

Tayect Tamaziyt

Tasyunt n Tiddukla Tadelasant
Tamaziyt deg Marikan



A magazine published by the Amazigh Cultural Association in America
442 Route 206, #163, Bedminster, NJ 07921—Phone/Fax (781) 322-0965

Editorial: We Want to Live our Way

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- The Rif region is shaken by a severe earthquake. Hundreds die.
- Tafsut (Amazigh Spring) is celebrated in Berkeley, Barcelona, Agadir and more places than ever before.
- Amazigh Spring demonstrators in Agadir victims of police brutality.
- Many new books including this one for children: Nuja D Kra n Tmucuha nniçen

The Amazigh people are protective of what is theirs: their language and culture, their self. They are prepared to defend it against all odds. Peacefully. They believe in what is right and violence does not pay off. Violence is not compatible with the noble things they aspire to. Every spring they descend to the streets to demand what is rightfully theirs: the right to exist as a distinct entity with its culture and language, the ability to have a say in everything that touches their lives. They demand to be respected. They fight for democracy and justice. Through their work they would like to effect positive change to better their lives. They are fully aware of what life has to offer and they do not want to stand by and let others decide everything for them and run their lives in ways that make it not worth living.

In this issue of the Amazigh Voice, we take a trip to Kabylia, a region that is at the forefront of the fight for democracy in Algeria and the rights of the Amazigh people. Although it is hard to give a complete picture of this region through the few pages of this publication, we take a glance at certain important aspects that characterize this region: its economy and history (*Kabylia, the Fig Tree and the Olive Tree* by Said Ait-Ameur and *North African Amazighs and Algeria's Amazigh Citizens' Movement* by Mohand Salah Tah), its political situation (Mr. Tah's article and *Tadsimant (Autonomy)* by our regular contributor Akli Kebaili. *Isefra n Tegravla* is a collection of poems that describe the hardship lived by Kabylia during its fight against the French and for the independence of Algeria. To remind the reader that Kabylia is a very densely populated region with very little natural resources, we publish two poems by the revered Si Muh wMhend that testify to Kabyl immigration and their constant search for outside income. Finally, we could not talk about Kabylia and its fight for Amazigh identity with-

out mentioning Da Lmulud, the pioneer for Amazigh revival. As Kabylia and Tamazgha in general looks forward, it seeks guidance and example in Da Lmulud.

Amazighs from every corner of Tamazgha face tough challenges every year. Nowhere have these challenges been more palpable as in Kabylia. After the 1980 Amazigh Spring, the breakdown of the unique party system occurred. The school boycott yielded the dubious High Commission for Amazighness, and the establishment of Amazigh Departments in the Tizi-Wezzu and Bgayet universities. The so-called Black spring (2001), during which the Algerian security forces killed more than one hundred young demonstrators and injured thousands, was a human tragedy. Kabylia suffered such a humiliation from the very government that was supposed to provide for its security and fair treatment both politically and economically. Black Spring gave birth to the Aarach organization (see *North African Amazighs and Algeria's Amazigh Citizens' Movement*) and led to a constitutional revision making Tamazight a national language in Algeria. However, this is far from satisfying the people's demands: freedom and social justice, and of course an official status for Tamazight. The negotiations between the Aarachs and the government stalled at the demand for an official status for Tamazight, which was refused on the basis that it required a national referendum. When one realizes what the national character of Tamazight means in real life, one understands that even if the government agreed to give it an official status, things would still be the same. Perhaps, what the Kabyls need most is their dignity as contained in points number 2, 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12 of the El-Kseur platform (nearly half all the points!). Points 11 and 12 truly state the desire of the Kabyls to run their lives without any outside pressure and "contempt" (as in point 13). Perhaps, the question that needs to be asked is: can a government give them their dignity, or put in a different way, do they need permission to run their lives. □

The Amazigh Voice

The Amazigh Voice (ISSN 1526-5730) is a quarterly publication of the Amazigh Cultural Association in America Inc. (ACAA).

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ACAA is an international non-profit, cultural, and scientific organization dedicated to the protection and promotion of the Amazigh (Berber) culture in the USA and abroad.

Editors

Lak Amara
Nabil Boudraa
Rachid Dahmani
Akli Gana
Hsen Larbi
Louiza Sellami

Design & Production

Hsen Larbi

Distribution

Arezki Boudif

The Amazigh Voice welcomes articles, columns, reviews, editorial correspondence, and poems in Tamazight or English. Contributions should be sent to:

amazighvoice@tamazgha.org or
Amazigh Voice
PO Box 265
Malden, MA 02148
Phone/Fax: (781) 322-0965

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Letters **TIBRATIN** Letters **TIBRATIN** Letters

Thank you for straightening out the issues of my subscription last year... I have very much appreciated receiving Amazigh Voice. It has helped me better understand the struggles of Imazighen. As you can see from the enclosed articles, I have used the help I got from Amazigh Voice and Rabah Seffal, as well as the many Imazighen friends here in Northern California to spread the news that too rarely appears in American publications.

[...] As a suggestion to Amazigh Voice for reaching even more readers, please consider sending a public service announcement, just two to three paragraphs long, announcing to readers that to learn more about native North African culture, they may subscribe to Amazigh Voice. Include the subscription price and address, some of the titles of recent feature articles and send it to Dirty Linen Magazine of World Culture, 18 1/2 Cedar Ave, Baltimore, MD 21286, or do it online at www.dirtylinen.com. If you mention that Amazigh Voice provides information on native North African music and culture, they will probably run a free announcement and you can begin to reach more Americans already interested in World culture [...]

Mitch Ritter
Concord, CA

AV: Thank you for your interest, encouragements, and for spreading the word. Your suggestions are very much appreciated.

News **ISALAN** News **ISALAN** News **ISALAN**

Tafsut n Imazighen

Every year Tafsut Imazighen (The Amazigh Spring) is commemorated throughout Amazigh communities both in North Africa and in the diaspora. Many Amazighs describe Tafsut as their awakening to their identity, the need to stand up for democracy and their human rights and fight the establishment that planned their systematic marginalization and long term assimilation. Tafsut marks the anniversary of several months of revolt by the Amazighs of Kabylia in 1980 that culminated in the storming of the Tizi-Ouzou University campuses on April 20 by Algerian security forces (See "North African Amazighs and the Algeria's Amazigh Citizens' Movement"). Tafsut is usually celebrated with cultural activities that last up to two weeks, a protest march in all major cities and towns on April 20 accompanied by a twenty-four hour general strike throughout Kabylia. This year, Tafsut has been observed throughout the Amazigh world with renewed vigor. In the diaspora, including the United States (Chicago,

Boston and Berkeley) and Canada (Montreal), April 20 has been observed with gatherings and various cultural activities. In Kabylia, the Aarachs led the protest with a march in Tizi-Ouzou and the Amazigh associations participated with various activities. In Morocco, Tafsut activities have spread to every corner of this predominantly Amazigh country and the young Amazigh students in Agadir went out to the streets to have their voices heard. But for the Moroccan authorities, the students who marched to simply cross one street, actually crossed a major line, and that calls for a vigorous repression. Arrests and beatings are the lots of many students. For the Amazighs, April 20th is a day to commemorate, but for the establishment, both in Algeria and Morocco these turbulent Amazighs should instead re-live April 20.

Tafsut in the US

Tafsut was commemorated by the Amazigh community in Berkeley, California on April 20. The proceeds of the evening's activities were to be sent to the victims of the Al Hoceima earthquake (Rif, Morocco)

On April 17, ACAA commemo-

rated the events of Tafsut 1980 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The evening dinner was preceded by a short history on the events of April 20, and a discussion of the objectives of ACAA. It was followed by a discussion on the Amazigh Movement and Amazigh music. An art exhibit and a book sale were held throughout the evening.

Tafsut in Catalonia

Tafsut in Barcelona (Catalonia) is celebrated for the third time by ITRAN an Amazigh-Catalonian association, in collaboration with two Catalan universities (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Universitat de Barcelona) and the Catalan government. The celebration lasted two days and was filled with conferences, academic forums and discussions. The events included a cultural evening with photo exhibits, poetry reading and a concert by the Amazigh musical groups Amazigh and Twattun. The University of Barcelona presented the "Amazigh-Catalan Academic Guide" which for the first time places Tamazight on the same footing as other foreign languages in Catalonia.

(Continued on page 18)

Kabylia, The Fig Tree and The Olive Tree (Part I)

BY SAID AIT-AMEUR

TRANSLATED FROM FRENCH BY LAK AMARA

This article has been first published by the Association N Imazighen of Brussels in its monthly magazine TIZIRI (October 2000 issue) who has generously allowed us to re-publish in the English language. Although, the economic, social and political situation of Kabylia has changed significantly since, much of the material presented in this article is still current.

Introduction

The tree, besides its contribution to the biological equilibrium of our planet is a major cultural image. It is the symbol of continuity and longevity. It is an element that has a strong meaning in our imaginary. The tree is verticality, the emblem of cosmic coherence of the world. In Tamazgha, trees such as the olive tree, the oleaster, the carob tree or the ash tree, as soon as they aged in a favorable location (case of a passage, a resting area, a cemetery, or an isolated tree...) and reach a striking height, they are considered almost sacred. A whole ritual is consecrated to them. Women, for instance, hook to their branches shreds of fabrics, thread pieces of colored wool (for instance the "ulman", used to make traditional "isura" belts) to materialize their wishes, the wind ensuring the transmission of the message. The olive tree and the fig tree (but we can include in our natural environment the Atlas cedar, the Numidian pine, the argan tree which can only be found in the extreme south-west of Tamazgha (Anti-Atlas), the oak tree, the afares, the thujas, etc.) being the main resource for the Kabyls, deserve to be known, preserved, and protected. Without a protected environment the economy cannot prosper.

Making up about eighty percent of the Earth's vegetation, trees contribute in a determining way to the water cycle and the biological equilibrium of our planet

Making up about eighty percent of the Earth's vegetation, trees contribute in a determining way to the water cycle, therefore, to the biological equilibrium of our planet. For more than three hundred million years, by changing the rocks and creating humus, trees participate in the creation of the grounds, that they protect against pluvial and wind erosion; without forgetting their "green lungs" function for the planet Earth.

