Guns, culture and moors : racial stereotypes and the cultural impact of the Moroccan participation in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

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Chapter 7
To be Spanish, to be Moroccan

'Every Spaniard, deep down or otherwise, has a Moorish spark in his character' –A British diplomat in Spain - 1937.[1]

'I am Spanish. My grandfather came here in 1926 after fighting for the French. My father fought for Franco, I was born and raised here' - A Muslim resident of Melilla - [2]

Since sexual and religious relationships have been discussed, this chapter sheds light on further aspects of cultural relationships by revisiting the position Spaniards held between accepting the 'Moor' and excluding him from Spanish community, and examining Spanish rhetoric, policy, and the realities of mutual relationships. Equally important is the view the Moroccans adopted in relation to the brotherhood message the Spanish projected, the position they took in relation to the social and cultural border between them and the Spaniards, and their willingness to cross it. How did the Moroccans envisage the Spanish-Moroccan brotherhood? How did they perceive the mixing of the two cultural spheres? Spain's policy of maintaining a separating zone between Moroccans and Spaniards was not a one-sided affair. If the Spanish wanted to keep the two separate, so did the majority of Moroccans.

The rhetoric

In 1937, a Nationalist observer of the war in Spain wrote:

> This valiant Moor, simple, loyal, has helped us in an extraordinary way in this terrible war that we are sustaining for the moral and material salvation of our fatherland. This Moor is the same one who yesterday fought against us when he thought and believed that we had desires of annexation and conquest. It is the same one who understood much later our civilising mission, the same one who came to know our Generalissimo and was captivated by him as by the prototype of manhood, intelligence and authority in their highest standards.[3]

As the text implies, the positive image of Moroccan soldiers in Spanish Nationalist propaganda as loyal in a common struggle contrasted with the extremely negative view most of the Spaniards, including much of the military, had of Moroccans during the two preceding decades. Centuries of

[1] Pears to Chilton. Kenneth Bourne, D. Cameron Watt and Michael Partridge, eds., *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, Part II, series G, Africa, vol. 25 (Bethesda 1996) Doc. 110.
[2] Daniel Koski-Karell, '*This Project We Call Spain': Nationality, Autochthony, and Politics in Spain's North African Exclaves* (Dissertation, University of Washington 2014) 9.
[3] Francisco de Armas, *Estampas de la guerra*, 127.

reinforcing the image of the Moor as a traditional enemy were strengthened by the military engagements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Morocco. This was particularly the case during the colonial war against the Rif rebels of Mohammed ben Abdul Krim Al Khattabi, when Spain suffered one the most humiliating colonial defeats in the battle of Anual. Racist attitudes towards Moroccans were prevalent among vengeful Spanish officials, soldiers, politicians, and the press, describing Moroccans as uncivilised, xenophobic, fanatical, brutal, degenerate, and deceitful. Some called for the complete extermination of Moroccans. At the same time, others were attracted to Moroccan culture; they recognised a shared history between Morocco and Spain, and even saw Moroccans as younger brothers. In fact, many Spaniards displayed contradictory responses towards Morocco and its people. The brutal colonial war, which ended ultimately with Spanish victory, had its effect on the development of the image of Moroccans.[4]

The fellow imperialists of Ganivet had their way in Morocco and established their protectorate in the early twentieth century. In 1936, they employed the legacy of the Arab culture and the shared history between Moroccans and Spanish to bring Moroccan troops to Spain. Queipo de Llano was one of the first to make a reference to medieval history when he remarked on 26 July 1936, during one of his radio chats that, 'it is curious that to Córdoba have arrived those brave *Regulares* to defend that beautiful monument La Mezquita, that was erected by their ancestors [Italics added]'. [5]

For those who believed that there was a historical paradox in bringing Moroccans, there was no shortage of expert historical argument that there was no such paradox. On 4 April 1937, 'patriotic' celebrations were held in Seville which were attended by General Queipo de Llano. Performances of patriotic hymns and cinematic screenings on Marxist destructiveness were followed by a speech by José María Pemán, a famous right wing intellectual and writer. Among a number of issues, he referred to the collaboration of Muslims with the 'endeavor of Spain' which he found in 'congruence with History'. He added that 'it [History] surprises only those who are ignorant, for those who are familiar with the past know that El Cid had more Moors in his army than Spaniards'.[6]

Not only the shared history was used during the Civil War to explain as propaganda the military participation of Moroccan troops, but also the continued presence of units in Spain, especially the famous Moorish Guard of the Generalissimo, though the historical justifications of this might raise some questions. In 1952, Juan Priego López published a book on the Moorish guards of different Spanish sovereigns. Referring to the Moorish guards, he notes the following:

[4] Balfour, *Deadly Embrace*, 193-200.
[5] Ian Gibson, *Queipo de Llano. Sevilla, verano de 1936*, 205
[6] 'Un acto patriótico en el Teatro de San Fernando', *ABC Sevilla*, 4 April 1937.

> our old sovereigns had in their service, especially during the age of the Reconquest, we find ourselves in a very distinct case, for the soldiers who constituted them [the guards] were not completely strangers to our race, but on the contrary they originated from a people that is very similar to ours and connected traditionally to our political vicissitudes. In reality, the existence of such Moorish escorts or guards has obeyed well the brotherhood that was established, since remote ages, by the geography and history between two peoples which reside on one side and the other of the Strait of Gibraltar.[7]

After mentioning how the Iberians and the Berbers were similar racially as well as spiritually, he compares the Spanish struggle against Arab domination with the Berber struggle against the same domination. Therefore, the heroic deeds of Pelayo, the first leader of the Spanish resistance against the Moors, had their parallels in the Berber tribes of Miknasa, Barguata, and Matgara.[8] This is somewhat remarkable, because other propagandists for the Spanish-Morocco brotherhood, make a point of this brotherhood being built on the shared Arab-Islamic history that followed the Arab conquest of the Iberian peninsula, not the resistance against it. And the Spaniards hardly made a distinction in their policies or discourses between the Berber and the Arab. The Moroccans were usually lumped together as Moors. In general, Spanish officers refused to promote an Arab/Berber division in the manner of the French.[9] In any case, Priego continues by mentioning how the medieval King Enrique IV liked to share the customs of his Moorish guard, and that many Castilian noblemen 'showed their preference and sympathy for the Muslim customs'.[10]

Was Priego López perhaps justifying the all-too familiar scene of many Spanish officers and generals, most notably Varela moving about wearing the Moroccan *chillaba*? After that historical precedent it was normal that during the pacification campaigns of the early twentieth century 'the military comradeship, that existed in other periods between Spaniards and Berbers, was re-established between the soldiers of the native forces and the Spanish officers and non-commissioned officers who commanded them'.[11] Priego then comes to the natural conclusion that follows all of the above, and states that Franco 'conscious of this' history did not doubt in using the Moroccan forces:

> because - as we demonstrated and repeated many times- the Moors cannot be considered strangers to our race'. And to show his confidence in the Moorish soldiers, General Franco

[7] Juan Priego López, *Escoltas y guardias moras de los jefes de estado españoles* (Madrid 1952) 3-4.
[8] Ibidem, 9, 11.
[9] Geoffrey Jensen, 'Military Memories, History, and the Myth of Hispano-Arabic Identity in the Spanish Civil War', in: Aurora G. Morcillo, ed., *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War. Realms of Oblivio*n. (Leiden 2014) 495-532, here 498.
[10] Priego López, *Escoltas y guardias moras,* 25.
[11] Ibidem., 33.

