and Catastrophe: Decolonization and Environmental Disaster in North Africa and Mediterranean France since 1954* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 4-5.

the aesthetic" allows for "a mode of writing art history that is attentive to the forces of the earth."[7] As such, in this dissertation, I attend to how these forces, the ecological and the human and their entaglements, haunted decolonial projects, nation-building efforts, and modernist (re)formations in Morocco.

Indeed, for many of those in Morocco invested in charting a path toward a new future after the ostensible end of official colonization in 1956, the earthquake and its aftershocks—as well as the long figurative aftershocks of colonialism—created an opening for them to implement various, sometimes competing and contradictory, strategies of decolonization while also bringing them face to face with the past in the form of spectral presences. The reconstruction effort ultimately resulted in a new city that features one of the most significant ensembles of modern architecture in Morocco.[8] All the meanwhile, the new city carries with it the substantial weight of violence and trauma that were the very conditions of possibility for the city to take form. How does our understanding of modernism and decolonization change in light of environmental events and catastrophes? More than just an international stage for advanced antiseismic research activity and urban design, the Agadir earthquake and reconstruction offer an unparalleled window into questions of decolonization and neocolonialism, global Cold War politics and economics, nation building and power, technocracy, and ecology.

But the catastrophe that the earthquake gave rise to was in many ways predetermined and inevitable, not due solely to the earthquake event but more importantly to the social, political, and economic conditions in place before the earthquake occurred. The disaster was not the earthquake itself but the effects of the earthquake which were mediated through decades of neglectful housing policies by colonial urbanists in Morocco and the nation-building efforts of the newly independent government. A crisis long in the making, the disaster induced by the earthquake was a revelatory event that laid bare and exposed structures of power and dominance in Morocco that lingered from the colonial period into the postcolonial as concretely manifested in the architecture and urbanism of Agadir and aesthetic modernisms of Morocco during the 1960s and 1970s. The earthquake, thus, unleashed the hidden specters of the past and present that came to haunt Morocco's future. Rather than separating an ostensible colonial period from that of a postcolonial stage, however, or even a pre-earthquake period from that of a post-earthquake moment, my work here brings forward the ways in which the spectral traces of colonialism and the earthquake—as dual forms of catastrophe and its concomitant violence—lingered through time and impacted the material and discursive practices of the rebuilding of Agadir and modernist experimentation in Morocco. Thus, instead of thinking of 1956 as a clean rupture between formal protectorate and post-protectorate periods, I am concerned with the ways in

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[7] Sugata Ray, *Climate Change and the Art of Devotion: Geoaesthetics in the Land of Krishna, 1550-1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 17-20. In the context of contemporary art, see T. J. Demos, *Decolonizing Nature: Contemporary Art and the Politics of Ecology* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016).

[8] The architecture of Agadir—which was carried over to many other cities across Morocco afterward by the same architects who worked on the Agadir reconstruction—is sometimes characterized as "brutalist." Brutalism refers to an international modernist architectural tendency beginning in the late 1940s with buildings like Le Corbusier's *Unité d'habitation* in Marseille, typified by an embrace of raw reinforced concrete, known as "*béton brut*" in French, hence the term "*brut*alism." Reynar Banham helped popularize the term in his article "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Review* 118, no. 708 (December 1955). I mostly refrain from using this term myself and in this dissertation, for it is unproductively vague and broad without providing much more than just a stylistic shorthand. Some of the architects themselves rejected the term, such as Patrice de Mazières, who positioned his architecture instead as "of its time." That said, "brutalism" was one of the final developments of high-modernism and was further embraced in places that had formerly been colonized to signify some sort of postcolonial modernity, as seen in cities like Chandigarh, Brasilia, and Agadir.

which the colonial presence lingered in Morocco and haunted artists and architects in the aftershocks of the 1960 earthquake.

As such, the Agadir earthquake was not just a singular moment in time isolated to Agadir or even the surrounding Souss region in the south of Morocco. Rather than taking the earthquake as a mere starting point that fades into the background of the pivotal decade of the 1960s in Morocco, this dissertation foregrounds the earthquake and lingers in its wake and figurative aftershocks in the *longue-durée*. Over the course of three chapters, I examine an array of aesthetic materials, ranging from: masterplans and buildings of Agadir by Moroccan, French, and American urbanists and architects; to paintings, sculptures, and collaborative multimedia spaces created by Farid Belkahia, Mohammed Melehi, and Mohamed Chebâa who were part of the Casablanca School of Fine Arts; to historical photographs and geological reports, to avant-garde film and literature by Mohamed Afifi and Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine. I also treat other items such as death certificates, indemnity forms, and identity records as worthy of visual analysis. Their visual designs (what may be regarded as a pre-digital form of user interface design) and the information they collect allow us to fill in some of the historical gaps and embedded in major top-down accounts of disasters all the while providing us with a deeper bottom-up understanding of some of the invisible "minor" figures that burdened the overwhelming brunt of the suffering and devastation unleashed by the earthquake. In so doing, when taken as a totality, these various objects reveal how the earthquake had a lasting impact, producing literal and figurative aftershocks that rippled through Morocco and beyond. This dissertation, thus, connects a wide variety of actors, including artists, architects, state-officials, planners, geologists, engineers, literary figures, film makers, and working-class Gadiris (as the people of Agadir are called) to the Agadir earthquake who responded to its aftershocks in direct and indirect ways. In effect, the earthquake interpellated a variety of responses.

Institutions and Urbanism

Though the earthquake occurred four years after formal independence as waves of decolonial struggle were washing across Africa, Asia, and the Americas, Morocco and France were still tightly interconnected politically, economically, and culturally through the French-Moroccan Convention of Cooperation and Technical Assistance [*Convention franco-marocaine de coopération et d'assistance technique*], which was signed in Paris on March 2, 1956 and marked the official independence of Morocco from France. Seeking to avoid the breakout of another major revolutionary war in the Maghreb region of North Africa like with Algeria, Morocco's independence was settled diplomatically, creating the conditions for a neocolonial relationship between France and its former protectorate. It is fitting that if in 1911, Agadir played host to territorial disputes between the French and German empires that directly led to the scramble for Africa among the French, German, British, Spanish, Portuguese, and Belgian empires, in 1960, an earthquake in Agadir sparked a reconfiguration of colonial networks and relationships between France, Spain, and Morocco.

In some ways, the French colonial experiments in urbanism in Morocco ended up making the Agadir earthquake a planned disaster. My study of planning, colonialism, and modernism in Morocco and north Africa picks up from formative scholarship on Morocco's colonial architecture and urbanism by Janet Abu-Lughod, Jean-Louis Cohen, Monique Élab, Paul Rabinow, Gwendolyn Wright, and others.[9] While all of this scholarship laid out some of the

[9] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

groundwork for global modern art and architectural history, expanding the scope of French architecture and urbanism while critically interrogating the power dynamics of French imperialism, these studies focused only on the colonial period from the point of view of French architects, planners, engineers, and other experts. Building on this work, this dissertation presents a study of architecture and urbanism in Morocco that extends into the age of Third World decolonization during the Cold War. And extending some of the methodologies these scholars utilized and developed, in this dissertation, I present "major histories" written from above (from the perspective of the state, architect, and planners) that are countered or complicated by "minor histories" from below of the death, trauma, hardship, and dislocation caused by the violence of colonialism and seismic activity (from the perspective of the survivors and the working-class).[10] Lastly, this dissertation contributes to but also revises global modernist visual and material cultural studies that explore questions of decolonization by making way for the active role played by ecological forces and other non-human actors alongside human agents.

A number of the architects and planners in Morocco who worked on designing the new Agadir, including Pierre Mas, Jean-François Zevaco, Abdeslam Faraoui, Patriced de Mazières, and Mourad Ben Embarek, also were members of the Group of Moroccan Modern Architects (*Groupe des architectes modernes marocains*, or GAMMA), first formed in the early 1950s and led by Michel Écochard during the final years of the official colonial period when he was head of the French Service of Urbanism [*Service de l'urbanisme*] in Morocco. GAMMA was created as the Moroccan chapter of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (*Congrès internationaux d'architecture modern*, or CIAM). George Candilis, Alexis Josic, and Shadrach Woods, who had founded the *Atelier des bâtisseurs* (ATBAT), were among GAMMA's earliest members after they worked on the construction of Le Corbusier's *Unité d'habitation* in Marseille and UN headquarters in New York at the end of the 1940s. Together with Écochard, they caused great commotion at CIAM IX in 1953 in Aix-en-Provence following the presentation of their GAMMA grid that polemicized the importance of local specificity and social adaptability in modern architecture, a significant departure from the dogmatic modernist universalism favored by CIAM. This led to the infamous schism of CIAM and the formation of Team X by some of CIAM's youngest members who shared the critiques made by GAMMA and other members like Allison and Peter Smithson.[11]

As Morocco was the stage of much French experimentation with modern architecture and urbanism during the colonial period, especially with regard to housing and the politics of space, many of the debates that emerged out this laboratory of modernism, as Gwendolyn Wright has called it, profoundly impacted CIAM and GAMMA well after 1956.[12] And as with many other governmental organizations, offices, and divisions created by France to administer their control

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1989); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine* (Paris: Hazan, 1998). Beyond Morocco, see for example Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[10] For Mignolo, modernity and coloniality are two sides of the same coin, coloniality being the hidden, unacknowledged, "darker" side of this coin that still lingers even after the official end of colonialism. See Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

[11] Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005). For more on Team X, see Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10: 1953-81, in Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005).

[12] Wright, *Politics of Design.*

of Morocco, the Service of Urbanism was kept in place and eventually run by Moroccans, especially after 1960, yet another example of some of the ways in which the lines between supposed colonial and postcolonial periods have been blurred and rendering the 1956 relatively insignificant. That the high-modernism of the CIAM old-guard was implemented in Agadir rather than the revisionism of the likes of ATBAT who had designed and constructed the innovative *Carrières centrales* public housing project in Casablanca just several years earlier is telling. It indicates that for Abdeslam Faraoui, the first Moroccan chief of the Service of Urbanism from 1960-1961, and Mourad Ben Embarek (who replaced him from 1961-1966), who were deeply familiar with how modern architecture was withheld from Moroccan populations by the French who wanted to keep the Moroccans in an imagined "traditional" housing that usually lacked infrastructure like running water, electricity, and sanitation, they wanted the newly independent Morocco to be seen as modern. Agadir represented, thus, the first ever modernist city built for Moroccans and a beacon for its new future linked inextricably to the earthquake and histories of modern architecture and urbanism in Morocco. However, all of this top-down planning, largely guided by seismologists and mediated through international Cold War politics and disaster capitalism, turned Agadir into an object of study and had unforeseen disastrous consequences for the survivors of the earthquake.

"Spectral modernisms" and "Decolonial Aesthetics"

This dissertation is situated within the literature on modernity that highlights its haunting by numerous forms of violence, including epistemological, ontological, colonial, racial, class, gender, sexual, corporeal, and ecological violence; the many modernisms of modernity represent attempts to imagine new futures, or futures-to-come, but those futures are always informed by the past that comes back as a revenant and haunts the present and the future alike.

The title of this dissertation evokes several methodological approaches and theoretical orientations that I have taken in this study. I use the term "spectral modernisms" to gesture at the plurality, or spectrum, of modernisms that emerged in Morocco during the 1960s after being triggered by the Agadir earthquake and developed by a variety of actors, including architects, urbanists, artists, investors, and governments and their bureaucrats. Modernism, as a particular articulation of modernity,[13] can be understood as a form of speculation, as new actions taken in pursuit of some imagined future. Modernisms, thus, are deferred; they are to come. In this sense, modernisms can be thought of having certain characteristics in common with the figure of the specter. Guided here by the work of scholars of dark modernity like Paul Rabinow, Walter Mignolo, and Achille Mbembe, modernity and modernism cannot be separated from coloniality and colonialism, which together are also fundamentally intertwined with capitalism.[14] I use the term "spectral modernisms," thus, to directly link histories of colonialism (not just in Morocco) to those of modernisms and to draw attention to the ways in which modernisms are haunted. Compounding the Moroccan case in the 1960s is the impact of the Agadir earthquake, which in large part is results of French colonial modernism in the form of urbanism planned along racial and class lines. These twin phenomena, namely colonialism and the earthquake, went on to haunt

[13] I am indebted to Susan Friedman for this framing of the relationship between modernity and modernism. See Susan Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity across Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

[14] Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Achille Mbembe, *Necropolitics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

the modernists in Morocco during the 1960s; their projects, including the reconstruction of Agadir and the quest to decolonize culture, also had deferred or spectral repercussions. But can haunting be seen directly?

Specter, speculation, spectrum, spectacle, and prospect are words and concepts that all spring from the same Latin etymological root: *specere*, meaning "to look." These terms all contain the process of looking or seeing, but how is the specter, which normally is invisible and cannot be seen, related to the spectacle, which is highly visible? It is likely that the etymological "looking" involved with the linguistic concept of the specter has to do with the metaphysical *mundus imaginalis*, to use Henry Corbin's term, or the "imagined/imaginal world," drawing on the thirteenth century Neoplatonist Sufi philosopher Ibn `Arabī and his work on "*al-`ālam al-khayāl.*"[15] *Khayāl* is most commonly translated as "imagination," but it has many more meanings, all of which have to do with vision or lack thereof. *Khayāl* can be translated as: "disembodied spirit, ghost, specter; imagination; phantom, apparition; phantasm, fantasy, chimera, vision; shadow, trace, dim reflection."[16] (The related word *khayāla* is typically translated as ghost or specter.) In *The Meccan Revelations* [*Kitāb al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*], Ibn `Arabī uses the word *khayāl* when it comes to phenomena like mirror images, shadows, and the contents of dreams and visions.[17] As images (*āmthila/muthul*, or *mithāl* in the singular), these phenomena have a visual component, yet they are not seen by the eye. In question is the slippage of images perceived by the eye and those produced in our minds when reading literature, for example, or thinking. As Stefania Pandolfo insightfully explains in her forays into the realm of madness as understood through the dual lenses of psychoanalytic theory and Islamic philosophy, for Ibn 'Arabi, "the image is a modality of presence, and cosmic existence is identical to imagination (*khayāl*)."[18]

Turning to recent theories on spectrality allows me to further unpacking the modes of inquiry flagged by my use of "spectral modernisms." In the *Specters of Marx*, Jacques Derrida offers an ontological study of specters and haunting, or what he comes to call "hauntology." Temporality is one of the main subjects Derrida explores in this text, particularly when it comes to time being "out of joint," a term Derrida borrows from Shakespeare's *Hamlet.* It is a time that is "*disarticulated*, dislocated, dislodged, time is run down, on the run and run down [*traqué et détraqué*], *deranged*, both out of order and mad. Time is off its hinges, time is off course, beside itself, disadjusted."[19] If ever there was an event that would cause time to be out of joint, a city-razing earthquake would surely be one of them. And it is this disjointed time that is the temporality of specters. Further articulating this disjointed, spectral time, Derrida writes:

> What is the time and what is the history of a specter? Is there a present of the specter? Are its comings and goings ordered according to the linear succession of a before and an after, between a present-past, a present-present, and a present-future, between a "real time" and a "deferred time?" If there is something like spectrality, there are reasons to doubt this reassuring order of presents and, especially, the border between the present, the actual or present reality of the

[15] Henry Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme de Ibn 'Arabî* (Paris: Flammarion, 1958).
[16] Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, Third Edition (Ithica: Spoken Language Services, 1976).
[17] Corbin, 188.
[18] Stefania Pandolfo, *Knot of the Soul: Madness, Psychoanalysis, Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 23.
[19] Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 1994), 18.

> present, and everything that can be opposed to it: absence, non-presence, non-effectivity, inactuality, virtuality, or even the simulacrum in general, and so forth. There is first of all the doubtful contemporaneity of the present to itself. Before knowing whether one can differentiate between the specter of the past and the specter of the future, of the past present and the future present, one must perhaps ask oneself whether the *spectrality effect* does not consist in undoing this opposition, or even this dialectic, between actual, effective presence and its other.[20]

This non-normative, out-of-joint time of the earthquake and its spectral remains helps us to question and complicate the idea of a post-earthquake, new city, as a city for the future built to move past the horrors of the earthquake. For, as Derrida writes, "What of the future? The future can only be for ghosts. And the past."[21] This nonlinear, alternative temporality also puts pressure on commonly used temporal terms like "postcolonial," "modern," and "independence," as these terms are all binary terms that obfuscate far more complex political, cultural, social, economic, and epistemological histories that cannot be simply broken apart into two neat divisions. Taking spectrality into account allows us to rethink the idea of the future and its relation to the past and the present. "The specter is the future," proclaims Derrida, "it is always to come, it presents itself only as that which could come or come back."[22] Put in other words, the present could be said to be the ghost of futures past.

Spectrality also enables us to blur "the border between the present, the actual or present reality of the present, and everything that can be opposed to it: absence, non-presence, non-effectivity, inactuality, virtuality, or even the simulacrum in general, and so forth."[23] This is one of the keys to analyzing the lingering traces of the earthquake in the rebuilt city, as they can be described as absences that are present in the shadows, as specters that may seem to be invisible to the eye but yet are still lurking all around. Sociologist Avery Gordon echoes some of this line of thought in her book *Ghostly Matters*. "In order to write about invisibilities and hauntings," she posits, "requires attention to what is not seen, but is nonetheless powerfully real; requires attention to what appears dead, but is nonetheless powerfully alive; requires attention to what appears to be in the past, but is nonetheless powerfully present."[24] This entails going beyond state-sanctioned memorials, monuments, and memories; reading archives against the grain; learning to conjure ghosts and to listen to and talk with them; and investigating what has been left out of these spaces and why, in order to "reckon with what modern history has rendered ghostly."[25] Anne McClintock's work on ghostscapes also complements Derrida's articulation of spectrality and Gordon's explication of ghostly matters. As McClintock puts it, "Ghostscapes are damaged landscapes where specters of concealed violence still haunt the tattered margins of the visible."[26] The concealing of the ecological, seismological violence wrought upon Agadir, as well as the violent actions Prince Moulay Hassan took to ward off an epidemic, fit right in to this discourse. "Violence," McClintock writes, "seldom erases what it effaces; it leaves shadows of

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[20] Ibid., 48.
[21] Ibid., 45.
[22] Ibid., 48.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 42.
[25] Ibid., 18.
[26] Anne McClintock, "Ghostscapes from the Forever War," in *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment*, ed. Karl Kusserow and Alan C. Braddock (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2018), 274.

what it tries to encrypt. Ghosts point to these places where denied, erased, or unresolved violence has taken place."[27] The violence of the earthquake itself, followed by the violence of the cleanup effort, haunt the rebuilt city to this day.

This dissertation also draws significantly from decolonial thought and critical disaster studies. As environmental historians have shown, so-called "natural" disasters are ultimately the products of historical processes and human actions. Ted Steinberg has argued that as a modern technology of power, the concept of a "natural" disaster functions essentially as a smokescreen to draw attention and scrutiny away from the catastrophic policies that were put in place by those in power, often in consultation with a class of "experts," long before a "natural" disaster ever took place.[28] By putting the blame on nature rather than on political, economic, and social policies they enacted and implemented, "natural" disasters are used by elites to retain their power and cover up their misdoings. Many times, these policies have the most negative impacts on working class, poor, and vulnerable populations, the same groups that suffer the most when a "natural" disaster occurs, as this singular event only exacerbates what came before and reproduces many of these same conditions after the event is but a distant memory. With regard to the Agadir earthquake, Daniel Williford has recently shown that the extensive damage of the earthquake was closely connected to histories of French colonial planning and administration in Agadir, even though the earthquake occurred several years after Morocco formally gained its independence from French and Spanish colonial rule in 1956.[29] The disaster, thus, was not the earthquake itself, but the effects of the earthquake which were mediated through decades of colonialism in Morocco and the nation-building efforts of the newly independent government. A crisis long in the making, the disaster induced by the earthquake was a revelatory event that laid bare and exposed structures of power and dominance in Morocco that lingered from the colonial period into the postcolonial as concretely manifested in the architecture and urbanism of Agadir and aesthetic modernisms of Morocco during the 1960s and 1970s. The earthquake, thus, unleashed the hidden specters of the past and present that came to haunt Morocco's future.

In seeking to bring to light these otherwise shadowy forces at play throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s, I have expanded the field of my art historical analysis beyond art and architecture to include objects of study that allow us to gain a deeper understanding of the aesthetics of colonialism and disaster and their long afterlives. This is what "decolonial aesthetics" refers to in the title of this dissertation. Part of this work is indebted to art historians like Hannah Feldman who proposed to think "decolonizing art" in "both its adjectival form, wherein the art is part and parcel of the historical contest fought over decolonization, and as a verb, wherein the action being named shifts to our own attempts to 'decolonize the field of art and its history in accordance with efforts to differently imagine alternative representational possibilities."[30] But while architects, planners, and artists play an important role in the story that unfolds across the following chapters, I seek to make room for some of the other actors and agents of "spectral modernisms," such as Moroccan and French government bureaucrats and technocrats as representatives of the states and their interests, victims and survivors of the

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[27] Ibid., 273.

[28] Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[29] Daniel Williford, "Seismic Politics: Risk and Reconstruction after the 1960 Earthquake in Agadir, Morocco," *Technology and Culture* 58, no. 4 (2017): 982–1016.

[30] Hannah Feldman, *From a Nation Torn: Decolonizing Art and Representation in France, 1945-1962* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 10.

earthquake, and non-human forms of life and ecological forces. I thus perform formal analyses on and readings of, for example, earthquake victim death certificates, instruction manuals for constructing tents as emergency shelter, earthquake survivor census forms, intragovernmental memorandums, aerial surveillance photography, and geological survey reports, as I do with the paintings, architecture, masterplans, films, and literature that this dissertation equally features. This enables a more capacious overview of how far reaching the impacts of the earthquake were and allows for invaluable granular, bottom-up perspectives that can be missed when only looking at "high" forms of "art" and architecture. My focus on "decolonial aesthetics" of both the visual culture of professionals like artists, architects, planners, and technocrats as well as the lived-experiences and oral histories of poor and working-class folk aims to lay bare the aesthetics of coloniality (or colonial modernity).

Lastly, this dissertation is sensitive to the bind laid out by modernist art historian Anneka Lenssen of "how to write a history of modernism such that developments taking place outside Europe and North American are neither simply construed as repetitions and imitations nor circumscribed to being reflective of context."[31] Approaching the global through the geological and ecological enables a planetary art history[32] that is not bound by the militarily-enforced borders of a nation-state, a colonial concept developed to legitimate the capitalist and imperialist accumulation and concentration of wealth and resources extracted from the earth and its workers. National art histories serve to reinforce this structure of power. As such, this dissertation is about modernisms in Morocco rather than about Moroccan modernisms (if there is such a thing). By making the earthquake the focal point of this study of modernisms in Morocco, it is furthermore impossible to contain this story within the shifting territorial borders of Morocco (which were drawn by the French) as it sheds light on the transnational and transregional networks that North Africa has long been a part of.

Shape and Structure

The structure of this dissertation proceeds somewhat chronologically by chapter. Overall, the arc of story begins at the dawn of French colonialism in Agadir during the first decades of the twentieth century, to the 1960 earthquake and the reconstruction across that decade, and ends with the aftershocks of the (neo)colonialism and the earthquake in the 1970s with hotels commissioned by the Ministry of Tourism after lessons learned in Agadir. While this dissertation is anchored by the earthquake, it does not follow a linear progression of time but instead shuttles across that 1960 date to destabilize the notion of a temporally singular, isolated disaster event.

Chapter 1, "Agadir a Ghost Town," tracks some of the ways in which the earthquake rendered Agadir into a ghostly, haunted space. This chapter sheds light on the darker sides of modernity and the trauma and violence of the twin catastrophes of the earthquake and colonialism. The dead far outnumbered the number the living for many years, especially during the reconstruction, making Agadir a sort of city of the dead; in fact, certain areas of the city that sustained the most significant loss of life and experienced near total devastation were cordoned

[31] Anneka Lenssen, *Beautiful Agitation: Modern Painting and Politics in Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 20.

[32] My thinking on planetary is informed, in part, by: Abdelkebir Khatibi, *Maghreb pluriel* (Paris: Denoël, 1983); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Planetarity," in *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Susan Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity across Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Amy J. Elias and Christian Moraru, eds., *The Planetary Turn: Relationality and Geoaesthetics in the Twenty-First Century* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2015); William E. Connolly, *Facing the Planetary: Entangled Humanism and the Politics of Swarming* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017);

off and declared the "*ville morte*" ("dead city") so as to never be built up again. Central lines of inquiry in this chapter have to do with the limits of visibility, life, and power, and the management, discourse, and representation of disaster. I focus in this chapter on various representations of the earthquake, including a 1960 abstract painting by Andre Elbaz (who later joined the faculty of the Casablanca School of Fine Arts) made just after the earthquake while he was studying in Paris, a stock photograph taken several days after the earthquake of Agadir in ruins, legal and bureaucratic documents and forms, and assembly manuals for tents. By constellating and montaging these heterogenous representations of the earthquake as fragments of what Walter Benjamin has conceived of as a "dialectical image," which presents a radical opening for new interpretations and understandings of history, I am able to bring the ghosts of Agadir out from the shadows and reveal how the earthquake heightened the precarious conditions of those who had been living in the areas that became designated as the "*ville morte*." And by attempting to trace the remnants of the earthquake that carried over into the rebuilt city, as invisible and imperceptible as they may seem to be, we can account for certain forms of continuity between the destruction of the earthquake and the construction of the new city.

In Chapter 2, "Cold War Architecture and Urbanism in Agadir: Modernism, Decolonization, and Catastrophe," I lay out the terrain of modernist urban planning cultures enabled by and in response to the earthquake during the height of the Cold War. This chapter contributes to but also extends the field of global modernisms that explore questions of decolonization and modernism by making way for the active and inactive role played by ecological forces and other non-human entities alongside human agents. This chapter closely examines the masterplans developed by teams of urban designers, architects, seismologists, and engineers representing the Moroccan, French, and American governments and their concomitant discourses. Le Corbusier was the first consultant brought in (representing French diplomatic interests) to work on the new Agadir, but due to an unknown impasse, the collaboration fell apart. The US government then sent in the city planning firm of Harland Bartholomew and Associates who generated the first comprehensive masterplan for the new Agadir in 1960. Meanwhile, landscape architects Pierre Mas and Jean Challet of the Central Survey Bureau [*Bureau central des études*] of the Moroccan government's Service of Urbanism [*Service de l'urbanisme*] developed their own masterplan which ultimately was adopted implemented by the legally appointed High Commission for the Reconstruction of Agadir (*Haut-commissariat à la reconstruction d'Agadir*, or HCRA). Along with the masterplan, the first set of antiseismic building codes in Morocco were developed for the reconstruction, following the recommendations of consulting seismologists and geologists who studied the earthquake. While the masterplan was centralized, it was designed to be implemented in collaboration with a decentralized team of architects working in Morocco, including Jean-Fraçois Zevaco, Elie Azagury (the first Moroccan architect to lead GAMMA after independence), Abdeslam Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, Henri Tastemain, Louis Riou, and Émile-Jean Duhon, among others. The buildings that the masterplan called for were assigned to individual architects who were granted a large degree of autonomy, so long as their individual designs for specific building projects—such housing blocs, city hall, a fire station, a post office, villas, and a health clinic—conformed to the strict building codes (both structurally and aesthetically). Due to the building codes, the city that was built piecemeal according to the form of the masterplan ended up having a coherent look, one that can be described as an ode to raw, reinforced concrete, as the material was unabashedly on full display by all of the monumental modernist architecture of the city center. Yet, despite the technological and architectural achievements of the new city, the building codes

had the harmful consequence of making the construction of housing unaffordable to many working-class and marginalize populations—some of whom were earthquake survivors hoping to stay in Agadir—as the state did not account for the need to support these new, onerous regulations in the name of safety with direct financial subsidies or other forms of assistance. The question of whom the new Agadir is for thus became a central question among critics and reviewers of the reconstruction effort by the time most of the new city was completed in 1967. This chapter ends with critiques of the new Agadir by two avant-garde cultural figures, a short-film by Mohamed Afifi and a literary work by Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine.

Though the earthquake may have only directly impacted the city of Agadir, the effects of the earthquake reverberated all over Morocco and beyond. Seizing the opportunity presented by the 1960 Agadir earthquake to expand its powers and extend its reach into everyday life, the Moroccan state entered into an accelerated stage of nation-building several years after gaining independence in 1956. Chapter 3, "The Casablanca School in the Aftershock of Agadir," examines one of the overlooked aspects of this national development which involved art production, particularly by a group of Moroccan modernist artists associated with the Casablanca School of Fine Arts. The three primary figures of this school, Farid Belkahia, Mohammed Melehi, and Mohamed Chebâa, had all been studying and working abroad in Europe when the earthquake struck, but in the following years, they all migrated back to Morocco to purportedly take part in Morocco's nation-building efforts and create a newly decolonized art world within Morocco. They also collaborated on several occasions with the architects Abdeslam Faraoui and de Patrice de Mazières—who worked extensively on the Agadir reconstruction—to design hotels across Morocco that were commissioned by the Moroccan government to promote tourism and open the country up to international capital and speculation. At the heart of this chapter are the contradictions between neocolonial development economic interests of the global tourism industry in Morocco, the Moroccan state's national economic growth and sovereignty, and the multifaceted decolonial cultural and political ambitions of the architects and the Casablanca School artists. This chapter connects the developments and achievements of the Casablanca School to the trauma of the Agadir earthquake and the paternalistic Moroccan state-planning that followed. Rereading these art-architecture collaborations, or "integrations" as they called them, as part of what I call the aftershocks of Agadir, I have been able to recontextualize their interventions within larger, transnational contemporaneous histories and politics of avant-garde aesthetic and spatial practices.

Chapter One

Agadir, a Ghost Town

Introduction

An abstract painting by André Elbaz (fig. 1.1), a member of an avant-garde circle of artists centered around the Casablanca School of Fine arts, attempts to capture the energy and violence of the city-razing February 29, 1960 Agadir earthquake. Elbaz produced this work shortly after the event itself while he was living and working in Paris before joining the Casablanca School of Fine Arts. Titled *Le tremblement de terre d'Agadir* (*The Earthquake of Agadir)*, the canvas is densely covered with a flurry of violent, thickly layered, frenetic brushwork. There is no singular focal point, but instead, a raucous cacophony of multi-directional, decentralized brushstrokes that have been applied with the use of wide brushes and a palette knife. The dominance of a red color palette heightens the furious bravura brushwork, perhaps an evocation of the staggering amount of blood spilled onto the streets from the thousands who perished under the rubble or the fires that broke out after the earthquakes. The overlapping forms recall the piles of concrete, stone, mud-brick, and the entangled rebar that covered the ground and buried people alive that Elbaz would have seen in newspapers like *Le Monde and Le Figaro* and newsreels of *Les actualités françaises* in Paris. Even though Elbaz had no direct ties to Agadir as he hails from the city of El Jadida, being part of the Moroccan diaspora in Paris during the earthquake brought about a sense of solidarity with his compatriots from afar who experienced the earthquake. In an interview with psychoanalyst Dominique Marin in 2013, when the question of the Agadir earthquake was raised, Elbaz responded by saying:

> I had neither friends, nor family, nor parents in Agadir, but it was my country, and it was just two [sic] years after independence. It must be stated that such a catastrophe that struck the country so soon after its independence was very violent. And I remember, in my maid's room on *rue Freycinet*, my need to express the earthquake. I [took] color and I worked vigorously on movement, a movement of discharge [*écoulement*], that in the end will be called *Tremblement de terre d'Agadir*. And I did not try to make a series out of this theme. When we make an earthquake, it is done. Géricault did not do a series on the *Raft of the Medusa*… The problem is: what to paint?[1]

This is an example of what I call the figurative "aftershocks" of the earthquake, in this case reaching all the way to Paris and having an impact there that was felt by Elbaz, among others. The Agadir earthquake painting marked Elbaz's first foray into abstraction, as he had been primarily painting clowns and circuses, as well as seascapes, in a vague post-impressionistic mode up until that point. While he could have simply decided to depict the earthquake in that same figurative vein, something about the quake pushed him to dispense with figuration and instead experiment with modes of abstraction. Doing so may have allowed him to capture certain qualities of the horrific event that could not have been fully communicated or represented figuratively. It was during this time also that Elbaz claims he encountered the work

[1] André Elbaz and Dominique Marin, "Tu en verras de toutes les couleurs," *L'en-je lacanien* 25 (February 2015), 153. Some biographies of Elbaz claim that he made a series of paintings about the Agadir earthquake, which this interview denies. See, for example, Aziz Daki, ed., *André Elbaz: L'œuvre exécutée (fibres/villes/fresques/urnes)* (Casablanca: La croisée des chemins, 2006). I have not yet come across any other works by Elbaz related to the earthquake.

of Nicolas de Staël, bringing him face to face with abstract gestural painting for the first time.[2] Through de Staël, Elbaz would be exposed to currents of *art informel* that emerged in Paris after the Second World War, another example of catastrophe giving rise to abstraction.

While photographs of the aftermath appear to be static, timeless, and even staged (fig. 1.2), Elbaz's painting is dynamic, vibrating with gestural brushwork almost as if it were alive (fig. 1.3). But like the photograph, Elbaz's composition is still bound by its frame; it is active, but still contained. Photographic media can only capture what occurs on the surface of the earth and the aftermath of seismic activity. Instead, Elbaz sought to evoke what he thought an earthquake feels like through the facture and forms of his painting. He went about this by first applying large quantities of paint on the surface of his canvas straight from the tube. Then, he used a wide paint brush to push the viscous paint across the canvas using a rhythmic rocking motion reminiscent of the movements of an earthquake. He also used a palette knife to scrape paint off the surface during this process and heighten the sense of dynamism of his painting process. The painting offers an alternative proposal to the conundrum of how to represent this devastating event, one that overlaps at times with photography and other figurative modes of visuality but also diverges from them by making more room for the viewer to imagine and grapple with the irrationality, madness, trauma, horror, uncanny and even avisual qualities of the earthquake. The byproduct of tectonic movements and seismic waves, an earthquake is a phenomenon that is fundamentally invisible. It is something that is felt but not seen.

Central to this chapter are questions pertaining to the limits of visibility, life, and power. If disasters are typically managed by governments, how do the ways in which they see and understand disasters reveal how their power operates? And what is left out in, or invisible to, this mode of seeing? This chapter analyzes an array of media produced before and after the earthquake, including photographs, paintings, film, maps, seismological and geological surveys, engineering reports, governmental documents, and literature. But in so doing, I treat these works as fragments, or texts, of something larger. Following Walter Benjamin's work on images, I seek here to read the earthquake as a kind of a (dialectical) image, one constructed from the montaging of the aforementioned media that this chapter brings together as a constellation provoked by the earthquake.[3] As both a method and a novel understanding of time and historical experience,[4] the dialectical image "is an image that emerges suddenly, in a flash," through juxtapositions between fragments that have been brought together in ways never seen before. But the dialectical image is not an image in the sense of a visual image; rather, it can be understood as a sort of opening, one that allows for new interpretations and analyses of history and culture. The dialectical image allows us to radically read the earthquake as a moment of disclosure, as an opening through which the hidden infrastructures of disaster are revealed, rather than take it as a hermeneutically sealed event that conceals the disaster. It also offers a *longue-durée* approach to the earthquake that expands beyond the immediate environs of Agadir.

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[2] Ibid, 153-54. Also in Aziz Daki, ed., *André Elbaz: L'œuvre exécutée (fibres/villes/fresques/urnes)* (Casablanca: La croisée des chemins, 2006), 101.

[3] While Benjamin notoriously never offered a singular, coherent, well-developed formulation of a "dialectical image," as his writing on this subject is scattered across his mature works, he offers some of the most direct yet still enigmatic explanations in his unfinished *Arcades Project*. References to dialectical images can be found additionally in "On the Concept of History," "Work of Art in the Age of Its Mechanical Reproducibility," and other texts; secondary sources on dialectical images are robust, with key works including: Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing*; Michael Jennings, *Dialectical Images*; Max Pensky, "Method and Time: Benjamin's Dialectical Images," in *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, ed. David S. Ferris (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 177–98.

[4] Pensky, "Method and Time," 179.

Viewing the Agadir earthquake as a dialectical image sheds light on how the "natural disaster" narrative obscured the experiences of the most marginalized people of Agadir, the ones who suffered the worst outcomes in the wake of the earthquake. These very people who dwelled in the shadows of Agadir long before the earthquake were subjected to racial and class violence built into French colonial planning policies and perpetuated under the independent Moroccan state after 1956. This is the group that endured the overwhelming share of death and loss after the earthquake, and the people of this group are whom I come to refer to as the ghosts or specters of Agadir, regardless of whether or not they died in the earthquake. The dialectical image brings their experiences and stories and voices forward in a manner that destabilizes the hegemonic disaster narrative that has proliferated around the earthquake and its history, much like with many other so-called "natural" disasters in which nature is blamed for causing the disaster rather than the errors made by human actors before the ecological event ever took place.

While the earthquake obliterated much of Agadir and its population, rendering it into a veritable city of the dead, the conditions for such a disaster to take place existed long before the earthquake ever struck, and its effects lingered for many years afterward. As critical disaster studies scholars have argued for several decades now, disasters occur over time, and they are socially constructed, the results of political and social (in)actions; "nature" is simply used as a scapegoat by those in power to deflect blame and accountability while obscuring the policies and decisions they have made that are the true roots of disasters.[5] Disasters are also not evenly distributed; they often harm marginalized and precarious communities, typically reinforcing class, gender, and racial power dynamics.

How do we as scholars of visual and material culture conjure these ghosts? And what do we have to learn from them, if they can even speak, that is?[6] Whereas other studies of the Agadir earthquake mostly focus on the gleaming new modernist city of Agadir as a sort of *tabula rasa*, approaching Agadir thereby as yet another example of a metropolis, or even as an "Afropolis,"[7] in this chapter I will be flipping this script and rereading Agadir as a *necr*opolis, as a ghost town.[8] Far from being empty or dead, the ghost town is a place haunted by ghosts. "The dead,"

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[5] Disaster studies historiography is vast, but some key texts include: Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998); Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Gregory K. Clancey, *Earthquake Nation: The Cultural Politics of Japanese Seismicity, 1868-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Christian Pfister, "Learning from Nature-Induced Disasters: Theoretical Considerations and Case Studies from Western Europe," in *Natural Disasters, Cultural Responses: Case Studies Toward a Global Environmental History*, ed. Christof Mauch and Christian Pfister (Lexington: Lanham, 2009), 17–40; Deborah R. Coen, *The Earthquake Observers: Disaster Science from Lisbon to Richter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). One landmark study of the visual culture of earthquakes informed by disaster studies is Gennifer S. Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster: Tokyo and the Visual Culture of Japan's Great Earthquake of 1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

[6] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, ed. Rosalind C. Morris (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 21–78.

[7] See Tom Avermaete and Maxime Zaugg, eds., *Agadir: Building the Modern Afropolis.* (Zurich: Park Books, 2022). This poorly theorized volume makes reference to Achile Mbembé and Sarah Nuttall's concept of "afropolitanism," which emerged from the context of Johannesburg, a city that has little in common with Agadir. See Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall, "Introduction: Afropolis," in *Johannesburg*, ed. Sarah Nuttall and Achille Mbembe (Duke University Press, 2008), 1–36; Achille Mbembe, "Afropolitanism," trans. Laurent Chauvet, *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art* 2020, no. 46 (May 1, 2020): 56–61.

[8] The neighborhood of Ihchach, which served as the main site for mass graves and other cemeteries after the earthquake, was deemed uninhabitable and sealed off as a "dead city" from any future reconstruction. In this respect, it is somewhat reminiscent of the classical necropolis, a veritable city of the dead that was entirely separate from the city for the living. But I use the term necropolis in this chapter in a more capacious sense, one that considers the

as Jacques Derrida writes in the *Specters of Marx,* "can often be more powerful than the living."[9] The violence of the earthquake itself, followed by the violence of the cleanup effort, haunt the rebuilt city to this day.

Agadir was a ghost town even before the earthquake, though, and it remained so long after the city was rebuilt. What differentiates the ghost town from a shanty town, a slum, a *bidonville*, a ghetto, is an episode of mass-death that eventually befalls such a place. Though seemingly triggered by a singular catastrophic event, it was the social processes in place before such an event took place that predetermined the outcome of such an event. The ghosts that inhabit the ghost town can be said to be another form of the subaltern—both in the Gramscian and the Subaltern Studies Group sense of the term—but they also raise questions about visuality and time by way of haunting. As traces, in the manner proposed by Derrida, they are "the mark of the absence of a presence, an always already absent present."[10] Long hidden in the shadows of the city, the ghosts of Agadir were set free by the earthquake and went on to haunt the reanimated city. As part of a theory and practice of a spectral art history, I attend to the earthquake, thus, not as a "natural" disaster, but as a revelatory event that sheds light on the ghostly aspects of Agadir that blur simple demarcations such as pre-earthquake and post-earthquake or colonial and postcolonial. Attempting to conjure and listen to these ghosts allows us to account for the presence of absences obscured by the dialectic of destruction/construction, for the spectral traces of colonial violence that lingered through time into an ostensibly postcolonial period, for the silence that reverberated in the aftershocks of the earthquake and haunted the architects and planners tasked with designing and constructing the new Agadir.

What follows is a ghost story.

Ghosting

A photograph taken on March 3, 1960 captures the sea of debris that typified Agadir after the earthquake, made up entirely of structures that were full of life just days before (fig. 1.2). In the center foreground, a teenage boy who survived the earthquake holds a coat that he is about to throw on top of a pile of other coats that had presumably been excavated from the wreckage or pulled off of the recovered corpses. The adolescent boy has wrapped his head and torso in a white fabric, a common technique used to stay cool in the unusually blistering temperatures that week that soared to 105 degrees; this also serves to differentiate the boy as from the south from the emergency workers who came from somewhere else.

As Gennifer Weisenfeld argues in *Imaging Disaster*, her landmark study of the visual culture of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 that leveled Tokyo, disaster imagery of that earthquake gave rise to what she calls a "world culture of public disaster."[11] Images of disasters, especially photographs, have been disseminated around the world across various media for a multiplicity of reasons. "Despite their documentary value, however," she writes, "disaster images, above all photographs, cannot simply be read as transparent representations, nor are they

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colonial relations that manage life and death through what Achille Mbembé has called "necropolitics." See Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 11–40.

[9] Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 60.

[10] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998 [1966]), xvii. Derrida later reformulated his concept of the trace for his ontological work on specters and haunting: Jacqeus Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 1994).

[11] Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster: Tokyo and the Visual Culture of Japan's Great Earthquake of 1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 5.

sinister simulacra attempting to stand in for an elusive notion of 'reality.' Rather, visual production constitutes a component of the historical event itself, embodying specific social relations and interests."[12] Photographs like this, which were published in newspapers and shown on broadcasts the world over as part of disaster capitalism—this photograph in particular is part of the Hulton Archive, which was a collection of stock photography to be sold to publishers looking for generic images, of the Agadir disaster in this case—were put in service of a hegemonic narrative about the earthquake and disaster that the Moroccan state and the committee of experts it employed propagated; that narrative being that this event was an unfortunate act of nature's capriciousness that destroyed a defenseless city.

This image, simultaneously specific and generic, becomes a synecdoche of the Agadir earthquake while also linking up with a much broader genre of disaster imagery to activate a prescribed set of reactions from the national and international public. Its specificity, which is given but the faintest touch of context by its date and place, quickly disappears and this image becomes part of the disaster porn that the global media greatly profits from after so-called "natural" disasters. Historian Spencer Segalla has also shown that the Moroccan state used images like this to solicit international aid in the form of techno-scientific expertise and financial resources for the reconstruction effort, which ended up pitting the US, France, and the Soviet Union against one another during the Cold War as they vied to increase their sphere of influence over Morocco.[13]

Taking a closer look at this photograph, the Citroën 2CV in the left foreground, a 1959 or 1960 model year, helps to situate us in the *ville nouvelle*, or new city, that was inhabited primarily by French *colons* (settlers) or other white Europeans. As outlined earlier, disaster is never evenly distributed, not even so-called natural disasters. Indeed, the level of devastation in Agadir was far from equally distributed. The *ville nouvelle*, in fact, experienced far less death and destruction than the more densely populated poor and working-class neighborhoods that the Moroccans lived in. Some of those areas ended up being permanently cordoned off and labelled as "*la ville morte*," or the dead city, because they were nearly entirely wiped out and hardly anyone there survived; it is in those parts of the city that most of the death and destruction was concentrated. This photograph, which circulated as part of the "world culture of public disaster" that Weisenfeld identified, represents the earthquake and disaster as a spectacle, one that could be commodified through the sale of publications that featured it in order to reach an audience of spectators. This form of spectacle, in the Debordian sense of the term, reveals the capitalist exploitation of mass death and other tragic events.[14]

At the same time, further scrutiny of the photograph unveils what lurks in the shadows of this "society of the spectacle," namely the ghost town of Agadir and the specters who inhabit it. For all his critiques of the society of the spectacle, Guy Debord failed to account for people who were denied participation in the bourgeois consumer culture of late capitalism, namely colonized and enslaved peoples. Viewed in a different way, the society of the spectacle that profits from the world culture of public disaster is the same society that created the ghosts of Agadir, or what could be called the spectral society. They are left out of the spectacle, but they still exist

[12] Ibid.
[13] Spencer D. Segalla, *Empire and Catastrophe: Decolonization and Environmental Disaster in North Africa and Mediterranean France since 1954* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021).
[14] Guy Debord, *La société du spectacle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967). See also T.J. Clark's revisionist take on the society of the spectacle, which he traces back to Paris in the nineteenth century during the period of Haussmanization: T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York: Knopf, 1985).

nonetheless; their absence marks their presence. Both spectacle and specter share the same Latin root, "*specere,"* meaning "to look," which links both terms to vision. If the spectacle is that which is highly visible, the specter is that which is seemingly invisible, ghostly, out of sight. But as Debord and T.J. Clark have argued, the spectacle can conceal, like a façade, that which lies behind it, where the specter lurks.

Unlike some of Morocco's other cities, like Marrakech and Fez that were the seats of historically powerful imperial dynasties, Agadir did not have a significant history of urbanism. Literally meaning "fort" in Tashelhit, the form of Tamazight (Berber) spoken in the south-west Atlas Mountain region of Morocco, Agadir up until the first decades of the twentieth century mainly consisted of the Kasbah atop the foothill that overlooks the Agadir Bay, and the fishing village of Founti, which was based on a fort the Portuguese had built at the foot of the mountain as part of the network of protection they built along the Moroccan Atlantic coast to protect their trade routes along the coast of Africa during the sixteenth century. Aerial photographs taken by the French colonial government in 1923 show how small and little built up Agadir was at this point (figs. 1.4 and 1.5). Seeing a big opportunity to develop Agadir into a major commercial and port city for the south of Morocco, the Resident-General of the French Protectorate of Morocco Hubert Lyautey appointed urban planner Henri Prost, who made the master plans for Casablanca (another locale with a dearth of urbanism historically), to draw up the master plans for Agadir.

Initially, the 1921 master plan by Prost (fig. 1.6) featured two main new building zones, one that was planned to be a "future indigenous city" (Talbordjt) to the northwest and the other a "future European city" (*ville nouvelle*) to the southeast. Both included street layouts that conformed mostly to an orthogonal grid, although the European city took a horseshoe shape as its defining formal characteristic. The European city also has grand boulevards that emphasize views of the water, unlike the "indigenous" quarter in which potential views of the water would be mostly cut off by the major thoroughfare connecting the European with the indigenous cities. In between these two areas was to be a prodigious greenbelt that followed the underlying topography of the area and the natural riverbeds; in reality, this was another example of a "*cordon sanitaire*," albeit a green one, that separated the Europeans from the indigenous population. Prost, under the direction of Lyautey, used a similar technique in his earlier designs for other Moroccan cities, including Rabat, which Janet Abu-Lughod deeply analyzed in her groundbreaking publication *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* of 1980. As she thoroughly explains:

> The split in the urban hierarchy was paralleled by a fission within each of the major cities, as Lyautey's planners designed extensive appendages intended to house, at luxurious standards and at outrageously wasteful densities, an upper caste, constating of French civil servants and a foreign bourgeoise, which was superimposed upon the class structure of the country. As we shall see, the land so generously assembled and then sold to the European colonists had been expropriated from the Moroccan sacred and secular domains for the subsidized use of newcomers, and the proceeds from their sale were ploughed back to provide a full complement of site improvements and municipal services for them. Meanwhile, the Moroccan areas were neglected under the guise of respect for their cultural integrity. This double standard ensured that the caste differences created by economic and political colonialism would be reflected sharply in a gap between the physical conditions of the two cities—coexisting but not interpenetrating. Not to leave matters to chance, this 'nature' segregation on economic and cultural grounds

> was buttressed by laws which, while they did not speak specifically of apartheid, guaranteed that, in the words of the French, 'the two races' would remain separate… The French system was not side-by-side and apart, the ideology of Lyautey notwithstanding. It was above the Moroccan system. Furthermore, its existence depended upon reducing the latter to the status of a submissive partner, from whom resources, both material and human, were to be extracted. This was true at the macrolevel of the urban system as well as at the microlevel of single cities such as Rabat.[15]

As he further refined his master plan (fig. 1.7), Prost added a section between the indigenous and the European quarters envisioned to be the administrative zone; this would be the seat of the local French colonial government, where it could surveil the indigenous zone and provide services for the European city. This plan was ultimately adopted and expanded over the ensuing decades, and further modifications were introduced in the 1950s with new plans proposed by Michel Écochard.

Let us now compare these master plans to a map made of the levels of damage assessed after the earthquake [figs. 1.8 and 1.9]. Created by the Moroccan Service of Urbanism, a division of the Ministry of Public Works, using a map of Agadir from 1955, the city has been divided into different zones corresponding to assessments of levels of damage to physical structures, or property (not humans), therein. Zone 1 to the east of the city, comprised of the factory towns, sustained the least damage. Zone 2, mainly consisting of the *ville nouvelle* and prime shoreline property, as well as the industrial sector, sustained more damage than Zone 1, but less than Zone 3, which was the most destroyed zone. Zone 3, to the west, was made up of the administrative area, Founti, the Kasbah, the neighborhood of Talbordjt (the "indigenous city"), and Ihchach. These are the neighborhoods that were the most populated and had the highest density, and they are exclusively where the working class, Moroccans lived. These are the original ghost towns of Agadir, located in the shadow of the glimmering, wealthy *ville nouvelle*.

It is necessary here to introduce the neighborhood of Ihchach, also known as Yachech in the French orthography (fig. 1.10), which did not appear on the master plan. This is because Ihchach originated and developed entirely organically along the slopes of the foothills to the north. For as Agadir began to grow under French patronage, it attracted people from nearby towns and villages in search of opportunities to work in the "big" city of Agadir. Due to lack of adequate and affordable housing even in Talbordjt, the migrant workers settled along the hillside just outside of the relatively more urbanized Talbordjt. Ihchach was essentially a village tucked away from the rest of Agadir. As Lahsen Roussafi—who grew up in Ihchach and was in high

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[15] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 151-152. Abu-Lughod's book was one of the first in a genealogy of critical scholarship on French colonial urbanism in the Maghreb and North Africa. ; Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991 [1988]); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine* (Paris: Hazan, 1998). The field thins out when it comes to the so-called postcolonial period, but notable works include: Aziza Chaouni, "Depoliticizing Group GAMMA: Contesting Modernism in Morocco," in *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*, ed. Lu Duanfang (London: Taylor and Francis, 2010), 57–84; Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005); Tom Avermaete and Maxime Zaugg, eds., *Agadir: Building the Modern Afropolis.* (Zurich: Park Books, 2022); Lucy Hofbauer, "Transferts de modèles architecturaux au Maroc: L'exemple de Jean-François Zévaco, architecte (1916-2003)," *Les Cahiers d'EMAM*, no. 20 (July 1, 2010): 71–86.

school when the earthquake struck—recounted to me, they did not have running water, plumbing, or electricity in Ihchach in 1960, when the earthquake struck. He and his mom had to trek to the local well made accessible to the people of Ihchach thanks to a small footbridge built in 1926 to retrieve water for the day. Ihchach, Founti, and the Kasbah were the areas that experienced the most devastating loss of life and destruction of homes. Together with Talbordjt, this area, "zone 3," was declared to be the "ville morte," or dead city. In accounts of the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, just after midnight, French soldiers stationed at the French Aero-Naval Base in Agadir (which would not be shut down until 1961) were the first rescue teams to spring into action. But this, too, is not the full story. According to Roussafi, no one came for them.[16] They were completely on their own, in the pitch black of night. The French soldiers were, indeed, the first to jump into action, but they first went to the *ville nouvelle* to begin their search and rescue mission. After just three full days of search and rescue operations, crown prince Moulay Hassan, who was put in charge of the state response to the earthquake, called off further operations in zone 3. The decision was made to seal off this "dead city;" any corpses that were pulled out from the debris would be tossed into mass graves.

One of the most thorough descriptions of the earthquake appears in the autobiographical *The Rocks Remain* by Scottish naturalist and writer Gavin Maxwell. He happened to be in Marrakesh when the earthquake occurred and traveled to Agadir with Moroccan governmental officials and members of the international press corps later that week. In a chapter titled "Portrait of an Earthquake," first- and secondhand accounts shared by Maxwell offer color and texture to photographs and film footage of the aftermath of the earthquake. A French photographer who had been in Agadir the first day after the earthquake struck told Maxwell, "I am suffering from shock—I who in the war was blown up by a mine and am no stranger to death and the dead. This is worse than war—Agadir is a place of horror, you understand?—horror. The press is mad, mad, I tell you! Three thousand dead?—they mock us! *Selon moi* there cannot be less than eight thousand, and that is a minimum. Whole quarters in which not one soul can have lived—just dust—dust that smells of death, so that you must wear a mask or be sick, or both. The limbs of the dead stick up out of the ground as if they were waving to you. It is a place of horror, I tell you, horror."[17] This firsthand account documented by Maxwell compares the aftermath of the earthquake to that of a war; Maxwell himself, after visiting Agadir later that week, likened the seismological devastation to that of "any town destroyed by aerial bombardment."[18]

This account reveals certain details that are impossible to capture by visual media alone like historical photographs and films that captured the collapsed buildings, the rubble, the rescue and clean-up effort, and the displacement of countless thousands of people. It bears considering how dark it must have been in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake. Night had already fallen, and parts, if not all, of the city would have lost electricity. As Maxwell writes, "The first rescuers on the scene, the French Marines, brought only pinpoints of light, so that *for long sound predominated over sight*."[19] People who had been eating and drinking during the nighttime hours of Ramadan in the company of family, friends, and other loved ones, in addition to the tourists enjoying the city's night life, were plunged into complete darkness, if not engulfed entirely by collapsing buildings. Maxwell offers us a soundscape of these harrowing moments: "The

[16] Interview conducted by author with Lahsen Roussafi in his home in Agadir, January 11, 2022.
[17] Gavin Maxwell, "Portrait of an Earthquake," in *The Rocks Remain* (New York: Dutton, 1963), 18.
[18] Ibid., 29.
[19] Ibid., 19-20. Emphasis is my own. But as mentioned above by Roussafi, the Marines first went to the *ville nouvelle* and left neighborhoods like Ihchach helpless.

survivors remembered the noise more than the movement of the ground; the roar of toppling buildings and the screams of human beings who fell with them. All lighting was extinguished with the first quake, and those who were able to struggle free and to search among rubble and ruin for their children worked in the confusion of total darkness and noise of all hell."[20] Blinded by the darkness of nighttime—and given that it was the third night of the lunar month of Ramadan, the moon would have been quite faint—and deafened by the thunderous collapse of the built environment and the perturbing shrieks and screams of people trapped under rubble and dying, Gadiris (as the people of Agadir are known) who experienced the earthquake suffered extreme sensory deprivation at a time when the senses were most needed for survival.

The photographer that Maxwell spoke with mentioned the "dust that smells of death" and the masks that had to be worn in order not to get sick (either from the nauseating odors of countless thousands of rotting corpses or from the toxic and harmful chemicals in the air). As Maxwell notes, in the days after the earthquake, the temperatures reached unusually high for that time of year, reading over 100 degrees Fahrenheit. "The rapid putrescence of 10,000 corpses," in this stifling heat, writes Maxwell, "made the work of the rescue teams intolerable."[21] Then King Mohammed V decided to put his son, the thirty-year-old crown prince Moulay Hassan (who would become King Hassan II a year later), in charge of managing the crisis in Agadir. With conditions quickly deteriorating due to the weather, Moulay Hassan took some drastic actions:

> By sunrise on Friday conditions in what was left of Agadir were so terrible as to demand ruthless measures against the growing probability of epidemic. Prince Hassan had no reasonable choice. The temperature at mid-morning had reached 105 degrees, and the smell of putrescence extended to a radius of three miles outside the town. The workers in the ruins now wore gas-masks or breathing pads, and their hands were gloved. Those areas where rescue was considered impossible were treated with quick-lime to destroy the bodies; if it destroyed living bodies as well as the dead there was no alternative. Rats, driven upwards by the blocking and drying of sewers in which they lived, were everywhere among the rubble and ruins; dogs and innumerable stray cats fed upon every exposed corpse; over all hung a humming pall of flies…By order of Moulay Hassan the last inhabitants were removed from the city and its confines were sealed by military barricades. Looters were shot at sight and their bodies thrown among those endless ranks awaiting a common-grave. All livestock loose among the ruins were killed. Great quantities of rat poison were laid throughout the whole ruined city; DDT and disinfectants were sprayed constantly from lorries and hovering helicopters. Fifty bulldozers continued inch by inch to work wherever there remained a remote chance of life."[22]

With the earthquake taking place on a Monday night, this description of the first few days after the quake is nearly just as haunting as the earthquake itself. Again, photos and film could never capture these kinds of multisensory details, especially with regard to olfaction, so this passage offers us more texture and nuance of the scene on the ground. If the wretched, nauseating odor of putrescence of all of the unburied corpses could be smelled at a distance of three miles outside of the city, how vile must it have smelled at ground zero? And what about the incomprehensible measures that were taken to supposedly curb the serious risk of an epidemic

[20] Ibid., 19.
[21] Ibid., 19.
[22] Ibid., 26.

breaking out? Agadir had become an open-air biohazardous zone in need of decontamination and disease prevention. Thus, those in charge halted major rescue efforts on Friday, March 4, a mere four days after the catastrophic event occurred; however, some people were found alive after having been buried under rubble for ten days, raising the question if it was premature to call off the major rescue mission so early on. The decision to use quick-lime in areas deemed as unsalvageable, supposedly to destroy the bodies,[23] even if some of those bodies were still alive, and the bulldozing of these areas, yet again bespeaks how quickly the emergency managers acted and how they prioritized mitigating the spread of disease and the putrefaction of corpses over the search for more survivors. Maxwell's description also includes evocative details like the stray dogs and cats that fed on the flesh of exposed corpses; the clogging of sewers that forced the city's entire rat population up to ground level and seeking refuge in the debris and prompting the use of mass quantities of rat poison; and the "humming pall of flies," thereby shedding light on the impact that the earthquake had on some of the non-human inhabitants of Agadir.

"There was no halt," wrote Maxwell of his experience visiting Agadir in the days after the earthquake, "on this weird tour of a city so newly dead; again, the cars reached the road-block, were sprayed by dim, masked figures, and moved out into the world of the living. For me the nearest parallel in my experience was emerging from the suffocation of drowning, which not only entails a struggle, as did for me this equivalent proximity to mass death, but contains also a contact with negation, a sharp and shriveling awareness of the enemy at hand and allies unprepared."[24] Agadir was not only a "city so newly dead," but it was also a city *of* the dead, a veritable ghost town haunted by the earthquake and the death, destruction, and horror it left in its wake. As the ruins and people (both dead and alive) alike were cleared to make way for a new, rebuilt Agadir, traces of this event lingered, despite the efforts made to sanitize, cleanse, and remove all that was destroyed.

These horrifying accounts, enriched by disturbing multisensory details, allow us to go beyond the flattening and limiting representation of the Agadir earthquake presented in the Hulton Collection photograph (fig. 1.3). Most of the bodies recovered from Zone 2, where this picture is set, would be identified and either buried in individual graves in Agadir or repatriated to Europe, their loss of property indemnified by the French and Moroccan governments and dispensed to their next of kin. Meanwhile, the lucky few who survived from Zone 3 would go on to leave everything behind and seek shelter in camp towns (refugee camps) in the surrounding area (figs. 1.11 and 1.12). Roussafi was fortunate enough to only spend forty days in a tent before being transferred to Rabat to continue his schooling; others would not be so lucky and ended up spending years living in tents after being ignored and made re-invisible by the Moroccan government.[25] Coverage of the earthquake in journals published by major Moroccan labor unions like UMT (Moroccan Union of Labor)[26] and leftist political parties like UNFP

[23] Quick-lime has typically been thought to accelerate the decomposition of corpses. However, recent research has questioned this commonly held assumption and shown that quick-lime can actually help to preserve corpses. Quick-lime does work to greatly diminish the smell of decomposition, however. See Eline M.J. Schotsmans et al., "Effects of Hydrated Lime and Quicklime on the Decay of Buried Human Remains Using Pig Cadavers as Human Body Analogues," *Forensic Science International* 217, no. 1–3 (April 2012): 50–59.
[24] Maxwell, 30.
[25] "Agadir An III," *L'avant-garde*, February 11, 1962.
[26] UMT published *L'avant-garde*.

(National Union of Popular Forces)[27] and PCM (Moroccan Communist Party)[28] were among the only sources to critique the government's lack of support for poor and working-class survivors of the earthquake. They continued to report on the earthquake refugees years after 1960, even spotlighting families still living in tents outside of Agadir in the third year after the earthquake, for example (fig. 1.12).

The outcomes of the earthquake were not inevitable; rather, they were entirely avoidable if Agadir had not already been a ghost town. The earthquake was used by those in power to obscure the social and political decisions and actions/inactions over decades of colonialism that were the root cause of what transpired after the earthquake. This power to "kill, to let live, or to expose to death" is precisely what decolonial philosopher Achille Mbembé, building on Frantz Fanon's criticism of colonial urban design based on spatial segregation, has referred to as "necropolitics," and these necropolitics are what fundamentally mediated the outcome of the earthquake. As Mbembé writes, citing Fanon:

> Frantz Fanon describes the spatialization of colonial occupation in vivid terms. First and foremost, he argues, colonial occupation entails a division of space into compartments. It involves the setting of boundaries and internal frontiers epitomized by barracks and police stations; it is regulated by the language of pure force, immediate presence, and frequent and direct action; and it is premised on the principle of reciprocal exclusivity. But more important, this is how necropower operates: "The town belonging to the colonized people . . . is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees." In this case, sovereignty means the capacity to define who matters and who does not, who is *disposable* and who is not. [29]

Fanon's description of the "native town" captures many of the qualities of Ihchach that Roussafi shared with me, and they match scholarly critiques of French colonial urbanism in North Africa that were inaugurated by the pioneering work of Janet Abu-Lughod on Rabat.[30] Reading Agadir as a ghost town allows us to push past the normative narrative of the earthquake as a "natural" disaster and instead opens up a line of inquiry that uses the earthquake as a revelatory event that sheds light on the class and racial violence that haunted Agadir.

Earthquake Epistemologies

For the survivors of the poor and working-class neighborhoods, or what I have come to call the ghost town, navigating the complex web of governmental bureaucracy for obtaining ID

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[27] UNFP published *Al-Taḥrīr* ("the revolution").

[28] PCM published the weekly *Al-Mukāfiḥ* ("the fighter"). They also published the *Ḥayāt al-Sha`b* ("life of the people").

[29] Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 26–27.

[30] See Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). See also Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

cards, death certificates, indemnities, property titles, and other official documents was unfortunately made all the more difficult due to the fact that an overwhelming majority of them were not literate.[31] As scholars of French colonial education have shown, the French government was far more concerned with educating settlers, as well as some of the elite Moroccans, than with educating the populations they colonized. Historian Spencer Segalla, drawing on the work of Abdelkader Baina, writes that "Moroccan Muslim enrollment [grew] rapidly after World War I, surpassing 100,000 students in 1950, but the French would never educate more than a fraction of Moroccan schoolchildren (about 13 percent at independence in 1956)."[32] Anecdotally, earthquake survivor Lahsen Roussafi attests to this by explaining that few Moroccans sent their children to school. Classes typically had only four to five students, and teachers were in charge of multiple grade levels. Obtaining a primary school certificate was a rarity, let alone continuing on to secondary school and beyond.[33] In an interview I conducted with Roussafi, I learned that the Moroccan students who did attend primary school were not encouraged to continue their education in secondary school because there would be no jobs for them that would require that much education in the colonial economy.[34]

This is in line with art historian Hamid Irbouh's description of how the French colonial government reinforced their spatial segregation of cities with economic functions. The Moroccans were to stay within the older parts of towns (the so-called "medinas") conveniently walled off from the newer parts of cities constructed by the French for settlers. The French sought to establish a primary economy in the Moroccan sections of cities, based on traditional "crafts" and artisanal production, while the Europeans in their modern quarters of cities would engage in secondary and tertiary modes of economic production, including services, finance and banking, and international trade. Of course, the "traditional" wares and goods produced by the Moroccans were largely a French Orientalist invention, modeled on medieval arts and aesthetics from the Maghreb and Andalusia that had long been dormant when the French colonized Morocco in the twentieth century.[35] Why, then, would Moroccans need formal education if they would not be allowed to partake in careers or an economy that required skillsets beyond those needed to make what the French deemed as "traditional crafts?" Additionally, an educated colonized populace may have been perceived as dangerous to maintaining colonial domination.

As Roussafi recounted to me, through much of his primary schooling, the expectation was that he would not continue his education and instead start working immediately afterward to help support his family. The situation began to change, however, after Morocco ostensibly gained its independence from France and Spain in 1956. Had Morocco remained under official colonial rule, Roussafi told me, he does not think he would have had a chance to attend the newly renamed Lycée Youssef Ibn Tachfine high school and eventually work for the Office

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[31] For more on the use of eminent domain and land/property rights, see Robert Janin, "Aspects juridiques, fonciers et finnciers de la reconstruction d'Agadir," *A + U: Revue africaine d'architecture et d'urbanisme*, no. 4 (1966): 18–27. See also the work of Daniel Williford on the politics of the Agadir reconstruction: Daniel Williford, "Seismic Politics: Risk and Reconstruction after the 1960 Earthquake in Agadir, Morocco," *Technology and Culture* 58, no. 4 (2017): 982–1016.

[32] Spencer D. Segalla, *The Moroccan Soul: French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912-1956* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 55.

[33] Lahsen Roussafi, Yazza Jafri, and Abdallah Kiker, *Mémoires d'Agadir au XXe siècle*, trans. Ali Ahlalay, vol. 2: 1945-1960 (Rabat: Rabat Net, 2015), 217.

[34] Lahsen Roussafi, Interview with Lahsen Roussafi in his home in Agadir., January 11, 2022.

[35] Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956*, 2 (London: I.B. Taurus, 2005).

Chérifien des Phosphates, or OCP, the state-owned and world's largest phosphates miner and producer or phosphate products (primarily fertilizer). Photographs of then Minister of Education Mohammed El Fassi visiting the handful of schools in Agadir in 1957 attest to the recognition by the new Moroccan state that it will need Moroccans in key positions if it is to succeed in a nation-building project. El Fassi spoke directly to pupils at the Muslim School for Boys in the Talbordjt neighborhood (the same primary school that Roussafi himself had attended), offering words of hope and encouragement that they are the future of Morocco, that they will be the engineers, physicians, ministers, and school directors, among other professions, of tomorrow (fig. 1.13). After the earthquake, the government sent a small contingent of Moroccan highschoolers from Agadir to other cities so that they would not lose any time while trying to complete their secondary schooling. Roussafi went to Rabat to attend the technical high school there (Lycée des Orangers); those who studied accounting went to Casablanca; and others went to Fez.[36]

Schools in Agadir, like other aspects of the city, were mostly segregated across class and racial lines. A select group of Agadir's elites were allowed to send their children to the school for Europeans in the *ville nouvelle* which had the same curriculum as in Metropolitan France, but for Muslim Moroccans from the poor and working-class neighborhoods of the "dead city", they attended the small, singular Muslim School for Boys in Talbordjt. (There was also a school for girls, as well as a Talmudic school for the sizable Jewish Moroccan population in the area). Qur'anic studies were a major component of the curriculum in a Muslim school, though French lessons were also given. Just as people living in Agadir experienced the city in vastly different ways depending on their habitus and intersectional subjective positionality, so too did people in Agadir *understand* the earthquake in different ways.

For the majority Muslim population, including the schooled and unschooled among them, the concept of the phenomenon of an earthquake was entirely unbeknownst to them. As Roussafi pointed out to me, the primary reference point shared among most of the Muslim population was from the *Qur'an*, particularly Sura 99 titled *Al-Zalzala*, or "The Quake." Composed of eight verses, this chapter describes how the Day of Judgment will begin. The first verse says that the earth will shake due to a [earth]quake, while the second verse goes on to explain that all of the earth's weight/burdens (*āthqālaha*) will be discharged. This could be interpreted to mean that all of the mass carried by the earth, including mountains and trees as well as buildings and structures, will crumble. As Agadir shook during the earthquake, many of its Muslim denizens familiar with this chapter or story from the *Qur'an* initially believed that the Day of Judgment had come and that it was the end of the world. The Agadir region was not known historically to be seismically active; apart from an earthquake that may have occurred in 1731, there are no known records of notable temblors in Agadir prior to 1960.[37] Thus, there was no sort of historical knowledge about seismic phenomena passed down through oral or literary traditions as points of reference.[38]

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[36] Interview with Roussafi conducted by author, January 11, 2022.

[37] While the date of 1731 is cited as the most recent date of an earthquake before 1960, I have not seen any supporting evidence or credible sources to back up this claim. 1731 has been cited in sources such as: Youssef Timoulali et al., "Neotectonic Fault Detection and Lithosphere Structure beneath SW of High Atlas (Morocco)," *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 120 (August 2016): 198–207; Tony Waltham, *Catastrophe: The Violent Earth* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1978). The scientific paper by Timoulali et al., for example, relies on "historical seismicity data," but no context is provided about these data whatsoever.

[38] In a 2002 study based on interviews with 250 Agadir earthquake survivors, 55% of Muslims surveyed said they have no knowledge of earthquakes. Only 1% claim to have been aware of an earthquake that occurred more than one

Ontologically and epistemologically, an earthquake is not universal or monolithic. For an overwhelming majority of people in Agadir, a group made up of Amazigh (Shluḥ) Muslims who did not have access to or opportunity for any sort of schooling, "Surrat-al-Zalzala" could have been the only possible explanation for the shaking of the earth and the ensuing destruction that followed. The concept of the earth quaking was not one that was widely understood as a relatively common occurrence that can happen at random points in time in different parts of the world. Instead, it was viewed as a singular event that marked the apocalypse and the Day of Judgement. It was, in other words, a divine event. But this theological perspective of an earthquake has likely played a major, though unacknowledged, role in the development of modern seismology. Scholar of legal humanities Samera Esmeir has argued in an article about the 1927 earthquake in Palestine that scholarship on earthquakes by medieval Islamic theologists and philosophers had a significant impact on the development of the field of seismology in the twentieth century.[39]

The British colonial government, which controlled Palestine during that time, brought in Bailey Willis, a geological engineer and seismologist who worked for the United States Geological Survey before becoming a professor at Stanford, to produce a seismological report on the earthquake. With little to no knowledge about the seismicity of the region, Willis turned to the work of Egyptian polymath Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti and his chronology of earthquakes in the Muslim world from 7 Hijri (628 CE) to 904 Hijri (1499 CE), completed before his death in Cairo in 1505 CE, in order to understand what Willis referred to as the "earthquake habit" of Palestine. Al-Suyuti's text, translated by Esmeir as *Revealing the Chain of Echoes/Meanings in the Description of Earthquakes* [*Kashf al-salsala `an wasf al-zalzala*] and referred to hereafter as *Zalzala,* views earthquakes as manifestations or signs of God's will that require interpretation. Willis sought to use al-Suyuti's text merely as a source for tracking the history of earthquakes in the region, as a historical, factual record with concrete dates and descriptions of earthquake intensities. In so doing, however, he attempted to divorce this perceived data-based component of the chronology from its broader theological context and interpretive significance. "This splitting, however," argues Esmeir, "was at odds with *Zalzala's* own structure, which itself did not separate the two parts. Instead, in *Zalzala*, the historical chronology of earthquakes constitute a condensed manifestation of the theological argument. That is to say, the theological dimension of *Zalzala* not only appeared in the interpretation of divine miracles but also informed, and was embedded in, the historical chronology itself."[40] *Zalzala* was written by compiling accounts of earthquakes that have been transmitted discursively through time as part of a practice of Islamic scholarship.[41] Earthquakes, as signs, were understood to have long chains of meanings (*salsala*) that could be revealed (*kashf*) through studying and interpreting their descriptions (*wasf*).

In her article, Esmeir tracks how, despite Willis's efforts to draw from *Zalzala* purely objective details regarding the "earthquake habit" of the region in his effort to develop a seismological report on the 1927 earthquake, some of the theological dimensions of *Zalzala* could not be entirely removed and lingered in the historiography of twentieth century seismology. For Willis's report showed that "it is impossible even with modern seismology to

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hundred years ago. See Thomas R. Paradise, "Perception of Earthquake Risk in Agadir, Morocco: A Case Study from a Muslim Community," *Environmental Hazards* 6, no. 3 (January 2005): 167–80.

[39] Samera Esmeir, "1927: How Seismology Received Islamic Theology," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 40, no. 2 (2020): 329–44.

[40] Ibid., 330.

[41] For more on this form of Islamic scholarship, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

transform disasters into pure objects of science," inadvertently showing both the potential for science to systematize and standardize earthquakes as regular occurrences and the limits of science to causally explain the significance of earthquakes.[42] Willis's analysis reveals that the forces of the earth cannot be fully accounted for by science—nor by writing, as Blanchot warns in *The Writing of Disaster*.[43] *Zalzala* reemerged again when the aforementioned Mohammed El Fassi, the Moroccan Minister of Education who visited Agadir schools in 1957 (fig. 1.13), wrote the preface to a new edition of al-Suyuti's text published in Morocco in 1971, no doubt a delayed response to the Agadir earthquake.[44] In his preface, El Fassi strikes a tone that attempts to be objective and scientific, praising the work of al-Suyuti for its achievements during its time but also critiquing its theological foundation as no more than "myths" [*khurafat*]. Like Willis, El Fassi was primarily concerned with what could be viewed as the scientific aspects of the text, essentially the dates and descriptions of earthquakes, while trying to wholly extract that information from the underlying methodological approach taken by al-Suyuti. While this may at first seem surprising for someone who was educated at the University of al-Qarawiyyin in Fez (the world's oldest school of Islamic scholarship, though he also obtained a humanities degrees at the Sorbonne), politically active in the pro-independence Istiqlal Party, and one of the signatories of the January 11, 1944 Declaration of Moroccan Independence which resulted in his imprisonment by the French, El Fassi nonetheless presented himself as a technocrat and a man of ("Enlightenment") science. Many of the top-ranking officials in the government of the newly independent Morocco with a similar political, educational, and class background as El Fassi (who came from an elite Moroccan family) pursued a future-oriented nation-building project guided by expertise ostensibly reliant on data-based, quantitative, rational, objective, scientific worldviews.

In effect, the new Moroccan bureaucracy was modeled on those of European empires that were perceived to be advanced and powerful, especially by leaders of their former colonies who were educated in elite European institutions. El Fassi and others' embrace of the reports and guidance of foreign geologists, seismologists, engineers, and other expert consultants was reflective of their approach to governmentality and which voices they listened to. The geological and seismological reports of the 1960 earthquake by Robert Ambroggi and Jean-Pierre Rothé that put much blame on the purportedly poor building practices of structures in Ihchach, Founti, and the Kasbah spoke much louder than did the trauma, poverty, and struggle of people from these working-class neighborhoods that were the most precarious before *and* after the earthquake.[45] It was easier to blame those at the bottom for the policies put in place by the people at the top. The experts failed to point out that buildings made out of reinforced concrete also failed in Talbordjt and the *ville mouvelle* because best practices for building were not followed and corners were cut by developers and speculators seeking to build as quickly and cheaply as possible. Attempts by the British government in Palestine, as well as the French and later Moroccan governments in Agadir, to rely on representations of disasters produced by scientific experts and bureaucrats resulted in devastating outcomes for vulnerable, colonized communities.

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Maurice Blanchot, *The Writing of Disaster*, trans. Ann Smock (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

[44] Mohamed El Fassi, "Taqdīm (Preface)," in *Kashf Al-Ṣalṣala `an Waṣf al-Zalzala (Revealing the Chain of Echoes/Meaning in the Description of Earthquakes)*, by Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (Rabat: Mohammed V University Press, 1971), i–vii.

[45] See Jean-Pierre Rothé, "Le séisme d'Agadir et la séismicité du Maroc (Rapport de mission 9-17 Avril 1960)," 1960; Robert Ambroggi, "Séisme d'Agadir (29 février 1960 à 23h41): Rapport géologique" (Rabat: Royaume du Maroc, Ministère de l'Économie Nationale, Direction des Mines et de la Géologie, Service Géologique, 1960).

Discussions of seismic risk and the development of policies to assuage that risk assessment often failed to account for colonial urbanism policies that were the original disasters long before the earthquakes ever struck; the earthquakes themselves were not the disasters, but rather, they simply were the lit matches or sparks that ignited all of the kindling that was there already in the form of dangerous urban design and policies.[46]

Necro-Bureaucracy, or Governing the Disaster

How did the Moroccan and French governments respond to the earthquake in terms of the management of survivor populations? In a questionnaire distributed by the French government to its citizens affected by the earthquake, people were asked, "Do you have the intention to reside in the region of Agadir, once your personal belongings are reclaimed?" A follow-up questions asks, if the person does not intend to reside in the Agadir area, where then they would like to reside instead? Madame Barraud, who lost her entire family after the earthquake, answered that she would like to reside in France for the following reason: "Forty years of tough work gobbled up [*englouties*] in several seconds. I ask myself whether I have the health and courage to start all over."[47] For French settlers in Agadir, the option to return or be repatriated to France was a privilege that other Gadiris did not have, even if for the French in Agadir, Agadir was their home, not France. The French government was also worried about losing its neocolonial economic foothold in Agadir if its citizens were all repatriated, especially the ones with technical knowledge and/or businesses; a report from the French consulate in Agadir dated June 15, 1960 notes that "it would be necessary to encourage them to stay, because if we are no longer have a presence at the port, at the electric power plant, at the public works, for example, we will be taking on a large risk when it comes to distributing [*écouler*] the 1961 production of Souss farmers."[48]

In the aftermath of the earthquake, both the French and Moroccan governments undertook extensive efforts to provide aid and support to the survivors of the earthquake, or their immediate families. Sometimes these efforts overlapped, but most of the time, they ran parallel to one another, almost as if in a competitive manner. Common to both states, however, was the mountain of paperwork that they generated as their bureaucrats attempted to process all of the losses, both in terms of life and property. The governments ended up providing a bit of financial support to the survivors and indemnities for their loss of property. But in keeping with the uneven outcomes of the earthquake, the minority who owned property and/or businesses fared much better than did the majority who did not have much to begin with, many of whom unsurprisingly fell through the cracks. What is more, the French citizens were doubly compensated, as they were eligible for state aid from both the French and Moroccan governments.