For millennia, trees have been the main energy supply for man (wood charcoal), as well as building materials (houses, boats, etc.). Besides industrial and food products, trees also supply most of the domestic energy for the three-quarters of humanity, paper fibers, as well as various building materials.

Tamazgha, covering the north of the African continent, stretching over several millions of squared kilometers, presents a narrow coastal plain, major mountainous reliefs (Tell and Atlas chains) and an immense desert zone. The reliefs and the climates are contrasted. Aridity grows from the sea shores to the edges of the desert, and the rain falls are abundant only in the mountainous zones.

Traditionally, North African societies turned their back to the sea. For a long time, these societies shared in common the opposition between the densely populated mountains and the sparsely inhabited plains. The valorization of the mountainous areas by agro-pastoral populations is by itself quite remarkable, while the plains have been for a long time occupied by nomadic stock breeders. Ibn Khaldun, who built up a whole theory opposing sedentary and nomadic peoples, has emphasized the economical and political consequences of the Arab invasions of the eleventh century. If the symbiosis between the nomadic Hillalian Arabs with the nomadic Zenete Amazighs has been relatively easy and fast to take place (mostly the adoption of the Arabic language since their life styles were in many ways similar), things were different with the sedentary Amazighs. The impoverishment of the plains (destruction of the arboriculture, the irrigation systems, etc.) was followed by a reflux of the sedentary Amazighs to the mountains.

In Tamazgha, vegetation is of Mediterranean type, with, in the mountains trees like the thuja, the evergreen oak, the cedar, the juniper, and some alpine plants. In the plains and midway top of the mountains grows the cork oak tree, the olive tree, the lentisque, the fig tree, etc. While the inland steppes are covered by alfa and armoise, the southern oases are the privileged domain of the palm trees.

Kabyl

Before focusing on the fig tree and the olive tree, we will attempt to define, in time and its environment, the words "Kabyl" and "Agawa".

Thirty years ago, the word "Amazigh" was completely unknown in Northern Tamazgha. Its inhabitants used, paradoxically, to identify themselves with the Arabic name of their group:

Chaouias, Kabyls, etc.

Where does the word "Kabyl" come from? As reported in the "Rodh El Quirtas" (1), "Qbail" contingents in the armies of the Merinide Amazigh dynasty (XII-XIV century, Fez, Morocco) were a familiar face. Some authors from the Middle Age used constantly the term "Qbail" to identify the Amazigh populations. The "Kabyl" vocable was used prior to the French

We know that under the Romans, the Kabylia region was actually confederated and, in particular, one of these federations, the Quinquegentiani (made of five tribes), was famous in its time

conquest, but it is absent in the history and geography relative to the Roman era. For certain historians, "qbail" originated from the Arabic word "qabila" which means "tribe." Effectively, we know that under the Romans, the Kabylia region was actually confederated and, in particular, one of these federations, the Quinquegentiani (made of five tribes; see Note on the Quinquegentiani), was famous in its time. One should ask if the Arabs were aware of this type of organization when they ventured in Tamazgha, and kept calling the people from the area , the "people from the tribes?" At which date exactly? If the word "qabila" were used for the word "tribe" in Arabic, the sedentary and the townsman were designated by the same word: "hadari" (etymologically being present). According to Ibn Khaldoun, the "ʿumṛān el ḥaḍarī," is the place where we work and live: It is the village or the city. Another accepted version by extension is that "qabila," for the Arabs, would mean the city and "qbayli" the townsman.

Curiously, the political and administrative jargon used by the Kabyls has an Arabic origin except the first two terms:

Taddart = village

Laarc = tribe

Taqbilt = league (tribe)

Tajmaat = village assembly

Lamin = traditional village chief

Tamen = answering auxiliary

Lewkil = administrator

Imam etc..

We observe that the word used to designate the tribe is "laarc," a term used in the nomadic society, and not taqbilt/qabila, an obsolete vocable, which rather designates the federation or the confederation of tribes.

For others, "qbail" would come from the Arabic verb "qbel" , which means "to accept," "to submit to." Was the term, then, born under the Fatimide empire which definitely imposed Islam on the ... Qbail?

With regard to the "Zouaoua" (Arabic term which originates from Agawa/Igawawen), Ibn Khaldoun wrote that they were "loyal allies of the Kotama tribes" (the Ucutumii of the antiquity) since the beginning of the Fatimide empire (tenth

century). He added "when the Sanhadja sultans (2) (Izenagen) settled in Bougie on the territory of the Zouaoua, they forced the local population to submit to their policies, except when asked to pay taxes; then the same population refused and, in many occasions, rebelled against the central political power, knowing very well that they were untouchable in their mountains."

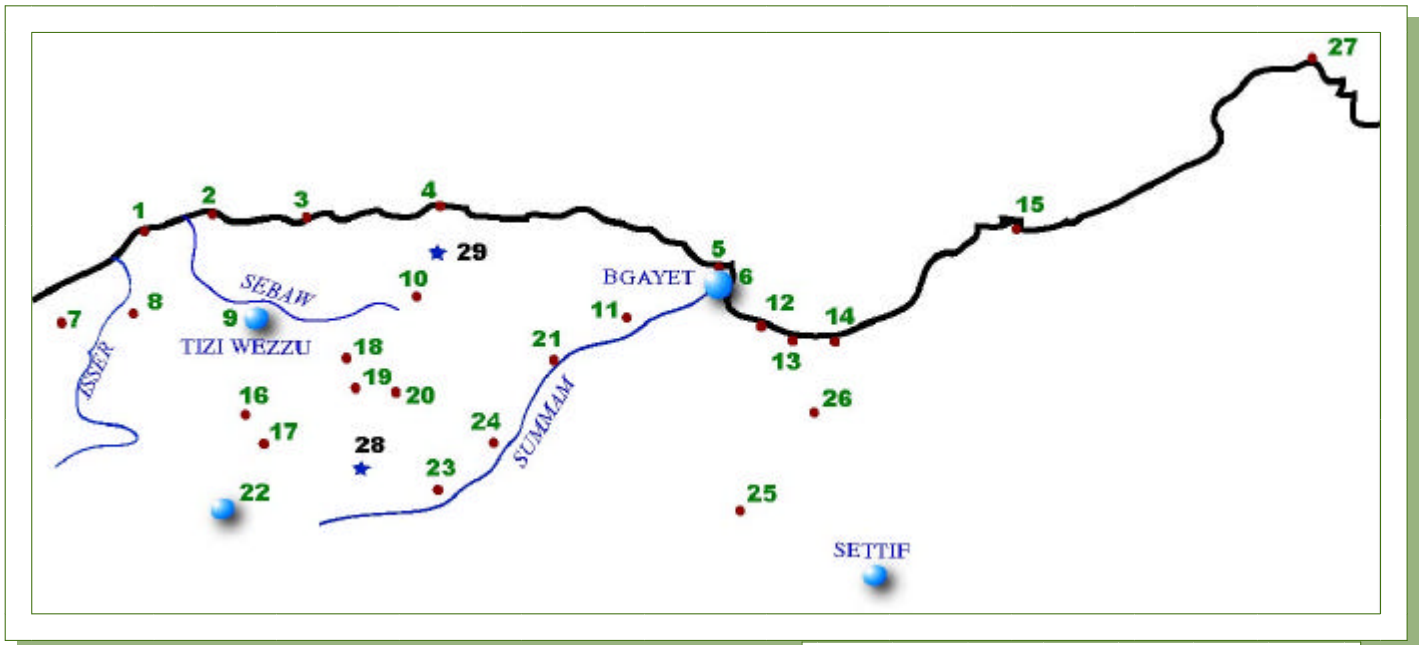
Precisely, he wrote: "Even the Beni Iraten (At Yiraten) tribe fell under the authority of the Sanhadja sultans. Ibn Khaldoun knew what he was talking about since he was an adviser to the king and Prime Minister in the city of Bougie. If we accept this theory, Qbail (obedient) has rather a pejorative meaning (3) of "muslim not by choice." This hypothesis is perfectly plausible since history has taught us that it is a common practice among the Amazighs to practice a religion without really being convinced by its theology. The main goal of this attitude is to avoid being persecuted by the peoples of the sacred book (Ahl el Kitab): raids, taxes for the "non-believers" etc.

Bremond, in his book "Berbers and Arabs", gives us another version. According to him, the militia from the Taaz region in Yemen called itself "Cabailes" which means "men from the country," "peasants." Another meaning would be "mountain people" if we substitute letter "q" (Qebail) for letter "dj" (Djebail). Ethnically, there are no links between the "Cabailes" of Yemen and those of Tamazgha. On the other hand, etymologically, the word "qbail" could have meant, originally, "mountain people" in Arabic. Actually, many historians (4) referred to all the Amazigh highlanders as "Kabyls". For Hanoteau, the term "Qbail" was used to designate the inhabitants of the coastal mountains from Tenes to Skikda. But in Tamazgha, we can find anywhere any name of tribe: the Aureba of the Aures in Volubilis, the Getules in Kabylia, the Zouagha (these fellows left the Bled El Djerrid only in the fourteenth century, after their revolt against the Sultan of Tunis) in the area and location of the Zouaoua (Igawawen) etc.