> decided to entrust them with guarding his person the moment he was invested with the functions of chief of state.[12] And 'with that an old tradition is renewed and a symbolic and brilliant expression of racial and historical brotherhood is given between Spaniards and Moroccans.[13]

The rhetoric that justified the presence of Moroccan soldiers in Spain, in terms of Hispano-Arabic identity or Muslim-Spanish brotherhood, was not completely born on the spur of the moment. According to Geoffrey Jensen, the contrasting notion of Moroccans as 'brothers' was not 'conjured up out of nothing'. Instead, it always had a place in traditionalist rhetoric, albeit at times alongside contradictory, negative portrayals of Moroccans.[14] Modern Spain's officers displayed ambivalent attitudes towards Moroccans since the Spanish-Moroccan war (1859-1860), also called the War of Africa. Like civilian writers and artists, some mid-nineteenth Spanish army officers portrayed Moroccans in unabashedly negative terms, while others wrote surprisingly favourably of their north African 'brothers'.[15] During the War of Africa, Spanish soldiers met families with peninsular, i.e. Spanish, surnames which generated both curiosity and sympathy among some Spaniards.[16]

Proponents of Andalusian regionalism in Spain, like Blas Infante and Rodolfo Gil Benumeya also played a role in glorifying the Muslim past, and stressing the links between the people of Andalusia and Morocco. Blas Infante used his understanding of Andalusian culture to justify Spanish colonialism in Morocco. Even though he was executed by the Nationalists at the start of the war, his discourse was appropriated by Francoist intellectuals to justify Spanish colonialism in Morocco.[17] For Gil Benumeya, who converted to Islam, the builders of the Alhambra were the 'ancestors of the current Spaniards and the current Moroccans, not the ancestors of Muslims who live today in the Orient'.[18] For him, Spain and Morocco were two halves of the same piece of fruit,[19] and therefore, Spanish intervention in Morocco was a moral obligation.

According to some, including the Spanish imperialists themselves, Spanish imperialism in Morocco distinguished itself from its French and British counterparts by the lack of a fully

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[12] Ibidem, 33-34.
[13] Ibidem, 34. For a study on the medieval Morisco guard see: Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, 'La Guardia Morisca: Un cuerpo desconocido del ejército medieval español', *Revista de Historia Militar,* nr. 90 (2001) 55-78.
[14] Geoffrey Jensen, 'The Peculiarities of Spanish Morocco: Imperial Ideology and Economic Development', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 20 (2005) 81-102, here 90.
[15] Jensen, 'Military Memories, History, and the Myth', 497.
[16] Mateo Dieste, 'Una hermandad en tensión', 82.
[17] Eric Calderwoord, '"In Andalucía, there are no Foreigners": Andalucismo from Transperipheral Critique to Colonial Apology', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 15 (2014) 399-417, here 408-409.
[18] Mateo Dieste, 'Una hermandad en tensión', 80.
[19] Ibidem.

oppositional Moroccan 'other', as Jensen explains.[20] Rom Landau, Arab specialist and traveller, also noted the contrasts between French and Spanish Morocco: 'the Moors have at least had the satisfaction of not being regarded as members of an inferior species. The attitude of racial superiority maintained by all too many Frenchmen in their Zone was rare in Spanish Morocco. In fact, many Spanish residents pride themselves on their distant Moorish ancestry'.[21] It might be true, as Jensen asserts, that only in Spain right-wing ideologues thought that colonisers and colonised had many things in common,[22] and that Spanish colonialism in Morocco tried to see itself as different from other European powers. Since it had no evangelising mission in Morocco, and in the face of the lack of a fully developed racial 'other', the perceptions of a shared history, culture, and even a shared racial identity, as well as the echoes of medieval *conviviencia* (medieval Muslim-Christian coexistence) provided means to moralise the colonial endeavour. It was presented as Spain bringing civilisation and repaying the Moors for the gift of civilisation that they brought to medieval Spain.[23] Therefore, and since the concept of the Hispano-Arab identity loomed large in the worldviews of some officers – both liberal and conservative – Francoist ideologues did not have to invent it.[24] The Francoist regime went to such lengths that a book published by the Franco dictatorship's office of popular education described medieval Spain as nothing more than the 'real Spain wearing a turban', and 'the builders of the Alhambra were the grandfathers of today's Spaniards and Moroccans'. [25]

The adjustment of Spanish (military) views towards Moroccan soldiers, from negative to more positive, was therefore not entirely surprising. Jensen, in his study on the Spanish colonial administrator and writer García Figueras, provides an example of this by comparing two novels Figueras wrote about Morocco. The first novel, *Del Marruecos Feudal*, was published in 1930 and the other, *Ramadan de Páz*, was published after the Civil War. In both novels, as Jensen illustrates, the primary role of Islam as motivating the Moroccan characters is emphasised. Both novels contain elements of a shared identity between Moroccans and Spaniards. But while in the first novel the emphasis is more on negative Orientalist stereotyping, including the attribution of the characters' fatalism to Islam, in the second, the stress is on the compatibility of both faiths, Islam and Christianity. Emphasis is also placed on the strong religious values of the Moroccans, and therefore a more positive attitude towards them.[26]

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[20] Jensen, 'The Peculiarities of Spanish Morocco', 92
[21] Landau, *Moroccan Drama, 1900-1955* (London 1956) 168.
[22] Jensen, 'The Peculiarities of Spanish Morocco', 97.
[23] Ibidem, 89.
[24] Jensen, 'Military Memories, History, and the Myth', 497.
[25] Ibidem, 520.
[26] Geoffrey Jensen, 'Muslim Soldiers in a Spanish Crusade: Tomás García Figueras, Mulai Ahmed er Raisuni, and the Ideological Context of Spain's Moroccan Soldiers', in: Eric Storm and Ali Al Tuma, eds., *Colonial Soldiers in Europe, 1914-1945. "Aliens in Uniform" in Wartime Societies* (New York 2016) 182-206, here 193-200.