In order to be officially recognized as a survivor, however, both the French and Moroccan governments constructed a giant machine, one that runs on paperwork, to render them visible in the eyes of the state. This long and arduous process began with a form generated by the Moroccan government to register all of the survivors as part of a census of survivors and those affected by the earthquake (fig. 1.14). The front page of this long, bilingual (Arabic and French) form includes the Moroccan five-pointed star below "Kingdom of Morocco" toward the top of

[46] For more on the politics of "seismic risk" in Agadir, see Williford, "Seismic Politics."
[47] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.
[48] Consulat general de France à Agadir, "Note sur la situation à Agadir, 15 juin 1960." Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/367, 1.

the page, indicating that this is an official government document. Twice-folded along vertical axes and printed on both sides, the form opens up in a wide, landscape manner to reveal empty fields that the head-of-household must fill out in order to complete the form (figs. 1.15 and 1.16).

The first portion seeks general information about the person filling out the form and any immediate family members (fig. 1.17). It begins at the top with a line for "address of origin" and "neighborhood of origin" in Agadir as well as a current address. There is also a square outline to the right for a photograph. Next comes a field for nationality, followed by a section for information about the head-of-household, including the patronymic family name of the original head-of-household as well as the current head-of-household in case that changed after the earthquake. Below this are fields for names of family members separated into an area for adults and children, both of which are further subdivided by gender. For each person, there is a field for full name, age, place of refuge, profession (for adults) or schooling (for children), initial and current employer (for adults), and initial and current monthly salary/income (for adults). There is also an area to indicate if the person was deceased, injured, or non-injured, as well as a place to count the total number of people in the household who are still alive.

The second portion, on the far right side, is concerned with the home of the survivor before the earthquake (fig. 1.18). The first fields have to do with whether the person is a homeowner or a renter. For owners, they must provide the amount of the tax they pay; for renters, they must foreclose the amount of the rent as well as the name and address of the landlord. The next portion pertains to features about the home, including if the home is a villa (detached house), a building, a shack/shanty, or other, as well as information about how many rooms, the type of rooms (e.g. kitchen, bathroom, toilet, garage, courtyard/garden), and their areas (in terms of square meters). In addition, there is a field to provide the reference number for the original construction authorization and for the architectural plan. Lastly, there is a sub-section to indicate if there was any damage, from no damage, to minor repairs, to major repairs, to demolition.

The third and final portion of the form, on the backside, deals with business/professional places (fig. 1.19). It first asks for the address and the type of activity being undertaken there, as well as the amount of the business/commercial tax. Next, like in the residential housing section, the form asks for whether the person is the property owner or a tenant. Owners are to provide the amount of city tax the pay, while tenants are to include the amount of their rent and the name and address of the landlord. This is followed by an area wherein the person can indicate whether the type of activity undertaken in this space was of a commercial, artisanal, or industrial capacity. And just like with the residential portion, there is an area for the reference number of the construction authorization and of the professional architectural plan. Likewise, there is a place to indicate the level of damage. Finally, at the bottom of this page, there is a line for the person to write where and when the form was completed, along with a signature.

While the government wanted to collect as much information as it could fit on this form, it seems as though they failed to consider how onerous and burdensome it would have been for someone to fill it out, let alone people who just survived an earthquake, many of whom were refugees without permanent shelter. The user experience must have been so poor that the people who conceived of this form thought it necessary to provide a page-long instruction section for how to fill it out (fig. 1.20). However, this does not take into consideration people who were illiterate, a sizable portion of the population at that time, especially among women and those living in the working-class neighborhoods that sustained most of the damage. The only way they could have attempted to complete this form would have been with the assistance of someone

literate. And even if they did receive assistance, what if they were not able to provide the reference numbers for construction authorization of their homes, if they ever even had them at all, since informal construction was common practice in many places?

Beyond the problems with the form itself, there have been numerous reports about the failures of its distribution, as many people never received it in a timely manner, if at all. Taking part in the census was vital for several reasons, most notably so that survivors could receive a special Agadir earthquake survivor identification card and so that they could potentially be indemnified for their losses. Furthermore, the Moroccan government announced that all households living in Agadir at the time of the earthquake, regardless of nationality, would receive one thousand dirhams as financial support, which was separate from indemnities that one could claim.[49] In a letter dated March 20, 1961 (over a year after the earthquake) from Eugène Jestin, the French consul of Agadir, addressed to the plenipotentiary of the minister of the French consulate general, Jestin remarks that the plenipotentiary has brought to his attention the fact that many survivors had reported that they never received their identification cards.[50] The distribution shortcomings were further compounded by the different ways people were supposed to complete and submit the forms depending on their nationality. In the same letter, Jestin tells the plenipotentiary that the Moroccan authorities were solely responsible for issuing the identification cards and that the French government had no responsibility in this matter. However, in an earlier letter dated September 3, 1960 from the French Embassy in Morocco (based in Rabat) addressed to the Moroccan Minister of Foreign Affairs, it is revealed that the Moroccan government charged consulates of foreign governments to conduct censuses of their citizens who survived the earthquake. This information would then be shared with the Moroccan government, which would then go ahead and provide identification cards and indemnities to foreign nationals just like for Moroccan citizens. Despite this confusion, Consul Jestin reported to the plenipotentiary in the letter from March 20, 1961 that of the fourteen hundred dossiers the consulate in Agadir received and transmitted to the Moroccan authorities, not much more than six hundred identification cards had been issued. By extension, only the people who ended up receiving their identification cards were entitled to the thousand dirhams of financial support from the Moroccan government.

While the specific reasons for the Moroccan government's delays and issues in processing the census dossiers are unclear due to archival limitations, on the French side, there are documented problems regarding the distribution of the census forms to its citizens. As already stated, just filling out one of these forms was a lengthy and difficult process. Making matters worse, the French consulate decided to use two types of paper and required that each person completing the form provide five copies as part of the dossier. The original form was to be printed specifically on Bristol paper, and the five copies on regular paper. Two photographs of the head-of-household also had to be provided for each dossier, one that would be attached to the original form, and the other would be used by the Moroccan authorities to generate the identification card. The original Bristol paper form and the two photographs would go to the Moroccan state-government, four of the regular paper copies were destined for the regional government of the Province of Agadir, and the fifth regular paper copy was reserved for the

[49] This was codified into law through Dahir 1-60-358 of January 17, 1961. See "Dahir 1-60-358," *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc* 2517 (January 20, 1961): 80.
[50] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.

French Consulate in Agadir.[51] At one point, there was also an attempt to have forms printed on blue paper to indicate that a survivor no longer resides in Agadir, but a staffer of the Moroccan Ministry of Public Works (the ministry charged with overseeing the census) told the French legal counsel of the embassy in Rabat that this distinction made no difference to the Moroccan government.[52] One would be hard pressed to concoct such a laborious, complicated, and arduous process in order to be counted, seen, and recognized as a survivor of the earthquake.

The French originally had a deadline of October 15, 1960 for the census, but due to numerous printing, transportation, and distribution problems, this date was extended to November 10. One telegram, for example, dated September 26, 1960 mentions that a significant number of forms had a defect or error and thus had to be entirely reprinted (fig. 1.21).[53] Another telegram from October 10, 1960 notes that the consulate in Agadir had two hundred Bristol paper forms, but no regular paper forms left and urgently requests five hundred to one thousand forms be sent over as quickly as possible.[54] Beyond these logistical problems of printing and distributing forms to survivors in Morocco, there were difficulties in getting the word out about the census to survivors who returned to France or moved to Algeria. This led to public announcements being made in newspapers like *Le petit marocain*, *La vigie*, and *Le figaro*. Lastly, because there were so many orphans, the consulate raised questions about what kind of photograph would be required with their census forms (for example, should the photograph be of the guardian, the eldest child of the family, or all orphans of a household), and whether an identification card would be necessary for each orphan.[55]

Despite all of these bureaucratic hurdles, government-issued identification cards started to be delivered by December of 1960, though it was a slow rollout (fig. 1.22). The Moroccan government made them available to its citizens at local prefectures that the survivors registered in, and for foreign nationals, it delivered them to consulates where they would be made available to their citizens. “Kingdom of Morocco” is prominently written on both the French and Arabic frontispieces of the black-and-white document, below which sits the Moroccan star and the title of the document, which translates to “census card of Agadir survivor.” There is a note at the bottom stating that this card is strictly personal, and the number that comes with it is meant to be used on all paperwork completed by or destined for the survivor. The card uses a simple bifold design, resulting in two outer surfaces (the frontispieces, figs. 1.22, 1.23, and 1.24) that, once opened, reveals the identifying details of the cardholder (fig. 1.25). Here, there is a space for a photograph of the cardholder on the upper left, next to which is a field for the identification number of the survivor. Below this is a line for the patriarchal family name, then the first name and nationality. Further below are two lines for addresses, one of which is the original address at the time of the earthquake and the other is for the current address. Next is a line for profession, followed by lines for the number of adults and children of the family that survived the earthquake. Finally, there is a space to indicate where and when the card was issued.

With this identification card, the survivor was rendered visible in the eyes of the Moroccan and/or French governments. Without it, one would likely be denied all forms of aid and indemnities. So for those who fell through the cracks, who did not submit their forms by the

[51] These instructions are provided in a telegram from the legal counsel of the French Embassy in Morocco dated September 13, 1960. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.
[52] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.

deadline, who did not have all of the information to complete the form, who were illiterate and were not informed about the census, they virtually did not exist in the eyes of the government. In effect, they were specters who haunted this vast governmental apparatuses put in place to help them. Many of these people were from the neighborhoods of Ihchach, Founti, Talbordjt, and the Kasbah, where their existence as the waking-dead in the shadows of Agadir continued long after the earthquake.

However, *some* of the dead were treated with more respect than these survivors. Through death certificates, for example, governments effectively raised the dead or at least rendered these more important ghosts visible. Death certificates are used to make a person's death official and countable, part of the power of a state to manage its population (both dead and alive).[56] Furthermore, death certificates extend the lives of the dead and bestow certain privileges on the living, for indemnification of earthquake deaths required death certificates to prove losses (in this case loss of life rather than property, but both are treated in much the same manner). The Agadir deaths were included as part of the larger French registry of death certificates. Family members could request a certified extract from this registry, which they would then use for filing paperwork.

A pair of death certificates, numbers 252 and 272, for example, reveals the information documented on a standard death certificate (figs. 1.26 and 1.27). First is last name, then first names, followed by the date of birth and place of birth. Next are the names of the parents, followed by the profession of the deceased. Then comes the place of residence and place of death. Lastly comes the date and time of death. René Roch of Agadir, a draughtsman, son of Georges Roch and Marie Vaglio, born in La Souterraine in the French department of Creuse on February 20, 1932 officially died in Agadir at 12:30 A.M. on March 1, 1960. Reine Oliver of Kenitra, a punch card operator or data processor, daughter of François Oliver and Marie Lopez, born in Casablanca on October 1, 1939, officially died in Agadir at 12:30 A.M. on March 1, 1960. René was twenty-eight years old when he died (having just celebrated his birthday ten days before) and Reine was twenty years old. All of this information, itself just basic facts about their lives, came to be abstracted by the numbers 252 and 272, respectively. At the bottom of the document are two seals of the French Consulate in Agadir, which are simplified renderings of the so-called Great Seal of France featuring a seated allegory of Liberty clutching a fasces and supported by the tiller of a ship with a rooster displayed on it.[57] (This allegory of Liberty is the same model used by Bartholdi for the Statue of Liberty in New York.) These certificates were certified on July 19, 1960.[58]

This pair of death certificates was attached to a letter written by Georges Roch, the father of René, to the French Ambassador to Morocco in Rabat. Dated August 16, 1960, Georges writes to explain that his son René was on a honeymoon in Agadir at the Lutécia Hotel with his wife Reine. The hotel collapsed and buried the newlyweds under the rubble. Their bodies were recovered on March 14 at 5:30 P.M and then buried in coffins number 8 and 9 in Ihchach, where almost all of the earthquake victims were buried. (This is somewhat unusual, as most people buried in Ihchach were laid to rest in mass graves.) After explaining these details, Monsieur

[56] Michel Foucault, *Naissance de la biopolitique: cours au Collège de France, 1978-1979* (Paris: Gallimard : Seuil, 2004).
[57] For more on this iconography, see Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981). See also Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Colossal: Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, and Panama Canal* (Pittsburgh: Periscope, 2012).
[58] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/364.

Roch then mentions that he is a veteran and served in the military for his entire career, even being honored with the prestigious Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur award. He goes on to say that he is left with nothing after the "catastrophe" and no longer intends to remain in Morocco. Instead, he would like to retire in his hometown of St. Maurice. These biographical details are then leveraged by Roch to plead with the Ambassador to exhume and transfer the remains of his son and daughter-in-law from Agadir to St. Maurice since the cost of five hundred thousand francs is far beyond his means. According to Roch, this repatriation of his two "children," as he calls them, is part of what he considers to be his fatherly duties.[59] Roch includes the numbers of the death certificates, 252 and 272, at the bottom of the page as a quick reference to the corresponding documents.

As tragic as losing children can be, their death certificates offer parents or caretakers some semblance of recognition, of normalization, and even of closure. And in so far as the state is concerned, a death is only visible/legible if it can be documented and thereby counted as part of the total deaths of its population. But what about those deaths that could not be documented because a body could not be found either buried beneath rubble or in a mass grave? And in not being able to process these deaths, it is as if they never happened and legal recourse to indemnification and other resources would be denied to families of the victims.

While Georges Roch was able to fairly easily obtain the death certificates of his son and daughter-in-law because their bodies were recovered and identified, that was not the case for many other families who lost loved ones in the aftermath of the earthquake. One case lurking in the archives offers a vastly different outcome for Daniel Renou, who also lost his son and daughter-in-law after the earthquake. Unlike Monsieur Roch, however, Monsieur Renou was not able to easily obtain the death certificates of his son and daughter-in-law. The reason for this is due to the fact that the bodies of Monsieur Renou's son, Gilles, and his daughter-in-law, Susanne Overwater, were never found, making it all the more difficult to obtain death certificates. In a three-page-long letter addressed directly to then French President Charles de Gaulle on July 24,[60] 1960, Monsieur Renou begins by mentioning that he never stopped admiring de Gaulle since 1940. Renou then quickly yet deftly tries to appeal to de Gaulle's personal history as a father who also lost a child. (His daughter Anne died in 1948 at the age of twenty due to pneumonia.) As Renou explains, his son Gilles was sent to Agadir by the Ministry of Education as part of the French Cultural Mission, where he was a French, Latin, and English teacher. After trying to find out what happened to his son and daughter-in-law, Renou says that only the Dutch Consulate gave him news on March 5; two months later, on May 6, Renou finally heard from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that his son and daughter-in-law have disappeared and that they would provide assistance to him for the next steps that he will need to take. After responding to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 8, wherein he asked about their bodies, car, and belongings, he never heard anything back. ("No response [*Aucune réponse]!*"). Renou writes sardonically that he understood that when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs offered their full assistance, it would only be if Renou did not ask for anything.

Renou further mentions that he contacted the French Consulate in Agadir numerous times with regard to selling his son's car (registration 3202-22), which was found intact in front of his son's building, but to no avail; the Consulate responded by saying that he should get in touch with the local Renault dealership or repair shop. Renou then proceeds to directly ask de Gaulle if he is permitted to sell the car, which is "depreciating daily" to the point where it was worth only

[59] Ibid.
[60] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/365.

0.05 Francs per kilogram at the time of the letter. It is not the value of the car, however, Renou clarifies, but rather the principle of being able to move on since the car is but a modest Renault 4CV. Renou goes on to write that in these kinds of circumstances, there should be a system or organization put in place by the French Government charged with managing the concerns and needs of its citizens, especially for people who were part of the French Cultural Mission of the Ministry of Education.

Not satisfied with the dead ends he faced after corresponding by mail, Renou explains that he went to Paris (from his town of Jonzac, in the southwestern region of Nouvelle-Aquitaine) in the hopes of having some light shed on the darkness of his son and daughter-in-law's case. He began by first going to the Ministry of Education on rue de Chateaudun; from there, they sent him to 110 rue de Grenalle; then they sent him to 11 rue St. Dominique; then on to 37 quai d'Orsay; then finally on to 23 rue Lapérouse, which was closed. He then returned to his home in Jonzac, 550 kilometers away. Addressing de Gaulle directly, Renous writes, "You [*vous*] will easily understand that I am disappointed by the attitude of the Admnistrations, Ministries, and Consulates in an immeasurable way."[61] Renou then proceeds to summarize what he is asking for:

1. Death Certificates of his son and daughter-in-law.
2. Credentials to redeem:
    a. 6,640 Francs from the National Savings Fund (*Caisse Nationale d'Épargne*) in Agadir.
    b. 197,672 Francs in his son's Postal Savings Account (CCP) nº809.95 in Rabat.
3. Credentials to sell his son's car.
4. "For my son as well as his wife, having died in such a catastrophe, may the French Government, the Ministry of Education, or the Moroccan Government indemnify the parents for the death and damages of a child for whom his studies were very expensive?"[62]
5. Information about the rights he may claim.

Renou concludes his letter by mentioning that the press recommended writing to Monsieur Pedrero in Taroudant; he did so on May 10 but has not received a response yet. At the end of the letter, Renou concludes with hope that he will now have more satisfaction than he previously experienced.

Monsieur Renou's letter was directly forwarded by de Gaulle's secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jacques-Maurice Couve de Murville (who would later become prime minister), who then sent the letter and Renou's case to the French Ambassador in Rabat on August 11, 1960. Responding to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the advisor for legal affairs of the French Embassy in Rabat, Marceau Long, states that Renou has a legal pathway to obtain the death certificates of his son and daughter-in-law. Renou can make a judicial declaration of death, either by using Article 87 of the French Civil Code at the High Court of the Seine, or the Dahir (a royal decree) of August 10, 1960 at the Court of First Instance of Marrakesh.[63] Regarding property rights, Long explains that inheritance can be managed either by a trustee designated by the court (if the inheritors are not known) or by the inheritors themselves in possession of a legal referral [*saisine*]. Concerning indemnification, Long mentions that there is no indemnification for ascendants, or parents, of victims, and neither are there any special rights for them. Economic

[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

support and indemnities have primarily been reserved for survivors of the earthquake who had been residing in Agadir at the time of the earthquake, and in general, descendants, ascendants, and other inheritors do not have a right to indemnities.

The Dahir of August 10 that Long alludes to, Dahir nº1-60-141, was enacted to deal with the declaration of certain cases of death. It primarily was a response to the large problem the Moroccan government faced with regard to officially recognizing the many deaths of people who disappeared or whose bodies were never found after the Agadir earthquake, such as the case of Monsieur Renou. The Dahir makes it possible to obtain a death certificate for people whose bodies cannot be identified or whose bodies were never found. Furthermore, the Dahir explicitly states that it applies to the death of missing Moroccans either on Moroccan soil or abroad; it also applies to foreign nationals in Morocco or on a Moroccan aircraft or ship. In order to obtain a death certificate for a missing or unidentified person, a case must be made in court and a judge would evaluate the case and issue a ruling on the validity and veracity of the death based on the evidence provided.[64]

In a communiqué penned by then French Ambassador to Morocco Alexandre Parodi to Minister of Foreign Affairs Couve de Murville on May 21, 1960 that has been marked "confidential," Parodi explains that he has just learned of a project being undertaken by the Moroccan government to resolve the problem of recognizing the deaths of missing and unidentified people in the aftermath of the Agadir earthquake. He notes that at that time, there was no legal process to declare the death of a missing or unidentified person. Parodi is quick to point out that this legislation (that would become the aforementioned Dahir nº 1-60-141) is closely based on a similar French law established in 1958, specifically ordonnance nº 58-779 decreed on August 23, 1958 by the Ministry of Justice.[65] The Moroccan Dahir of August 10, 1960 ended up directly lifting some of the text from the French ordonnance, something that seems to have given Parodi some delight and attests to how strongly French systems of governmentality continued to hold sway over the Moroccan state years after the latter had ostensibly gained its independence from the former.

While it was certainly a notable improvement that the Moroccan (and French) governments acknowledged a lacuna in their legislation and took action to address instances of how to recognize and process deaths of missing and unidentified people, the processes through which to do so were extremely onerous and burdensome for people suffering from the devastating loss of a loved one, even more so than obtaining an ordinary death certificate which is already no easy task. In numerous instances, there are examples of bureaucrats who showed sympathy and compassion for individual survivor cases only to be reprimanded further up the chain of command for not following the rules.[66]

Despite attempts to standardize and legitimize the deaths of those who died after the earthquake, ultimately, as during the official colonial period, outcomes varied along class and racial lines. As difficult as it was for people like Georges Roch and Daniel Renou to obtain the death certificates for their children that did not survive the earthquake, they had the time, resources, and knowledge to see the complicated processes through. Furthermore, their cases, among others, are documented and accessible in the French diplomatic archives. The same

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[64] "Dahir nº 1-160-141 du 16 safar 1380 (10 août 1960) relatif à la déclaration des décès dans certains cas," *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc* 2495 (August 19, 1960): 1561.

[65] Guy Mollet, "Ordonnance nº 58-779 du 23 août 1958 simplifiant et modifiant certaines dispositions en matière d'état civil," *Journal officiel de la République française* 203 (August 30, 1958): 8047–49.

[66] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/365.

cannot be said, however, of countless thousands of people who resided in the areas of Agadir that were referred to by officials and journalists as the "dead city" [*ville morte*], or the parts of the city that sustained the most damage and loss of life. Most of the denizens of this city of the dead (primarily working-class folk, most of whom were Moroccan) who did not survive the earthquake ended up being buried in mass graves there in Ihchach; this area was later deemed uninhabitable and sealed off from future construction during the rebuilding process.

During the first several days of the search and rescue effort, up until the Moroccan government sealed off the city on March 4, most of the thousands of bodies that were pulled from the rubble were hastily and anonymously buried in mass graves. American, British, and French newsreels from that time period captured footage of dead bodies piled up along roads (figs. 1.28 and 1.29), presumably a temporary holding place until large pits could be dug up that would serve as the mass graves (figs. 1.30 and 1.31). All that remains of the "dead city" today are the cemeteries and mass graves of Ihchach. After razing this entire area, the government had forbidden building anything in this part of Agadir, as the expert geologists and seismologists warned that this was the area most at risk for damage from future earthquakes. A single bilingual plaque commemorates the site of one of the mass graves (fig. 1.32). The French text reads: "Here lie the victims of 29/02/1960 in a mass grave [*fosse commune*]." The Arabic text is from the *Qur'an,* specifically lines twenty-seven through thirty of "Surat al-Fajr," in which Allah interpellates the soul of the righteous to return to Him and enter into His paradise.

Comparing a view of the mass graves today (fig. 1.33) to that of the European (Christian) cemetery (fig. 1.34), the contrast is stark. The mass graves, mostly for Moroccan Muslims who died in the poor and working-class "dead city," are little more than grassy hills with small stones scattered about seemingly haphazardly, likely denoting someone's body and left there by a loved one. The European cemetery, on the other hand, is orderly, dignified, and made of individual graves made up of concrete and stone. Trees and flowers, including palm, cypress, and bougainvillea, enhance the site. And whereas the mass graves are unprotected, the European cemetery is behind a big, green gate as the cemetery sits on the site of a small French military enclave (fig. 1.35). The mass graves and the European cemetery are merely separated by a road, the only one that leads up to the former Ihchach where all of these bodies ended up being buried. While there are some documented cases of Europeans being buried accidently in the mass graves, most were repatriated to Europe (at the expense of the governments of their respective nationalities) and given a final burial there. While these specific cases found deep in French colonial archives provide us with a richer and more textured understanding of the bureaucracy of managing death, most cases exist beyond the confines of the archives, especially with regard to marginalized working-class and poor folk who were not visible to the eyes of the state. As extensive as governmental records and archives may be, just as they failed to see the ghosts of Agadir before the earthquake, so too they did continue to perpetuate a system of blindness to the most precarious communities of Agadir. The result of these institutional necropolitics was the uneven distribution of deaths across the city of Agadir—which was mainly concentrated in the poor and working-class neighborhoods of the city—and the uneven access to resources for support, aid, and indemnification for survivors form these neighborhoods after they were forced to evacuate.[67]

[67] For more on the lack of archives in the Middle East, see for example Omnia El Shakry, "'History without Documents': The Vexed Archives of Decolonization in the Middle East," *The American Historical Review* 120, no. 3 (June 2015): 920–34.

In his response to the French questionnaire dated one month after the earthquake (March 31, 1960), Monsieur Cadars, an employee of the French maritime company based at the port of Agadir, left the following comment about the trauma of the survivors: "The AMPA personnel, which the Moroccan Ministry of Public Works admitted [*concédé*], was quite tested [*éprouvé*] by the earthquake (physically and psychologically)."[68] This point is echoed by Monsieur Tscheiller, who seems to have worked at AMPA (*Auxiliare Maritime du Port d'Agadir*, a French company that managed the port of Agadir) like Cadars. In his response to the questionnaire, he notes that AMPA employees were in "shock" and could no longer work at the port like normal.[69]

Monsieur Gonzalez complained that he did not yet receive a tent for shelter in his response to the questionnaire dated more than two weeks after the earthquake (April 19, 1960).[70] But even if Gonzalez had received a tent, the instructions that may have accompanied it nearly require an engineering degree to decipher it (fig. 1.36). In one assembly booklet for a model of a "family tent," akin to a precursor of an Ikea assembly guide, the first page provides an overview of all the assembly components, divided into five packages, required to put the tent together (fig. 1.37). Diagrams of each of the five packages for the different types of components are offered, with each individual component and their quantities listed under the package number. These diagrams are rendered in a mode that emphasizes a sense of scale and form through their bold outlines and sparse details. At the bottom of this first page, a table can be found with the number of all of the packages and their respective weights, as well as tally of the total weight, which comes out to 138.6 kilograms (fig. 1.38). The second page, titled "Nomenclature," is a table of contents, in which each of the component parts is assigned a different number, and their quantities are specified. The following page provides a diagram of the built frame of the tent, with each of the components labeled with its corresponding number so that the person assembling the tent can identify the components and visualize how they work in tandem (fig. 1.39). The area dimensions are also given: four meters by three meters, resulting in twelve square meters (or 129 square feet). Supposedly meant for a family, this is an extremely small space.

The final two pages are devoted to the assembly instructions. Requiring a team of two men and no tools, it says, the tent should take about ten minutes to complete (figs. 1.40 and 1.41). The first "phase" is to put together the roof, which is to be done entirely on the ground. The second phase involves the raising of one side, and the third and final phase is the raising of the second side. The text is in the form of terse paragraphs, and the three diagrams (one for each phase) do not make it clear how each phase relates to the other. For example, how does the roof structure attach to the sides? The first two diagrams are schematic representations of the structures of the roof and one of the sides, with each component labelled by number. All of a sudden, the third diagram is of the completed tent, replete with a doorway and a window; diagonal hashmarks help to give the structure a sense of solidity and volume. Not much context about these tents has been provided, thus it is unclear who the manufacturer is. In addition, it is also difficult to ascertain whether the tents were meant to be assembled by the earthquake survivors themselves, or if they were assembled by the military personnel or aid workers for the survivors.

Documents from the French consulate in Agadir make numerous mention of delays and problems in receiving enough shipments of not only tents, but also other supplies such as blankets, clothing, food, and medications. A note dated April 23, 1960 from Marceau Long, legal

[68] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

counsel of the French embassy in Rabat, addresses this in part by instructing French aid workers to go through a shipment made to Tangier of clothing and supplies first for French survivors in Agadir before then giving the rest of the aid shipment to the Moroccan National Mutual Aid. In an article published in the French newspaper *L'écho d'Oran* on April 15, 1960, the opening line asks, "Forty-five days after the Agadir earthquake, what has become of the 2,000 [French] survivors?"[71] The article notes that while about three quarters of them either returned to France or joined family in other parts of Morocco, one hundred fifty of them still sought refuge on the French naval base in Agadir, as they intended to be the "pioneers" who would participate in resurrecting the city. "Two days ago," writes the author however, "they were requested to evacuate the naval base in several hours. The order was communicated Monday night to be executed Tuesday morning. Their tents were set up further away, still on French military land, but outside of the base."[72]

Conditions in this new camp were "deplorable": there was only one bathroom for the entire population, and meals cost two hundred francs, even though most of the survivors had no income to pay for this. The fact that the new French consul in Agadir Eugène Jestin, who quickly replaced consul René Jeudy after he lost one of his children in the earthquake, had yet to step foot in the camp since arriving in Agadir further aggravated the survivors who remained in Agadir. Highlighting the sense of governmental mismanagement and bureaucratic incompetence, the article says that these French survivors asked themselves one main question: "Why are they leaving us in this misery while hundreds of millions of tons of supplies have been sent to Morocco to provide aid to them?"[73] Those who could travel to Casablanca apparently had no problem receiving supplies, as that is where most of the shipments arrived, but those supplies struggled to make it to Agadir hundreds of miles away in a timely and effective manner. "Until when," asks the author in conclusion, "will we leave the cadavers of loved ones under the ruins of the city? Because forty-five days after the earthquake, Agadir looks the same as it did at dawn on March 1. The navy works tirelessly at the Hotel Saada, meanwhile neglecting the rest of the city which has become a *necropolis*."[74] These are but several examples of how even some of the French earthquake survivors were neglected, in spite of the ostensibly good intentions of governments and aid workers.

If French and Moroccan necrobureaucracy produced and reproduced the ghosts of Agadir before and after the earthquake, and if the ghosts were not visible to receive governmental support, aid, and indemnities, the ghosts of Agadir did find solidarity along class lines. The Moroccan Labor Union (UMT), then one of the largest and most powerful unions in Morocco founded by Mahjoub Ben Seddik in 1955 and largely involved in Pan-African syndicalism in the 1960s, the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP), a socialist political party founded by Mehdi Ben Barka in 1959, and the Moroccan Communist Party (PCM) all showed considerable support for the survivors of the Agadir earthquake. Through their publications with a wide readership in Morocco and beyond—UMT published the francophone *L'avant-garde* (as they viewed the working class as the avant-garde), UNFP published the arabophone *Al-Taḥrīr* ("liberation), and PCM published the arabophone *Al-Mukafih* ("the fighter")—they shed light on the ongoing struggles of the poor working class survivors of the Agadir earthquake, most of whom had lived in the "*ville morte*" of Agadir or in the villages and towns surrounding it.

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[71] "Les rescapés d'Agadir dans une situation lamentable," *L'écho d'Oran*, April 15, 1960.
[72] Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid. The emphasis is my own.

Immediately after the earthquake, the UMT's *L'avant-garde* prominently featured a block print of Agadir survivors on the cover of its March 5, 1960 issue (fig. 1.42). The word "*solidarité*" (solidarity) is printed across the page in large capitalized letters right above the block print. The graphic black and white print depicts what appears to be a woman and a man (perhaps a married couple) mourning over a dead body (perhaps their child) in the foreground. The woman, who is wearing a headscarf, has her left hand on the corpse and stares out at the viewer with eyes wide open, as if in a state of shock. The man's face is buried in his hands, as though trying to conceal his sobbing. The dead body is laid out horizontally atop the rubble, and the head is covered by an open rectangular space with the words "Agadir 2 mars 1960" (Agadir March 2, 1960) written in the void. To the right of the mourners is a large cropped head of a child with tears running down his right eye. The destroyed cityscape of Agadir is rendered in a quasisurrealist manner in the background. Up above in the sky are two hands that have come together, symbolizing support, solidarity, and unity.

The next two pages of this issue, in a section called "Agadir: Workers of the World Express Their Solidarity," feature telegrams of support from leaders of unions from all over the world. The UMT also in this issue outlines immediate actions it is taking in response to the earthquake in solidarity with the survivors of the "*ville martyre*," using the framing of martyrdom to highlight the class dynamics that were at play in Agadir that lead to the overwhelming majority of deaths to be among the poor and working class: it calls upon all workers to donate one day's salary to establish a support fund; it invites workers to visit their local union offices to donate blood; it will house forty families and one hundred orphans at its main headquarters. "Thanks to our solidarity and our union," declares the UMT, "we will be able to bring aid to our survivor brothers."[75] As if that were not enough, they proclaim, "Thanks to our solidarity and our union, we will be able to rebuild Agadir. Thanks to our solidarity and our union, we will be able to erect a new Morocco."[76] The UMT used its power and reach to organize for the ghosts of Agadir. And through national and international worker solidarity, the UMT envisioned an Agadir, a Morocco, an Africa, and a world for and lead by workers.

L'avant-garde continued to shed a spotlight on the struggles of the Agadir survivors by including a section dedicated to Agadir in every issue after the earthquake. The cover of the April 23, 1960 issue prominently displays a picture of the camp set up by the UMT for some of the survivors with a caption that reads, "Solidarity of the workers of the world has materialized in the aid brought to the Agadir survivors" (fig. 1.43). The UMT quickly formed a committee the support the survivors, and they provided two hundred tents to establish their camp on the outskirts of Agadir. Rather than relying on governments (neither Moroccan nor foreign) and private non-governmental organizations, the UMT leveraged the power of workers coming together in order to take immediate action in support of the most vulnerable and marginalized populations of Agadir who were not visible to the state or other organizations before and after the tremblor. As previously mentioned, these groups were not included in indemnification and aid distribution due to their ghostly presence not perceptible to the state. The UMT was quick to denounce the indemnification guidelines as "indemnification of things and the abandonment of humans," a critique of the Moroccan state's preferential treatment of the landed-classes.[77] On December 18, 1960, thousands of earthquake survivors of met in the town of Aït-Melloul nearby Agadir to put together a motion addressed to King Mohammed V. An article in *L'avant-garde*

[75] "L'UMT au service des sinistrés," *L'avant-garde*, March 5, 1960, 3.
[76] Ibid.
[77] "Agadir: l'injustice continue," *L'avant-garde*, February 11, 1961, 5.

covered this event: “Why this meeting and why this motion? The answer is simple: Today still, ten months after the catastrophe, the situation remains unchanged.”[78] Disillusioned by the King’s unkept promise that Agadir would be rebuilt in one year, the survivors voiced their dismay that all workers who did not own land or property (or could not prove it) would not be indemnified and would be left out of the system of aid. Therefore, they demanded in their motion that the King recognize their association, as workers and survivors of the Agadir earthquake. Through their collective voice, and with the support of the UMT and other leftist organizations, the survivors who met that day in Aït-Melloul hoped that they would finally be heard and seen by the state and set free from their ghostly existence. According to an editorial in *Al-Taḥrīr,* however, Mohammed V refused to meet these survivors who demanded an audience with him, which would mark the fourth time that he dismissed such a request.[79]

[78] “Agadir: les sinistrés s’organisent,” *L’avant-garde,* December 31, 1960, 5.
[79] “Drāmā Agadir,” *Al-Taḥrīr*, December 27, 1960, 1.

Chapter Two

Cold War Architecture and Urbanism in Agadir: Modernism, Decolonization, and Catastrophe

"If fate decreed the destruction of Agadir, its reconstruction depends on our will and our faith," declared King Mohammed V in a speech to the nation broadcast over the radio on March 3 while visiting Agadir after the February 29, 1960 earthquake.[1] This excerpt from his speech has come to be immortalized, stamped on to the concrete panels that make up the earthquake memorial monument in the city center of the rebuilt Agadir (fig. 2.1). With little hesitation, Mohammed V decided that the best plan of action would be rebuilt Agadir rather than build a new city somewhere else. Due to the survival of some of the major infrastructure in Agadir, including the commercial port, roadways, and power and water-processing stations, and the broader geographic significance of Agadir as the major city in the south of Morocco, this decision may not have been all that difficult to make.

Mohammed V put his eldest son, the Crown Prince Moulay Hassan, in charge of the earthquake response operation and future reconstruction. In an article published on March 2 in the French newspaper *Le figaro*, Moulay Hassan told a reporter that "it is necessary to raze the city in order to construct another one."[2] He expected to rebuild Agadir within a year, partially through the help of foreign media shedding light on and broadcasting this calamitous event to the rest of the world, which he felt would ensure international solidarity with Morocco. Indeed, aid started pouring in from all over the world, with the largest sums coming from countries vying to purchase influence over Morocco during the Cold War such as the US, France, the Soviet Union, and China. This international aid was complemented by a national solidarity tax that was imposed on sugar,[3] demonstrating the national and international valences to the earthquake response. All of these funds were supposed to be directed into a special government account to pay for the reconstruction and indemnities. However, a bombshell report published in the socialist UNFP (National Union of Popular Forces) publication *Al-Taḥrīr* ("the liberation") on July 26 and 27, 1961 exposed the enormous corruption surrounding these funds. They were distributed to governmental officials with no oversight to be spent and used however they saw fit. In one instance, for example, the article mentions that the government bought a Jaguar for a Monsieur Balafrej for six million francs and a Lancia Sport for Monsieur Guédira for three million (the latter of which reportedly drives a Citroën 2CV for the appearance of austerity). Moroccan embassies apparently blocked inquires into how much foreign aid they have received, such as Cairo which gave forty million francs. Oum Keltoum performed in Morocco for a price of twenty-five million francs, in cash; a Moroccan minister requested that they per her from the money donated to the Moroccan embassy in Cairo for the victims of the earthquake.[4]

During the larger clearing campaign that did not fully get going until August 1960 and lasted nearly a year, the French government sought to be heavily involved. Conscious of the optics that this would produce—the French cleaning up its former colony's mess—the Moroccan

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[1] "*la'inna ḥakamat al-aqdār bi-kharāb Agadir, fa'inna binā'ihā mawkūl ilā irādatinā wa īmānanā"*
[2] "Agadir détruit aux trois quarts par un terrible tremblement de terre nocturne," *Le figaro*, March 2, 1960.
[3] Dahir no. 1-60-123 (July 26, 1960). Published in *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc* no. 2492 (July 29, 1960).
[4] Clipping from *Al-Taḥrīr*, July 28, 1961. Consulat Général 15PO/1/365, Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes.

government decided to undertake this process mostly on its own. Even the presence of French *gendarme* was not permitted shortly thereafter, further angering some French nationalists and imperialists.[5]

In a scathing article by the conservative French nationalist André Figueras titled "*Le crime d'Agadir*," he claims that Morocco would be nowhere without the French and other foreign support. He opens his text by asserting that it was Lyautey who created Agadir and sarcastically wonders if the Moroccans would need him again if they are to rebuild Agadir in a year's time. In addition, according to Figueras, had the French shut down their naval base in Agadir like the Moroccans had wanted, there would have been no survivors of the earthquake. As shown in the previous chapter, however, Lahsen Roussafi who survived the earthquake told me that the French soldiers did not go to his working-class neighborhood of Ihchach, one of the neighborhoods with the highest concentrations of deaths and injuries. Figueras, who was close friends with one of the founders of the *Front national* right-wing party Jean-Marie le Pen (he was godfather to Figueras's daughter), was also critical of the "little prince" [*petit prince*] Moulay Hassan. He questioned why such an important job was assigned to Moulay Hassan who did not have any experience managing rescue operations. Figueras did not like that Moulay Hassan halted the rescue operations within three to four days of the earthquake, even though people were found alive nine days or more after. (See the previous chapter for more information about the rescue operations.) He was angry that more lives could have been saved, especially French lives, and thus called for the removal of Moulay Hassan from the operations. Figueras argued that the French or other "serious" people like them should have been put in charge.[6] Another article published in the Belgian magazine *Europe-Magazine* claimed that Moulay Hassan razed the city to remove all traces of a an "abhorred colonialism" [*colonialisme abhorré*] with napalm, TNT, explosives, poison, and DDT, an extreme measure that Moulay Hassan claimed to have taken for hygienic reasons to supposedly prevent the outbreak of disease.[7] (This razing is discussed in the previous chapter). None of these European critics of the Moroccan response to the earthquake, however, mention anything about the situation of the survivors, focusing instead on racial and orientalist criticisms.

The year's-long clearing process, whereby the government removed all of the earthquake wreckage before construction could take place, had harmful impacts for many of the survivors. People who had been living in the surviving homes that were to be cleared could assist in the process, but they had not been allowed to return their homes. If people showed up when their homes were slated to be demolished and cleared, they could participate; however, they were not told in advance what day specific home would be cleared on. The survivors, thus, had to be there each day to find out what buildings would be cleared that day. And, as expected after learning about all of the bureaucratic hurdles that were set up in the previous chapter, they had to receive authorization by presenting a copious amount of paperwork attesting to the fact that they used to live there. A special issue of the UMT (Marocain Workers' Union) weekly publication ran a special report on January 14, 1961 called "*Agadir, un double séisme*" ("Agadir, a Double Earthquake"), referring to the clearing process as the second earthquake.[8] Interviews with

[5] Letter from the French Consul in Agadir Eugène Jestin to the French Ambassador in Rabat (October 11, 1960). Centre d'archives diplomatiques de Nantes, Consulat Général 15PO/1/365.
[6] André Figueras, "Le crime d'Agadir." I found this text reproduced at Centre d'archives diplomatiques de Nantes Consulat Général 15PO/1/367.
[7] "Scandale à Agadir," *Europe-Magazine*, March 30, 1960. Extract found at Centre d'archives diplomatiques de Nantes Agadir Consulat, 15PO/1/box 378, folder "Divers notes."
[8] *L'avant-garde*, January 14, 1961.

survivors living in camps mention that even buildings that survived intact were destroyed and cleared by the government (instead of by the original earthquake). Those that thought they were lucky that their homes had survived were distraught to learn that their homes were then bulldozed to make way for the new city instead of being incorporated into the designs.[9] Daniel Williford has written in depth on the politics of managing seismic risk of Agadir. With regard to the clearing process, "The extensive demolitions carried out by the HCRA [High Commission for the Reconstruction of Agadir] during the first year of the reconstruction also established a precedent that would intensify the precarity of Agadir's urban poor. What began as the clearing away of post-quake rubble became a policy of systemically removing structures that did not correspond to the city's new masterplan."[10] The politics of reconstruction, developed abstractly at the highest levels of government far removed from the experiences of the survivors and the working-class were applied from top-down with catastrophic consequences during the Agadir reconstruction.

The Agadir earthquake had the dual effect of accelerating Morocco's decolonization and nation-building efforts while also opening it up to foreign neocolonial "aid" in the form of technical expertise (as well as development economics). Spencer Segalla has extensively tracked the complex political and economic maneuvering of the Moroccan, French, American, and Soviet governments with regard to the reconstruction of Agadir at the height of the Cold War and during the Algerian Revolution. The Moroccan government first turned to its former colonizer for immediate help. As Segalla explains:

> Within days of the 1960 disaster, the Moroccan government approached the Republic of France to request assistance. The boundaries of the two states were still porous and blurred, four years after independence. Morocco's Ministry of Public Works and its Service of Urbanism were still dependent, even at the highest levels, on French *coopérants*, thirteen thousand French professionals who worked for the government of Morocco under the terms of a convention signed between the two countries. The presence of these coopérants could serve as a backdoor diplomatic channel.[11]

The convention Segalla is referring to is the French-Moroccan Convention of Cooperation and Technical Assistance [*Convention franco-marocaine de coopération et d'assistance technique*], which was signed in Paris on March 2, 1956 and marked the official independence of Morocco from France. Wanting to avoid another calamitous war like in Algeria, the French opted to negotiate a deal with Morocco to grant it its independence, framing it in a way that ostensibly is beneficial for both countries. On the one hand, Morocco would become a sovereign country and have access to French technical expertise, and on the other hand, the French would retain close political, economic, social, and cultural ties with Morocco and maintain some sphere of influence in North Africa. France wanted Morocco to be dependent on it, thereby perpetuating its (neo)colonial power over Morocco in the guise of "cooperation." Morocco may have been open to this arrangement to avoid a war and to perhaps build up an expert class of its own that it hoped

[9] "Agadir un an après, ou la mine d'or de l'entrepreneur," *L'avant-garde*, January 14, 1961.
[10] Daniel Williford, "Seismic Politics: Risk and Reconstruction after the 1960 Earthquake in Agadir, Morocco," *Technology and Culture* 58, no. 4 (2017): 1008.
[11] Spencer D. Segalla, *Empire and Catastrophe: Decolonization and Environmental Disaster in North Africa and Mediterranean France since 1954* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 130.

would eventually replace the French *coopérants*, even if the Moroccan experts would be French trained and potentially further deepen epistemological coloniality in Morocco.[12]

This chapter takes the Agadir reconstruction, which took place at the height of the Cold War and the Algerian Revolution, as a contested arena of modernism, decolonization, and catastrophe. It argues that the Agadir earthquake played a major role in questions of modernism and decolonial nation-building in Morocco, which in turn ended up perpetuating/reproducing some of the harmful social, political, and economic policies of the colonial period that led to the disastrous outcomes of the earthquake in the first place. Who was the new Agadir actually built for? What were the objectives of the planners? What are the architectural and urban design characteristics of Agadir? What kind of architecture developed in Agadir? What was the impact of the top-down antiseismic buildings codes meant to mitigate risk? This chapter plugs the Agadir reconstruction into a longer history of twentieth architecture and urbanism in Morocco that has tended to draw scholarly focus primarily on the colonial period.[13] Many of the architects and planners of the Moroccan Service of Urbanism (*Service de l'urbanisme*) were members of the Group of Moroccan Modern Architects (GAMMA), the Moroccan chapter of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM), an organization co-founded by Le Corbusier, who also will play a role in the story that unfolds in this chapter. How did the colonial discourse on modernism linger in Morocco after official independence and make its way into the new Agadir. How was the earthquake, an ecological event, an agent and mediator of modernism? How are modernism, catastrophe, and decolonization linked? Can the state's politics of technocratic modernism be delineated from that of the architects and urbanists?

This chapter will begin with analyses of the competing masterplans for Agadir developed by the American planning firm of Harland Bartholomew and Associates as part of American cold War geopolitics and the plan produced by the Pierre Mas and Jean Challet for the Service of Urbanism and the High Commission for the Reconstruction of Agadir (HCRA), the former never having been thoroughly investigated before. This will be followed by some unpacking of the reconstruction process and what ended up being built. The chapter will end with the critical reception of the completed new Agadir in 1967 by turning to two aesthetic objects, a short film by Mohammed Afifi titled *Retour à Agadir* ("*Return to Agadir*") and the literary work *Agadir* by Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine.

Cold War Urbanism and Disaster Diplomacy: Harland Bartholomew and Associates

Immediately after the earthquake, the then Minister of Public Works, Abderrahmane Ben Abdelâli, solicited both the American and French governments for technical expertise in responding to the earthquake, through consultation with geologists and seismologists, engineers, architects, city planners. Le Corbusier was the first foreign urbanist who came to Morocco to work on designing a new Agadir. Segalla has laid out in detail how Le Corbusier was sent by the French government as an early diplomatic gesture to counter growing American involvement in

[12] Many Moroccan anticolonial political figures, intellectuals, artists, and literary figures criticized this phenomenon in journals like *Souffles*, *Lamalif, Al-Thaqāfa al-Jadīda*, and *Āfāq*. See also Laroui Abdallah, *La Crise Des Intellectuels Arabes; Traditionalisme Ou Historicisme?* (Paris: Maspero, 1974); Abdelkebir Khatibi, *Maghreb pluriel* (Paris: Denoël, 1983).

[13] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991 [1988]); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine* (Paris: Hazan, 1998).

the reconstruction effort.[14] Ben Abdelâli specifically requested him by name (at the recommendation of Mourad Ben Embarek) to the French Ambassador in Rabat Alexandre Parodi, with whom he was closely acquainted.[15] By sending Le Corbusier, arguably France's most prominent architect and urban designer of the time and who had designed the new city of Chandigarh in the Punjab region of the newly independent India just a few years prior to great acclaim, this was meant as a gesture of good will to show the Moroccan government that France was truly committed to providing technical assistance and other needs that Morocco may have during the reconstruction effort to maintain their close ties.

Le Corbusier landed in Casablanca on March 25, 1960 (less than one month after the earthquake) and met with Ben Abdelâli, Crown Prince Moulay Hassan, and members of the Ministry of Public Works and the Service of Urbanism in Rabat. He visited Agadir on March 26 before having to return to Paris on March 27. While the visit seemed to have productive, ultimately, Le Corbusier did not participate in the reconstruction effort. To date, we do not have any concrete evidence that explains went wrong. In a letter written by Le Corbusier to the Crown Prince Moulay Hassan dated April 12, the architect enthusiastically states that it was an honor for them to meet in Rabat. "I was able to realize," he write, "how much you take to heart the heavy task that befalls you in the reconstruction of Agadir."[16] Le Corbusier promised to have his editor send Moulay Hassan the first six volumes of his complete works that have been published over the thirty years. On April 28, Patrice Blacque-Belair, chargé de mission at the French Embassy in Rabat, communicating on behalf of Moulay Hassan, wrote back to Le Corbusier that the Crown Prince was "touched by [his] letter" and asked him to pass along his thanks to Le Corbusier for "interesting memories" he has kept from their meeting. The Crown Prince also looks forward to receiving Le Corbusier's books and thanks him again for the gesture of visiting Morocco.[17] A telegram from the architect Yonnel (Ionel) Schein to Le Corbusier dated March 26, 1960 congratulates Le Corbusier on his nomination as the architect of Agadir.[18]

The archival record does not provide any explanation for why Le Corbusier did not remain on the project. There have been conflicting accounts offered by those close to the reconstruction project. As Segalla explains, "According to one account, Le Corbusier chafed at certain requirements set forth by Crown Prince Hassan, who stated 'I do not see Agadir without a mosque, and I do not see a mosque without green tiles.' French Ambassador Parodi noted that Le Corbusier 'constantly expressed, with great frankness, and did not conceal that he could not accept responsibility for the reconstruction of Agadir unless he was given the liberty and the means necessary.'"[19] Did Le Corbusier walk away from the project, or was he was he dismissed by Moulay Hassan? If Le Corbusier had, indeed, "chafed" when Hassan supposedly demanded a mosque with a green tile roof, why would he have written so effusively to the crown prince weeks after his visit? Was he just being diplomatic? Would he not have just gone through the French government for them to handle his resignation if he did not want to stay on? Perhaps Moulay Hassan again was anxious about the optics of having a French architect design the first

[14] Segalla, *Empire and Catastrophe*,
[15] Alexandre Parodi to Affaires Étrangères, March 21, 1960, MAEC Maroc 1956–1968, box 9/10, folder "Reconstruction."
[16] Letter from Le Corbusier to His Highness Prince Moulay Hassan, April 12, 1960. Fondation Le Corbusier, Agadir, J2-18-4.
[17] Letter from Patrice Blacque-Belair on behalf of Crown Prince Moulay Hassan to Le Corbusier, April 28, 1960. Fondation Le Corbusier, J2-18-5.
[18] Telegram from Yonnel (Ionel) Schein to Le Corbusier, March 26, 1960. Fondation Le Corbusier, J2-18-6.
[19] Segalla, *Empire and Catastrohpe*, 132.

new city of the independent Morocco? According to Tom Avermaete, it had become clear that Le Corbusier would not be commissioned due his request for *carte blanche*, but this goes against the archival record laid out above. It seems questionable, also, that an architect sent as part of a diplomatic mission would demand fully freedom to design a city in a foreign country, even one as established as Le Corbusier. At any rate, Le Corbusier did not have any involvement in the reconstruction, apart from the advice he gave a radio interview about "*architecture et urbanisme solidaire*," where architects and urbanists, architecture and urbanism, must work together in careful collaboration so as to achieve solidarity between the two separate practices.[20]

To counter the French power play of sending Le Corbusier, the US State Department sought to make an offer of their own to the Moroccans for technical assistance with urban design. Ben Abdelâli requestd a well-known figure at the caliber of Le Corbusier like Josep Lluis Sert or Louis Kahn to the US Ambassador in Rabat Charlie Yost, but the State Department was unable to deliver them.[21] Instead, State selected the renowned planner Harland Bartholomew, then chairman of the National Capitol Planning Commission in Washington, D.C. As significant of a figure as he and his firm were in the US, they did not have the international reputation of a Le Corbusier (or a Sert or Kahn, for that matter).

St. Louis-based Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) was one of the most prolific and prominent American city planning firms of the twentieth century.[22] Harland Bartholomew himself was one of the first people to be hired as a public-sector city planner in the US, beginning in 1914 in Newark, New Jersey before then becoming the first planner of St. Louis. He founded his own firm in 1919, specializing in masterplans and transportation plans throughout the US Midwest and east coast. The international arm of the firm, largely headed by senior associate partner Jack Wood, had extensive experience working internationally as consultants for foreign governments, often in service of the US government's foreign policy interests. The Bartholomew International Corporation's international portfolio includes: the Karachi masterplan for West Pakistan, a masterplan for the West Pakistan Agricultural University in Lyallpur, a metropolitan transportation study for Melbourne, a Thailand highway project, in addition to consultations in Iraq, Tunisia, Japan, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Turkey, and the Philippines, among many other countries. HBA were directly commissioned by the United States International Cooperation Administration (ICA, later replaced in 1961 by the United States Agency for International, or AID) and sent to Agadir as consultants to the Moroccan government on behalf of the US to generate a masterplan for a new Agadir. Harland Bartholomew signed the first contract with the ICA on April 8, 1960 and arrived in Morocco the following day to meet with Moroccan and American officials as part of the US Operations Mission to Morocco based at the embassy in Rabat. Bartholomew was initially tasked with producing a report

The HBA Agadir masterplan report (written in English and French) is addressed to Abderrahman Ben Abdelali, Minister of Public Works, by Jack Wood and divided into four parts: Agadir before the earthquake; Agadir after the earthquake; the survey work upon which the masterplan is based; the proposals presented in the plan. In the summary section at the beginning of the report, one of the main objectives of the masterplan is to "utilize, insofar as practicable, the existing housing, streets, utilities and other urban facilities. The Plan is devised

[20] "Le Corbusier à propos de la reconstruction d'Agadir" circa March 26, 1960. INA.
[21] Segalla, *Empire and Catastrophe*, 133.
[22] Joseph Heathcott, "'The Whole City Is Our Laboratory': Harland Bartholomew and the Production of Urban Knowledge," *Journal of Planning History* 4, no. 4 (November 2005): 322–55.

to insure homogeneous urban pattern and to provide the utmost economy of construction while at the same time satisfying the aesthetic objectives of civic design."[23] This approach highlights that HBA tried to balance costs and aesthetics in producing their plan. Furthermore, "the plan is designed to create in the City a central focus, correcting the earlier scattered, haphazard development and providing and organized system of roads and streets to move people and goods safely and economically throughout the city." What HBA are flagging here about the pre-earthquake urban fabric was largely intentional; as I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, the original Agadir masterplan developed by colonial urbanist Henri Prost in the 1920s segregated the city along racial lines, resulting in the desired effect of a city that is far from homogenous and cohesive so as to keep populations separate through spatial means. The disastrous legacy of French colonial urbanism in Morocco, including Agadir, was not something HBA were attuned to, even though HBA developed numerous plans that were highly segregatory for cities such as St. Louis.[24] French colonialism in Morocco was not entirely lost on HBA, though. After working with members of the Moroccan Service of Urbanism, Jack Wood noted, "I spent over a month in Morocco on our Agadir assignment. The technical aspects of the job are not difficult, however, the long reign of the French complicates things."[25] Wood was venting some of the frustration he and his HBA colleagues experienced when trying to collaborate with the architects and planners of the Service of Urbanism who were mostly all francophone and French trained and hostile to the Americans whom they perceived as condescending and coming to teach them how to do the job they already know how to do.

The report begins with a rendering of HBA's new Agadir, featuring a commemorative memorial in the shape of a five-pointed star atop a knoll in the middleground and the commercial center and foothills in the background (fig. 2.2). The coastline and beach are in the foreground, and the vantage point that looks out onto the city and memorial is elevated over the ocean just off the shore. The views onto the memorial and the city (looking east) are unobstructed from the beach, and the memorial atop the knoll seems to be visible from all around the city. This area at the time was inhabited by earthquake survivors living in temporary housing. In the third section of the report that features the survey work on in Agadir, there is a sense of urgency to rebuild the city as quickly as possible: "The city should be rebuilt as soon as possible to a size sufficient to house its survivors, and to the scale required for the resumption of its traditional economic activities."[26] HBA prioritized the precarious living conditions of the thousands of survivors who living in tents around the perimeter of Agadir or nearby towns.

They planned for an initial estimated population of twenty thousand and an ultimate population of fifty thousand. Housing, thus, was one of the central concerns of the planners. As HBA explains in this same survey section of the report: "Several types of housing types will be needed in the new Agadir. Some of the European population will not return, but there will be a demand for villa type housing by Moroccan province capital officials… Industry, commerce and government staffs will require housing of a modern type, perhaps in apartments or row houses.

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[23] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, "Agadir Masterplan" (Rabat, 1960), 11.
[24] On HBA's harmful segregationist urban designs, see Mark Benton, "'Saving' the City: Harland Bartholomew and Administrative Evil in St. Louis," *Public Integrity* 20, no. 2 (March 4, 2018): 194–206.
[25] Letter from Jack Wood of HBA to Robert "Dick" F. Brockert of the Technical Cooperation Mission of the American Embassy in New Delhi, India. September 27, 1960. "Foreign Correspondence, 1950-1964," Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.
[26] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, "Agadir Masterplan" (Rabat, 1960), 33.

But the greatest need will be for an adaptation of traditional Moroccan housing."[27] Housing, then, is planned along class lines, as the new Moroccan *cadres*, or professional managerial class (PMC), and the Europeans will be offered modern housing in the form of villas, apartments, and row houses, while the poor and working class Moroccans will be offered some sort of "traditional" housing adapted for the new city. Unlike during the colonial period, modern housing would be designed for Moroccans and not just Europeans in the new Agadir. Yet, the invocation of "traditional" housing is an echo of orientalist racial tropes developed by French colonial administrators and urbanists like Resident-General Lyautay and Henri Prost that propagated and enforced the idea that an essentialized and reductive "traditional" Moroccan way of life had to be protected from and was incompatible with the modernity of the French (the implication being that the Moroccans had to be kept in an old, static, "traditional" time while only the French could enjoy the higher standards of living of modernity so as to maintain their power and self-perceived superiority over those they colonized[28]). This idea of an "adaptation of traditional Moroccan housing" recalls the Hubous neighborhood of Casablanca built during the early years of the protectorate period to house the growing population of Casablancans and provide them with a new "medina," albeit one with rare access to modern infrastructure like running water, electricity, and sanitation as most Moroccans (except for the elites) were denied access to these basic twentieth century living conditions during the colonial period and even in 1960 in Agadir neighborhoods like Ihchach.

The density of housing was also major consideration when it came to developing the masterplan. As the report puts it:

> The gross density, that is, the number of people per hectare, for the traditional type of housing need not exceed that of the industrial quarter neighborhood, with most of the dwellings single story and with a small enclosed, outdoor court for each family. The crowding that occurred in the Talborjt, Yachech and Casbah through curtailing the indoor and outdoor space available to each family need not be duplicated. There are hidden costs, as such as impairment of health and loss of privacy, that make Casbah living undesirable, even though the original construction cost might be attractive. Likewise, it is not necessary at Agadir, where there is ample space for single story housing around the industrial and other employment centers, to build terraces of high-rise apartments as in Casablanca and Rabat. The people of the Sous Valley should not be asked to adjust to such a strange way of living.

HBA may have privileged the population density of the industrial quarter in the southeast of the city as it was largely spared from the earthquake. Compared to the neighborhoods of Talbordjt, Ihchah (or Yachech), and the Kasbah, which were much more densely populated and were nearly entirely obliterated by the earthquake (as I have explained in the previous chapter, this is the "*ville morte*," or dead city), the industrial quarter had a comparatively low population density. Part of the differential in outcomes is certainly due in large part the different densities of the neighborhoods, but it is also true that the three aforementioned neighborhoods were located right

[27] Ibid., 33-34.

[28] Homni Bhabha has written about the anxiety experienced by colonizers when those that they have colonized are afforded the same benefits of modernity and thereby blurring the lines between the colonizer and colonized: Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 121–31.

above the epicenter of the earthquake and the industrial quarter was further away. At the time of the earthquake, the population density estimates (in people per hectare) by neighborhood are as follows: Ihchah 930, Founti 670, Talbordjt 572, Kasbah 380, industrial quarter 224, Anza 187, *ville nouvelle* 24, and administrative zone 10.[29] Even though the *ville nouvelle* inhabited primarly by European settlers was also purportedly very close to the epicenter, due to the extremely low population density of the neighborhood (large area and small population), there were not that many fatalities, despite the collapse of many reinforced concrete buildings in this neighborhood.[30] HBA thus capped the density of the traditional type housing to no more than 140 people per hectare and that of the villa areas to a maximum of 75, with intermediate neighborhoods falling somewhere within that range.

With higher density, costs to build and live are diminished; thus in targeting lower densities, HBA acknowledges that this will be more costly on paper. But, there are also hidden costs with higher density, they argue: overcrowding and "curtailing the indoor and outdoor space available to each family" can have detrimental health effects, as well as inhibit privacy. These are some of the reasons they laid out that "make Casbah living undesirable." In addition, they underscore that density is not needed when there is so much land available, thereby allowing them to plan for "traditional" housing to mostly consist of single-story dwellings "with a small enclosed, outdoor court for each family," unlike in Casablanca and Rabat which are much larger and denser cities and verticality is required due to land scarcity. But it is not just the supposed lack of need to build vertically in Agadir that HBA offers as justification for mainly proposing single-story dwellings for working-class Moroccans as "traditional" housing. They go one step further and declare that "the people of the Sous Valley should not be asked to adjust to such a strange way of living," thereby implying that they are somehow not suited to live in high-rise apartments with terraces because it would be too much of an adjustment for these people to live in such a space. Here we again hear the spectral discourse of orientalist and classist colonial urbanism reemerge.

The question of whether Moroccans could live in modernist housing was still a central question among colonial urbanists in Morocco as late as the 1950s and reached an apogee with the *Carrières centrales* housing project in the Hay Mohammedi neighborhood of Casablanca initiated by then director of the Service of Urbanism Michel Écochard at the end of the official colonial period to house people migrating to Casablanca from rural areas for work. It was for this project that Écochard developed the idea of 8 x 8 meter grid with his GAMMA (Group of Moroccan Modern Architects, the Moroccan chapter of CIAM) colleagues Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Alexis Josic of ATBAT-Afrique for Carrière Centrale as part of larger research on "habitat for the greatest number," which Écochard and Candilis presented at the pivotal CIAM IX in Aix-en-Provense in 1953 that led to the schism of CIAM and the formation of Team 10.[31] While the multi-story housing blocks with balconies at Carrières Centrales

[29] Michèle Péré, "Agadir, ville nouvelle," *Revue de géographie du Maroc*, no. 12 (1967): 51.

[30] Daniel Williford has pointed out that the geologists who studied the Agadir earthquake dismissed rammed-earth construction used in informally developed neighborhoods like Talbordjt and the Kasbah as inherently susceptible to seismic destruction while the reinforced concrete buildings in the *ville nouvelle* needed to be studied on a case-by-case basis to determine the reason for their failure. Williford, "Seismic Politics."

[31] For more on the GAMMA grid and "habitat for the greatest number," see: Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine* (Paris: Hazan, 1998); Monique Eleb, "An Alternative to Functionalist Universalism: Écochard, Candilis, and ATBAT-Afrique," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experiments in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 55–73; Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-*

designed by Candilis-Woods-Josic in the form of vertical honeycombs and hanging gardens of Babylon (Semiramis) certainly depart from Écochard's 8 x 8 single-story courtyard homes there, it is this broader discourse around housing in Morocco that HBA have entered into and even seemingly draw from (Écochard in particular).

In an interview with Elie Azagury, the first Moroccan architect to lead GAMMA after independence beginning in 1959, he offered the following criticism of Écochard's contributions to and approach on Carrières Centrales:

> My relationship with him tumultuous, I respected his intellectual rigor and work ethic, but I had many issues with his conclusions. He was clearly an active instrument of the French colonial power, while I was a leftist youth seeking equal rights between the French and the Moroccans. I had countless debates and discussions with him regarding his evolutionist theories, which posited that Moroccans cannot live in high-rises… As far as I was concerned, high-rise living an economic and social necessity. Écochard's model of single-story courtyard houses for Moroccans, exemplified by his Carrières Centrales, was completely passé. They did not feet Moroccans' needs, nor were they economically sustainable."[32]

Azagury's critique is multilayered. Not only is he evoking the broader debates that have been place within CIAM throughout the 1950s concerning tensions between the universal versus the particular, the global versus the local, the international versus the regional, but through his unique intersectional positionality as a former colonial subject and a Jewish, communist (he was a card-carrying member of the Moroccan Communist Parry, PCM), Moroccan architect, he confronted the specter of colonial urbanism that compounded these debates about modernism in the Maghreb that CIAM was largely steeped in.

In the designs of Azagury's Derb Jdid (now known as Hay Hassani) 1957-1960 large public housing project in Casablanca, the first such project designed by a Moroccan after independence, Azagury rebuffed Écochard's cultural essentialism by making multi-story public housing for poor and working-class Moroccans the point of departure (fig. 2.3). As he recounts:

> I proposed three-story housing blocks for Moroccans—blacks, whites, Muslims, Jews! I was truly committed to design for 'men' and 'women,' period. I believe that once one introduces particularism in his/her architecture, one enters a slippery slope, leading to the reiteration of the colonial racist agenda… You see that despite my keenness for Bakema and the other Team 10 folks, I remain deeply attached to certain key principles of modernism like universalism. My entire career I struggled to find a balance between these two inclinations: designing for the universal man/woman and being sensitive to local particularities.[33]

Woods (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005); Elisa Dainese, "From the Charter of Athens to the 'Habitat': CIAM 9 and the African Grids," *The Journal of Architecture* 24, no. 3 (April 3, 2019): 301–24; Karim Rouissi, "Housing for the Greatest Number: Casablanca's under-Appreciated Public Housing Developments," *The Journal of North African Studies* 26, no. 3 (May 4, 2021): 439–64. On Team 10, see: Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10: 1953-81, in Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005); Annie Pedret, *Team 10: An Archival History* (London: Routledge, 2013); Łukasz Stanek, *Team 10 East: Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Modernism* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2014).

[32] Aziza Chaouni, "Interview with Elie Azagury," *Journal of Architectural Education* 68, no. 2 (2014): 214.

[33] Ibid.

Azagury here is shedding light on the racism and orientalism, as well as classism, that is embedded in some of the regionalism discourse that emerged in the 1950s.[34] For Azagury, what is at stake are the power dynamics of modernism. If up until the Derb Jdid project, the laboratory for modernism that Casablanca has been referred to as was exclusively reserved for European settlers,[35] thereby denying Moroccans the experience of modernist architecture and urbanism because the French colonial administration claimed that they could only live in "traditional" ways of some imagined historical static time, then modernism itself emerged as a site of anti-/decolonial politics.

Much like natural resources, visual and material could be mined and exploited for the economic power and aesthetic pleasure of the European empires. Ming Tiampo has called this phenomenon "cultural mercantilism"[36]—evoking the mercantile system identified by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*—and it explains in large part the acculturation and accumulation of visual culture from all over the world in museums and collections in Europe. As per Tiampo's argument, the Europeans believed it was acceptable for them to extract (cultural) materials from the lands they colonized, but they believed it unacceptable for those parts of the world to adopt anything that the Europeans deemed "modern," for it would mean that those "primitive" peoples would lose their cultural heritage. "Cultural mercantilism," in Tiampo's words, "thus denotes the discourse of modernism that regulates the reception of cultural trade. It characterizes European inspiration from the 'raw materials' of other cultures as *Japonisme*, Primitivism, and Orientalism, and refuses the production of other modernisms by describing them as derivative."[37] So much of the modernisms produced in Europe were the byproducts of encounters with the visual and material culture of the lands colonized by European empires, and thus in that sense could be said to be derivative themselves. Zeynep Çelik has also shown how Le Corbusier, one of the founders of CIAM, drew heavily on the architecture of the Mediterranean world, especially that of Algiers, in developing his modernist architectural aesthetics and theories.[38] And as Gwendolyn Wright and has argued, Morocco was the site of some of the most important modern architectural experimentation in the twentieth century.[39] All of this puts pressure on the "traditional/modern" binary that was utilized as a tool of colonialism and destabilizes genealogies of modernisms that places their origins in Europe. The Maghreb, thus, has played a major role in the history of modern architecture.

As Azagury framed it, if CIAM originally espoused a universalist claim about modern architecture that transcended and particular place or nation or region, then its perceived benefits could no longer be denied to Moroccans if French domination has come to end. To build modern, multi-story housing blocks with balconies for Moroccans—which did not end being such as "strange way of living," as HBA claimed—was for Azagury and others a way to reverse the

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[34] For more on the question of regionalism in architectural historiography, see: Vincent B. Canizaro, ed., *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007). Sigfried Giedion, a co-founder and the general secretare of CIAM, is thought to have coined the term "new regionalism" in 1954 in an article with that title.

[35] Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine* (Paris: Hazan, 1998).

[36] Ming Tiampo, *Gutai: Decentering Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 4.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Zeynep Çelik, "Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism," *Assemblage*, no. 17 (April 1992): 58–77.

[39] Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

violence of colonial urbanism that had devastating cultural, social, and economic effects that were orchestrated through spatial practices. HBA has waded into, perhaps unwittingly, this spectral colonial discourse on urbanism through their invocation of "traditional housing" types for the working-class populations of Agadir.

Let us know proceed to the final and most significant section of the HBA Agadir masterplan report, the masterplan proposal itself (fig. 2.4). True to what they had laid out in the beginning of the report, HBA has clearly made an effort to incorporate some of the surviving infrastructure, buildings, roads, and neighborhoods into their design. "The main lines of the plan," they write, "have been determined by existing natural features, existing major developments of streets, buildings and utilities and by geological factors."[40] The presence of the horseshoe urban form that was part of the 1920s Prost masterplan for the *ville nouvelle* is abundantly visible. (This is discussed in Chapter 1.) Most of the area to the north (the arrow on the far left of fig. 2.3 points south) of this old *ville nouvelle* area, where the old Talbordjt, Founti, Kasbah, and Ihchach neighborhoods that ended becoming the *ville morte*, will be undeveloped as per the guidance of the seismological report produced by Jean-Pierre Rothé who surveyed Agadir as part of a special mission between April 9 and 17, 1960.[41] There is thus a large void in the plan between much of the new Agadir to the south and the neighborhood of Anza to the north of the port; the plan proposes to preserve this area as a memorial garden.[42] Anza used to be its own village on the other side of the foothill upon which the Kasbah is built before it was integrated into Agadir as the latter grew and became the center of Agadir's strong fish (mainly sardines) canning industry; its distance and topographical separation was valued for being able to keep the smells associated with cannery away from the main part of the city. Anza also fared relatively well during the earthquake and did not sustain much damage or loss of life. "The importance of retaining Industrial Quarter," the report mentions, "and providing housing for its workers requires, in effect, the division of the city into two parts. Because of this, special efforts are made to make Anza a self-contained neighborhood with all services and amenities necessary to modern urban life."[43]

The focal point of the new Agadir is the city center (fig. 2.5), just south of the horseshoe old *ville nouvelle* and meant to be easily accessible from all parts of the city, features a commercial center, a garden, an administrative quarter, a tourism area, and "medina." The commercial center make up the largest parts of the city center and is mostly laid out along an east-west axis. The report describes this area as such: "Here will be the main shops ranging from large departmental stores to small specialty shops, cinemas, and commercial offices. The shops will be arranged around the periphery of the center with access to parking areas from the principal streets. Ample space will be allowed for the parking of all vehicles. Shops would face both outward and inward with the core of the area reserved for pedestrians only." From the included renderings of the commercial center (figs. 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, and 2.9), HBA try to portray this area as a place that will be frequented by people from parts of Agadir. There are mean and women wearing various types of dress, from suits and pants to jellabas and gandouras, walking down the pedestrian-only grand promenade lined with "places of entertainment, cafes and a cinema."[44] This part of the commercial center (fig. 2.6), a "hub of activity during the day while

[40] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, "Agadir Masterplan" (Rabat, 1960), 38.
[41] Jean-Pierre Rothé, "Le séisme d'Agadir et la séismicité du Maroc (Rapport de mission 9-17 avril 1960)," 1960.
[42] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, "Agadir Masterplan" (Rabat, 1960), 51.
[43] Ibid., 39.
[44] Ibid., 44.

the shops are open, will retain its vitality into the evening and become the main amusement center and promenade for the people of Agadir."[45] (This design proposal is in stark contrast to the competing Pierre Mas and Jean Chalet Service of Urbanism designs for the city center that actually got built, as having visited Agadir many times, I can attest that the city center lacks at all times of day and night the vibrancy and dynamism that the HBA renderings convey.) While there is plentiful parking around the city center, it is somewhat unusual for a masterplan of this time to ban cars in the main parts of this area, thereby centering pedestrians. Other areas of the commercial center feature open-air pools lush with greenery which are encircled by porticos and storefronts. In another rendering of the memorial (fig. 2.10), we can get a better sense of its proximity and scale to both the beach (on the left) and the commercial center (on the right).

The western end of the commercial center has a different ambiance (figs. 2.7, 2.8, and 2.9). As the report explains, "The west end of the commercial center will be the more sober business area, where gaiety of façade and the noise and bustle of shoppers will give way to calmer atmosphere suitable for offices and commercial firms, and professional men can establish their businesses, and where some municipal buildings can be located. The pedestrian mall will be attractively planted."[46] It could also that this part of the commercial center is more sober due to its proximity to the memorial, which is located right across the street (Old Route 8) from the western end of the commercial center. (fig. 2.10). The eastern end of the commercial center features a large garden, and all the way to the east is where the so-called medina is located. "Adjoining the commercial center on the east," the report proposes, "is a business district of another type—the medina. A secondary street links the commercial center with a large square in the heart of the area. Here would be created a medina in the Moroccan style but with a controlled population density. Shops and artisans' workshops will be built, and the central square will provide space for open air-markets. The medina will have about 15 hectares and a population of about 2,000."[47] We see here again the orientalism of HBA. They do not explain or provide renderings of what they mean by "in the Moroccan style," but presumably, this is some vague interpretation of medieval forms of architecture from the Maghreb region that the French resurrected to develop their colonial idea of "traditional" Moroccan architecture. This HBA medina again also recalls the aforementioned Hubous district of Casablanca, a modern "medina" built by the French for the local population in the 1920s.

To the north of the commercial center is the administrative quarter (fig. 2.11). Like the commercial center, it will also be a pedestrian-only zone. We can see in the far northwestern corner of this quarter from the detailed of masterplan (fig. 2.5) the footprint of the old wedge-shaped City Hall building designed by Marcel Lods in 1951 in collaboration with the engineer Vladimir Bodiansy, both of ATBAT-Afrique; this one of the only buildings to survive the earthquake and after some repair work is now currently the Wilaya of the Souss-Massa region of Morocco (figs. 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, and 2.16). The administrative quarter was to include trees and shrubs, pools, fountains and resting places. To the west along the beach across the Old Route 8 major thoroughfare that HBA has reincorporated into their masterplan is one of the tourism/hotel zones (fig. 2.17). It would include high-rise structures and offer direct access to both the beach and the city center.

[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., 44-46.

Regarding residential areas (fig. 2.18), there were to be eight planned neighborhoods, two of which "would be of a special character."[48] Averaging about 7,500 people and varying in both area and density, each neighborhood was envisioned to be a full-service community. As the report describes it, "Each neighborhood will be a self-contained unit as far as the needs of everyday life are concerned. There will be a neighborhood center in each with 100-150 commercial shops, 10-15 aristans' shops, a mosque, public baths, playground, square and schools. Small open spaces for sitting and resting while shopping, automobile parking areas, and public conveniences will also be provided in these centers."[49] These local centers were meant to complement the main city center commercial center of Agadir. HBA also gave consideration to social and economic aspects of the neighborhoods. "Each neighborhood should have a social balance," they assert, "that is, should contain a variety of housing designed for different social and economic groups. Stratification of socio-economic groups as represented in the Ville Nouvelle is undesirable; the Plan anticipates neighborhoods large enough to permit a blending of housing by sub-neighborhoods, generally increasing in density toward the city center." That HBA were aware and critical of the racial and class segregation that was essential to French colonial urbanism and did not want to replicate that spatial regime speaks to the vision they had for the city and its inhabitants. Yet, they still envisioned different types of housing for different classes. Perhaps they felt that by at least having different classes share neighborhoods that there would overcome the physical/spatial barriers that kept different classes apart and thus represent an improvement over the French colonial model. The two aforementioned neighborhoods of a "special character" are the medina (neighborhood 5, of high density) and an area for resort villas (neighborhood 8, of low density). The report states that these two neighborhoods will not require the same facilities as in the other neighborhoods, though they do not offer any details about the implications. It may be surmised that at least the "medina," in their view, must be treated differently to retain what they believed were "authentic" Moroccan characteristic and thus not need the same standards as the other neighborhoods.

Overall, this masterplan mostly adheres to a functionalist planning model, whereby zoning is applied to separate the different functions of a city. There is hardly any mixed-use development beyond the "medina" and possibly some of the commercial center (though it is not entirely clear if there are any apartments above some of the stores). Green and open spaces are also a major feature of the plan, as "the open spaces are designed to form a continuous system rather than a series of isolated gardens and parks."[50] Looking back again at the masterplan (figs. 2.4 and 2.5), it must also be mentioned that the Old Route 8 major thoroughfare separates the beach and ocean (to the west of the city) from the city apart from the tourism areas which are found on the western side of Old Route 8 on the shore. From some of the renderings, however, it does seem as though the water is visible from the administrative quarter and the commercial center. The sightlines from the city to the ocean are not entirely impeded, and large parts of the shore fall outside of the tourism/hotel areas, making the beach somewhat accessible from the central parts of the city.