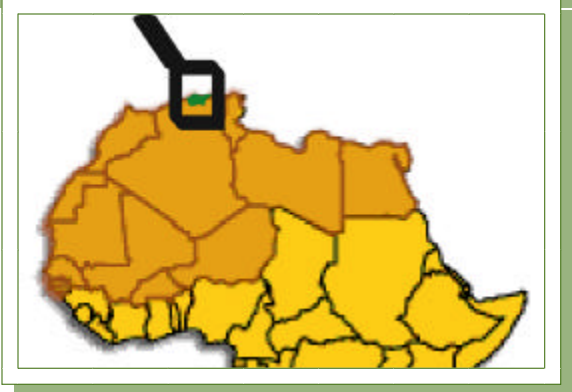
Herodotus (fifth century B.C.) in his "Libykoi Logoi" has recorded the name of the Lybian Kabila, and demarcated their territories. He names the Kabila in the following order:

Adyrmachides, Giligames, Asbytes, Lotophages, Mavhyles, and Auses. For Scylax, who wrote around 320 B.C., the Lybian Kabila are the Adyrmachides, the Marmides (not listed by Herodotus), the Nasamons, the Maces and the Lotophages. Obviously, Kabila is a generic name which designates several groups of the Lybian populations. Later on, Strabon, Diodore of Sicily, Pline the Ancient and Ptolemee will write also on the Kabila, and new names such as "Getules" and "Phazans" started to appear. Other authors wrote about the Lybian Kabila who paid their taxes to the Battiades by delivering them silphium.

In the third millennium BC, the Egyptian merchant Herchuef reports that the sovereign of the Kerma region was battling the Kabila inhabiting the region located to the west of the fourth water falls of the Nile. They were cattle and smaller livestock breeders and their language was affiliated with present day Tamazight. Under the new empire, besides the Temehu designation, Egyptian sources gave to the confederations of



1-Cape Djinet, 2-Delles, 3-Tigzirt, 4-Azeffun, 5-Cape Carbon, 6-Bgayet, 7-Tizi-Nat-Ayca, 8-Berj-Mnayel, 9-Tizi-Wezzu, 10-Ieezzugen, 11-Leqser, 12-Tici, 13-Aweqqas, 14-Ssuq-Lctnin, 15-Jijel, 16-Buryni, 17-Tala N Yilef, 18-Larbae Nat Yiraten, 19-At Yanni, 20-Ein Lhemmam, 21- Sidi Sic, 22-Tubirett, 23-Tazmalt, 24-Aqbu, 25-Bugaea, 26-Xerçata, 27-Bugarun, 28-Lalla Xediğa mountain top 2308m altitude, 29-Tamguç mountain top 1278m altitude.



Kabila such names as Libu (rwb) and Meshewesh (msms). Their chiefs were called “ms,” term which corresponds to the Amazigh word “mas” meaning master or lord.

Agawa

Ibn Khaldoun, the author of “Histoire des Berbères” (History of the Berbers) wrote that there was one particular people considered as a “reliable ally” of the Kotama tribe since the beginning of the Fatimide empire (tenth century A.D.). He designated these people as living in the territory that spans between Dellys (5) and Bougie, from west to east, and between the Mediterranean sea and the mountains, from north to south, by an ethnic name: Zouaoua.

He was considering these people as a branch of the Kotama. Zouaoua, in Arabic, is an alteration of the Amazigh word Agawa or Agawaw (plural Igawawen). This ethnic name is very ancient (earlier to the tenth

century A.D.) and its meaning has been changing through the times. Initially, it is a collective name which designates the inhabitants of the territory identified above by Ibn Khaldoun. It could have also been applied to all the subjects under the authority of the “king” of Koukou. In the fourteenth century, it was applied strictly to the inhabitants of any of the following eighth tribes: At Yanni, At Wasif, At Buakkac, At Budrar, At Menguellat, At Buyusef, At Weqbil and At Attaf. It is also used sometimes to designate with the region of central Higher Kabylia between the Djurdjura and the left bank of the Sebaou river. For the Kabylophones living outside the area, the Igawawen are the inhabitants of what the French administration referred to as “la Grande Kabylie” (Greater Kabylia). As for the Arabophones, they designated by Zwawa/Zwawi all the Kabyls. Indiscriminately, they use either “Qbail” or “Zwawa” and sometimes in an uncalled-for manner, to designate the Kabyl store owners in the Arabophone cities, practice also used in France where the Amazigh deli owner becomes “ the Arab guy.” The terms Agawa and Igawawen gave way to “Zwawi, Zwawa” in Arabic, Zouave in French and Azouages in Spanish. The etymology of the word remains unknown (6).

Kabylia or Kabylias

Peyssonnel is the first European to have used the word “Kabyli” (1724), followed by Shaw (7) (1743) and the naturalist Desfontaine. But it is the French, through their conquest of the region, that would standardize the use of the words “Kabyli” and “Kabyliya”. It is however a fact that Damas and Fabar were the first ones to have used the designation “Greater Kabyliya” (1847), because of its “stretch” they said. The French colonial rulers, for administrative convenience and probably to create psychological and social boundaries inspired from the maxim “divide and rule” have redistricted the coastal region of central Tamazgha going from Dellys to Collo into several vertical slices.

Greater Kabyliya

Greater Kabyliya or Kabyliya of the Djurdjura (also known as Higher Kabyliya) is approximately bounded by the loop made by the Isser river, National Road 5, the Sahel-Soummam rivers, Cape Carbon and the coast (8). A dynamic city, Tizi Ouzou, the capital city with a population of about 100,000, has been completely restructured in recent years. It is a vibrant city energized by a healthy commercial activity and the activities of a nearby industrial zone. It is home to a university, high schools, specialized schools etc.

It is also striking to notice that bad habit and in many cases ignorance have led the Igawawen to use foreign terms such as “beni” instead of “At, Yit”, Bedjaia instead of Vgayet etc.

Lesser Kabyliya

Lesser Kabyliya or Kabyliya of the Soummam, also known as Kabyliya of the Babors (Lower Kabyliya), stretches from Cape Carbon to the Bibans mountains and on a variable depth from the Sahel Valley. Its capital city Vgayet (the antic Saldae, the Bijaya of the Arabs, the Nasiriya of the Hammadite Amazigh dynasty, the Bougie of the French) who

carries the name of the Begaia tribe (according to Ibn Khaldoun) or Begait (from where the name Vgayet) who had lived on the site of the city, is the largest Kabyl city (population of 120,000). Vgayet is home to a major oil pipeline terminal, a sea port, an airport, a university and several industries (textiles in particular). Its hinterland stretches on the eastern tip of the massif and the downstream side of the Soummam Valley.

Kabyliya of Collo

It is located between Cape Cavallo (Bougaroun) and the Gulf of Stora, and is administrated by the city of Skikda.

Eastern Kabyliya

It is formed by the massif of the Edough to the west of the city of Annaba. There is nothing absolute about the above listed boundaries of the different Kabyliyas. The line that goes through

Cape Djinet, Tizi n At Aicha, Bouira, Bougaa, Kherrata and Souk Et-Tnine, delimiting the Kabylophone area (Greater and Lesser Kabyliyas according to the vocabulary in usage), must be considered as the median of a band with a variable width. This band constitutes the Amazighophone-Arabophone transition zone. This Kabylophone area measures about 160 km along the sea shores and 60km in its largest inland depth. Its area is about 7500 km² for a population of several millions.

The word “Kabyli”, although of foreign origin, is most used than the term “Agawa” and its derived forms. It gave “Kabyliya” (tamurt n Leqbayel), the Kabyl country; Kabyl (taqbaylit), the Kabyl language, and Kabylness (taqbaylit), the honor, the honor code, the traditional values.

Agawa / Agawaw (Tagawawt for the feminine singular) identifies only the inhabitant of the Kabyl country (tamurt n Igawawen). The terms to designate “Kabylness” (tagawawt), the language (tagawawt) and Kabyliya (Tagawa) do not exist.

It is also striking to notice that bad habit and in many cases ignorance have led the Igawawen to use foreign terms such as “beni” instead of “At, Yit”, Bedjaia instead of Vgayet etc. Another complex left by French colonialism, and smartly perpetuated, is still very much alive and a lot of people still identify themselves with an imbecile pride that they are from “Greater” or the “Lesser” Kabyliya to mark their difference. □

(To be continued in Part 2 in a future issue)

Notes

1. Sub-titled: “Histoire des souverains du Maroc et annales de la ville de Fès” (History of the sovereigns of Morocco and Annals of the city of Fez.) Attributed to Ben Abd el Halim. Translated by Beaumier, Paris, 1860.
2. Ibn Khaldoun calls Sanbadja (Zenaga, Izennagen) the Moroccan Beraber Amazigh, the Kabyls, and the Amazighs of Western Sahara (the Almoravides).
3. From a general point of view, “Qbaili” designates for the Arabophones, the “guy from the mountains”, the “unpolished guy”, and in the last century, one can also hear “Qbaili ben Qbaili” like they use to say “dog son of a dog” or raai ben raai (shepherd son of a shepherd).
4. E.F.Gautier identifies as Kabyls not only all the sedentary Sanbadja Amazighs but also all the sedentary arboriculturists of North Africa, which is an error.
- 5) Dellys was transcribed in Arabic by Ibn Khaldoun as Tadallis. The cape located at 2 km to the east of the city of Tigzirt is named “Teddles.” Might Tadellest have been the Amazigh name of Dellys? If this is the case, what is the meaning of such name?
- 6) Agawa has “gw” as a root, which can be split into “g” which means “son” (singular) and “w” which might mean “Eve, Henwa” (son of Eve). Like they say “Bnadem = abu Adem” son of Adam).
- 7) Shaw transcribed Agawa / Zwawa by “Zooououb”
- 8) Akfadou, a secondary chain of the Djurdjura Mountains, with a South-North orientation, is usually considered as an administrative boundary.

Note on the Quinquegentiani: The five tribes known as the Quinquegentiens (Third century) have been identified by Ibn Khaldoun and J.Honorius as: Toulensii, Baniouri, Tyndenses, Nababes, Massinissenses. Other historians suggest a different list: Masinenses (Msisna), Isafilenses (Iflossen), Jubaleni, Tindenses and Lesalenses. □

Isefra n Tegravla

SƔUR FADMA N MUHEND AREZQI, TASAƔDIT UMESEUD D TILAWIN N YEFLISEN N LEBHAR

Isefra agi d isefra cennunt tilawin n Yeflisen n Lebhar. D Farida E i γ-ten-id-issawɗen. Kra deg isefra agi d sett-is i ten-yecnan, ma d wiyad d tilawin nniɗen si tmurt n Yeflisen i ten-yecnan. Yal asefru tella kra n tmachutt ney tedyant deffir-es d-immalen γef ayen izrin deg iseggasen nni iberkanen deg tekker tmurt n Igawawen a tterez azaglu n Fɛansa.