The development of more positive views towards Moroccans during the 1920s and 1930s was facilitated by the military experience of Spanish officers in Morocco and the identification many of them felt with the country. Franco is famously quoted stating that 'without Africa I can scarcely explain myself to myself'.[27] It was perhaps facilitated by the years of peace that followed the colonial war, but certainly by the bonds that were formed between the Spanish officers and the native troops in the years after the Anual disaster in 1921, and by the existence of enlightened officers (before and after the colonial war) who rejected the overt racism of many of their colleagues and tried to develop a more positive, though paternalistic approach towards the Moroccans.[28] Paternalistic, because after all, the Moroccan-Spanish brotherhood was unequal. The Moroccan was seen as the little brother in need of guidance from his older Spanish brother who looks upon 'the Moor, not as an inferior being, but as a friend, or rather as younger brother that has to be tutored until he reaches his maturity', as one of the manuals for the *interventores*, written in 1935, stated.[29] It is the same way the Moroccan soldiers in Spain were described as infantile. In that, the Nationalists did not differ much when they equated the Moroccan soldiers fighting in Spain with children. As one propagandist put it, 'like the little child when he finds himself in some danger or notices that he is being offended, he runs anxiously or threatens with telling his loving father, such are the little Moors with their father and our father Franco'.[30]

Despite this official rhetoric of which many Spanish civilians and military could have been genuinely convinced, it was certainly not universally accepted in Spain. In his introduction to his Arabic translation of Joseph McCabe's work, *The Moorish Civilization in Spain,* Mohammed Taqiyyuddin Al Hilali, a Moroccan Islamic scholar, writes:

> during the last World War, I was in the city of Granada in the Andalusian lands of Spain for four months. The Moroccan students visited me daily at the hotel where I was staying, and they complained about what they heard from their professors who cursed the Moors, which is how Moroccans in European languages are called. And they claimed that every evil that exists in the Spanish lands and every custom is the legacy that was left by the Moroccans during their rule of those lands.[31]

Therefore, Al Hilali used McCabe's book on Moorish Spain to disprove the arguments of those teachers. It is noteworthy that in an age when the Francoist regime was propagating the Hispano-Arab identity, such negative stereotypes of the Moors were being spread in a Spanish university. Perhaps it simply meant a return to the old customs of disparaging the Moors, and these professors

[27] Balfour, *Deadly Embrace,* 202.
[28] On these enlightened officers see Ibidem, 161,162,176, 178, 201.
[29] Mateo Dieste, 'Una hermandad en tensión', 81.
[30] Nerín, *La guerra que vino de África,* 174.
[31] Joseph McCabe, *Madaniyyat al Muslimin fi Isbanya* (2nd ed., Rabat 1985) 3.

belonged to the Morophobic section of Spanish society, a section that existed both among the supporters of the Nationalists, as well as the Republicans. Al Hilali himself praises a few Spanish scholars who took it upon themselves to defend the Islamic civilisation of Spain, and who 'do not care about the wrath of the Falange or the indignation of those enthusiastic extreme nationalists',[32] showing that not all of Francoist Spain embraced its Morophilic message.

This Spanish rhetoric of the Spanish-Moroccan brotherhood and its partial acceptance, justified by history, of the Moroccans within the Spanish Nationalist geographical and ideological realm, not only explained the normalcy of having Moroccan soldiers in Spain, but it implied also that the shared history also mattered to Moroccan soldiers themselves. In the March 1941 issue of the Spanish *Ejército* magazine, Federico García Sanchiz of the Spanish Royal Academy wrote how one day during 'the war with the reds' in Toledo, a lone Moor, 'one of the innumerable *Regulares* of the Uprising' was standing on the bridge of San Martín. The writer was remembering how the rape by Don Rodrigo [the last of the Visigoth rulers of Spain] of La Cava [daughter of a legendary ruler of Ceuta called Don Julián] caused the treason of Don Julián that brought the Arab invasion of Spain. He wondered whether the Moor was 'dreaming, after centuries have passed, of that one [century] when his ancestors burst into the Peninsula, dominating it in the same way that Don Rodrigo lost it, for it looked more like rape rather than conquest the fulminating Hagari conquest?'[33] By Hagari, he refers to Arabs as the sons of Ismael whose mother, the wife of Abraham was Hagar. But did the shared medieval history and perceptions of Moroccan-Spanish brotherhood actually matter to the Moroccans?

During the Spanish Civil War Moroccan nationalists adopted the Spanish Nationalist war propaganda that glorified the Moroccan-Spanish religious brotherhood that was cemented by the fight against communism. Moroccan nationalist figures either reflected or parroted the slogans of the Spanish Nationalists, and the references to the shared medieval past. In September 1936, Torres, who in July, had opposed the sending of the *Mehal-las* to Spain, travelled to Seville to be hosted by General Queipo de Llano. Torres spoke on Queipo's radio of the glorious Muslim past of Seville, and the tight bonds of friendship and fraternity between Morocco and Spain. It was for this reason that Moroccans and North Africans should help the Spaniards with whom they shared the same blood.[34] However, prior to the Spanish Civil War, the Moroccan elite had a slightly different view of the Andalusian past. Moroccan travellers to Spain in the nineteenth century did not describe it as an exotic place, but as a familiar one, due to its Muslim past. But the glorious history of Al Andalus was contrasted with the later (and contemporary) decadent Spain.[35]

[32] McCabe, *Madaniyyat al Muslimin,* 9.
[33] Federico García Sanchiz 'Soliloquio', *Ejercito,* nr. 14 (1941) 55.
[34] Madariaga, *Marruecos. Ese gran desconocido,* 293.
[35] Mateo Dieste, 'De los "Remendados" al Hâjj Franco. Los españoles en el imaginario colonial marroquí', 76.

But what of the soldiers themselves? That medieval past, so dear to Spaniards who promoted the Moroccan colonial adventure, and who justified the presence of Moroccan troops, and so dear to the Moroccan nationalists who came from Andalusian families, was for the Moroccan soldiers who fought in Spain inexistent. The answer to the question of Federico García Sanchiz, whether the Moroccan soldier who stood on the Toledan bridge of San Martín was thinking about the ancestors who irrupted in the peninsula centuries past, would be no. The Moroccan most certainly did not think about that. In none of the interviews with Moroccan veterans, whether conducted by historians decades after the war, or by French interrogators or Spanish propagandists during the war, did the subject of the shared medieval past appear. The accounts of the Moroccan participants of the war do not mention them at all.[36] No references to the Alhambra of Granada, La Mezquita of Córdoba, or the memories of the ancestors in Spain are made. Even for those who were convinced of the religious aspect of fighting against an infidel, the bonds of history do not appear to have meant anything. History was more important to Spanish *Africanistas* and Spanish Nationalists than to the Moroccan soldiers they commanded. That history, in the end, also mattered for the Nationalists less in practice than in theory.