This plan was presented to the Moroccan government (in particular, the King, the Crown Prince, the Minister of Public Works, and the Service of Urbanism) as the first proposal in the planning process, setting forth in broad strokes the overall form and design and vision of the city and identifying some of the crucial social and economic needs of its future inhabitants. If the

[48] Ibid., 46.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 51.

proposal were to be accepted, then the second phase of the design process would be far more granular and provide detailed plans of each neighborhood and each part of the city. The first phase identified policies that would be implemented in the plan, and the second phase develops the character of the city, "a character that most reflects the needs and the desires of the people and that, in turn, will for generations to come influence the way of life of the peoples of Agadir."[51] HBA are clearly aware of the long term impacts of planning and claim, at least, that they take this responsibility with the utmost respect for the needs and desires of Gadiris. And beyond the plan, having visited Agadir just a few weeks after the earthquake, they seem to understand some of the stakes of the Agadir reconstruction and view the new Agadir as significant for Morocco's future: "Agadir and its people have suffered a great catastrophe. The opportunity is now at hadn not only to build a new city to meet the needs of the people but also as a memorial to those who perished and as a symbol of the spirit of modern Morocco. It is hoped this Plan will provide a beginning point for a greater Agadir."[52]

HCRA and Service of Urbanism Masterplan

While the Moroccan government officially accepted the HBA masterplan and retained HBA as consultants through December 1960, some members of the Service of Urbanism developed their own plan in the background, and this is the plan that ultimately was selected and implemented. This effort was led mainly by Pierre Mas and Jean Challet, longtime *coopérants* of the Service of Urbanism. Mas joined the Service of Urbanism in 1949 and worked directly with Écochard, eventually becoming a member of GAMMA; Challet joined the Service of Urbanism in 1951 through his acquaintance with Mas. Both Mas and Challet were originally trained as landscape architects, and Mas went on to study urbanism. They both also worked in the Central Survey Bureau (*Bureau central des études*) of the Service of Urbanism and stayed on after independence as *coopérants*, and this is how they were put in charge of developing the Agadir masterplan as the task was assigned to the Central Survey Bureau. The High Commission for the Reconstruction of Agadir (*Haut-commissariat à la reconstruction d'Agadir*, or HCRA) was established by royal decree on July 21, 1960 and was empowered to administer all technical and legal aspects of the Agadir reconstruction, from land expropriation and redistribution,[53] to developing and enforcing building codes, to granting building permits and performing engineering controls on all buildings, among other responsibilities. The Service of Urbanism, which is part of the Ministry of Public Works, took its direction from the HCRA and worked closely with the Waliy (governor) of the Souss-Massa region.[54]

The Agadir masterplan (*plan d'aménagement,* figs. 2.19 and 2.20) produced by Pierre Mas and Jean Challet was published in a special issue of the African architecture and urbanism journal *A+U* in 1966 dedicated to the Agadir reconstruction. The journal was founded by the architect Mourad Ben Embarek who became director of the Service of Urbanism in 1961 after taking over from Abdeslam Faroui who was the first Moroccan director; Ben Embarek oversaw the Agadir reconstruction in dedicated to the Agadir reconstruction. is broken into several zones: city center (A), New Talbordjt (B), tourism and seaside sector (c), residental sector (D), and the

[51] Ibid., 56.
[52] Ibid.
[53] For a thorough analysis of land expropriation and redistribution by the HCRA, see Williford, "Seismic Politics."
[54] Dahir no. 1-60-165 (July 21, 1960), published in *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc* no. 2492 (July 29, 1960). The powers of the HCRA were delineated through Dahir no. 1-61-259 (October 21, 1961), published in *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc* no. 2557 (October 27, 1961).

south industrial quarter (E). The city is tasked with carrying out three esseitnal functions: administrative, commercial and industrial, and tourism.[55] I will be focusing on the city center area here, but I do discuss the tourism and seaside sector in the next chapter. Already, we can see that this is another functional plan, with different parts of the city dedicated to specific activities or functions. Compared to the HBA masterplan, the Mas and Challet plan did not attempt to reuse much of the structures and infrastructure that survived, choosing instead to clear most of the city (with notable exceptions, including the Lods and Bodiansky old City Hall and much of the south industrial quarter) before reconstruction would begin. The old *ville nouvelle* horseshoe street layout is noticeably absent, for example, from this masterplan. A map surveying the level of destruction of structures in Agadir after the earthquake was reproduced in the report by Mas in *A+U* accompanying the masterplan and shows the *ville morte* in red where nearly every structure was destroyed (fig. 2.21). The HCRA decided to rebuild Agadir mostly in the same location, albeit with a minor shift southward to place the boundaries of the city mostly between the Oued Tildi river to the north and the Oued Lahouar to the south.[56] As shown by Daniel Williford, this was done following the technical guidance of the French geologists Robert Ambroggi (who as a French coopérants in the employ of the Moroccan government from 1942-1961) and Jean-Pierre Rothé (consultant) who both studied the earthquake and produced influential reports and recommendations to the HCRA for where it would supposedly be safest to build.[57]

The Mas and Challet masterplan also called for significant landscape modifications so as to drastically flatten the complex topographical layout of Agadir for more efficient and streamlined construction (fig. 2.22). Their expertise as landscape architects is on full display with the grading of the new Agadir, as their design includes a slight incline from the beach going westward up to the city center and the New Talbordjt neighborhood, thereby offering views of the water from those parts of the city that are inland but at a slightly higher elevation due to the grading. However, there is no direct road or pedestrian access to the beach area from the city center. And due to the lack of regulations limiting the height of hotels (so long as they met the aseismic requirements), the hotels ended up blocking many sightlines from the city center to the water. As another part of the earthwork of their masterplan, they also buried the Oued Tanaout river that used to split Agadir into two parts to divert it under the new city using over one million square meters of debris from the clearing process.[58] Henri Prost incorporated some of these geological features in his original colonial masterplan of Agadir to segregate the Moroccan population from the Europeans. This topographical reworking may have also the additional benefit of removing these natural spatial boundaries. The borders of the new city were to mostly fall between the Oued Tildi river to the north and the Oued Lahouar to the south and be mostly level throughout (fig. 2.23).

Like with the HBA Plan, the Mas and Challet plan is anchored by the city center (*centre urbain*, fig. 2.20). The city center is home to the administrative services of the city, as well as some large housing blocs: a market, a town hall, a mosque, a health center, a bus station, two schools, a youth center, and a large public garden. The streets in this neighborhood are

[55] [55] Pierre Mas, "Plan directeur et plans d'aménagement," *A + U: Revue africaine d'architecture et d'urbanisme*, no. 4 (1966): 10.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Williford, "Seismic Politics," 992-998. See Robert Ambroggi, *Séisme d'Agadir (29 février 1960 à 23h41): Rapport géologique* (Rabat: Ministère de l'Économie Nationale, Direction des Mines et de la Géologie, Service Géologique, 1960); Jean-Pierre Rothé, "Le séisme d'Agadir et la séismicité du Maroc (Rapport de mission 9-17 avril 1960)," 1960.
[58] Pierre Mas, "Plan directeur et plans d'aménagement," 10.

orthogonally laid out, adhering to a loose grid pattern. In their description of the different zones of the city, they state that the location of the city center, which is parallel to the shoreline, must tie together the different parts of the city. The city center is tasked with providing the main commercial area of the city, the administrative area anchored by City Hall and the main post office, and a square links to the "traditional commerce" area while also overlooking and offering views of the Kasbah, the city, and the ocean.[59] Regarding the character of the built environment of the city center, Mas explains that that goal of their research is to "obtain a contrast of enclosed volumes and open public spaces," all while responding to the safety needs of the inhabitants of a city struck by an earthquake.[60] He goes on to write that the main square as one that is closed. As Tom Avermaete explains, referring to this key design approach of Mas and Challet:

> On a smaller-scale level, the landscape architects of the Service de l'Urbanisme developed a new conception of public space. From this novel perspective, the public realm was no longer understood as the counter-form of the built spaces in the city but rather as a continuous landscape that was prolonged—in the form of passages, interior streets and gallery spaces—within the various buildings of the city. Taking its point of departure from the specific topographical conditions, the Service de l'Urbanism designed a landscape of large open plazas, platforms and terraces that were continued in covered public galleries, interior plazas and arcades as well as in gardens and parks. The Service de l'Urbanisme maintained that this would introduce a modern public realm in Agadir, fostering new social relations. Both on large- and small-scale levels, the articulation of the landscape would become an essential instrument of urban design, which allowed the Service de l'Urbanisme to combine clear definition with openness to future urban development.[61]

This idea of a public square as closed does not mean physically closed but rather a fixed entity that has presence; rather than a void, it is a site of spatial embodiment that can stand up to or complement the structures around it as part an expanded understanding of landscape that is in conversation with the built environment. Open and closed space, for Mas and Challet, are thus continuous and mutually constitute the landscape design of Agadir. The closed square also heightens the experience of the buildings around it, and the buildings intensify the space of the square.

In the city center, about fifteen percent of the land is privately owned, twelve percent is owned by the state, nineteen percent is dedicated to public services, thirty-one percent is green space, and twenty-three percent is for roads.[62] The amount of land used for roads is surprisingly high, given that earlier in the report Mas declares that "Agadir must first of all be A CITY MADE FOR PEDESTRIANS."[63] It is also important to take away that there more privately-owned property in the city center that is purportedly mainly an administrative area than there is state-owned property. This trend is seen all the zones of the new Agadir, including the residential neighborhoods and even the New Talbordjt, and especially in the tourism zone.

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[59] Ibid., 14.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Tom Avermaete, "Urbanisme Solidaire: Codes and Conventions as Project for a New City," in *Agadir: Building the Modern Afropolis*, ed. Tom Avermaete and Maxime Zaugg (Zurich: Park Books, 2022), 59.
[62] Mas, "Plan directeur et plans d'aménagement," 21.
[63] Mas, "Plan directeur et plans d'aménagement," 13. Emphasis is not my own.

So while Mas and Challet produced this masterplan, the HCRA left it up to individual architects to come up with the designs of individual buildings that would then fill in the blanks of the masterplan, almost as if providing the content for the form that Mas and Challet generated. But the architects were not entirely left to their own designs. Every architect had to conform to a set of strict guidelines implemented by the HCRA based on seismic codes developed for all new construction in Agadir by the Ministry of Public Work and set into law in December 1960.[64] Geologists, seismologists, engineers, architects, and developers from Morocco and all over the world, including the US, France, Japan, and Germany, contributed to the development of these aseismic construction guidelines which became among the most advanced of their time. Seismically active cities without appropriate building codes, in turn, sent representatives to study the new Agadir and base their codes on those implemented in Agadir.[65]

Known as the "Normes Agadir 1960," the document codifies nearly every aspect of construction in great detail, from the architecture to the engineering to aseismic calculations to materials. At the architectural level, buildings are to have simple forms in plan and elevation and low centers of gravity. The norms advise that for buildings with right angles, a gap at the intersection where the two members meet will improve seismic resiliency, as each part has a different vibration period and will allow each part of the building to react differently/independently during seismic activity.[66] Structural separation of a minimum of five centimeters between adjoining buildings or between individual sections of horizontally long buildings has similar seismic benefits. The "Normes Agadir 1960" provides detailed requirements about the material composition of concrete (down to the type of sand), the dimensions of wood panels used for the reinforced concrete molds, the distancing of rebar, and the types of bricks that can used. This had the effect of standardizing the ways in which many of the buildings were designed, built, and ended up looking; it was up to each architect to interpret these rules and come up with their own designs that adhered to them and would be permitted by the HCRA and their regulators in terms of engineering, calculations, designs, and materials.

Some of the first projects the HCRA commissioned beginning in 1962 in the city center were for housing (fig. 2.24). Building (*immeuble*) D, a residential bloc for government bureaucrats moving to Agadir to take up their new posts in the local government offices, was one of the very first HCRA commissions (figs. 2.25, 2.26, 2.27, 2.28, 2.29, and 2.30.). It was assigned to the architect partners Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, marking one of their first ever major commissions as young architects who had both graduated from the École Supérieure d'Architecture in Paris in 1956 and their first project in Agadir. The bloc is very long horizontally and is situated along a Prince Moulay Abdellah Avenue (former Avenue B) that has a slight grade and on the northern end faces the administrative square where the main postal office and City Hall are located. Parts of the façades that are made of masonry to fill in walls are painted in white plaster, the only color and material permissible by the "Normes Agadir 1960." The reinforced concrete is left exposed and raw (fig. 2.29), marked by the wood planks used in the casting process. This creates an aesthetic juxtaposition between the smooth, white walls and the raw, slate-gray textured reinforced-concrete. A prominent feature of this structure are the

[64] Dahir no. 2-60-893 (December 21, 1960), published in the *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc* no. 2516 (January 13, 1961).
[65] Michel Ragon mentions that French city of Grenoble did this. Michel Ragon, "Le Nouvel Agadir," *Jardin Des Arts*, no. 146 (January 1967): 10–17. This is also mentioned in Williford, "Seismic Politics."
[66] "Règlement technique provisoire applicable aux constructions dans la zone sinistrée d'Agadir dit 'Normes Agadir 1960'" (Ministère des Travaux Publics, 1960): 7.

horizontal reinforced-concrete beams that protrude from the façade. This is because large buildings are required to reveal their load-bearing structure. There horizontal beams are all spaced 4.5 meters apart, well within the ten meters allowed by the guidelines. These beams through their spacing allow each floor to rest entirely on them and not touch the floor above or below, thereby creating seismic isolation of each floor. There is also a vertical gap in the structure every five horizontal beams demarcated with double beams (fig. 2.26 and 2.27), another instance of the seismic design required by the building codes. The west façade of the structure facing the street may get ocean-views on the top floor as this bloc runs parallel to the coastline to the west and is oriented west toward the ocean. The transparency of the substantial and heavy structure and materials conveys a sense of solidity, strength, and resiliency, assuring inhabitants that this building is built to withstand any future earthquakes.

While a survey of all the major works constructed in the city center has recently been performed by the team of Tom Avermaete, Maxime Zaugg, and their students at ETH Zurich, I will offer a brief sampling of some of the other notable architectural projects in the city center (fig. 2.31). Building A, commissioned in 1964 and completed in 1966 by Henri Tastemain and Louis Riou, is a mixed-use bloc that anchors the main central square, also known as Hassan II Square (figs. 2.31. 2.32, 2.33, 2.34, 2.35, 2.36, 2.37, 2.38, and 2.39). This is the largest building in the central square and it dominates the square. It is located across the Sidi Mohamemd Avenue from City Hall and the main post office. Building A rests atop a platform that is at street level and has a ramp that channels pedestrians to the main square below as well as a covered walkway in front of the building's storefronts at the platform level. The Oued Tanaout was buried and runs under Building A and the public square. The first two stories are for commercial use, followed by a story for offices, and the remaining two floors are for housing (white collar workers). This is an example of how architects implemented the landscape design language of Mas and Challet by orienting the paths and covered walkways to different parts of the this site that features both the public square the imposing Building A. It also features some of the same required architectural devices that are present in Building D, including the exposed elements and reinforced concrete, the use of white plaster, and the vertical and horizontal gaps (fig. 2.38 and 2.39).

Jean-Francois Zevaco completed several commissions for the HCRA, including the main post office (figs. 2.41, 2.42, and 2.43). Commissioned in 1963 and completed in 1965, this building shares the administrative square with City Hall. Compared to the earlier two projects (Buildings A and D), this post office is strikingly different. The building is nearly entirely walled off, as if clad in reinforced-concrete and creating the effect of the impenetrability of a fortress. There are narrow slits across the façade that allow natural light in, perhaps also evoking the narrow openings of a mailbox where letters are inserted. Above the post office itself on the ground level are two apartments on the floor above to house the highest ranking postal service employees of this branch. The façade of the main entrance facing the public gently slopes outward, allowing the envelope of the structure to be larger than its footprint and producing the sensation that the building is leaning over people walking up to it. This outward slope also conceals the terraces of the apartments above and the lightwells that funnel light into the main hall of the post office below. Zevaco used white plaster sparingly, instead allowing the natural color and texture of the reinforced-concrete to do all of the aesthetic work. And like in the other buildings, the hallmark protruding horizontal beams of Agadir are present.

Next to the post office is City Hall ((*hôtel de ville*/*qaṣr al-baladīyya*), commissioned at the same time as the post office and completed in 1966 (figs. 2.31, 2.44, 2.45, 2.46, 2.47, 2.48,

and 2.49). The project went to Émile-Jean Duhon. Sitting atop an enormous reinforced-concrete plinth, this building is home to the representative/elected government of the Agadir municipality and is one of the most prominent structures of the city center. Featuring a square plan with an open courtyard in the middle, this building is also different from many of the others in the city center due to the treatment and design its façades. This building is characterized by the formally complex reinforced-concrete screen that wraps around most of the structure. Acting as a *brise-soleil* or even a mashrabiya (fig. 2.6), this design has the practical effect of filtering out some of the sun from the curtain walls. The protruding horizontal beams effortlessly carry the significant loads of these concrete screens, making them seem weightless. The formal linearity and geometrical shapes are reminiscent of modernist abstract painting and sculpture, especially recalling movements like neoplasticism/de stijl. But there are also formal affinities with the historical granaries of the southern Maghreb, especially from the Souss-Massa that Agadir is the capital of; in fact, the Amazigh word "Agadir" is a common word meaning "fortress," wherein a communal granary would be located and fortified (figs. 2.50 and 2.51). Duhon may have been trying to connect his architecture to the historical architecture of region, albeit in a way that is not orientalizing or trying to recreate some notion of the "traditional." Instead, the openings along the walls of historical granaries where the grains would be stored can be described as having geometrical, dynamic, and rhythmic characteristics. Duhon may have seen images of or even visited these architectural sites and been drawn to these abstracted formal properties. The protruding beams of these historical agadirs (granaries) are also a fascinating tie in to the "Normes d'Agadir" building codes and the horizontal reinforced-concrete beams that are seen to be protruding from most buildings in Agadir and connect more broadly to histories of architecture of this part of Africa. The courtyard in the middle of City Hall ensures that offices on both sides of the building receive natural light and may represent a nod to the large courtyard homes found in the Maghreb and Andalusia known as a riyad (fig. 2.48).

The question of architectural style was important to the architects who worked on the Agadir reconstruction. As Thiery Nadau writes, "Their roots do not explain their desire to break with the past. The Moroccan architects themselves, Ben Embarek, Faroui, claim to be little influenced by traditional architecture and are even hostile to the medinas in which they were raised. For they wanted to above all to inscribe their country in its time, to demonstrate its capacities for development."[67] This rupture with the (colonial) past, especially by the Moroccans Faraoui, Ben Embarek, and Azagury, as well as Zevaco and de Mazières who were born in Morocco—led to an embrace of the architecture of their time that was oriented toward the future, a future that the incipient Moroccan nation-state was thrust into embarking upon by the earthquake. The architects who worked on the Agadir reconstruction were acolytes of and participants in the high-modernism of Le Corbusier, CIAM, and ATBAT-Afrique and a style that they helped to develop that is loosely referred to as brutalism.[68] Morocco has long been home to modernist architectural experimentation with concrete. Auguste Perret, one of the historical pioneers of modern reinforced-concrete architecture, tested out some of his first designs in Casablanca, after all, gaining mastery of the material there before then deploying what he learned

[67] Thierry Nadau, "La reconstruction d'Agadir," in *Architecture française d'outre-mer*, ed. Maurice Culot and Jean-Marie Thivea (Liège: Mardaga, 1992), 160.

[68] The popularization of this term is often associated with the architectural historian Reyner Banham after the publication of: Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Review* 118, no. 708 (December 1955). The term comes from the French word for raw concrete, "*béton brut,*" (hence *brut*alism) as these architects embraced the aesthetics of exposed, unpainted raw reinforced concrete which became synonymous with their architecture.

in metropolitan France and changing architectural practice in Europe.[69] In some ways, it could thus be argued that modernism is part of the "tradition" of architecture in Morocco. At the time of Agadir's reconstruction, Brasilia, the new capital of Brazil designed by Lúcio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer, Joaquim Cardozo, and Roberto Burle Marx, was being constructed. Chandigarh, the new capital of the former East Punjab region of the newly independent India designed by Le Corbusier, was nearly fully constructed. Both of these countries were once colonized, like Morocco, and their embrace of functionalist urbanism and an architecture of raw reinforced-concrete was just as much a political decision as it was an aesthetic one, just like in Morocco.[70]

But there is one more layer of complexity to the Agadir case, namely the earthquake. While the architects involved in the reconstruction all had individual practices before 1960, it was the earthquake that interpellated them to band together and the "Normes Agadir" that unified their individual practices under a shared collective architectural language and grammar. While the Mas and Challet masterplan, like most masterplans, imposed order, structure, control, and dominance onto the destroyed Agadir, it was a plan that laid out a vision for the new city in a way that still needed to be filled in; it was somewhat of an open plan that still ended up being cohesive due to the aseismic buildings codes newly developed for the reconstruction of Agadir. Furthermore, the Agadir reconstruction was not the project of just Mas and Challet, or just one singular architect, but instead it was a team effort with design responsibilities that have been distributed and left to the discretion of each architect as long as they fulfilled the building code requirements. If brutalism came about in Europe in response to the devastation wrought by the Second World War, as a reflection of the aesthetics of destruction;[71] and in India and Brazil as a future-oriented embrace of the utopic promises of high-modernism; then in Agadir, both of these founts of brutalism come together at the intersection of an ecological event that accelerated decolonization efforts. After working on the Agadir reconstruction, many of the architects took what they learned with them and many of the projects they worked on throughout the rest of the country are in some ways, especially structurally, indebted to Agadir; their architectural voices would be marked by an Agadir accent.

There have been many criticisms of the reconstruction and masterplan, however. Azagury, who was one of the most important architects of the reconstruction and designed the administrative quarter (*cité administrative*), the courthouse, the major hospital (Hassan II Hospital), a health center, and a childcare center, among others, had the following to say in an interview with Aziza Chaouni:

> The earthquake of Agadir was a national tragedy. However, it offered an amazing opportunity for us architects. We had a tabula rasa to imagine a new city, the modern Moroccan city of tomorrow. Sadly, the masterplan was assigned to Pierre Mas, who was trained neither as an architect nor as a planner. He worked from the ministry of urbanism. In a coastal site, he proposed an inland city that turns its back

[69] Wright, *Politics of Design*; Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Elab, *Mythes et figures*.

[70] On brutalism and politics in Brasilia, see José H. Bortoluci, "Brutalism and the People: Architectural Articulations of National Developmentalism in Mid-Twentieth-Century São Paulo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 62, no. 2 (April 2020): 296–326. For Chandigarh, see Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India*, Studies in Modernity and National Identity (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Tom Avermaete has written about Casablanc and Chandigarh comparatively: Tom Avermaete and Maristella Casciato, *Casablanca Chandigarh: A Report on Modernization* (Zürich: Park Books, 2014).

[71] Hal Foster, *Brutal Aesthetics: Dubuffet, Bataille, Jorn, Paolozzi, Oldenburg* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).

> to the ocean. Along the ocean and its beautiful beaches, Mas placed a tourist quarter, severing the city core from the water. On top of that, he discarded the existing topography, and his masterplan proposed a city for a flat site. As a result, we had to remove five to six meters of soil at places to be able to implement his masterplan. It was very upsetting, the masterplan could never be salvaged, to this day, despite attempts to connect the city to the tourist quarter via pedestrian pathways.[72]

Even though Azagury contributed significantly to the reconstruction, he feels as though the masterplan was inherently flawed, and this has led to irrevocably negative consequences for new Agadir, despite its architectural achievements. Looking past Azagury's ad hominem critiques of Mas as not a real architect for Azagury (who must have not considered landscape architects as full architects like himself), the severing of the city from the water is, indeed, a questionable design choice. That seaside benefits of Agadir have been lost on all those but tourists or those who can find a way to the public sections of the beach and corniche is an unfortunate experience I can wholly attest to. While it was the HCRA who required a beach front tourist quarter in their directives to Mas and Challet—marking the Moroccan state's major economic experiments with tourism that first took place in Agadir that could then be replicated across the country as I argue in the next chapter—Mas and Challet did not have to completely detach the shorefront from the rest of the city and its permanent inhabitants. The HBA masterplan seems to have ensured ocean views and easy access to the beach. Mas and Challet's prioritization of tourists over locals with regard to water access reveals some of the social and economic biases that underpins their masterplan.

I will also add to Azagury's criticism that due to the functional urban design of the city center, it does not feel like the lifeblood or social core of the city. Compared to how HBA described and presented their version of the city center as a pedestrian-only zone offering activities for both day and night, the Mas and Challet plan is a complete miss. During the day, the only people who come to this area are those who work in the government offices there, those who live in residential blocs, or those coming to visit government offices or people who live in the residential buildings. At night, what already is an empty feeling city center (devoid of people) is even emptier and quieter. The city center ended up becoming a showcase of architectural grandeur, a monument to brutalist architecture, a spectacle of the reconstruction as the first major achievement of the Moroccan state.

It must be said, additionally, that unlike some of the other aforementioned places where brutalism flourished, the financial costs of building in this typically efficient and economical style of unadorned raw reinforced-concrete was significantly more expensive in Agadir due to the aseismic complexity of the designs and engineering work required to fulfill the strict requirements of the building codes. Williford has noted that while the Moroccan Order of Architects, the Union of Moroccan Entrepreneurs, and construction industry representatives, among other professional and expert groups, participated in the creation of the "Normes Agadir 1960," noticeably absent from the discussions and collaboration that took place were labor unions and earthquake victims.[73] Writing about the HCRA and the building codes, Williford critically posits:

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[72] Aziza Chaouni, "Interview with Elie Azagury," 214.
[73] Williford, "Seismic Politics," 1004.

> These measures had a number of unforeseen consequences. The demand for expert oversight and expensive materials created a prohibitively high cost of living in the city, pushing Agadir's poorest inhabitants to the periphery where building codes were less strictly enforced. In many cases, this placed residents dangerously close to centers of cement production, exposing them to toxic substances and increasing their susceptibility to respiratory diseases. Ahmed Belkadi has suggested that accelerating cement production and an explosion in the number of quarries near the city have also caused severe damage to the local soil and vegetation. Land expropriations and the system of compensation also tended to favor speculators, leaving many of the earthquake's victims permanently displaced and without property. Even for pre-quake property owners, over one-third of those who could assert claims to expropriated land were still waiting to receive financial compensation in 1971. As a result, the city's slums grew dramatically following the official end of reconstruction in 1966 and would house over a quarter of the city's population by 1978.[74]

The top-down "rule of experts"[75] techno-modern approach taken by the Moroccan government by rendering the earthquake an object of seismic risk, was carried out by the HCRA and the Service of Urbanism. As part of a larger project of decolonization and nation-building, the turn toward technocracy was meant to position Morocco as a country just as advanced as its former colonizer and on par with other countries on the world stage that have seismic expertise and architectural and planning prowess. Unfortunately, however, the politics of how to respond to and manage a calamitous event like an earthquake ended up producing further catastrophic effects for the very same people that were most harmed by the earthquake, those whom I have referred to in the previous chapter as the ghosts of Agadir. Though many of them did not return to Agadir, some who did likely ended up living in the "slums" of the new Agadir along with a quarter of the city's population, as Williford tells us. The priorities of the state are clearly shown here: tourists and the spectacle of monumental architecture are more important than earthquake survivors and those moving to Agadir from the villages around it looking for work. In effect, the new Agadir is still a ghost town.

It did not have to be this way, though. By 1967, with construction of the core of the new Agadir completed,[76] fresh light was cast on its architecture and urbanism and reviews started to come in. Michel Ragon, in his review of the city, touts the architectural richness of the city but questions whether it was appropriate for a city like Agadir. He compares Agadir to Brasilia and Chandigarh due to their formal and monumental architectural and urbanistic similarities but points that these cities are of very different scales and play different roles in their respective cities. Despite everything being well designed and executed, and it being admirable that the government sought to provide the survivors of Agadir with a new, modern, beautiful city, he wonders whether people living in the *bidonvilles* which they still call home will abandon their homes and move into the new city under construction? He notes that Brasilia went in a similar direction and had a poor experience with this. As he writes:

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
[76] Michèle Péré, "Agadir, ville nouvelle," *Revue de géographie du Maroc*, no. 12 (1967): 65.

> Agadir had been constructed according to the most advanced architectural norms currently, that is to say that it refers to the Charter of Athens, edited by Le Corbusier in 1943. Just like Brasilia and Chandigarh. But the world has evolved ever so slightly in twenty years, especially since the ideas expressed in the Athens Charter had been formulated by the CIAM from 1925 and to 1938. From monumental architecture and immutable architecture, we have certainly moved on to more versatile [*souple*] ideas, more adapted to a world that is perpetually changing. That is not say, though, that the team of architects and urbanists that constructed Agadir has created an *artwork* [*œuvre*].[77]

Ragon, an architectural critic and historian and co-founder of the experimental International Group of Prospective Architecture (*Groupe international d'architecture prospective*, GIAP, greatly discussed in the next chapter) highlights some of the latest trends taking place in Europe (and in Morocco, as we will see in the next chapter) regarding mobile, adaptable architecture that centers the needs and experiences of its users and space, even as they change. While the masterplan and architecture of Agadir are among the strongest contributions to the field of international high-modernism, Ragon is critical that the Athens Charter and CIAM are *démodé* by the 1960s and should not have been the goal of the Agadir team. The top-down, abstract, functional severeness of the Agadir masterplan, which upholds the values of the Athens Charter, would have been criticized by the architects of Team 10 who criticized these very same ideas at CIAM IX in 1953. Instead, Ragon suggests that it would have been more wise to just provide people with land that is set up with running water, electricity, and sanitation and produce industrially prefabricated modular elements with which each inhabitant could do what she/he likes and construct in her/his own way. The modular elements would be standardized and thus should still be structurally safe. This would allow for the housing of far more people and at a significantly lower cost, which should have been the true priority of the state during the reconstruction process. The question of whom Agadir is really for is explored aesthetically through film and literature from 1967 in the next sections.

Mohamed Afifi and the Return to Agadir

The 1967 black-and-white short film *Retour à Agadir* (*Return to Agadir*), by Moroccan filmmaker Mohamed Afifi, opens with waves crashing against rocks as the backdrop for the credits, written in a playful, linear, capital, sans-serif modernist typeface for the names and a loose cursive typeface for the titles. After the credits roll (just over thirty seconds long), the film cuts to still shots of some of the newly constructed buildings in the new Agadir accompanied by the song "Far Wells, Mill Valley" by the American jazz musician Charles Mingus (from his album *Mingus Dynasty*, which was released in May of 1960). As the modernist architects who designed these buildings—such as Duhon, Zevaco, Faraoui and de Mazières, Tastemain, and Riou—privileged geometric, linear forms and the use of raw, reinforced concrete, the still shots of the architecture (figs. 2.52 and 2.53) can easily be mistaken for modernist abstract de stijl paintings (fig. 2.54).

Following a montage of these still shots, the camera then pans across, from the interior looking outward, of the new City Hall building (fig. 2.44), designed by Duhon, highlighting the iconic interlocking grid on the façade of the building. The film then cuts to a panning shot of the rubble and wreckage in the days or weeks after the earthquake in 1960 (fig. 2.55). This section of

[77] Michel Ragon, "Le Nouvel Agadir," *Jardin Des Arts*, no. 146 (January 1967): 16-17.

the film includes shots of collapsed buildings and piles of rubble (fig. 2.56), damaged interiors (fig. 2.57), military personnel, hordes of displaced people, and the visit of Crown Prince Moulay Hassan to Agadir. Sounds of trucks, horns, and the voices of people have replaced the post-bop jazz of the first section of the film. The cold, austere, controlled, deserted, rational architecture of the first section is juxtaposed by the irrationality of destruction and by the soundscapes of life and a Juliette Gréco record, even amidst so much death and devastation. The second section of the film ends with some shots of what may have been parts of what survived of the Kasbah, together with sounds of young school children reciting a passage of the *Qur'an* (from Sura 109, "The Disbelievers"). This audio then briefly carries into the third and final section of the film, which features more panning shots of the assembly of new, modernist architecture from the first section, including the Lebanon Mosque by Hans-Joachim Lenz. Mingus's music also returns here, and the film ends when the music ends and "*fin*" ("end") appears at 10:45.

Afifi's film is remarkable for the way it captures the architectural aesthetics of the new city. But it is also generative in terms of showcasing what came before the new city, what the new city is built upon, what had to die in order for a new city to be birthed in its wake. The *retour*, or return, to Agadir is a return to the (new) city after it was rebuilt; but it is also a return to that which came before the reconstruction, to revisit the devastation, the ruins, the collapsed buildings, the deserted homes. Afifi is able to look past the new, seismically safe, modernist city and conjure some of the specters that haunt it. By including footage of the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, viewers are confronted by concrete images of the extent of damage caused by the earthquake that the new city violently covered up. Furthermore, the use of Mingus's music in the first and third sections of the film connects the new, modernist city of Agadir to an international circuit of modernism that spanned media like architecture, art, and music alike.

It is likely that Afifi was critical of this transnational modernism that often flowed along the currents of global capital. During the protectorate era, the French had built up the small fishing town of Agadir into an international tourist destination, and tourism was a major focus in the design of the new city. Was the new city built to cater more to tourists than to its own people who were displaced by the earthquake? This could explain, at least in part, why the first and third sections of the film are devoid of people and include the Mingus music, whereas the second/middle section features the noises of everyday life. Will the people we see in this section who lost everything in the earthquake ever be able to "return" to Agadir, to the new Agadir as a revenant of what came before it?

A review of Afifi's film appeared in a 1969 issue of the radical Moroccan literary and cultural journal *Souffles/Anfas*, which was dedicated to questions of decolonization and Third Worldism.[78] Written by filmmaker Mohamed Reggab, the review reads Afifi's film as a critique

[78] *Souffles* was founded by Moroccan poet, novelist, and intellectual Abellatif Laâbi in Rabat in 1966, partly in response to the uprising of March 1965 in Casablanca. Meaning "breaths," literally, or "inspirations," figuratively, in French, the journal served as a space for revolutionary practices of resistance. Some of the Casablanca School artists participated, most notably Mohammed Melehi and Mohamed Chebâa, and the journal featured articles by many of the leading thinkers of the Third Worldist project, such as René Depestre, Amilcar Cabral, and the Black Panthers. Though mostly a francophone publication, the journal featured Arabic translations of some articles before the editorial team launched *Anfās* in 1971, a parallel Arabic-language journal. *Souffles-Anfas* was shut down following the arrest of Laâbi and other contributors (including Chebâa) in 1972. Kenza Sefrioui has written the most thorough study of *Souffles/Anfas* to date, and recently the journal has been the focus of an anthology featuring English translations of key articles from the journal: Kenza Sefrioui, *La revue Souffles, 1966-1973: Espoirs de révolution culturelle au Maroc* (Rabat: Editions du Sirocco, 2013); Olivia C. Harrison and Teresa Villa-Ignacio, eds., *Souffles-Anfas: A Critical Anthology from the Moroccan Journal of Culture and Politics* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016).

of the reconstruction of Agadir.[79] For Reggab, the film sets forth to "seize what is camouflaged behind a reality of pageantry."[80] The "new" Agadir, which tries to erase all memories of what was there before the earthquake, "was created from scratch by real estate investment magnates" and "will remain a lively contradiction, a monumental farce, a concrete trap destined for human exploitation."[81] In effect, this new Agadir is based on speculation, a term that is etymologically linked to "specter" and "spectacle." The spectacle of the new city that investors speculated upon was contingent on the erasing of what came before it and keeping the specters/ghosts of Agadir out of the picture, as was the case before the earthquake. Reggab posits that the first sequence of the film that highlights the austere modernist aesthetics of the newly constructed brutalist buildings reveals their "artificial" ["*factice*"] and "paltry" [*"dérisoire*"] conceptions. Nothing more than a mere illusion of progress, Reggab asks, "Who benefits from this [particular form of] progress?"[82]

According to Reggab, the second part of the film is an answer to this question. For him, it is clear who the reconstruction was *not* for. It *could* have been for the crowd that came out to catch a glimpse of the Crown Prince, the people who ran after his motorcade and cheered and screamed when he passed by despite it being a swelteringly hot summer day. It *could* have been for the women and children in front of the prefecture building where those in charge enjoyed refreshments. "It *could* have been," writes Reggab, "for the men stung with suffering who begged for clemency through their moving ovation. It *could* have been for this tide of humanity cordoned off by the police."[83] This mass of a certain kind of humanity was figuratively engulfed by the earthquake, and it no longer exists; "it is buried beneath the rubble of this chaotic world."[84] Just as these people had been ignored before the earthquake, so too did they remain invisible after the earthquake and the reconstruction. They may have existed before the earthquake, but they conveniently were wiped away like everything else in Agadir so that the reconstruction could place. These are the specters of Agadir that haunted the city before and after the earthquake.

There was no room for this kind of humanity in the new Agadir meant to impress the world, but not the people who once lived there. As the architecture of the new city makes a reappearance in the third and final part of the film, "we return to [*en*] Agadir through the angle of the new concrete and stainless steel mosque symbolizing the survival of the established order, the past dominating the present. Nothing has changed. Yet all was done to create this illusion: deliberately avant-gardiste architecture that was hastily imported. The human of Agadir remains absent in it, denied, reduced to the state of a simple object"[85] Reggab titled his review "*Retour en Agadir*," a play on Afifi's French title "*Retour à Agadir*." The French preposition *à* can be translated as "in" or "to" depending on the context. Afifi used the normative formulation "*à Agadir*" to convey the sense of returning "to" Agadir. Reggab puts pressure on this meaning by using the preposition "*en*," which can also be translated as "in" but can also be translated in numerous other ways depending on the idiomatic usage. Here, Reggab seems to be using it to make the point that the "return" [*"retour*"] is more of a spectacle, a show that takes place in, or "*en*," Agadir. It must be pointed out, however, that the phrasing "*en Agadir*" is intentionally

[79] Mohamed Reggab, "Retour en Agadir de Afifi," *Souffles*, no. 13/14 (1969): 40–41.
[80] Ibid, 40.
[81] Ibid, 40.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid, 41. Emphasis is my own.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

grammatically incorrect, as in French, cities tend to always use the preposition "*à*" (such as *à Paris*, or "in Paris"). Agadir is also not too far phonetically from the French word "arrière," or back/backward, especially when the glottaral 'g' sound is written in Arabic and spelled with the letter 'ghayn' (غ),[86] a sound that is nearly identical to the pronunciation of the letter 'r' in French. The French expression "*retour en arrière*" means "to step backwards," and it would sound quite close to "*retour à Agadir*" when spelled with the letter 'ghayn.' Reggab thus may have seized upon this phonetic wordplay to allude to the reconstruction being a step backwards, not forwards, essentially perpetuating the same systems that were in place before the earthquake albeit behind a veneer of future-oriented, technocratic modernism.

Afifi himself did not have much to say about his film, but he did say that he does not view *Retour à Agadir* as a mere documentary. In his words:

> *Retour à Agadir* is not a documentary, much less a sightseeing film. If I had to "tell it," I would say that it is about a fleeting stroke of memory presented in the form of a statue in several moments. If this seems insufficiently clear, I would add that the stanzas that make up *Retour à Agadir* constitute a closed work.[87]

Using the recognizable and state-approved mode of a documentary, Afifi was able to create a film that both highlights the recent history of Agadir and makes room for avant-garde cinematic experimentation. Unpacking some of this context he provided for the film—the text of which may have been impenetrable to a government bureaucrat—Afifi uses language that situates his film firmly within currents of modernist filmmaking. In particular, his diction resonates with that of constructivism. The use of montage throughout the film, the emphasis on the sculptural forms of the brutalist architecture, the use of jazz music, and the essayistic qualities of the film evoke many tenants of constructivism. Film scholar Peter Limbrick has gone so far as to argue that Afifi's film and others like it are "reminiscent of the tradition begun by Dziga Vertov."[88] As mentioned earlier, the shots of the new buildings in the first section underscore their resemblance to abstract painting and sculpture, something that constructivist artists were deeply interested in. If as Afifi says his film is a "statue," it is rooted in the investigation of abstraction of the constructivists. This interest in abstraction was also shared by Afifi's contemporaries working in the visual arts in Casablanca and Tetouan (where the first school of fine arts in Morocco was created in 1945 in the north of Morocco then controlled by Spain). Farid Belkahia, Mohammed Melehi, Mohamed Chebâa, Saad Ben Cheffaj, Jilali Gharbaoui, Mohamed Hamidi, Ahmed Cherkaoui, Mohammed Bennani, and Mohammed Atallah all participated in the special "plastic arts" double issue of *Souffles* in 1967, the same year Afifi made his Agadir film.

Afifi wanted his film to be just as concrete as the newly erected buildings of Agadir. His film is a "closed work" in the sense of "what you see is what you see," an expression favored by contemporaneous minimalist artists like Frank Stella. The work stands on its own, like a sculpture or a building. In his own laconic and opaque words, Afifi mainly brings up the auteurist and avant-garde aspects of the film. He is careful not to prescribe any singular meaning or interpretation. For while the film may be a closed work that stands on its own, it is up to the

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[86] The word Agadir is a noun of Tamazight origin, meaning enclosure or citadel. The hard glutaral 'g' sound is one that is not found in Arabic. In Morocco, Agadir is typically spelled in Arabic with a modified letter 'kāf' as أگادير to denote the hard 'g' sound. Outside of Morocco, it sometimes spelled with the letter 'ghayn' as اغادير

[87] "Filmographie court métrage,1947–2009." Centre Cinématographique Marocain.

[88] Peter Limbrick, "Vernacular Modernism, Film Culture, and Moroccan Short Film and Documentary," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 56, no. 2 (2015), 393.

beholder to generate meaning from it, from what is both in the film itself and what is purposefully *not* in the film. While this film may have been produced by the CCM to glorify the achievements of the Moroccan state in rebuilding Agadir, the audience is free to see the film otherwise, just as Mohamed Reggab's review of the film argued that it was a critique of the Moroccan state and the Agadir reconstruction.

Afifi was one of the first Moroccans to attend the prestigious *Institut des hautes études cinématographiques* (IDHEC) in Paris, having graduated from there in 1957. Many other notable Moroccan fiilmmakers, such as Ahmed Bouanani, Mohamed Abderrahmane Tazi, Abjelmajid Rechiche, and Mohammed Seqqat, also attended IDHEC shortly thereafter.[89] As was the case with many of the Moroccan visual artists who attended art schools in Europe, the filmmakers also returned to Morocco to begin their careers in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The reasons for this varied on an individual level, but in general, they returned due to two many concerns. The first is that the art world in Europe, especially in Paris, was not particularly welcoming to people from its former colonies, even if there were no linguistic barriers; in the visual arts, at least, the idea of a Moroccan, or otherwise, making "modern art" was often viewed as inauthentic or derivative, essentially a rejection of what was deemed as the authentic/traditional arts of Morocco or elsewhere (themselves European colonial constructs). The European art world, instead, favored artists who they perceived as uncorrupted by the modernism of Europe, such as Moroccan painter Chaïbia Tallal or the Algerian painter Baya Mahieddine, self-taught artists the Europeans called "naïve" as a marker of their purity and raw authenticity of true Moroccan or Algerian expression. This language was also applied to untrained European artists like Henri Rousseau, or even the artists at psychiatric institutions that Jean Dubuffet championed as part of *art brut*, or what has come to be known as "outside art." Much of this discourse, however, fails to acknowledge that that all of these artists were firmly embedded within the modernist art world and were part and parcel of it; these artists became familiar with other modernist artists as they entered into and were accepted within the European art world. The deployment of terms like "outsider" and "naïve" were ultimately used to maintain certain power dynamics that benefited those on the "inside" who could exploit and manipulate those on the "outside" and maintain a hierarchy based on class, race, gender, and ability.[90] This hierarchy did not make much room for the Moroccan artists, for example, who went to elite art schools and viewed themselves as equal to those at the top of the hierarchy. Some of these Moroccan figures likewise often looked down on self-taught Moroccan artists such as Chaïbia, even if it was at times out of jealousy of their acclaim and success that the trained artists did not have.[91]

In addition to these market and social dynamics at play in Paris and other European art hubs during this time, as Morocco's nation-building project entered into an accelerated and intensified stage after the Agadir earthquake, there were many openings in Moroccan institutions for Moroccans that had previously been virtually entirely filled with colonial agents. As such, there was tremendous opportunity in Morocco for gainful employment that could also turn into powerful and influential positions within Moroccan society. These opportunities were also typically linked with calls to action to help build the nascent nation and serve the country when it is most in need during its infancy. Moroccans educated in elite European schools had a particular

[89] Limbrick, 391.
[90] For a thorough critique of the term "outsider art," see Jesse Prinz, "Against Outsider Art," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 48, no. 3 (September 2017): 250–72.
[91] Katarzyna Pieprzak has shed some light on this dynamic among Moroccan artists. See Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

advantage and were often directly recruited to fill key positions in government and other national institutions, as well as in private business and commerce. These two broad factors, namely the difficulties faced in Europe and the supposed need for credentialed Moroccans to fill positions that had been formerly filled by Europeans, motivated a wide range of Moroccans trained in Europe to *return* or move back to Morocco to enter a new phase of their careers. This is not to say that regardless of these two broad conditions, all of the people who migrated to Paris set out to stay there for many years, if not indefinitely. For many Moroccans educated abroad, like with other diasporic figures from formerly colonized places, the intention was always to return "home" after acquiring certain forms of knowledge and experiences that were not yet available to them in Morocco due to colonial policies. Yet for others, such as the painter Jilali Gharbaoui, a career abroad, or away from home, meant successful professional entry into and recognition by the global art world and more opportunities to exhibit work on a larger scale.

During this period, the Centre cinématographique marocain (Moroccan Cinematographic Center, or CCM hereafter) was just about the only employer in the country for anything having to do with filmmaking, and it commissioned Afifi to produce the Agadir film to document and present the achievements of the government's reconstruction efforts. (By 1967, much of the construction had been completed.) Originally a colonial institution established by the French beginning in 1944, the CCM initially produced actuality films with a strong ethnographic approach.[92] By the end of the 1950s, following independence, the CCM had become a tool of the *makhzen*, or the Moroccan state, firmly under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. It produced primarily short films, including documentaries and propagandistic films commissioned by various government agencies related to industries like tourism, rail, and agriculture.[93] Furthermore, according to Limbrick, the CCM also played a major role in the government's traveling film caravan program which sought to provide films of both an educational and an entertainment purpose to regions of Morocco that did not have much access, if any at all, to these kinds of resources; in so doing, the Moroccan state sought to introduce these more remote areas of the country to some of the modernization efforts it had been undertaking as part of its nation-building project.

In 1967, the year Afifi made *Retour à Agadir*, Omar Ghannam was appointed as the new director of the CCM. A staunch defender of the monarchy and a member of the inner circle of the *makhzen*—he made a documentary about Mohammed V's visit to West Asia in 1960, for example—Ghannam kept a tight grip over the activities of the CCM and censored all films that he viewed as having a leftist political bent often perceived to be associated with avant-garde sensibilities. This included the films of Ahmed Bouannani (though he was officially apolitical), whom Ghannam stopped from releasing films and instead relegated him to the disused archives department as an editor at the CCM. Rather than being silenced, however, as Ghannam had intended, Bouanani took great interest in the forgotten footage and films of Morocco produced by the French CCM during the official colonial period. He had the idea to create a film by mining this untapped archive in order to bring to light the devastating impacts of French colonial rule in Morocco that had ostensibly been lost to memory following independence. There was a concerted effort by the state to eliminate traces of colonial history before 1956, though mostly through symbolic means such as the renaming of schools and streets or the introduction of

[92] Gabriel Puaux, "Dahir du 8 janvier 1944 (11 moharrem 1363) créant un centre cinématographique marocain," *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc*, no. 1633 (February 11, 1944), 78. See also Limbrick, "Vernacular Modernism," 390.
[93] Limbrick, 391.

Arabization measures.[94] As political figures like Mehdi Ben Barka and others argued at the time, however, Morocco and other countries continued to be colonized after formal independence, albeit in an indirect manner that he and others refer to as "neocolonialism" that maintains the economic and cultural dominance of the colonial power over its former colonies through an ongoing system of dependency and exploitation.[95]

Several years after Afifi's Agadir film, Bouanani's archival research resulted in his pivotal 1971 short film *Mémoire 14*. The film seeks to trigger memories of Morocco's violent twentieth century that had been suppressed by the Moroccan, French, and Spanish governments, including the short-lived anticolonial uprising in the Spanish controlled Rif Mountains along the Mediterranean by political leader Abd el-Krim; he initially succeeded in defeating the Spanish and establishing the Republic of the Rif from 1921 to 1926 until the Spanish collaborated with the French to regain control of the region through the use of chemical weapons so as to send a warning message to others on the African continent not to follow suit. The number fourteen in the title was a vernacular reference for the twentieth century by using the corresponding fourteenth century on the Islamic Hijri calendar. Bouanani's film originally had a run-time of 108 minutes, but Ghannam found the film too sensational and provocative, demanding that Bouanani cut large parts of the film. This happened several times, until the final version was cut down to twenty-four minutes.[96] This film may have never seen the light of day, though, had Ghannam not been at Hassan II's palace when the first coup d'état occurred, during which he was one of the many who lost their lives. Bouanani's film subverts the colonial archives of the CCM by using the films made by the French to show their own techniques and methods of oppression and exploitation in Morocco. For the French, this material may have been something to be proud of as a form of colonial power and dominance, but in the hands of the colonized, it reveals the paradoxical inhumanity, brutality, and cruelty at the core of the empire that claimed to be performing a civilizing mission.

Against the backdrop of this censorial regime, Afifi's film about the reconstruction of Agadir more or less flies under the radar. The film is avant-gardist in its aesthetics and composition, but the critique that Reggab interpreted in his review in *Souffles* is one that most likely would have gone unnoticed by Ghannam, if it is a critique Afifi intentionally intended to make in the first place. This would be in line with the ostensibly apolitical stance taken by many of Afifi's contemporary visual artists for fear of being targeted by the state during the so-called years of lead, or the majority of Hassan II's reign that was characterized by the silencing of political dissidents and people with leftist political leanings through imprisonment and

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[94] Moha Ennaji, *Multilingualism, Cultural Identity and Education in Morocco* (New York: Springer, 2005).

[95] Mehdi Ben Barka importantly used the term "neocolonial" rather than "postcolonial." He explained that "the preventive flight of the European colonial powers through the system of granting formal independence is precisely the form of defense of imperialism known as neocolonialism. It is a matter of policy that on the one hand concedes political independence and it necessary creates fictitious states whose independence has no chance of becoming real, and on the other proposes a 'cooperation' supposedly aimed at 'prosperity' resting on an extra-African base. There is really nothing new about this phenomenon. In essence, it was already the definition of imperialism. In practice, it was already the policy of the capitalism of the most highly evolved country in the world; but in Africa's relations with the European colonial powers, it is a new tendency by comparison with direct domination and exploitation, and colonization by settlement." Mehdi Ben Barka, *Écrits politiques, 1957-1965* (Paris: Syllepse, 1999), 28. More recently, Susan Slyomovics has shown how the United State government backed the oppressive measures of Hassan II to ensure his control over Morocco, a key ally of the US in the region. See Susan Slyomovics, *The Performance of Human Rights in Morocco* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

[96] Ahmed Bouanani, *The Hospital: A Tale in Black and White*, trans. Lara Vergnaud (New York: New Directions, 2018).

disappearances.[97] Like for the visual artists, the act of making modernist art and film itself was a political act. However, the general target of these politics was not the oppressive Moroccan state; rather, it was a form of cultural and aesthetic decolonization since Moroccans were held back from partaking in the avant-garde during the colonial period. To make abstract art, or modernist film in the case of Afifi or Bouanani, was a decolonial action taken by visual cultural workers in Morocco in order to put them on par with their counterparts in other parts of the world, even if they may not have been welcomed onto this stage by those who had claims to managing this stage. And through modernist art, especially abstract art which was often incomprehensible to government officials who lacked any real knowledge about its possibilities, artists could traffic in subtle messages that may even have a political undertone to them that help to draw our attention to what was missing from major governmental narratives about progress and nation-building.[98] As yet another fragment of the Agadir earthquake produced years after the event itself, *Retour à Agadir* offers a mode of representing the earthquake that puts pressure on the triumphalist discourse of reconstruction propagated by the Moroccan state by making room for the ghosts of Agadir , all the meanwhile attesting to the *longue-durée* figurative aftershocks of the temblor that continued to reverberate throughout the 1960s and beyond

Mohammed Khäir-Eddine's Surrealist Agadir

The poet and novelist Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine further complicates some of these critiques in his book *Agadir*, also published in 1967. Born in an Amazigh village some 180 kilometers south of Agadir in the same Souss-Massa region, Khaïr-Eddine was a member of the avant-garde group of poets, novelists, artists, writers, and intellectuals based in the capital city of Rabat and linked to the journal *Souffles*. Greatly interested in surrealism—particularly the surrealisms of Aimé Césaire and Léopold Senghor for their anticolonial Pan-African solidiarity politics—for its embrace of the irrational, of *dépaysement*, of revolution (both aesthetic and political), Khaïr-Eddine developed a mode of writing he referred to as "guerilla linguistics," through which he could do damage to the French language and free it of its colonial authority and baggage. He would do so by intentionally breaking the rules and conventions of codified language, including grammar, syntax, semantics, and orthography. While the first generation of Parisian surrealists conducted "magical experiments with words," to borrow Walter Benjamin's phrasing,[99] so as to destabilize the hegemonic control over language that the bourgeoisie maintains, surrealists in colonial milieux conducted similar experiments to reclaim a colonial language as their own and explode it from within to express the experience of colonial subjectivity.

We see this style of writing on full display in *Agadir*, Khaïr-Eddine's first book. Part novel, part theatrical work, part poetry, this work defies categorization. Loosely based on Khaïr-Eddine's own experience in Agadir where he was stationed from 1961 to 1963 in the employ of the Moroccan Department of Social Security,[100] *Agadir* is a work, I contend, that attempts to conjure the specters of the earthquake and its long shadow in literary form. It strives to capture

[97] For more on this question of explicit and implicit politics, see Khalil M'Rabet, *Peinture et identité: l'expérience marocaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987).
[98] Ibid.
[99] Walter Benjamin, "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia," in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken, 1986), 184.
[100] Khalid Khalid Lyamlahy, "Toward an Aesthetics of Self-Sovereignty: The Symbolic of Anti-Authoritarian Discourse in Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine's Agadir," *Research in African Literatures* 49, no. 3 (2018): 135.

the irrationality, the madness, the trauma induced by an earthquake in its content, style, and form.

The book is centered on an unnamed main protagonist and his first-person narration of being assigned to work in Agadir as a governmental employee in the aftermath of the earthquake amid the clearing and rebuilding effort ("the administrator of this hell without flames")[101]. Tasked with overseeing the exodus of the population, the protagonist comments that the city had been razed, but he declares, "I clearly sense the underground presence of a cadaver of the city."[102] Like Maxwell, the protagonist describes the odors of the destroyed city: "I also smell the wafting of disturbing odors: the putrescence of dead rats, of decomposing human bodies, the stench of bursting sewers."[103] In addition, the book is full of critiques of the monarchy (e.g. "the king feeds on the blood of the people"[104] and "I proclaim that our king is a thief")[105], of colonialism (e.g. "the westerners taught me how to divide my home")[106], of capitalism (e.g. "Marx did not really change the world. But his lessons are often demanding, it must be recognized. He's a man who dares to live life from day to day. Not a monarch")[107], of science (e.g. "They like artifice and distractions, but they must not be wrong because in so doing they augment their scientific prestige which the ancients used to call discovery, a word that has fallen into disuse"[108]).

At times, the text is written in prose with regular grammar and syntax, but at other times Khaïr-Eddine switches to long verse poetry or, for dialogues, a playscript format. In one section of the book stretching nearly thirty pages, the text is entirely devoid of periods and only includes an occasional question mark or comma; elsewhere, an entire chapter is in italics with chunks of text in all capital letters. Perhaps akin to a sort of linguistic earthquake—a literary counterpart to Elbaz's aforementioned Agadir painting—Khaïr-Eddine's syntactical and grammatical subversions produce a poetics of violence aimed at decolonizing the French language while empowering the reader to construct her/his/their own language structures, as well as a decolonized, liberated subjectivity. The reader here, as Theodor Adorno writes in his essay "Commitment," is to "listen patiently to [the] text in which language rattles the cage of meaning and through its distance from meaning rebels from the outset against a positive assumption of meaning."[109] Though Adorno did not have this particular book in mind, it seems to be an exemplary case of what he describes, as Khaïr-Eddine repeatedly and violently shakes the "cage of meaning" of language, regularly pushing it past its limits, wherein language breaks down and

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[101] Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine, *Agadir* (Seuil, 1967), 63. "*l'Administrateur de cet enfer sans flames*"
[102] Ibid. "je sens nettement la presence souterraine d'un cadavre de ville"
[103] Ibid. "sewers *je sens aussi un vol d'odeurs inquiétantes: exhalaisons de rats crevés, de membres humains en décomposition, relents d'égouts éventrés*"
[104] Ibid., 82. "*le roi se nourrit du sang du peuple*"
[105] Ibid., 108. "*je crie que notre monarque est un voleur* thief"
[106] Ibid., 63. "*les Roumis m'ont appris à diviser ma demeure*". Here, Khaïr-Eddine is referring to some Amazigh conceptions of domestic and architectural space and how it was transformed by European colonialism. For more on this, see: Pierre Bourdieu, "The Kabyle House or the World Reversed," in *Algeria 1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 133–53; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
[107] Ibid., 60. "*Marx n'a pas tellement changé la face du monde. Mais ses leçons sont souvent difficiles, il faut le reconnaître. C'est un homme qui ose vivre la vie au jour le jour. Pas un Monarque*."
[108] Ibid., 19. "Ils aiment les artifices et le divertissement, mais ils ne doivent pas avoir tort puisque, ce faisant, ils augmentent leur prestige de science que les anciens appelaient la découverte, mot tombé en desuetude"
[109] Theodor W. Adorno, "Commitment," in *Notes to Literature vol. 2*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Shierry Nicholsen Weber (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 77.

can be freely reassembled by the reader. This linguistic earthquake resonates with the earthquake that struck Agadir, as the protagonist playing himself in a theatrical section of the book says, "you know, we are liberated by catastrophe."[110] As destructive as a catastrophe is, it also creates an opportunity for change to take place.

The question of time and history is a central problematic in *Agadir*. One passage in particular seems to echo Walter Benjamin's critique of historicism in thesis IX of his essay "*Über den Begriff der Geschichte*" ("On the Concept of History" or "Theses on the Philosophy of History").[111] In a theatrical section of Khaïr-Eddine's *Agadir*, Youssef, the first king of the indigenous Amazigh Almoravid dynasty, says to the protagonist, "The course of History is nothing but ignited gunpowder."[112] This course of history as but some "*poudre enflammée*" ("ignited gunpowder") is strikingly similar to Benjmain's description of the progress of history as nothing but one single catastrophe full of piles of rubble (not unlike the piles of rubble in the aftermath of the earthquake). Further reflecting on Youssef's insight, the protagonist says:

> *À vrai dire, je ne connais pas l'Histoire. Ni la mienne ni celle de mon pays. Peut-être ai-je une histoire. Je ne sais pas. Il est possible que j'en aie une, à moi. Cette ville aussi doit en avoir une. A peu près comme la mienne. Pas tout à fait. Non, pas même comme la mienne. Alors je vous dis que l'histoire n'existe pas. On l'a fabriquée suivant une chronologie plus ou moins juste. On a mis en relief des événements. Et on a nommé ça l'Histoire. On a certainement bien fait les choses. Mais on s'est trompé sur les choses qu'on a ainsi groupées. Elles n'ont rien à voir entre elles*.[113]
>
> (As a matter of fact, I do not know History. Neither mine nor that of my country. Maybe I have a history. I do not know. It is possible that I had one of my own. This city must also have one. Somewhat similar to my own. Not entirely. No, not like that of my own. So I tell you that history does not exist. We fabricated it following a chronology that is more or less correct. We have emphasized events. And we have named this History. We have certainly done this well. But we are mistaken about the things we have thus grouped together. They have nothing to do with themselves.)

Proclaiming that history does not exist, that it is something fabricated from erroneous groupings of things that have nothing to do with one another, the protagonist is resisting colonial/"Enlightenment" notions of time and history. And it is in this liberated time opened up by the earthquake where the protagonist is able to commune with Youssef, with Kahina, the queen of the indigenous Imazighen who rebelled against the Muslim conquest of the Maghreb (representing another, older layer of colonialism), and with his deceased parents and grandparents and other relatives, all of whom are mentioned in this section. Drawing on unofficial, non-institutional, familial and popular sources as a sort of archive invisible to the eyes

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[110] Khaïr-Eddine, *Agadir*, 28. "*vous savez que nous sommes libérés de par la catastrophe*"
[111] Walter Benjamin, *Über den Begriff der Geschichte* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2010); Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 253–64.
[112] Ibid., 71. "*Le trajet de l'Histoire n'est que poudre enflammée*."
[113] Ibid., 86.

of the state, Khaïr-Eddine destabilizes both French/Spanish colonial versions of Moroccan history, as well as the official Moroccan postcolonial writing of national history.

One other section of the book consists of a lengthy verse poem about blood. Full of genealogical significance, blood could be said to create an alternative history. Throughout the poem, Khaïr-Eddine uses the leitmotif of blood to mount a critique of French colonialism in Morocco and the violence (psychological, corporeal, cultural, social, economic, etc.) of being colonized, of being a colonial subject. He draws on literal and figurative understandings of blood, that is to say the iron- and oxygen-rich fluid that courses through our veins and the idea of blood as a genetic or ethnic unifier (e.g. Moroccan "blood" or Arab "blood" or family "blood"). He addresses, for example, the hierarchy of races fabricated by western European colonial regimes when he uses an apostrophe to address his own blood: "my blood, you do not win the lottery."[114] This "lottery of races" as based on blood was a principle proposed by so-called "Enlightenment" philosophers, anthropologists, biologists, and other scientists and cited by imperial powers as justification for colonialism and the enslavement of people they claimed had lost the lottery of races.

Earlier in the poem, Khaïr-Eddine directly addresses French colonizers, writing "I gave you my voice we are even you say and I object."[115] Here, Khaïr-Eddine is referring to the French language, among the many "gifts" the French believed they bestowed upon the people they colonized. But Khaïr-Eddine rebuffs the French colonial regime's claim that by "giving" Moroccans the French language (or in the language of the poem, the French "voice"), they were even; that is to say that the French did not owe the Moroccans anything beyond that because they fulfilled their responsibility as colonizers. His objection to this colonial claim is that, due to the hierarchy of races that the French subscribed to, even if some Moroccans were educated in French and spoke French as their first language, they were still viewed and treated as Moroccans, never able to fully speak with a French voice instead of one that was always in some way other. The ability to speak perfect French and perform Frenchness was not enough to overcome the forever tainted non-French blood of its speakers. This echoes similar claims about the colonial condition and its indelible mark on subjectivity made by Frantz Fanon[116] and later on by postcolonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha."[117]

From the very beginning of the poem, Khaïr-Eddine bombards the reader with striking surrealist imagery: "I evade myself and it is not inadvertently that my blood extradites me I go to the commotions of cities without real names and everywhere I stomp on atomic clouds on all of the telephone wires are perched malicious stars and whirlwinds."[118] These first few lines of the poem are quite dense, disorienting, and beg many questions. How does one evade (*"esquiver*") oneself, for example, and how does blood extradite someone? The image of stomping/trampling atomic clouds is both haunting and droll, and it is an image that most readers will never have come across before because of how frightening, destructive, and unfathomably powerful mushroom clouds are. No less powerful and novel of an image is that of whirlpools and spiteful

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[114] Ibid., 107. "*mon sang tu ne gagnes pas aux loteries*"
[115] Ibid., 105. "*je t'ai donné ma voix nous sommes quittes dis-tu et j'objecte*"
[116] Frantz Fanon, "The Lived Experience of the Black Man," in *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove, 2008), 89-119.
[117] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 121–31.
[118] Ibid., 104. "*je m'esquive et ce n'est pas par inadvertance que le sang m'extrade je vais aux tumultes des villes sans vrai nom et partout je piétine des nuages d'atomes sur toutes les lignes téléphoniques se posent des astres malintentionnés et des trombes*"

stars perched upon telephone lines, perhaps a critique of the infrastructural projects undertaken by the French and their failed promises.

Khaïr-Eddine must have had in mind the recent historical student and labor protests that took place in Casablanca in March of 1965 that were violently suppressed by the Moroccan state when he wrote "blood streets of Casa[blanca] during the student protests."[119] This represents yet another critique of the King and the Moroccan government, while also acknowledging contemporary political events that were on the minds of many Moroccans as these events kicked off a brutal, decades' long period of oppression known as *les années de plombe*, or the "years of lead." It also paints a gruesome picture. Among the numerous images Khaïr-Eddine produces in this long poem on blood, some additional examples include: "blood my earthquake take me by my toe";[120] "my blood I take exile with a ton of turtledoves and ivory and I proclaim that our monarch is a thief, I am preparing for him a plate of lentils and scorpions";[121] "my blood where a bachelor donkey masturbates"[122]; "my Congolese blood."[123] The reference to the Congo represents Khaïr-Eddine's political commitments to Patrice Lumumba and the people of the Congo fighting to free themselves from ruthless Belgian rule, out of Pan-African and Third Worldist solidarity.[124]

Agadir offers insights into Agadir as a ghost town rather than a rebuilt city. Instead of focusing only on the new city so as to look forward, to the future, Khaïr-Eddine and Afifi looked in multiple directions and never lost sight of what may have been buried and cleared away. Their aesthetic works complicate positivist, historicist accounts of the newly rebuilt city and its architecture, which cannot be isolated or neatly demarcated from the trauma, violence, and destruction that made Agadir into a ghost town before and after the temblor.

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[119] Ibid., 103. "*sang rues de Casa pendant l'émeute des étudiants*"
[120] Ibid., 104. "*sang mon séisme me prend par l'orteil*"
[121] Ibid., 108. "*mon sang je m'exile avec des tonnes de tourterelles et d'ivoire et je crie que notre monarque est un voleur, je lui prépare un plat de lentilles et de scorpions*"
[122] Ibid. "*mon sang où se masturbe âne célibataire*"
[123] Ibid., 109. "*mon sang congolais*"
[124] *Souffles* no. 19 (1970) features a bold grammphic poster by Mohamed Chebâa of Patrice Lumumba as both an intellectual and an armed militant, in a manner that is in dialogue with the graphic design work of Emory Douglas for the Black Panther Party. Khaïr-Eddine was a regular contributor to *Souffles* and a key member of the group.

Chapter 3

The Casablanca School in the Aftershock of Agadir

A review of the recently completed Hôtel des Almoravides (fig. 3.1) in Marrakesh appeared in an issue of the Rabat-based radical Third-Worldist literary and cultural journal *Souffles* in 1968. Written by Toni Maraini who was at the time a professor of art history at the École des Beaux-Arts de Casablanca (Casablanca School of Fine Arts) and married to the artist Mohammed Melehi who also taught at the school, the review provided a favorable account of the hotel designed by the architect-partners Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières. While Maraini states that in general, she "finds modern architecture in Morocco to be often alienated due to its individualism and misplaced Corbusianism," when it comes to this hotel, she praises the ways in which the architects were conscientious of the hotel's surroundings and the space that it occupies.[1] Situated inside of the medieval city walls of Marrakech not far from the landmark twelfth century Koutoubia Mosque anchoring the central Jamaa el-Fna Square (fig. 3.2), the hotel's exterior design is at once modernist yet not, in the words of Maraini, "a tourist fortress" alienated from or dominating the fabric of the city. As part of the project, the architects also restored a nineteenth century villa located on the property, thereby integrating the existing built environment of the site into the new project.

Commissioned by the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism, this hotel was part of a broader national endeavor to build up a robust tourism industry virtually from scratch as a way to help grow the overall national economy following the neoliberal economic policies of neocolonial institutions like the World Bank and the UN African Institute for Economic Development and Planning beginning in 1965. While Marrakech, Agadir, and other cities across Morocco saw the construction of numerous hotels during this time, several of the hotels designed by Faraoui and de Mazières like the Almoravids Hotel are not only notable for the ways in which site specificity informs their exterior architectural designs, but also for the ways in which these architects collaborated with prominent artists of the Casablanca École des Beaux-Arts to work on the interiors of their hotels, a group of artists that have come to be known as the Casablanca School.[2] The three main artists Faraoui and de Mazières collaborated with in particular were Mohammed Melehi, Mohamed Chebaa, and Farid Belkahia, and together they worked on numerous projects,

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[1] Toni Maraini, "Action plastique: Marrakech Hôtel des Almoravides," *Souffles*, no. 12 (1968): 49.

[2] This term has been used posthumously to refer to artists affiliated with the Casablanca École des Beaux-Arts, but also more broadly to refer to abstract artists based in Casablanca during the 1960s and 1970s like the terms "New York School" and "Paris School" to refer to artists working in New York and Paris during the 1940s and 1950s. The term, unfortunately, has had the effect of flattening and homogenizing the different individual practices and approaches of each of the artists of this "school." Furthermore, the "Casablanca School" has come to dominate the historiography of modern art in Morocco, overshadowing the important developments and contributions that emerged in Tetouan in the Spanish north of Morocco centered around the school of fine arts in Tetouan, now known as the Institut National des Beaux-Arts, a school that was established by the Spanish in 1945 as the first degree granting fine-arts institution in Morocco; it must be noted here that many of the Casablanca School artists attended the school in Tetouan rather than the school in Casablanca before then furthering their education and training in Europe and then finally returning to Morocco to teach at the Casablanca School. On the Tetouan School artists, see: Khalil M'Rabet, *Peinture et identité: l'expérience marocaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987); Morad Montazami, ed., *Fugitive Volumes: Faouzi Laatiris et l'Institut national des beaux-arts de Tétouan* (Rabat: Kulte, 2016); Bouabid Bouzaid, "Madrasat Tiṭwān Al-Tashkīliyya: Al-Māḍī Wa-l-Ḥāḍr," *Al-Adab*, January 2018; Tina Barouti, "A Critical Moroccan Chronology: The National Institute of Fine Arts in Tetouan Since 1946" (Doctoral Dissertation, Boston, Boston University, 2022).

including hotels, a Medical School in Rabat, and the Central Postal Sorting Facility in Casablanca.

In this chapter, I will be attending to some of the "contradictions and overdeterminations"[3] of these collaborative, multidisciplinary spaces known simply as "*intégrations*" among these artists and architects. Rather than just discussing these integrations as examples of *Gesamtkunstwerken*, or "total works of art," inspired by Bauhaus pedagogies as some of the existing art historiography on the Casablanca School does,[4] I seek instead to read these projects alongside the Agadir earthquake, as figurative aftershocks in the long-durée history of this ecological event. I argue that the 1960 Agadir earthquake played a major role in political, economic, and aesthetic developments in Morocco well into the following decade, and this was carried out through various forms of speculation. I will be focusing on two modes of speculation throughout this chapter: economic/financial speculation *qua* tourism as a strategy for economic growth; and cultural speculation in the form of aesthetic production in search (re)generating culture after independence in 1956. At the intersection of these two speculative endeavors, both in service of nation-building, lie the integrations projects, mainly in the form of hotels. As sites of speculative coalescence, they reveal some of the ways in which the tourism industry, financed by national and international, public and private investment capital with the primary objective to generate profits for investors, inadvertently created openings for cultural-practitioners to explore, or speculate, on how to decolonize culture in Morocco and forge new paradigms of cultural production.

It is thus essential here to keep these contradictory forces in tension rather than viewing them as simply mutually opposed or separate."[5] According to Louis Althusser's structural engagement with the Marxian concept of contradiction, the contradiction is "inseparable from the total structure of the social body in which it is found, inseparable from its formal conditions of existence, even from the instances it governs; it is radically affected by them, determining and determined in one and the same movement by the various *levels* and *instances* of the social formation it animates; it might be called *in principle overdetermined.*"[6] Contradictions are reflective of their historical conjunctures and can shed light on the some of the ways in which social formations are structured in dominance. Contradictions and antagonisms can be said to be "overdetermined," according to Althusser (who draws on Freud) when "a vast accumulation of 'contradictions' come into play in the same court, some of which are radically heterogenous—of different origins, different sense, different *levels* and *points* of application—but which nevertheless 'group themselves' into a ruptural unity, we can no longer talk of the sole, unique

[3] Louis Althusser, "Contradiction and Overdetermination," *For Marx*, trans. Ben Brewster (London: Verso, 2005), 87-128.

[4] This framing has become all the more pervasive recently due to the Bauhaus Imaginista Learning From project, in this case learning from Rabat. This initiative has been funded by the Goethe-Institut, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, and other German cultural programs. Part of this repeated comparison to the Bauahaus may be part of efforts to associate a widely-known and recognizable name with one that is far lesser known, this discrepancy of course carrying with it various power dynamics that are the effects of the Eurocentrism of modern art and architectural historiography. In this case, by linking the Casablanca School with the Bauhaus, there is an attempt to transfer some of the prominence, prestige, and clout of the more canonical name to the lesser one. But in so doing, many of the differences between them become elided and ignored. Keith Bresnahan has unpacked some of the complexities that underpin these seemingly simple analogies: see Keith Bresnahan, "Brutal Analogies: Multiplying Le Corbusiers across Global Architecture," *Word & Image* 39, no. 3 (July 3, 2023): 291–99.

[5] Louis Althusser, "Contradiction and Overdetermination," in *For Marx*, trans. Ben Brewster (1969; London: Verso, 2010), 100.

[6] Ibid., 101.

power of the general 'contradiction.'"[7] The levels that Althusser refers to are that of the social, the political, the economic, and the ideological, and it is by examining the multiplicity of forces, often but not always divergent, at play within these levels that we can better understand a historical conjuncture. Ben Brewster, in the glossary entry for "overdetermination" in his translation of *Reading Capital*, writes that "overdetermination of a contradiction is the reflection in it of its conditions of existence within the complex whole."[8] In this manner, the integrations projects can be said to be overdetermined, reflecting some of the contradictions and antagonisms at play in the complex whole of their historical conjuncture.

What of this complex whole, and why spend time analyzing and contextualizing it? The complex whole in question has been sharply inflected by the 1960 Agadir earthquake and its figurative aftershocks, I posit. Contextualizing some of the political and social dimensions of this period, Brian Edwards writes:

> These years correspond to the least stable period in postcolonial Moroccan history, marked by riots, strikes, political uprisings, and challenges to the political entity itself, met by brutal repression. Student riots in 1965 and rising domestic tensions precipitated the suspension of the Moroccan parliament under the 1962 constitution, and a declaration of state of emergency during which the king authorized himself to take over all executive and legislative functions. Followed by the strengthening of brutal interior minister Mohammed Oufkir, and the kidnapping and disappearance of opposition leader Mehdi Ben Barka, this period has been called '*les années de plomb*' (the years of lead) and spans two failed coups d'état on King Hassan II (1971 and 1972, one of which was orchestrated by General Oufkir himself).[9]

The 1960s and 70s historical conjuncture in Morocco was full of contradictory forces. Along with political turmoil and instability, the nascent Moroccan state (established in 1956) was engaged in processes of decolonization and nation-building following formal independence that were triggered by the Agadir earthquake and tested out as part of the reconstruction effort. All the meanwhile, the Moroccan authorities accepted the neoliberal economic recommendations to implement economic austerity measures and prioritize growing the tourism sector of the economy (by decreasing public spending) advocated for by neocolonial institutions like the World Bank and the United Nations in order to receive the foreign "development aid" and private investments deemed necessary to build the ostensibly newly independent state. Zooming further out across regional, continental, and planetary scales, this historical conjuncture coincides with Third Worldist, Pan-Africanist, Pan-Arab, Afro-Asian, Tricontinental, and other anticolonial transnational solidarity movements opposed to ongoing Euroamerican political and economic imperialism. The ten-year period between 1965-1975 overlaps with the Vietnam War turmoil experienced by the US both domestically and abroad as well as the struggles for civil rights in the US and the Watergate scandal, as well as international students protests (including in Casablanca) that came to a head in Paris in 1968. Lastly, it must not be overlooked that all of this was occurring at the height of the Cold War.

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[7] Louis Althusser, "Contradiction and Overdetermination," in *For Marx*, trans. Ben Brewster (1969; London: Verso, 2010), 100.
[8] Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar, *Reading Capital*, trans. Ben Brewster (1970; London: Verso, 2009), 353.
[9] Brian T. Edwards, *Morocco Bound: Disorienting America's Maghreb, from Casablanca to the Marrakech Express* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 257.

The Casablanca School integrations projects cannot be read apart from this complex whole that it is situated within and also contributing to. More than just a backdrop for the Casablanca School, the complex whole and its many contradictions are the material basis in which the contradiction of decolonizing while concurrently accepting neocolonial development aid and focusing on the tourism industry is being articulated. What does it mean to speculate within this contradictory space? Marina Vishmidt has been at the forefront of examining aesthetic and financial speculation together, arguing that speculation itself is a mode of production.[10] "'Speculation as a mode of production,'" she posits, "thus denotes the conjunction of the characteristic valorization processes of art and of financialized capital as two social forms that are related through the compatibility of their logics."[11] With regard to the study of visual and material culture, I would also like to highlight that speculation is fundamentally about seeing. It derives, after all, from the Latin "specere,' meaning to look, and is linked etymologically to the words such specter, spectrum, spectacle, and prospect. There is also an inherent temporal aspect to speculation, as it is an attempt to see into the future, yet this can only be done by looking to the past and making predictions based on how this past has informed the present when the speculating takes place.

What happens when we think of the aspirations of the state, the tourism industry, and artists/architects as layered, at once overlapping yet also staggered? At stake when it comes to speculation is the question of real possibilities versus possible realities. First, I will bring forward some of the ways in which the effects of the response to the Agadir earthquake directly and indirectly impacted the Casablanca School and the integrations projects, before then delving into two integrations projects as spaces of where competing speculative interests coalesce: the aforementioned Hôtel des Almoravides (Almoravids Hotel) in Marrakesh and one of the two hotels in the Pre-Saharan region in the southeast of Morocco, namely the Hôtel les Gorges de Dadès in the village of Boumalne in an area known as the Valley of the Roses nearby the Dades Gorges. I will then offer a thorough contextualization and analysis of the conceptualization of the integrations as both a national and transnational speculative endeavor.

Aftershocks

While Morocco officially gained its independence from French and Spanish colonial rule in 1956, the process of nation-state formation proceeded at a leisurely pace initially. Take, for example, a governmental document from December 19, 1956 (fig. 3.3). It is an invitation from the Pasha of Agadir, or the local ruler appointed by the King to govern on his behalf sent to the head of the Building Authorization Office of the Municipal Works to visit and attend a reception at the just completed Cinéma Salam movie theater. A label with the words "Empire Chérifien"—a term coined by the French when they colonized what is now known as Morocco beginning in the early twentieth century—has been attached to the top left of the document. The Sharifian Empire refers to the Sharifian dynasties descended from the Prophet Mohammed that ruled the only parts of northwest Africa that the Ottomans did not control beginning with the Saadi dynasty in the sixteenth century and continuing through to the current Alaouite dynasty. Looking closely at the verso of the document (fig. 3.4), we can see that the words "Protectorat de la République française au Maroc" ("Protectorate of the French Republic in Morocco") was printed on the front of this sheet of paper and is now covered up by the sticker-label. More than half a

[10] Marina Vishmidt, *Speculation as a Mode of Production: Forms of Value Subjectivity in Art and Capital* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). See also Marina Vishmidt, ed., *Speculation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2022).
[11] Vishmidt, *Speculation as a Mode of Production*, 3.

year after Morocco ostensibly gained its independence, some government officials were still using French colonial letterhead and thought it sufficient to just tack on a new label with the interim name for the new country. Later in 1957, Mohammed V who had been deposed and exiled to Madagascar during the final years of the French Protectorate declared himself the first King of Morocco (previously he held the title of Sultan), and with that, the Kingdom of Morocco was established. "Empire Chérifien" was still being using as late as July of 1957 (fig. 3.5), but by 1959, "Royaume du Maroc" ("Kingdom of Morocco") appears on government documents (fig. 3.6).[12]

I offer these discrete letterhead adjustments as but a few examples of the bureaucracy and administration of decolonization. If the first four years of this process proceeded at a glacial clip without any sense of urgency, the earthquake marked a turning point in this story. Representing a veritable lightning rod, the earthquake greatly accelerated nation-building efforts by enlarging the scope of government and strengthening its power, as historian Daniel Williford has shown through his analysis of the politics and management of seismic risk in Agadir.[13] In effect, the Moroccan government seized the earthquake and the reconstruction as an opportunity to prove itself on the world stage, to show its former colonizers what it is capable of doing on its own, in its own way. Thus, Agadir acted as a sort of laboratory, a space in which the nascent Moroccan state could experiment with different ideas and test out solutions before then applying those lessons across the rest of the country, especially when it comes to architecture and planning, as seen with the building codes proposed and adopted for the reconstruction, property laws, and indemnities outlined in the previous two chapters. So while the immediate physical effects of the earthquake may have been contained to the Agadir region, what happened in Agadir did not just stay in Agadir.