Ikker umjahed ad iruḥ
A yettqaɛid atriku
Ileḥḥu ittneqlab-ed
Isla-d i tarwa-s tettru
Iggul ur d-ikcim s axxam
Ḥaca ma yewwi-d dɛrapu

Ikker umjahed ad iruḥ
A yettqaɛid ibiri
Ileḥḥu ittneqlab-ed
Mmi-s uread yettlaɛi
Tiyita n wedrar tewwi-t
Azen-ay-d ššber a Rɛbbi

Ikker umjahed ad iruḥ
A yettqaɛid aserwal
A yemma šber ur ttru
Lembat-iw nek deg' durar
Iggul ur d-ikcim s axxam
Ḥaca ma yewwi-d listiqlal

Aqcic amjahed amejttuḥ
A win icebbeḥ usedsu
Xilla n leibad i yi-nnan
Iɛedda γer Balistru
Tiyita n wedrar tewwi-t
Azen-ay-d ššber a nettu

Aqcic amjahed amejttuḥ
A win icebbeḥ ibiri
Xilla n leibad i yi-nnan
Idda d yergazen leali
Tiyita n wedrar tewwi-t
Azen-ay-d ššber a Rɛbbi

A yemma nek ad ruḥey
Semmeḥ-iyi deg wul-inem
Ssuffeyen-iyi-d li para
Seccdan-iyi zdat-incem
Ger Imeyreb d leica

Ssuffeyen-iyi-d a yi-nɣen
A yemma nek ad ruḥey
Semmeḥ-iyi deg wul-im kan
Ssuffeyen-iyi-d li para
Seccdan-iyi zdat wexxam
Ger Imeyreb d leica
Sbedden-iyi d nnican

Imjuhad iyzer iyzer
Lmatrayus tɛɛgḡer
Ɠef udem-im a lhuriyya
A tt-nkemmell s zzeɣder

Imjuhad targa targa
Lmatrayus γer tayma
Ɠef udem-im a lhuriyya
A tt-nkemmell s ḥlaffa

Amjahed iɛuhden seksu
I was mi t-yewwi laɛdu
Tesserzef lijjip truḥ
Dirikt γer duzyam biru

Amjahed iɛuheden iḥbuben
I was mi tewwin yaɛdawan
Tesserzef lijjip truḥ
Ger ifassen igumiyen

Ay imjuhad immuten
A neɗleb laɛfu degwen
Seg was nni mi teylim
Ur nessefra fellawen
M d tura a d-nettmektay
Imi tuli dɛrapu nnwen

Ay imjuhad immuten

A neleb dewen laɛfu
Seg was nni mi teylim
Fellawen ur nessefru
Ma d tura a d-nettmektay
Imi γ-d-tewwin dɛrapu



Lyutnas s ddaw lhara
Yenya-yi mmi n tasa
Yennak ccah nyiy-am-t
D axecdam n lifellaga

Lyutnas s ddaw lkarmus
Yenya-yi mmi mekyus
Yennak ccah nyiy-am-t
D axecdam n lifilus

Mkul lekka s ukamyun
Ratisaj n usemyun
Tiḥdayin n zzuɛama
Rwant aman n ššabun

Mkul lekka s utaksi
Ratisaj γer tizi
Tiḥdayin n zzuɛama
Rwant ak trisiti



Sliy i ɛɛadyu tewwet
Di luɗa n Wegni-Umusi
Di Lejmaɛ n Muḥ Arezqi
Yusa-d ad inhu i lyaɛi
Tsenduqt n lbuṭ Terrez
Iyli legrad n urumi

Sliy i ɛɛadyu tewwet
Di lekka zdat welma
Di Lejmaɛ n Muḥ Arezqi

(Continued on page 8)

Ur nezmir a d-nemmeslay yef tmurt n igawawen annect-a bla ma nebder-ed taluft n d wid tečča tinigt (lyerba). Si zik n zik i kkren ttinigen yer yal tamurt akken a d-šewwren ayrum. Qeblen lxedma akken tella akken ad ddren u ad ddren warraw-nnsen. Di tagara agi, ttinigen ama d tamečttut ama d argaz yer yal tamurt ara ten-iqbelen. Kra ttinigen yer s-anida ur d-ttuyalen ney anida ara ttun iman-nnsen d tjaddit nnsen. Awal iğğat-id Si Muḥ Wmḥend.

Aṭas ay-geggwan aewin
Ealmen lwaldin
Ad ruḥen yer Aannaba

Terrez-ed lxedma tlatin
Asurd' ur t-ufin
Xedmen tettali tṭlaba

Yak ifen-ay at rebea snin (1)
A-gxeddem Rebb' aḥnin
Ur tṭhebbiren i ššubba



Lezzayer tamdint ilhan
Tebna s lmizan
Mkul azniq degs aecessas

Aṭas bb'idak izhan
Rebḥen lwizan
Kul lxiṛ yugar fellas

Abaeḍ ileḥḥu deg-zenqan
Di sidi Remḍan
Tafat ur teḍhir fellas

Recedeγ-k a lfahem yeyran
Wagi d yir zzman
Lektub d tṭelba caren-as

Leqbayel ziy tṭurnan
Qq'len d Rṛuman
Tebcen tajaddit f llsas

Nnefš degsen ay-gegguḡan
S tṭbel ay ddan
Rebein ay genza uterras (2)



(1) At rebea snin d win ittgaḡḡan ar laeskeṛ 4 iseggasen.

(2) 40 taryalin ttaken i widak ittgaḡḡan d laeskeṛ ar Madagaskar



(Continued from page 7)

Yusa-d ad inhu i leamma
Tsenduqt n lbuṭ Terrez
Iyli legrad n Fṛansa

Laeskeṛ n Wegni-Umusi
Tewwet-iten lhemma ḥezenen
Lbuṭ Izwar-ed i Aṛbi
Nnan-as widak xedmen
Lkuṛaj a tilawin
Rrant asenduq d ilem

Amaday n Wegni-Uziḍuḍ
A winna ixedeen larṃi
Tṭlima neḥša neḍlem
Di lqea neḡḡa lemri
Teedda-d labyu twala-t
Tefka-yay-d ddarz n lmuṛti

Amaday n Wegni-Uziḍuḍ
A winna ixedeen tullas
Tṭlima neḥša neḍlem
Di lqaea neḡḡa lemwas
Teedda-d labyu twala-t
Tefka-yay-d dderz n rṛšaṣ

Tyita n Wegni-Uziḍuḍ
Ḥaca nek yidek a Rebbi
Tṭfey tabyast deg ufus-iw
Amezwaru d agumi
Ur yi-nyad ur yi-nerzi
Ḥaca mmi yemmuten d ilemzi

Tiyita n Wegni uziḍuḍ
Ḥaca nek yid-ek a qessam
Tṭfey tabyast deg ufus-iw
Amezwaru d Aṭeyan
Ur yi-nyad ur yi-nerzi

Ḥaca mmi yemmuten d amezyan

Tiyita n Wegni uziḍuḍ
Ur teḥdiṛeḍ a sidna Nuḥ
Labyuwat a ttumbaṛdint
Kul tarṣast tegla s rṛuḥ
Ur yi-nyad ur yi-nerzi
Ḥaca mmi yemmuten d amecṭuḥ

Tiyita n Wegni uziḍuḍ
Ur teḥdiṛeḍ a sidna Nuḥ
Labyuwat a ttumbaṛdint
Kul tarṣast tegla s rṛuḥ
Siweḍ-as sslam i yemma
D zwaḡ-iw iḡḡlen d tamecṭuḥt



Sebea idurar d tala
D gar-i yid-ek a xuya
Ma d netta iṛuḥ yer ḡennet
Ma d nek griγ-d di lmeḥna

Sebaa idurar d wasif
D gar-i yid-ek a yuḍrif
Ma d netta iṛuḥ yer ḡennet
Ma d nek griγ-d i wurrif



Ay uznen medden leḍyur
Nekk ay uzney d azrem
Agg'ad yer Wegni uziḍuḍ
Dinna i γlin ilmezyen
Ur yi-nyad ur yi-nerzi
D zwaḡ-iw teḡḡel yer yiwen

Ay uznen medden leḍyur
Nekk ay uzney d timilliwin
Agg'ad yer Wegni uziḍuḍ
Idammen γzan taewinin
Ur yi-nyad ur yi-nerzi
D zwaḡ-iw teḡḡel yer sin

Ay uznen medden leḍyur
Nek ay uzney d tṭamsu
Agg'ad yer Aabd lqaher
Dinna i yeyli usaru
Ma d nek ad ruḥey yer ḡennet
Zwaḡ-iw barka-kem zhu



North African Amazighs and Algeria's Amazigh Citizens' Movement

BY MOHAND SALAH TAHI

North Africa was originally inhabited by Amazighs (Berbers) until the Arabs conquered the region in the 7th century, after which it has also become known as the Maghreb, in contrast to the Mashriq or Orient. In his *History of the Berbers* book, the celebrated 14th century North African historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldun (born in Tunis in 1332 and died in Cairo in 1406) wrote about the inhabitants of the Maghreb, which the Amazighs call Tamazgha, or the land of Imazighen (free people): "Since time immemorial, this human race - the Berbers - has populated the plains, the mountains, the

"Descendants of a mighty race whose culture once spread from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and the Hauran, from Crete to Timbuktu and the Sudan, there are still to be found among them the vestiges of the arts and sciences, of the capacity for self-government which, if developed, would make them again a great nation."

Anthony Wilkin

plateaux, the countryside and the towns of the Maghreb." Regarding the Amazigh language, Tamazight, Ibn Khaldun wrote: "Their language is a foreign idiom which is different from all others. This is the very reason why they were called Berbers." There is no consensus on the origin of the word Berber. One theory, however, suggests that it was first used by the Greeks. It is derived from the word Barbaros, a name given by the Greeks

to all the people who did not participate to the polis, or city-state civilization and, consequently, couldn't be entitled to the status of "citizen". It can also mean a person who murmurs unintelligible words.