The brotherhood beyond the rhetoric

While Moroccans were welcomed in Spanish arms in theory, in practice they were ejected from Spain. Not long after the collapse of the Republic, Moroccan troops were repatriated to Morocco, and every undocumented Moroccan civilian in Spain who provided services to the military units, or who practiced commerce was sent to Morocco. For the first time, Spain was dealing with illegal Moroccan migration, with the Moroccan *Mejasnia* playing a leading role in capturing their compatriots.[37] The removal of Moroccans from Spain was not without notable exceptions. The Moorish Guard of General Franco stayed of course. A small number of units remained in Spain or were later brought back from Morocco to help hunt down anti-Francoist guerrillas. As we referred to earlier (see chapter four), some Moroccan men married Spanish women and were allowed to stay if they had children. Importantly, while Moroccan troops were physically removed, there was little attempt to remove their memory or image. Moroccan troops figured prominently in victory parades in Spain, both in 1939 and in later years. There was no 'whitewashing' at the end of the conflict similar to what the French did with black African troops in 1944: the French, under Allied pressure, replaced them with 'white' troops that could take public credit for victory in the last stages of the war,[38] and ensured that the liberation of Paris must be seen as a 'whites only' victory.[39] Military publications after the war continued to praise the role of Moroccan soldiers long

[36] As far as the transcripts of El Merroun and the published works of the rest of cited authors show.
[37] Nerín, *La guerra que vino de África,* 253.
[38] Nancy Ellen Lawler, *Soldiers of Misfortune. Ivoirien Tirailleurs of World War II*, 180-182.
[39] Mike Thomson, 'Paris Liberation Made "Whites Only"', *BBC Radio 4*, 6 April 2009.

after it was necessary in terms of war propaganda.[40] Indeed, Franco himself, in the script he wrote for the motion picture *Raza* (which screened in 1941) stated, 'how good and loyal they are!'[41]

Despite the Moroccans' loyalty to Franco and the Nationalists, in the preceding chapters it has been demonstrated how the Spanish Nationalist army endeavored to prevent cultural, religious, and romantic mixing between Moroccan soldiers and the Spanish population. This was also simply a continuation of the policy in Spanish Morocco itself. One good example that occurred during the Civil War, is the housing project for Moroccans and Spaniards in Tetuan and Larache. The project consisted of building cheap housing for Spanish and Moroccan labourers. The interesting part of the project was as follows:

> no different quarter has been chosen, because Spanish and Muslims must coexist, nor the ones and the others [i.e. houses] were indiscriminately mixed, because every civilisation and every custom has its own shyness. In these neighbourly constructions, the logical coexistence was sought without the disorderly and - for ones and others - disturbing mixture.[42]

It is a perfect summary of the policy of racial and religious segregation while maintaining a superficial impression of brotherhood; an ambivalent policy towards Moroccans that was followed both in Spain and Morocco.[43] This ambivalence is also seen in the issue of naturalisation. As many Moroccans fought for Spain as 'brothers' of the Spaniards, some could lay claim to Spanish-ness. The Arabist priest Miguel Asín Palacios, was very enthusiastic in considering that the Moroccan soldiers had conquered, with their blood sacrifice, the right to citizenship. He called onto the Spanish state not to hesitate in recognising them as Spaniards, and by that 'elevating them from their current status of protected to that of citizens of the same patria, one and indivisible, with the same political rights as the other Spanish regions'.[44]

Indeed, several Moroccan soldiers gained Spanish citizenship after the war. Several notices conferring Spanish nationality to Moroccans, published in the state's official bulletin, make a special mention of the receiver being a veteran of the *Guerra de Liberación* (Liberation

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[40] See for example, García Perez, *Mehal-la Jalifiana de Gomara num. 4* (Ceuta 1941) and his *Historial de Regulares de Alhucemas Numero 5* (Cordoba 1944); also the work referred to above by Priego Lopez on the Moorish Guard.

[41] Francisco Franco y Bahamonde, *Raza. Anecdotario para el guión de una película* (Madrid 1942). Franco employed the alias Jaime de Andrade. The film was directed by José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, and produced by El Consejo de la Hispanidad. The film narrates the story of three brothers and a sister and their struggles during the Spanish Civil War which claims the lives of two of the brothers.

[42] 'La barriada de casas baratas del Generalísimo Franco. Ayuda, premio y reforma social', *Heraldo de Marruecos*, 12 November 1937, 2-3.

[43] It was also for political reasons that such a separation was sought, namely to prevent the spread of socialist or syndicalist ideas among the native population. Mateo Dieste, 'Una hermandad en tensión', 89.

[44] Miguel Asín Palacios, 'Por qué lucharon a nuestro lado los soldados marroquíes', 150.

War) or the Moroccan campaigns, or both; thus indicating that they had become Spaniards by virtue of their military service.[45] For all the policy of separation and segregation, Francoist Spain was ready to welcome Moroccans into the Spanish patria. It is not known how many soldiers were granted Spanish citizenship, or the ratio of application to acceptance. One document of the Delegation of Native Affairs provides numbers of Muslims who obtained Spanish nationality as of May 1955. In Tetuan the number was 539, in Villa Nador 79, and in Larache, Alcazarquivir, and Arcila, at least 75.[46] But the document does not state how many were (ex-) soldiers, or dependents of soldiers, though we may assume that the majority received it due to proven loyalty to Spain through military service (and of course being a family member of such soldiers). Military service would not have been the only criterion for eligibility. Nor was military service in the Spanish Civil War enough to be eligible for naturalisation. Good conduct and the absence of disturbing antecedents were necessary pre-conditions to be naturalised.[47] In the end, the provision of Spanish nationality was exceptional,[48] although that was due as much to the reluctance of the Spanish state to grant it in large numbers, as to the lack of willingness among many Moroccans to make use of the opportunity.

It does seem that the Spaniards placed Muslim citizens on a higher level than the rest of the Moroccans, though perhaps not much higher. One Spanish officer told Sanchez Ruano that there were two classes of Moors: 'the shoeblack from Ceuta, influenced by Spaniards, who was loyal, and the Riffians who were more difficult'.[49] Beigbeder, the High Commissioner in Morocco during almost the entire Civil War, wrote that the distinction must be made clear 'in the eyes of everyone' between the Spanish Muslims, born in Ceuta and Melilla (places of Spanish sovereignty), and the Moroccan 'protected' Muslims.[50] Though this might have been motivated by some need to stress the sovereignty of Spain on Ceuta and Melilla, it can be argued that it might have also been motivated by the need to stress the prestige that comes with being associated with Spain.