One of the major debates that emerged during the reconstruction of Agadir had to do with zoning. As part of the master plan proposed by the urban designer Pierre Mas and landscape architect Jean Challet and adopted by the High Commission for the Reconstruction of Agadir (HCRA) at the end of 1961—nearly two years after Agadir was mostly leveled by the February 29, 1960 earthquake— a significant portion of the new Agadir would be consecrated to tourism and leisure activities (fig. 3.7). As we can see in this master plan reproduced in a special issue dedicated to Agadir in the modernist African architecture and urbanism journal *A + U*,[14] much of the coastline and beachfront is in Zone C, the seashore and tourism sector. Some of the features of this sector include: beach access, the royal palace, the hotel zone, sports clubs, and an entertainment center. In this very same issue of this *A + U* issue on Agadir published in 1966, architect Mourad Ben Embarek, the journal's founder and editor-in-chief and the head of the Moroccan Service of Urbanism at the time, wrote a short article titled "Tourism and Urbanism."[15] In this text, Ben Embarek touted the great potentials of Agadir for tourism development and for tourism more broadly to be a major economic engine for the entire country; if it is any indication of the growing significance of tourism in Morocco during these years, *A +*

[12] The Cinéma Salam that all these documents refer to was one of the only structures to survive the earthquake in 1960; it was the subject of a recent documentary film called *Salam Godzilla* by filmmaker Gilles Aubry about the screening of *Godzilla* the night of the earthquake and the dinosaur fossils found along the coast of Agadir.
[13] Daniel Williford, "Seismic Politics: Risk and Reconstruction after the 1960 Earthquake in Agadir, Morocco," *Technology and Culture* 58, no. 4 (2017): 982–1016.
[14] Pierre Mas, "Plan directeur et plans d'aménagement," *A + U: Revue africaine d'architecture et d'urbanisme*, no. 4 (1966): 6–17.
[15] Mourad Ben Embarek, "Tourism et urbanisme," *A + U: Revue africaine d'architecture et d'urbanisme*, no. 4 (1966): 64–65.

U devoted an entire issue (number six) to the question of tourism as it relates to architecture and urbanism the following year.[16]

While tourism was not new to Agadir or other parts of Morocco at this point, as beginning in the 1950s, European investors built several hotels in Agadir and the French began to envision Agadir to be a key tourist destination for Europeans during the winter months, the idea of centering tourism as a key national industry for economic growth only began to emerge after the earthquake.[17] In effect, I posit, Agadir became a test case for an incipient tourism industry in Morocco. Looking at National multiyear economic plans and yearly fiscal budgets, it is clear that tourism did not play a major role in economic development before the earthquake. The presentation by the Minister of National Economy of the *Plan quinquinal*, or five year plan, for 1960-64, makes only one mention of tourism, appearing as one of the sectors for national investment; the nine billion dirhams allocated for this sector is by far the smallest amount of any of the sectors mentioned, and tourism does not appear in the body of the presentation.[18] In a study published in 1967 by the United Nations African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, based in Dakkar, titled "From 'Target Plans' to 'Project Plans': The Example of Morocco," the lead author highlights the main strategy of the 1960-64 five year plan: "to raise production as quickly as possible, particularly material production (of agricultural and industrial goods); and in order to attain this, to remodel the 1960 institutions which were ill-suited to development purposes. To be more explicit, 'agriculture, heavy industry and manufacturing may be considered the key sectors of the economy.'"[19]

While tourism is virtually ignored in the five year plan, it appears prominently, however, in the subsequent triennial plan for 1965-1967, hot on the heels of the completion of the construction of Agadir's new City Hall. All of a sudden, tourism has become one of the three major areas to be prioritized in the new national economic plan, alongside agriculture and professionalization of the workforce. This is all the more striking given that this three-year plan for 1965-67 was prepared within the span of a few months while the five-year plan for 1960-64 took several years of work. King Hassan II starts to mention tourism in his speech delivering the new triennal plan on December 21, 1964 within the first few paragraphs. It must be noted here that before Hassan II acceded the throne nearly a year after the earthquake, his father King Mohammed V put him in charge of the reconstruction of Agadir, so Hassan II would have been deeply involved in the proposals for tourism to play an important role in the new city to help drive growth there on a local level.

Furthermore, the Moroccan government consulted with a special mission from the World Bank in early spring of 1964 that studied the national economy and made recommendations for its future. This World Bank report emphatically promoted tourism as part of their recommendations. "The mission reports that there are great possibilities for the development of the international tourist trade in Morocco," writes the lead author of the report titled *Developing Morocco's Economy*. "The market is growing throughout the Mediterranean area," he writes, "and the mission believes that Morocco can readily benefit from this trend if it makes the right moves… Because it can yield early returns tourism ought to be given a very high priority…

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[16] *A + U: Revue africaine d'architecture et d'urbanisme*, no. 6 (1967).

[17] The French had built high-end luxury hotels in Morocco as early as the 1920s. Take, for example, the iconic Mamounia Hotel in Marrakech, designed by Henri Prost and completed in 1929.

[18] Albert Assouline, "Présentation du plan quenquennal, 1960-64," *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc*, 25.

[19] R. Oliver, *From 'Target Plans' to 'Project Plans': The Example of Morocco*, 74. See also: Habib El Malki, *Trente ans d'économie marocaine, 1960-1990* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989).

Much of the drive for tourists should be financed by private investors, and special interest to Moroccan investors are suggested. Collaboration with private foreign investors should be supported. The mission recommends direct government investment in tourist accommodations only where private investment is not forthcoming." With regard to public investment expenditures, the mission recommended increasing the proportion devoted to commodity-producing sectors and tourism from 44% to 53% of the total budget. At the same time, the missions suggested slashing expenditures on public services from 19% to just 4% of the budget.[20] This same report refers to the necessity of these cuts simply as the "sacrifices of the Moroccan people" necessary to fix the budget problems identified by the World Bank special mission to Morocco.[21] These sorts of recommendations are all too common across Africa and many others part of the world. Neocolonial institutions like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other major so-called non-governmental organizations that make up the "development" industry have worked to strength the power and hegemony of Euroamerican empires well after the end of official colonialism through the strings that are almost always attached to "development" funds given to the former colonies.[22] The austerity measures that the World Bank mission recommended in Morocco (among many other places) end up having disastrous consequences on working-class populations who end up having to be reliant on the whims of foreign investors. The state-level prioritization of tourism would be continued in the *Plan quinquennial* of 1968-72.

École des Beaux-Arts de Casablanca

While the Moroccan government was engaged with this sort of economic speculation through tourism, a parallel track of speculation took place in the realm of cultural production. In 1962, Farid Belkahia was recruited to be the new Director of the École des Beaux-Arts de Casablanca by Mahjoub Ben Seddik, the founder and leader of the Moroccan Workers' Union (*Union marocaine du travail*, or UMT).[23] He had been studying at the Theater Academy in Prague at the time, after training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris from 1954-59. According to Belkahia, he chose Prague because he wanted to experience living in a communist system, in addition to his interests in moving beyond a studio-based practice (hence the Theater Academy). Belkahia produced several works that critiqued colonial violence and imperial power while in Prague just before taking the helm of the Casablanca School of Fine Arts. For example, *Cuba Si* (*Yes Cuba*) is a work that Belkahia made in response to the contemporaneous "Bay of Pigs" invasion by the US, in which it attempted to invade Cuba in order to overthrow Fidel Castro and put an end to the Cuban Revolution (fig. 3.8). It depicts a distorted, geometric, protean human figure with a square torso, a disproportionately large circular head, and long, curvilinear arms clenched together fist-in-fist above and to the left of the figure's head. The figure's wide open circular mouth, which echoes the round head, eyes and pupils, as well as the badge worn on the chest seems to be proudly exclaiming *¡Si!* after the failed American intervention.

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[20] H. David Davis, *Developing Morocco's Economy*, 20.
[21] Ibid, 16.
[22] See for example: Corrie Decker and Elisabeth McMahon, *The Idea of Development in Africa: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 2020); Mohammed Said Saadi, "Morocco and the International Monetary Fund: Elusive Development," in *The Impact and Influence of International Financial Institutions on the Middle East & North Africa*, ed. Tarek Radwan (Tunis: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2020), 42–60.
[23] Farid Belkahia interviewed by Kenza Sefrioui in Marrakech on December 9, 2004. Published in Kenza Sefrioui, *La revue Souffles, 1966-1973: Espoirs de révolution culturelle au Maroc* (Casablanca: Sirocco, 2013), 339.

Another example is from the *Sévices* (*Tortures*) series that draws attention to the state-sponsored torture of Algerians by the French military during the then ongoing Algerian War (fig. 3.9). It depicts, presumably, a nude Algerian suspended upside down by the foot. Belkahia took interest in these colonial atrocities in Algeria after meeting Henri Alleg in Prague, the author of *La question,* an autobiographical essay that vividly describes his own experiences and those of others of being tortured in Algeria during the war.[24] But Belkahia was certainly no stranger to French colonial violence, as he directly experienced the lethal suppression of the protests that took place in Casablanca following the assassination of Tunisian labor unionist and revolutionary leader Farhat Hached by the Main Rouge. In this painting on paper, the figure's eyes appear to be blacked out. It is difficult to clearly discern whether the figure is merely placing her/his thumb over her/his mouth, or if she/he is possibly trying to eat it due to starvation. The poet and critic Rajae Benchemsi, Belkahia's widow, has written about the loss of humanity that Belkahia is able to capture with this *Sévices* series. "The bodies deform themselves," she writes, "in order to embrace the line of anguish and dread. Above and beyond death, it is the impossibility of dying that is expressed by these personages who seem to be doomed to wait without purpose and without beginning, as if the concept of death, deprived of the dimension of becoming, dispossess them of their humanity."[25]

These two works come relatively early in Belkahia's oeuvre and may even seem to be surprising for an artist primarily known for his later abstract copper reliefs and shaped hide paintings. While the subject matter of these two works is disparate, one celebrating the successful fending off of American empire by the Cubans and the other lamenting the horrors of French colonial savagery, there is much that ties these works together, including not only technique and medium, but also their politics. As critic and curator Michel Gauthier puts it in the catalogue for the recent major Belkahia retrospective at the Centre Pompidou, "The Prague paintings establish a close tie between the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the French loss of Algeria on the one hand and the jettisoning of the Western pictorial tradition through the elaboration of a new poetics of the other."[26] With these two works, we can begin to see the incipient seeds that would germinate into what I have called Belkahia's "decolonial aesthetics" that would continue to develop across media and forms over the next fifty years of his career. These two works bespeak a political coming-out for Belkahia—as they are among his first overtly political works—and they mark a shift away from a top-down, academic, Paris-centered, modernism in favor of a bottom-up, decentered, Third Worldist modernism, a sort of "minor aesthetics" rather than a "major aesthetics," to paraphrase Deleuze and Guattari,[27] a subaltern aesthetics by and for the little voices of history.

As the budgets grew for tourism, so too did they expand for the arts, as they were both overseen by the same Ministry of Tourism, Fine Arts, and Handicrafts (*Ministère de Tourism, des beax-arts, et d'artisanat*). This enabled the hiring of more professors at the School of Fine Arts in Casablanca, and Belkahia invited Mohammed Melehi in 1964 and Mohamed Chebaa in 1966 to join him at the School. Melehi was based in New York at the time on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship, and Chebâa was in Rome on a scholarship from the Moroccan

[24] Michel Gauthier, "Inventaire pour une aube: la modernité selon Farid Belkahia," in *Farid Belkahia: pour une autre modernité*, ed. Michel Gauthier (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2021), 30
[25] 103 (quoted by Montazami in the l'art en liberté book); originally in Benchemsi's 2013 book on Belkahia published by Skira, p.17
[26] Ibid., 30.
[27] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

government to study interior design at the Accademia di Belle Arti. Belkahia oversaw the sculpture program; Melehi oversaw the painting program; and Chebâa oversaw the graphic design program.

The School of Fine Arts was founded in 1919 by the French orientalist painter Édouard Brindeau de Jarny as a feeder school for French settlers in Casablanca to the Beaux-Arts in Paris.[28] Upholding the system of apartheid of French colonial rule in Morocco, the school exclusively accepted French or other European students; rarely would a non-European student get to attend the school, such as Abdeslam Ben Larbi el Fassi, one of the first to go there. As laid out by Hamid Irbouh in his book *Art in the Service of Colonialism*, art pedagogy was bifurcated along racial and class lines; formal art schools were for settlers who were allowed to become fine-artists, and open-studio classes organized by French colonial administrators for children living in the old/non-European parts of town were used as a way to find talented students but steer them in the direction of "crafts" or "artisanal production" that could be useful in the new industry of artisanal Moroccan handicrafts that the French revived from outdated medieval models of visual and material culture from the Maghreb region.[29]

Upon arriving at the Casablanca School of Fine Arts, Belkahia and his colleagues worked concertedly to decolonize the School in nearly every way. By the time Belkahia took the helm of the School in 1962 Moroccan students were fully admitted into the school, but what he had inherited was a classical beaux-arts French pedagogical program. The disciplines were siloed, hierarchical, and conventional. Belkahia and his comrades completely dismantled this colonial, vertical pedagogical system and replaced it with a paradigm that facilitated horizontal interdisciplinarity. Students were required to take classes in every department during their first year at the school, and collaboration was encouraged. For example, in a special booklet produced to showcase some of the activities of the school (fig. 3.10), students can be seen working on the 1964 end-of-year exhibition focused on the theme of a new cultural center for Casablanca (fig. 3.11). The architecture students drew plans and built models; ceramicists made numerous pieces, including a large table; interior designers worked on a rug design that was then woven by artisans; and the painters made a mural of eighteen square meters.

In addition, the professors embarked on numerous research trips around the country to familiarize themselves with the many layers of visual and material culture produced throughout time in what is now Morocco. Belkahia himself embraced the heterogeneity and multiplicity of cultures, practices, languages, religions, tribes, and histories that all contribute to the conceptual tapestry that is "Morocco." Through the school's journal, *Maghreb Art*, they published examples of the types of materials they were coming into contact with, including Amazigh painted wooden ceilings, jewelry, neolithic stone carving, architecture, textiles, and folk arts (fig. 3.12). They were especially drawn to abstract qualities of these objects and sought to reproduce many of the patterns and geometric shapes as part of their modernist practices (figs. 3.13 and 3.14). This research provided source materials for various forms of speculation on how to decolonize art practice and pedagogy in Morocco, but also for how to forge modernisms rooted in local histories and experiences but that also engaged with contemporaneous international experiments in color-field and hard-edge painting, abstraction, and minimalism (fig. 3.15). At the same time though, these artists were in a sense tourists, visiting parts of the same country they come from but that were completely foreign to them, working as artist-anthropologists (the Dutch

[28] The school was not set up to grant degrees until 1951.
[29] Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2005).

Moroccanist anthropologist Bert Flint was on the Casablanca School of Fine Arts faculty and participating in these research fieldwork trips) extracting aesthetics and mining indigenous cultures with little to no familiarity of the context and meanings behind the seemingly abstract signs, symbols, and other forms of communication systems that cosmopolitan artists were far removed from.

Integrating Art and Architecture

As the Casablanca artists were engaged in the aesthetic "search for Morocanness," something that the Government was supportive of as it too was grappling with what "Moroccan culture" even meant after independence, the architects Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières had been busy at work in Agadir (fig. 3.16). They contributed significantly to the reconstruction with several large residential blocs in the core of the city, including Buildings D, O1, and O2, to house some of the government bureaucrats and white-collar workers moving to Agadir. The two architects, who were classmates at and graduated together from École Spéciale d'Architecture in Paris in 1956, largely began their careers working on the Agadir reconstruction. They quickly formed a professional partnership that would endure for the rest of their careers. Abdeslam Faraoui was charismatic and outgoing, and as one of the only credentialed Arab-Moroccan architects and hailing from a prominent family, he was able to bring in new clients and secure major governmental commissions across the country; de Mazières, on the other hand, was more of the quiet-type and was far more interested in his architectural studio practice. In effect, Faraoui was the face of the studio and managed the front-of-house of their operation; de Mazières preferred to be in the back-of-house and out of the spotlight, and he produced and oversaw nearly all of the architectural design work.

Faraoui and de Mazières also formed ties with the Group of Moroccan Modern Architects (GAMMA), which included some of the leading modernist architects working in Morocco (especially Agadir), including Mourad Ben Embarek, Elie Azagury, and Jean-François Zevaco. GAMMA was originally formed in the early 1950s by Michel Écochard as the Moroccan chapter of CIAM, or the International Congresses of Modern Architecture, when he was head of urban planning in Morocco during the French protectorate period; GAMMA first attended the CIAM IX conference in 1953 in Aix-en-Provence, wherein their advocacy for the importance of local culture and climate in modernist architectural design generated debates within CIAM that led to a schism and the formation of Team 10.[30] As Morocco entered into an accelerated pace of literal nation-building in the wake of the Agadir reconstruction—they were in need of schools and universities, hospitals, government buildings, airports—many commissions went to Faraoui and de Mazières. Among their earliest projects after Agadir were the hotel commissions.

[30] For more on GAMMA, see Aziza Chaouni, "Depoliticizing Group GAMMA: Contesting Modernism in Morocco," in *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*, ed. Lu Duanfang (London: Taylor and Francis, 2010), 57–84; Najoua Beqqal, Fatima Zohra Saaid, and Mohamed Omrane Chaoui, "At the Dawn of the Sustainable Moroccan Modernism : Bioclimatic Approach in Early GAMMA Group's Architecture," *African and Mediterranean Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 3, no. 5 (July 1, 2021): 22–41. For more on CIAM IX and Team 10, see for example: Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000); Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005); Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10: 1953-81, in Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005); Annie Pedret, *Team 10: An Archival History* (London: Routledge, 2013); Łukasz Stanek, *Team 10 East: Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Modernism* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2014).

According to Casablanca School art historian Toni Maraini and Nadia Chebâa (daughter of Mohamed), the Casablanca School artists first met Faraoui and de Mazières by chance in 1967. Mohamed Chebâa tasked his students with an end of year project to design murals for an imaginary tourist complex at the Shrine of Sidi Abderrahmane complex. As part of the preparations for this assignment, Chebâa worked with the office of city planning of Casablanca; the architect Bernard Hamborjet of the Franco-Moroccan Cooperation Program ended up producing the plans for the site. As the story goes, Hamborjet was impressed with the project and the students' work, and he subsequently spoke with his friend Patrice de Mazières about this collaboration. De Mazières then paid a visit to the Casablanca School of Fine Arts out of curiosity and interest in the purported avant-garde pedagogy, curriculum, and activities of the school, not to mention that the school's architecture department. Upon his visit, de Mazières not only met with Chebâa, but also Melehi and Belkahia.[31] They were all kindred spirits bound by their constructivist-esque commitments, as artists and architects, to the project of nation-building by way of culture, namely art and architecture. While they each had their own views of the roles they would play in this collective endeavor, informed by their individual politics, they were united in their desires to forge an avant-gardism that was locally rooted but globally informed. "The most important work," wrote Maraini in 1967, "is located in the lucid balance between these two realizations."[32] De Mazières and Chebâa, in particular, had a strong affinity for one another as Chebâa studied interior design and architecture in Rome and developed a spatial practice that was fundamental to his work; Chebâa would go on to join the faculty of the newly created National School of Architecture (ENA) in 1982.

Around the same time that the Casablanca School artists were taking research trips to the south of Morocco to study historical examples of visual and material culture that they sought to root their own aesthetics in, Faraoui and de Mazières had also been spending time in the same region of Morocco to enrich their own modernist architectural practice in Morocco. They both gravitated toward applied design and some of the ways in which many buildings in the pre-Saharan region were vessels for visual cultural production. In a similar vein, the architects grew interested in collaborating with these artists on some of their new projects being commissioned mainly by the Moroccan state as part of larger nation-building efforts that were accelerated by the Agadir earthquake. Interestingly, the architects did not clearly disclose to the government bureaucrats overseeing these projects that they brought in and collaborated with the Casablanca School artists.[33] Some reasons for this include: the architects worried that government would perceive of their collaboration as something other than a hotel project and would thus pull funding; the Casablanca School artists were critical of the government, especially with regard to cultural policy, and thus were not well-liked by many high-ranking government officials during the 1960s (Mohamed Chebâa was even imprisoned for his radical leftist politics alongside the founder of *Souffles* Abdellatif Laâbi). This reluctance to promote the integration aspects of these hotel commissions to Moroccan governmental clients was in contradistinction to the ways in

[31] Nadia Chabâa, "Le Concept Des « 3 A » Chez Chabâa," *Bauhaus Imaginista* Edition 2: Learning From (October 18, 2018); Toni Maraini, "Création, recherche, engagement: Témoignage sur le parcours artistique de Mohammed Chabâa," in *Chabâa: Liberté de l'être, création plurielle* (Rabat: Fondation CDG, 2018), 112.
[32] Toni Maraini, "Situation de la peinture marocaine," *Souffles*, no. 7–8 (1967): 18. Reproduced in Anneka Lenssen, Sarah Rogers, and Nada Shabout, eds., *Modern Art in the Arab World: Primary Documents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 267.
[33] This was mentioned by Pauline de Mazières on February 5, 2022 during a lunch conversation that I had with her at her home in Rabat.

which they highlighted the integration collaborations in their firm's portfoloios and promotional materials that they would present to other clients and critics.

Faraoui and de Mazières were keen to work hand in hand with the Casablanca School artists to offer spaces within which the artists could be deployed, so to speak, to intervene in but also to create intentional works that would be directly integrated into the architecture. The building and its spaces would reflect the collectivity, rather than the individuality, of those who came together to make it, another core aspect of the Casablanca School artists who nearly always exhibited their works together as a group (beginning with the 1966 exhibition at the Mohammed V Theater in Rabat). While Faraoui and de Mazières could have simply just acquired works by these artists after completion of construction and exhibited the hotel's collection on the walls of the lobby as a pseudo-gallery space—an all too common generic strategy—the architects saw it as advantageous to work directly with the artists early on in their project timelines. Doing so would not only differentiate their architectural works from others, but also it would plug their buildings into genealogies of architecture that are characterized by the interplay between architecture, design, and art. While the historical vernacular architecture in Morocco that the architects and artists saw would have been a key reference point, there are many other examples that they could have drawn from. Chebâa, for example, was deeply familiar with early-modern Italian architecture having studied in Rome and would have drawn parallels between the Villa Farnesina or some of the baroque churches of Rome, with their elaborate interior designs, and the vernacular architecture of Morocco. The Bauhaus was also another important point of departure.[34]

It is also essential to keep in mind that during the 1960s in Morocco, there was not yet an institutionalized art world, as Holiday Powers has clearly demonstrated.[35] Apart from the occasional exhibition held in public spaces like theaters or the rare gallery like Bab Rouah in Rabat, there were no museums or dedicated galleries or other permanent exhibition spaces for modern and contemporary art at the time. Powers has noted that some Moroccan artists who trained abroad, such as Ahmed Cherkaoui and Mohammed Hamidi, ended up attending engineering and trade schools (such as the École des Arts et Métiers) rather than fine arts schools (École des Beaux-Arts) so that they would be able to support themselves beyond the limited opportunities available to artists in Morocco.[36] As Khalil M'Rabet has also pointed out, "The artist-painters were under no illusion. They knew that painting alone [could] not ensure them a real continual material existence."[37] There were more opportunities for artists to participate in exhibitions outside of Morocco, especially by way of international exhibitions, biennials, and arts festivals across Africa and the Arab World; some notable examples include the 1956 Biennal of Alexandria, the 1966 World Festival of Black Arts in 1966, the 1969 Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers, the 1974 First Arab Biennial in Baghdad, and the 1978 International Art Exhibition for Palestine in Beirut. The Casablanca School artists' participation in some of these events mainly involved exhibiting their works in a normative gallery-like setting, a far cry from the approach to art-making at their School. There were not many other opportunities outside of the School to showcase their work otherwise until their 1969 manifesto open-air exhibition in Marrakesh, which I will turn to at the end of this chapter. Apart from the exhibition paradigm,

[34] Dounia Benqassem, *L'École de Casablanca, 1960-1972* (Casablanca: AfricArts, 2015), 26.
[35] J. Holiday Powers, "Moroccan Modernism: The Casablanca School (1956-1978)" (Doctoral Dissertation, Ithaca, Cornell University, 2015).
[36] Ibid., 54-55.
[37] Khalil M'Rabet, *Peinture et identité: l'expérience marocaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987), 127-128.

which was not at all robust in Morocco in the 1960s, the Casablanca School artists were open to working with clients for particular commissions, such as Melehi who was chosen by Matthias Goeritz on behalf of the Mexican government to create a sculpture for the 1968 Mexico City Olympics as the representative artist for the continent of Africa. Chebâa opened an interior design practice called Studio 400 in 1968 (and renamed Studio Shine after 1974) that included companies like Royal Air Maroc, the National Office of Commerce and Exports, and COMANOV as clients. They both also worked as graphic designers, and Melehi founded his own publishing house called Shoof. Through organizations like the National Association of Fine Arts (ANBA), the Association for Cultural Research (ARC), and the Association of Moroccan Plastic Artists (AMAP), an art world did eventually began to emerge toward the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. With regard to AMAP in particular, which was formed in 1972, Anneka Lenssen has shown that its Casablanca School leaders created the state-sanctioned national association "with the express purpose of participating in the UAA [General Union of Arab Artists] as a means of joining the liberation struggle and furthering the debate on artistic contributions to it."[38] This sort of union building provided Moroccan artists with additional opportunities to participate in an expanded art world, one that they were taking part in the creation of while also allowing them to link up with artists across Africa and the Arab World in solidarity for shared political causes.

For much of the 1960s, however, options were severely limited in Morocco for practicing artists. In 1965, the architect Mourad Ben Embarek, who was the second ever Moroccan head of the Service of Urbanism (following Abdeslam Faraoui) and played a crucial role in overseeing the Agadir reconstruction, commented that "modern painting in Morocco will gain confidence in itself and will not fail to deliver its promises if it is empowered. Wouldn't this include public works and principally projects destined for tourism?"[39] Here we have another direct connection with tourism and modernism, emerging out of the Agadir reconstruction context, with a call for modern artists to work within the growing tourism industry. Ben Embarek was close friends of Faraoui and de Mazières, having worked together extensively on Agadir, and so this discourse would have been familiar to Faraoui and de Mazières. A seemingly odd alignment emerged, then, between modernist artists with a penchant for decolonial politics and the global tourism market in Morocco. The artist-architecture collaborations at this nexus would prove to be enticing to artists who did not have many other platforms to showcase their work and to architects who were critical of high modernism's banality and deterritorialization. And while international tourists may not have originally been the target audience for their work, the artists saw it as another opportunity to present their visions for avant-garde Moroccan culture to a different demographic.

The First Integration: Hôtel des Almoravides

The first hotel commission was the Almoravids Hotel in Marrakesh, completed in 1967. (The hotel is named after the Almoravid Empire that defeated the Almohad Empire that had founded the city of Marrakesh in the eleventh century.) In an early rendering of the hotel done by Patrice de Mazières (fig. 3.17), the seemingly generic midcentury modern design would be right

[38] Anneka Lenssen, "Material Support: On Arab Artists' Unions and Solidarity," in *Past Disquiet: Artists, International Solidarity, and Museums-in-Exile*, ed. Kristine Khouri and Rasha Salti (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2018), 152.

[39] Quoted and cited in Khalil M'Rabet, *Peinture et identité: l'expérience marocaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987), 128.

at home in Palm Springs or Miami but for the nineteenth century villa to the left of the pool, anchoring the viewer in a specific place. The pointed arches of the lower portico are juxtaposed by the rigid linearity and horizontality of the modernist hotel's architectural forms. Stylized palm trees and holidaymakers lounging by the pool allude to the sunny and warm weather of Marrakesh. De Mazières here clearly expresses his interest in modernist aesthetics and design while also demonstrating his fluency in the language of the international leisure and tourism industry.

Comparing this hotel to their recently completed residential blocs in Agadir, much of the architectural language they developed and articulated in Agadir carried into this Marrakesh hotel, albeit with slight adjustments that address some of the specificities of the site. First and foremost, reinforced concrete is used extensively at a structural level in the hotel (fig. 3.18), just like in their Agadir buildings (fig. 3.19). Of particular interest are the protruding horizontal reinforced concrete beams on the façades that are directly carried over from Agadir. We can see more clearly in Building D from Agadir that each floor rests on these beams, creating a physical space or gap between the floors. We can see again in elevations of Faraoui and de Mazières's Agadir buildings this structural design and the separation between the floors through the use of horizontal beams (figs. 3.20 and 3.21). And again in section of Building D we see the horizontal concrete beams spanning the entire length of the floor (fig. 3.22). An antiseismic engineering innovation, this design in effect isolates each of the levels so that if an earthquake occurs, the shaking does not get amplified through the entire building. Each floor is able to move independently. In addition to the carry-over of the structural designs of Agadir, the aesthetic and textural qualities of concrete that they took great interest in in Agadir also continue to play a role in this hotel, as well as in many of their other projects throughout the rest of their careers (fig. 3.23).

But whereas in Agadir, Faroui and de Mazières could only use white paint as part of the building codes developed for the city that all of the architects who contributed to the team effort for the reconstruction had to abide by, in Marrakesh, Faraoui and de Mazières went in a different direction. As the Casablanca School art historian Toni Maraini wrote in the article I cited earlier in this chapter, "To respect the urban ensemble within which it is inscribed, garish/gaudy [voyants] details, like white and excess of reinforced concrete were avoided on the interior as well as on the exterior of the building. Warm materials that tend to take on an organic patina over time were introduced: brick walls, varnished and non-varnished woods, surfaces painted in ochre."[40] Marrakesh is known for the colors of its built environment, namely the pinkish/reddish hue of its historical buildings constructed using mudbrick and clay rich in iron (hence reddish colors). In the twentieth century, the French mandated that all new buildings in Marrakesh conform to this color scheme, even though they were almost all built out of reinforced concrete and simply painted a pinkish color. Rather than merely painting the façades of their hotel pink to conform to these local building codes, Faraoui and de Mazières instead chose to use red bricks for their walls and opted to leave them exposed because of their natural reddish color. So whereas in Agadir, they covered up the ends of their buildings with white paint, in Marrakesh, they left the ends exposed (figs. 3.16, 3.18, and 3.19).

Mohammed Chebâa oversaw the graphic design for the hotel, including the primary hotel sign (fig. 3.24), deploying a neo-kuffic, linear modernist typeface he generated as part of his broader graphic design work. During this time period, many modernist artists across the lands of Islam, from northwest Africa all the way to southeast Asia, experimented with incorporating

[40] Maraini, "Action plastique," 49.

Arabic letters into their visual culture production; drawing on histories of calligraphy, they positioned the seemingly abstract formal qualities of Arabic script as an alternative source and heritage of abstraction as a way to counter histories of modernist abstraction from Europe and America. This broader movement has come to be known as Hurufiyya.[41] Mohammed Melehi also experimented in graphic design, as seen with the poster he designed for the first major exhibition of Belkahia, Melehi, and Chebâa, which took place in Rabat in 1966 at the Mohammed V Theater (fig. 3.25). The abstract painter Ahmed Cherkaoui, a contemporary of Belkahi, Melehi and Chebaa, was also interested in the abstract qualities of letters and signs, but rather than drawing on Arabic letters, he turned to Tifinagh, the alphabet for Tamazight, the marginalized group of languages spoken by Amazigh people of North Africa that predates the Arab-Muslim conquest of the region; some of these letters and other sign-patterns also feature in Amazigh jewelry, textiles, sculptures, and ceiling paintings (fig. 3.26).

Belkahia's door and other wall panels for the hotel are directly related to the copper-relief works he had been creating at the time (figs. 3.27, 3.28, and 3.29). They are, in effect, an applied, or integrated, example of these sculptural works pursued during his tenure at the Casablanca School of Fine Arts. Featuring horizontal, bulbous, curvaceous, highly textured three-dimensional forms in various levels of relief, Belkahia brings forward biomorpic, organic forms that emerge from the copper ground of these works and play between figuration and abstraction. They recall some of the tendencies of surrealism as practiced by the likes of Joan Miro and Hans Arp decades earlier. At the same time, these works are also in dialogue with contemporaneous avant-garde international postminimalism, as seen by emphasis on the handmade, almost artisanal qualities of the facture of these sculptures and Belkahia's interest in the ways in which these sculptures both impact and are impacted the specificity of the space around them. Belkahia also sometimes evoked feminine corporeal shapes and motifs during this time period, as seen with the uppermost form that suggests the form of an upper lip. His *Femme* (*Woman*) of 1965 (fig. 3.30) overtly expresses his interest in femininity and the female body, albeit one that is nonetheless sexualized. This certainly can be read as yet another example of the male gaze sexualizing the body of a woman; with that said, however, within the context of Morocco during the 1960s, this depiction of explicit sexuality in the form of abstracted female breasts was transgressive and shows that Belkahia was participating in some of the contemporaneous sexual liberation discourse of the countercultural movement that emerged from the United Sates.[42]

The relief-sculptures made for the Almoravids Hotel represent one of the first attempts by Belkahia to integrate what may otherwise be an isolated studio practice into a comprehensive synthetic, cohesive, multidisciplinary space as part of a larger architectural/spatial program. Belkahia, here, is deploying his sculptural works as a speculative intervention into this hotel space and part of what it stands for—a space of international capital and tourism—rather than merely as a decoration that beautifies the space or adorns a wall. This model of integration, wherein the architects work directly with artists as collaborators in an effort to make something greater than its individual architectural or visual cultural components, stands apart from normative hotel projects wherein the artworks featured in the hotel are typically selected by a

[41] For more on Hurufiyya, see: Silvia Naef, *A la recherche d'une modernité arabe: l'évolution des arts plastiques en Egypte, au Liban et en Irak* (Genève: Slatkine, 1996); Nada M. Shabout, *Modern Arab Art: Formation of Arab Aesthetics* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007); Iftikhar Dadi, "Ibrahim El Salahi and Calligraphic Modernism in a Comparative Perspective," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 109, no. 3 (July 1, 2010): 555–76;

[42] Brahim Alaoui, "Farid Belkahia à l'œuvre," in *Farid Belkahia ou l'art en liberté*, ed. Brahim Alaoui (Paris: Skira, 2017), 68-69.

curator or interior designer/decorator in the model of a pseudo-gallery space. In fact, the Almoravids Hotel did have a gallery space for temporary exhibitions, such as a solo exhibition by Houssein Miloudi in 1969.[43] Nonetheless, this gallery space functioned as apart from the permanently integrated works by Melehi, Chebâa, and Belkahia that were part of the architecture of the hotel.

As one of his first major decolonial acts, Belkahia abandoned easel painting upon becoming the director of the School of Fine arts, for he saw it as a European medium, and instead turned to copper for its historical and local prominence in African and Islamic metallurgy and material culture. Copper is also mined in Morocco, grounding these works in the soil and the earth of this region. They feature curvilinear, sensuous abstract three-dimensional forms that are often textured with a hammer and sometimes treated with acid to create greenish, aleatory patinas. Meant to be hung, they are both painterly and sculptural, putting these works in conversation with international postminimalism. I read Belkahia's decolonial project as not only a political commitment to or an "affiliation,"[44] to borrow Edward Said's term, with the Third World, but vitally important is the politics of materials and facture. Belkahia sought to not only decolonize art practice and pedagogy when he was recruited from Prague to take the helm as director of the Casablanca École des Beaux-Arts during his tenure from 1962-1974, but also to decolonize the self in order to create a radically new subjectivity liberated from the ongoing specter of colonialism despite its official end in Morocco in 1956. And he worked to do so, I contend, both discursively and materially, in theory and in praxis, in imagination and in image.

While Belkahia has been viewed as a nationalist or a "nativist," as art historian Hamid Irbouh categorizes him, in search of "*la marocanité",* or "Moroccanness,"[45] I argue that his decolonial aesthetics transcend the cartographic borders of the nation-state in favor of an extraconceptual, unmapped Morocco that is constituted of multiple times and spaces, histories and peoples, modernisms and traditions, a Morocco that is part of a plurality of worlds, including Africa, the Mediterranean, the Arab World, and the Third World more broadly. Belkahia, through his decolonial aesthetics, liberates Moroccanness from nationalism to develop a sense of locality that is not normatively fixed in space or time but is rather more of a phenomenological "structure of feeling that is produced by particular forms of intentional activity and that yields particular sorts of material effects," as Arjun Appadurai writes in his essay "The Production of Locality." He goes on to claim that locality is fragile; "nevertheless, however deeply such description is embedded in the particularities of place, soil, and ritual technique, it invariably contains or implies a theory of context—a theory, in other words, of what a neighborhood is produced from, against, in spite of, and in relation to."[46]

Indeed, Belkahia's works in copper and later in animal-hides painted with saffron, henna, cobalt, and walnut stains are literally made of the soil and ecologies of Morocco using

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[43] This is included in the artist's exhibition history in the catalogue of a 1976 exhibition at Pauline de Mazières's gallery L'Atelier in Rabat.

[44] Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard Univiversity Press, 1983).

[45] Hamid Irbouh uses the term "Moroccanity," which is a more direct translation of the French term "marocanité," See Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2005) and "Farid Belkahia: A Moroccan Artist's Search for Authenticity," in *Issues in Contemporary African Art*, ed. Nkiru Nzegwu (Binghamton: International Society for the Study of Africa, 1998), 47–68. See also Toni Maraini, "Farid Belkahia," Toni Maraini, *Écrits sur l'art: choix de textes, Maroc 1967-1989* (Rabat: Al Kalam, 1990), 175-182.

[46] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, 184.

marginalized, or "artisanal," ritual techniques, but in so doing, I argue that he was engaged in the question of locality within a new sort of neighborhood he was actively constructing, one for the Third World, a neighborhood set against, in spite of, and in relation to both Euro-American *and* Soviet imperialism. A few years before going to Prague, Belkahia visited Auschwitz while participating in the World Festival of Youth and Students in Warsaw in 1955; in 1958, he spent several months touring through West Asia, also known as the Middle East, where he visited Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Jerusaelm, where he met numerous artists, including Fateh al-Moudarres. Later, in 1964, after having returned to Casablanca from Prague, he traveled to Senegal, Ivory Coast, Benin, Niger, Nigeria, and Mali. These travels, among many others he would take later in his life, expanded his sense of Morocanness to include Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism. When questioned about Third Worldism during a feisty interview with sociologist Fatima Mernissi published in the journal *Lamalif* in 1981, Belkahia responded, after being pushed, by saying, "To be a Third Worldist is something central to my work, it's something vital. To be Third Worldist, for me, it is to be a part of a particular world that has a culture, that is currently invaded, displaced by another culture. This foreign culture has technological supremacy and as a result, it dominates economic, political, and cultural realms."[47] This rare interview, given that the artist did not publish much, reveals his deep commitments to the decolonial, Third Worldist project, and the space he was trying to open up.

This new neighborhood that Belkahia attempts to construct and be a local of, one that includes yet stretches far beyond any singular idea of Morocco, dispenses with nationalism in favor of "nationness" without nationality, to draw on Homi Bhabha's critique of the nation. Bhabha proposes this "cultural construction of nationness as a form of social and textual affiliation."[48] In order to create such a new kind of aspatial neighborhood that is at once local and translocal, one based on "social and textual affiliation," it is helpful here to turn to Deleuze and Guattari and their writing on deterritorialization and reterritorialization, phenomena they spend a great deal of time on across both volumes of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. "How could movement of deterritorialization and processes of reterritorialization not be relative," they ask, "always connected, caught up in one another?" These two terms have oft been appropriated and used to discuss colonialism and global capitalism, as when a colonial power or capital enters into a territory, it deterritorializes that space upon infiltrating and invading it, resulting in a reterritorialized space disciplined and regulated by the colonial power or capital. However, rather than using this pair of terms from a top-down point of view, what if we approach this from the bottom-up? Belkahia, critical of nationalism and the territoriality of the Moroccan nation-state—itself a Eurocentric concept—deterritorializes that space and concept in order to reterritorialize it anew. In their "Treatise on Nomadology," Deleuze and Guattari write:

> If the nomad can be called the Deterritorialized par excellence, it is precisely because there is no reterritorialization *afterward* as with the migrant, or upon *something else* as with the sedentary (the sedentary's relation with the earth is mediatized by something else, a property regime, a State apparatus). With the nomad, on the contrary, it is deterritorialization that constitutes the relation to the earth, to such a degree that the nomad reterritorializes on deterritorialization itself. It is the earth that deterritorializes itself, in a way that provides the nomad with a territory. The land ceases to be land, tending to become simply ground *(sol)* or support. The earth does not become deterritorialized in its global and relative

[47] Fatima Mernissi, "Artistes ou artisans," *Lamalif*, no. 129 (November 1981): 61.
[48] Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation," *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 200.

> movement, but at specific locations, at the spot where the forest recedes, or where the steppe and the desert advance.[49]

Belkahia, like nearly all of his colleagues at the Casablanca School, like nearly all of the formally educated modernist Moroccan artists, like nearly all of the modernist artists who lived in parts of the world that had been formerly colonized, was a nomad, having trained, worked, and lived abroad in multiple places. This complex description of the nomad appositely explains part of Belkahia's decolonial aesthetics. As a nomad, Belkahia having been deterritorialized numerous times with each geographic move, eventually reterritorialized along these deterritorializations, or as he traversed borders, cultures, histories, ideas. The earth itself came to be Belkahia's territory, Belkahia's local-translocal neighborhood. And Belkahia went on to use the land not as property or mere landscape, but as ground, as support.

Untitled (fig. 3.28), from 1967, is one of Belkahia's many copper-relief works that he produced between 1963 and 1975, literally using the earth (or the copper extracted form it) as the ground of his work. It is of the same genre that he created for the Almoravids Hotel in Marrakesh. A non-mimetic work that hangs on the wall like a painting but is a relief-sculpture that has three-dimensionality (perhaps Belkahia's foray into postminimalism, or a deterritorialized verion of it). Indeed, there is a long history of copper, and more generally, metal working in the Maghreb, but in no way is it unique to Morocco as numerous societies throughout history have been found to have developed metalworking. The work is composed of two vertical, linear sections on the edges that are heavily textured with a hammer/mallet, and these two edges flank a central portion of three repeating curvilinear motifs against a greenish background. The greenish background is an effect that Belkahia achieved by dipping copper plates into acid to accelerate the oxidation process that causes copper turn green naturally. Furthermore, each of the three forms is rendered slightly differently, with upper and lower forms being in negative relief and the middle form being in positive relief, almost as if inflated with air. The middle form also has more wrinkling to it compared to the upper and lower renditions.

Much has been said of Belkahia's decision to adopt copper as a medium while forgoing easel painting as a way for him to walk away from the supremacy of painting in the European hierarchy of arts,[50] but there has been a dearth of commentary on the materiality of copper, its life, its vitality and agency, its co-constitutive, subjectivity-creating capabilities. As political scientist and new materialist theorist Jane Bennet remarks about metal, "metal is always metallurgical, always an alloy of the endeavors of many bodies, always something worked on by geological, biological, and often human agencies. And human metalworkers are themselves emergent effects of the vital materiality they work."[51] In an interview I conducted with Benchemsi at the Fondation Farid Belkahia, she disclosed to me that one reason Belkahia was so drawn to copper is its physicality; she commented that after long days shouldering administrative, bureaucratic responsibilites as the director of the fine arts school, Belkahia rejoiced in getting his hands on copper sheets to hammer them, dip them in acid, take a blow torch to them, bend them, and physically tussle with the material. Belkahia's copper works are as

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[49] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Capitalisme and schizophrénie: mille plateaux* (Paris: Minuit, 1980), 383.
[50] Michel Gauthier, ed., *Farid Belkahia: pour une autre modernité* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2021); Brahim Alaoui, ed., *Farid Belkahia, ou l'art en liberté* (Paris: Skira, 2017); Rajae Benchemsi, *Farid Belkahia: L'intuition créatrice* (Rabat: Marsam, 2012); Rajae Benchemsi, *Farid Belkahia* (Milan: Skira, 2013). Hamid Irbouh, "Farid Belkahia: A Moroccan Artist's Search for Authenticity," in *Issues in Contemporary African Art*, ed. Nkiru Nzegwu (Binghamton: International Society for the Study of Africa, 1998), 47–68.
[51] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 60.

much made by his own volition as by the agency of the metal itself to react to his actions, which Belkahia then himself reacts to. This tight feedback loop decenters the human as the sole creative force in this "intra-action," as philosopher Karen Barad would say, and opens space for the copper itself to be the co-creator in this project of decolonial becoming.[52] Bennet cites *A History of Metallaography* by the historian of science Cyril Smith, in which he credits craftspeople instead of scientists with discovering key properties of metals. Bennett writes, "The desire of the craftsperson to see what a metal can do, rather than the desire of the scientist to know what a metal is, enabled the former to discern *a* life in metal and thus, eventually, to collaborate more productively with it."[53] On full display in this work is the result of Belkahia seeing what a metal can do, the fruit of a productive collaboration between two actants, Belkahia and copper.

In one of the answers he gave to the questionnaire circulated to Moroccan artists by the radical, Third Worldist cultural and literary journal *Souffles* (with which Belkahia was affiliated for several years), Belkahia noted, "I give due importance to the material used, but I do not confine myself to just one material. Each time, I try to use that which best meets my needs. When I use up its expressive vitality [*vitalité d'expressionisme*], I move on to another one."[54] With copper, it took Belkahia over a decade to fully use up its "expressive vitality", before then leaving that medium behind and dedicating himself to animal hides and natural, organic dyes. It is not entirely sure what intellectual histories he is specifically drawing on when he uses the word "vitality" (Henri Bergson perhaps[55]), but it resonates with today's theorists like Jane Bennett and other new materialists. It also echoes some of the writings of Frantz Fanon, who in *Black Skin, White Masks*, wrote, "I embrace the world! I am the world! The white man has never understood this magical substitution. The white man wants the world; he wants it for himself. He discovers he is the predestined master of the world. He enslaves it… But there are values that can be served only with my sauce. As a magician I stole form the white man a 'certain world,' lost to him and his kind… The essence of the world was my property. Between the world and me there was a relation of coexistence. I had rediscovered the primordial One."[56] This is the new world that Belkahia was trying to open up, one that was not exclusive to Morocco, to a specific place, but one that nonetheless had a sense of locality, a certain structure of decolonial feeling that could be shared across borders and nations.

Returning to the Almoravids Hotel, Melehi contributed wall panels for the main dining room and bar/lounge of the hotel (figs. 3.32-36). They are in form of a wave, a motif first developed while in New York between 1962-1964 after focusing on squares (fig. 3.37) and depicted in countless iterations ever since then in various media, including painting, sculpture, and prints. The positive-relief panels are terra cotta, and the flat, colored panels are ceramic. The differences in these materials can be seen, in part, but the ways in which light reflects off the flat ceramic panels (which are glazed) but not the matte relief terracotta panels (fig. 3.35). In Melehi's own words, with regard to how he worked through his square paintings before finding the wave, "My research on the squares developed towards the undulated form that I was then using for the first time (in 1963). The wave meant music and movement. It is communication in space (sound waves, visual waves, video-tape). It represents continuity, sky, woman, sensuality,

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[52] Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
[53] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 61.
[54] *Souffles, no.* 7/8 (1967): 28.
[55] For the engagement with Bergson's *elan vital* among modern artists in Syria, see Anneka Lenssen, *Beautiful Agitation: Modern Painting and Politics in Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020).
[56] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove, 2008), 107.

water, pulsating rhythm. It is calm."[57] The waves could also be seismic waves, as part of what I have referred to as the aftershocks of Agadir. Like Belkahia, Melehi also had interests in questions of heteronormative sexuality, but one that was also through the lens of the male gaze. But unlike Belkahia's sculptures, which placed significance on their handcrafted qualities, Melehi's sculptures are not made with his own hands but rather are designed by Melehi and produced by local artisans in Marrakesh to his specifications. In this way, Melehi's panels are closer to the minimalism of Donald Judd and Richard Serra, for example, who worked with highly skilled industrial fabricators to actually build and assemble their designs.[58] The Almoravids Hotel also features more work of by local master artisans, as seen with with the intricate terracotta and ceramic tile flooring (fig. 3.28 and 3.42); Melehi's choice of materials for his wall panels likely reflects this vernacular material combination. Lastly, Cecile Boccara oversaw the designs for the painting program of the closet doors in the hotel rooms (figs. 3.38-41), most likely drawing on some of the historical, vernacular interior painting motifs that she would have seen in *Maghreb Art*.

Integrations, continued

Several years after the completion of this hotel in Marrakesh, Faraoui and de Mazières received commissions for three more hotels in remote areas of southeast Morocco in the pre-Saharan region, which is part of the broader Souss region that also encompasses Agadir (the capital of the region). Two of these hotels are located in the Valley of Roses along the Dades Gorges: the Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès (Dades Gorges Hotel) in Boumalne, and the Hôtel Les Roses du Dadès (Dades Roses Hotel) in Kelaat M'Gouna. The third hotel, the *Hôtel de Taliouine,* is in the town of Taliouine, about 250 kilometers west-southwest of the Valley of the Roses where the other two hotels are located. The idea for the location of these projects came from the Ministry of Tourism, as a way to drive tourism to more remote parts of Morocco so as to generate economic activity locally (without the government having to actually do anything to invest in the local population directly.)

As part of their research and design process, Faraoui and de Mazières spent time in the region and around the sites of the hotels. Much like the Casablanca School artists who, around the same time, visited this region (Souss) to see Ksour, Kasbahs, and mosques as part of their investigations of pre-colonial visual and material culture, Faraoui and de Mazières sought to integrate their hotel into the existing urban fabric and landscape. This part of Morocco on the edge of the Sahara is home to a large community of Haratin, a Tamazight speaking group of Black Moroccans. The styles of rammed-earth architecture found here are linked to those found around the Sahel and along the Niger valley region, such as Timbuktu, Gao, and Djenné. Faraoui and de Mazières were interested in the geometric, linear forms of the Ksour in this region, such as with the Kasr of Aït Benhaddou built along a cliffside (fig. 3.43) This research process into

[57] Toni Maraini, "A Study on the Work of Mohammed Melehi," in *Melehi: Recent Paintings* (New York: Bronx Museums of the Arts, 1985), 14. Emphasis is mine.

[58] This is not the case for all minimalist and conceptualist artists. Julia Bryan-Wilson has importantly called into question the claim that minimalism was in large part about the erasure and dematerialization of the artist's labor and skill. As she writes, "Despite the widely held belief that art of this time effectively dismantled traditional notions of work (as it was 'deskilled' or 'dematerialized'), it will be made clear that the serialized steel plates of Andre's minimalism, the spilled timbers of Morris's process works, the chance-based collages of Lippard's writing, and the paper ephemera of Haacke's conceptualism are not a denial of work—an erasure of artistic craft—but forms meant to underscore art's connections to labor, if ambivalently." Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 11.

vernacular architecture and site-specificity was shared by other architects and urban designers in Morocco and beyond, as part of what is known as vernacular modernism.[59] Some of this research was published in the aforementioned Moroccan architecture and urbanism journal *A+U*; a special issue (number 5, published in 1967) was, in fact, dedicated to Ksours and Kasbahs of Morocco. (The following and final issue was devoted to architecture and urbanism as they relate to tourism.)

The first of these hotels commissioned by the Ministry of Tourism is the Dades Gorges Hotel, designed and built in 1970-71. From an early sketch (fig. 3.44), we can see that the architects have already departed from the designs of their Marrakesh hotel. Situated on a hillside overlooking the village of Boumalne, the architects worked the sloped topography of this site into the very core of their design process, which can be seen in the sketch to the left where the slope of the hill is accentuated. This is also clearly visible in a transversal section that shows how the hotel climbs up the hillside (fig. 3.45), as well as in a model of the hotel that captures the three-dimensional topography of the site (fig. 3.46). Aerial photographs of the hotel further showcase the terrain and its topography (figs. 3.47, 3.48, and 3.49). Furthermore, from the sketch (fig. 3.44), the massing of offset cubical forms that is the hallmark of this hotel is already being expressed at an early stage in the design process, a nod to the vernacular architecture of the Kasbahs of this region. Certain views of the hotel (figs. 3.50, 3.51, and 3.52), particularly of the south side, emphasize and showcase the massing of cubical forms that rise up and out from the hillside to create a sort of pyramidal composition. The other side of the hotel, where the main entrance and parking are located, overlooks a vast, open plain (fig. 3.49). In effect, visitors approach the hotel from below by driving through Boumalne, where they would be greeted by the pyramidal composition of the south side, before then ascending the hill and arriving at the main entrance. The hotel is at once monumental and imposing, towering over the town of Boumalne and the valley and dominating the plain, yet also respectful and reflective of the architecture and landscape of its surroundings (figs. 3.53 and 3.54). As Faraoui and de Mazières themselves note about the design of the Boumalne hotel in their firm's portfolio, "The proportions of the hotel interpret the topography of the surrounding countryside and identify with the buildings in the district."[60] They also write that the hotels of the Pre-Saharan region in the south of Morocco "strive, even with their largely contemporary concept, to be in harmony with the local traditional building patterns (namely, the earth-dominated architecture of the Kasbahs and ksours)."[61]

Compared to Faraoui and de Mazières's resdidential blocs in Agadir just a few years earlier (fig. 3.16), the question of place appears to be far more central to the design process of the Boumalne Hotel. This is due to several reasons. First, in Agadir, Faraoui and de Mazières were part of a team (the High Commission for the Reconstruction of Agadir, or HCRA) that worked on the construction of the new city; while each architect was given the freedom to work independently on his specific building(s), their designs ultimately still had to conform to the overarching master plan and the building codes (both anti-seismic and aesthetic) developed for

[59] *A+U* for example published a special issue (number 5 in 1967) on vernacular architecture of this region of Morocco; *Maghreb Art* also featured the architecture and interiors of this region in their first issue from 1965.
[60] Single page document found in the Boumalne folder of the Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Paulien de Mazières.
[61] Abedslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, *Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières: Architectural Achievements (Morocco, 1962-1982)* (Casablanca: Shoof, 1982), 4.

the new city by the Ministry of Public Works.[62] In addition, the idea that the new Agadir was a *tabula rasa* after the earthquake prevailed among those leading reconstruction effort, a false point of view that I have critiqued in the first chapter of this dissertation. Those in charge opted for an architectural language that could be described simply as brutalist, one that resonated with the contemporaneous new cities of Brasilia or Chandigarh, in order to signal to the world the newly independent Moroccan state's embrace of a techno-scientific, future-oriented high modernism. This image of Morocco as modern was meant to rebuff the orientalist colonial framing of a "traditional" Morocco fixed in a static historical time of decay following the end of so-called golden age from the medieval period. That modern architecture, urbanism, and infrastructure would be for Moroccans rather than French and other European settlers as it had been during the colonial period could be read as a decolonial gesture in its own right, though the question of which Moroccans this new Agadir was meant for is taken up in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. Even so, this turn toward the future has the effect of perpetuating the colonial modern/traditional binary, wherein architects and planners would have to choose between high modernism—one that has its roots in a Eurocentric CIAM genealogy—or the imaginary orientalist architecture invented by the French based on their interpretation of medieval architecture from the region.

In Boumalne, by contrast, Faraoui and de Mazières were not constrained by these circumstances; they were not beholden to a master plan and the aesthetics of its building codes imposed on them by others. If the Almoravids Hotel in Marrakesh marked a departure from their Agadir projects and a focus on place and locality, the Dades Gorges Hotel in Boumanle is a further continuation of this trajectory, one that resonates with some of the tendencies of what has been referred to as "critical regionalism."[63] In his 1983 essay "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," architectural historian Kenneth Frampton lays out some of the key principles of critical regionalism as an architecture that resists what he views as the "apocalyptic thrust of modernization" that has culminated in "the freestanding high-rise and the serpentine highway."[64] Taking up Paul Ricœur's problematic of modernization, or "how to become modern and to return to sources,"[65] Frampton offers the idea of an "arrière-garde" rather than an avant-garde approach. "Architecture can only be sustained today as a critical practice," he contends, "if it assumes an *arrière-garde* position, that is to say, one which distances itself equally from the Enlightenment myth of progress and from a reactionary, unrealistic impulse to return to the architectonic forms of the preindustrial past. A critical arrière-garde has to remove itself from both the optimization of advanced technology and the ever-present tendency to regress into nostalgic historicism or the glibly decorative."[66] An arrière-garde position, as Frampton frames it, offers a way out of the modern/traditional binary by putting pressure on both the future-oriented, utopian discourse of modernism and the sentimentality and populism of regional historical revivalism.

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[62] "Règlement technique provisoire applicable aux constructions dans la zone sinistrée d'Agadir dit 'Normes Agadir 1960'" (Ministère des Travaux Publics, 1960).

[63] This term is attributed to Alex Tzonis and Liliane Lefaivre in "The Grid and the Pathway: An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis," *Architecture in Greece*, 15 (Athens: 1981), 178.

[64] Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *The Anti-Aesthetic : Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend: Bay Press, 1983), 17.

[65] Paul Ricœur, *History and Truth*, trans. Charles A. Kelbley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2007), 277.

[66] Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," 20.

This critical approach resonates with some of the provocations of Abdelkébir Khatibi, in particular what he calls "double critique" and "other thinking,"[67] yet unlike Khatibi, Frampton is not engaged in questions and politics of decolonization; instead Frampton's formulation of critical regionalism is more of an extension of some of the debates that emerged at CIAM IX held in 1953, in which a new generation of architects and planners took issue with the rationalist and functionalist visions of modern architecture and urbanism that predominated CIAM ever since Le Corbusier's Athens Charter of 1933. This group of young architects came to be known as Team X, and included the likes of George Candilis who worked extensively in Morocco during the 1950s with ATBAT-Afrique to design modern yet culturally and geographically sensitive public housing for Moroccans moving to cities from rural parts of the country. Aldo Van Eyck was another member of Team X and is directly cited by Frampton in his essay on critical regionalism. In this vain, according to Frampton:

> The fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived *indirectly* from the peculiarities of a particular place… Critical Regionalism depends upon maintaining a high level of self-consciousness. It may find its governing inspiration in such things as the range and quality of the local light, or in a *tectonic* derived from a peculiar structural mode, or in the topography of a given site.[68]

If avant-garde modernism has typically favored the universal over the particular and the global (or "international") over the local, then arrière-garde critical regionalism, as Frampton understands it, does not simply just invert these preferences; rather, critical regionalism can be characterized by an aversion to doctrines and orthodoxy, by an openness to time, and an embrace of place.

This discourse resonates with Faraoui and de Mazières's Dades Gorges Hotel in Boumalne, as their modernist sensibilities are imbued "with elements derived *indirectly* from the peculiarities of a particular place," namely the architecture and urbanism of the Pre-Saharan region. Faraoui and de Mazières are not interested in merely replicating or reviving the historical architecture of this region, but they are also not trying to impose a generic high modernist style on this place. Take, for example, the Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy (fig. 3.55), who went to great lengths with his New Gourna project of 1946-1952 to not only draw on the formal elements of local Nubian architecture of southern Egypt to rehouse the displaced villagers of Gourna but also employed vernacular materials and construction techniques such as the use of salt-stone foundations, mud-brick, and domes. Unlike Fathy, Faraoui and de Mazières used reinforced concrete for the structure and stonework for the walls of their Boumalne hotel, though they did mostly cover the exterior walls with plaster dyed with mace for a burnt-sienna color and textured to evoke the quality of aged rammed-earth, the historical building material used in this region (fig. 3.56.) As with in Agadir and Marrakech, Faraoui and de Mazières did leave some of the horizontal reinforced-concrete beams exposed, a signature design element that reveals some of the structural and material elements of their buildings (fig. 3.56). And whereas Fathy devised passive cooling and heating strategies for New Gourna based on historical methods, such as the use of windcatchers for passive ventilation, Faraoui and de Mazières equipped their hotel

[67] Abdelkebir Khatibi, *Plural Maghreb: Writings on Postcolonialism*, trans. P. Burcu Yalim (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).
[68] Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," 21. Emphasis is original.

throughout with air conditioning. While Fathy claims to have designed New Gourna with the displaced villagers in mind and recognized the importance of addressing some of the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of creating a housing development project in the guise of a new village (preempting debates about "habitat" years before this issue took center stage at CIAM IX in 1953),[69] his zealous pursuit of vernacular architecture as a rejection of high modernism superseded the preferences of New Gourna's inhabitants and resulted in architectural forms that were off putting to them, including the prominent use of domes which, while creating light-filled open spaces that Fathy viewed as desirable for inhabitants, were associated with funerary architecture and thus perceived as undesirable by the local population.

In addition, Fathy's refusal to use industrial materials like steel, concrete, and glass and instead turn to salt block (karshif) for foundations and mud-brick for enclosing walls—partly due to the miniscule budget provided to house poor displaced rural villagers and partly due to Fathy's own convictions regarding materials and techniques—resulted in unforeseen problems, with villagers needing to constantly repair their homes' foundations due to humidity that can erode the karshif foundations. Karshif, or composite salt blocks, were historically used by the Amazigh of the Siwa Oasis in the western desert of Egypt and valued for their high thermal mass which isolates a building's interior from the climate of the exterior, effectively keeping the inside of homes cool during the summer and warm during the winter. Compared to active air conditioning powered by electricity or diesel generators, karshif is a highly cost effective passive climate control system, but it also required regular maintenance and repairs as the composite salt material was highly reactive to moisture and humidity.[70] Furthermore, karshif was completely foreign to New Gourna and the area of Luxor in Upper Egypt nearly one thousand kilometers away from Siwa and its unique climate and geology. The inhabitants of New Gourna, thus, were not prepared for all of the maintenance they would have to perform in order to keep their homes from collapsing. While Fathy viewed karshif as an ingenious solution to keeping the costs down for the project—not to mention the lack of electricity at the site which would have been required for active air conditioning—it also demanded an onerous amount of labor and resources of the inhabitants of New Gourna to just keep their homes structurally sound.

One more contemporaneous point of comparison that Faraoui and de Mazières would no doubt have been familiar with is Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67, an experimental housing complex built for the 1967 International and Universal Exposition in Montreal, or Expo 67 (fig. 3.57). Both projects bear a strong resemblance formally, as they both feature a pyramidal massing of cubical volumes. In addition, both projects both also make extensive use of repetitive spatial standardization: Habitat 67 is entirely composed of residential units of identical dimensions, and the Dades Gorges Hotel has one hundred identical paired rooms with each pair forming one of the cubical volumes of the hotel (fig. 3.58). But whereas Safdie based his entire design on modular, mass-produced prefabricated concrete forms, Faraoui and de Mazières do not seem to have used much prefabrication in their building process because of the relatively small scale of the hotel and its one-off nature. Furthermore, Safdie's project hardly reflects any aspect of its environment as it is meant to be a model for future mass-housing that could be built anywhere, while Faraoui and de Mazières designed their hotel to be in dialogue with both its built and environmental surroundings.

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[69] Hassan Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1989).

[70] Jeffrey E. Huber et al., "Salty Urbanism: Towards an Adaptive Coastal Design Framework to Address Sea Level Rise," *The Plan Journal* 2, no. 2 (2017), 398-399.

Like with Fathy, Safdie was also attuned to construction costs and turned to modular prefabrication as a way to keep costs low and make streamline the construction process. They both also were greatly concerned with the question of "habitat" and providing for the needs of those who lived in their housing complexes at a human scale, echoing the centrality of "habitat" in the discourse of Team X. As the Boumalne project was a hotel catering to transient tourists, Faraoui and de Mazières did not have to concern themselves with these matters.

Fathy and Safdie's projects represent two sides of the coin identified by Frampton: Fathy's New Gourna as a nostalgia for the past and Safdie's Habitat 67 as techno-scientific futurity. Faraoui and de Mazière's Dades Gorges Hotel, meanwhile, does not have any commitments to either side of this binary. What they are committed to, instead, is place. Evoking the work of Swiss architect Mario Botta and his idea of "building the site," Frampton writes:

> It is possible to argue…the specific culture of the region—that is to say, its history in both a geological and agricultural sense—becomes inscribed into the form and realization of the work. The inscription, which arises out of 'in-laying' the building into the site, has many levels of significance, for it has a capacity to embody, in built form, the prehistory of the place, its archaeological past and its subsequent cultivation and transformation across time. Through this layering into the site the idiosyncrasies of place find their expression without falling into sentimentality.[71]

It is significant that Faraoui and de Mazières built, or "in-laid," their hotel into the site and embraced the topography rather than bulldozing it. This is in stark contrast to what happened in Agadir, where not only did the Moroccan officials bulldoze nearly every building that remained standing after the earthquake (not to mention all of the rubble of the collapsed buildings), they also extensively flattened the topography of the site and diverted and buried the Tildi River to flow under the new city. If the architecture of the new Agadir is largely placeless, including the residentical blocs of Faraoui and de Mazières, then the Boumalne hotel can be said to be far more engaged with place. The architects were deliberate with the way in which they plugged, or "layered," their hotel into the site and thereby, engaged with and responded to, in a dialogical manner, the architecture that predates their intervention into the town. The history of the site then can be said to be "inscribed" or "embodied," to use Frampton's language, in Faraoui and de Mazières's project. Their design and approach brings and carries forward the past into the present as they speculate on designing hotels for the future Morocco; the boundaries between a past-present and a future-present have been blurred.

There were some limitations to Faraoui and de Mazières's commitments to place, either due to the requirements of their client (the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism) or their own design choices. Important for Frampton's conceptualization of critical regionalism are not only topography, which as we have seen Faraoui and de Mazières paid great attention to, but also the "contingencies of climate and the temporally inflected qualities of local light."[72] As previously mentioned, Faraoui and de Mazières did have air conditioning installed in this hotel—perhaps a demand of the Ministry of Tourism as a way to attract tourists. They also used sliding glass doors for the hotel room balconies and sliding glass windows elsewhere rather than vernacular fenestration like mashrabiyas or other latticed openings found in the historical architecture of this region. As an aesthetic nod to those devices, however, Faraoui and de Mazières did use cover some of their windows and balconies with lattice grids (fig. 3.56).

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[71] Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," 26.
[72] Ibid.

These disparate design choices, wherein some aspects of vernacular architecture and deployed alongside modern technologies like air conditioning and sliding glass windows bespeaks the careful ways in which Faraoui and de Mazières were respectful of place while also not being averse to deploying technologies that would benefit the experience of their users. In this way, while much of their work in Boumalne resonates with the critical regionalism of Frampton, he would fault the architects for not doing enough to root their hotel in its place. "The main antagonist of rooted culture," proclaims Frampton, "is the ubiquitous air conditioner, applied in all times and in all places, irrespective of the local climatic conditions which have a capacity to express the specific place and the seasonal variations of climate."[73] As someone who has visited the Pre-Saharan region, I can attest to how swelteringly hot the climate can be and how welcome air-conditioning would be in this environment. Is it wrong to offer vacationers the reprieve of air-conditioning? At the same time, the architects could have done more to position their hotel in such a way as to maximize airflow and alleviate some of the harshness of the sun.

Ultimately, they seem to be more interested in mining and extracting the architecture, art, and design aesthetics of the Pre-Saharan region rather than carefully studying why the buildings and villages of this region were built the way they were. Much like how the Casablanca School artists visited this region as part of their research into historical Moroccan vernacular aesthetics which would form the basis for locally rooted modernisms without bothering to understand the complex forms of communication and knowledge systems conveyed by the visual language they encountered, Faraoui and de Mazières superficially studied the formal aesthetics of this built environment to anchor their modernist architectural practice in the specificities of their projects' sites while not going so far as to understand the social and cultural function of space in these historical buildings.[74] (This was also a shortcoming of Hassan Fathy with his New Gourna housing complex. Despite his more concerted efforts to study spatial form, he uncoupled spatial function/purpose from cultural meaning).

In addition to the emphasis on place, another major aspect to their Boumalne hotel are the multisensory experiential details. Frampton includes the "tactile" as one of his six points of critical regionalism. As he puts it:

> The tactile resilience of the place-form and the capacity of the body to read the environment in terms other than those of sight alone suggest a potential strategy for resisting the domination of universal technology. It is symptomatic of the priority given to sight that we find it necessary to remind ourselves that the tactile is an important dimension in the perception of built form. On has in mind a whole range of complementary sensory perceptions which are registered by the labile body: the intensity of light, darkness, heat and cold; the feeling of humidity; the aroma of material; the almost palpable presence of masonry as the body senses its own confinement; the momentum of an induced gait and the relative inertia of the body as it traverses the floor; the echoing resonance of our own footfall.[75]

Getting out of the car and walking to the entrance of the hotel, a hotel guest would first experience the climate of this region that lies at the foot of the Sahara Desert, hot and dry during

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[73] Ibid., 27.

[74] See, for example, the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his thorough study of spatial practice of the Kabyle people: Pierre Bourdieu, "The Kabyle House or the World Reversed," in *Algeria 1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 133–53.

[75] Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," 28.

the summer and cold during the winter, especially during the night. Approaching the hotel, the textured, mace-dyed plaster walls beckon to be touched for tactile investigation (figs. 3.56, 3.59, and 3.60). Entering the hotel, guests are greeted by a multisensory symphony of textures and smells (fig. 3.61). The cold, drab, smooth stone floors and raw, reinforced-concrete beams are juxtaposed by the warm, fragrant cedar ceiling lattice-work designed by Mohamed Chebâa (who oversaw the entirety of the interior design program for this hotel). The heady aroma of incense may also have been wafting across the lobby.

The lobby area is also flooded by natural light during the day thanks to the large windows with latticed frames/screens that look out onto the pool area (figs. 3.62, 3.63, 3.64, and 3.65). After dark, the public spaces of the hotel feature dramatic, almost baroque, plays of light and shadow. The recessed lighting from the ceiling trickles through cedar slats and casts geometric, at times even gridded, shadows and creates different effects as it intermingles with the various textures and materials of the walls and floors (figs. 3.64, 3.66, and 3.67). In a corridor off of the bar and lounge area, Chebâa integrated relief sculpture directly onto a wall, effectively blurring the lines between art and architecture (figs. 3.66, 3.67, and 3.68). The work is comprised of thin linear vertical and horizontal bricks, with the vertical pieces in higher relief than the horizontal pieces. Visually, this appears as a broken, multidimensional raised grid. Providing a significant degree of texture and tactility to this wall, the topographical dimensionality of this work also contributes to the phenomenological experience of this space, particularly at nighttime as the ceiling lighting cascades down the wall and casts shadows as it gets caught in the interstices of the wall's cruciform ridges. The tenebristic light and shadow effects can further be seen on the second floor of the hotel, in an area with an opening that looks onto the first floor (figs. 3.69, 3.70, and 3.71). Vernacular ornate metal lamps with geometric patterning hang down this opening and emit their light into the void. Some of light from these lamps rushes through the openings of the cedar balustrade, featuring an abstract repeating motif designed by Chebâa, that surrounds this opening and casts patterned shadows. Here, the shadows are like prints or projects of architectural device of the balustrade, extending their forms into multiple dimensions and interacting with the space around them. Hanging on a wall that overlooks the opening is an abstract painting Hélène Valentin (fig. 3.73). Titled *Secret of My Thought*, from 1973, the work is composed of geometric fields, mainly triangles, of unmodulated color. The palette mainly features hues of pinks and earth tones, perhaps evoking the colors of Boumalne and its architecture, including this hotel. The fields of color almost resemble spotlight beams pointing in different directions, resonating with the bright light being emitted by the pendant lamps hanging before this painting. Valentin had lived in Morocco during the 1950s with her husband François Remy before moving to New York during the 1960s. It is possible, but speculative, that she met Mohammed Melehi and Toni Maraini there when they lived in New York between 1962 and 1964, and this could explain how her work ended up in this hotel.

Chebâa's contributions extend beyond the interior design as seen by the cedar lattice screens, ceiling panels, and balustrade designs. In addition to the broken-grid relief-sculpture wall, he created additional integrated works for some of the other walls. One of these works is located in the main lobby space and features repeating carved wooden panels affixed to several walls and painting in between them (figs. 3.62, 3.63, 3.64, 3.74, and 3.75). The form of the panels are of two types, and they are characterized by either a long, narrow rectangular shape that then zigzags and becomes wider at the other end, or the reverse wherein there is a wide, long section that then zigzags and becomes narrower at the other end. These forms, while rectilinear and geometric, may be an abstract representation of the topography of the site of the hotel. If

rotated ninety degree, the long, narrow part of the panel may be the town of Boumalne and the wider zigzag section would then be the hotel ascending the hillside with its massed cubical volumes, or the wide, long end may be the plain that meets the hotel that then zigzags down the cliffside to the narrow edge of the panel. This reading is further bolstered by some of the geometry of thte hotel itself, with certain views showcasing the linear, zigzagging contours of the hotel envelope (figs. 3.59 and 3.60). Arranged in several orientations, these panels at times are coupled together, nearly interlocking like teeth where the zigzag come together; in other instances, they are arranged long end to long end with juxtaposed widths facing away from one another. And yet other configurations have panels seemingly standing alone. It is unclear whether there is a repeating sequence or algorithm for the positioning of these panels that Chebâa is using here, but it is certainly possible as he (along with Mohammed Melehi) were interested in minimalism, op-art, and cybernetics. Chebâa painted the areas of the wall itself between the wood panels, almost like intervals or gaps between the panels which appear as abstracted letters or musical notes from afar. These painted areas are predominately flat fields of color, either blue or green, and accented along the edges of the wooden panels by usually a single, thin line of purple, with the exception of several sections that have multiple lines and fields of color or others that have semicircles (which may be portraying the sun rising or setting over the horizon when rotated ninety degrees). This integrated work, part sculpture, part painting, part architecture, acts as a non-load-bearing wall that breaks up the open expanse of space of the hotel lobby while also accentuating it with pops of color, dynamism, and texture; the load-bearing structural reinforced concrete beams that the work abuts, in turn, also function as a virtual frame for this painterly, sculptural integration.

The other major integration work Chebâa produced for this hotel is a mural for the bar (figs. 3.66, 3.76, 3.77, 3.78, 3.79, 3.80, 3.81, and 3.82). What appears to be a flat, large-scale two-dimensional painting in many photographs is actually a painting with bas-relief upon closer analysis (figs. 3.80 and 3.81). Materially, the work is comprised of wood painted with cellulosic paint. Certain segments of the work are painted directly on the wood-panel supports, and others have pieces of carved wood attached to the wood-support, creating the subtle bas-relief dimensionality of this site-specific mural. Compositionally, the work, a triptych, consists of hard-edged fields of unmodulated color with various, linear geometries against a white background; there are no curves to be found with any of the forms. The color palette mainly features primary colors, with the additions of purple, pink, and black. Each field of color, with its smooth edges, sharp angles, and at times meandering, zigzagging shape, has its own presence. This is especially the case with the relief panels, as not only do they have a sense of volumetric mass and dimensionality to them, but they also appear to be each individually hand-carved with a high-level of precision to be able to tightly align with one another. The carving component of this work resonates with the shaped-canvases of the likes of Frank Stella and Ellsworth Kelly, and the streams of color evoke the poured latex sculptures of Lynda Benglis.

As this work is no longer in-situ, it is difficult to glean from the archival photographs whether or not the level of relief is even for all of the applied panels or whether there is variation in their thickness, which would add to the spatial complexity of this work. The formal elements of this mural allude to geometry, yet there are no discernable shapes. As Chebâa himself wrote, he is concerned with “the problem of the form in space, in the line as well as the shape, and with

color as a means of bringing these all together."[76] In this mural, what may have otherwise been geometric forms are here busted open and disoriented, vibrating in the middle panel with energetic zigs and zags. Yet, despite the disorder, the composition is highly coordinated and tightly regulated, as though this were a controlled demolition of orderly chaos.

While Chebâa produced numerous other works of a similar style during this early to mid 1970s period, including pained relief works as well as flat paintings such as *Composition* of 1974 (fig. 3.83), the bar mural stands apart from them. If these other paintings were meant to stand alone and be placed on any random wall, the bar mural was intentionally created for a specific site as part of a larger project that included other site-specific works. The bar mural is, after all, part of the larger integration project, and the work demonstrates some of the many meanings of the term. Chebâa integrates painting with sculpture, the art-object with the architecture and the space around it and the other works, the hand-made with the industrially produced synthetic cellulosic paint, color with form. By contrast, the painting by Hélène Valentin (fig. 3.73), for example, was not specifically created for this hotel and it could have been hung on any wall without losing part of its meaning that would have been generated from its site-specificity and spatial intentionality. This painting seems to have been selected for the hotel and placed on the second floor looking out onto the first floor primarily due to its aesthetics and dimensions. The differences between Chebâa's and Valentin's work in the hotel underscore what makes an integrated work different from a painting on canvas. Chebâa integrated works are not only created specifically for a singular architectural space, but they are also meant to be part of that architecture, one with the built environment. There is no clear delineation between the artworks of Chebâa and the architecture of Faraoui and de Mazières. Chebâa's work is also supposed to be permanently part of the hotel, as long as it stands. If Chebâa's works were to be removed from the hotel (which would be no easy feat), their context-specific meaning and significance would be nearly entirely diminished, for they were never meant to be displayed in a gallery-like setting or installed in a different structure. This is in stark contrast to Valentin's or even Chebâa's other canvas paintings, which were meant to be hung, removed, and rehung countless times and displayed virtually anywhere. In effect, the integrations primarily only function as gestalt ensembles and are activated only when all together, and therein lies a major aspect of their meaning.

Neither just a painting nor a sculpture—a common refrain of minimalism[77]— and more than just interior decorations, the integrations represent for Chebâa an opportunity to move beyond a conventional, siloed studio practice that is contained within disciplinary boundaries and into an expanded field of practice. In effect, through the integrations projects, Chebâa and his Casablanca School colleagues Melehi and Belkahia were able to put their pedagogies and theories into practice on a larger scale and reach new publics. It is one thing to organize an end of year school exhibition that entails the coming together of arts students across disciplines and practices to work on a conceptual project like a new cultural center for Casablanca in 1964 or even an exhibition actually staged in the cupola of the Arab League Park in Casablanca right across from the Casablanca School of Fine Arts in 1968. It is quite different, however, to work on a full-scale, professional, tangible commission alongside established architects with whom

[76] Zakya Daoud, "Chebaa: 'The Painting Is Working Itself out in My Head,'" in *Lamalif: A Critical Anthology of Societal Debates in Morocco during the "Years of Lead" (1966–1988)*, ed. Brahim El Guabli and Ali Alalou (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022), 15. Originally in *Lamalif* no. 161, 1984.
[77] See for example Donald Judd, "Specific Objects," in *Complete Writings: 1959-1975* (Halifax, N.S.: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975), 181.

they shared similar aesthetic and design concerns. If the school environment served as a sort of incubator or "laboratory" as Melehi described it,[78] then the integrations projects were full-scale implementations and applications of their small-scale trials at the school. This sense of applied-arts, which was a central tenant of the school's pedagogical program, is on full display here.