In his book *Among the Berbers of Algeria* (London, T. Fisher Unwin 1900), British author Anthony Wilkin wrote: "Of the Berbers there is much good to be said. Whether in the olive-clad mountains of Kabylie or the terraced valleys of their Aurassian fastness, they are white men, and in general they act like white men. Among them the virtues of honesty, hospitality, and good nature are conspicuous.

It is not their misfortune alone that the lowlands know them no

more; not their misfortune only that Muhammadanism has debarred them from entering as they would otherwise have entered on the path of European progress and liberality: it is the misfortune of the whole civilized world.

Descendants of a mighty race whose culture once spread from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and the Hauran, from Crete to Timbuktu and the Sudan, there are still to be found among them the vestiges of the arts and sciences, of the capacity for self-government which, if developed, would make them again a great nation."

In Libya, the Nefusa Mountain and Zwara in the south and Ghadamis in the northwest remain strongholds of Tamazight-speakers. Tamazight is spoken by tens of thousands of Tunisians, particularly in Djerba and in the south of the country. It is also spoken in the southeast, for example in Tataouine, Metmata and east of Gafsa.

Meanwhile, the Tuaregs, who live principally in Mali and Niger (600,000 and 400,000 respectively), but also in Algeria, Libya, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Mauritania, are estimated to number between 1.5 and 2.5 million.

The indigenous people of the Canary Islands were also Amazigh. The Amazigh language in these islands survived until the Spanish invasion in the 15th century. Recently (1992) a stone engraved with Amazigh characters was discovered in Tenerife. The island of Gran Canaria - known in Tamazight as Tafira - was the venue for the first World Amazigh Congress (CMA) meeting in August 1997.

In Egypt, the oasis of Siwa, southeast of Marsa al-Matruh, some 20 km from the Libyan border, is today still inhabited by Amazighs.

Algeria and Morocco's geographical nature, helped Tamazight-speakers resist Arab influence consequently they managed to

preserve their language and culture by mainly retreating to the mountainous regions of the two countries. Such geographical features are absent in the cases of Tunisia and Libya. Therefore, the Arabicization of Amazighs and their integration into Arabic culture was easier and quicker. Today, Tamazight- speakers represent a mere 1 per cent of the Tunisian population, while in Algeria and Morocco they account for 30 and more than 50 per cent respectively.

The three major Amazigh groups in Morocco include: the Shleuhs (Ishalhiyan, dialect Tashalhit) in the High Atlas; the Amazighs (Imazighen, dialect Tamazight) in the Middle Atlas and in the eastern part of the High Atlas and the Rifans (Irifiyan, dialect Tarifit) in the north. In Algeria, the main groups include: the Kabyls (Leqbayel, dialect Taqbaylit) in the north to the east of Algiers; the Shaouias (Ishawiyan, dialect Tashawit) in the east; and the Mozabites (Imzabiyan, dialect Tamzabt) on the northern edge of the Sahara desert. This is in addition to the Tuaregs in the extreme south, who share the territory with their brethren of Mali, Niger, Libya, Mauritania and Burkina Faso.

"It has always been the users and producers who have determined the graphical and orthographical standard, not the government or the administrations."

However, it seems more appropriate to establish a linguistic rather than a racial distinction between Tamazight-speaking and Arabic-speaking groups, as the latter category is more or less constituted of Arabicized Amazighs. The majority of Amazighs have been Arabicized culturally and linguistically after more than 14 centuries of the presence of Islam.

Today, the Amazigh groups share the same language, but slightly different dialects because of their geographical dispersion and centuries-long lack of communications.

Kabylia

Geographically, Kabylia is situated immediately to the east of Algiers. Mostly mountainous, the region is the home to some 5million Kabyls. Most of them are concentrated in the three Amazigh provinces of Tizi Ouzou, Bgayet (Bejaia) and Tubiret (Bouira). Some 50 per cent of the populations of the provinces of Setif, Bordj Bou Arreridj and Boumerdes are also Kabyl speakers. Half of the 3million population of Algiers are Kabyls. Because of poverty and its high population density, Kabylia has provided more than half of the Algerian immigrants in France.

In the 1950s, the region played a leading role in the war against French colonialism. Some 60 per cent of the rebels who took up arms against the French were Kabyls, and 10,000 of the 14,000 Algerian immigrants contributing to the financing of the National Liberation Front, FLN, were also Kabyls.

Being a secular society, the Kabyls present a threat to the regime, which bases its legitimacy on pan-Arabist and Islamist

ideology. The Algerian constitution states that Islam is the state religion and Arabic is the country's national and official language. For their part, the Kabyls put emphasis on the pre-Islamic North Africa and on the African and Mediterranean dimensions of Algeria. They maintain that the Judaized Amazigh heroine, Kahina, and the Christian Amazigh, Aksel (Koceila), both fought the invading Arab armies in the 7th century. They recall that Roman emperors such as Lucius Septimus Severus (146-211) and his son Caracalla (188-217) were Amazigh leaders who made their mark on history in their own way and that archbishop Saint Augustine (354-430) was an Amazigh theologian whose philosophy is still central to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

Shortly after the country's independence in 1962, the Kabyls came to confront the newly-established Algerian government in the way they confronted the French. Refusing the drive towards a one-party system and the prominent role of the army, one of the most celebrated heroes of the revolution, Hocine Ait Ahmed, attacked the authorities' drive towards dictatorship, resigned from his parliamentary seat and founded the Socialist Forces Front, FFS, in September 1963. The rebellion lasted for two years, after which Hocine Ait Ahmed was captured and then sentenced to death. He, however, escaped from prison in May 1966 and fled to Switzerland.

The relations between Kabylia and the central authorities have often been characterized by tension. By the 1980 Amazigh Spring (see below), such tension had moved to an overt quasi-permanent confrontation. Demonstrations, strikes, school boycotts, riots and arrests punctuate in a cyclical manner the relations between the authorities and the region.

There was the huge demonstration organized by the Berber Cultural Movement, MCB, in 1990 in Algiers demanding the recognition of the Amazigh language, as well as a seven-month-long school boycott from September 1994 to April 1995, also demanding the teaching of Tamazight and its recognition as a national and official language. Violent confrontations took place in June-July 1998, following the killing, on 25 June, of the celebrated Amazigh singer Matoub Lounes in murky circumstances. He was killed in an ambush while he was driving, with his wife and sister-in-law, from Tizi Ouzou town to his village. It was at this time that in his last album Matoub used the tune of the national anthem and changed its words to attack the regime and its ideology.

Since the Black Spring(see below) which claimed 123 victims, a state of permanent and violent confrontations has become the norm. This mistrust between Kabylia and the central authorities is an indication of the unbridgeable schism separating them, even if some clans in the regime use such tension to further their political objectives.

There are two influential political parties in Kabylia and a number of other groups struggling for cultural and linguistic rights as well as the promotion of human rights and democracy in the

country:

1. The Socialist Forces Front, FFS, led by veteran revolutionary hero and human rights activist Hocine Ait Ahmed. Ait Ahmed has been dubbed the perpetual opponent of the Algerian regime. He founded his party on 29 September 1963.

2. The Rally for Culture and Democracy, RCD, formed in February 1989 and led by Said Sadi, formerly an FFS activist.

The Berber Cultural Movement, MCB's members have been particularly active among Kabyl intellectuals and university students. It started as an underground movement in the early 1970s and then came into the open following the April 1980 Amazigh Spring (see below). After the creation of the RCD, the party claimed to be the sole representative of the Amazigh demands and announced the death of the MCB.

Immediately, the MCB disassociated itself from Sadi's party and became known as the MCB-National Commissions. Having failed to muster support in the 1990 local elections, the RCD attempted to exercise its domination over the MCB. Finally, it convinced its sympathizers in the movement to split from the mainstream. It subsequently formed the MCB-National Coordination in 1992.

The splinter group was led by the party's number two man: Ferhat M'henni, until 1994 when - after disagreement with the RCD leader - he left the party and formed his own MCB faction known as the MCB-National Rally. Thus the MCB has split into three tendencies:

- A. MCB-National Commissions, close to the FFS.
- B. MCB-National Coordination, under the RCD's control.
- C. MCB-National Rally, led by Ferhat M'henni.

There is also the Amazigh Cultural Movement, MCA, which is based in the eastern Amazigh region of the Aures.

In June 2001, Ferhat M'henni set up the Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylia, MAK.

The Amazigh Spring

On 10 March 1980, the celebrated Amazigh writer and novelist Mouloud Mammeri, accompanied by linguist Salem Chaker, was on his way from Algiers to Tizi Ouzou University, in Kabylia, to deliver a conference on "ancient Amazigh poetry". He was intercepted at a police roadblock at Draa Ben Khedda town, 10 km west of Tizi Ouzou. Taken to the province's governor, Mammeri was told the conference would not take place because of the "risk of public unrest".

The following day, some 200 students staged a protest march in Tizi Ouzou against "repression", after which the students went on an indefinite strike. The protest spread to all regions of the province before reaching Algiers on 7 April. Thousands of students, with the support of the population, took to the streets to demand the state recognition of the Amazigh language, Tamazight, as a national and official language. Later on the pro-

test widened, with similar demands being made for the status of Algerian Arabic and for freedom of expression more generally.

On 20 April, repression reached its peak when the security forces stormed the Tizi Ouzou University campus. Lecturers, especially those who had studied in France, were arrested, as were students seen as "ringleaders". Some 150 students were reported to have been wounded and a number of female students were raped that night.

The Amazigh Spring was crushed and the regime sought to isolate Kabylia and to portray the events as a foreign conspiracy targeting Algerian unity.

Nevertheless, these events seriously unsettled the regime, because they reminded Algerians that its ideology was imposed by force, as was the regime itself. The 1980 uprising brought about the first crack in the edifice of the regime. The crackdown on students is referred to as the Amazigh Spring and is commemorated every year.