Did the participation of Moroccan troops in the Spanish Civil War truly 'elevate' the position of Moroccans of Spanish Morocco in the eyes of their Spanish protectors to a position of equality? On a grand, abstract level, it certainly did, as many of the texts of Nationalist writers, some of which have already been cited, attest. Several Nationalist soldiers, commanders, or other witnesses of the war expressed profound gratitude to the Moroccans for their decisive role in the

[45] See for examples decrees to naturalise Moroccan soldiers in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, nrs. 183, 276 (year 1942) and 327 (year 1950), and files on Moorish Guard members who were naturalised, AGMG, Caja 151.
[46] AGA, 81.11023, Exp. 103. 'Concesión de nacionalidad española a indígenas de nuestra zona, año 1955'.
[47] See for example the file on the application for Spanish nationality of Enfeddal Ben Ahmed el Gomari. AGA, 81.11023, 'Gabinete Diplomático num. 771', dated 5 April 1952.
[48] Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, '"Rarezas": Conversiones religiosas en el Marruecos colonial (1930-1956)', *Hispania* 73 (2013) 229.
[49] Ruano, *Islam y Guerra Civil española*, 167.
[50] AHMC, Varela, 97/34.

war. But on an individual human level, Moroccans, even those who fought for Spain, were still 'little Moors'. The following piece, published in 1947, intended as humour by its writer, describes the view Spaniards in Spanish Morocco still had of their 'protected':

> Buxta ben Abselam, an old soldier of the Regulares and today a quick-witted merchant of Melilla, pays a visit to Seville with the goal of greeting some friends, and at the same time attempting to sell some Moorish artisan products. In one of the most central streets of the beautiful town, one lady calls to him:
> -Listen morito ...,[51] paisa ...,[52] Mohamed.
> Buxta continues on his way as if he did not hear, and the lady, yet again, calls him raising her voice even higher.
> Moroo…! paisa…! Mohamed…!
> At this, our friend Buxta turns around and with a foul humour exclaims:
> -Listen, mojera,[53] you, why calling for me moro, saying Mohame and saying paisa? You not knowing how I calling?
> - I do not know, morito, answers the good lady. How do you want me to call you, Alfredo?
> -No! Nothing of Friedo nor any such stury. Yo knowing that Moor already fighti in Spain with Franco, you knowing that Moor already talking, rayding, already dooing counting like aromi.[54] True? Then musting calling DON PAISA.[55]

A deliberate attempt was made to convey, in English, the broken Spanish with which Buxta was speaking. The piece makes fun of the elevated status Buxta, the Moroccan, thinks he has gained by fighting for Franco. The text recognises that Moroccans did achieve a rise in standing, which they were aware of, at the same time however, it stops short of recognising equal status with the Spaniards by highlighting the very broken Spanish that Buxta speaks, and ridicules how he calls himself 'Mr Fellow'. By not speaking fluent Spanish, the position of Moroccans as standing at a lower level compared to Spaniards is stressed. It was expected of Moroccans to learn Spanish, if they desired equality, rather than the Spaniards to learn Arabic. Many writings on the Spanish Civil War by Nationalists (and occasionally Republicans), whether memoirs or propaganda, when quoting Moroccans, almost always do so in broken Spanish. It often appears that part of the goal of the quotation is to have fun at the expense of the Moroccan who uttered the words, although

[51] Little Moor.
[52] Short for 'paisano', which means: fellow, compatriot, or someone who lives in the countryside.
[53] A faulty pronunciation of 'mujer' (woman), a pronunciation that I came across more than once during interviews with Moroccan veterans.
[54] Arrumi, literary 'The Roman', by which it is meant: Christian, or European.
[55] Mr. *Paisa*. See: Mohandusi Rahamante, 'Humorismo – dos anécdotas musulmanas', *Segangan*, November 1947, 12.

occasionally a Moroccan could be explicitly praised for speaking correct Spanish. Although the *Africanistas* liked to think that they were versed in Moroccan culture, the majority of the chiefs of the Moroccan units, including Franco, did not speak Arabic or Berber,[56] or just a few isolated words and expressions, hence the need for Moroccan officers. The small number of Spanish officers who spoke Arabic was not enough for the growing number of soldiers who fought in Spain. Similarly, in the Protectorate, the Spanish civilian population, by and large communicated with the native population in Spanish. The Moroccans had to learn Spanish, for most Spaniards had no desire or inclination to learn Arabic or Riffian.[57] While the necessity to speak Spanish, signified a hierarchical relationship whereby the Moroccan stood on a separate (though ostensibly, and according to Francoist propaganda, equal) level as the Spaniard, the reality often did not correspond to policy.

The Practice

As previous chapters have shown, despite steps taken by the Spanish Nationalist army and government to separate Moroccans from the Spanish population in the Peninsula during the war, in reality maintaining such separation was not always possible. Romantic relationships and marriages between Moroccan soldiers and Spanish women existed. Despite efforts to prevent the conversion of Muslims to Christianity there exist cases where such conversions took place, even if the goal was usually a contract marriage. The same was true for Spanish-Moroccan relationships in Spanish Morocco. The crossing of cultural and religious frontiers also manifested itself from both sides: Moroccans converted to Christianity, Spaniards converted to Islam,[58] Spanish men married Moroccan women, though that happened less often than Moroccan men marrying Spanish women. Even Jewish-Muslim and Jewish-Christian liaisons existed. There were different kinds of relationships between people belonging to different faiths that ranged from friendship to romantic bonds, to matrimonies, and even relations in the realm of prostitution. What distinguished this crossing of the cultural line of division, was that they took place mainly between the lower social classes.[59] On some level, a form of Spanish-Moroccan equality and, perhaps inadvertently, brotherhood was achieved because many of the Spaniards living in Morocco were poor migrants. Their economic situation did not differ much from Moroccans, thus the issue of haves and have-nots which was significant between the French colonisers and the native population in the southern zone never arose. There were many references to Spaniards in Morocco as poor people, which undoubtedly led, in the perception of the Moroccans of the Spanish Protectorate, to the feeling that Spanish colonial rule was less severe than the French one. It also led to the inferiorisation of the

[56] Gustau Nerín, *La guerra que vino de Africa*, 61.
[57] David Montogemy Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif. An Ethnography and History (Tucson 1976) 417.
[58] Mateo Dieste, '"Rarezas": conversiones religiosas', 233.There were even cases of western foreigners who came to Spanish Morocco to embrace Islam. Ibidem, 232, 248,
[59] Mateo Dieste, 'Una hermandad en tensión', 88.

image of the dominant Spanish coloniser.[60] The accessibility of Spaniards and the poor economic conditions of many, meant that many Spaniards were employed by Moroccans, often performing what was considered by the Protectorate authorities as menial jobs. The Spanish authorities considered this damaging to Spanish prestige and tried to prevent it.[61] The Spanish authorities tried to prevent the inversion of the status of the Spanish as protector and Moroccan as protected. The matter extended even to some Spanish soldiers, who were keen to supplement their income and were contracted by Riffian farmers in the Oriental Rif to work on the harvest.[62]