Not far from the Hôtel les Gorges du Dadès, Faraoui and de Mazières teamed up with Chebâa and Melehi at the same time on another integration in the form of the Hôtel Les Roses du Dadès (Dades Roses Hotel) in Kelaat M'Gouna overlooking the Valley of the Roses. Apart from Toni Maraini's aforementioned article in *Souffles* reviewing the first integration project, the Almoravids Hotel, not much has been written about the integrations projects during their time, neither individually nor as a whole. Maraini herself did go on to write about the hotel integrations in Boumalne (Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès) and Kelaat M'Gouna (Hôtel Les Roses du Dadès) about a decade later for the 1981-82 Second International Architecture Exhibition in Venice (which has come to be known as the Venice Biennale of Architecture) titled *Architecture in Islamic Countries*.[79] The short essay offers a brief analysis of these two projects, as well as a critique of the term "Islamic architecture" as colonial and orientalizing. Maraini begins by noting some of the aesthetic characteristics of architecture of the ksours and kasbahs of the surrounding pre-Saharan region, claiming that the aesthetics of many of these historical built environments are "ripe for the modern eye."[80] Maraini goes on to praise Faraoui and de Mazières because "they knew how to *integrate* their architecture in this particular context, at once homogenous and spectacular."[81] Further analyzing the interplay of the integration of the hotels with their surroundings, Maraini proclaims: "In harmony with the poetics of a living tradition—that of the ksours—these buildings are nevertheless of a rigorous modernity… The architects knew how to preserve, in these two projects, an almost sacred, ambient unity, guided by this ideal of formal purity and of poetics of space that follows the Modern Movement."[82] With these words, Maraini puts pressure on the colonial modernity/traditionality binary, highlighting some of the aspects of precolonial architecture and urbanism in the pre-Saharan region of Morocco that prefigure twentieth century modern architecture.

Integration as Speculation

Concerning the matter of the origin of the term "integration," or "*intégration*" in French, as it has been loosely used by the Casablanca School artists, Faraoui and de Mazières, and critics, not much is known. The term has not been theorized by any particular figure in the Moroccan context and mostly just began to be used to describe the phenomenon of integrating art with architecture for a singular project. One of the earliest uses of the term appears in a 1963 document by the art critic and curator Pierre Restany addressed to the Moroccan Minister of Tourism, Crafts, and Fine Arts Moulay Ahmed Alaoui. In it, Restany—who notably was born in Morocco—proposes to launch the First International Festival of Mohammedia, mainly focusing on painting and sculpture at first, which would be on par with other festivals and biennials in cities like Sao Paolo, Venice, Paris, Tokyo, and Teheran. Restany envisioned organizing the festival into four parts with two exhibitions, the first being an international "Art-Architecture"

[78] École des Beaux-Arts de Casablanca, *Booklet* (Tangier: Éditions marocaines et internationales, 1965), 11.
[79] Toni Maraini, "Au Sud du Maroc: deux exemples d'architecture contemporaine," reproduced in *Écrits sur l'art: choix de textes, Maroc 1967-1989* (Rabat: Al Kalam, 1990), 241-244.
[80] Ibid., 241.
[81] Ibid. The emphasis is my own.
[82] Ibid., 241-242.

gathering [*"rencontre*"], the second being a national exhibition of Moroccan artists, the third being a catalogue of the exhibition, and the fourth being the dissemination of the event around the world through international artists and critics invited to attend the festival. As Restany describes the first component of the festival, "This show, that would have taken place in the Casino of Mohammedia assembles numerous French and foreign painters, of international renown, and who are particularly interested in the problem of architectural integration. Their submissions will have been conceived with respect to the architecture of the building, which they may even come to in order to create their works on site."[83] That Restany sought to dedicate a whole section of the international festival in Mohammedia to the problem of art-architecture integration is significant, for it reveals his deep and ongoing connection to some of the currents he was attached to in France, particularly those centered around the art, architecture, and literary critic Michel Ragon.

The modern idea of the synthesis of the arts in Europe emerged in the nineteenth century in Germany, with figures like the philosopher Karl Trahndorff and composer Richard Wagner propagating the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or "total work of art." Trahndorff, in *Aesthetics, or Doctrine of Worldview and Art* [*Aesthetik oder Lehre von der Weltanshaaung und Kunst*] of 1827 wrote that the four arts – what he describes as the art of the sound of the word (poetry), music, mimicry (theatre) and dance – bear the possibility of coalescing to become a single production.[84] Wagner would go on to further explore the synthesis of multifarious artistic disciplines in both theory and practice with his seminal essays of 1849 "Art and Revolution" ["*Die Kunst und die Revolution*"] and "The Artwork of the Future" ["*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft"*] and his monumental four-part operatic cycle begun in 1848 *Der Ring des Nibelungen*.[85] Over the course of the remainder of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, the *Gesamtkunstwerk* cast a long shadow over movements such as Romanticism, Art Nouveau, the Viennese Secession, the Bauhaus, Art Deco, and Purism, among others, across Europe.[86]

While the exploration of the synthesis of the arts may have grown to be perceived as outmoded in the wake of the Second World War by many of the European neo-avant-garde, a small faction re-engaged with this problematic during the French reconstruction period. As Larry Busbea writes in a chapter titled "Integrations" of his book *Topologies: The Urban Utopia in France, 1960-1970*, "Although, or perhaps because, the rhetoric of synthesis or integration was by the mid-sixties at best *retardaire*, and at worst purely reactionary, it is here that we find some of the most interesting cultural interactions of the period."[87] Busbea tracks the shift from the earlier "synthesis" of the arts discourse that culminated with figures like Le Corbusier and André Bloc to that of the "integration" that began to emerge in the mid-to-late 1950s. Le Corbusier

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[83] Pierre Restany, "Premier festival international de Mohammedia." Pierre Restany files, Prest-59X042517, Archives de la critique d'art**,** Rennes.

[84] Karl Friedrich Eusebius Trahndorff, *Aesthetik oder Lehre von der Weltanschauung und Kunst* (Berlin: Maurer, 1827), 312-313. According to Alfred Neumann, Trahndorff was the first to coin the term *Gesamtkunstwerk*: Alfred R. Neumann, "The Earliest Use of the Term Gesamtkunstwerk," Philological Quarterly 35, no. 2 (April 1956), 191–193.

[85] Richard Wagner, *Art-Work of the Future and Other Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

[86] For more on the history of the modernist synthesis of the arts, see Anke Finger and Danielle Follett, eds., *The Aesthetics of the Total Work of Art: On Borders and Fragments* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

[87] Larry Busbea, *Topologies: The Urban Utopia in France, 1960-1970* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012), 170. See also Nicola Pezolet, *Reconstruction and the Synthesis of the Arts in France, 1944-1962* (London: Rougledge, 2018).

declared the moment after World War II to be the dawn of a new "plastic epic," characterized by a "synthesis of the three main arts: architecture, sculpture, and painting, a synthesis important for the community of buildings, as well as private houses… In this great of liberation of the main arts, architecture, sculpture, and painting, this synthesis must be considered as a duty towards the country."[88] This was Le Corbusier's "synthesis of the arts" contribution to the nationalist reconstruction effort after the War, which he hoped would "excite international audiences" as well as "testify to the flourishing of French art."[89]

André Bloc, who originally trained as an engineer and had interests in constructivism and neoplasticism, launched the highly influential contemporary architecture magazine *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* (1930) and featured many of the midcentury projects of Le Corbusier and others, such as Paul Nelson and Jean Ginsberg, during the reconstruction period that worked through the idea of the synthesis of the arts. In 1949, he founded the journal *L'art d'aujourd'hui*, which was affiliated with the Groupe Espace movement he led with Félix Del Marle for much of the 1950s. The Groupe Espace brought together artists and architects interested in the synthesis of architecture, painting, and sculpture, such as Nicolas Schöffer, Ionel Schein, Victor Vaserly, Claude Parent, Walter Gropius, and Marcel Breuer.

If for Le Corbusier the synthesis of the arts, and the historical concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk,* were mostly important for the "community of buildings, as well as private homes," for the Espace group, the spatial and social dimensions of the coming together of these plastic practices had heightened significance. "Some of the members of the Groupe Espace," comments Busbea, "were beginning to feel as though the role of the plastic arts was too easily being relegated to decoration, and they began to formulate new approaches."[90] Pierre Francastel's 1956 *Art and Technology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* wades into some of these problematics and offers a critique of the Corbusian synthesis of the arts. Comparing Paul Nelson's Saint-Lô Hospital to Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation, he finds the former to be far more successful, for Nelson "does not use painters to give a superficial aesthetic character to his buildings but himself gives the buildings intentionally and structurally plastic qualities."[91] Francastel is putting pressure here on the implicit distinctions or separations between painting, sculpture, and architecture that a synthesis of the arts is predicated upon. Busbea further explicates:

> Francastel's work was far from a defense of the 'synthesis of the arts,' however. For him, the rhetoric of synthesis presupposed a distinction between the various arts that, when viewed from the proper methodological perspective, should not exist at all…Instead of a synthesis of different disciplines, Francastel asserted the inevitability of the 'integration,' not of the distinct arts to one another, but of new plastic concerns by all the arts…Thus for Francastel, integration is not a matter of a rapprochement between art and architecture but a more profound structural connection between plastic activity in general and the technico-scientific social base. This idea anticipated the multidisciplinary 'team' mentality that characterized avant-garde collectives in the sixties."[92]

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[88] Le Corbusier, "Vers l'unité: Synthèse des arts majeurs, architecture, sculpture, peinture," *Continuity*, no. 2 (1945). Reproduced in Willy Boesiger, ed., *Le Corbusier: Œuvre Complète*, vol. 4: 1938-1946 (De Gruyter, 1995), 155.
[89] Ibid., 155.
[90] Busbea, *Topologies*, 173.
[91] Pierre Francastel, *Art and Technology in the Nineteenth and Twentietc Centuries*, trans. Randall Cherry (New York: Zone, 2000), 236.
[92] Busbea, *Topologies*, 174-175.

This paradigm of "integration," as different than "synthesis," is illuminating because it marks a shift away from bringing together artistic practices that may be thought to be disparate and separate to centering plastic thought as the root of all artistic practices which may be understood as ways to express this shared plastic thought that undergirds architecture and art. So rather than various practitioners coming together to work on an individual building that would result in a synthesis of the arts, Francastel places greater significance on the shared, collective vision of various practitioners coming together to explore a singular problematic or set of concepts, especially those having to do with space and environment. Francastel and the Groupe Espace (literally the "space group") prefigured the spatial-turn in French cultural theory that is perhaps best represented by Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*.

Key to the critiques of the synthesis of the arts discourse were the questions of scale, technology, sociability, and depth of collaboration. Alongside contemporaneous developments in spatial urbanism, cybernetics, and social sciences, some members of the Groupe Espace, especially Nicolas Schöffer, embraced these advancements and echoed some of the concerns of Francastel to expand the discourse on the synthesis of the arts beyond the unit of an individual building or structure. Schöffer advocated for thinking about and working on integrations at the larger scale of the city as a whole, for exploring the immersive, multisensory qualities that are fundamental to the perception and spectacle of plastic experience, and for uncovering the deeper structures that are shared by art, architecture, and other forms of plastic expression.[93] In addition, Schöffer articulated a set of qualities he called "topologies" of ambient space that are central to integrations at the scale of the city: time, light, sound, climate, and space itself.[94] "In this rather liberal use of the terminology," explains Busbea, "topology is the description of the spatial deployment of the manipulable elements of perception. Each topology would form one of the fundamental layers in the formation of the new urban environment, an ambient space in which every human sense was engaged, stimulated, and subject to the most soothing possible rhythms."[95] This topological thinking about urban space that foregrounded collective plastic creation and multisensory experience is far different from previous iterations of the synthesis of the arts and paved the way for what would come in the 1960s.

Michel Ragon founded the International Group of Prospective Architecture (*Groupe international d'architecture prospective*, or GIAP) in 1965, and the group's manifesto proclaims, "GIAP's goal is to bring together all the technicians, artists, sociologists, and various specialists who search for new urban and architectural solutions… GIAP thus has no other doctrine at this time than architectural prospective. AGAINST a retrospective architecture. FOR a prospective architecture."[96] Members of GIAP included, among many others: architects Nicolas Schöffer, Ionel Schein, Yona Friedman, Paul Maymont; artists Victor Vaserly, Pierre Székely, Mathias Goeritz; and engineer Abraham Moles. United in their shared mission to explore new forms of urbanism and architecture in a multidisciplinary collaborations, the project of "prospective architecture" is also one that is inherently future-oriented, as prospecting derives from the Latin '*prospecere*,' meaning forward looking (*pro* meaning forward *specere* meaning to look, the latter of which is the root for words like specter, spectacle, and speculation). Through a prospective

[93] Ibid., 174.
[94] Nicolas Schöffer, *La Ville Cybernétique* (Paris: Tchou, 1969), 110-119.
[95] Busbea, *Topologies*, 175.
[96] Yona Friedman et al., *Manifeste du Groupe international d'architecture prospective*, May 1965. Partially quoted in Busbea, *Topologies*, 175.

architecture, new topographically rich paradigms of living in and experiencing cities could perhaps one day be achieved, thereby offering a way out of the limitations and shortcomings they perceived about Corbusian high modernism and other historical models of producing art and architecture.

Pierre Restany was close with many of these figures and, as a critic and curator, directly worked with them and contributed to the question of integrations. While his proposal for an international festival in Mohammedia never came to fruition, he organized a large exhibition several years later in 1967 called *Superlund* at the Lunds Konsthall in Sweden. Featuring the work of artists, architects, and designers, "the core question of the exhibition," writes Katarina Wadstein MacLeod in her study of this exhibition, "was to research the role of art and the conclusion was that art, design, and architecture made from, and for, urban society was the remedy for a dystopian future."[97] The fourth section of the exhibition, "Prospective Architecture and the Cities of the Future," was nearly entirely dedicated to GIAP and included the work of many of its members. By zooming out from Morocco briefly here, the midcentury discourse on integrations taking place in Marshall Plan Europe provides crucial context for the parallel engagement with this problematic in Morocco.

It is unclear what prompted Restany to conceive of the 1963 Mohammedia international festival, but it should be no mystery now why one the two exhibitions of this festival was to be dedicated to the question of architectural integrations. And it is significant that this exhibition is intended for a casino, a veritable palace of leisure and tourism, in the city of Mohammedia, a small beach town with a major oil refinery just outside of Casablanca that was being developed to also become a weekend-getaway or vacation-home resort city for middle-class Moroccans. Restany's description resonates significantly with the idea of integration that was central to the collaboration between the Casablanca School artists and Faraoui and de Mazières. However, while Restany notes in his description that the Moroccan government would stand to gain from such an exhibition because it would have the option to acquire the paintings submitted for the show, this model of integration lacks the permanent site-specificity of the Casablanca School understanding of the term as they intended their works to only ever be integrated with the architecture. Rather than producing paintings on canvas that could be displayed in a specific setting, the Casablanca School artists created works that were physically integrated with the architecture itself; removing them from their original context voids their whole *raison d'être*. And the hotel itself was designed to be integrated with the existing urban fabric of medieval walled city of Marrakesh.

A couple of years after working on the Almoravids Hotel in Marrakesh, and before the other hotel integrations projects in the Pre-Saharan region, the Casablanca School artists organized a landmark exhibition in Marrakesh known as "*Exposition Manifeste*" ("Manifesto Exhibition") / "*Action Plastique*" ("Plastic Action," sometimes also referred to as "*présence plastique*" or "plastic presence") in May of 1969 in the historical heart of the city, the Djema al Fna central market square just down the street from the Almoravids Hotel (figs. 3.84, 3.85, and 3.86). As Khalil M'Rabet notes, this exhibition came about because some of the Casablanca School artists were not invited to the official "*Pré-salon de printemps*" ("spring pre-salon") exhibition organized by the then Minister of Culture Mohammed El Fassi (former minister of

[97] Katarina Wadstein MacLeod, "Troubling Peripheries: Pierre Restany and Superlund," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 90, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 15.

Education) at the Marrakesh City Hall.[98] It is unclear why they were not invited to participate alongside the thirty-four artists included in the show, but reasons could include: their open criticisms of and hostility toward Moroccan cultural officials and associations like ANBA and ARC for their unmerited authority and lack of vision to advance avant-garde and radical art in Morocco[99]; their affiliation with the journal *Souffles* and leftist politics; and disputes with other artists outside of the Casablanca School of Fine Arts that were sometimes viewed as competitors.[100]

Nonetheless, in response to the official spring show, the Casablanca School artists decided to stage their own coinciding counter-exhibition in protest of the spring pre-salon. It was an outdoor/public exhibition, wherein the artists displayed their works directly in and on the existing built environment of this central square, the largest gathering point in the city and a place frequented and traversed by tourists and locals alike every single day. This exhibition represented a concrete solution to one of the main obstacles perceived by artists in Morocco at that time: the lack of formal art spaces (e.g. museums or galleries) or sorts of exhibition infrastructures. There were no museums for modern or contemporary art yet in Morocco, due to the colonial dismissal of any sort of avant-garde experimentation in Morocco as merely derivative of European modernism or "inauthentic" or not truly "Moroccan" in the sense of the traditions that the French invented for the populations they colonized; only the French were allowed to be "modern." The artists used this exhibition to question and speculate on where art *can* be shown and *whom* it is for. They were also critical of the perceived bourgeois elitism and exclusivity of museum and gallery spaces and embraced a public outdoor exhibition paradigm as a way to breach literal and figurative barriers that often make formal art spaces inaccessible to a general public.

In Arabic, Mohamed Chebâa, the only theorist and critic of the Casablanca School artists and who wrote mainly in Arabic, has used the term "*madkhal*" to write about "integrated" art. This comes out of the context of the Djema al Fna manifesto exhibition ("*exposition manifeste*"/ "*bayān ma`raḍ Jāma` al-Fanā"*"). In the accompanying statement written by Chebâa originally in Arabic for this exhibition and signed by the faculty members of the Casablanca School of Fine Arts who participated in the exhibition, he writes that they were experimenting with "art integrated into the urban framework, in the street, seen from a distance, in the natural light, etc." [*al-fann al-madkhal `alā al-iṭār al-ma`mārī, fī al-shāri`, `alā al-ib`ād al-baṣriyya, wa fī al-nūr al-ṭabī`ī, ilkh*].[101] "*Madkhal*" is used as a modifier for "*fann,*" or "art," but requires a preposition

[98] Khalil M'Rabet, *Peinture et identité: l'expérience marocaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987), 130-131. See also an interview of Farid Belkahia conducted by Kenza Sefrioui in Kenza Sefrioui, *La revue Souffles, 1966-1973: Espoirs de révolution culturelle au Maroc* (Casablanca: Sirocco, 2013), 341.

[99] One of the most significant instances in which Melehi, Chebâa, and Belkahi voiced these concerns is in a statement published in *Souffles* in 1966: Farid Belkahia, Mohamed Chebâa, and Mohammed Melehi, "Des peintres protestent," *Souffles*, no. 4 (1966): 36–37.

[100] Several Moroccan artists, including Bouabid Bouzaid and Ghany Belmaachi, have mentioned to me that they felt as though the Casablanca School artists excluded artists and students not affiliated with the school from taking part in in the nascent Moroccan artworld so as to amass power, influence, and notoriety within this new world. This resulted in a factionalized and tribal art scene, with many artists resenting the Casablanca School artists, instead of an open and inclusive Moroccan artworld.

[101] This is the only instance I have seen of "integrated art" in Arabic by or with regard to the Casablanca School. The statement was published in both Arabic "*Al-`Amal al-Tashkīlī: Bayān Ma`raḍ Jāma` al-Fana' Murrākush 9 May 1969*" and French "Action plastique: Exposition Jamaâ lfna. Marrakech" in *Souffles* no. (1969). A facsimile of the original Arabic document is reproduced in *Chabâa: Liberté de l'être, création plurielle* (Rabat: Fondation CDG, 2018), 262. The English translation quoted here is by Emma Ramadan in Anneka Lenssen, Sarah Rogers, and Nada

after it, such as "*`alā*" (on) or "*fī*" (in/into), as in "art integrated into…" This term is revealing, for it indicates a sense of "entering" or "introducing" into, as the triliteral root of this Arabic word means "to enter" or "to come in." In this sense, "*al-fann al-madkhal `alā al-iṭār al-ma`mār…* " ("art integrated into the urban framework") emphasizes art that enters into the built environment, joining it or becoming one with it. Elsewhere in this text, the artists also view this exhibition as a sort of intervention into everyday life, to situate art within quotidian experiences, as a deliberate "action," in this case not only aesthetic (plastic) but also political. They wanted to bring art directly to the people, many of whom have no knowledge of "fine art," let alone modern art, and would never step foot in the rarefied/elitist spaces of museums, galleries, and other art world institutions. Their audience was anyone coming to or passing through the square, whether it be on foot, on a bike, or on the bus. They staged similar exhibitions in Casablanca, including one later that year at the *Place du 16 novembre* (November 16 Square) and in 1971 they organized two exhibitions in Casablanca high schools (Mohammed V High School and Fatem Zahra High School).[102]

While this exhibition has been one of the most written about events in Moroccan art historiography,[103] it has often been siloed within the national Moroccan context and not put into the larger transnational contemporaneous discourse on integrations that I have previously laid out, apart from vague connections to the 1920s Bauhaus. In Morocco, the term "integrations" has been reserved exclusively for the collaborative projects undertaken by the architects Faraoui and de Mazières and artists of the Casablanca School. Key to this application of the term, thus, is the collaboration between architects and artists to create a new, integrated, permanent, multidisciplinary work. The 1969 Djema al Fna show, thereby, has not been treated as an integration but instead only as an exhibition. It cannot be ignored, however, that Chebâa utilized the term "integrated" in the text he wrote to accompany the exhibition, and the way in which it is evoked strikingly resonates with the language and thinking of André Bloc, Pierre Francastel, Nicolas Schöffer, Michel Ragon, Pierre Restany, and others. The idea of, as Chebâa put it, "art integrated into the urban framework, in the street, seen from a distance, in the natural light, etc.," contributes to the contemporaneous conversations of GIAP, including the expansion of plastic thinking to the scale of the "urban framework" as well as Schöffer's topologies.
Having trained and worked across Europe and even the US, the Casablanca School artists were fully aware of the latest developments in avant-garde spatial plastic practices such as minimalism, the art and space movement, and op-art, the later of which played a role in GIAP through members like Victor Vaserly. Though not affiliated with Casablanca School of Fine Arts, the Casablanca-based architect Abderrahim Charai proposed a traveling theater [*théâtre ambulant*] design for working-class Casablanca neighborhoods (fig. 3.87). This design seems to

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Shabout, eds., *Modern Art in the Arab World: Primary Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 323-324. The statement was signed by Mohammed Ataallah, Farid Belkahia, Mohamed Chebâa, Mustapha Hafid, Mohammed Hamidi, and Mohammed Melehi.

[102] "Présence plastique dans les lycées," *Intégral*, no. 1 (October 1971): 6–8.

[103] This historiography includes: Katarzyna Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Khalil M'Rabet, *Peinture et identité: l'expérience marocaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987); J. Holiday Powers, "Moroccan Modernism: The Casablanca School (1956-1978)" (Doctoral Dissertation, Ithaca, Cornell University, 2015); J. Holiday Powers, "Articulating the National and Transnational: Exhibition Histories of the Casablanca School," *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, no. 42/43 (November 2018): 136–53; Maud Houssais, "Les Intégrations: Faraoui and de Maières (1966-1972), from the Time of Art to the Time of Life," *Bauhaus Imaginista* Edition 2: Learning From (October 18, 2018);

be in direct conversation with the mobile architecture of Yona Friedman,[104] for example, one of the key members of GIAP and known for his theoretical "spatial city" that made urbanism and infrastructure adaptable to the needs of a city's inhabitants. As one reviewer put it:

> This is not a spider's web but a maquette of a future traveling theater. In effect, this maquette designed by a young and talented Moroccan architect, Monsieur Abderrahim Charai, has had great success and the city has chosen it for its design and its ease of assembly and disassembly. It must be recognized that thanks to this traveling theater numerous working-class families from peripheral neighborhoods will be able to benefit from now on, like other Casablancans, from theatrical and artistic performances that take place in the city and at a carefully-set price.[105]

Their Europe-based counterparts were also looking to Morocco, as seen by the participation of Morocco-based architects at CIAM conferences and the featuring of architecture and urbanism in Morocco in publications like André Bloc's magazine *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui*,[106] Udo Kulterman's book *Neues Bauen in Afrika*,[107] and the magazine *Architectural Review*.[108] Michel Ragon himself has even written about Agadir. While the Casablanca School artists were not as well known to the European avant-garde, they nonetheless partook in this larger Trans-Mediterranean dialogue about developing new, participatory cultural forms for large-scale urban environments.

In a questionnaire sent to Moroccan artists for a special *Souffles* 1967 double issue on plastic arts in Morocco, Mohammed Hamidi of the Casablanca School of Fine Arts responded to the question "What conditions can promote the development of the plastic arts in Morocco?" by writing, "First, *collaboration between architects and painters*. Our country is an ideal location for monumental art (Mexico provides a striking example of such architect-painter collaboration). This experiment is now starting to happen in Europe. I had the opportunity to participate in this work (in the creation of frescoes abroad)."[109] This response by Hamidi, who participated in the 1969 Marrakesh manifesto exhibition, attests to the Casablanca School's direct involvement with integration experimentation outside of Morocco. It is also must be repeated here that Hamidi attended École des Arts et Métiers in Paris and specialized in monumental art.[110]

In this same questionnaire, part of Chebâa's answer to the question, "In your opinion, how does painting contribute to the development of a national culture?" identified three main domains "in which we can observe the contribution of the plastic arts to a country's culture": the domain of graphic art, the industrial domain, and the domain of architecture and urban

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[104] See, for example, Yona Friedman's *Manifeste de l'architecgture mobile* presented at CIAM X in 1956 in Dubrovnik; *L'architecture mobile: vers une cité conçue par ses habitants* (Paris: L'éclat, 2020).
[105] "Une toile d'araignée," in *Le petit marocain* (March 17, 1964).
[106] For example, the December 1954 cover features the the Carrières Centrales project in Casablanca spearheaded by Michel Écochard and designed by Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Alexis Josic.
[107] Udo Kultermann, *Neues Bauen in Afrika* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1963).
[108] David T. Hicks, "Rebuilt Agadir," *The Architectural Review* 142, no. 848 (October 1, 1967): 292–300.
[109] Artists' questionnaire in *Souffles*, nos. 7/8 (1967): Mohammed Hamidi, 51-52. Reproduced and translated by Emma Ramadan in Anneka Lenssen, Sarah Rogers, and Nada Shabout, eds., *Modern Art in the Arab World: Primary Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 273.
[110] Artists' questionnaire in *Souffles*, nos. 7/8 (1967): 48. Also mentioned in J. Holiday Powers, "Moroccan Modernism: The Casablanca School (1956-1978)" (Doctoral Dissertation, Ithaca, Cornell University, 2015), 55.

planning.[111] Chebâa viewed the role of the artist as an instrumental figure in the development of a new, decolonized national culture. The contributions to the industrial domain outlined by Chebâa are evocative of theories of Soviet productivism: "In the industrial domain, we will supply the prototypes for future national products. For utilitarian and industrial objects, the Moroccan artist can conceive of forms and dimensions that correspond to a local functionalism and psychology. The artist is expected to give shape to an entire future civilization. A cultural movement can thus determine all the forms of life in a society (housing, clothing, furniture)."[112] By entering into these three domains, all of which are underpinned by their reliance on design processes and are products of plastic creation, the artist, according to Chebâa, acts as a sort of consultant or expert; but rather than working for the state that has been captured by neocolonial development economics or for private corporations seeking to make products for profit, the artist offers her/his knowledge and expertise in service of shaping "an entire future civilization" that may operate under a completely different set of economic and political conditions. "In the domain of architecture and urban planning, the integration of art can effectively contribute to a society's visual education because it allows for permanent daily contact."[113] Chebâa offers a more capacious understanding of integration here, one that goes beyond aesthetic artist-architecture collaborations to include social, spatial (at the scale of the city), infrastructural, and political concerns, thereby demonstrating an affinity with the contemporaneous discourse on integration by his counterparts in Europe. And the earlier comments by Le Corbusier about the synthesis of the arts as a solution to forging a new national culture in the aftermath of catastrophe of the Second World War also resonates among the Casablanca School artists seeking to create new forms of national culture in the wake of the twin ongoing, spectral disasters of colonialism and the Agadir earthquake.

The *Souffles* artists' questionnaire provided a space for artists to speak as speculators, and as the responses by Hamidi and Chebâa attest, plastic integration and collaboration was essential to their perspectives on their roles as artists taking part in building a new civilization. Much like then case with Agadir reconstruction from the previous chapter, however, the question of whom this new future is for was not always consistently problematized. If we consider the 1969 Marrakesh Djema al-Fna exhibition as another modality of the Casablanca School integrations projects, then comparing it to the Almoravids Hotel just up the street that they had worked on several years earlier or the two hotels in the Dadès Gorges that they collaborated on a couple of years later, then there is a clear tension between the outdoor public urban integration of the manifesto exhibition and the indoor private architectural integration of the hotels. The manifesto exhibition took on a general public orientation that is not prevalent in the hotel projects that were intended to draw in mainly foreign/international tourists of the professional managerial class (PMC) as part of the expansion of the tourism industry in Morocco to bolster the national state economy guided by the principles of neocolonial developmental economics.

While the hotels are significant in terms of their experimentation at the nexus of art-architectural integration, they also cast the artists and architects as entrepreneurs taking part in the growing economy of the state and the global tourism industry, which is not all that different

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[111] Artists' questionnaire in *Souffles*, nos. 7/8 (1967): 40-43. Reproduced and translated by Emma Ramadan in Anneka Lenssen, Sarah Rogers, and Nada Shabout, eds., *Modern Art in the Arab World: Primary Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 272.

[112] Ibid. On constructivism and productivism, see: Maria Gough, *The Artist as Producer: Russian Constructivism in Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Christina Kiaer, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).

[113] Ibid.

from what Caroline Jones has argued about contemporaneous American artists like Frank Stella, Andy Warhol, and Robert Smithson who positioned their practices in relation to the neoliberal corporate restructuring of the American economy during the Cold War.[114] The Casablanca School artists integrated their works with and within the architecture of the hotels, contained within private/contained/closed spaces that would only be experienced by those who enter the hotel. The 1969 Marrakesh, in contrast, saw the artists integrate their works directly into the urban fabric of Marrakesh, displaying their works directly on the historical built environment of the city in a public space so as to be part of the quotidian lived experience of anyone who passed through this open-air site. The artists, here, are acting more as educators in service of broader, class-based cultural decolonization movements that could lead to a fuller liberation of the mind for the people of a new Morocco. While the artists did not produce work specifically created for this environment and its architecture—a shortcoming of the exhibition as the artists just took works they had sitting in their studios and hung them on exterior building walls as the exhibition came about rather suddenly—they nonetheless sought to reach and engage an entirely different audience, one that was not welcome in a private hotel.

Part of the title of the exhibition, "*action plastique*" ("plastic action"), which could be read as a nod to "industrial action," another term of a labor strike, also circumscribes their efforts within class struggle and the labor movement. The leader of the Moroccan Labor Union (UMT), Mahjoub Ben Seddik, was primarily responsible for recruiting Farid Belkahia to head the Casablanca School of Fine Arts, after all. Khalil M'Rabet also has noted that the May 1969 Djema al-Fna exhibition came exactly one year after the May 1968 Paris uprising in Paris, going so far as to claim that this was the Casablanca School's May 68 anniversary commemoration.[115] This framing likewise resonates with some of what Julia Bryan-Wilson has uncovered about the Art Worker's Coalition (AWC) that formed in New York in January 1969 (just a few months before the Marrakesh exhibition took place) and the art strike they organized the following year.[116] Both the Casablanca School artists and the AWC in New York mobilized against exclusionary, exploitative dominant art institutions (particularly the Moroccan Ministry of Culture and the Museum of Modern Art, respectively) and came together to improve their working conditions as artists and strengthen power as workers. The Vietnam War and MoMA's support of it were a major issue for the AWC, whereas Palestine was the cause the Casablanca School rallied behind (culminating with their significant participation in the 1978 International Art Exhibition for Palestine held in Beirut). Another point of commonality is the rejection of figurative social realism as a paradigm for class-conscious art-making. "Few artists in the 1960s and 1970s," Bryan-Wilson elucidates, "wanted to return to making social realist works under the auspices of the state; instead they sought new forms of oppositional art that were in concert with, yet not subsumed under, their politics."[117] However, while the Casablanca School (at least in terms of their rhetoric) was interested in bringing their work directly to the working-class public as with the Djema al-Fna exhibition, Bryan-Wilson is quick to flag that the AWC did not take a "populist stance or insist that their art was 'for the workers.'"[118] Furthermore, she makes it clear that "though art workers attempted to organize collective political actions, collective art making

[114] Caroline A. Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[115] M'Rabet, *Peinture et identité*, 130.
[116] Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).
[117] Ibid., 29.
[118] Ibid., 27.

was not widely embraced or emphasized" with regard to the AWC in New York, the integration projects and the collective *presences plastiques* embraced the idea of collective art making.[119]

Furthermore, the "plastic" concerns of paramount importance to the Casablanca School artists also links them to conversations taking place in Europe around the question of integration. The Marrakesh exhibition represents a direct form of action or praxis—a physical, concrete intervention into the primary public square of Marrakesh—that complemented a wider discourse taking place in Morocco in the pages of cultural journals like *Souffles, Intégral,* and *Lamalif* about how to establish a new national culture and the role of cultural figures in the project, or work, of decolonization. Was the 1969 manifesto exhibition a corrective on the part of the Casablanca School artists to the limitations they perceived after working with Faraoui and de Mazières on the hotel commissions, particularly with regard to class and politics? They teamed up again after this exhibition on the hotels in the Pre-Saharan region southeast of Marrakesh, but does that negate their efforts and rhetoric on the Djema al-Fna exhibition? Can the endeavors of the artist as entrepreneur and artist as agent of decolonization ever be reconciled? The 1978 outdoor international arts festival season ("*moussem*") in the small northern coastal town of Assilah organized by Melehi and the 1981 Berrechid psychiatric hospital cultural project offer further examples of how artists grappled with some of these tensions.

Ultimately, the quixotic *présence plastique* exhibitions did not ultimately stir up the broad "popular" interest the artists were hoping to cultivate. As has already been pointed out by Khalil M'Rabet and Katrzyna Pieprzak,[120] even though the works were displayed outside *en plein air*, they were nonetheless still behind stanchions and other barriers, limiting how closely viewers could engage with a given work just like in a museum. Furthermore, with no didactic materials or context provided, many folks were not sure what they were even looking at, as abstract modern art was something completely unfamiliar to them. The artists also did not create original, site-specific work for this show, instead using the exterior walls of buildings as an open gallery space for their small-scale, studio-produced artworks. Lastly, this exhibition came about by sheer happenstance; when some of the Casablanca School artists were not invited to participate in the official spring pre-salon exhibition, they hastily put together their counter-exhibition without much programmatic planning or conceptualization. They called it a "manifesto exhibition," but one cannot help but wonder how the exhibition may have otherwise turned out if they had a longer lead-in time to organize and conceptualize it. Bryan-Wilson's take on the ambitions and shortcomings of the AWC also ring true here: "It is therefore crucial to account for both the hopeful idealism and the ultimately untenable contradictions of art workers' desires to reconfigure the role of viewers, market values, commodity-objects, art institutions, and coalitional politics. This entails granting that their 'successes' as well as their 'failures' might be productive, critically assessing the art workers' fervent stridency while also acknowledging their troubling inconsistencies and limitations."[121]

The two parallel integration activities, art in hotels and art in the streets, highlight the contradictions of the Casablanca School's speculative endeavors in what I have called the "afterschocks" of the Agadir earthquake. Far from fading to a distant memory, the 1960 Agadir earthquake continued to figuratively reverberate throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. It is often overlooked, for example, that the photographs of the 1969 Marrakesh Casablanca School

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[119] Ibid., 2.
[120] Ibid., 131-132; Katarzyna Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 136.
[121] Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, 11.

exhibition published in *Souffles* are immediately preceded by a review and film frames of Mohammed Afifi's *Retour à Agadir* showcasing in one image the destroyed Agadir and in another the newly constructed City Hall. And it must not be forgotten that Faraoui and de Mazières largely began their careers through their extensive involvement in the Agadir reconstruction project. In 1971, eleven years after the Agadir earthquake and with construction of the core of the new city completed, the Moroccan government launched an open competition to further explore Agadir's potential for tourism.[122] In a study submitted by architect and urban-designer Georges Candilis on behalf of the London-based Tourist Development Consultants company for the competition, the author states that "the main objective of this study is the preparation of a practical and realizable plan for phased tourism development of the region in order to optimize economic and social benefits," further cementing Agadir's centrality to the rise of the tourism industry in Morocco.[123] 1971 also saw the publication of a new-edition of al-Suyuti's medieval treatise on earthquakes, featuring a preface written by Mohammed El Fassi, then Minister of Culture who organized the 1969 spring pre-salon exhibition in Marrakesh.

The tensions of Casablanca School concurrently working in both hotels and in the streets are reflective of the contradictory forces at play within the complex whole of particular historical conjuncture. The 1960 Agadir earthquake spurred a rapid acceleration in decolonial and nation-building activity in Morocco while also opening the door to neocolonial development economics and private investment. Artists of the Casablanca School participated in projects funded by state and private investment capital at a moment when there was a dearth of opportunity to work as artists and put in practice the collaborative and multidisciplinary pedagogies they taught at their school. At the same time, they intervened in public, open, urban spaces that have been neglected by the state to bring some of their aesthetic work into direct contact with a working-class Moroccan public that could lead to an alternative politics and economics; yet, the Casablanca School did not seem to be fully committed to this mode of speculation as these "*présence plastique*" actions were well executed in terms of implementation, programming, and duration. Even though the hotel integrations were funded by the Ministry of Tourism to attract foreign tourists and capital, the aspirations of the state (economic development through tourism), the architects (new architectural language), and the artists (decolonizing culture) operated on different levels; these hotels were, thus, veritable spaces of speculative coalescence.

While these forces were in conflict through the 1960s, by the mid 1970s, it is clear that tourism won, as the integrations were quite short-lived and limited in number while tourism has continued to grow well into the present day. Perhaps part of the abandonment of the integrations paradigm (and the triumph of tourism) could be attributed to the establishment of formal art spaces in Morocco. As it so happened, the wives of Faraoui and de Mazières opened their own art galleries which ended up becoming some of the premier places to see contemporary art in Morocco during the 1970s and 80. The Casablanca School artists also began to find some success in the international art market, especially among newly rich Gulf Arab collectors seeking to inquire modern and contemporary art from the lands of Islam. It was around this time that the integrations projects came to an end. Could it be that with the creation of a contemporary art world in Morocco that the artists no longer felt compelled to experiment with collaborative integrations in spaces like hotels, let alone in the streets? Perhaps as speculators, they felt as

[122] The open competition was announced in the *Bulletin officiel du Royaume du Maroc*, no. 3049 (April 7, 1971).
[123] Georges Candilis, "Étude d'aménagement intégré de la zone à vocation touristique d'Agadir" (Tourism Development Consultants, October 1971). *Cité de le l'architecture et du patrimoine: Centre d'archives d'architecture contemporaine*, Candilis 236 IFA 313/2.

though the investments they had made into these endeavors were not paying off, that they were not getting the returns they had hoped for, and thus pulled out and shorted these options. The integration hotels themselves ended up not being financially successful and were closed down many years ago; as market-demand for the Casablanca School artists grew, much of the site-specific works they produced for these integration hotels have been removed and sold piecemeal,[124] raising fresh questions about the contradictory forces of speculative interests.

[124] The most recent and prominent sale of integration works occurred on May 30, 2021 when the French auction house Artcurial organized a large sale of works by Mohammed Melehi and Mohamed Chebâa made for the *Hôtel les Roses du Dadès*. The then private owner of the hotel stripped and broke apart the two ceiling murals by Melehi to sell as fragments and removed the fourteen carved cedar claustra screens by Chebâa to sell individually. That a French auction house was eager to organize this sale and advertise it widely speaks to the ongoing coloniality of the art market and the state's indifference to avant-garde visual and material culture. I signed an open letter published on April 24, 2021 condemning this sale alongside Nadia Chebâa, the MAMMA organization, and many others.

Epilogue

If modernity is rooted in the twin catastrophes of capitalism and colonialism, is modernity itself a disaster? Rather than approaching disasters as singular, contained events that happen suddenly and randomly in a particular place and time, this dissertation has been attuned to the *longue-durée* of disasters, focusing thereby on what came before and lingering in the long shadows that they cast years after they occur. Disasters are largely human creations—which also reveal the ecological embeddedness of humans— and I have sought to unpack some of how they are imagined, produced, and managed. Paraphrasing Marshall McLuhan, the disaster is the message.[1] Occurring primarily only in urbanized spaces, disasters are deeply entangled with built environments. While disasters may emerge all over the world, their impacts are not evenly distributed; rather, they tend to primarily target the same groups of people repeatedly, namely the marginalized and precarious populations of the world, as yet another form of modern violence that cuts along lines of class, race, gender, sexuality, and ability.

And what about the aesthetics of disaster? How does one go about representing or feeling disaster, let alone thinking about disaster? For someone like the philosopher and cultural theorist Maurice Blanchot, the disaster is wholly unthinkable. In *The Writing of Disaster,* a meditation on the ontology and epistemology of disasters, Blanchot argues that "the disaster is separate; that which is most separate."[2] Building on Levinas's take on radical alterity, for Blanchot, disaster is utterly and wholly incomprehensible. It is not something to be thought, through reason; nor is it something to be written, for it has no author. Blanchot deliberately avoids the techno-scientific discourse of disaster writing to destabilize the very concept of the disaster itself, to unshackle the disaster from discursive constraints. As he writes, "To think the disaster (if this is possible, and it is not possible in as much as we suspect that the disaster is thought) is to have no longer any future in which to think it."[3] The very act of thinking about or trying to comprehend a disaster, which is always done in the abstract and at a removed distance, collapses time between an ostensible present and some future disaster to come or a disaster of the past. In a manner reminiscent to Martin Heidegger's understanding of time, in which it temporalizes Being itself,[4] for Blanchot, the disaster is the invisible ground upon which notions of rationality, order, and normativity are built up against. A disaster can only ever be partially grasped, Blanchot argues, and this is achieved through fragments. Instead of futilely attempting to fully represent disasters in their totality or unity or fixity, by embracing fragments it may be possible to open up the unknown that can be found the silences and absences of gaps, intervals, and fissures between fragments.

If disasters, then, are socially constructed and imagined, what do they reveal about imagination, and what is their relationship to images and other forms of representation? Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has explored some of these links in his work on globalization, wherein he has argued for the importance and power of imagination. Triangulating the Frankfurt School (Benjamin included) for their theories of images, Benedict Anderson on the imagined, and Émile Durkheim on the imaginary (*l'imaginaire*), Appadurai treats imagination as a form of

[1] McLuhan's original phrase is "the medium is the message," which can be understood as a reminder to not lose sight of form when we focus on contents, as form is full of meaning as well. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Corte Madera: Gingko Press, 2003).
[2] Maurice Blanchot, *The Writing of Disaster*, trans. Ann Smock (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 19.
[3] Ibid, 18-19.
[4] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010).

social practice. “No longer mere fantasy… no longer simple escape… no longer elite pastime… and no longer mere contemplation,” he contends, “the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility.”[5] If the disaster is unknowable, unimaginable, as Blanchot tells us, then what can the way in which disasters are imagined convey to us about social practices? By focusing on imagination and images, both of which are just as material as they are discursive, we can get at the dialogical relationship between the social processes that led to the disaster and the ways in which these social processes were experienced.

In 2023, as I was in the thick of writing this dissertation, two large earthquakes took place in Turkey/Syria and Morocco, a vivid reminder of the stakes of my work and how it could possibly serve to break the cycle of disaster that made the outcomes of both earthquakes unnecessarily tragic. My research had suddenly come alive, as the pictures I was seeing of the Agadir earthquake aftermath looked nearly identical to the devestation of the new earthquake. Very little was learned form Agadir or the numerous other nature-induced disasters since then as the same story has unfolded time and time again. In Turkey and Syria, the massive 7.8 magnitude earthquake, with its epicenter on the southern Turkish border with Syria near Antakya, Gaziantep, and Aleppo, was one of the most powerful in the region’s history. This area sits on a fault line and has long been known for its seismic activity, a condition that should have been taken into account for all construction there. Seismic regulations can be onerous and costly to builders, however, so state intervention is necessary to remove these cost-barriers that may prevent safe building practices from otherwise being carried out. Instead, the Turkish government decided it would be cheaper and more efficient to remove regulations and red-tape to promote fast and economical construction, despite the region’s known significant seismicity. The disaster induced by the 2023 earthquake was thus predetermined by the government’s policies in place before the earthquake struck that favored the interests of developers rather than of the people living in these buildings. 1.5 million people in Turkey were left homeless as a result, according to the UN, and more than 50,000 people died. But at least international aid workers and resources were able to contribute to the rescue and relief operations in Turkey. Across the border in Syria, however, survivors fared even worse due to the ongoing war which made it more challenging and complicated for foreign aid workers to enter the country, not to mention the debilitating sanctions that have been levied on the country, the brunt of which has been carried by the working-class. In many ways, the images of the earthquake damage are impossible to differentiate from the destruction wrought by the war, blurring the lines once again between so-called “natural” disasters and man-made disasters.

In Morocco, a 6.8 magnitude earthquake with an epicenter about forty-five miles southwest of Marrakesh in the Al-Haouz Province also caused horrors that could have been avoided. Unlike with the Turkish/Syrian earthquake, however, this region of Morocco is not known to be all that seismically active, thus anti-seismic building practices were likely not up for debate. While Marrakesh did experience some building failures, much of the disaster was concentrated to the areas closer to the epicenter in the Atlas Mountains. The communities living in these more remote areas of Morocco have been historically marginalized and neglected by the state, as they largely still lack access to infrastructure, hospitals, schools, roads, and other services. Part of the reason why almost all of the deaths occurred outside of Marrakesh is

[5] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 31.

precisely due to these factors, as rescue workers had difficulty accessing many of the towns and villages in this region and the nearest hospital is in Marrakesh. Just like with the 1960 Agadir earthquake, and many other disasters induced by natural ecological events, those who were living the most precariously before the earthquake faced the worst outcomes afterward, if they even survived. I am curious to see, if like the 1960 Agadir, the 2023 Turkey/Syria and Morocco earthquakes have sparked or will give rise to new aesthetic, political, social, and economic conditions formations, to new collectives of intellectual and cultural figures, to new futures.

It is my hope that the spectral art histories of this dissertation and other scholars can help to expose the underlying structures of power that determine the outcomes of naturally occurring events long before they occur so as to break the cycle of disaster. Earthquakes, hurricanes, tornadoes, and other earthly forces do not have to result in disaster if appropriate measures and policies are taken into account beforehand that centers the life and wellbeing of the poor and working-class. Disasters can be avoided, and the brunt of their weight should never fall on those struggling the most to make an existence in this world.

Figures



Figure 1.1. André Elbaz, *Le tremblement de terre d'Agadir* (*The Agadir Earthquake*), 1960, oil on canvas, artist's collection.



Figure 1.2. “After the Earthquake in Agadir, Morocco, March 3, 1960.” Photograph by Apic/Bridgeman via Getty Images, Hulton Archive.



Figure 1.3. Side-by-side pairing of figs. 1.1 and 1.2.

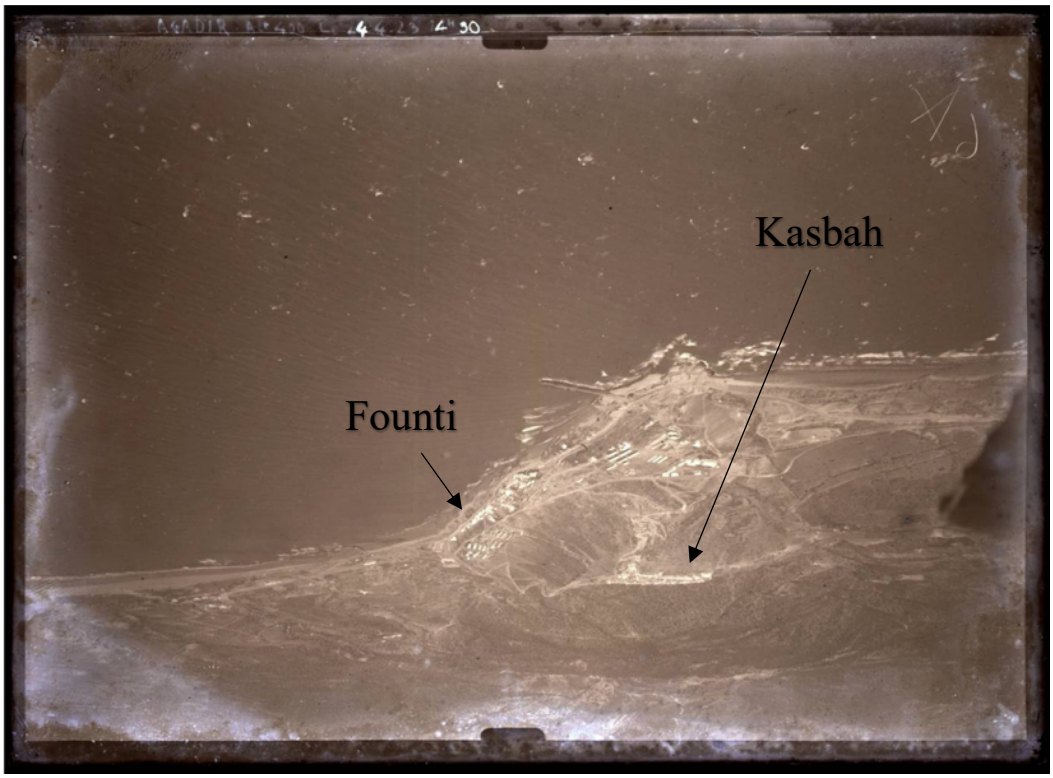


Figure 1.4. Aerial photograph of the Agadir coast, altitude of 400m. Taken on April 24, 1923 at 2:30pm. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, fonds iconographiques.

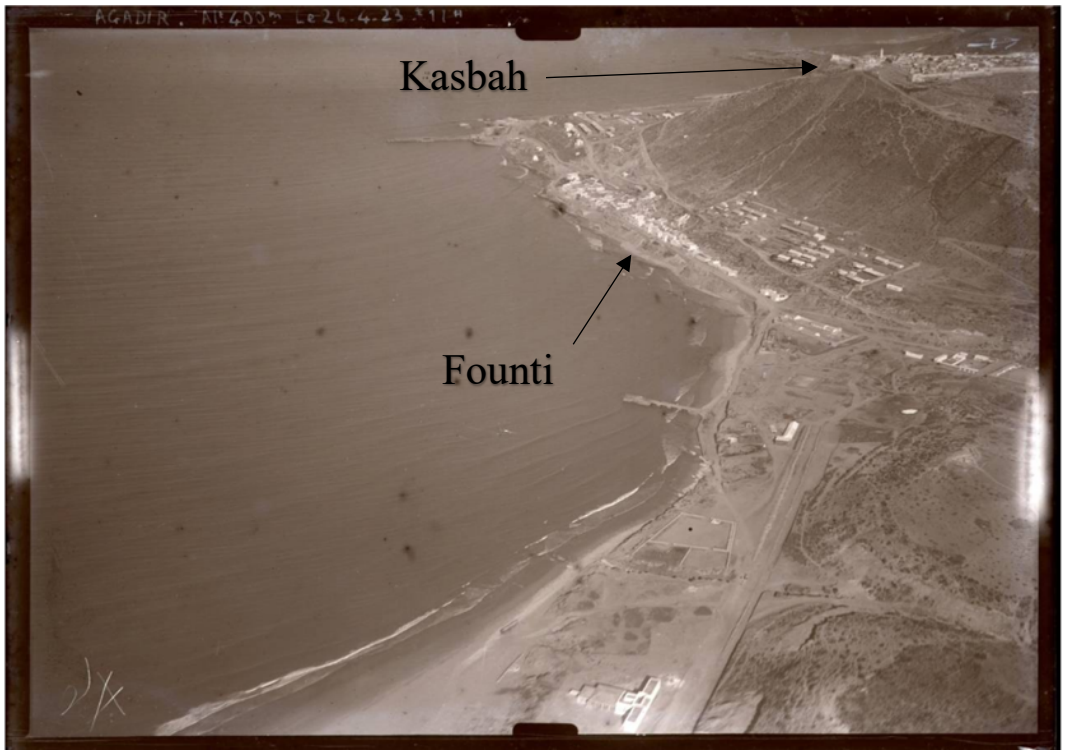


Figure 1.5. Aerial photograph of the Agadir coast, altitude of 400m. Taken on April 26, 1923 at 11am. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, fonds iconographiques.

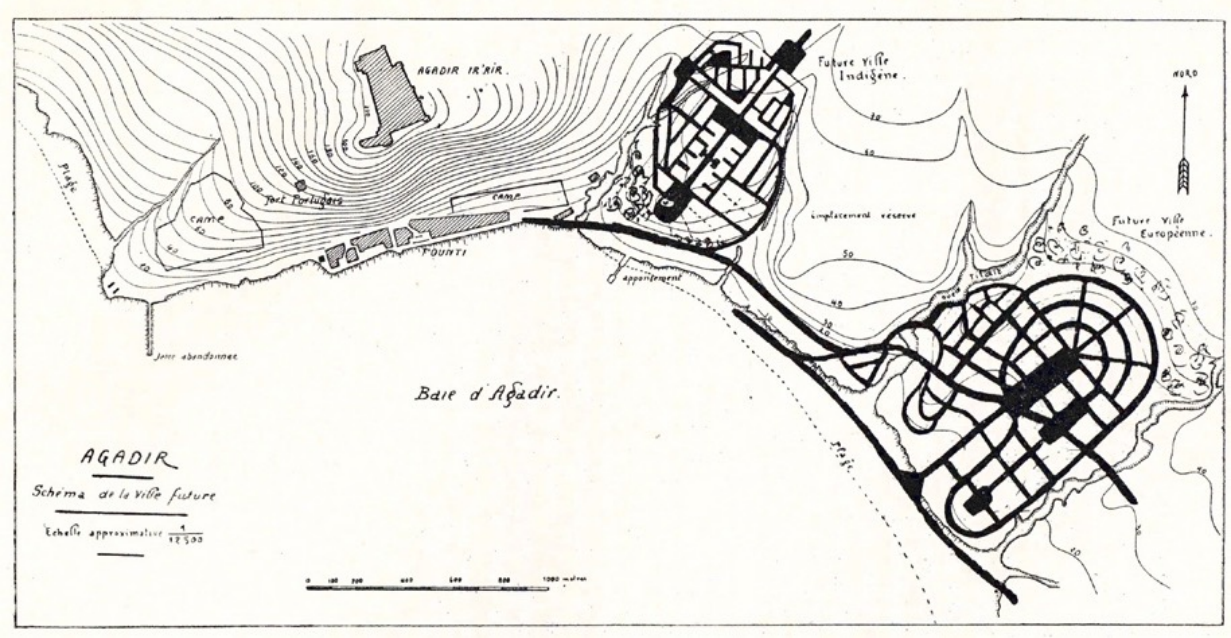


Figure 1.6. Henri Prost, Agadir Master Plan, 1921. Reproduced from Tom Avermaete and Maxime Zaugg, *Agadir: Building the Modern Afropolis* (Zurich: Park Books, 2022)

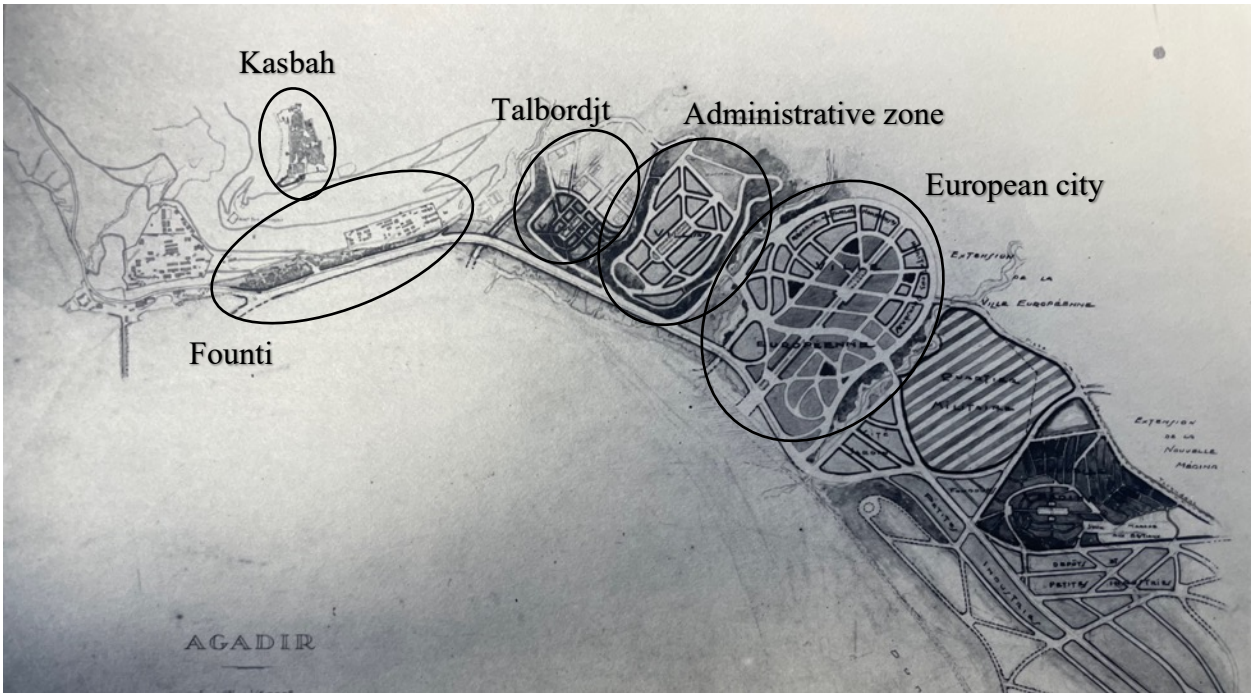


Figure 1.7. Henri Prost, Agadir Master Plan, 1924. Cité de l'Architecture archives, Prost 343 AA 3/2.

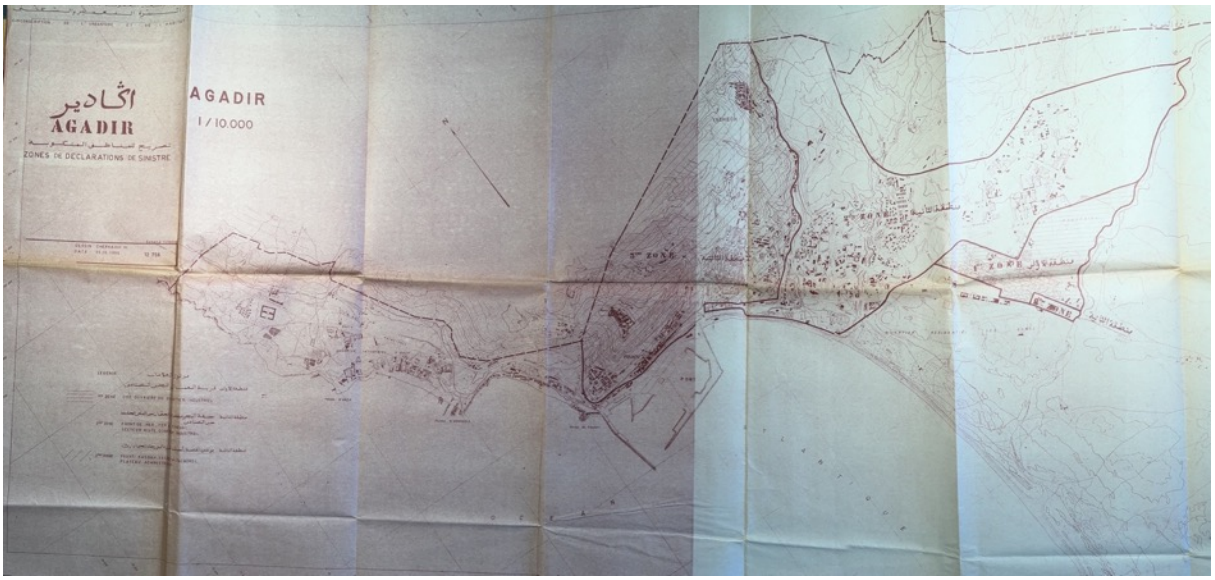


Figure 1.8. Map of Agadir with zones indicating levels of damage assessed, October 25, 1960 (based on a map from 1955). Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/EXTRAIT/1/365.

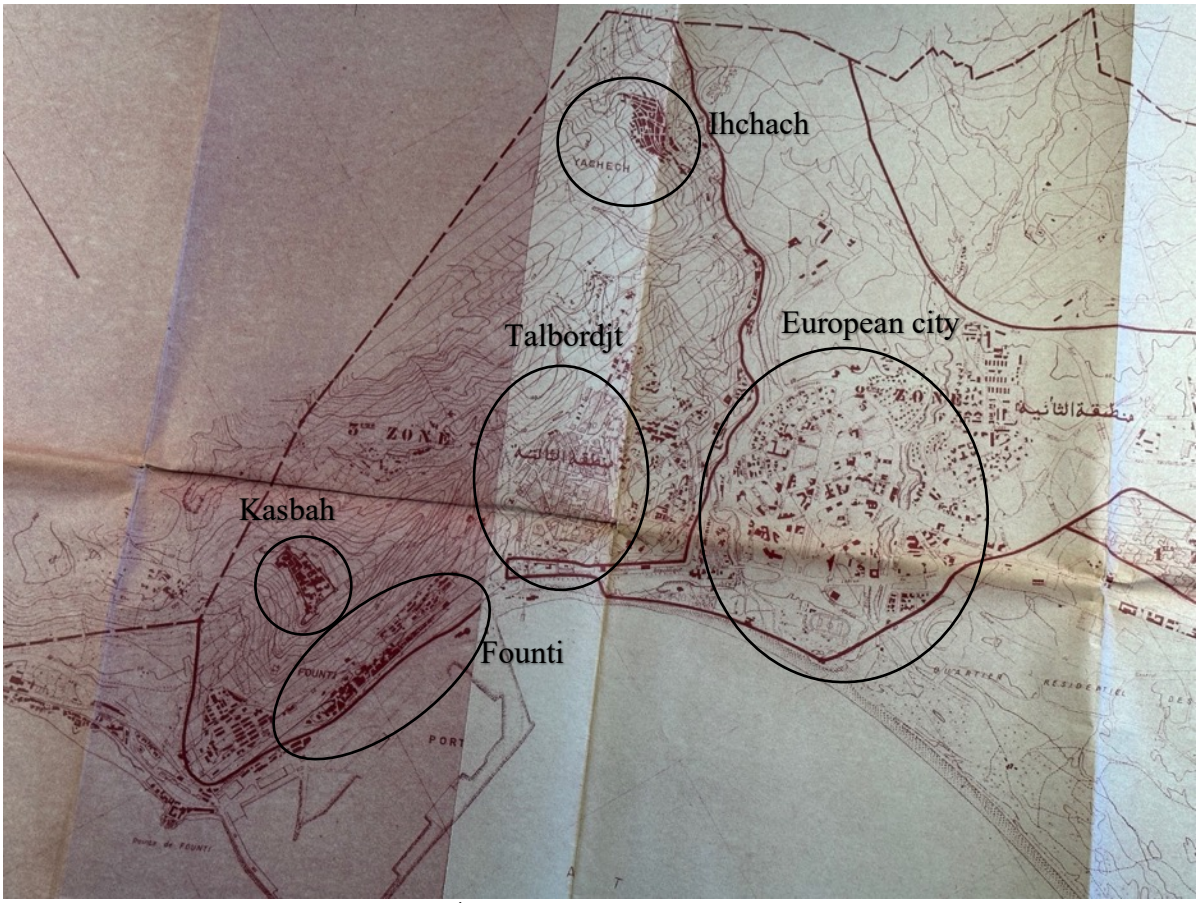


Figure 1.9. Detail from figure 8. Zone 3 (3ème zone) sustained the most damage, and it is made up of the Moroccan working-class neighborhoods of Founti, Talbordjt, the Kasbah, and Ihchach ("Yachech"). This is the zone that was officially deemed to be the "*ville morte*," or "dead city."



Figure 1.10. Photograph of Ihchach after the earthquake featuring the bridge built in 1926 linking the village to the water source. (Ihchach had no running water, plumbing, electricity, or other infrastructure when the earthquake struck in 1960.) Lahsen Roussafi collection.

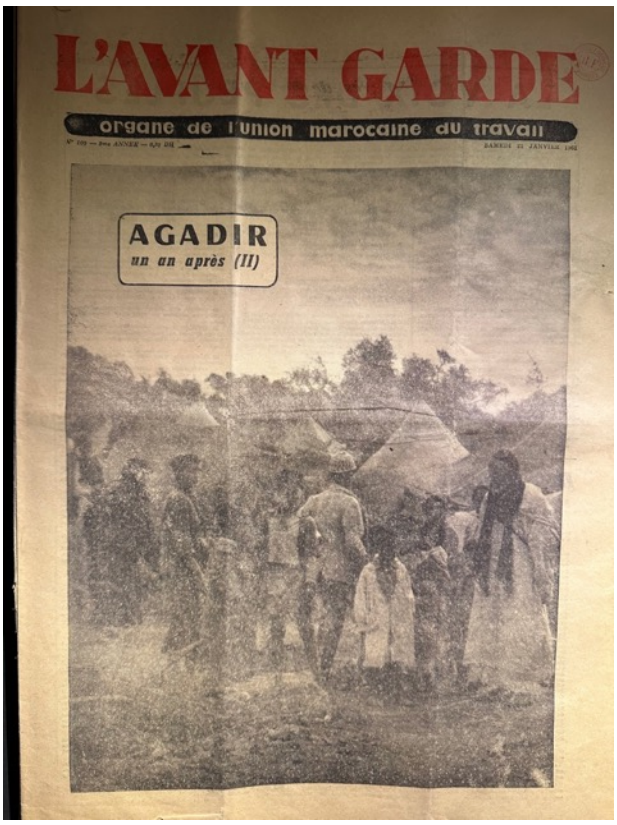




Figure 1.11 (left). Cover of the Moroccan Labor Union (UMT) weekly publication, a special issue of Agadir one year after the earthquake with a photograph of one of the tent camps. Saturday, January 14, 1961.

Figure 1.12 (right). Cover of the Moroccan Labor Union (UMT) weekly publication, a special issue of Agadir two years after the earthquake with a photograph of one of the shanty towns around Agadir. ("2000 to 2500 survivors still in *bidonvilles.*") Saturday, February 11, 1962.

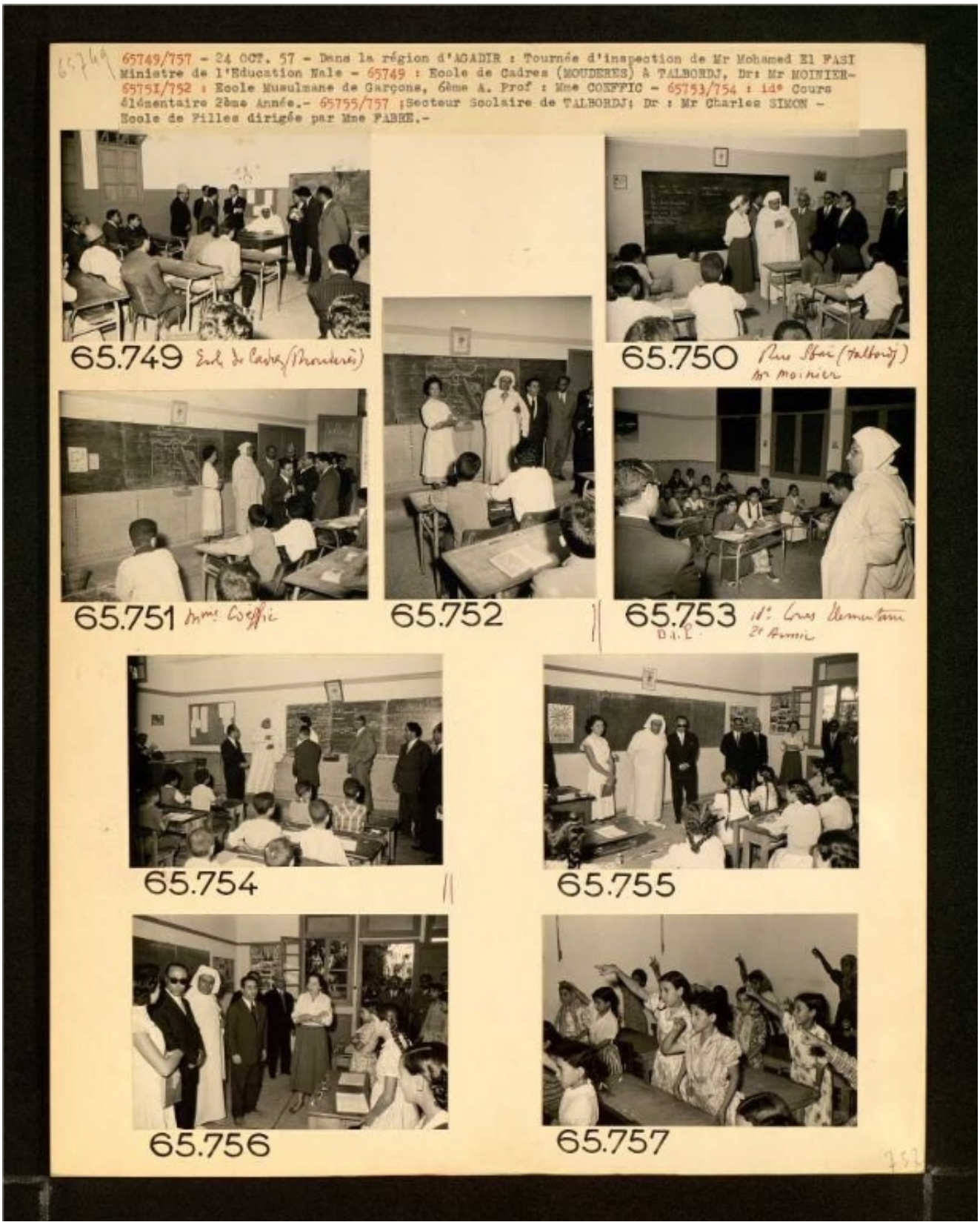
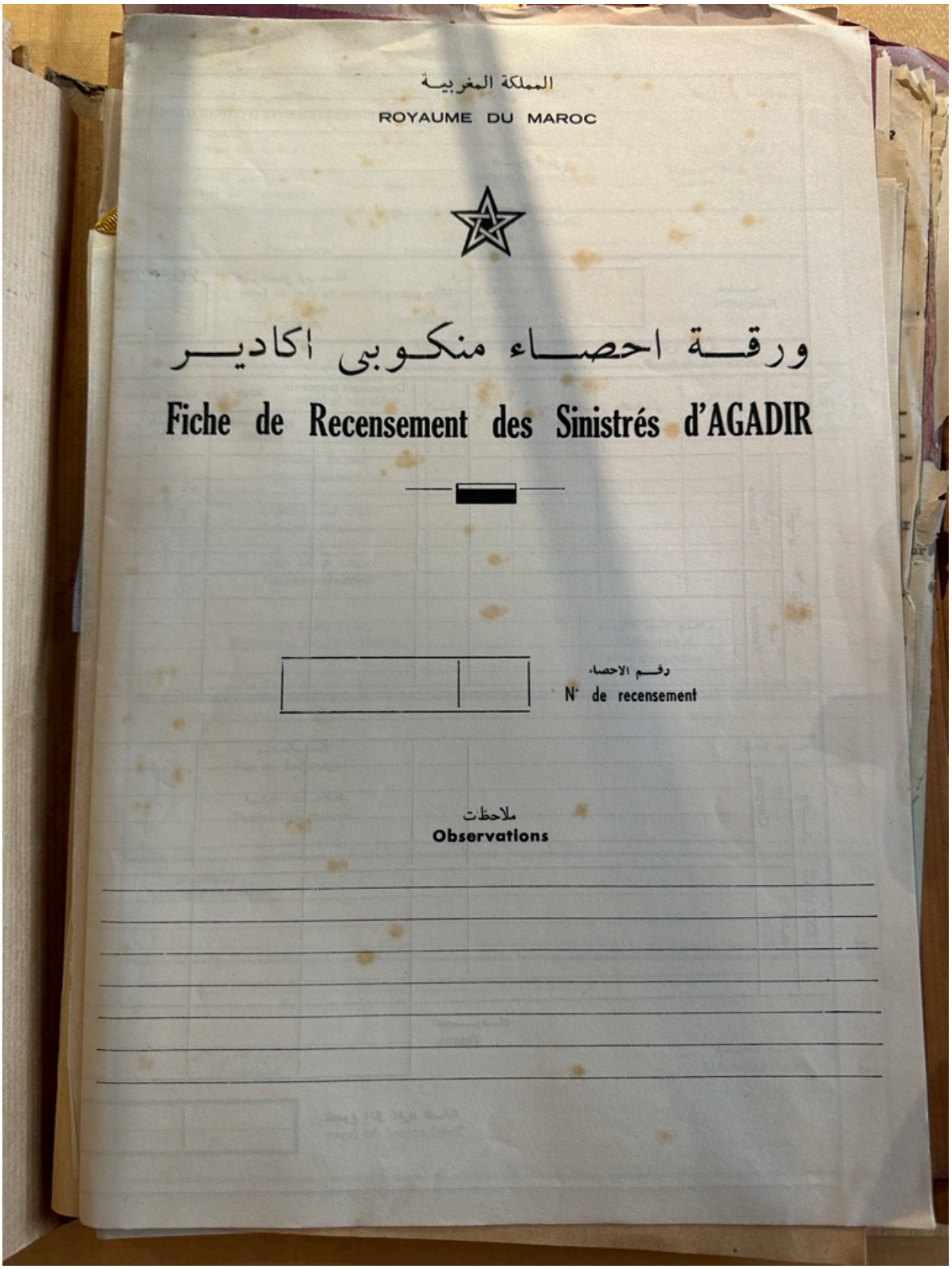


Figure 1.13. Photographs of Mohamed El Fassi, Minister of Education, visiting schools in Agadir, 1957. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, Fonds Belin.


المملكة المغربيـة

ROYAUME DU MAROC

ورقـــة احصـــاء منكـوبى اكاديـــر

Fiche de Recensement des Sinistrés d'AGADIR

رقـــم الاحصاء

N° de recensement

ملاحظات

Observations

Figure 1.14. Moroccan government census/registration form for Agadir survivors. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.

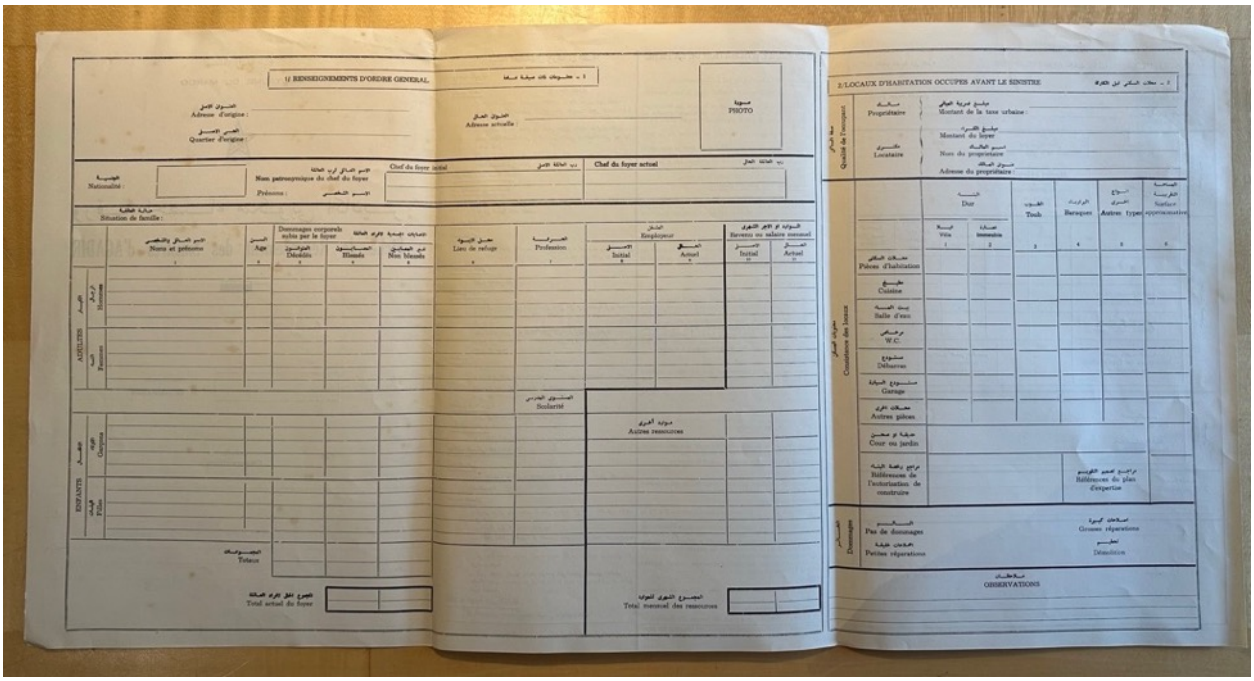


Figure 1.15. Moroccan government census/registration form for Agadir survivors. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.