The Black Spring and the emergence of the Citizens' Movement

Since 1980, Algerian, and now Moroccan, Amazighs celebrate the anniversary of the Amazigh Spring on 20 April every year. On 18 April 2001 - during preparations for the 21st anniversary - an 18-year old student was killed while in police custody in Tizi Ouzou. The incident sparked riots and confrontation between the population and the security forces.

Disturbances spread to other provinces such as Bgayet (Bejaia), Tubiret (Bouira), Setif and Boumerdes. The authorities' response was all-out repression that led to the death of 123 demonstrators and one gendarme (a paramilitary policeman). Thus, the citizens' movement sprang out of the bloody events of the Spring of 2001. It consists of self-styled "coordinations" in each of the six provinces of the Kabylia region: Tizi Ouzou, Bgayet (Bejaia), Tubiret (Bouira), Bordj Bou Arreridj, Setif and Boumerdes.

The Citizens' Movement consists of self-styled coordinations representing various provinces in the Kabylia region. These include:

- CADC: Coordination des Arouch, Daira et Communes: Coordination of Arouch, Administrative Districts and Municipalities. (Tizi Ouzou Province).
- CICB: Coordination Intercommunale de Bgayet (Bejaia): Bgayet (Bejaia) (Province) Inter-Municipality Coordination. (Bejaia Province).
- CPWB: Comite Populaire de la Wilaya de Bgayet (Bejaia): Bgayet (Bejaia) Province's Popular Committee.

- CIQB: La Coordination Interquartiers de la ville de Bgayet (Bejaia): Bgayet (Bejaia) City's Inter-district Coordination Committee.

- CCCWB: La Coordination des Comites de Citoyens de la Wilaya de Tubiret (Bouira): Tubiret (Bouira) Province Citizens' Coordination Committees. (Tubiret (Bouira) Province).

- CIW: Coordination Interwilayas: Inter-Provinces' Coordination.

On 11 June 2001, the Citizens' Movement met in El Kseur town, in Bgayet (Bejaia) Province, and drafted the El Kseur Platform, which consists of a list of 15 demands, and urged the authorities to meet them.

El Kseur Platform (List of demands)

“We, representatives of the provinces of Tizi Ouzou, Bgayet (Bejaia), Bouira, Boumerdes, Setif, Bordj Bou Arreridj, Algiers, and the coordinating committee of Algiers universities, met today, 11 June 2001, at the Mouloud Feraoun Youth Hall in El Kseur (Bgayet Province), and adopted the following list of demands:

1. The state must urgently take care of the wounded victims and the families of the martyrs of repression during the incidents.
2. Trial by civilian courts of all the perpetrators and sponsors of these crimes and their removal from the security services and public office.
3. Martyr status for every victim of dignity during the incidents and protection of all witnesses of the tragedy.
4. Immediate departure of the gendarmerie (paramilitary police) brigades and the CNS (riot police) reinforcements.
5. Ending legal proceedings against all protesters as well as discharging those already tried during the incidents.
6. Immediate halt of repressive measures, intimidation and provocation against the population.
7. Dissolution of the inquiry committees set up by the authorities.
8. To meet the Amazigh [Berber] demand in all its (identity, civilization, linguistic and cultural) dimensions without a referendum or conditions; and the recognition of Tamazight as a national and official language.
9. For a state, which guarantees all social and economic rights and democratic freedoms.
10. Against the policies of underdevelopment and pauperization of the Algerian people.
11. To place all the state's executive duties as well as the security bodies under the effective authority of democratically elected institutions.
12. An urgent social and economic programme for the entire Kabylia region.
13. Against Tamheqranit (literally contempt) and all forms of

injustice and exclusion.

14. A case by case re-sitting of regional exams for the students who were unable to sit them.

15. Introducing unemployment benefit equivalent to 50 per cent of the minimum wage for job seekers.

We demand an official, urgent and public response to this list of demands.

El Kseur, 11 June 2001.”

The continuing unrest in Kabylia reflects the authorities' failure to adopt reforms that address their deficit of legitimacy. The El Kseur platform addresses a national problem, rather than regional demands, as the authorities want to portray them.

Regime's strategy in Kabylia

For historical reasons, Kabylia has always been the bastion of the struggle for citizenship and a driving force in the fight for the country's democratization. For that reason, the authorities view the region with fear and mistrust. In order to contain the growing protest, the regime has often succeeded in creating parallel organizations or undermining political parties and movements from within. For now, the Citizens' Movement is divided into three factions: Those who seek dialogue with the government; those who reject dialogue until the government agrees to implement the entire El-Kseur list of demands without preconditions and, therefore, call for the boycott of the presidential elections; and finally the RCD's activists within the movement who are campaigning for the presidential election.

Having realized the regime's strategy to weaken the democratic forces in Kabylia and to atomise the region, the FFS did not hesitate to denounce the Citizens' Movement as being concocted in the laboratory of the intelligence services and created to serve the interests of clans within the decision-making circles. For its part, the RCD - which has lost what remained of its credibility in the region - espoused the movement's cause with the hope of regaining lost ground at the expense of the FFS.

After he made the decision to stand in the presidential election, however, RCD leader Said Sadi began to direct his arrows at the Citizens' Movement, which had urged the population to boycott the election. Thus in late February 2004, it issued a statement in which it accused the party of being created by the authorities and of being a lackey of the decision-makers: “Without any grassroots support as a result of its surrender to the murderer and mafia-like authorities since it was created in 1989 in the Securite Militaire [intelligence services] laboratories, the RCD had the cheek to lead an invective and propaganda campaign against a movement which had succeeded to drive the regime of Bouteflika, Ouyahia and Zerhouni into a corner and to marvel at what it has achieved.” The statement added: “By not being easily de-

ceived, the population of Kabylia will never forget the RCD's backing of the creation of the Amazigh High Commission (HCA) after the sacrifices made by school children and students by boycotting the school; Sadi's candidacy in the 1995 presidential election; and the party's participation in Bouteflika's government [from 1999 to 2001] and promotion of his Civil Concord policy." (La Tribune, 25 Feb 04).

In September 1994, the Berber Cultural Movement, MCB, began a year-long school boycott in Kabylia demanding national and official status for Tamazight. In April 1995, however, the RCD-controlled faction of the MCB (MCB National Coordination) signed an agreement with the government ending the school boycott but without the government making concessions to the language demands. The agreement was described as treason by other MCB factions as it broke the momentum in order to allow Said Sadi to stand in the presidential election. Moreover, without Kabylia's participation the election would lack legitimacy.

Algeria's language policy

The government's repeated attempts to engage in dialogue with representatives of the Citizens' Movement is seen by observers as no more than a strategy to entice the region into taking part in the presidential election.

The movement's insistence on making Tamazight an official language is a real test for the regime's willingness to find a solution to the crisis in Kabylia. By making it a national language, following the first round of negotiations with representatives of the Citizens' Movement, the "concessions" made by the decision-makers were no more than an illusion. Tamazight is spoken by millions of Algerians and is, therefore, a national and not a "foreign" language.

As for the official status, it is being granted through a political decision. There was no referendum on the so-called modern Arabic, which the majority of Algerians do not understand. Arabic, which is the language of 22 Arab dictatorships, is being used in these countries' education systems to create monsters that would fight anything that does not adhere to their values.

Being officially part of the so-called Arab world, the Arab-Muslim oriented Algerian regime has been fighting a rearguard battle to smother and deny the Amazigh reality, the Amazigh democratic demands and to please the pan-Arab and Wahhabi Middle Eastern "brothers" and ideologists. Thus, during the 1994-1995 seven-month long school and university boycott in Kabylia demanding national and official status for Tamazight, the then Algerian Foreign Minister Mohamed Salah Dembri declared in a press conference in Egypt: "As a reference text defining identity and belonging, the constitution stipulated that Algeria is Arab and Muslim.

Therefore, no other identity has the right to pretend to speak in the name of Algeria." [See Weekly La Nation, N.93, 28 March 3 April 1995, p. 7].

Meanwhile, during a Council of Ministers meeting in 1995, the country's then interior minister, Abderrahmane Meziane-Cherif, expressed fear of "possible Saudi sanctions if the Algerian government dared to grant Tamazight the status of national and official language." [See Mohamed Benrabah: Langue et Pouvoir en Algerie; Histoire d'un Traumatisme Linguistique, Paris Editions Segquier, 1999, p. 136].

Thus the Algerian authorities rejected the Amazigh identity on both pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic grounds.

With Abdelaziz Bouteflika's arrival in power, the spectre of the years of ideological tyranny seemed to have returned. During the presidential election campaign in 1999, he shocked his audience in the Amazigh city of Tizi Ouzou by telling them that Tamazight would never be an official language, and that if it were to obtain national status it would only do so through a national referendum. For Bouteflika, Tamazight constitutes a danger for national unity. A language is therefore an element of division. Appearing on a television programme on 15 March 2004, he refused to believe that two official languages would cohabit with each other: "I have never seen this", he said, adding that "it is a serious issue" which must be submitted to a referendum.

The official language reflects the language policy of the Algerian state. It legally recognizes some languages and rubs out the status or even the official existence of others. On a functional level, however, it is the use of the language, which decides its real status. According to linguists and sociologists, a language is national when, it is used by all or part of the population of a country. It is the language of the nation. For this reason, it does not need a decree or a political decision.

Tamazight is the language of the Algerian nation and, thus, the language of Algeria. It is spoken by millions of Algerians and, historically, is Algeria's first language. The status of an official language basically emanates from a political decision by the public authorities. A language becomes official by the sole will of those who hold power.

Today, the situation has changed as has the balance of power since it seems hard to challenge the legitimacy of Tamazight in Algeria. It could be argued that the current attempts to resist Amazigh demands are rearguard battles and delaying tactics in the face of the inevitable. □

** Dr Mohand Salah Tabi is Chief Sub-Editor at the BBC (Great Britain).*

Tadsimant

STUR AKLI KEBAILI

Amegrad agi, yura-t wAkli Kebaili deg useggas n 2002. Seg was nni ar ass-a mači atas umeslay i d-yellan yef taluft agi n tedsimant. Ihi nessaram amegrad agi ad d-yessker kra n wawal ger izwawen ney imaziyen meřra s umata, acku ilaq ad yili wawal garasen akken ad asen-dibin ubrid ara tfffen.