An old Moroccan civilian, interviewed in 2011, sums up the attitudes of many Moroccans toward the Spaniards who lived in northern Morocco. This Moroccan, remembering sympathetically, found on the governmental level that 'the Spaniards, contrary to the French, did not intervene in our affairs. If you go to the Spanish captain or colonel for a complaint they would tell you to go to the *kaíd* or the qadi [Muslim judge]…'. On the human level, he noted that 'the Spaniards were simple people ... sometimes they would ask you if you could treat them to lunch'.[63] That was in the end the fruit of the composition of the Spanish rhetoric on brotherhood, Spanish policy of segregation, and therefore intervening as little as possible in the religious traditions and affairs of the Moroccans, and the accessibility of the majority of the Spaniards as a result of economic realities. That composition also had its effects on some Moroccan nationalists. As the son of the Abdeslam Bennuna, the founder of the Moroccan nationalist movement told Dieste:

> Between the Moroccan and the Spaniards a very especial relationship was established, [a relationship] of *tú a tú* [rather than the more formal *usted*]. The Spaniards, from those with responsibilities, both politicians and military, to the merchants, or the labourers who also existed, coexisted with the Moroccans. They did not treat the Moor as inferior, and respected the religious and nationalist sentiments.[64]

To be or not to be Spanish

[60] Mateo Dieste, 'De los "Remendados" " al Hâjj Franco', 72.
[61] Mateo Dieste, 'Una hermandad en tensión', 85.
[62] Mateo Dieste, 'De los "Remendados"', 72.
[63] Interview with Abderrahman bu Zeryouh, Tangier. 5 January 2011. Two uncles of him fought in Spain, one of whom was killed there in 1939. Asked why did he think his uncles and other volunteers fought in Spain? He responded: 'many went because they were enthusiastic about hearing about money and the ability to fight. They were people who did not refrain from a fight'.
[64] Mateo Dieste, 'Una hermandad en tensión', 84. The respect for nationalist sentiments, which was translated in allowing the Moroccan nationalists, during the Civil War, to legally establish political parties, was of course a matter of expediency that was motivated by the fear of troubles in Morocco and the possible prospect of losing the war, as both García Figueras and Beigbeder admitted. Madariaga, *Marruecos. Ese gran desoconocido*, 292, 294. It is also motivated by the will to use Moroccan nationalism as a tool to force the French to recognise the Francoist regime, as Beigbeder admitted to a British diplomat. Bourne, Watt and Partridge, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, Doc. 178.

If the rhetoric of the brotherhood and the poor economic and social standing of many Spaniards in the Protectorate contributed to an inferiorisation of the Spanish colonial dominator, so must the conflict in Spain have done for the Moroccan soldiers. Queipo de Llano even pointed that out in one of his radio chats. Commenting on supposed Republican excesses in Baena, he addressed the Republicans: 'What these Moors did, when they saw your deeds in Baena, was to wonder with surprise: These people who do this, are they the ones who want to civilise Morocco? They are quite right'.[65] But it was not only the supposed crimes of the Republicans that would have made the Moroccans wonder on what basis the Spaniards could claim superiority over the Moroccans. Spain was for many Moroccans called 'the country of hunger',[66] where they witnessed people starving and begging for food, and in some cases Moroccans providing food for them.[67] It was a country where Moroccans defeated time and again an enemy that was Spanish, even if this enemy was portrayed as red, godless or even un-Spanish. It was a country where they could take the possessions of Spaniards, the lives of Spaniards, and sometimes the women of Spaniards, whether by force or through courting. It was a land where they inspired fear in Spaniards, and where they played a military role that exceeded in its importance their numbers, a fact which they knew very well. Buxta, the *Regulares* soldier who was ridiculed above, had every right to call himself 'Don Paisa'.

But does a perception of equality, or even superiority (after all the Moroccan soldiers who originated in the Protectorate, were the 'protectors' of their Spanish protectors) towards the Spaniards mean an acceptance by the Moroccans, and especially the Moroccan soldiers of the so-called brotherhood? Answering this question is complicated because of the complexity of Moroccans who interacted with the Spanish.

The Moroccan soldiers who arrived in Spain came, as it were, in different shapes and colours. Some of them had been embroiled in a hostile relationship with Spain, due to the Rif war, and were not particularly fond of Spain.[68] A German veteran of the First World War, who had fought in Morocco against the French along with a force of Moroccan guerrillas, met old comrades in Spain. One of them expressed his attitude towards the Spaniards: 'Trust the Devil and do not trust them [Spaniards]'.[69] Many younger recruits who were too young to be involved in the colonial wars apparently were more receptive to Spanish propaganda,[70] and more open to new cultural experiences than the older generation who were more conservative.[71] Others who came

[65] Ian Gibson, *Queipo de Llano. Sevilla, verano de 1936*, 381.
[66] Mateo Dieste, 'De los "Remendados"', 73.
[67] Interview with Al Hussein ben Abdesselam, Ceuta, 30 January 2011; Mustapha El Merroun, 'Surat Isbaniya fi mandhur al mujannadin al maghariba khilal al Harb al Ahliyya al Isbaniyya. 1936-1939', *Al Ittihad Al Ishtiraki*, 31 July 2005, 10. Ruano, *Islam y Guerra Civil española*, 367.
[68] Ruano, *Islam y Guerra Civil española*, 127.
[69] Albert Bartels, unpublished memoirs, 146.
[70] Ruano, *Islam y Guerra Civil española*, 127.
[71] Albert Bartels, unpublished memoirs, 126.

from the French zone and who had no previous contact with the Spaniards and subsequently deserted, had probably a stay and experience that was too short to identify with Spain or the Franco regime. In any case it is impossible to question them on their views regarding this issue. Others had always been in the service of Spain.

As discussed in chapter 3, the majority of the Moroccans from the Spanish Protectorate, or those from the French Protectorate who remained in the Spanish Zone after the war, admitted the good treatment they received by their officers in Spain during the war, and mostly did not experience racial discrimination; at least that is the view of those serving in Moroccan-majority units. The experience was probably different for those serving in the Spanish Legion or the Moroccan branch of the Falange units. Some Moroccan veterans remained ideologically committed to the worldview of the Francoist regime and the values of order and discipline that Franco's regime represented for them. One of them, who thought of Franco as the manliest of Spanish men, even deplored the failure of the right-wing coup of Colonel Tejero in 1981 against the democratic rule in Spain.[72] Another believed that the problem of Basque separatism could simply be solved in one week by sending a force of Riffian soldiers.[73] In many cases, the soldiers, after Moroccan independence chose to continue serving in the Spanish armed forces until the 1960s,[74] when they retired. Even those soldiers who served in the *Regulares* in the 1940s and 1950s, and only served in the Protectorate praised the Spaniards, both the military and civilians, and their correct treatment of them and the Moroccan population. Veterans in Asilah commented that there was only one period of tension, during the prelude to Morocco's independence, when the Spanish superiors restricted for a short period the amount of ammunition allocated to Moroccan soldiers to five rounds each.[75] Rarely did a Moroccan soldier in the Spanish army join anti-Spanish movements. However, there were few soldiers who showed the ultimate sign of inclusion in the Spanish brotherhood, by accepting the Spanish nationality.