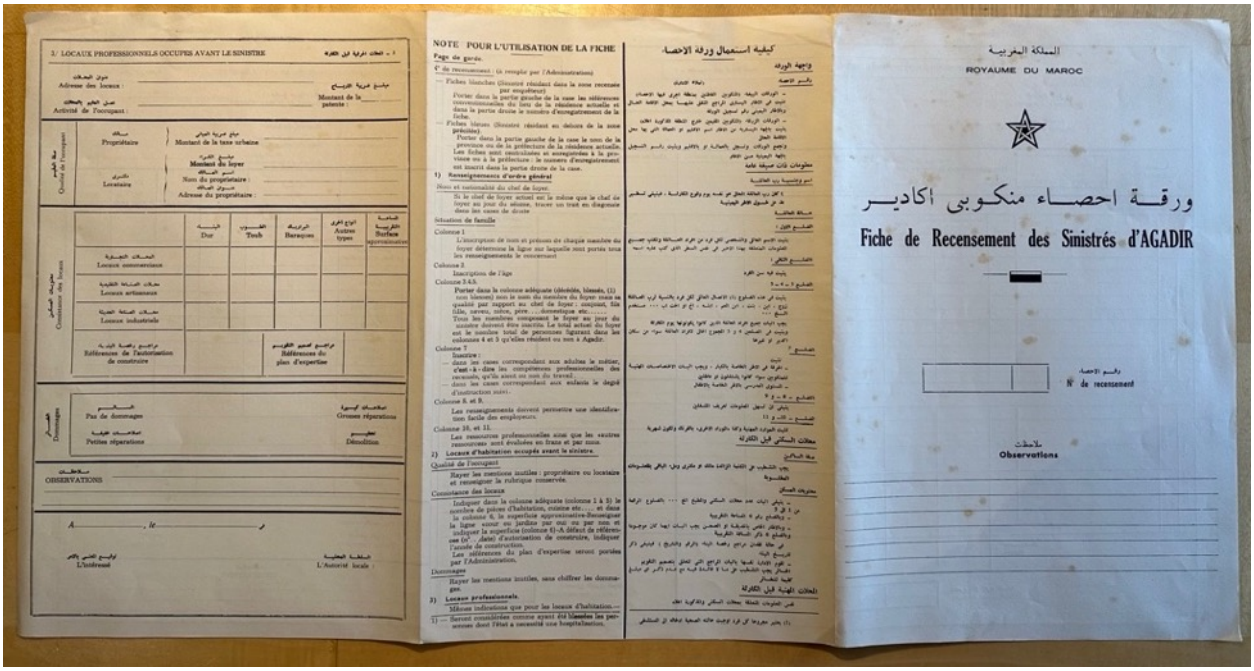


Figure 1.16. Moroccan government census/registration form for Agadir survivors. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.

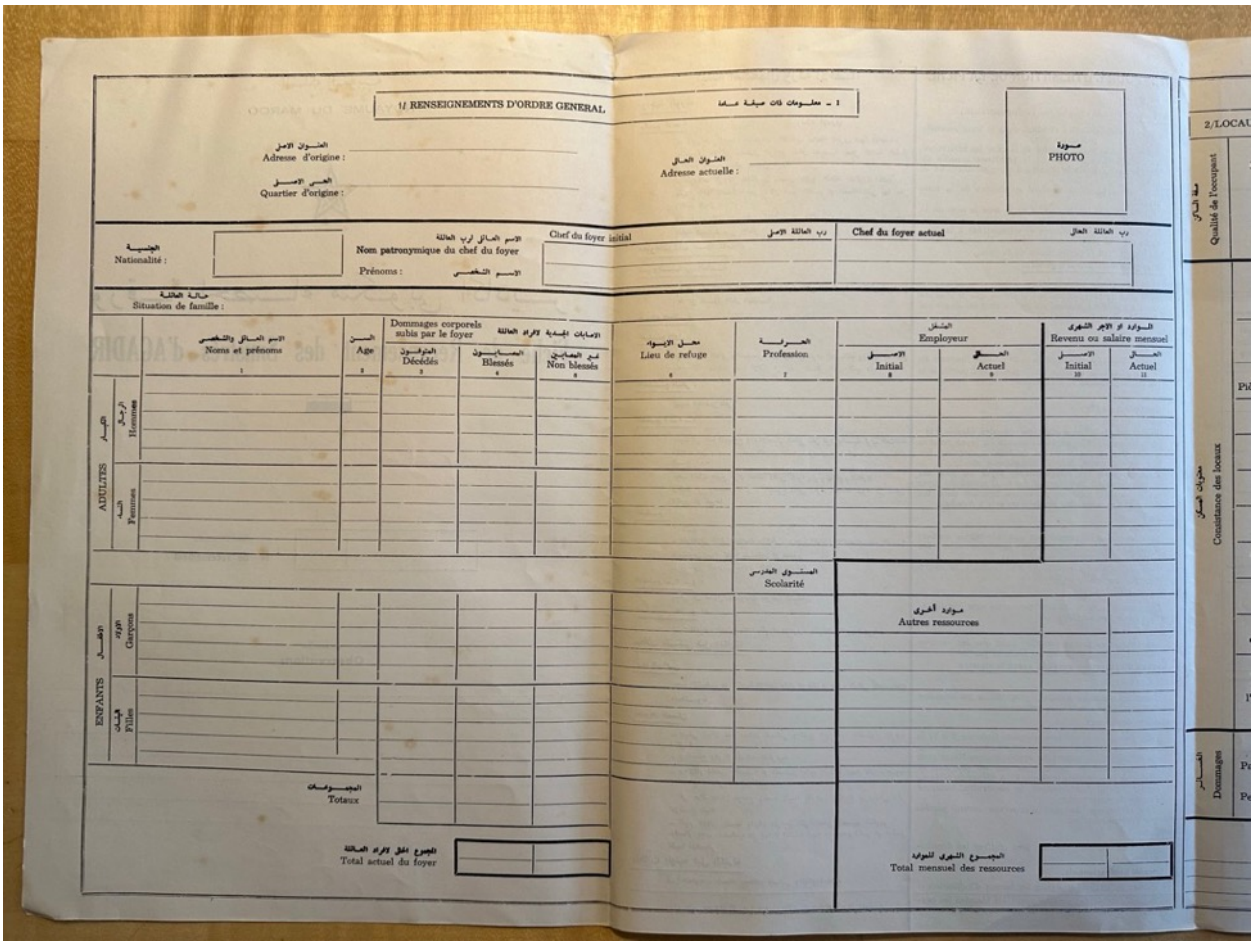
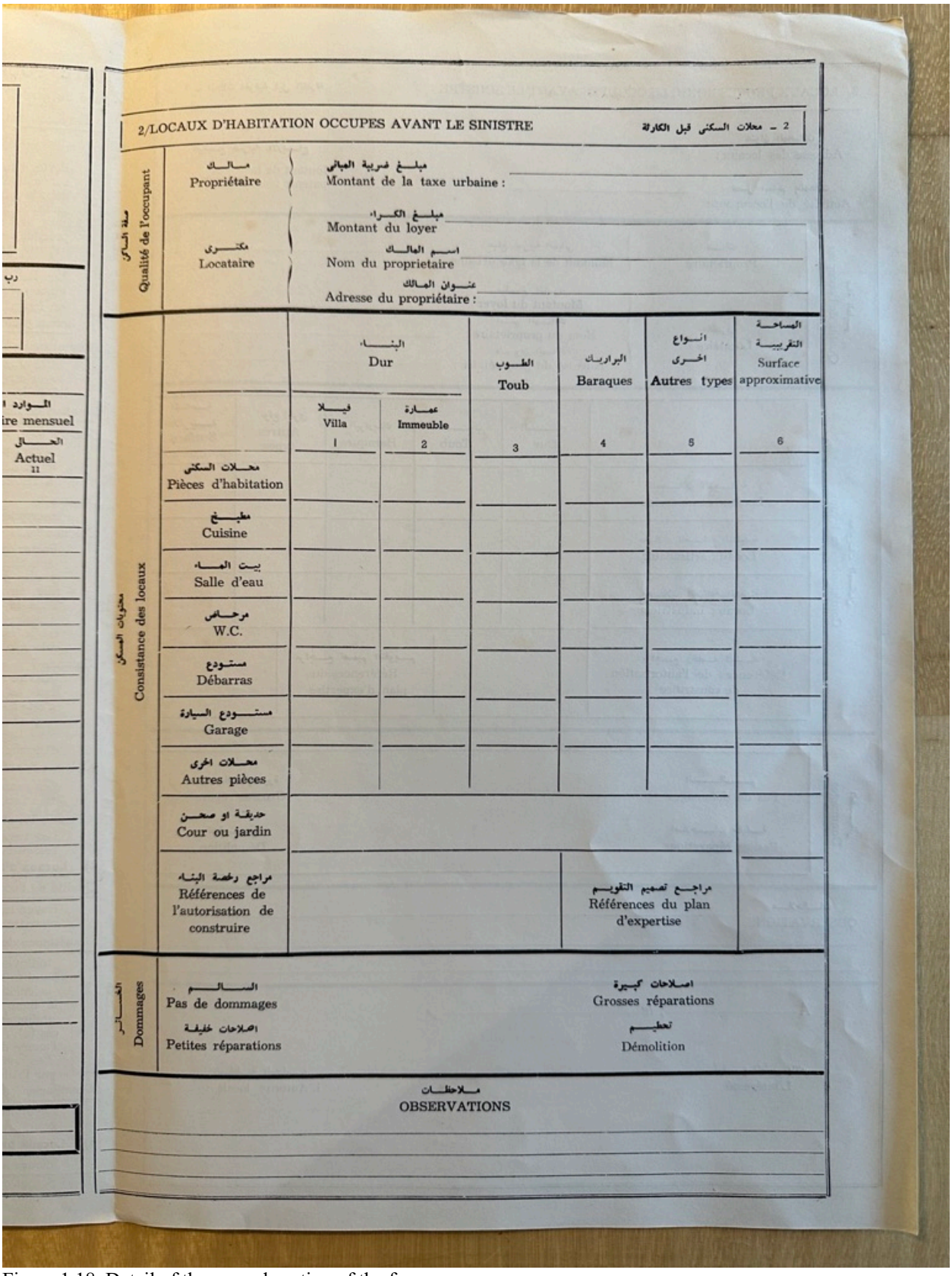


Figure 1.17. Detail of the first portion of the form.



2/LOCAUX D'HABITATION OCCUPES AVANT LE SINISTRE — 2 ـ محلات السكنى قبل الكارثة

صفة الشاغل — Qualité de l'occupant

مالك — Propriétaire
مبلغ ضريبة العباني — Montant de la taxe urbaine :

مكتري — Locataire
مبلغ الكراء — Montant du loyer
اسم المالك — Nom du proprietaire
عنوان المالك — Adresse du propriétaire :

محتويات المسكن — Consistance des locaux

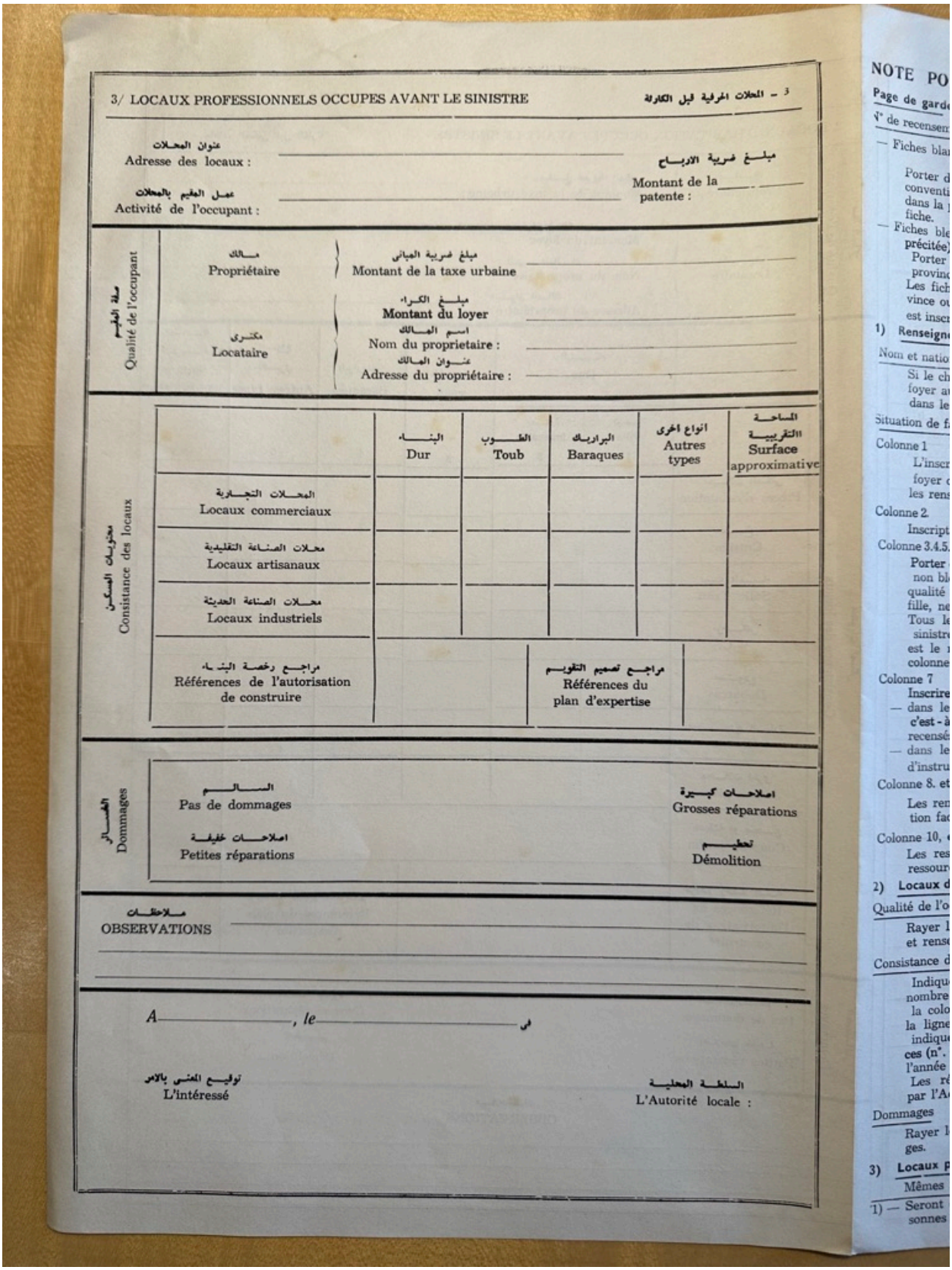
	البناء Dur		الطوب Toub	البراريك Baraques	انواع اخرى Autres types	المساحة التقريبية Surface approximative
	فيلا Villa 1	عمارة Immeuble 2	3	4	5	6
محلات السكنى Pièces d'habitation						
مطبخ Cuisine						
بيت الماء Salle d'eau						
مرحاض W.C.						
مستودع Débarras						
مستودع السيارة Garage						
محلات اخرى Autres pièces						
حديقة او صحن Cour ou jardin						
مراجع رخصة البناء Références de l'autorisation de construire				مراجع تصميم التقويم Références du plan d'expertise		

الخسائر — Dommages

السالم — Pas de dommages
اصلاحات خفيفة — Petites réparations
اصلاحات كبيرة — Grosses réparations
تحطيم — Démolition

ملاحظات — OBSERVATIONS

Figure 1.18. Detail of the second portion of the form.



3/ LOCAUX PROFESSIONNELS OCCUPES AVANT LE SINISTRE — 3 – المحلات المرفية قبل الكارثة

عنوان المحلات
Adresse des locaux :

مبلغ ضريبة الارباح
Montant de la patente :

عمل المقيم بالمحلات
Activité de l'occupant :

صفة المقيم
Qualité de l'occupant

مالك
Propriétaire

مبلغ ضريبة المباني
Montant de la taxe urbaine

مكتري
Locataire

مبلغ الكراء
Montant du loyer

اسم المالك
Nom du proprietaire :

عنوان المالك
Adresse du propriétaire :

مكونات المسكن
Consistance des locaux

	البناء Dur	الطوب Toub	البراريك Baraques	انواع اخرى Autres types	المساحة التقريبية Surface approximative
المحلات التجارية Locaux commerciaux					
محلات الصناعة التقليدية Locaux artisanaux					
محلات الصناعة الحديثة Locaux industriels					

مراجع رخصة البناء
Références de l'autorisation de construire

مراجع تصميم التقويم
Références du plan d'expertise

الخسائر
Dommages

السالم
Pas de dommages

اصلاحات كبيرة
Grosses réparations

اصلاحات خفيفة
Petites réparations

تحطيم
Démolition

ملاحظات
OBSERVATIONS

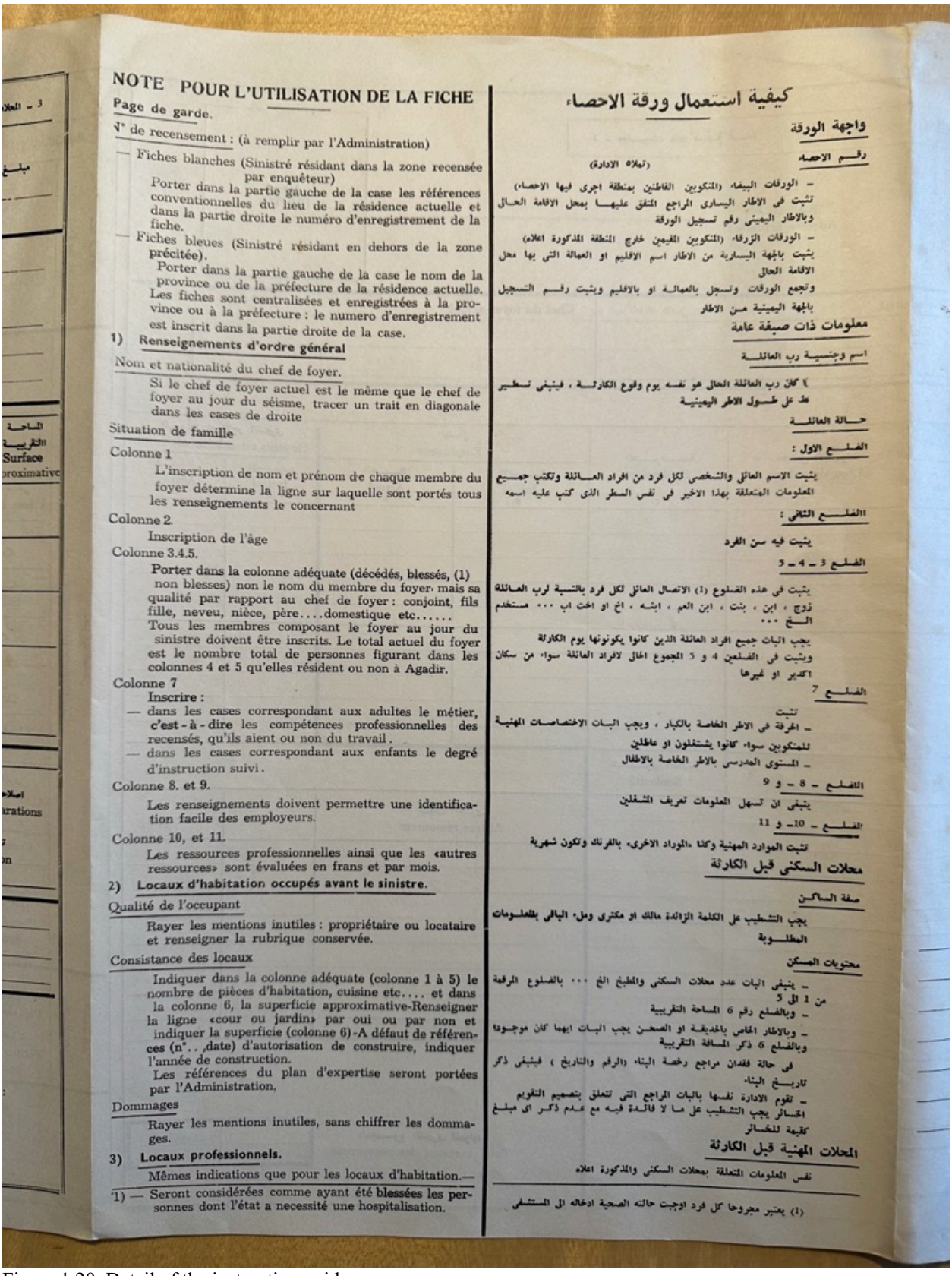
A _____, le _____ في

توقيع المعني بالامر
L'intéressé

السلطة المحلية
L'Autorité locale :

NOTE PO
Page de garde
N° de recensem
— Fiches bla
Porter d
conventi
dans la
fiche.
— Fiches ble
précitée
Porter
provinc
Les fich
vince ou
est inscr
1) Renseigne
Nom et natio
Si le ch
foyer a
dans le
Situation de f
Colonne 1
L'inscr
foyer
les rens
Colonne 2.
Inscript
Colonne 3.4.5.
Porter
non bl
qualité
fille, ne
Tous le
sinistr
est le
colonne
Colonne 7
Inscrire
— dans le
c'est - à
recensé
— dans le
d'instru
Colonne 8. et
Les ren
tion fa
Colonne 10,
Les res
ressour
2) Locaux d
Qualité de l'o
Rayer l
et rens
Consistance d
Indiqu
nombre
la colo
la ligne
indiqu
ces (n°.
l'année
Les ré
par l'A
Dommages
Rayer l
ges.
3) Locaux p
Mêmes
1) — Seront
sonnes

Figure 1.19. Detail of the third portion of the form.



NOTE POUR L'UTILISATION DE LA FICHE

Page de garde.

N° de recensement : (à remplir par l'Administration)

— Fiches blanches (Sinistré résidant dans la zone recensée par enquêteur)

Porter dans la partie gauche de la case les références conventionnelles du lieu de la résidence actuelle et dans la partie droite le numéro d'enregistrement de la fiche.

— Fiches bleues (Sinistré résidant en dehors de la zone précitée).

Porter dans la partie gauche de la case le nom de la province ou de la préfecture de la résidence actuelle. Les fiches sont centralisées et enregistrées à la province ou à la préfecture : le numero d'enregistrement est inscrit dans la partie droite de la case.

1) Renseignements d'ordre général

Nom et nationalité du chef de foyer.

Si le chef de foyer actuel est le même que le chef de foyer au jour du séisme, tracer un trait en diagonale dans les cases de droite

Situation de famille

Colonne 1

L'inscription de nom et prénom de chaque membre du foyer détermine la ligne sur laquelle sont portés tous les renseignements le concernant

Colonne 2.

Inscription de l'âge

Colonne 3.4.5.

Porter dans la colonne adéquate (décédés, blessés, (1) non blesses) non le nom du membre du foyer mais sa qualité par rapport au chef de foyer : conjoint, fils fille, neveu, nièce, père....domestique etc.....

Tous les membres composant le foyer au jour du sinistre doivent être inscrits. Le total actuel du foyer est le nombre total de personnes figurant dans les colonnes 4 et 5 qu'elles résident ou non à Agadir.

Colonne 7

Inscrire :

— dans les cases correspondant aux adultes le métier, c'est-à-dire les compétences professionnelles des recensés, qu'ils aient ou non du travail.

— dans les cases correspondant aux enfants le degré d'instruction suivi.

Colonne 8. et 9.

Les renseignements doivent permettre une identification facile des employeurs.

Colonne 10, et 11.

Les ressources professionnelles ainsi que les «autres ressources» sont évaluées en frans et par mois.

2) Locaux d'habitation occupés avant le sinistre.

Qualité de l'occupant

Rayer les mentions inutiles : propriétaire ou locataire et renseigner la rubrique conservée.

Consistance des locaux

Indiquer dans la colonne adéquate (colonne 1 à 5) le nombre de pièces d'habitation, cuisine etc.... et dans la colonne 6, la superficie approximative-Renseigner la ligne «cour ou jardin» par oui ou par non et indiquer la superficie (colonne 6)-A défaut de références (n°.. ,date) d'autorisation de construire, indiquer l'année de construction.

Les références du plan d'expertise seront portées par l'Administration.

Dommages

Rayer les mentions inutiles, sans chiffrer les dommages.

3) Locaux professionnels.

Mêmes indications que pour les locaux d'habitation.—

1) — Seront considérées comme ayant été blessées les personnes dont l'état a necessité une hospitalisation.

كيفية استعمال ورقة الاحصاء

واجهة الورقة

رقم الاحصاء (تملأ الادارة)

– الورقات البيضاء (المنكوبين القاطنين بمنطقة اجرى فيها الاحصاء) تثبت فى الاطار اليسارى المراجع المتفق عليهـا بمحل الاقامة الحـالى وبالاطار اليمينى رقم تسجيل الورقة

– الورقات الزرقاء (المنكوبين المقيمين خارج المنطقة المذكورة اعلاه) يثبت بالجهة اليسارية من الاطار اسم الاقليم او العمالة التى بها محل الاقامة الحالى

وتجمع الورقات وتسجل بالعمالـة او بالاقليم ويثبت رقـم التسجيل بالجهة اليمينية من الاطار

معلومات ذات صبغة عامة

اسم وجنسية رب العائلـة

اذا كان رب العائلة الحالى هو نفسه يوم وقوع الكارثـة ، فيكفى تسطير خط على طـول الاطر اليمينية

حـالة العائلـة

الفصـل الاول :

يثبت الاسم العائلى والشخصى لكل فرد من افراد العـائلة وتكتب جمـيع المعلومات المتعلقة بهذا الاخير فى نفس السطر الذى كتب عليه اسمه

الفصـل الثانى :

يثبت فيه سن الفرد

الفصل 3 – 4 – 5

يثبت فى هذه الفصلوع (1) الاتصال العائلى لكل فرد بالنسبة لرب العـائلة زوج ، ابن ، بنت ، ابن العم ، ابنـه ، اخ او اخت اب ... مستخدم الـخ ...

يجب اثبات جميع افراد العائلة الذين كانوا يكونونها يوم الكارثة

ويثبت فى الفصلعين 4 و 5 المجموع الحالى لافراد العائلة سواء من سكان اكدير او غيرها

الفصـل 7

تثبت

– الحرفة فى الاطر الخاصة بالكبار ، ويجب اثبـات الاختصاصـات المهنية للمنكوبين سواء كانوا يشتغلون او عاطلين

– المستوى المدرسى بالاطر الخاصة بالاطفال

الفصـل – 8 – و 9

ينبغى ان تسهل المعلومات تعريف المشغلين

الفصـل – 10– و 11

تثبت الموارد المهنية وكذا «الموراد الاخرى» بالفرنك وتكون شهرية

محلات السكنى قبل الكارثة

صفة الساكـن

يجب التشطيب على الكلمة الزائدة مالك او مكترى ومل• الباقى بالمعلـومات المطلـوبة

محتويات المسكن

– ينبغى اثبات عدد محلات السكنى والمطبخ الخ ... بالفصلوع الرقمة من 1 الى 5

– وبالفصل رقم 6 المساحة التقريبية

– وبالاطار الخاص بالحديقـة او الصحـن يجب اثبـات ايهما كان موجـودا وبالفصل 6 ذكر المساحة التقريبية

فى حالة فقدان مراجع رخصة البناء (الرقم والتاريخ) فينبغى ذكر تاريـخ البناء

– تقوم الادارة نفسها باثبات المراجع التى تتعلق بتصميم التقويم

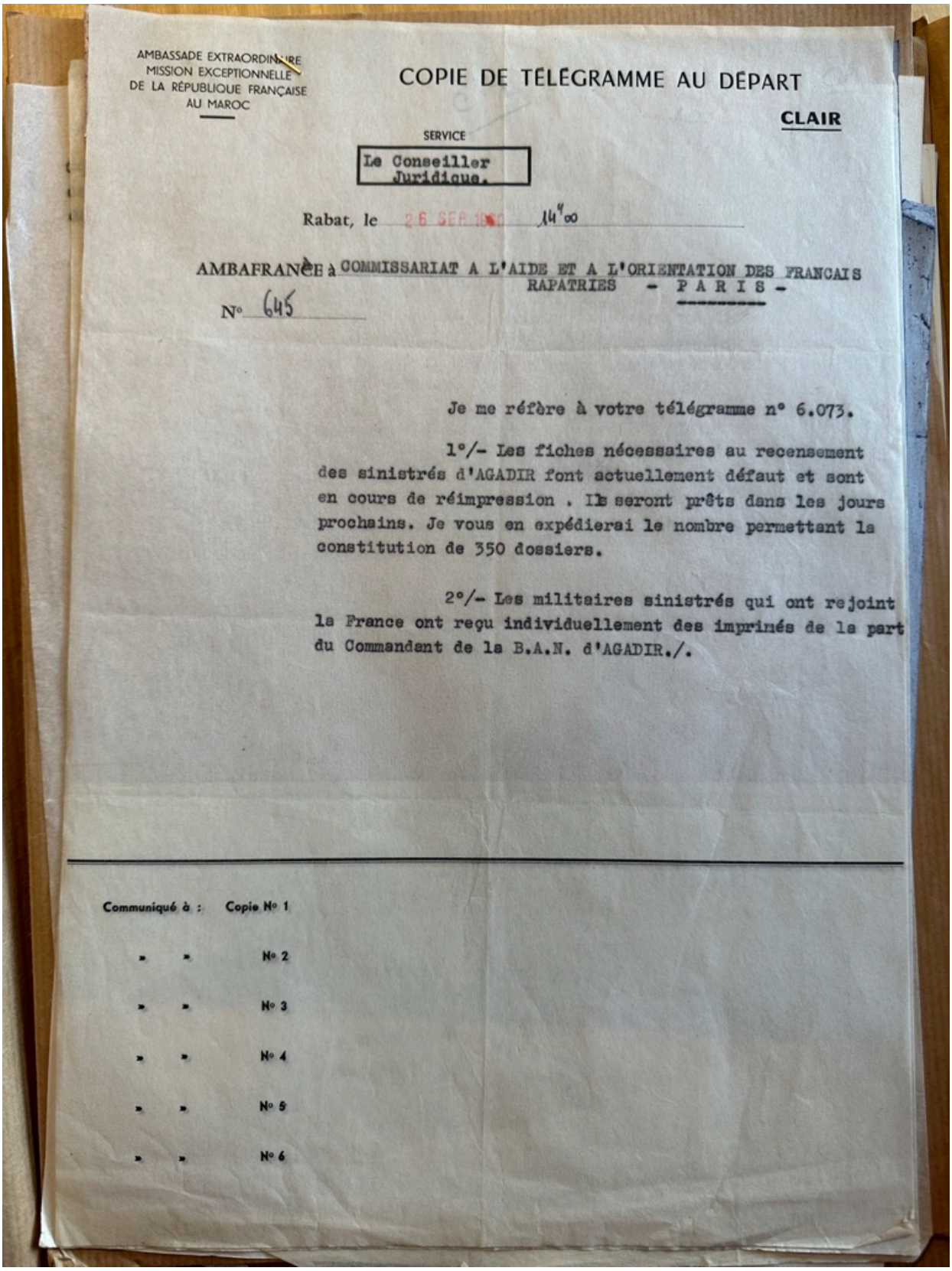
الخسائر يجب التشطيب على مـا لا فائـدة فيـه مع عـدم ذكـر اى مبلـغ كقيمة للخسائر

المحلات المهنية قبل الكارثة

نفس المعلومات المتعلقة بمحلات السكنى والمذكورة اعلاه

(1) يعتبر مجروحا كل فرد اوجبت حالته الصحية ادخاله الى المستشفى

Figure 1.20. Detail of the instruction guide.



AMBASSADE EXTRAORDINAIRE
MISSION EXCEPTIONNELLE
DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
AU MAROC

COPIE DE TÉLÉGRAMME AU DÉPART

CLAIR

SERVICE
Le Conseiller Juridique.

Rabat, le 26 SEP 1960 14h00

AMBAFRANCE à COMMISSARIAT A L'AIDE ET A L'ORIENTATION DES FRANCAIS RAPATRIES - P A R I S -

N° 645

Je me réfère à votre télégramme n° 6.073.

1°/- Les fiches nécessaires au recensement des sinistrés d'AGADIR font actuellement défaut et sont en cours de réimpression . Ils seront prêts dans les jours prochains. Je vous en expédierai le nombre permettant la constitution de 350 dossiers.

2°/- Les militaires sinistrés qui ont rejoint la France ont reçu individuellement des imprimés de la part du Commandant de la B.A.N. d'AGADIR./.

Communiqué à : Copie N° 1
» » N° 2
» » N° 3
» » N° 4
» » N° 5
» » N° 6

Figure 1.21. Telegram from September 26, 1960 stating that census forms had a defect, so they had to be reprinted. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.



Figure 1.22. French frontispiece of the Agadir survivor identification card, circa December 1960. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.

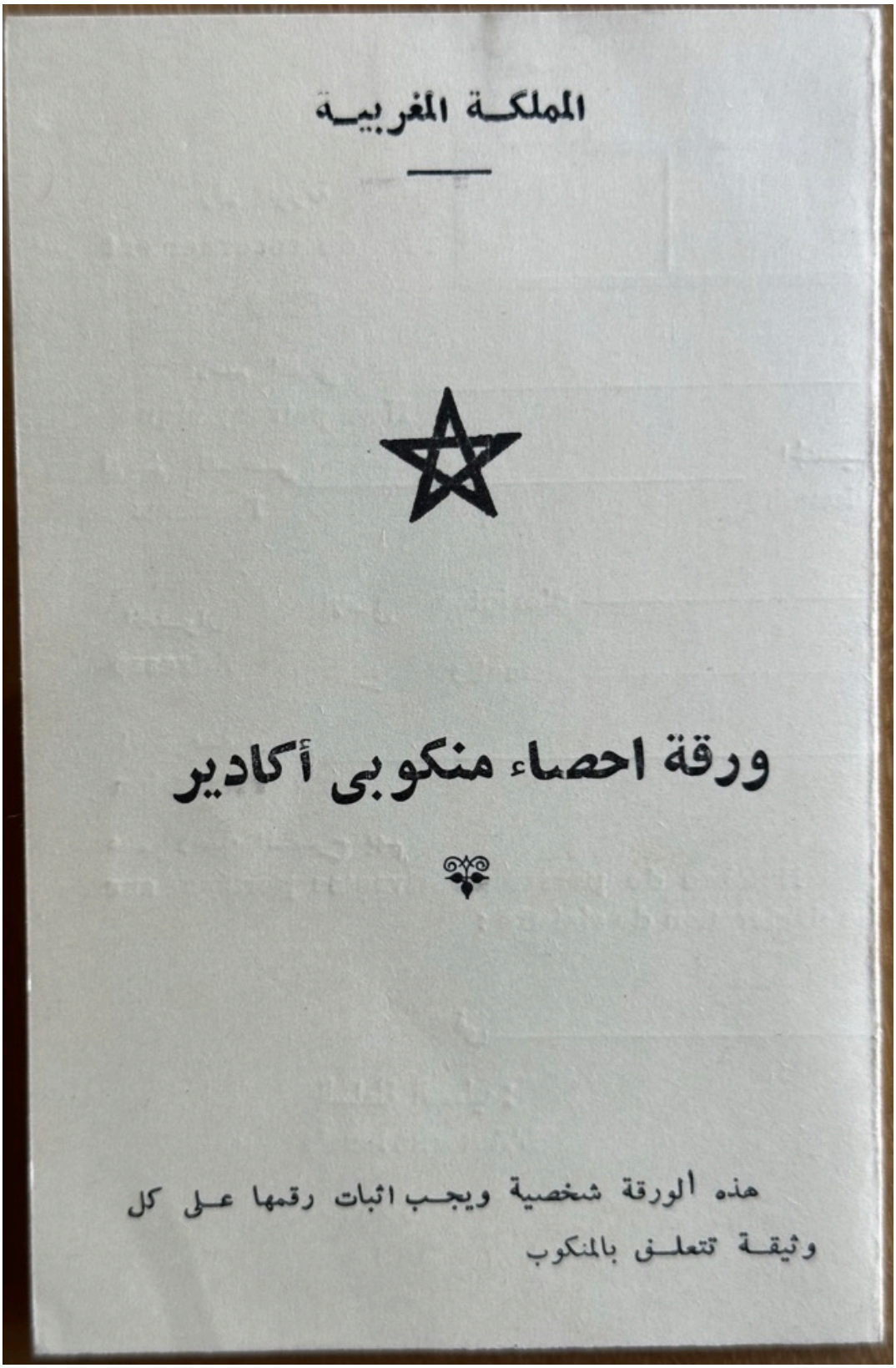


Figure 1.23. Arabic frontispiece of the Agadir survivor identification card, circa December 1960. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.



المملكة المغربية

ورقة احصاء منكوبى أكادير

هذه الورقة شخصية ويجب اثبات رقمها على كل وثيقة تتعلق بالمنكوب

ROYAUME DU MAROC

Carte de recensement

de sinistré d'Agadir

La presente carte est strictement personnelle, le n.° qu'elle porte doit être. reproduit sur toutes les pièces relatives au sinistre.

Figure 1.24. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.

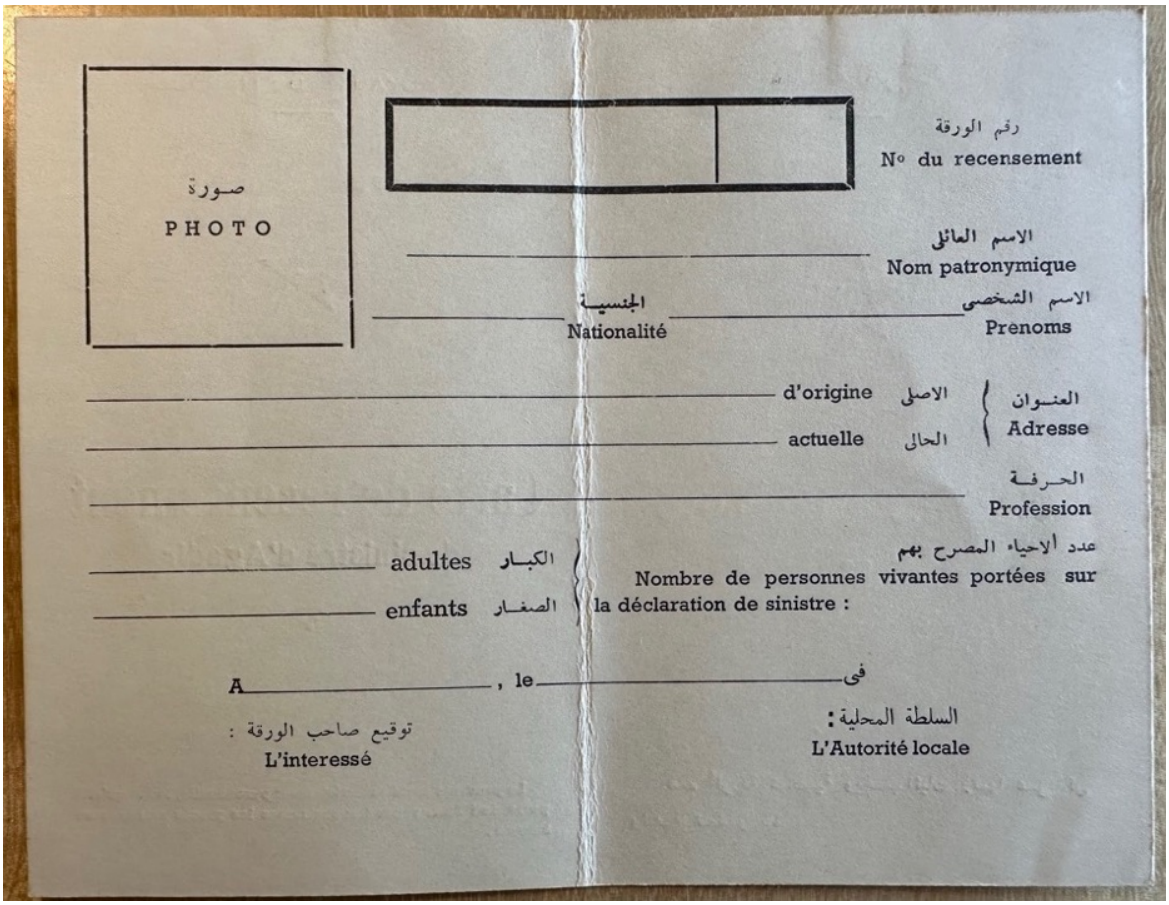
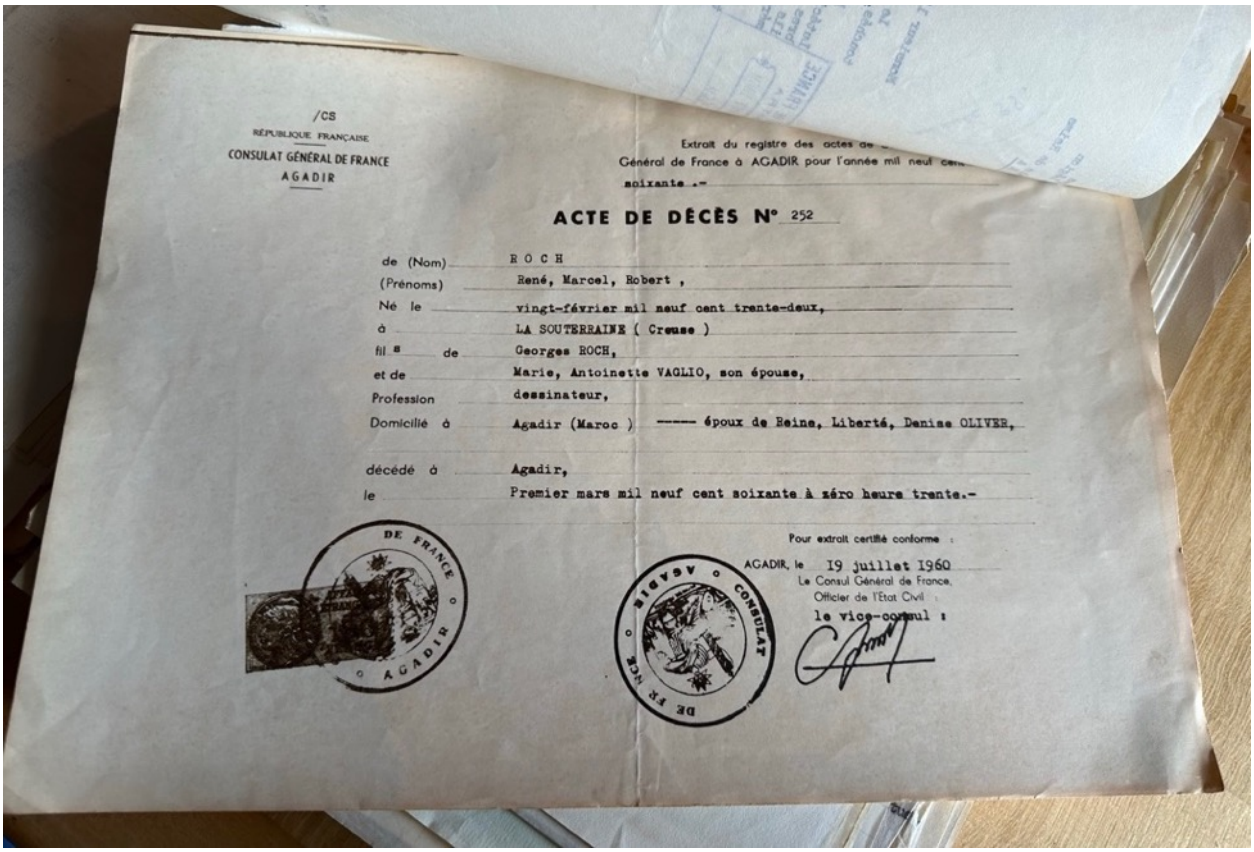


Figure 1.25. Interior of the Agadir survivor identification card. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/363.



/CS

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

CONSULAT GÉNÉRAL DE FRANCE

AGADIR

Extrait du registre des actes de ... Général de France à AGADIR pour l'année mil neuf cen... soixante.-

ACTE DE DÉCÈS N° 252

de (Nom) ROCH

(Prénoms) René, Marcel, Robert ,

Né le vingt-février mil neuf cent trente-deux,

à LA SOUTERRAINE (Creuse)

fil s de Georges ROCH,

et de Marie, Antoinette VAGLIO, son épouse,

Profession dessinateur,

Domicilié à Agadir (Maroc) ------ époux de Reine, Liberté, Denise OLIVER,

décédé à Agadir,

le Premier mars mil neuf cent soixante à zéro heure trente.-

DE FRANCE o AGADIR o

Pour extrait certifié conforme :

AGADIR, le 19 juillet 1960

Le Consul Général de France,

Officier de l'État Civil :

le vice-consul :

o CONSULAT o AGADIR DE FRANCE

Figure 1.26. Death Certificate of René Roth. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/364.



/CS

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

CONSULAT GÉNÉRAL DE FRANCE
AGADIR

Extrait du registre des actes de [illegible]
Général de France à AGADIR pour l'année mil neuf cent soixante .-

ACTE DE DÉCÈS N° 272

de (Nom) OLIVER épouse ROCH
(Prénoms) Reine, Liberté, Denise,
Né le premier octobre mil neuf cent trente-neuf,
à Casablanca (Maroc)
fil le de François OLIVER
et de Marie, Catherine, LOPEZ mon épouse,
Profession mécanographe,
Domicilié à Kénitra (Maroc)

décédé à Agadir (Maroc)
le premier mars mil neuf cent soixante à séro heure trente .-

Pour extrait certifié conforme :
AGADIR, le 19 juillet 1960
Le Consul Général de France,
Officier de l'Etat Civil :
le vice-consul :

DE FRANCE AGADIR

CONSULAT DE FRANCE AGADIR

Figure 1.27. Death certificate of Reine Oliver. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/364.





Figure 1.28 (top). Screenshot showing corpses strewn along a road. *Les actualités françaises*: *édition du 2 mars 1960.*March 9, 1960. Archive INA.
Figure 1.29 (bottom). Screenshot showing corpses strewn along a road. *The Tragedy of Agadir*. March 7, 1960. British Movietone; AP Archive.



Figure 1.30 (top). Bulldozer creating a large pit for a mass grave. *Earthquake at Agadir*. British Pathé.
Figure 1.31 (bottom). Bulldozers and workers digging mass graves. *Les actualités françaises: édition du 2 mars 1960.* March 2, 1960. Archive INA.



Figure 1.32. Plaque commemorating the victims of the earthquake buried in the mass graves in Ihchach. Photograph taken by author on March 2, 2023.



Figure 1.33. View of the mass graves (left of the while wall). Photograph taken by author on March 2, 2023.



Figure 1.34. View of the European (Christian) cemetery. Photograph taken by author on March 2, 2023.



Figure 1.35. Gate of the European cemetery, controlled by the French military. Photograph taken by author on March 2, 2023.



Figure 1.36. Assembly booklet for a family tent. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/370.

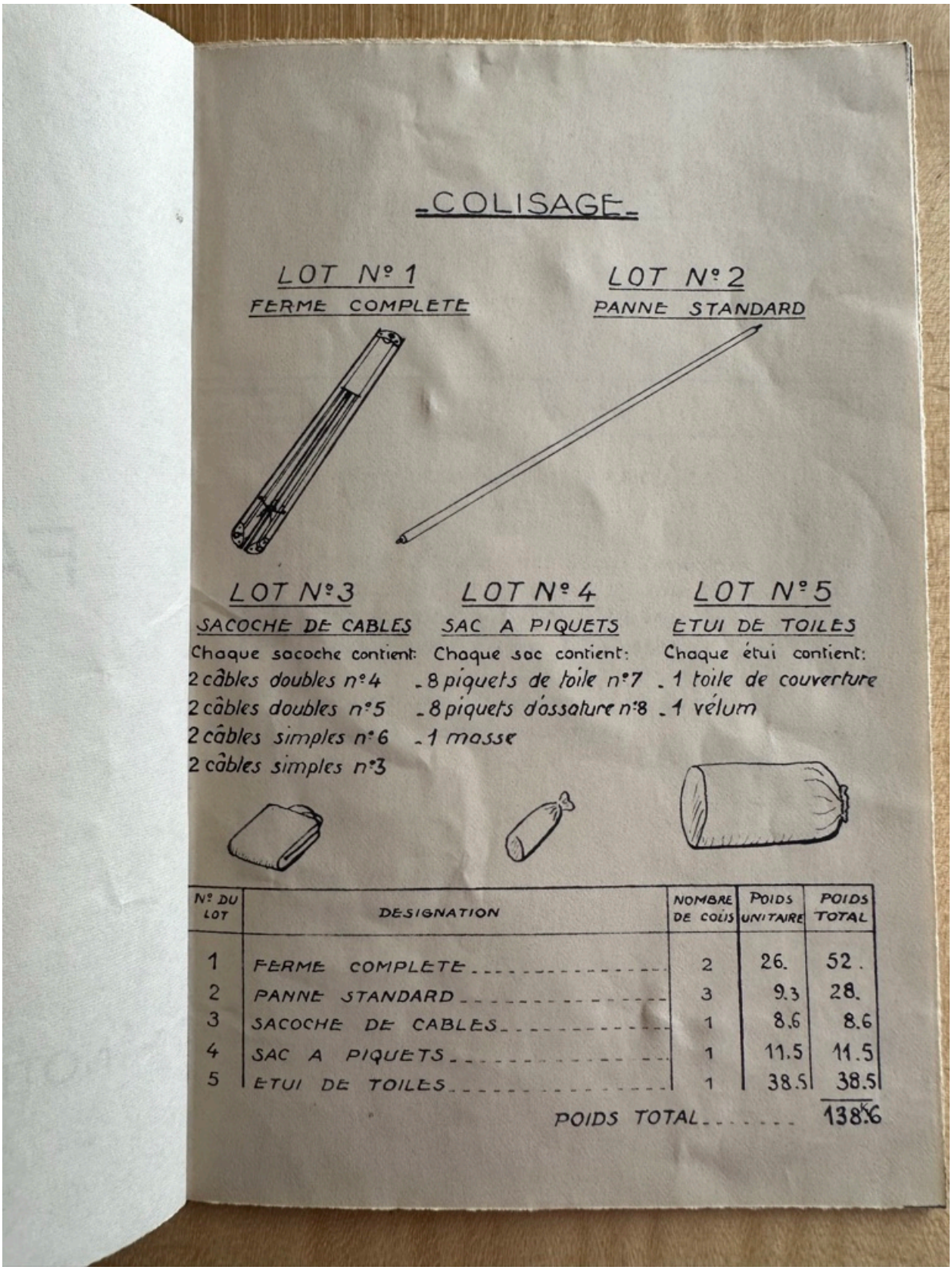
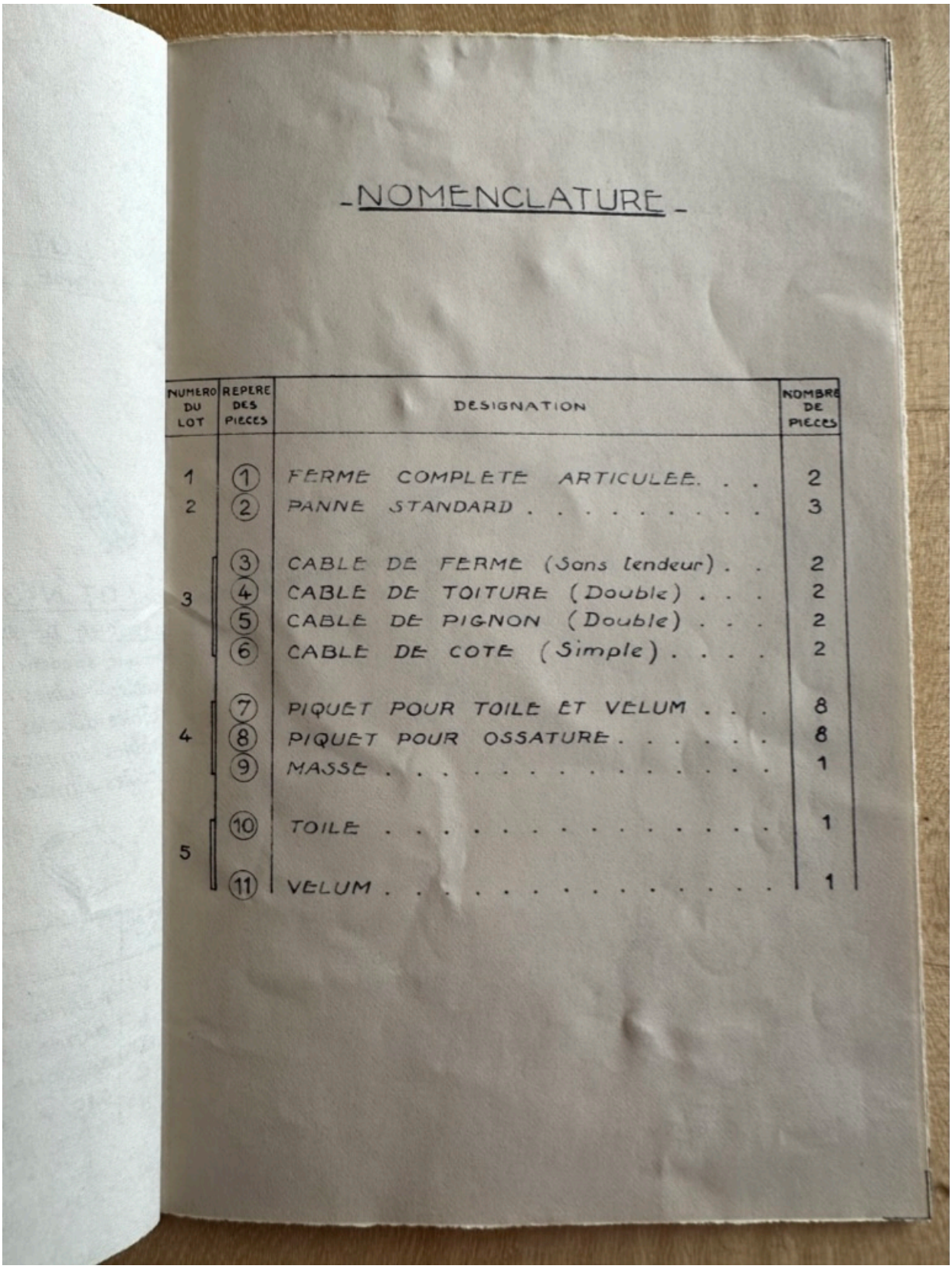


Figure 1.37. Assembly booklet for a family tent. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/370.



-NOMENCLATURE-

NUMERO DU LOT	REPERE DES PIECES	DESIGNATION	NOMBRE DE PIECES
1	①	FERME COMPLETE ARTICULEE. . .	2
2	②	PANNE STANDARD	3
3	③	CABLE DE FERME (Sans tendeur) . .	2
	④	CABLE DE TOITURE (Double) . . .	2
	⑤	CABLE DE PIGNON (Double) . . .	2
	⑥	CABLE DE COTE (Simple)	2
4	⑦	PIQUET POUR TOILE ET VELUM . . .	8
	⑧	PIQUET POUR OSSATURE	8
	⑨	MASSE	1
5	⑩	TOILE	1
	⑪	VELUM	1

Figure 1.38. Assembly booklet for a family tent. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/370.

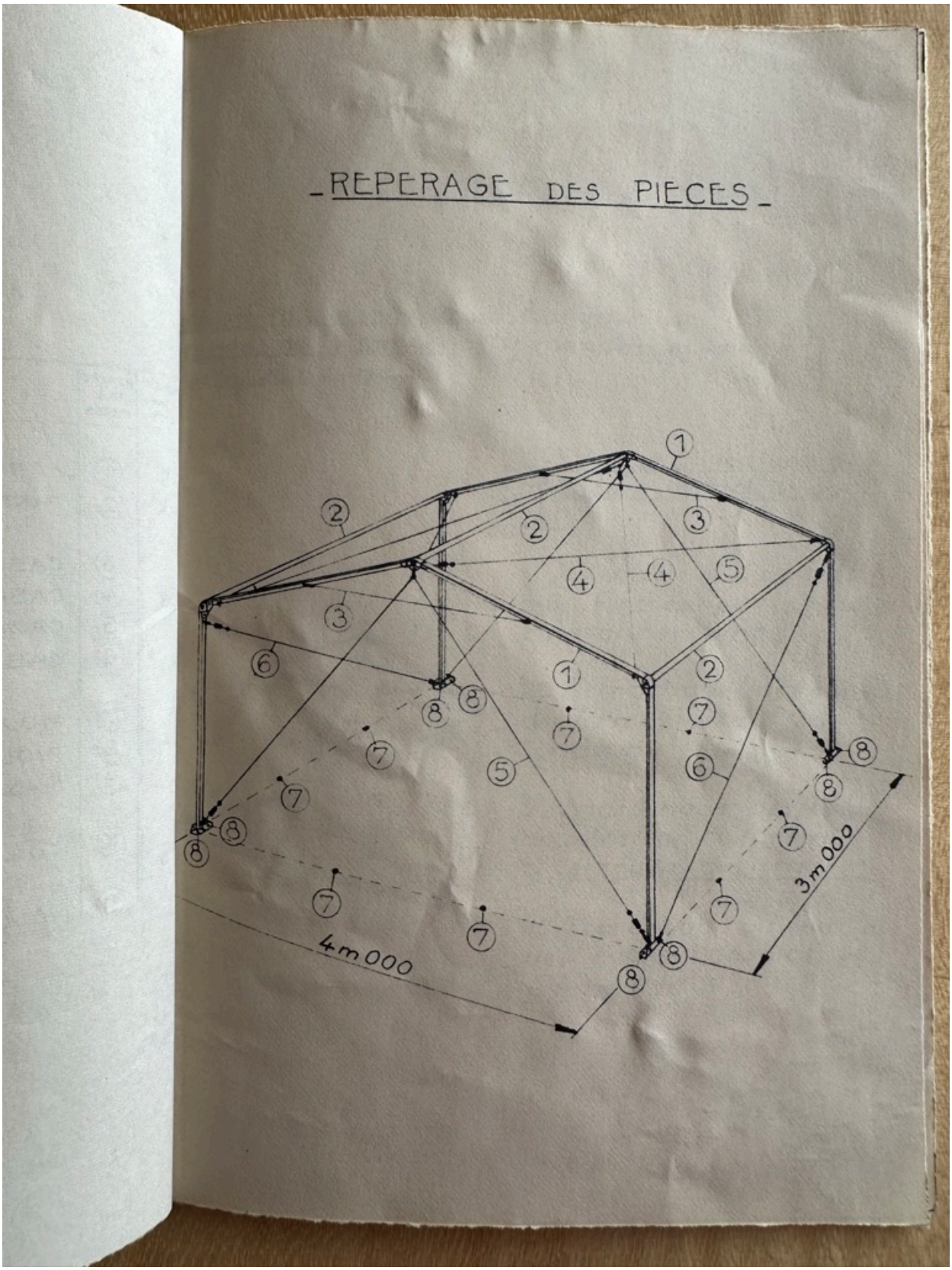


Figure 1.39. Assembly booklet for a family tent. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/370.

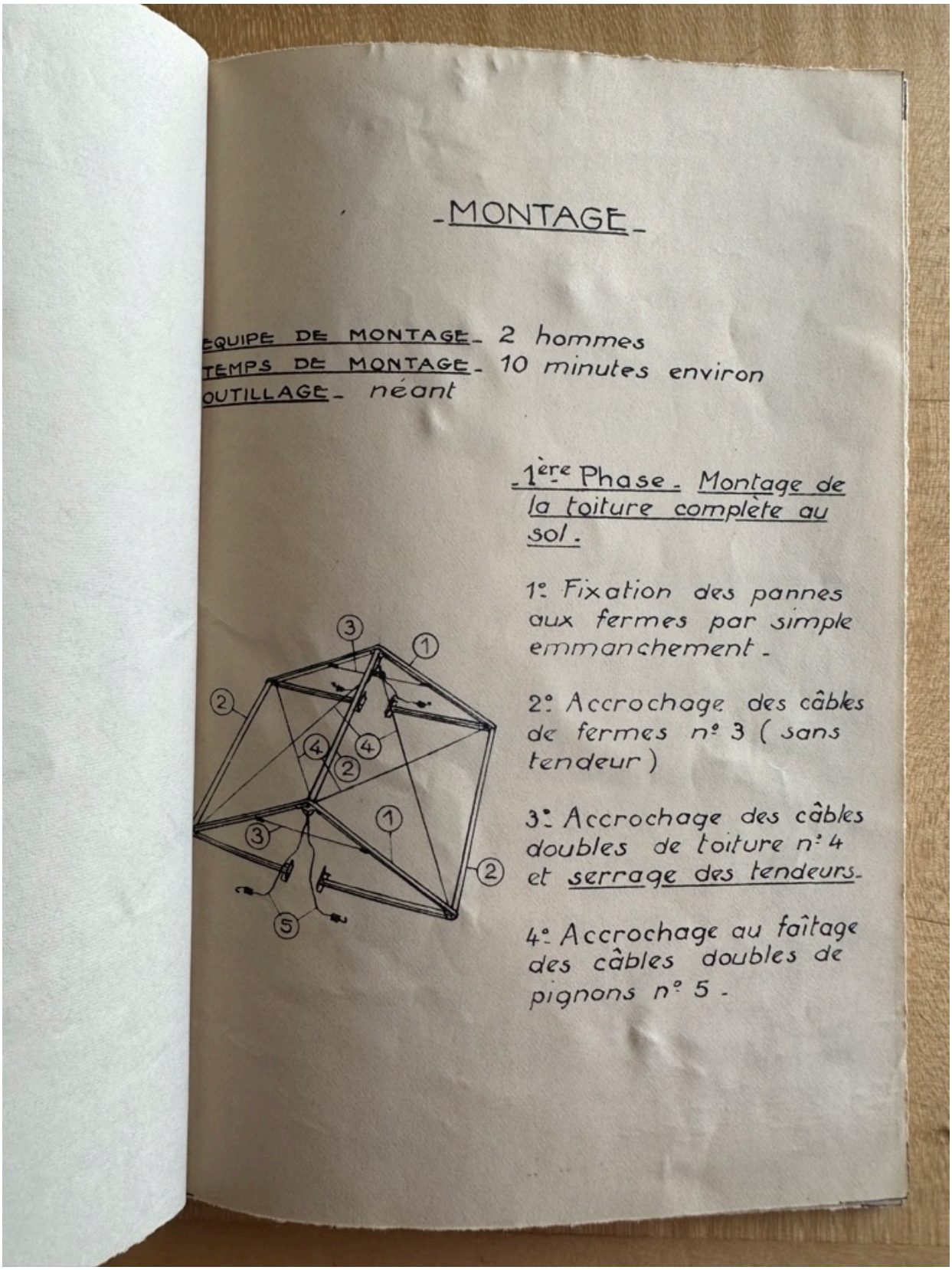


Figure 1.40. Assembly booklet for a family tent. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/370.

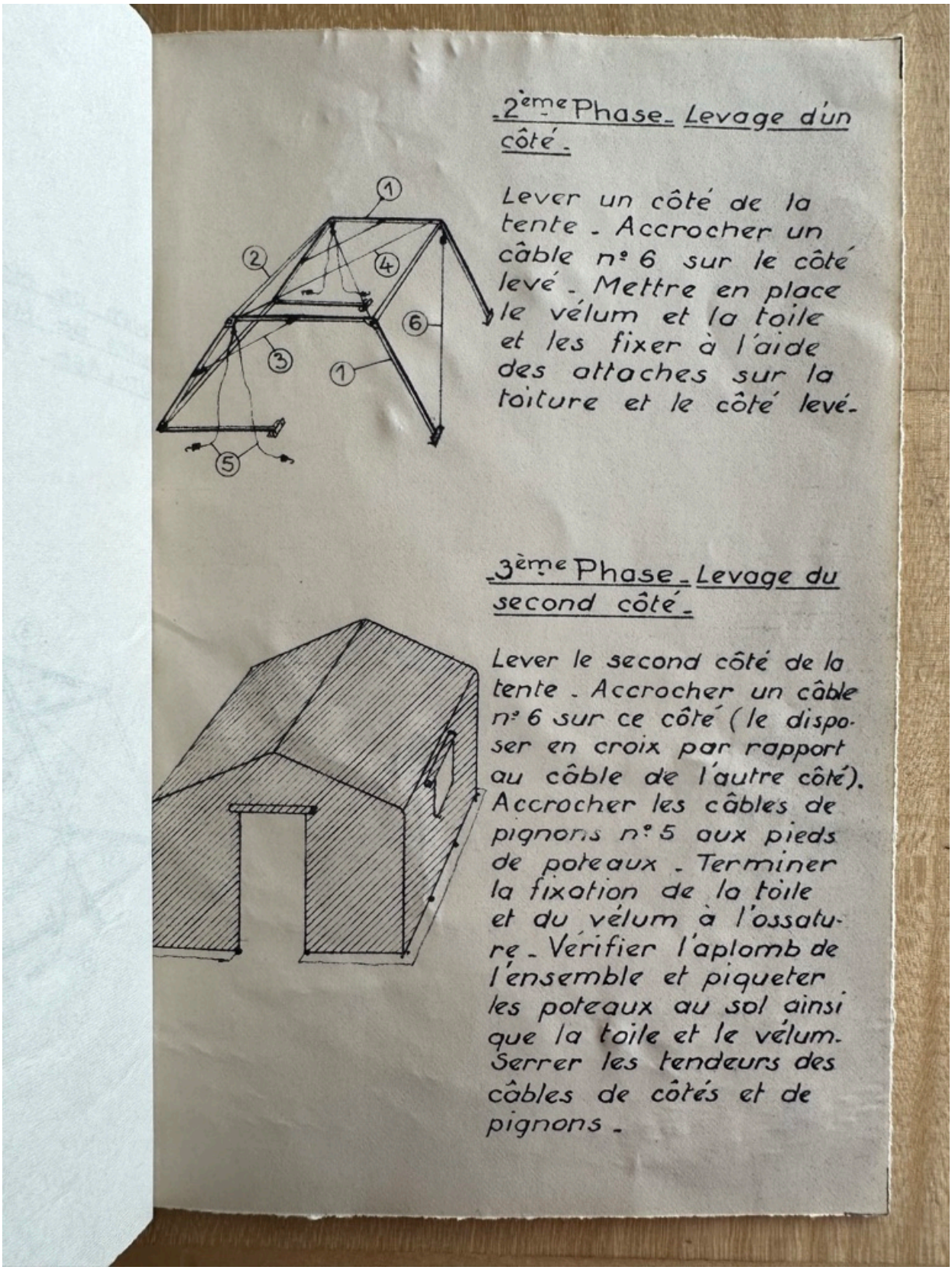


Figure 1.41. Assembly booklet for a family tent. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 15PO/1/370.



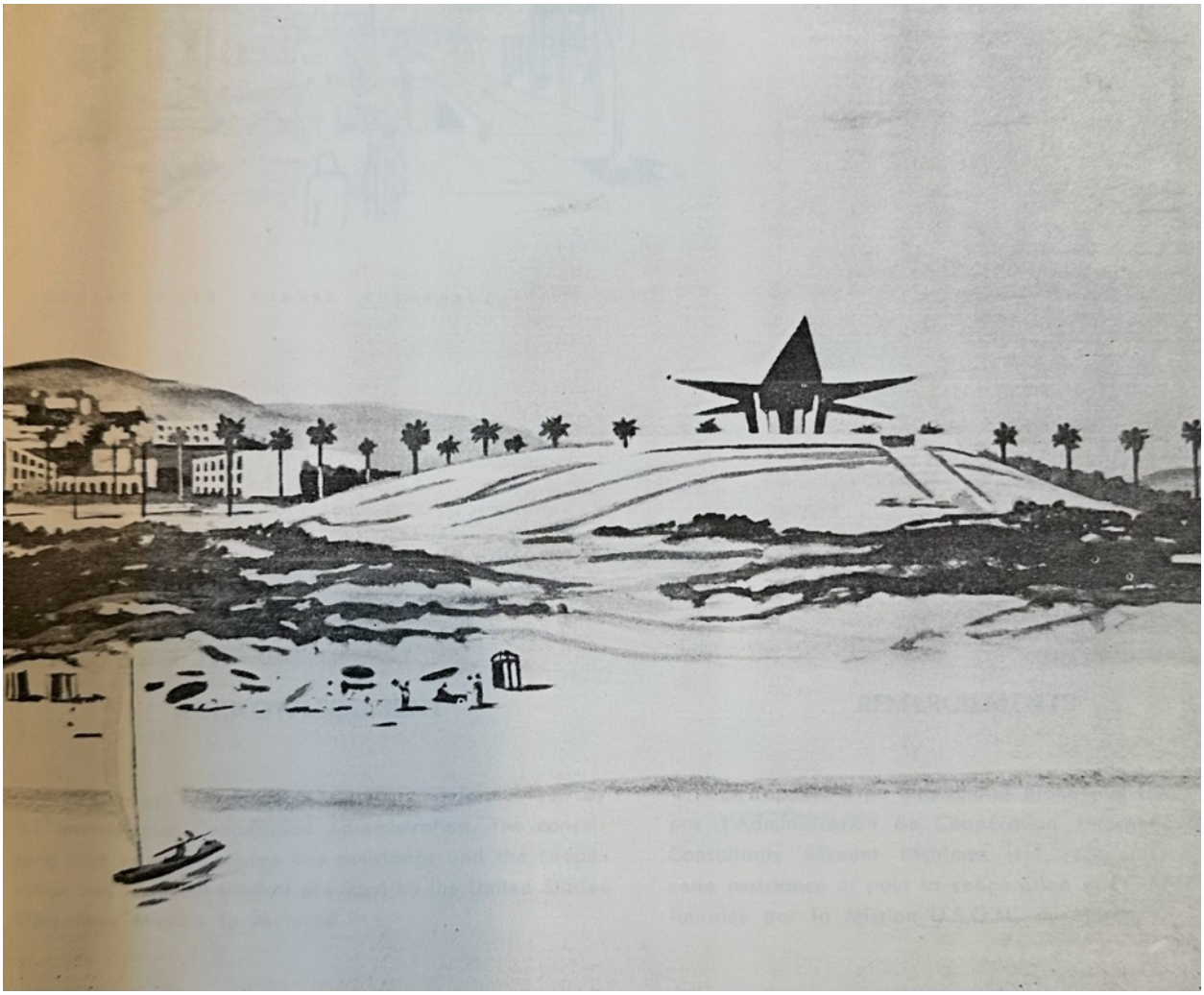
Figure 1.42. Cover of *L'avant-garde* dedicated to solidarity with the survivors of Agadir, March 5, 1960.



Figure 1.43. Detail of photo and caption on the cover of *L'avant-garde* April 23, 1960. The caption reads, "Solidarity of the workers of the world has materialized in the aid brought to the Agadir survivors."



Figure 2.1. Claude Verdugo, Agadir memorial wall, 1968, concrete. Lahsen Roussafi collection. The reflecting pond originally in front of the wall is no longer there. The Arabic text impressed into the concrete is an excerpt from a speech delivered by Mohammed V on Marh 3, 1960 and reads, “If fate decreed the destruction of Agadir, its reconstruction depends on our will and our faith.”


Figure 2.2. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of memorial and commercial center, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.

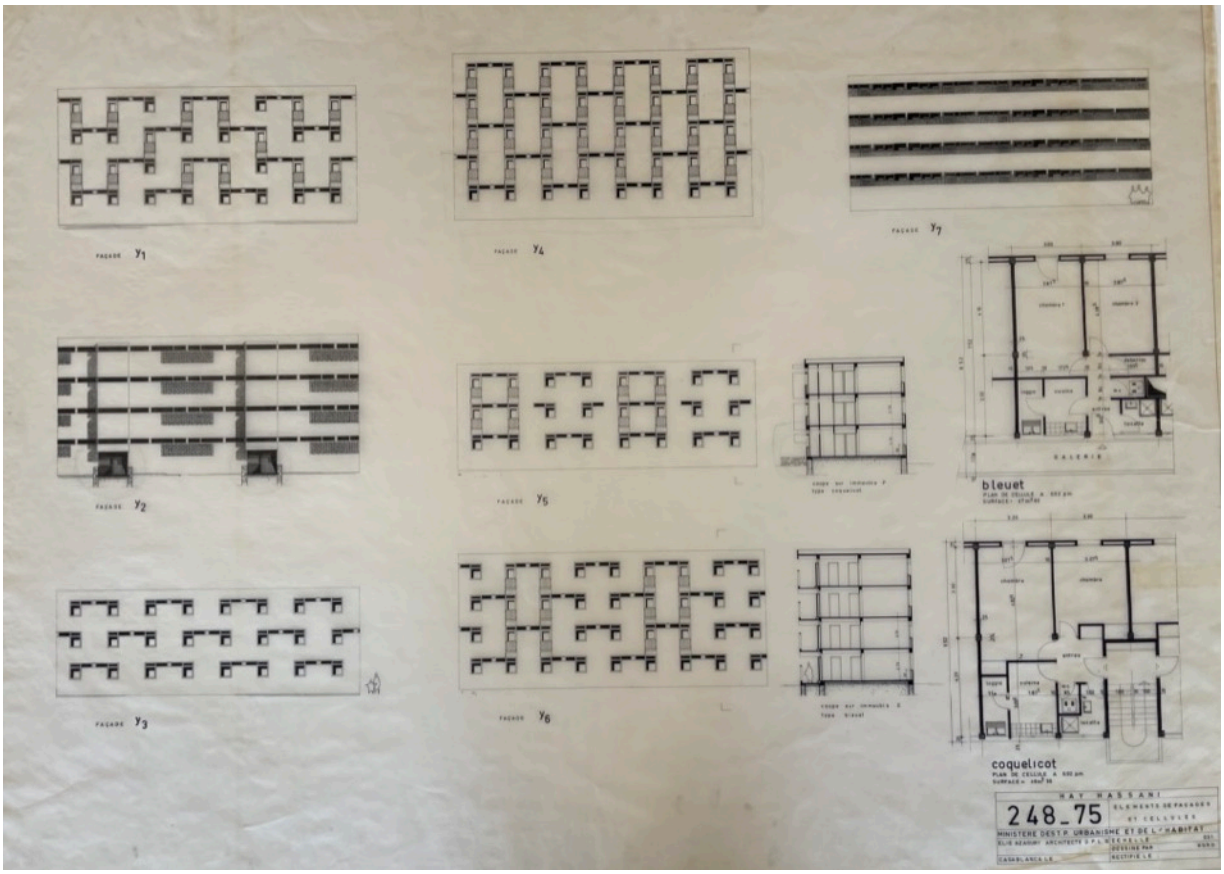


Figure 2.3. Elie Azagury, Derb Jdid, elevations and plans, circa 1958. Fonds Elie Azagury, 244 Ifa 52 Quartier de Derb Jdid, Casablanca : plan d'ensemble, maisons et immeubles types, Cité de l'architecture, Paris.

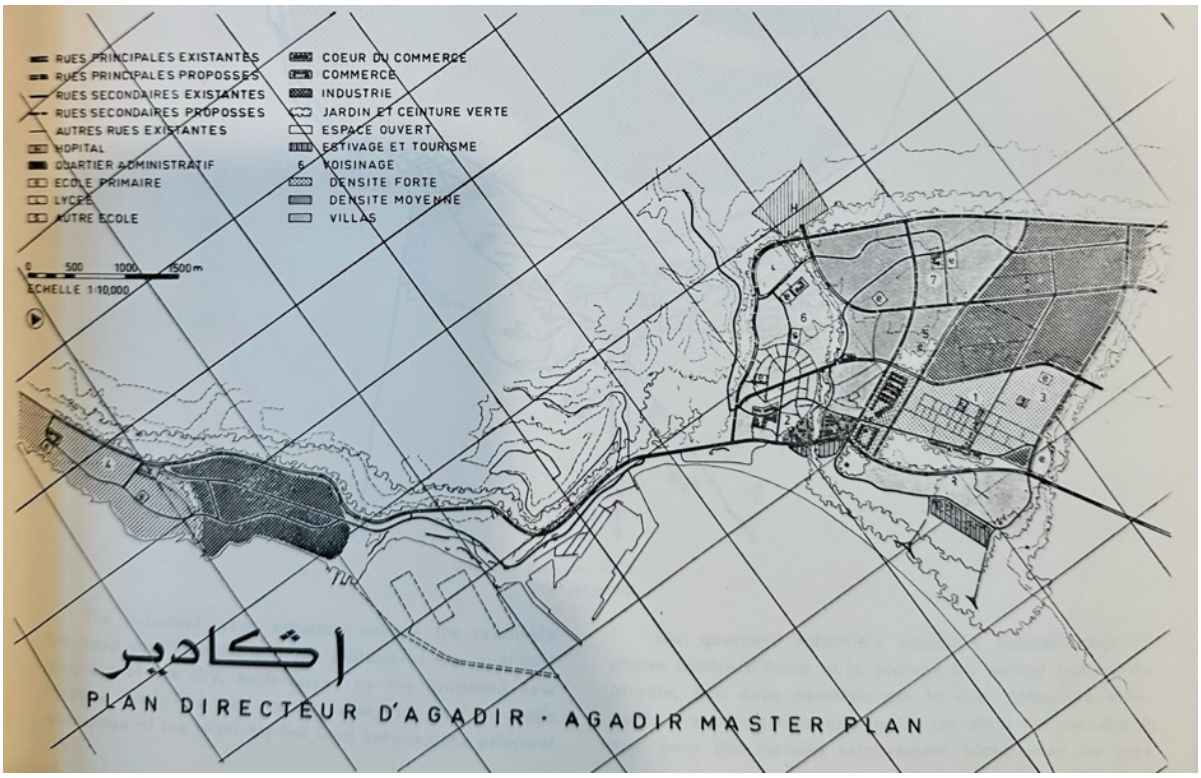


Figure 2.4. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, Agadir master plan, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.

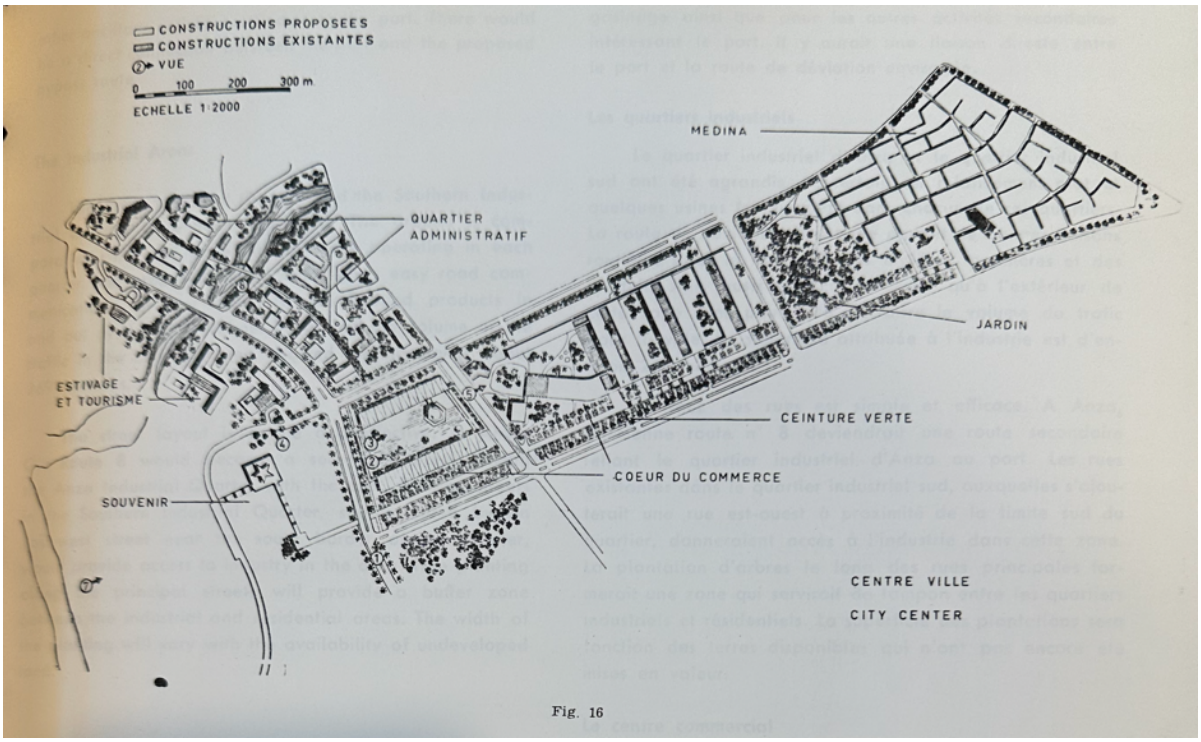


Figure 2.5. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, Agadir master plan, 1960, detail of city center. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.