Acuyer i nebya Tadsimant (Autonomie) i tmurt-nney?

Dacu i d tadsimant i nebya?

I. Tazwart

1) Amek ara s-nsemmi i "L'autonomie" s taqbaylit? Di tmurt nesla qqaren-as "**timanit**". Kamal Nait-Zerrad amusnay n tutlayt tamaziyt, netta isemma-yas "**tadsimant**".

2) I tmurt-nney (tamurt n yeqbayliyien), amek ara s-nsemmi ma nessawed kra n wass nesea tadsimant? A s-neğğ isem n tura "**tamurt taqbaylit**"? Nekkini lemmer ufiy, a nekkas awal-a "taqbaylit", acku mačči d awal n tutlayt-nney. Akken walay nezmer a s-nsemmi "**tamurt tazwawt tadsimant**".

3) I tutlayt-nney amek ara a sen-semmi? Taqbaylit? Awal a yelha imi yeqqar-d ayen yellan, acku taqbaylit mačči am tmaceyt, ney tacawit, ney tutlayin-n timaziyin, yas yiwen uzar i seant. Dacu kan yewsa-d dayen seg tutlayt-nniđen. **Tamaziyt taqbaylit?** Tamaziyt tesdakkel meřra Imaziyen. Nekkni yessefk-ay a neseu isem n tmurt-nney. Maca awal-a Tamaziyt yesea dayen azal-is di tmurt-nney. Ihi yessekf ad yeqqim. Ihi akken walay nezmer a s-nefk isem "**Tamaziyt tazwawt**". Llant tmura-nniđen i yellan am nekkni. Amedya: Tamurt n Swiss talmant. Tutlayt-nnsen d yiwet n tearift n tutlayt talmant. Tutlayt-nnsen qqaren-as: "Talmant n Swiss" (**Schwyzerdütsch**) s talmant: (**Schweizer Deutsch**)

II. Dacu i d tadsimant s umata?

1) Acuyer tugda deg tedsimant?

Awal-a tadsimant ney timanit yesea ar assa mačči kan di tmurt-nney maca dayen di tmura-nniđen yer wařas n yemdanen udem dir-it. Am wakken yessagad. Atas n medden

yilen tadsimant:

- D beřtu n tmurt
- D ařewwez n kra tqernit n tmurt; am akken imezday-ines yilen ifen imezday-nniđen
- Ney ma řewwez tamurt-nney tazwawt (taqbaylit) imani-s, ur tzemmer ara ad tedder s iman-is
- Izwawen (Iqbayliyen) yeddren di tama nniđen di tmurt n Ddzayer ad terwi fell-asen
- Tadsimant tezmer dayen ad tesker Igirra di tmurt n Ddzayer.

Kra yellan d tamurt yas tella deg-s tugdut (am USA, Kanada ney tid-nniđen) yad yetfffen awanak eerdən ad tesbedd yiwet tutlayt i imezday n tmurt-is merra. Yad yetfffen awanak qqaren ney nnan: Yal tamurt, yessefk imezday-is merra ad zemren ad mmeslayen yiwet n tmeslayt n tmurt iwakken ad seun izerfan am imezday-nniđen iwakken ad zemren ad afen tawuri (Ixudma) d wayen-nniđen.

Llan kra imussnawen qqaren tilelli n wemdan tezga-d sennig n tlelli n wegdu. Yad yettekkkan deg yiwen yedles n yiwen n wazi (Iğiha) n tmurt am wakken byan ad ifen wid nniđen (am wakken d irařisten). Yad yeğğan idles-nsen ney tameslayt-nnsen yilen uyalen d itraren (modernes). Ihi taluft-a n yiwet n tutlayt ney yiwen n yedles mačči kan d taluft uzaglu ney n yiyil. Tettili ula di tmura anida tella tugdut.

2) Ladiya annecta mačči d tidet

- Tamezwarut: imussnawen-nniđen n tebsikulujiit (Psychologie) ufan-d belli amdam ma yella ur yettqadar ara idles-ines, tutlayt-ines (mačči kra yellan) ur yezmir ara ad iqader iman-is. Dya nekkni s Yezwawen (Iqbayliyen) nezra yad meřra ierdən ad ddren s weqric, ad ffren idles-nnsen d tutlayt-nnsen ur swin ara, ur sein ara awal, ur sein "tanzarin"!! Teddun kan d wařu.
- Tis-snat: Yad yettnayen s wawal yelhan (mačči s

udebbuz) yef izerfan-nnsen (yef yedles d tutlayt-nnsen), ttqadaren dayen tutlayin nniđen, ttqadaren izerfan n yal amdan. Ihi aqader n yedles di kra n tmurt d abrid yelhan i usali n tmurt akken ma tella mačči kan tamurt tažiyan (tağihawit).

3) tadsimant di tmura-nniđen

Tura yezmer ad yini yiwen di yal tamurt tugdut, idelsan d tutlayin (timezyanin?) yellan di tmura-nnsen seant izerfan-nnsent. Amedya: USA (indyanen ssawđen seddayen tilufa n tmeddurt-nnsen s yiman-nnsen. Sean tamurt, sean tutlayt, sean ssanğaq (drapeau). Ferrun tilufa-nnsen s yiman-nnsen. Anabađ (Lħukuma) n USA yettak-asen afus. (Amedya: "**The Choctow Nation**" ney "**The Navajo Nation**").

Di Spanya nessen merra Ikatalanen belli sean tadsimant, xedmen s tutlayt-nnsen, sseddayen tilufa n tmeddurt-nnsen s yiman-nnsen, anabađ (Lħukuma) n Madrid am wakken ur tezmir ad tedder war Ikatalanen.

Di Kanada dayen Ikibakiyen ssawđen ad seddun tilufa n tmurt-nnsen s yiman-nnsen. Yas di Kanada yella anagraf (system) afidiral, Ikibakiyen ħur-sen kra yellan d azref i sean Ikanadiyen Iglizziyen, maca zemren ahat ad ffyen iman-nnsen, ad seun tilisa tisertitin ad uyalen d awanak (État) iman-nnsen. Yerna azgen ameqqran deg Ikanadiyen iglizziyen qeblen taluft-a n tedsimant n Ikibakiyen. Ad qeblen dayen ma ffyen uyalen sbedden awanek iman-nnsen.

Ihi lebyi useddu n tlufa n tmeddurt n kra n weyref (peuple) s yiman-is sseba-s mačči kan d azaglu. Yezmer ad yemsebru yiwen d wayeđ Ƨas ulac imenyi gar-asen!!

4) Dacu ihi i d tadsimant s umata?

Tadsimant d aseddu n tlufa n tmeddurt deg kra n tmurt i yellan di tmurt-nniđen. Annecta yezmer ad yini yiwen d azref n wemdan, d azref dayen n kra n weyref (Peuple ney Nation). Nekkni s Yezwawen (Iqbayliyen) nezmer a nexdem akken xedmen Ikatalanen, iwakken a nessiweđ anida ssawđen. Dacu kan ur yessefk ara a nettu anabađ (Lħukuma) n Ddzayer mačči am tin n tmurt n Spanya! Izwawen (Iqbayliyen) dayen mačči am Ikatalanen.

Dacu kan di tmura anida llan waƧas n idelsan d tutlayin am

tmurt n Spanya ney Kanada, imezday (am Ikatalanen ney Ikibaken) nnuyen s wawal almi ssawđen, idles-nnsen, tameslayt-nnsen tesa amtiq zdat n yedles aspenyuli ney aglizzi. Ihi ula d nekkni nezmer ma numen s yiman-nney, a nessiweđ kra n wass Ƨer wayen i ssawđen igduden-nniđen.

5) Tezmer ad tili tedsimant tadelsant war tasertit?

tadsimant ibedden yef yedles n kra n waži (Iğiha) di kra n tmurt qqaren-as tadsimant tadelsant? ney tadsimant tažiyan (tağihawit). S wannecta yebya ad yini yiwen, mačči d tilisa tisertatin i yebya yiwen. Dacu kan tadsimant tadelsant ur tezmir ara ad tili war tasertit. Amedya: Ur yezmir ara yiwen ad yessexdem tutlayt ney asyer-ines di lakulat war tasertit n wessyer!

III. Acuyer i nebya tadsimant? Dacu i d tadsimant i nebya i tmurt-nney tazwawt (taqbaylit)?

Tamezwarut, yessefk ad fehmen Yezwawen (Iqbayliyen) s yiman-nnsen 3 n tlufa:

- Acuyer i nebya tadsimant? Dacu-tt?
- Amek i yessefk a nessiweđ Ƨer tedsimant?
- Dacu i d uguren yellan?

Yessefk dayen a nessefhem i wiwid acuyer i nebya tadsimant! Dacu i d tadsimant i nebya:

- Yessefk a nessefhem i yidzayriyen acuyer i nebya tadsimant
- Yessefk a nessefhem i yad ig tƧfen anabađ (Lħukuma) n tmurt tadzayrit acuyer i nebya tadsimant, amek i tezmer ad tili di tmurt tadzayrit
- Yessefk a nessefhem i imaziyen-nniđen, acuyer i nebya tadsimant!
- Yessefk dayen a nessefhem i tmura n tiyađ (tiberraniyin) acuyer i nebya tadsimant, dacu i d tadsimant i nebya.

a) Acuyer i nebya tadsimant? Dacu i d tadsimant i nebya?

Yad iqeddccen yakan di tmurt-nney yef taluft-a n tedsimant nesla kmasin yakan ameslay yef taluft-a. Annecta yessefk a t-yaru yiwen. I wakken ad slen syes-s iberraniyen, nekkni s iminigen (iyriben) izwawen nezmer ahat a nefk kra n rray, a nessufey awal di tmura-nniđen dacu yeđran yid-ney, dacu i

nebya.