The case of the highest ranking Moroccan soldier is illustrative. Mohamed Ben Mizzian gave an interview to a Spanish journalist, Juan Guixé, who published it in his 1922 book *El Rif en sombras. Lo que yo he visto en Melilla.* In it, Guixé describes the 25 year-old Mizzian as a young man who speaks Spanish with a Castilian accent, and who thinks in Spanish, but is troubled by his past. Mizzian told him how his family wanted him to learn the Koran, and he could have become a religious man rather than a lieutenant in the Spanish army. He continues:

> I believe, with time, the Moors will adapt to European civilisation, if not the current ones, then their sons and their grandsons. The same will happen to the generations that are born

[72] Interview with Mohammed Bilal Achmal, Tetuan, 7 January 2011.
[73] Mateo Dieste, 'De los "Remendados", 84.
[74] Several interviews.
[75] Interviews with ex-members (but not war veterans) of the *Regulares* in Asilah, 20 February 2011.

> under Spanish action: they will be free from their fanaticism and will look with horror to the black spots of their past. The Riffian people are ignorant, and from that ignorance comes their evil. They are so ignorant, to a degree that you cannot imagine. That ignorance incapacitates them, so that they do not understand the progress that civilisation signifies. They live like barbarians and thence comes that violent, shocking and astonishing contrast between the life of the Riffian and that of the European.[76]

True to his word, in the following years and decades he would fight fiercely to establish the Spanish order in Morocco. And so he did to establish the order of General Franco in Spain, claiming that the war in Spain was necessary to defend Western civilisation from being destroyed.[77] As an officer in the Spanish army, he also possessed the Spanish nationality; he held both military and administrative positions (Commander of the Military Region of the Canary Islands and of Galicia) that only Spaniards could hold. For many goals and purposes he was embraced as a Spaniard. Although he embraced Spain, this had its limits, as after all, he was still of Moroccan descent, and there was no shortage of reminders. In 1952, Mizzian was sent with a Spanish delegation on an official visit to a number of Arabic countries. The Spanish *ABC* paper pointed to its readers that Mizzian, a *General de División* at the time, was 'of pure Moroccan stock' who had served Spain well. The paper also pointed out that his comrades in arms included the generals Franco, Varela, and Gracia Valiño who had the utmost estimation and the closest friendship for 'their Moroccan comrade'. The paper mentioned that Mizzian, in addition to Arabic and Chelja (Rifian Berber), spoke 'correct Spanish'.[78] The Moroccan part of the General would simply not disappear in the eyes of the Spaniards. Nor could it for Mizzian himself, who, upon the independence of Morocco, resigned from the Spanish army, relinquished his Spanish nationality, and became Morocco's first Minister of Defence. It was in this capacity that he imprisoned his daughter, who was married to a Spanish Christian, confirming that Moroccan and Spanish blood and religion should not mix.

Moroccan authorities of the Spanish Protectorate, even though subjecting themselves to the political control of the Spanish authorities were as keen as the Spanish to prevent the crossing of the frontier that separated Moroccans from the Spanish in their daily lives, especially when it came to Moroccan women. Muslim Moroccan women could be severely punished for marrying or having relationships with non-Muslim men. Even during the 1940s, the Basha (native governor) of Tetuan persecuted Moroccan women for attending cinemas or theatres, or for even passing through

[76] Lucas Molina Franco, 'Mohamed Ben Mizzian Bel Kasem: El general moro de Franco', in: Lucas Molina Franco, *Treinta y seis relatos de la Guerra del 36* (Valladolid 2006) 305-310, here 306 - 307.
[77] Nerín, *La Guerra que Vino de África*, 208.
[78] 'El Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores Emprenderá el 4 de Abril su Viaje a los Paises Árabes', *ABC*, 23 March 1952, 36.

Spanish urban spaces for fear of becoming more like European women.[79] Sometimes, official positions in the Moroccan government of the Protectorate were filled by Moroccan nationalists. Moroccan nationalists who were ready to accommodate the Nationalist propaganda on religion and shared history, were only ready to go to this extent and not further. What the Moroccan nationalists did not concede, was the concern for the distinctiveness of the Moroccan identity, and the avoidance of its absorption by the Spanish one. The National Reform Party (PNR) of Abdel Khalek Torres gave an example of this 1937 when its paper *Al Hurriya* published the so-called 'demands of the Moroccan people'. Concerning 'the Moroccan nationality and civic status' the paper put the following demands:

> -Moroccan subjects must not be allowed to disavow the Moroccan nationality by obtaining the Spanish nationality in Morocco.
> -Those who are born abroad to a Moroccan father are to be considered Moroccan.
> -The Moroccan nationality must be kept for those who are born in the Spanish colonies to a Moroccan father, whether the father was born there or not.[80]

It would not be difficult to imagine that such demands were partially, if not mainly, written with Moroccan soldiers of the Spanish army in mind. The problem of losing the Moroccan identity to Spain by way of naturalisation was not a concern exclusive to Spanish Morocco. It had its precedents as far back as the nineteenth century with the protection status that some Moroccan subjects were granted by multiple European powers who wielded influence in Morocco, and it became a problem in the wider Maghreb before the 1930s. As Shadid and Koningsveld explain, the European concept of nationality was alien to classical Islamic legal tradition. Since the second half of the nineteenth century it penetrated gradually into the Muslim world. This penetration can be seen initially as a mere process of translating the existing social and political realities into a new legal terminology. However, a new dimension was added in Tunisia and Algeria, when the French authorities introduced Laws of Naturalisation in 1923 and 1927. These laws offered French nationality and the full rights of French citizenship to Tunisians and Algerian Muslims who accepted French civil law instead of Islamic law. This measure was met with fierce resistance from many Muslim scholars, who in Tunis issued a fatwa which qualified the person who adopted French citizenship under the said law as an apostate. Their view was supported by similar fatwas issued by scholars of the famous Islamic centre in Cairo Al-Azhar, and other scholars in Egypt. The French stipulated the adoption of French citizenship as a condition to acquire a position of

[79] Mateo Dieste, '"Rarezas": Conversiones', 248.
[80] 'The Demands of the Moroccan People,[part] -6-' *Al Hurriya* ,23 June 1938.

importance in the colonial society; this was part of France's assimilation policy.[81] As a consequence of the fatwa, however, only a limited number of Muslims adopted French citizenship.