Figure 2.6. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of city center, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.

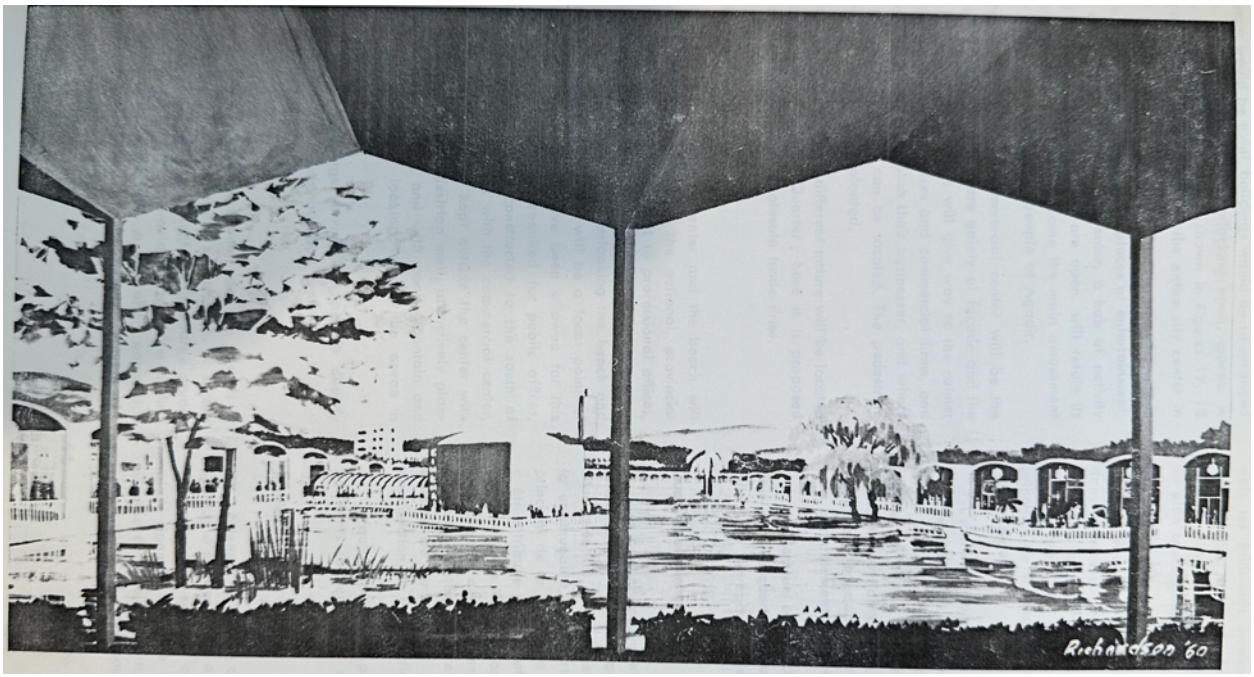


Figure 2.7. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of commercial center, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.



Figure 2.8. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of commercial center, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.

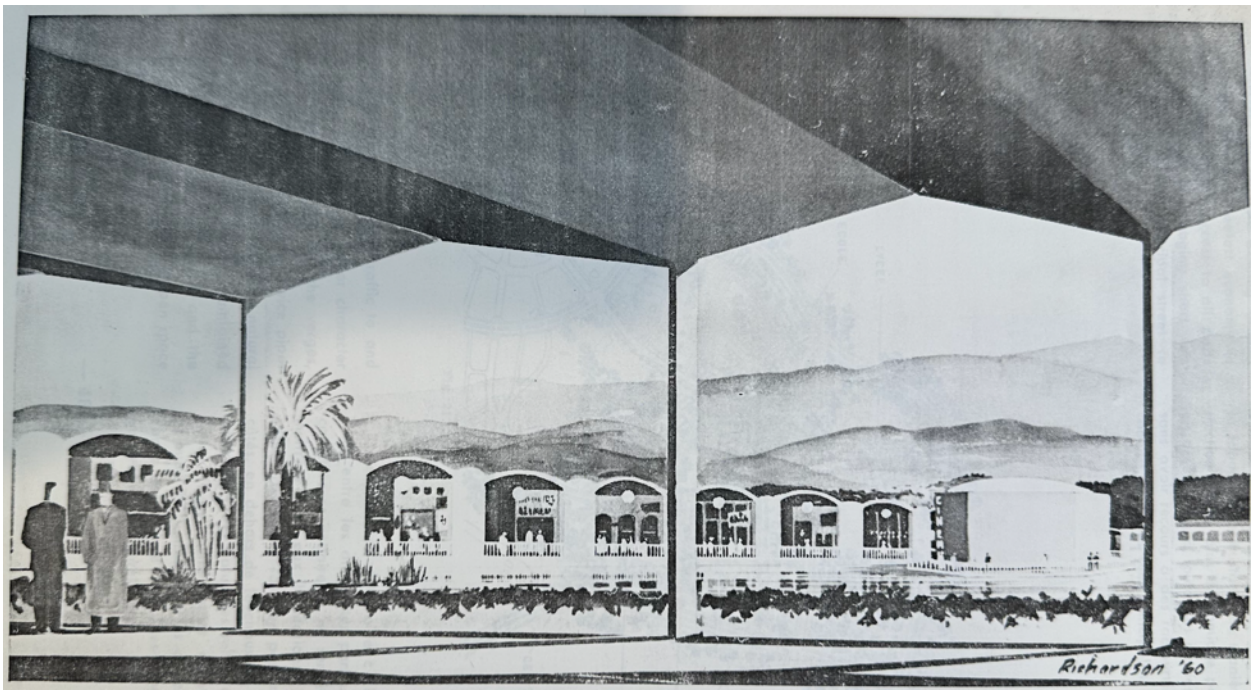
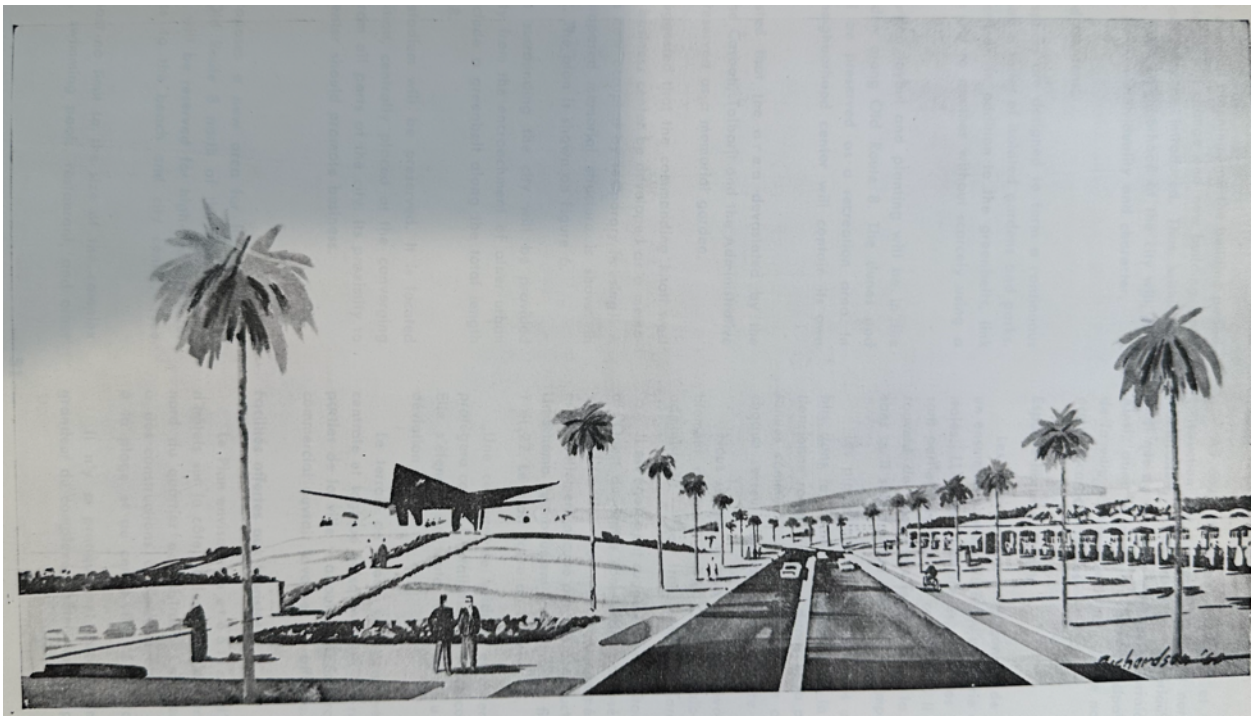


Figure 2.9. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of commercial center, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.


Figure 2.10. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of memorial and commercial center, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries. Note the commercial center to the right across the Old Route 8 major thoroughfare.

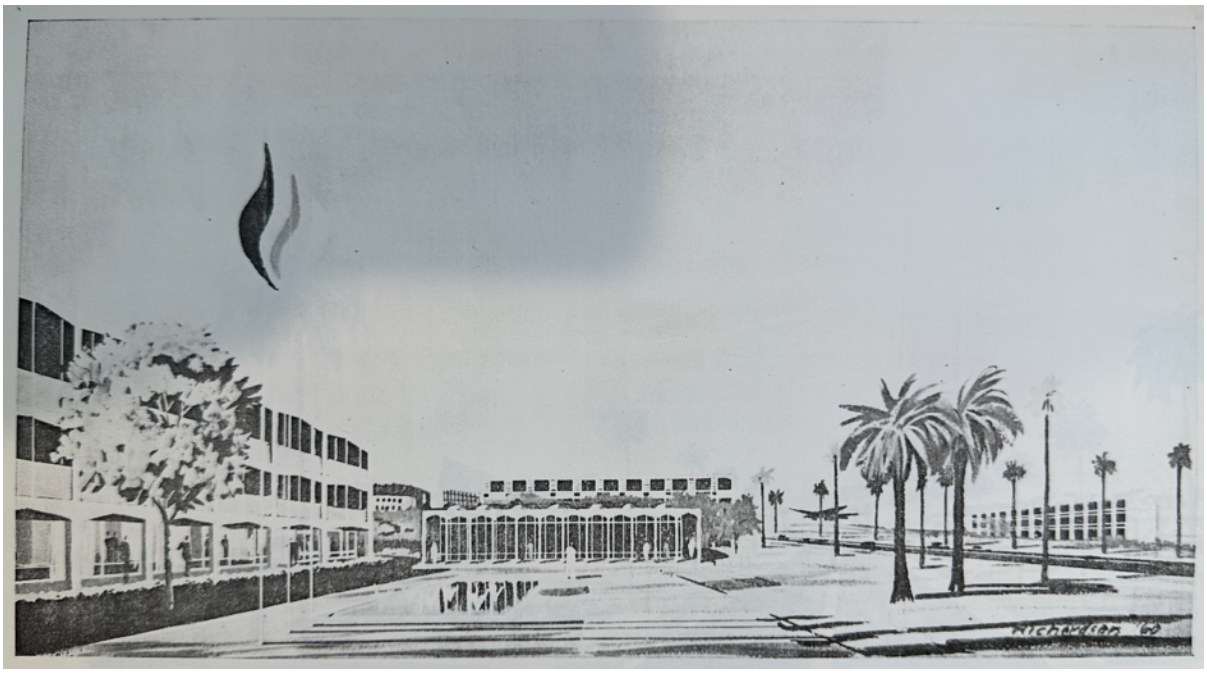


Figure 2.11. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of administrative quarter, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries. Note the memorial in right background and hotel in right middle ground.

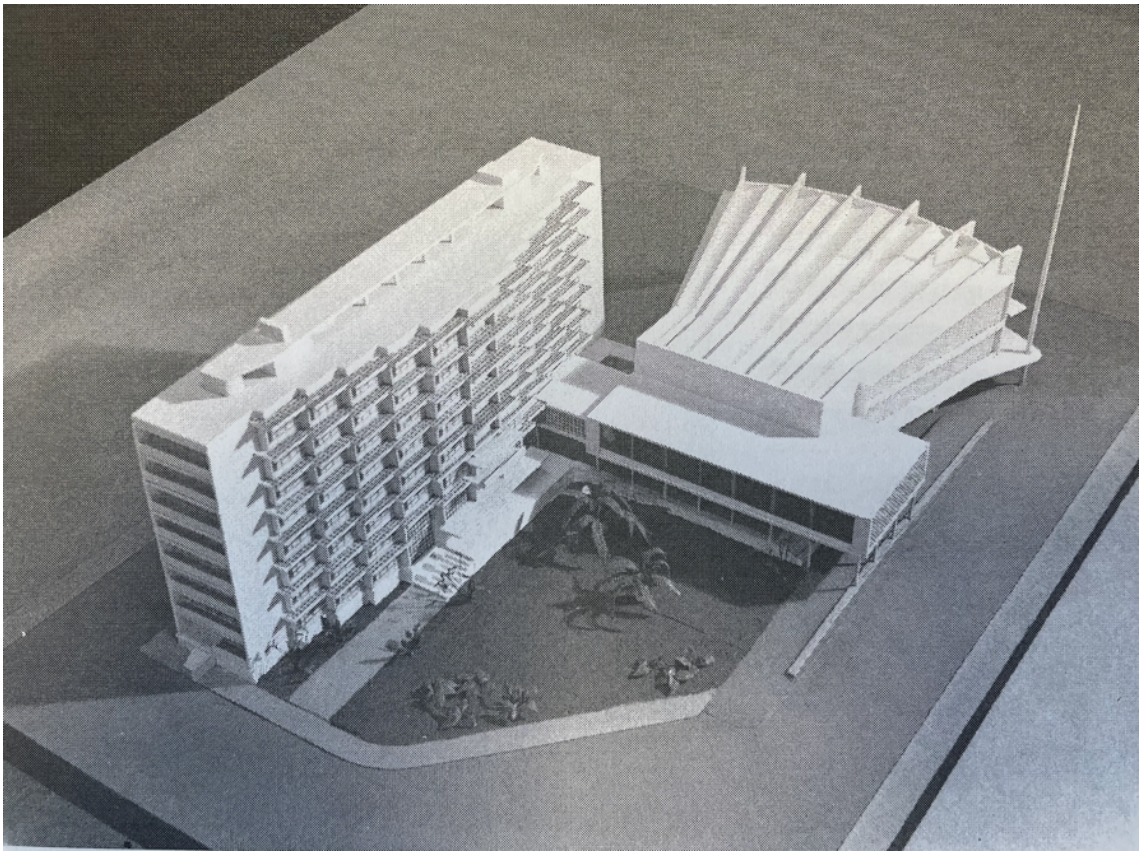


Figure 2.12. Marcel Lods and Vladimir Bodiansky, maquette of Agadir City Hall, 1951. LODS 323 AA 400/5: Agadir Hôtel de Ville, Cité de l'architecture, Paris.



Figure 2.13. Marcel Lods and Vladimir Bodiansky, maquette of Agadir City Hall, 1951. LODS 323 AA 518/12: Agadir Hôtel de Ville, Cité de l'architecture, Paris.



Figure 2.14. Marcel Lods and Vladimir Bodiansky, Agadir City Hall, 1951. Photograph by author, February 25, 2020.



Figure 2.15. Marcel Lods and Vladimir Bodiansky, Agadir City Hall, 1951. LODS 323 AA 518/12: Agadir Hôtel de Ville, Cité de l'architecture, Paris.



Figure 2.16. Marcel Lods and Vladimir Bodiansky, Agadir City Hall, 1951. Photograph by author, February 25, 2020.



Figure 2.17. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, rendering of hotel/tourism zone, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries.



Figure. 2.18. Figure 18. Harland Bartholomew and Associates, plan for a part of a neighborhood, 1960. Folder 1: Agadir, Morocco, Blue Appendix, Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries. Note the horseshoe street pattern of the old *ville nouvelle* in the bottom left.

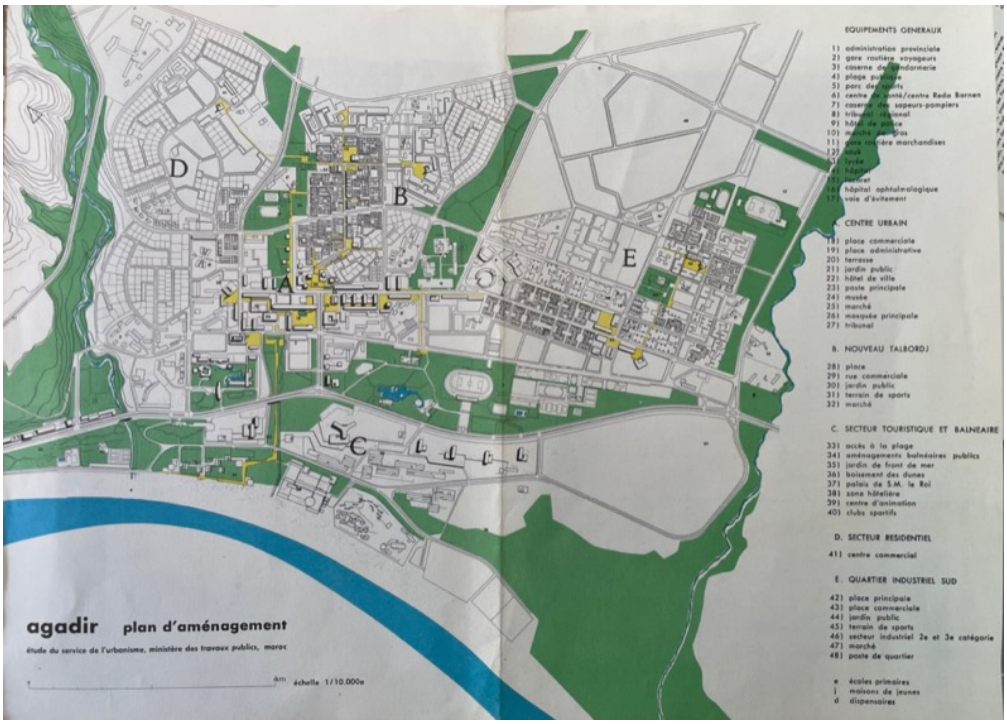
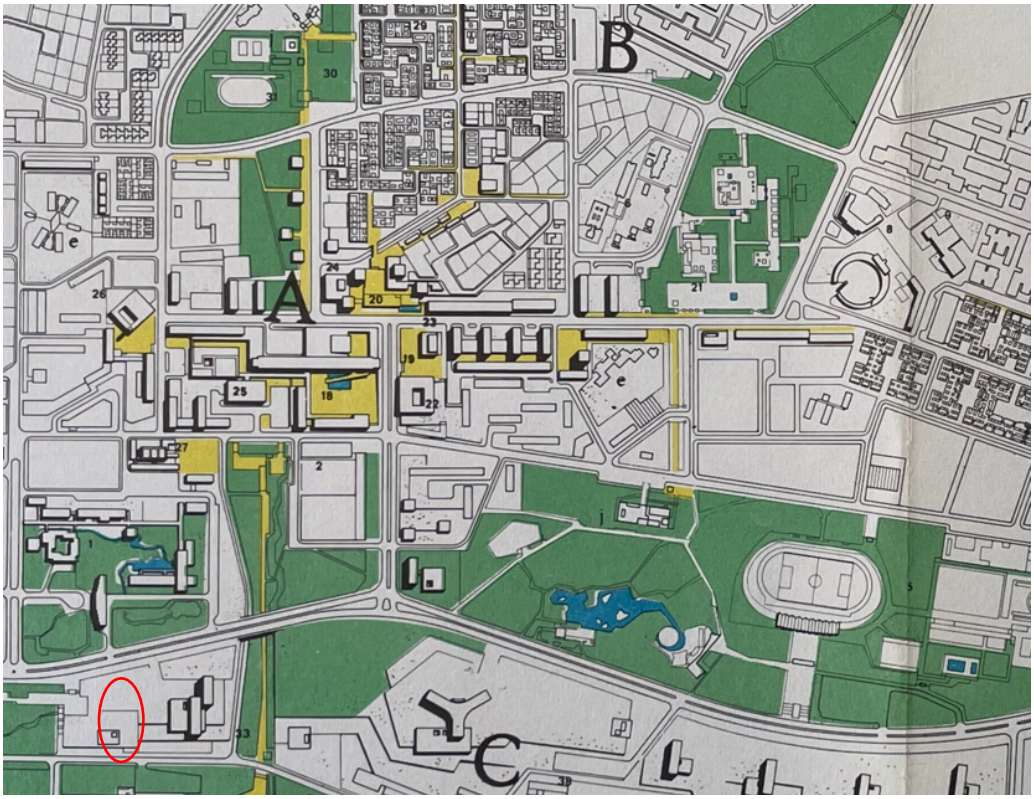


Figure 2.19. Pierre Mas and Jean Challet, Agadir Master Plan, 1961, reproduced in *A + U* no. 4, 1966. The Agadir Bay is represented by blue.


Figure 2.20. Pierre Mas and Jean Challet, Agadir Master Plan, 1961, reproduced in *A + U* no. 4, 1966. Detail of the city center (A), featuring: commercial square (18), administrative office (19), terrace (20), public garden (21), city hall (22), main post office (23), museum (24), market (25), main mosque (26), courthouse (27). The old city hall (the Wilaya today), designed by Marcel Lods and Vladimir Bodiansky, that survived the earthquake is circled in red.

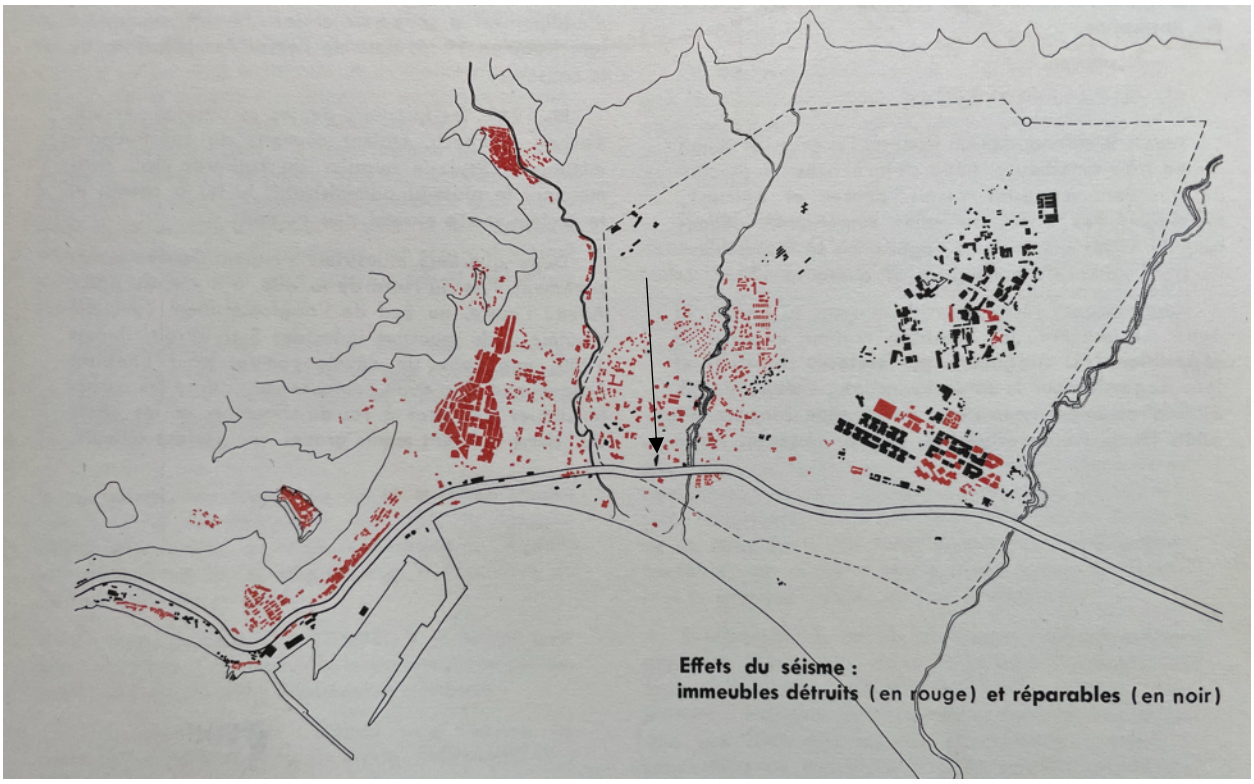


Figure 2.21. Map of earthquake damage reproduced in *A+U* no. 4 (1966) based on a map of Agadir with zones indicating levels of damage assessed, October 25, 1960 (based on a map from 1955). Note the old city hall building is one of the very few buildings that survived in this part of Agadir. See Chapter 1, figure 8 for the original map. From left to right, Oued Tildi, Oued Tanaout, and Oued Lahouar rivers.

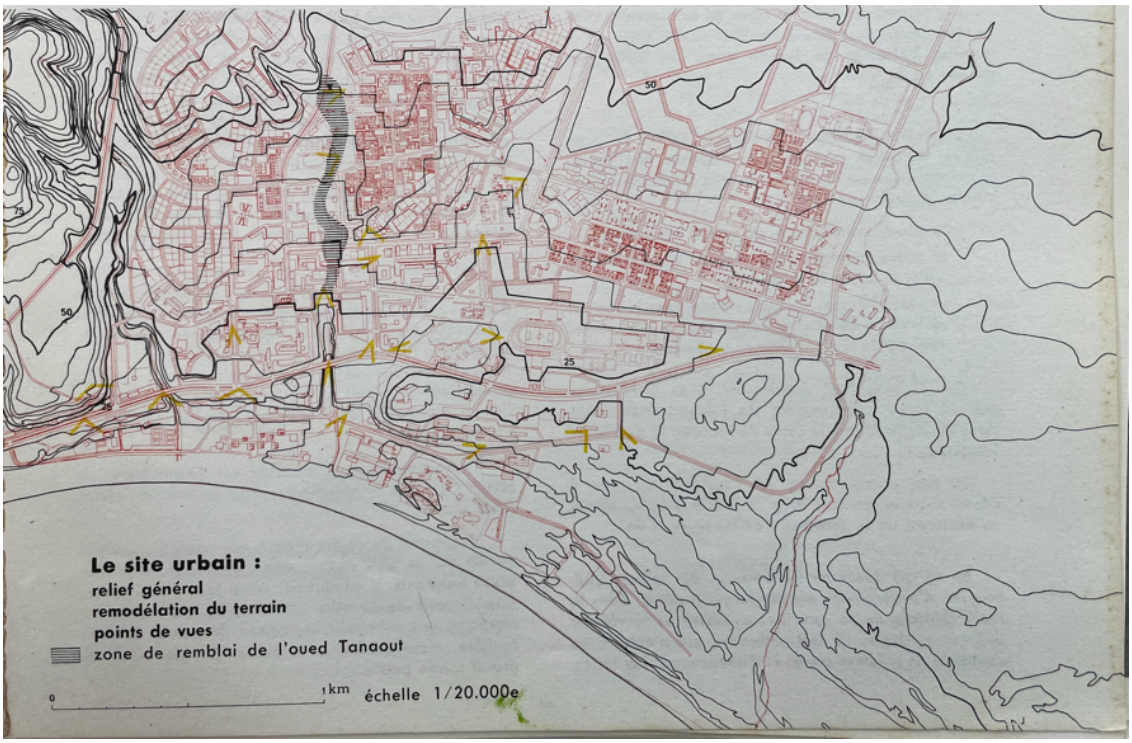


Figure 2.22. Master plan of Agadir overlaid over the original topography, showing the extensive work done to flatten most of this area.



Figure 2.23. Map of the location of the neighborhoods of the new Agadir. Produced by the Service of Urbanism, circa 1962. Note the new city is between the Oued Tildi on the left (north) and Oued Lahouar on the right (south).

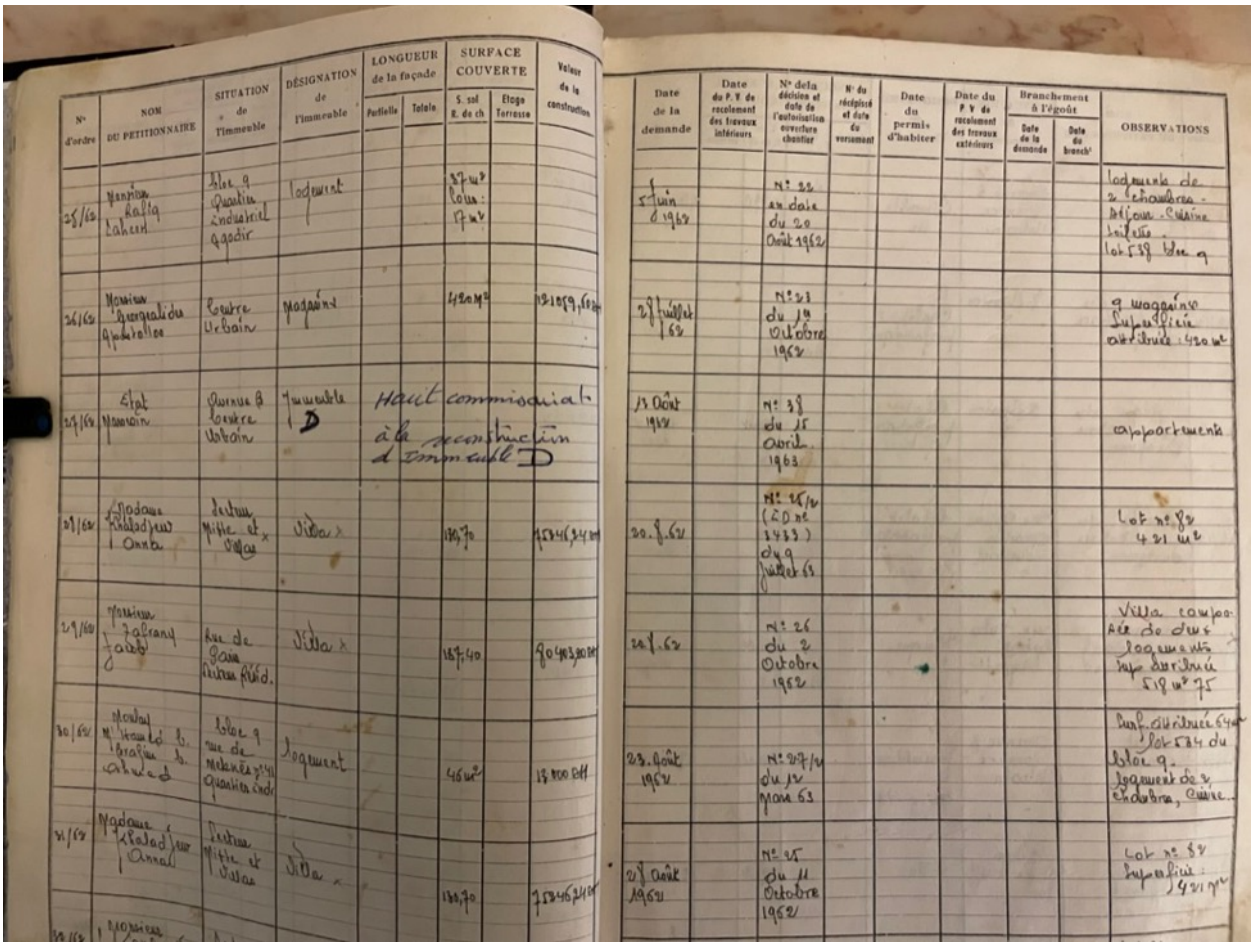


Figure 2.24. The first book of building permits from the reconstruction period. Agadir City Hall Archives. This page features the Building D commissioned by the HCRA and permitted in 1962. This project went to Faraoui and de Mazières.



Figure 2.25. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D (foreground) and Buildings O1, 02 (background), 1963. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 2.26. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D, 1963. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the vertical gap between segments of the building with double horizontal beams and supports, and the vertical gaps between floors.

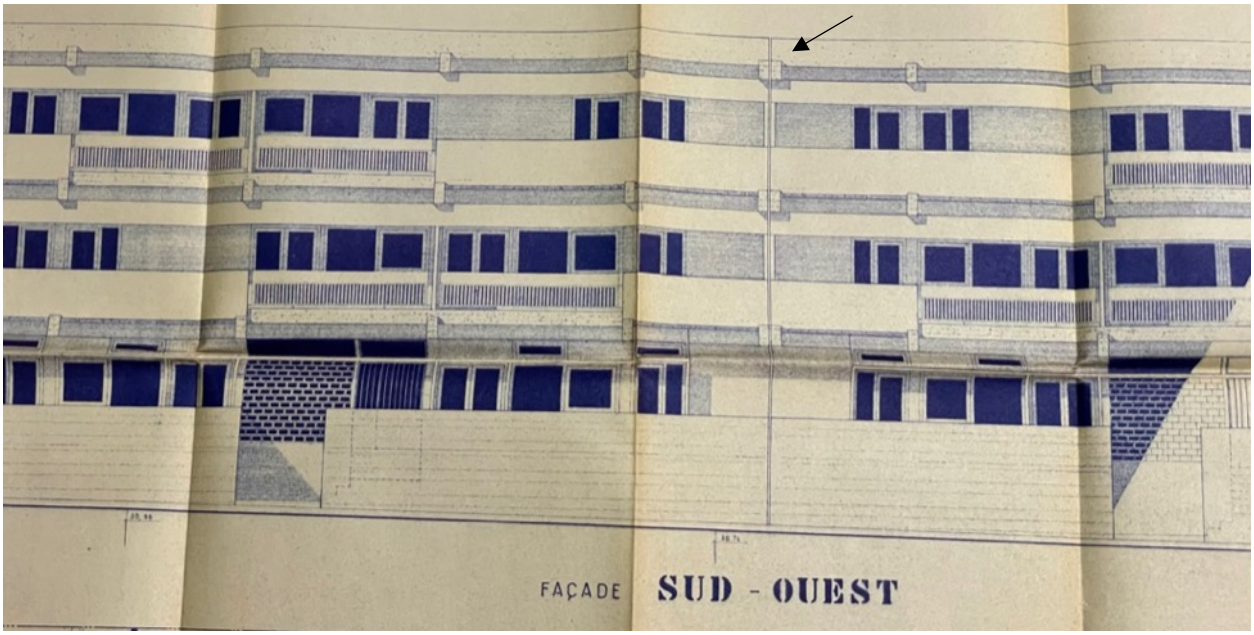


Figure 2.27. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D, 1963. Agadir City Hall Archives. Note the vertical gap between segments of the building with double horizontal beams and supports, and the vertical gaps between floors.



Figure 2.28. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D, 1963. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 2.29. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D, 1963. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 2.30. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D, 1963. Photograph taken by authoer on February 25, 2020.



Figure 2.31. View overlooking the city center. City hall in the foreground; Building A, the central square, Uniprix store, Cinema Rialto, and central market (*marché central*) in the middle ground, Lebanon Mosque with minaret in the background. Undated. Published in Tom Avermaete and Maxime Zaugg, eds., *Agadir: Building the Modern Afropolis.* (Zurich: Park Books, 2022), 217.



Figure 2.32. Henri Tastemin and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66. Cité de l'architcture, Tastemain/Castelnau 420 IFA 100/01. Photograph developed June 1972.



Figure 2.33. Henri Tastemin and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66. Cité de l'architcture, Tastemain/Castelnau 420 IFA 100/01. Photograph developed October 1972.

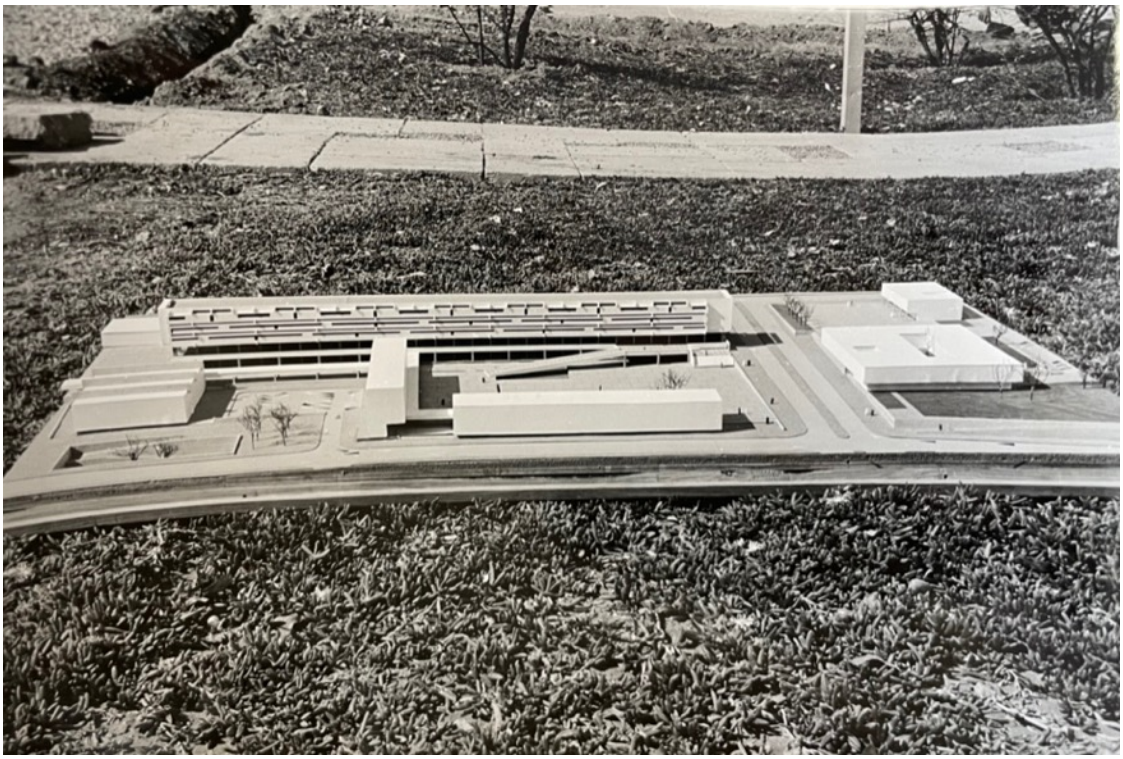


Figure 2.34. Henri Tastemin and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66, maquette. Cité de l'architcture, Tastemain/Castelnau 420 IFA 100/01.



Figure 2.35. Henri Tastemin and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66. Cité de l'architcture, Tastemain/Castelnau 420 IFA 100/01. Building D is to the right opposite corner of Building A.

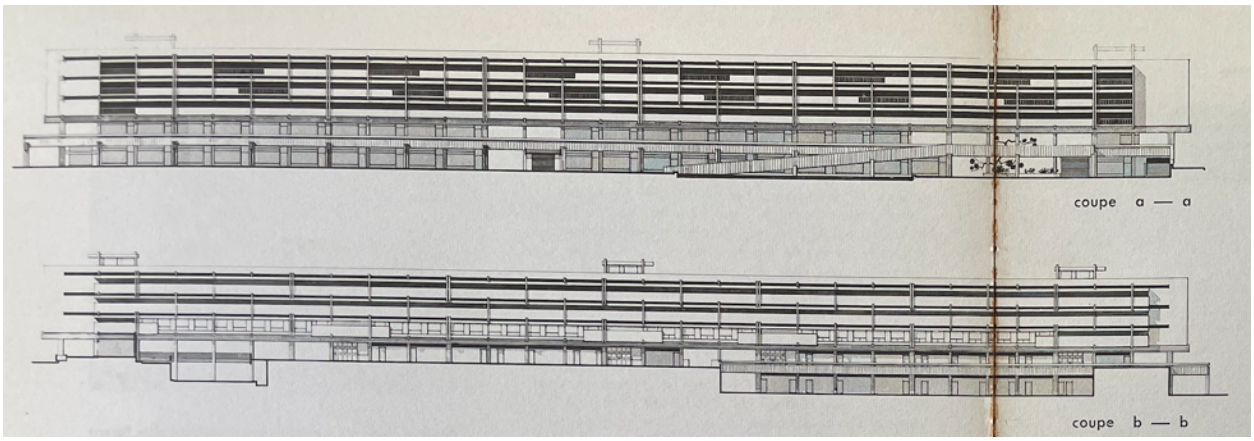


Figure 2.36. Henri Tastemin and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66, elevation. Published in *A+U* no. 4 (1966).


Figure 2.37. Henri Tastemin and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66. Photograph taken by author January 14, 2022.



Figure 2.38. Henri Tastemin and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66. Photograph taken by author February 28, 2023.



Figure 2.39. Henri Tastemain and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66. Photograph taken by author February 28, 2023.



Figure 2.40. Henri Tastemain and Louis Riou, Building A, 1964-66. Photograph taken by author February 27, 2020.

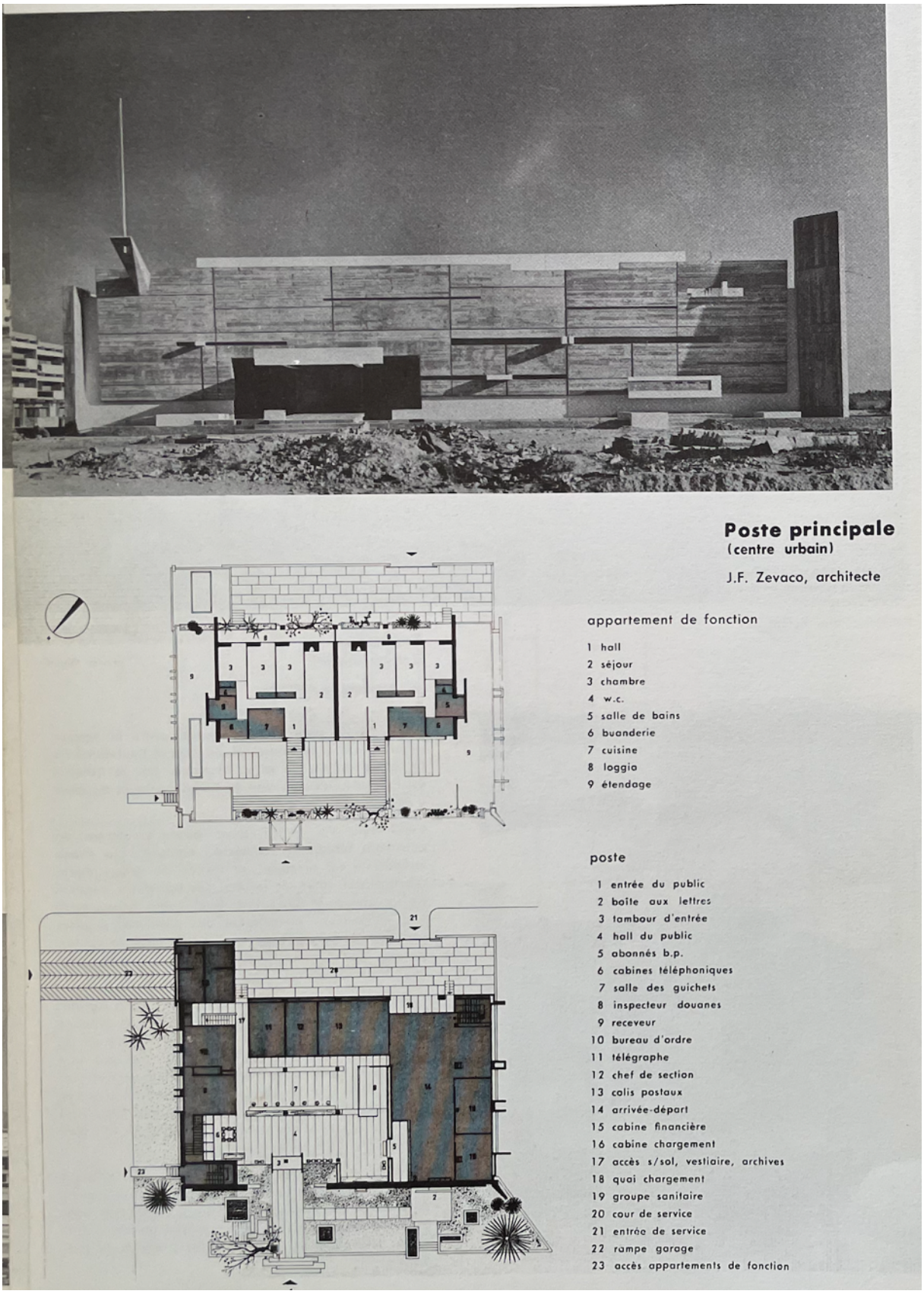


Figure 2.41. Jean-François Zevaco, Main Post Office, 1963-65, elevation and plans. Published in *A+U* no. 4 (1966).



Figure 2.42. Jean-François Zevaco, Main Post Office, 1963-65. Photograph taken by author on February 25, 2020. Note Building D to the left of the post office.



Figure 2.43. Jean-François Zevaco, Main Post Office, 1963-65. Photograph taken by author on February 25, 2020. Note the entrance to city hall on the right.



Figure 2.44. Émile-Jean Duhon, Agadir City Hall, 1963-66. Photograph taken by author on February 24, 2020.



Figure 2.45. Émile-Jean Duhon, Agadir City Hall, 1963-66. Photograph taken by author on February 24, 2020.



Figure 2.46. Émile-Jean Duhon, Agadir City Hall, 1963-66. Detail of reinforced-concrete screen. Photograph taken by author on February 24, 2020.



Figure 2.47. Émile-Jean Duhon, Agadir City Hall, 1963-66. Main entrance. Photograph taken by author on February 24, 2020.



Figure 2.48. Émile-Jean Duhon, Agadir City Hall, 1963-66. Photograph taken by author on February 24, 2020. View of interior courtyard.



Figure 2.49. Émile-Jean Duhon, Agadir City Hall, 1963-66. Photograph taken by author on February 24, 2020.



Figure 2.50. The Inoumar Agadi, circa 1751, Souss-Massa region. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 2.51. Agadir Imchguiguiln, circa 12th-13th century, Chtouka Ait Baha. Courtesy of Explore Agadir Souss-Massa.

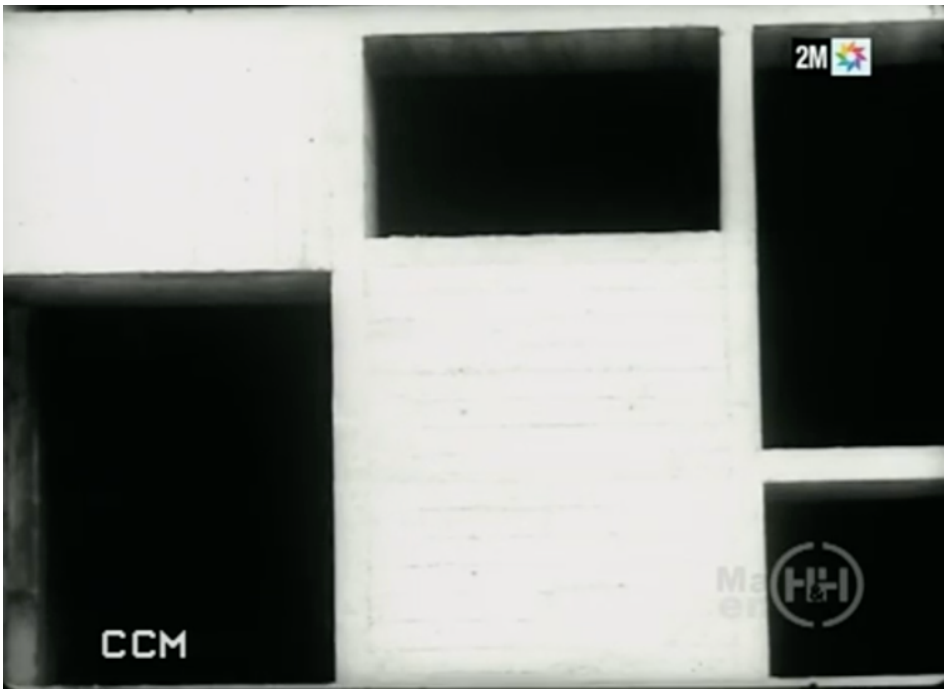


Figure 2.52. Film still from Mohamed Afifi, *Retour à Agadir*, 1967. This still shot is of the façade of the new City Hall building designed by Émile Duhon. Courtesy of the *Centre cinématographique marocain* (Moroccan Cinematographic Center).

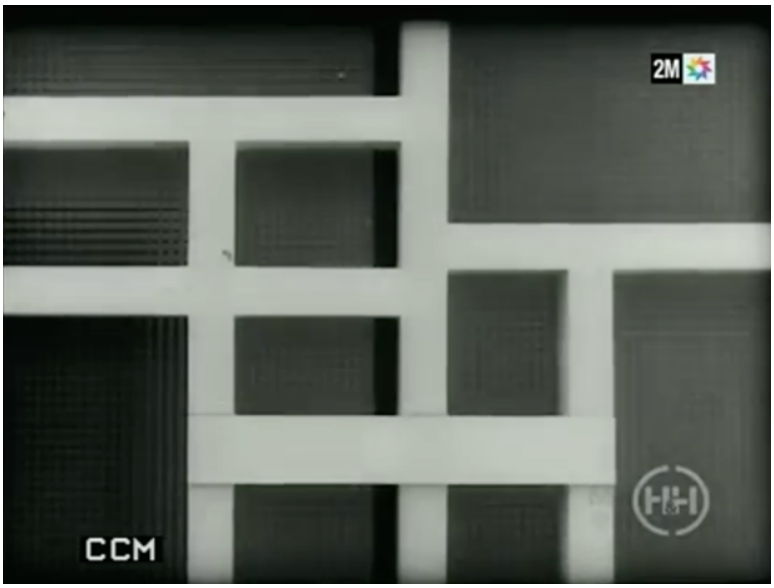


Figure 2.53. Film still from Afifi, *Retour à Agadir*, 1967. This still shot is of the façade of the new City Hall building designed by Émile Duhon. Courtesy of the *Centre cinématographique marocain* (Moroccan Cinematographic Center).

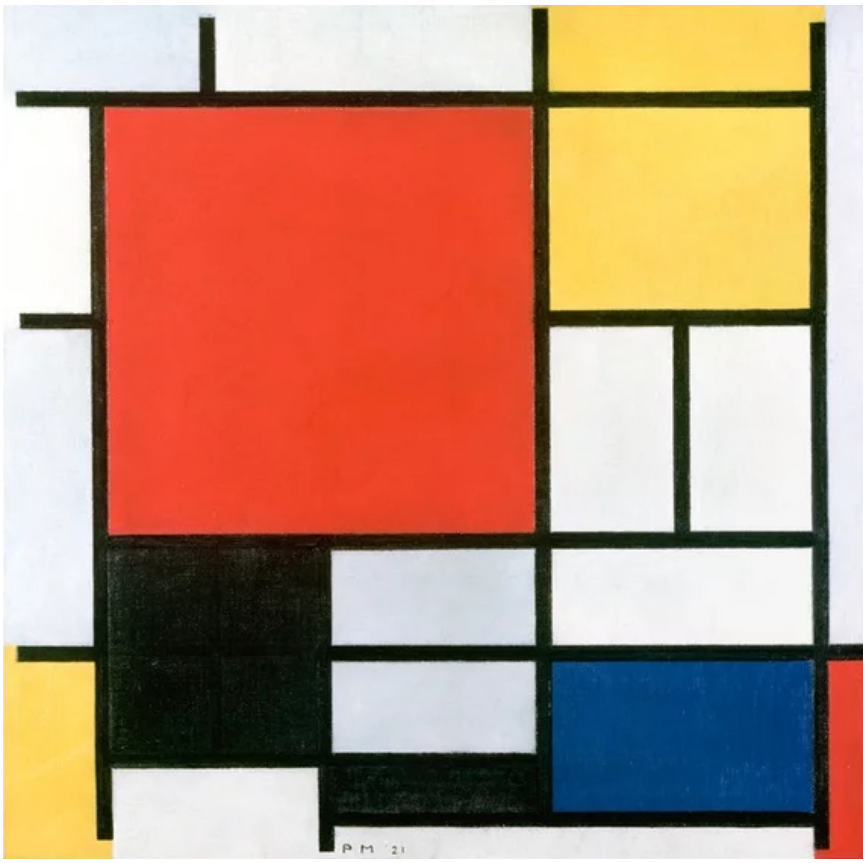


Figure 2.54. Piet Mondrian, *Composition with Large Red Plane, Yellow, Black, Grey, and Blue*, 1921, oil on canvas. Turner Contemporary.



Figure 2.55. Film still from Afifi, *Retour à Agadir*, 1967. It shows the some of the catastrophic damage caused by the earthquake in 1960. Courtesy of the *Centre cinématographique marocain* (Moroccan Cinematographic Center).

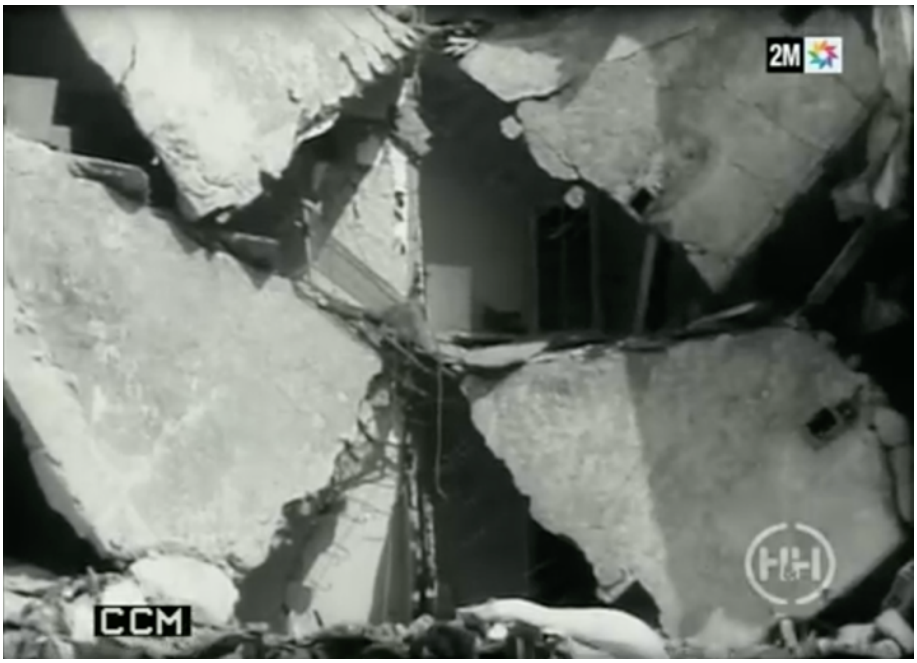


Figure 2.56. Film still from Afifi, *Retour à Agadir*, 1967. This still shows the exterior of a collapsed reinforced-concrete building. Courtesy of the *Centre cinématographique marocain* (Moroccan Cinematographic Center).



Figure 2.57. Film still from Afifi, *Retour à Agadir*, 1967. This still shows the damaged interior of a home. Courtesy of the *Centre cinématographique marocain* (Moroccan Cinematographic Center).



Figure 3.1. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, *Hôtel des Almoravides*, 1967, Marrakesh, Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

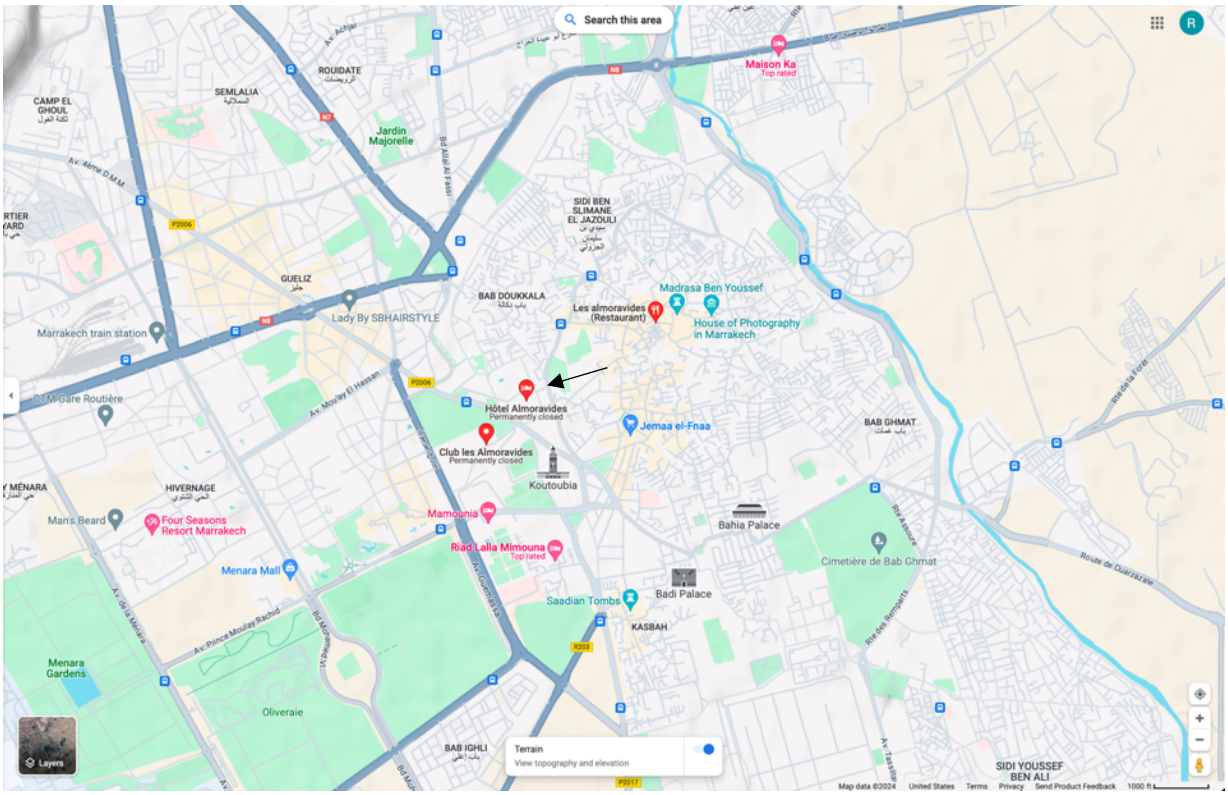
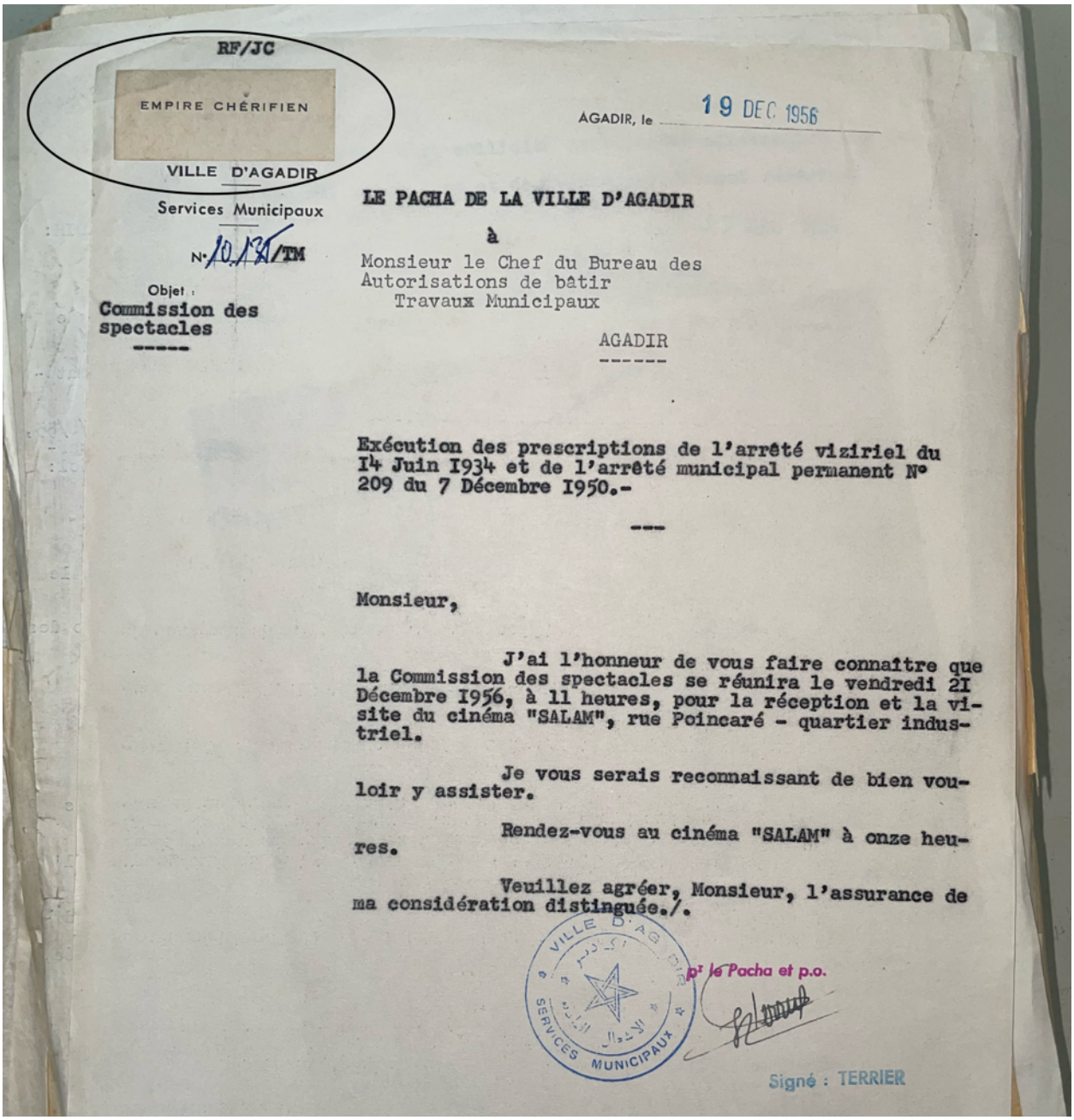


Figure 3.2. Map of the historical core of Marrakesh, featuring the Koutoubia Mosque, Jamaa el-Fnaa Square, and the Hôtel des Almoravides (just north of the Koutoubia). Courtesy of Google Maps.



RF/JC

EMPIRE CHÉRIFIEN

VILLE D'AGADIR

Services Municipaux

N° 10.134/TM

Objet : Commission des spectacles

AGADIR, le 19 DEC 1956

LE PACHA DE LA VILLE D'AGADIR

à

Monsieur le Chef du Bureau des Autorisations de bâtir
Travaux Municipaux

AGADIR

Exécution des prescriptions de l'arrêté viziriel du I4 Juin I934 et de l'arrêté municipal permanent N° 209 du 7 Décembre I950.-

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître que la Commission des spectacles se réunira le vendredi 2I Décembre I956, à 11 heures, pour la réception et la visite du cinéma "SALAM", rue Poincaré - quartier industriel.

Je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir y assister.

Rendez-vous au cinéma "SALAM" à onze heures.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée./.

VILLE D'AGADIR SERVICES MUNICIPAUX

p. le Pacha et p.o.

Signé : TERRIER

Figure 3.3. Invitation from the Pasha of Agadir to the head of the Building Authorization Office (*Bureau des autorisations de bâtir*) to visit and attend a reception at the new Cinéma Salam on December 21, 1956, dated December 19, 1956. Archives of the Municipality of Agadir, Agadir City Hall Annex.

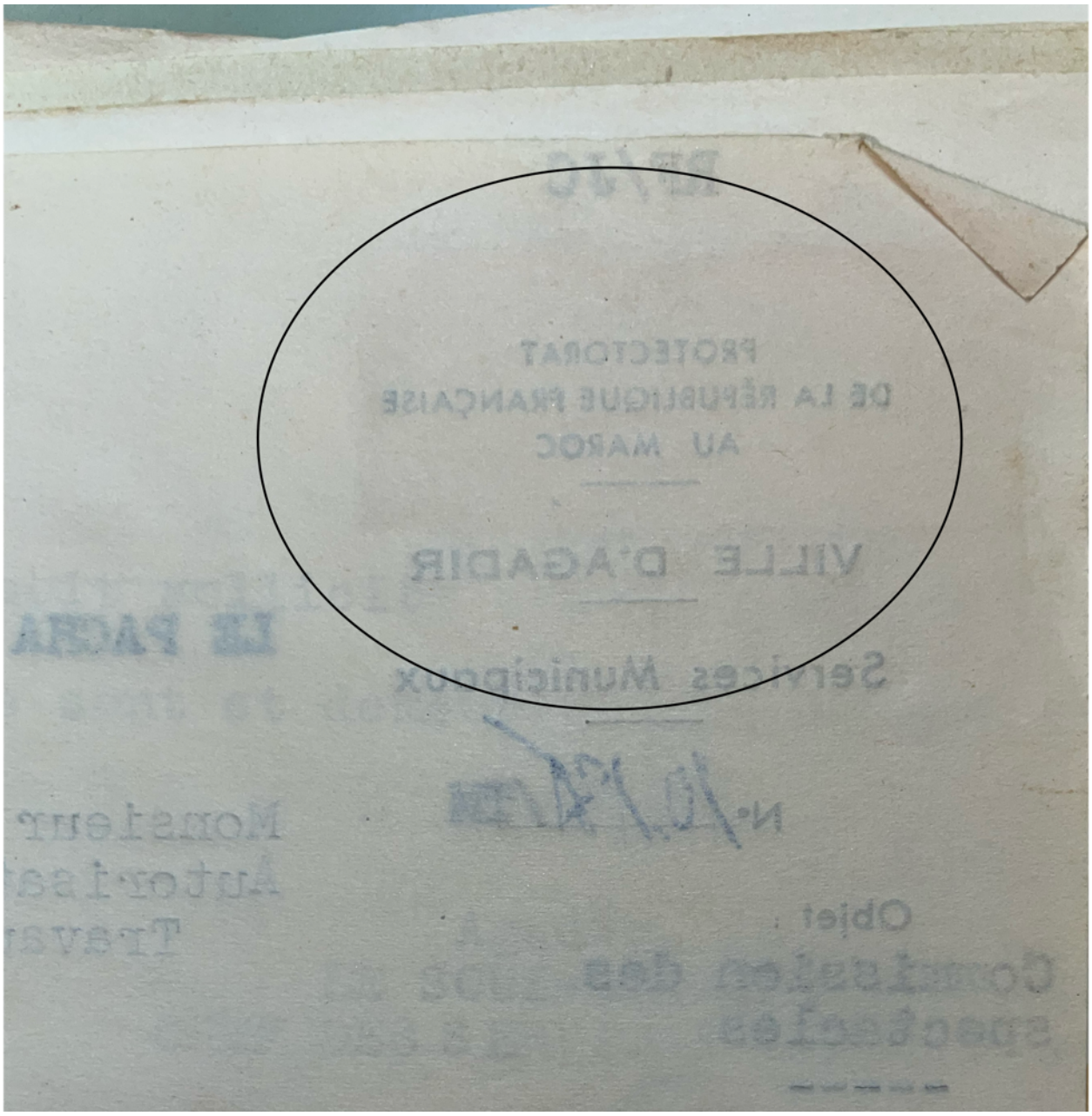
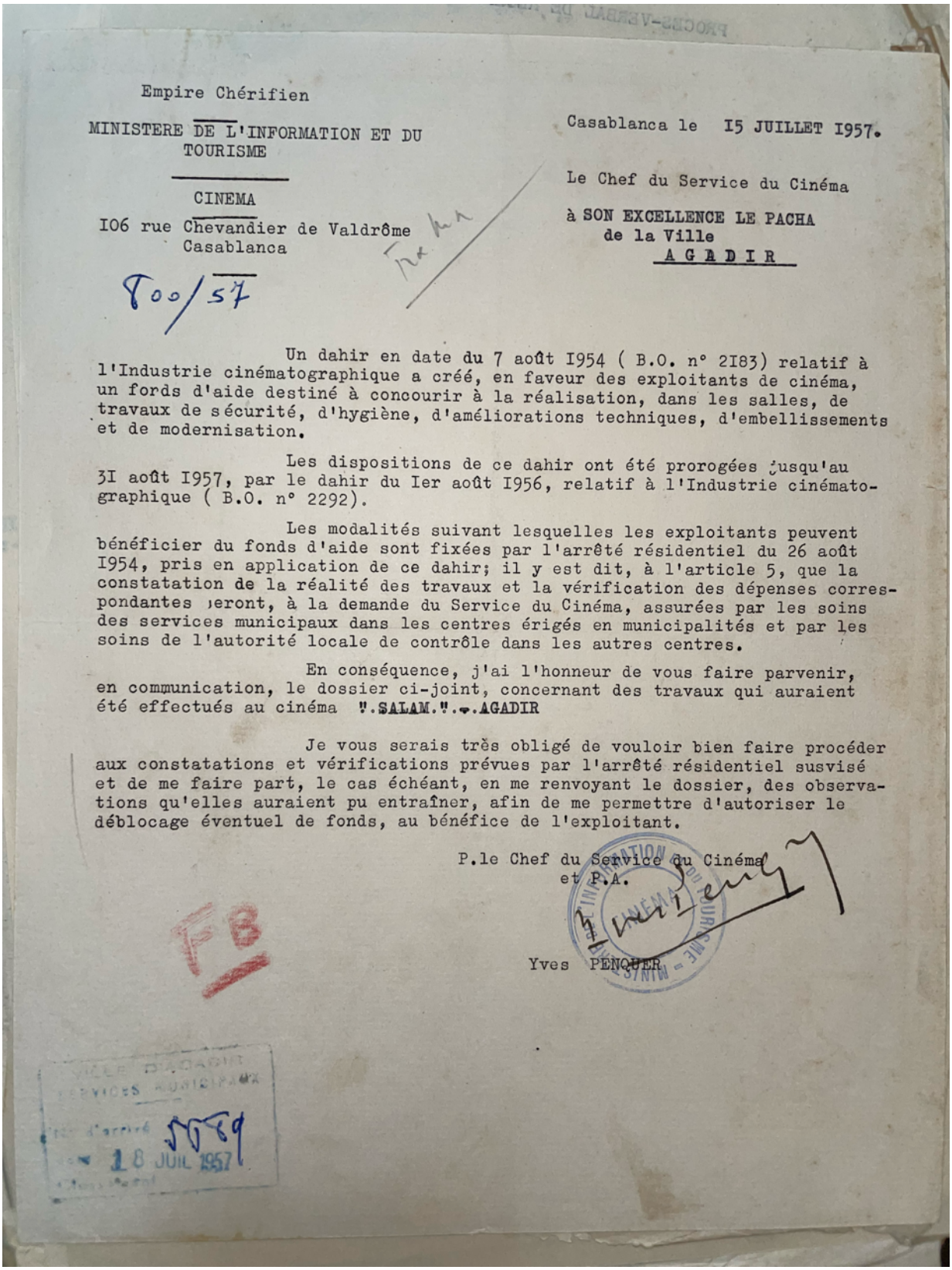


Figure 3.4. Verso of the recto of the document reproduced in Figure 3.3. “Protrectorat de la République française au Maroc” is legible in reverse, beneath the sticker on the recto. Archives of the Municipality of Agadir, Agadir City Hall Annex.



Empire Chérifien

MINISTERE DE L'INFORMATION ET DU TOURISME

CINEMA

106 rue Chevandier de Valdrôme
Casablanca

800/57

Casablanca le 15 JUILLET 1957.

Le Chef du Service du Cinéma

à SON EXCELLENCE LE PACHA
de la Ville
AGADIR

Un dahir en date du 7 août 1954 (B.O. n° 2183) relatif à l'Industrie cinématographique a créé, en faveur des exploitants de cinéma, un fonds d'aide destiné à concourir à la réalisation, dans les salles, de travaux de sécurité, d'hygiène, d'améliorations techniques, d'embellissements et de modernisation.

Les dispositions de ce dahir ont été prorogées jusqu'au 31 août 1957, par le dahir du 1er août 1956, relatif à l'Industrie cinématographique (B.O. n° 2292).

Les modalités suivant lesquelles les exploitants peuvent bénéficier du fonds d'aide sont fixées par l'arrêté résidentiel du 26 août 1954, pris en application de ce dahir; il y est dit, à l'article 5, que la constatation de la réalité des travaux et la vérification des dépenses correspondantes seront, à la demande du Service du Cinéma, assurées par les soins des services municipaux dans les centres érigés en municipalités et par les soins de l'autorité locale de contrôle dans les autres centres.

En conséquence, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire parvenir, en communication, le dossier ci-joint, concernant des travaux qui auraient été effectués au cinéma "SALAM" AGADIR

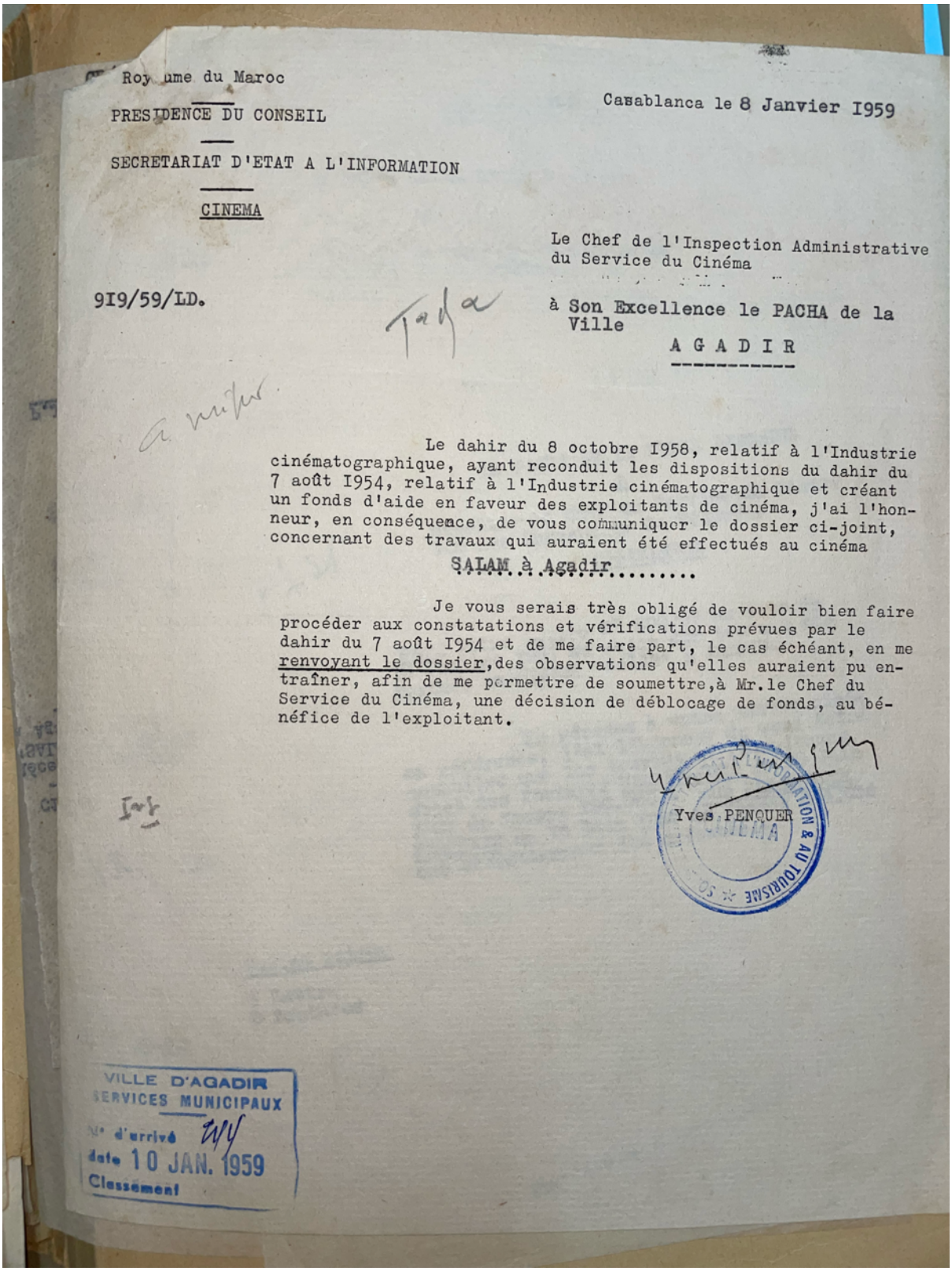
Je vous serais très obligé de vouloir bien faire procéder aux constatations et vérifications prévues par l'arrêté résidentiel susvisé et de me faire part, le cas échéant, en me renvoyant le dossier, des observations qu'elles auraient pu entraîner, afin de me permettre d'autoriser le déblocage éventuel de fonds, au bénéfice de l'exploitant.

P.le Chef du Service du Cinéma
et P.A.

Yves PENQUER

VILLE D'AGADIR
SERVICES MUNICIPAUX
18 JUIL 1957

Figure. 3.5. Communiqué from the head of the Film Service (*Service du Cinéma*) to the Pasha of Agadir, dated July 15, 1957. Note that "Empire Chérifien" is still in use in the letterhead on the top left of the document. Archives of the Municipality of Agadir, Agadir City Hall Annex.



Roy ume du Maroc

PRESIDENCE DU CONSEIL

SECRETARIAT D'ETAT A L'INFORMATION

CINEMA

Casablanca le 8 Janvier I959

Le Chef de l'Inspection Administrative du Service du Cinéma

9I9/59/LD.

à Son Excellence le PACHA de la Ville

A G A D I R

Le dahir du 8 octobre I958, relatif à l'Industrie cinématographique, ayant reconduit les dispositions du dahir du 7 août I954, relatif à l'Industrie cinématographique et créant un fonds d'aide en faveur des exploitants de cinéma, j'ai l'honneur, en conséquence, de vous communiquer le dossier ci-joint, concernant des travaux qui auraient été effectués au cinéma

SALAM à Agadir

Je vous serais très obligé de vouloir bien faire procéder aux constatations et vérifications prévues par le dahir du 7 août I954 et de me faire part, le cas échéant, en me renvoyant le dossier, des observations qu'elles auraient pu entraîner, afin de me permettre de soumettre, à Mr. le Chef du Service du Cinéma, une décision de déblocage de fonds, au bénéfice de l'exploitant.

Yves PENQUER

VILLE D'AGADIR
SERVICES MUNICIPAUX
N° d'arrivé
date 10 JAN. 1959
Classement

Figure 3.6. Communiqué from the head of the administrative inspection of the Film Service (*l'Inspection administrative du Service du Cinéma*) to the Pasha of Agadir, dated January 8, 1959. Note that "Royaume du Maroc" ("Kingdom of Morocco") is now in use by this date instead of "Empire Chérifien." Archives of the Municipality of Agadir, Agadir City Hall Annex.

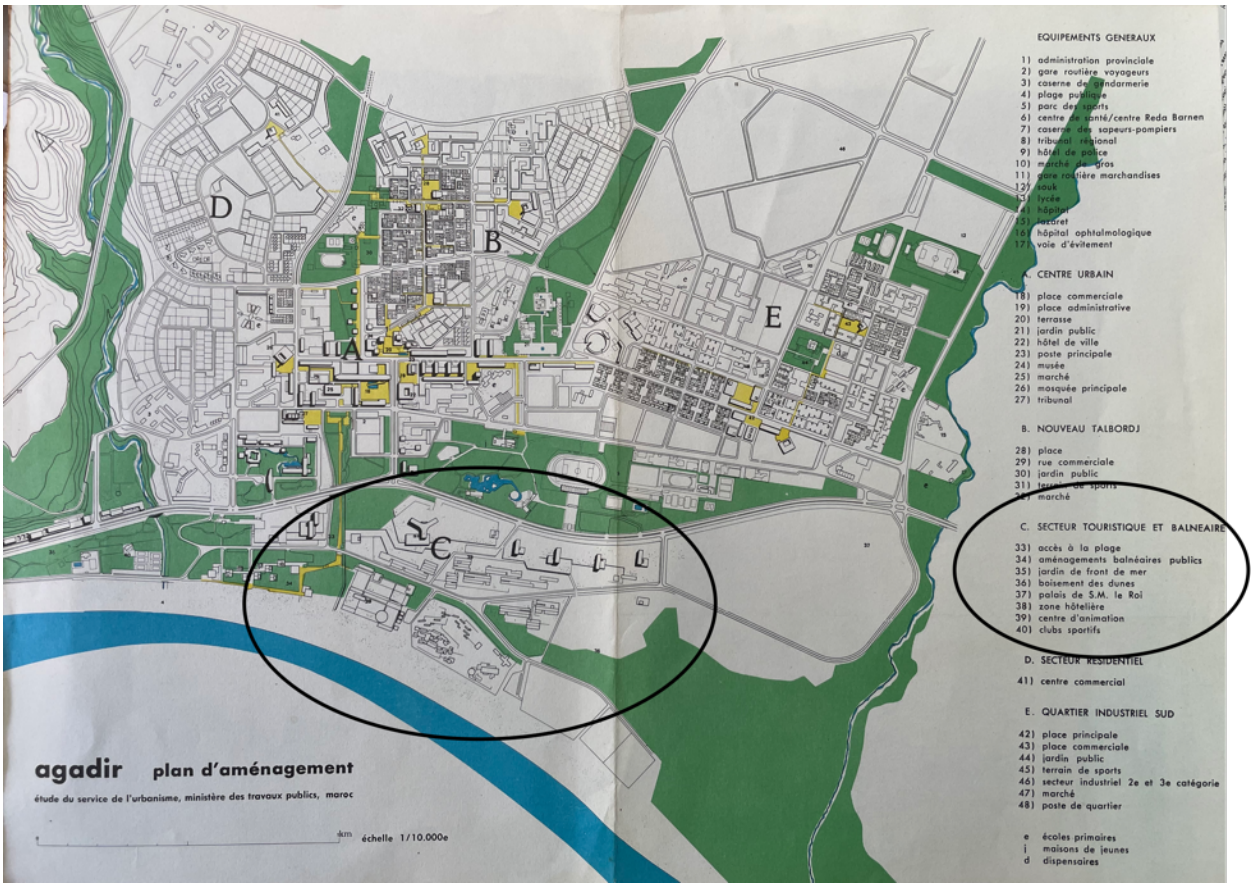


Figure 3.7. Pierre Mas and Jean Challet, Agadir Master Plan, 1961, reproduced in *A + U* no. 4, 1966. Zone C (circled) is the dedicated tourism and leisure sector, straddling the beach and waterfront of the Agadir Bay (in blue).



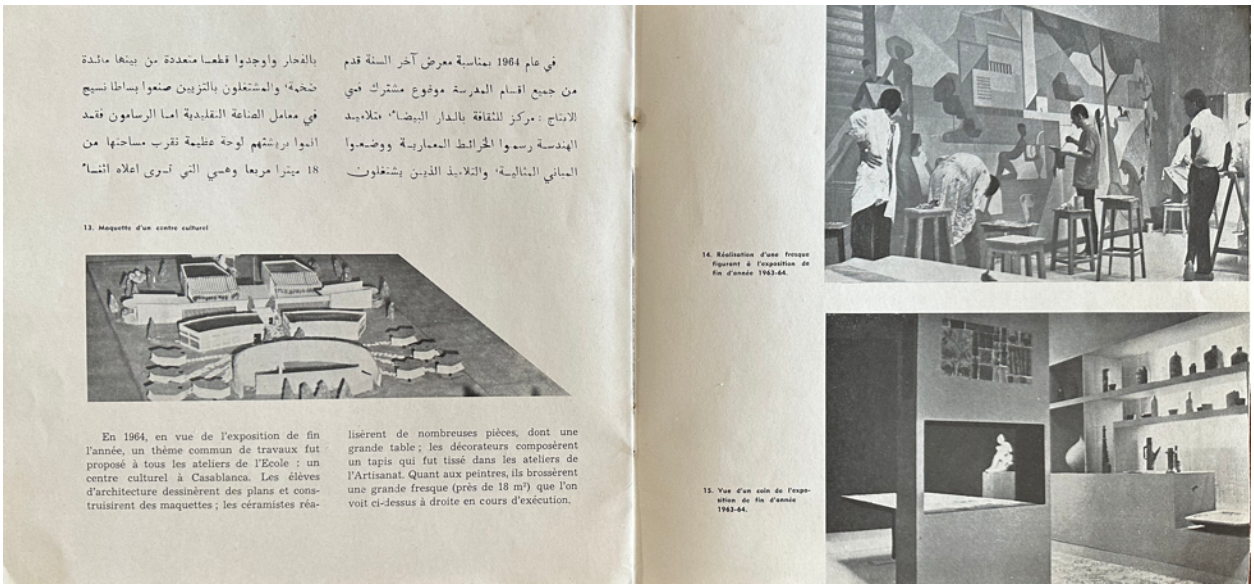
Figure 3.8. Farid Belkahia, *Cuba Si*, 1961, oil paint on paper on plywood. 24.65 x 17.56 in. Tate.



Figure 3.9. Farid Belkahia, *Sévices*, 1961-62, oil paint on paper on plywood. 45.83 x 27.48 in. Tate.



Figure 3.10. Booklet, Casablanca School of Fine Arts, 1965, courtesy of Mohammed Melehi.



في عام 1964 بمناسبة معرض آخر السنة قدم
من جميع اقسام المدرسة موضوع مشترك فمي
الانتاج : مركز للثقافة بالدار البيضاء. تلاميذ
الهندسة رسموا الخرائط المعمارية ووضعوا
المباني المثالية، والتلاميذ الذين يشتغلون
بالفخار واوجدوا قطعا متعددة من بينها مائدة
ضخمة، والمشتغلون بالتزيين صنعوا بساطا نسيج
في معامل الصناعة التقليدية اما الرسامون فقد
الهوا بريشتهم لوحة عظيمة تقرب مساحتها من
18 مترا مربعا وهي التي ترى اعلاه انفا.

13. Maquette d'un centre culturel

En 1964, en vue de l'exposition de fin l'année, un thème commun de travaux fut proposé à tous les ateliers de l'Ecole : un centre culturel à Casablanca. Les élèves d'architecture dessinèrent des plans et construisirent des maquettes ; les céramistes réalisèrent de nombreuses pièces, dont une grande table ; les décorateurs composèrent un tapis qui fut tissé dans les ateliers de l'Artisanat. Quant aux peintres, ils brossèrent une grande fresque (près de 18 m²) que l'on voit ci-dessus à droite en cours d'exécution.

14. Réalisation d'une fresque figurant à l'exposition de fin d'année 1963-64.

15. Vue d'un coin de l'exposition de fin d'année 1963-64.

Figure 3.11. End-of-year exhibition for a new cultural center in Casablanca, 1964, in the Casablanca School of Fine Arts Booklet, 1966. On the left is an image of a maquette or model of the proposed cultural center designed by the architecture students. On the upper right, the painting students are working on an eighteen square meter mural. On the lower right are examples of furniture, sculptures, ceramics, and rugs designed by ceramics, sculpture, and graphic design students.

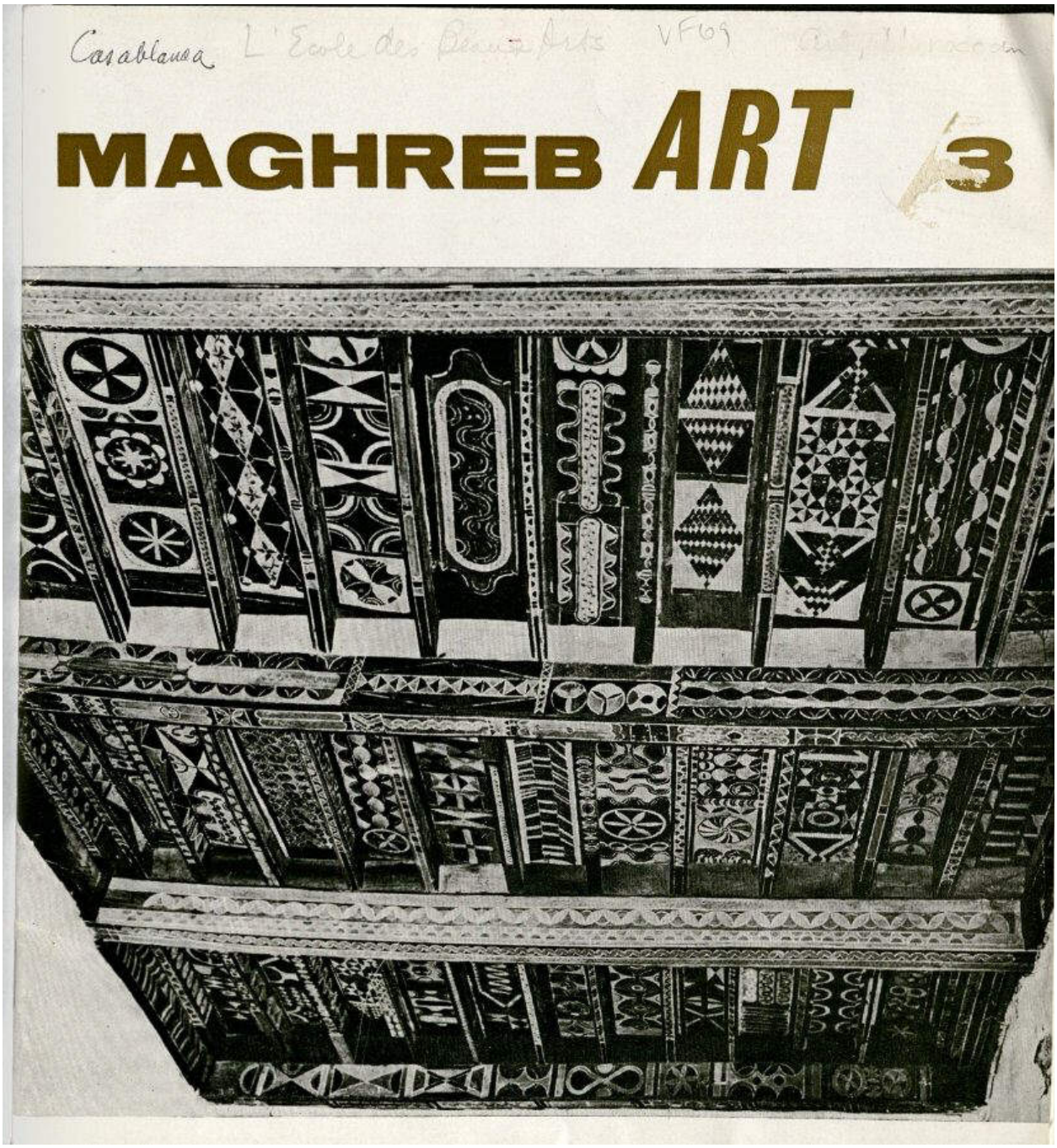


Figure 3.12. *Maghreb Art*, vol. 3, 1969, published by the Casablanca School of Fine Arts.

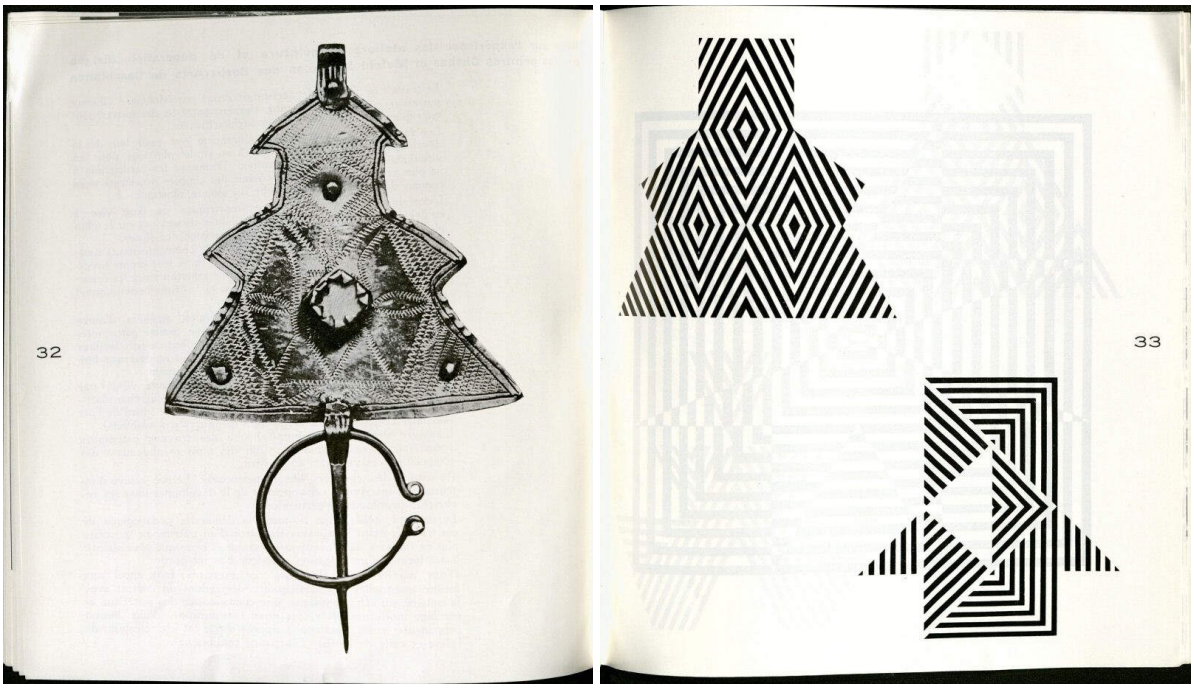


Figure 3.13. *Maghreb Art*, vol. 3, 1969, published by the Casablanca School of Fine Arts.

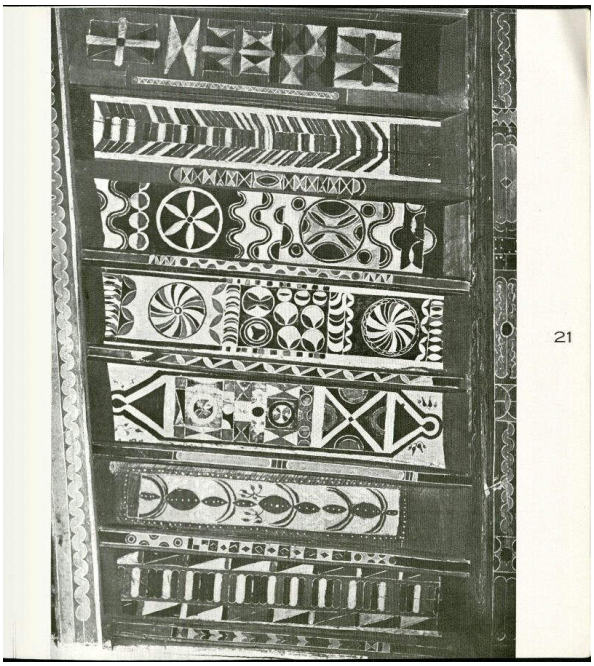



Figure 3.14 (left). Painted ceiling of a 17th century mosque from the Souss region, in *Maghreb Art* vol. 3, 1969.
Figure 3.15 (right). Mohammed Melehi, Untitled, acrylic on board, private collection.



Figure 3.16. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D (foreground) and Buildings O1, 02 (background), Agadir, 1965, Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.17. Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel des Almoravides, rendering, 1966. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.18. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel des Almoravides, 1967, Marrakesh. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.19. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Building D, 1965, Agadir. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

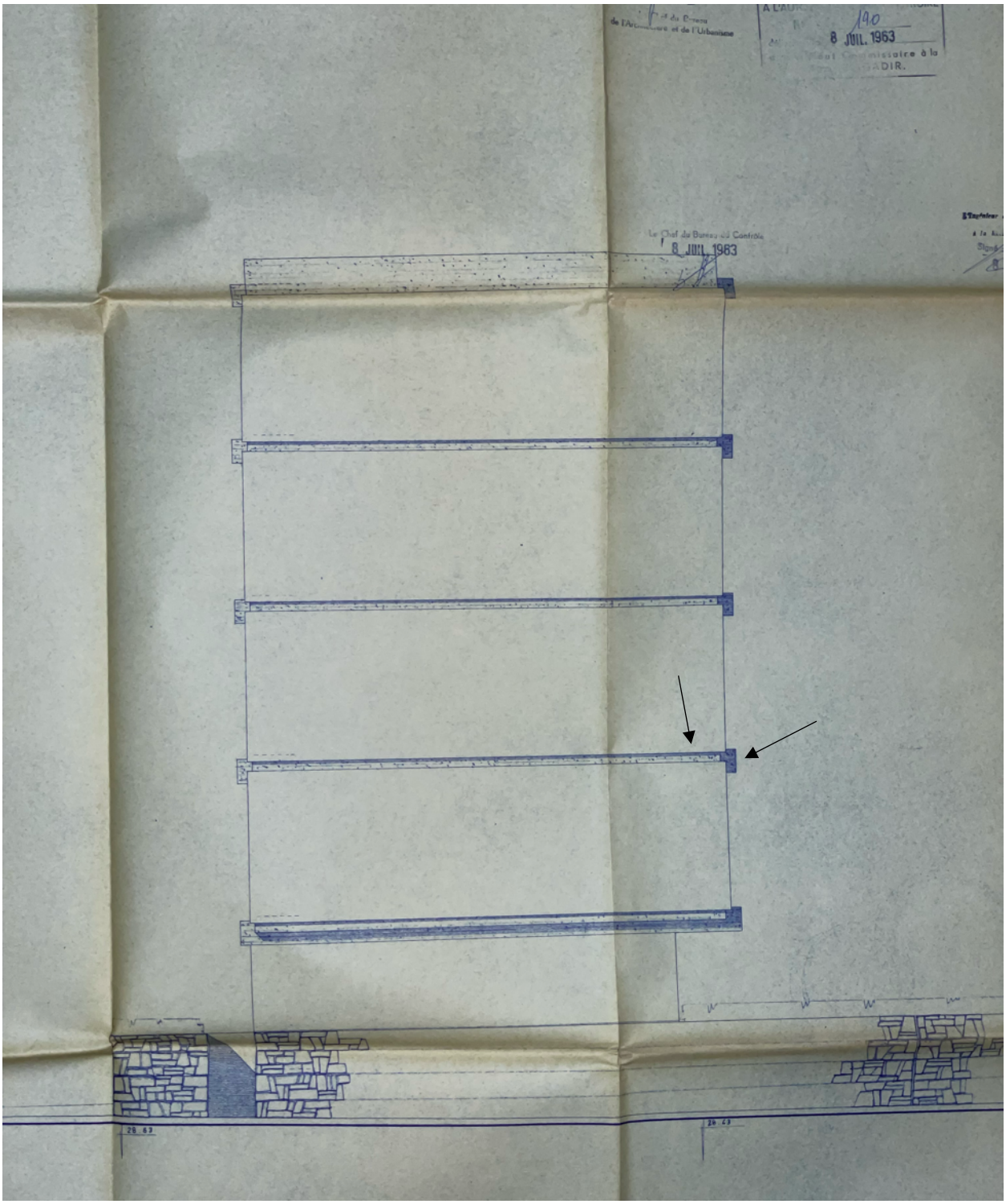


Figure 3.20. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Buildings O1, 1963, Agadir, elevation. Agadir City Hall Archives. Note the horizontal concrete beams extending beyond the façades and creating a separationg between each of the floors; each floor rests on a row of these concrete beams.

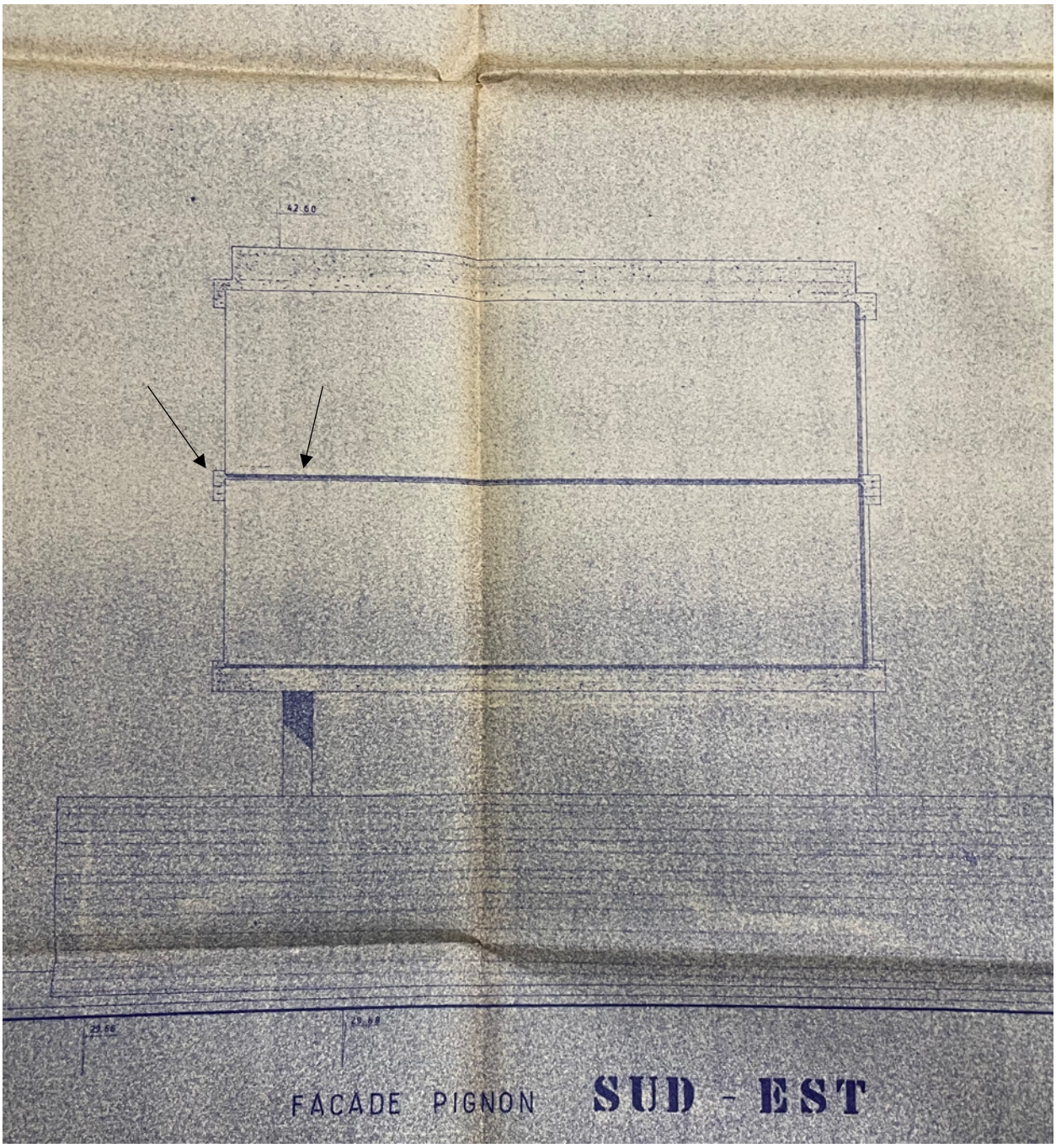


Figure 3.21. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Buildings D, 1963, Agadir, elevation. Agadir City Hall Archives. Note the horizontal concrete beams extending beyond the façades and creating a separationg between each of the floors; each floor rests on a row of these concrete beams.

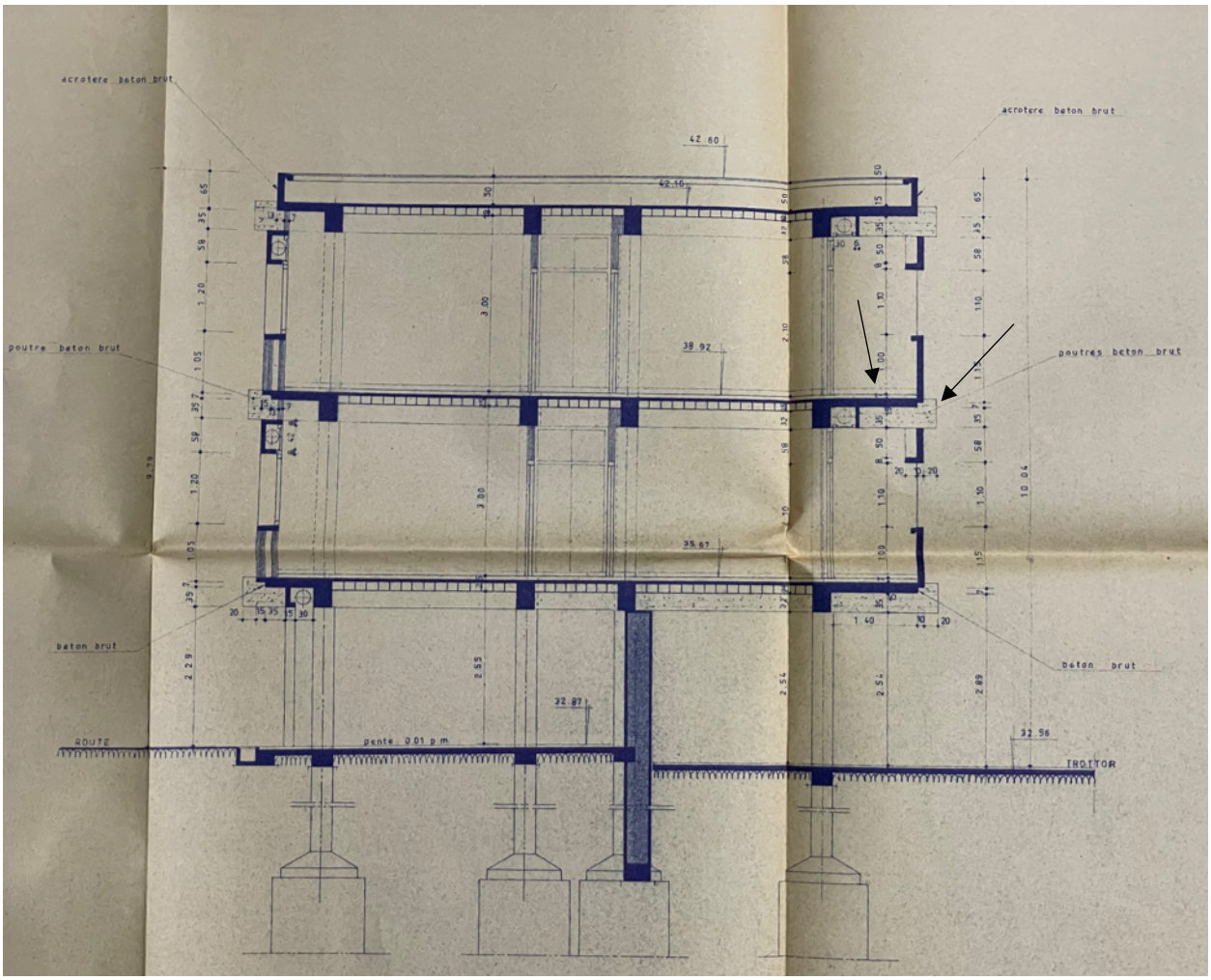


Figure 3.22. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Buildings D, 1963, Agadir, section. Agadir City Hall Archives.



Figure 3.23. Hôtel des Almoravides, view of balconies with exposed reinforced concrete and horizontal beams. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.24. Mohamed Chebâa, hotel front sign. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.25. Mohammed Melehi, exhibition poster, 1966, letterpress. Museum of Modern Art.

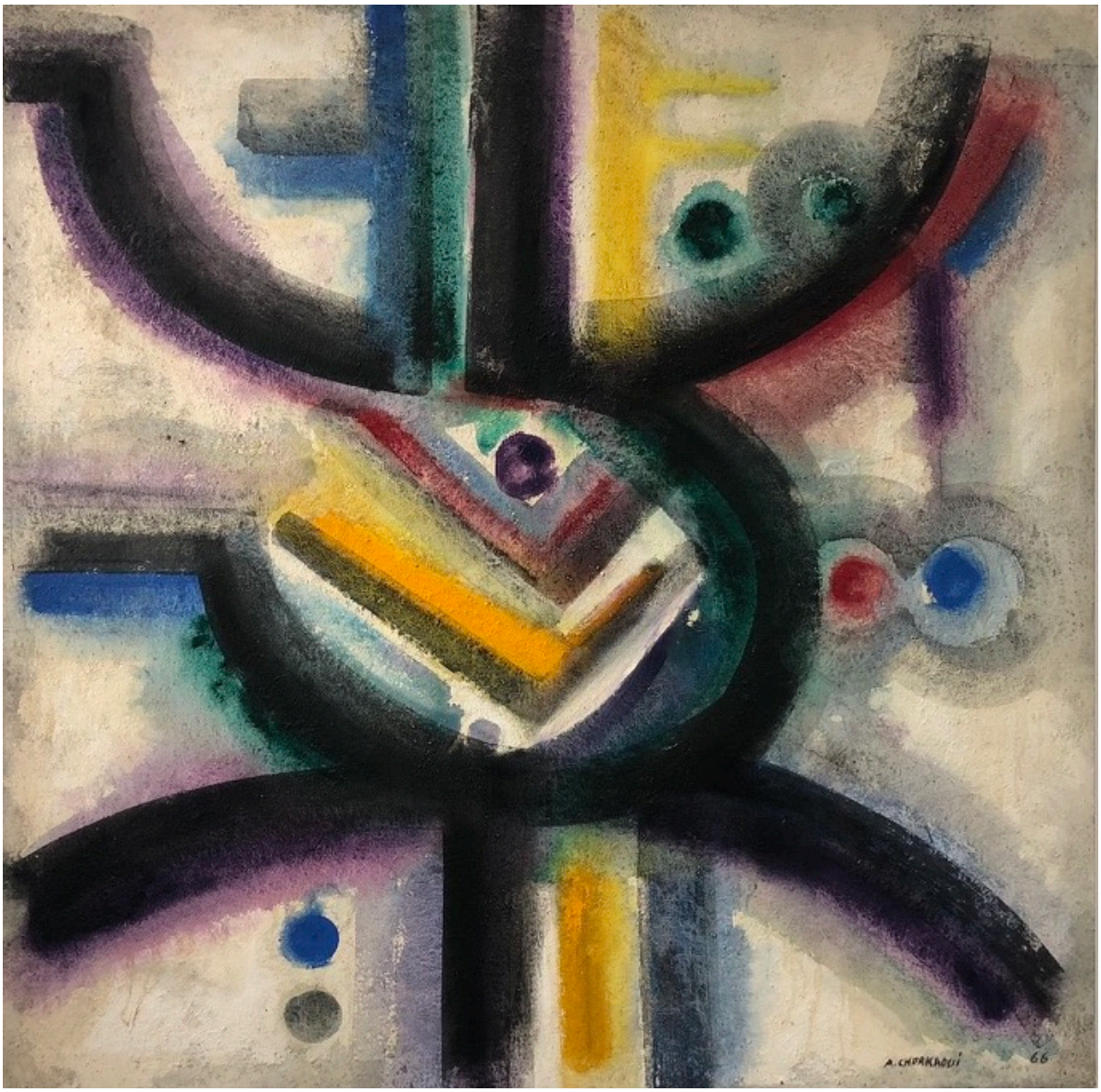


Figure 3.26. Ahmed Cherkaoui, *Solstice*, 1966, oil on canvas. Collection of Nourdine Cherkaoui. The form of the Tifinagh letter ‘z’ features prominently, the same letter that adorns the Amazigh flag.



Figure 3.27. Farid Belkahia, door, 1967, copper relief. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.28. Farid Belkahia, wall panel for lobby (on far back wall), 1967, copper relief. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

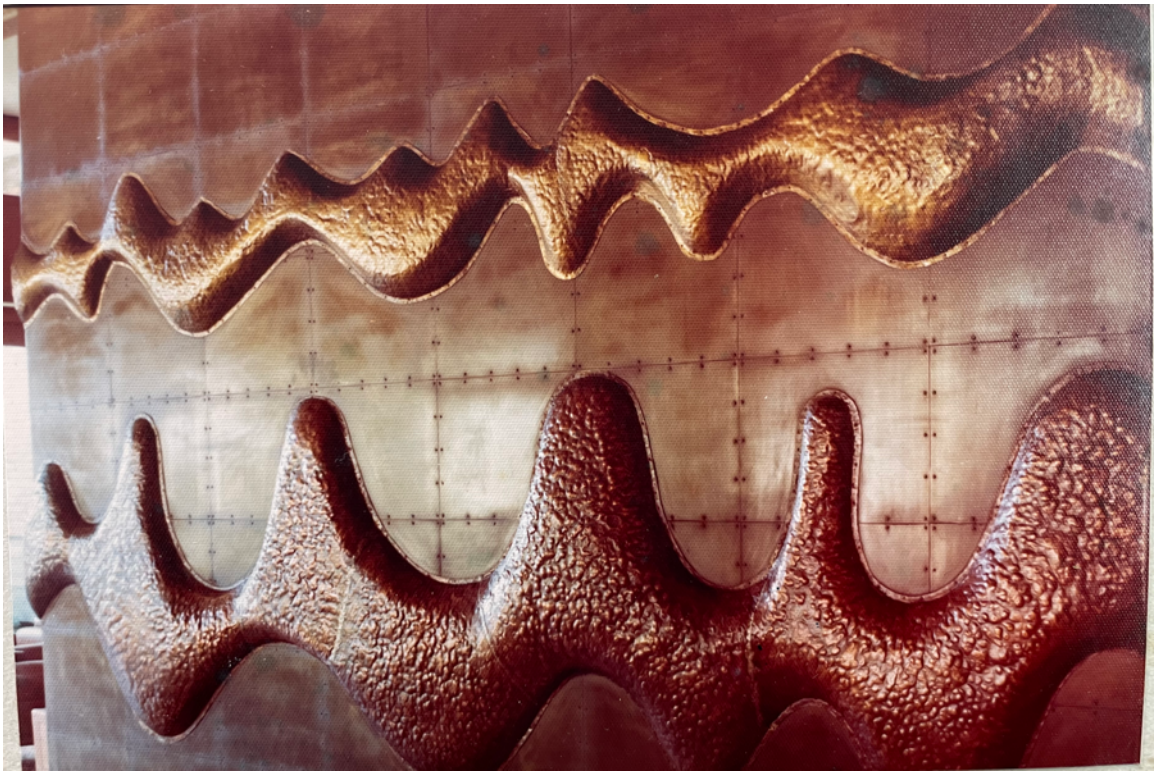


Figure 3.29. Farid Belkahia, detail of wall panel for lobby, 1967, copper relief. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.30. Farid Belkahia, *Femme (Woman)*, 1965, copper relief, Fondation Farid Belkahia.



Figure 3.31. Farid Belkahia, *Untitled*, 1967, copper relief. Fondation Farid Belkahia.



Figure 3.32. Mohammed Melehi, wall panels for dining room, 1967, ceramic and terracotta. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.33. Mohammed Melehi, wall panels for dining room, 1967, ceramic and terracotta. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.34. Mohammed Melehi, wall panels for bar/lounge, 1967, ceramic and terracotta. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.35. Mohammed Melehi, detail of wall panels for dining room, 1967, ceramic and terracotta. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

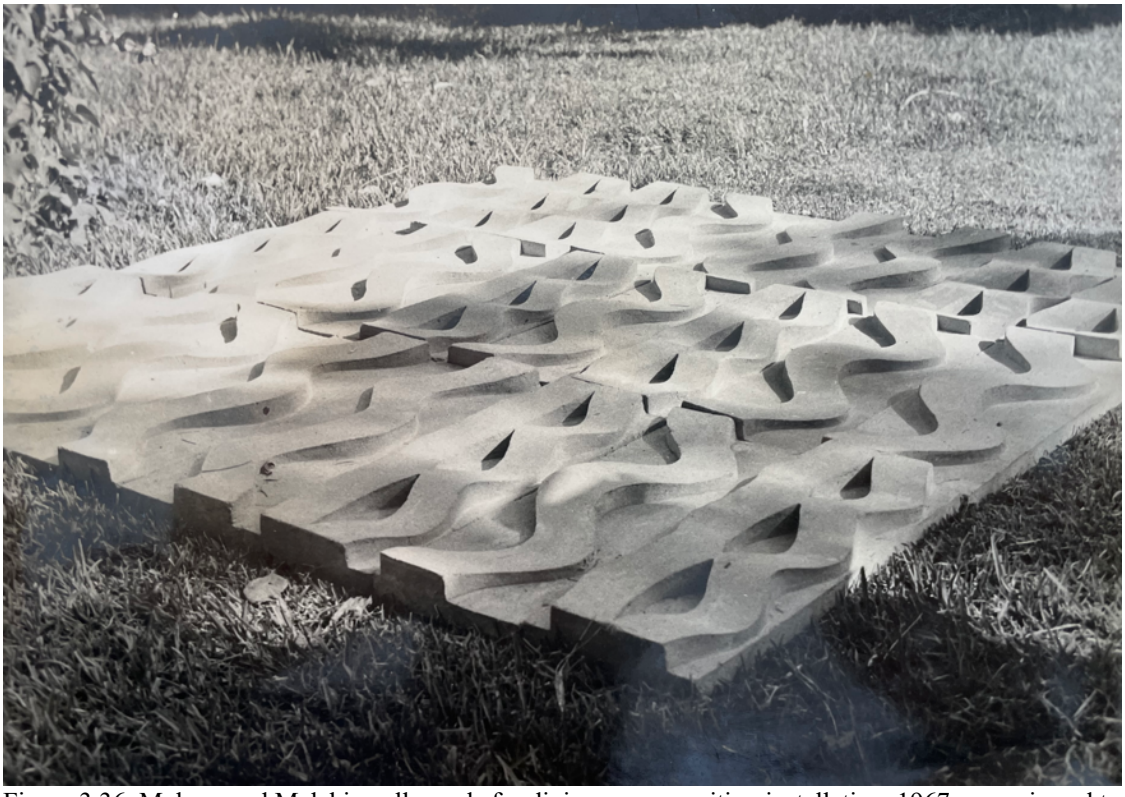


Figure 3.36. Mohammed Melehi, wall panels for dining room awaiting installation, 1967, ceramic and terracotta. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

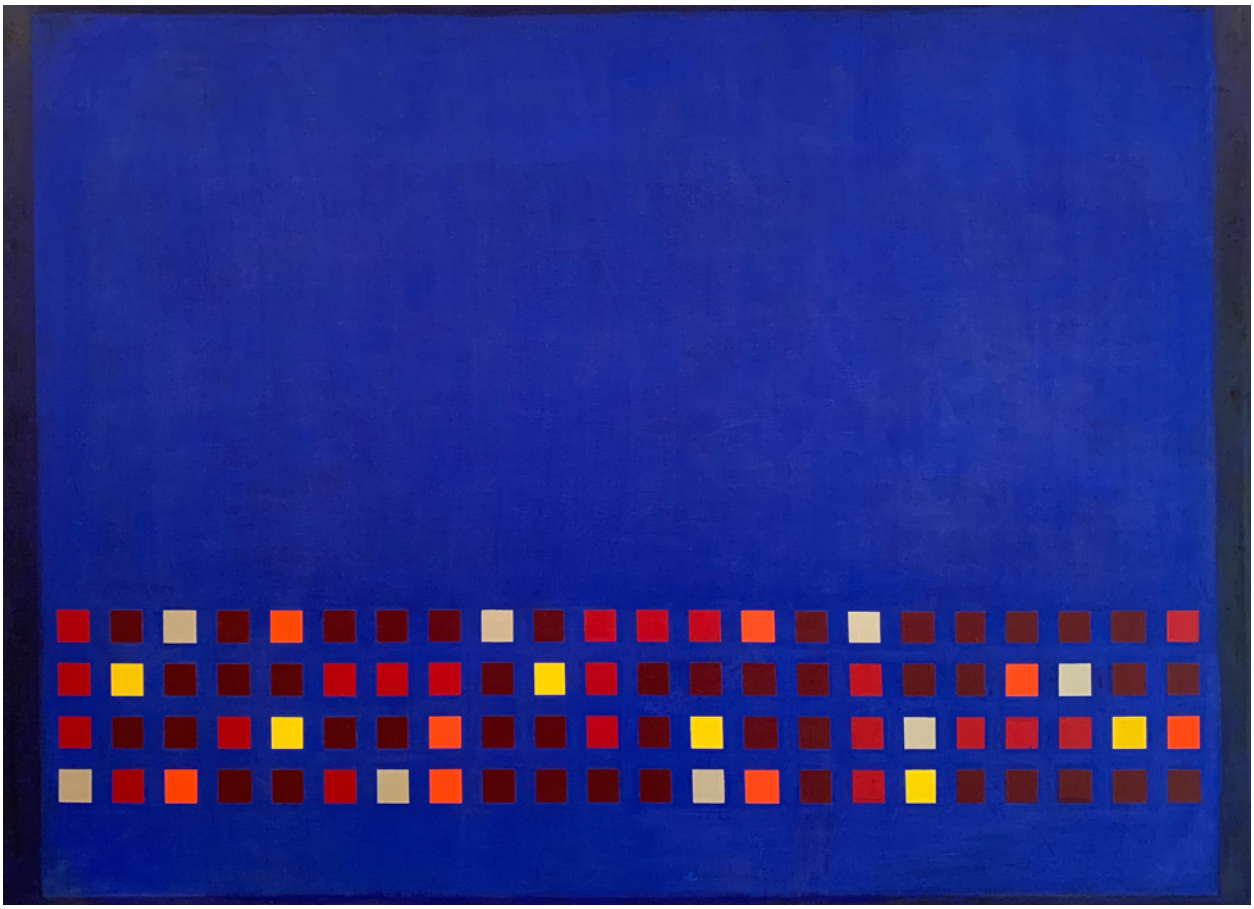


Figure 3.37. Mohammed Melehi, *Sleeping Manhattan*, 1962, acrylic on canvas. Toni Maraini collection.



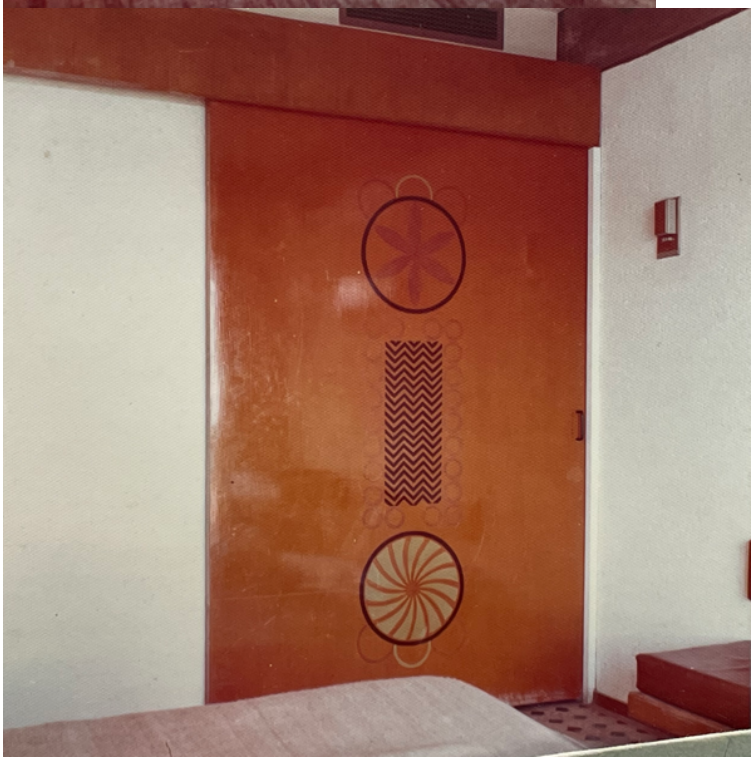
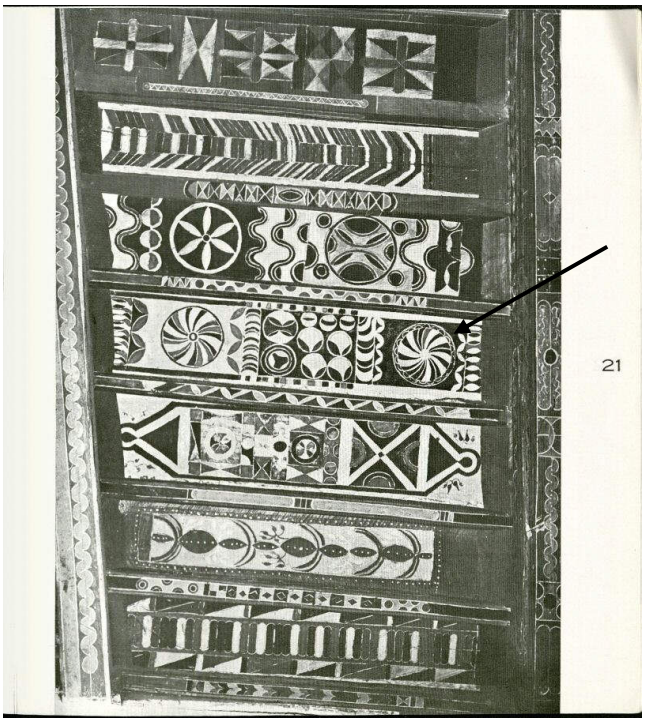


Figure 3.38 (above). Cecile Boccara, room closet door paintings. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.
Figures 3.39 (below). Cecile Boccara, room closet door paintings. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



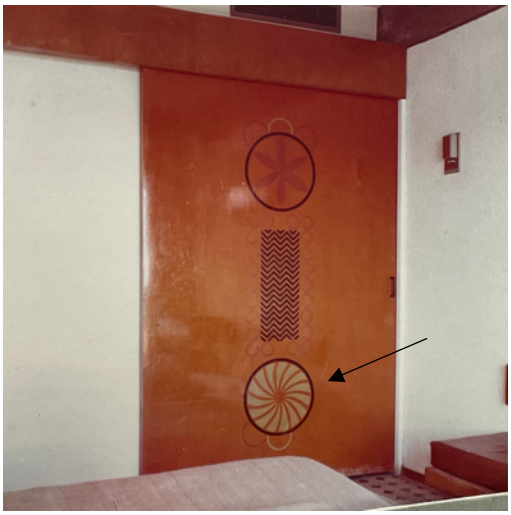


Figure 3.40 (left). Painted ceiling of a seventeenth century mosque from the Souss region, in *Maghreb Art* vol. 3, 1969.
Figure 3.41 (right). Cecile Boccara, room closet door paintings. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.42. View of the dining room, featuring lighting fixtures by Mohamed Chebâa. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the ceramic and terracotta ceramic tile work for the flooring, the use of cedar panels on parts of the ceiling, and the exposed reinforced concrete columns.



Figure 3.43. Kasr of Aït Benhaddou. Courtesy of Wiki Commons.

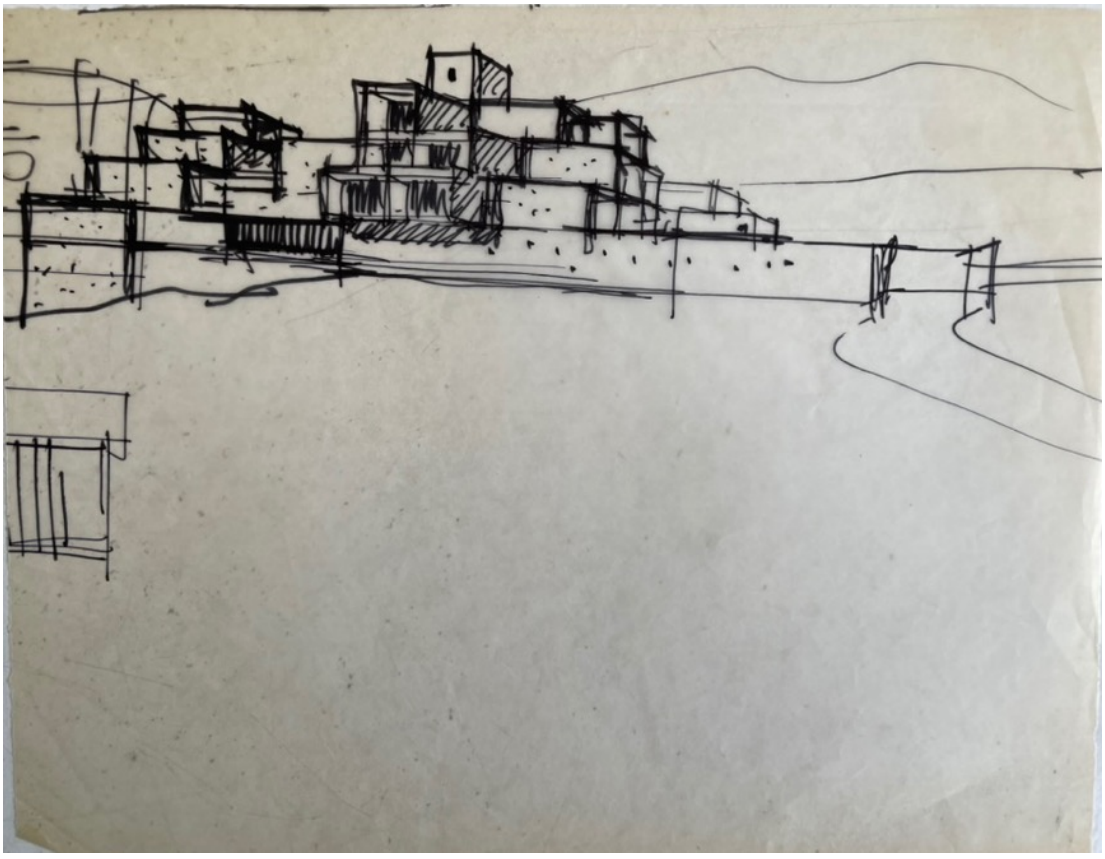


Figure 3.44. Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1970, sketch, ink on paper. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the slope of the hillside accentuated on the left.

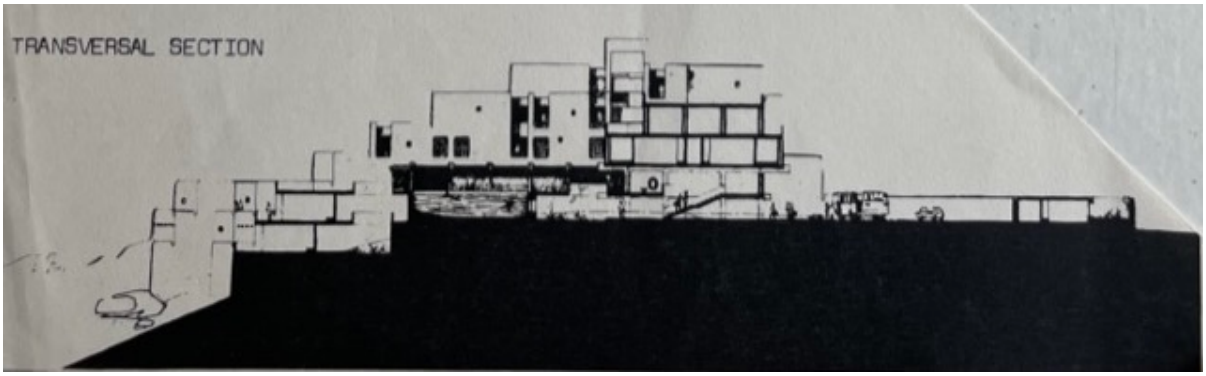


Figure 3.45. Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1970-71, transversal section. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the slope of the hillside accentuated on the left.


Figure 3.46. Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1970-71, model. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the attention paid to the topography of the site.



Figure 3.47. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, aerial view, Boumalne. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.48. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, aerial view, Boumalne. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.49. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, aerial view, Boumalne. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

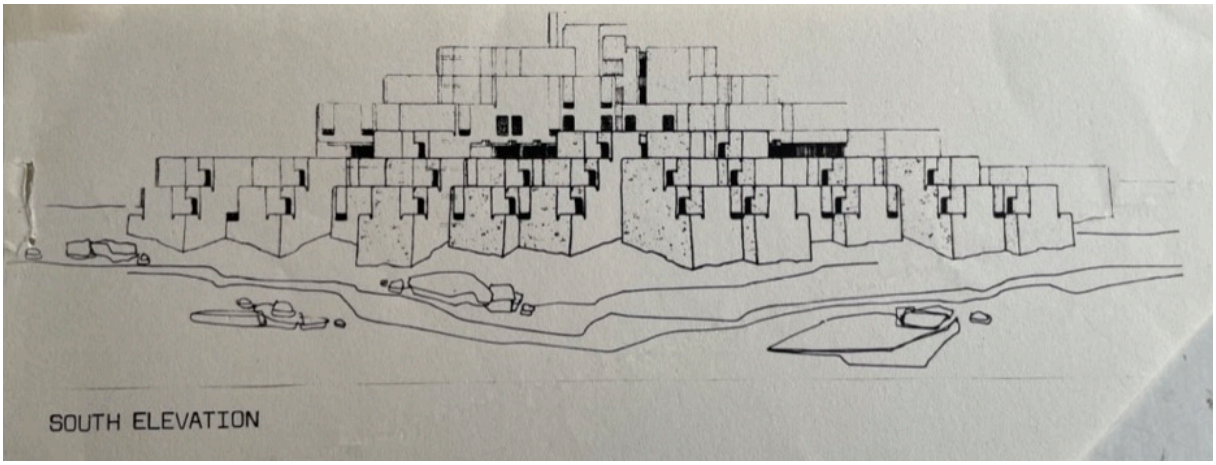


Figure 3.50. Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1970-71, south elevation. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.51. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

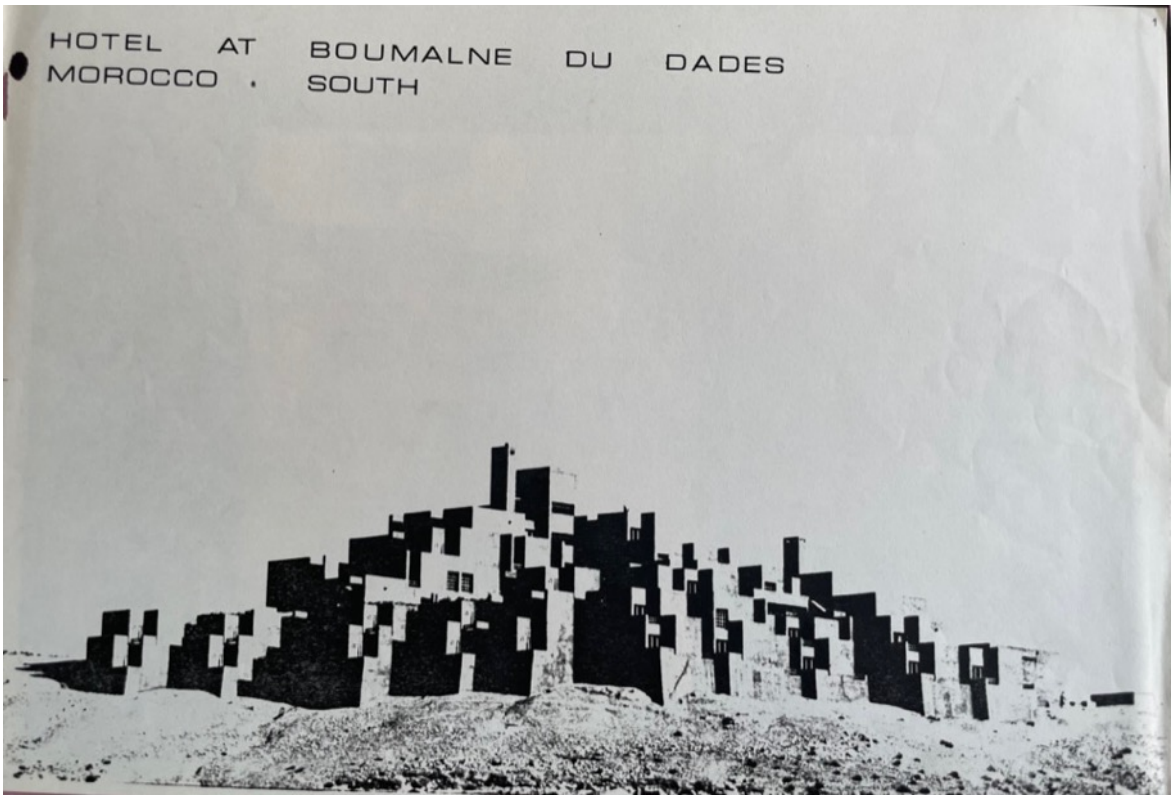


Figure 3.52. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.53. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.54. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.55. Hassan Fathy, Mosque at New Gourna, 1946-1952, Luxor, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Marc Ryckaert via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 3.56. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971. Hotel sign designed by Mohamed Chebâa. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.


Figure 3.57. Moshe Safdie, Habitat 67, 1967, Montreal, Canada. Photograph courtesy of Nora Vass via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 3.58. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, ground floor plan. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the identical paired rooms around the perimeter that form the massed cubical volumes of the hotel.

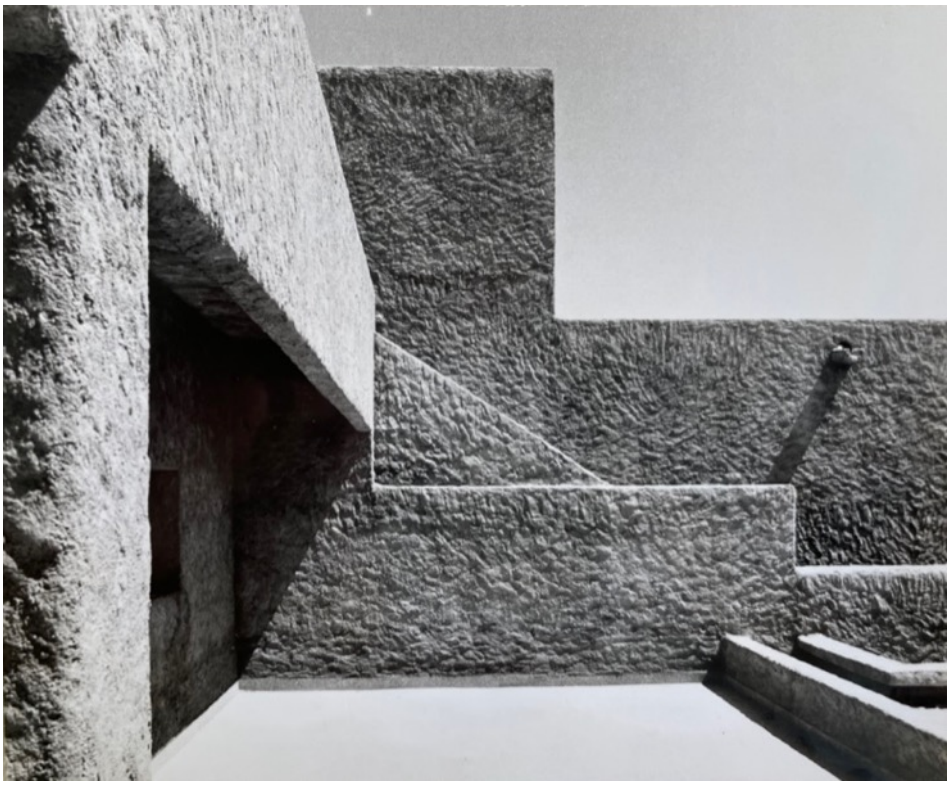


Figure 3.59. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

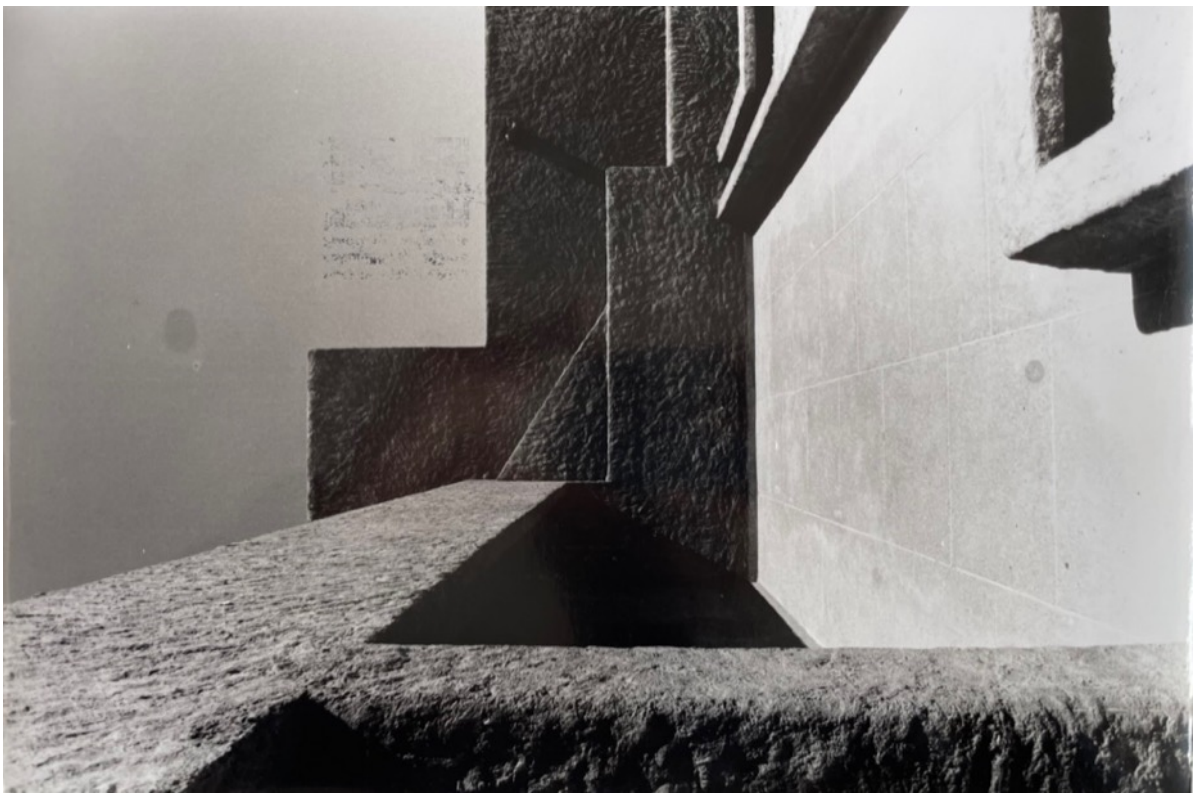


Figure 3.60. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the exposed stonework.



Figure 3.61. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, front desk and reception. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the cedar ceiling panels designed by Mohamad Chebâa.



Figure 3.62. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, lobby. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the light flooding in through the windows and the wall panels designed by Mohamed Chebâa.



Figure 3.63. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, lobby. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières. Note the light flooding in through the windows and the wall panels designed by Mohamed Chebâa.



Figure 3.64. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, lobby. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

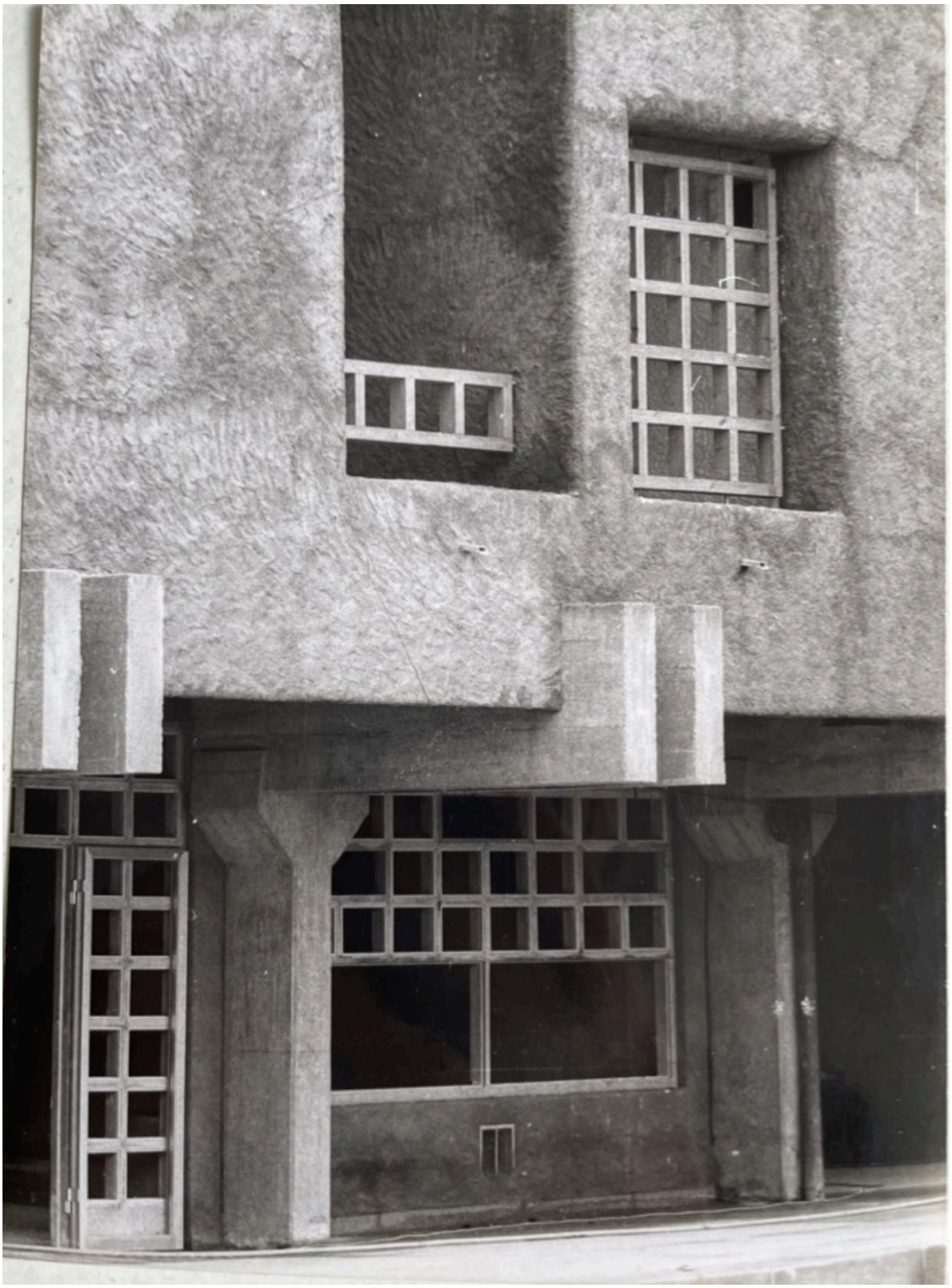


Figure 3.65. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, view of hotel from pool area. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.66. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, bar and lounge area featuring wall panels and mural by Mohamed Chebâa. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

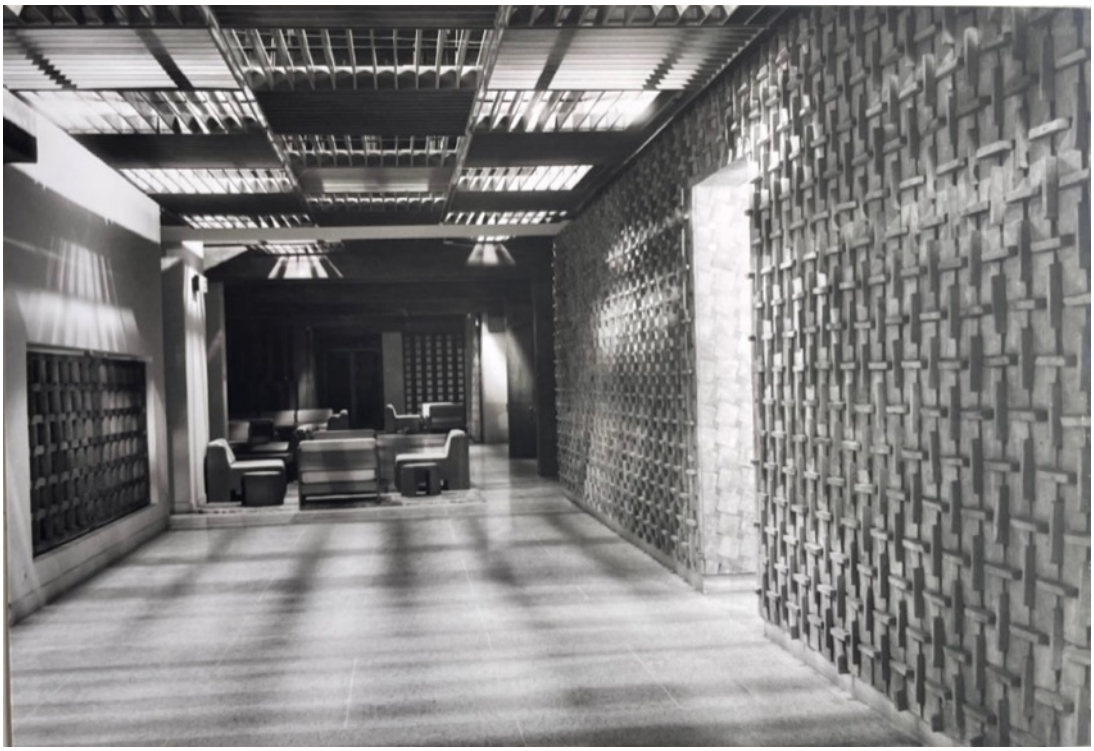


Figure 3.67. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, bar and lounge area featuring wall panels by Mohamed Chebâa. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.68. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, bar and lounge area featuring wall panels by Mohamed Chebâa. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.69. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, second floor, featuring cedar balustrade by Mohamed Chebâa and a painting by Hélène Valentin (*Secret of My Thought*, 1973, acrylic on canvas). Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.70. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, detail of pendant lamps on second floor. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

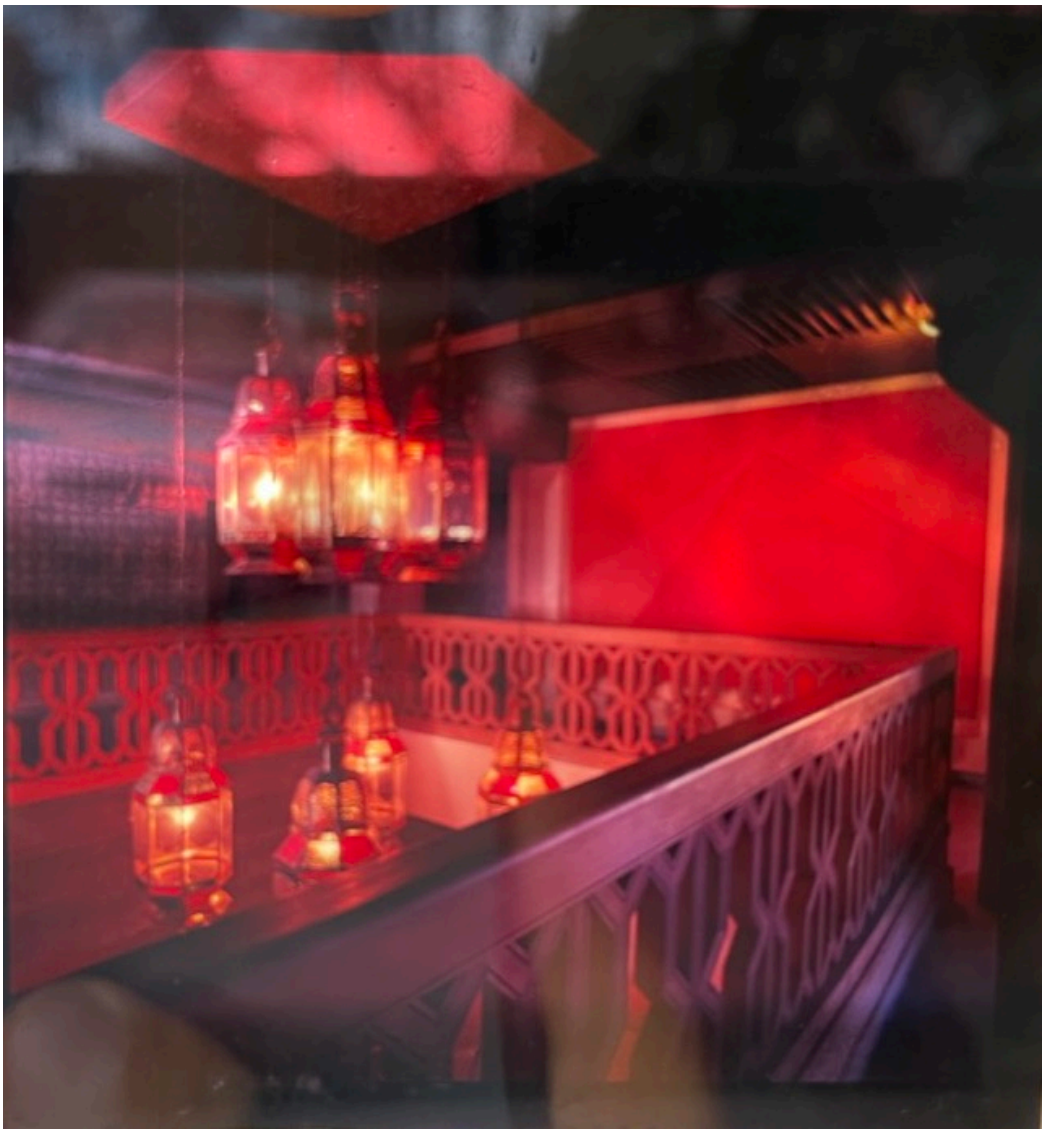


Figure 3.71. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, second floor, featuring cedar balustrade by Mohamed Chebâa and a painting by Hélène Valentin-Rémy (*Secret of My Thought*, 1973, acrylic on canvas). Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.72. Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, 1971, view from below of lamps, cedar balustrade by Mohamed Chebâa, and a painting by Hélène Valentin-Rémy (*Secret of My Thought*, 1973, acrylic on canvas). Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.73. Hélène Valentin, *Secret of My Thought*, 1973, acrylic on canvas, 83.86 x 125.98 in. Acquired by the *Hôtel les Gorges du Dadès* and hung on the second floor above an opening that looks onto the first floor below.



Figure 3.74. Mohamed Chebâa, wall panels for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.75. Mohamed Chebâa, wall panels for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.76. Mohamed Chebâa, bar mural for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.

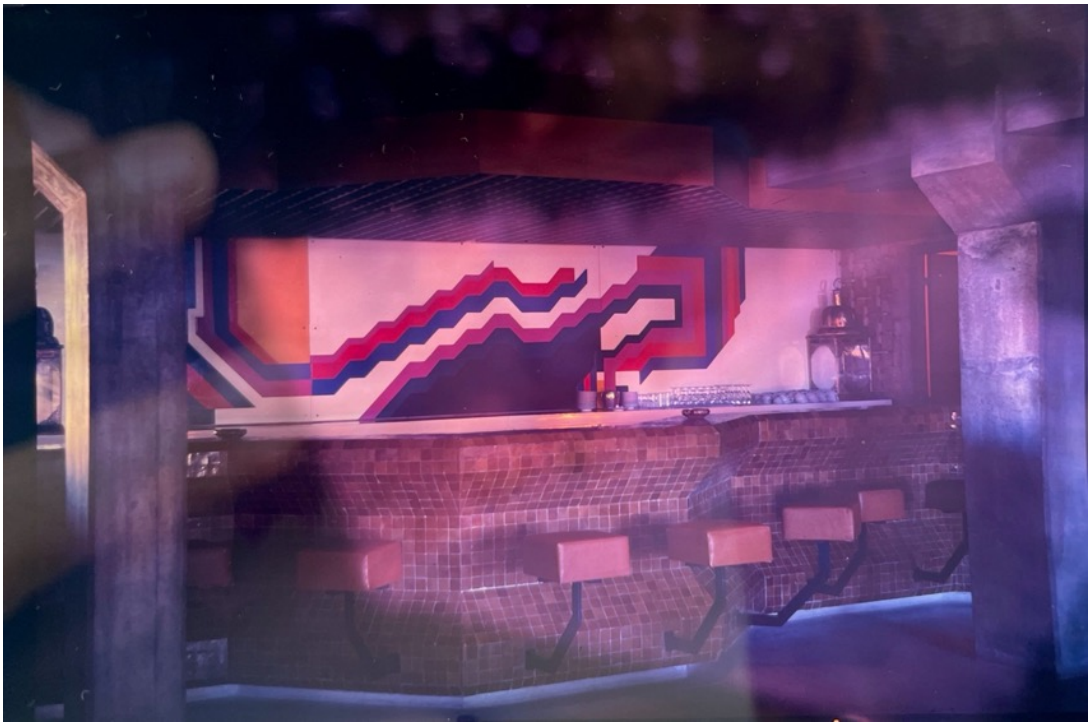


Figure 3.77. Mohamed Chebâa, bar mural for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.78. Mohamed Chebâa, bar mural for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.79. Mohamed Chebâa, bar mural for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.80. Mohamed Chebâa, bar mural for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.81. Mohamed Chebâa, bar mural for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.82. Mohamed Chebâa, detail of bar mural for *Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès*, 1971. Patrice de Mazières archives, courtesy of Pauline de Mazières.



Figure 3.83. Mohamed Chebâa, *Composition*, 1974, cellulosic paint on wood panel. Collection of Société génerale Maroc.



Figure 3.84. "*Exposition Manifeste*" / "*Action Plastique,*" 1969, Djema al Fna, Marrakesh. Courtesy of Mohamed Chebâa Estate. Left to right: Mohammed Atallah, Farid Belkahia, Mohamed Chebâa, Mustapha Hafid, Mohammed Hamidi, Mohammed Melehi



Figure 3.85. "*Exposition Manifeste*" / "*Action Plastique,*" 1969, Djema al Fna, Marrakesh. Courtesy of Mohamed Chebâa Estate.



Figure 3.86. "*Exposition Manifeste*" / "*Action Plastique,*" 1969, Djema al Fna, Marrakesh. Photographs published in *Souffles* nos. 13/14 (1969): 44.



UNE TOILE D'ARAIGNÉE ... !

Disons tout de suite que, par une pratique constante, le géomètre a reçu délégation perma-

Ce n'est pas une toile d'araignée mais la maquette du futur théâtre ambulant. En effet cette maquette conçue par un jeune et talentueux architecte marocain, M. Abderrahim Charai, a eu un très grand succès et la ville l'a choisie pour sa conception et sa facilité de montage et de démontage. Il faut reconnaître que grâce à ce théâtre ambulant les nombreuses familles des quartiers périphériques toutes de condition moyenne pourront dorénavant profiter comme les autres citoyens casablancais des représentations théâtrales et artistiques qui se produiront en ville et ce, à des prix très étudiés. (Photo Maradji. APP.)

Figure 3.87. Abderrahim Charaï, model for a traveling theater, 1964. Photograph featured in "Une toile d'araignée," in *Le petit marocain* (March 17, 1964).

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