Spaniards in the Moroccan protectorate, and certainly under Franco, were far from attempting any assimilation policy; or at least, as a country that was supposed to adopt a Catholic identity, they did not try to include Moroccans within this identity, whether during or after the war. That did not, however, prevent many Moroccans, especially soldiers, from equating the adoption of Spanish nationality with apostasy; even though some served with the Spanish army until the end of the protectorate and beyond, and even though an organised movement of religious scholars in Spanish Morocco against accepting the Spanish nationality was lacking. A former member of the Moorish guard who considered that 'Franco had blind trust in us', explained how:

> I was present at the ceremony of the signature of the [Moroccan 1956] independence document. After independence we received a telegram saying: anyone who wants to join Morocco can do that. Those who want to settle their accounts can do that, and those who want to be baptised and take the Spanish nationality can stay with us. One morning our colonel came and started praising us that we were brave men and trustworthy. Then his wife Carmen came weeping and wishing we stayed with her. But indeed I joined Morocco'.[82]

Note the use of the word 'baptise' when speaking of being a naturalised Spanish citizen. It is a term that arises in other testimonies of Moroccan veterans, long after the end of the war. Mateo Dieste also noted the use, in the Oriental Rif, of the term '*abutisar'*, an adaptation of the '*bautizar'* to refer to gaining Spanish nationality. Interestingly, he cites a Franciscan father who stated that during the Moroccan independence process (1950s), some Moroccans in Tangier stood in a queue at the gate of the Spanish church as they had heard that Spanish nationality would be given to those who converted to Christianity.[83] The same was noted by those who chose to remain under Spanish authority and accept Spanish nationality.[84] As it happened, the majority of Moroccans chose to remain Moroccan, and rejected Spanish nationality, though not only due to religious reasons.

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[81] Wasif Shadid and Sjoerd van Koningsveld, 'Loyalty to a non-Muslim Government. An analysis of Islamic Normative Discussions and of the Views of Some Contemporary Islamicists', in: W.A.R. Shadid and P.S. van Koningsveld, eds., *Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in non-Muslim States* (Kampen 1996) 84-114, here 93.

[82] Testimony of an unnamed 'tall man', El Merroun archive, Tetuan, 17 December 1995. Indeed, the documents of the Guadalajara military archives show that the Moorish Guard members were offered the choice of the Spanish Nationality, but very few of them took that choice, and the overwhelming majority chose to go 'home'.

[83] Mateo Dieste, '"Rarezas": Conversiones', 249.

[84] Interview with Mohammed Abdullah Susi, Ceuta, 19 January 2011.

In the wake of the Moroccan independence, Moroccan nationalists in the former French zone started to mount military action against the Spanish territories in Ifni. In December 1957, news arrived in Spain that Spanish defenders had abandoned frontier outposts in the face of invading Moroccan irregulars. Reports were printed in the Spanish press about Moroccan savagery against Spanish civilians including the rape and disembowelment of a pregnant Spanish woman. These disclosures set off a storm of anti-Moroccan feeling in Spain. In Madrid, crowds booed Franco's Moroccan guard in the streets and greeted their newsreel appearances with noisy catcalls.[85] In the face of this, and the disappearance of the African empire that Franco helped to construct in northern Morocco, Franco had to disband his guards corps. Some of its members accepted the offer of Spanish citizenship and continued service in the Spanish armed forces. However, the majority opted to return to Morocco and receive financial compensation.[86] With that, the vestiges of the Spanish-Moroccan military brotherhood that started with a colonial project and was strengthened through a civil war were coming to an end.

Conclusion

The relationship between the Spanish Nationalists and Moroccan soldiers during the Spanish Civil War reflected in a great measure the relationship that had already existed in the Moroccan Protectorate before the war and continued to do after the war. There are three levels in which this relationship developed: the level of grand rhetoric, the level of government policy, and daily reality that was partly shaped by governmental policies and partly formed by resistance to those policies. The grand rhetoric, whether during the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco or during the use of Moroccan troops during the Spanish Civil War, stressed bonds of blood, faith and shared history to present the presence of the Spaniards in Morocco and of the Moroccan troops in Spain as naturally and ethically acceptable. Spaniards and Moroccans, according to this grand rhetoric, were no strangers in each other's countries. This rhetoric was partially influenced by the views and experiences of the Spanish officers who served in Morocco and who established good rapport with their native troops and a paternalistic view towards the Moroccans in general.

On the level of governmental policy in the Protectorate and in Nationalist Spain, the brotherhood between the Spanish and the Moroccan communities was approached in a more cautious way, with a mixture of inclusion and exclusion. Most of the Moroccans in Spain, soldiers and civilians alike, were removed from Spain at the end of the war, though many were presented with the opportunity to naturalise and become Spanish. New housing projects in Spanish Morocco did not separate Spaniards and Moroccans by assigning new houses to different quarters, but a separation of sorts was maintained. The governmental policies, of both the Spanish and the

[85] 'Morocco: Moors Unmoored', *Time*, 23 December 1957, 22.
[86] See examples in AGMG, Caja 79/400 and Caja 151.

Moroccan governments, tried to control the sexual boundary between the two communities, especially preventing their own women from marrying or having any other type of sexual liaisons with men from the other community.

It is with the policing of the sexual mores that it becomes obvious that realities often defied governmental policies. Inter-communal sexual relations existed both in Spain and in Morocco despite the efforts of the Nationalists or the Moroccan authorities. Such relationships were deemed threatening of the Spanish authority if the male partner was Muslim. Other types of relationships were deemed injurious to Spanish prestige, like Spaniards being employed by Moroccans to do menial jobs. The result of this interaction between policy and daily reality was that policies could not be implemented to their full extent, but they still managed to prevent day-to-day inter-communal relationships from pushing the boundaries further. In the end the Spanish imperial 'racial' hierarchy did not suffer much from the mixing of cultures and races that the Spaniards feared, because the majority of Moroccans themselves, whether on a governmental or individual level, were usually not keen to cross the religious or national divide that separated them from the Spaniards.

In a recent interview, José Antonio González Alcantud, a historian, anthropologist, and researcher on Spanish-Moroccan stereotypes, commented that Andalusians like to see a Moorish part in themselves; but they also belong to the European culture, and therefore 'we can say that we are "cousins but not brothers"'.[87] Perhaps that is the view Spanish imperialists, and Nationalists who justified the use of Moroccan troops in Spain in particular, had when they struggled to reach a balance between including and excluding Moroccans.

[87] 'Entrevista. José Antonio González Alcantud', *Kántara,* nr. 3, February 2011, 45.