- Tamezwarut yessefk ad yessefhem yiwen i tarwa n tmurt-nney belli mačči d afraq n tmurt i nebya. Tamurt n Yezwawen ad teqqim d yiwet n tmurt di tmurt n Ddzayer tameqqrant.
- Yessefk dayen ad yessefhem yiwen belli akken i teddunt tura tlufa di tmurt-nney, mačči dayen i d-yezgan d tudert-nney tazwawt (taqbaylit). Amedya: Tajmaet yessefk a s-d-yuyal wazal i tesa zik-nni ney kra deg-s.
- Yessefk ad yili asyer n tezwawt (taqbaylit) d azref n yal Azwaw (Aqbayli) n yal Tazwawt (Taqbaylit). Iwakken ad yili wannecta, yessefk taluft n wessyer n tmaziyt ad tili gar ifassen n yezwawen di tmurt tazwawt.
- Yessefk dayen ad yessefhem yiwen belli tutlayt tazwawt (taqbaylit) ad tezmer ad tili d tutlayt n twuri (Ixudma), tezmer i tmusni d kra yellan nniđen. Ihi ad tuyal d tutlayt s wacu yezmer yiwen ad yesseyli ayrum-is.
- Ad tili tilibizyu, d rradu s tmaziyt tazwawt.
- Imsaltiyen (la police) ad tmeslayen d lyaci s tezwawt (teqbaylit).
- Kra yellan d lkayeq ad yili s tezwawt (teqbaylit).
- Isurdiyem ara yeffyen seg tiwsi (leyrama) ad qqimen di tmurt tazwawt tadsimant (ney azgen ney kra n %).
- Ayen nniđen am taluft n ddin ney wayeq d Izwawen (Iqbayliyen) s yiman-nnsen ara d-yinin rray-nnsen fell-as. Asmi ara neseu anabaq adigan (Ihukuma tağihawit) d umni adigan (parlement local) n tmurt tazwawt.
- Yessefk tameslayt yef taluft-a n tedsimant ad yili tura yakan tamezwarut s tmaziyt tazwawt
- Yessefk a t-yaru yiwen dayen s tmaziyt tazwawt (taqbaylit)

b) Amek i yessefk a nessiwed yer tedsimant?

- Tamezwarut yessefk izwaen/tizwawin ad byun Tadsimant (Acuyer i tt-nehwaj, zer iwsawen)
- Tawuri ney tikli yef tedsimant yessefk ad yili war imenyi, war adebbuz gar-aney, war adebbuz mgal anbad (Ihukuma) n Ddzayer ney imezday nniđen.
- Yessefk a nessiwed ad nesbedd yad/tid ara d-yemmeslayen d unabaq n tmurt n Ddzayer yef taluft-a s yiwet tayect (Annecta yella yakan leerac d MAK ney...?)

Anecta yessefk ad yemsefham yiwen fell-as di tmurt!!

- Yessefk yal yiwen/yal yiwet ad yexdem akken yezmer, iwakken ad yelmed tira n tmaziyt tazwawt (acku tamaziyt ad tili d tutlayt n twuri).

c) Dacu i d uguren yellan?

Yessefk ad izer yal yiwen/yal yiwet, belli taluft-a n tedsimant i nebya mačči dayen fessusen. Acku yad ig tffen yur-ney anabaq mačči d imugduten. Mačči am tmura-nniđen am Spanya ney Kanada. Akken nezra, wigi ad texdem kra yellan i wakken ad tesseyli taluft-a n tedsimant i tmurt-nney. Ihi yessefk:

- Yal yiwen/yiwet ad yeereq ad yessefhem i tfamilt-ines, i yemdukul-ines dacu i d tasimant? Acuyer i tt-nebya? Akken i nessedday tilufa n tudrin iman-nney, nezmer dayen a nesseddu tilufa n tmurt-nney tazwawt (taqbaylit). Annecta d abrid ara izemren ad yefru atas n tlufa n tmeddurt di tmurt-nney. Annecta dayen d azref n wemdan.
- Tadsimant n tmurt-nney mačči d akrah n waeraben. Nezmer a nili d lğiran, a nedder akken s leqder war tilisa. (Akken i s-yenna dda Muḥ: "ur awen-nniy ara kerhet Aeraben; nniy-awen hemmelt iman-nnwen")
- Taluft n ddin ur tettli ara d ugur n tedsimant. Yal yiwen yezmer ad yamen akken i das-yehwa, ddin i s-yehwan, yezmer dayen ur yettamen ara.
- Yessefk a nzer, annecta meḥra mačči dayen i yezmer yiwen a nemsefham fell-as tura yakan.

d) Yessefk a nessefhem i yedzayriyen acuyer i nebya tadsimant

Idzayriyen ur nelli d Izwawen (Iqbayliyen) yessefk a sen-yessefhem yiwen taluft-a n tedsimant:

- Nekkni s Yezwawen (iqbayliyen) ur nebyi ara a nebdu tamurt. Llant atas n tlufa yesdukken Izwawen (Iqbayliyen) d imaziyen nniđen ney d Waeraben.
- Dacu kan, yal azi (lğiha) n tmurt yur-s kra i yeean ala azi (lğiha)-nni kan. Nesea tameslayt mačči am tutlayt taerabt. Nesea dayen ansayen (leewayed) nniđen n tmurt tazwawt.
- Ma yella yal azi (lğiha) yedha d yiman-is, nezmer ssin akin a nesdakkal tazmert-nney iwakken a nexdem ayen i y-isdukkeln, a nessali tamurt n Ddzayer akken ma tella.

- Ihi qader-iyi kan a k-qadrey. S wakka kan i nezmer a nedder s talwit deg yiwet n tmurt tameqqrant am tmurt tadzayrit.

e) Yessefk a nessefhem i unabaḍ (lḥukuma) n tmurt tadzayrit acuyer i nebya tadsimant?

Izwawen yessefk ad mmeslayen d unabaḍ (lḥukuma) yef taluft n tedsimant (anwi? zer iwsawen).

Atan dacu yezmer a s-yini yiwten:

- Ama tamaziyt tettwarkeḍ ama ur tettwarkeḍ ara, yessefk ad tili tedsimant i tmurt tazwawt (taqbaylit): Azayer adsiman (Statut d'autonomie). Acuyer? Acku Izwawen (iqbayliyen) byan ad seddun tilufa n tmurt-nnsen s ifassen-nnsen, mebla ma nexdem tilisa tisertiyyin (frontières politiques). Annecta d azref-nney!
- Tilufa n uwanak am Leesker ney tasertit taberranit ad teqqim d taluft n unabaḍ adzayri.
- Nekkni s Yezwawen (iqbayliyen) ur nqebbel ara ad tekker kra n terbaet ara yennayen s udebuz yef taluft-a n tedsimant.
- Nekkni s Yezwawen nebya Ddzayer ad tili d tamurt tugdut, ad tili deg-s tlelli i yal amdan. Tadsimant-nney tazwawt ad tili d tugdut. Annecta yella deg umezruy-nney yella di tudrin-nney (Amek/dacu i nebya ad tili tedsimant tazwawt, zer iksar)
- Tifra yelhan ma yeqbel awanak afidiral. S wannecta yezmer yal aḍi (lḡiha) n tmurt n Dzayer ad tesseddu tilufa n tmeddurt-is s yiman-is. Ma d awanek adzayri ad yesseddu tilufa i icerken merra tamurt tadzayrit.

f) Yessefk dayen a nessefhem i tmura tiyaḍ (tiberraniyyin) acuyer i nebya tadsimant, dacu i d tadsimant i nebya.

Tadsimant i tmurt tazwawt ur tettli ara mgal imaziyyen-nniḍen, maca ma tella di tmurt-nney tezmer ad tefk afus i imaziyyen-nniḍen. Dya imaziyyen n yal tiqernit n Tmazya zemren ad fehmen taluft-a.

Timura-nniḍen yessefk ad fehmen dayen d acu i d tadsimant i nebya:

- Yas aḥewwez n kra n waḍi (lḡiha) n kra n tmurt yettbin-d d tayelnazrit (nationalisme) maca yessefk ad fehmen belli

nekkni tayelnazrit-nney (nationalisme)-nney ad yili d alibiral (liberal). Nezmer a nqader yal yiwten ur nelli d azwaw (d tazwawt) izedyen ney ara yebyun ad yezdey di tmurt-nney; a nqader tameslayt-is, idles-ines.

- Tamurt tazwawt (taqbaylit) tesa tutlayt, idles d aqdim n yeqdimen. Nesea amezruy i y-yesdukklen. Tawuri s tutlayt tayemmat d azref n wemdan. Annecta yella deg yal tamurt anida tella tugdut.
- Tugdut tella yur-ney seg zik-nni, tura a nexdem fell-as, iwakken ad ternu ad tgerrez.
- Izwawen (Iqbayliyen/tiqbayliyyin) ur byin ara ad ffyen seg uwanak n Ddzayer.
- Nebya tadsimant tadelsant d useddu n tlufa yeenan tamurt-nney. Annecta d azref n wemdan.

IV. Tigejda n Tmurt Tazwawt Tadsimant

Tamurt tazwawt tadsimant tezmer ad tbedd yef 18 n tgejda:

1. Tamurt tazwawt (taqbaylit) ad teqqim d yiwet n tmurt di tmurt tadzayrit tameqqrant.
2. Tamurt tazwawt ad tili d tagduda (république).
3. Tamurt tazwawt ad tesu anabaḍ (gouvernement). Ad yili uneylaf amezwaru (premier ministre). Netta ad yesbedd ineylafen-ines (les ministres).
4. Ad tesu amni adigan (Parlement local), ad yettwisbedd s lbuḥ n imezday n tmurt tazwawt (taqbaylit).
5. Ad tesu taydemt tadigant (Justice locale).
6. Tutlayt Tamaziyt tazwawt (taqbaylit) ad tili d tutlayt n twuri d tyuri (langue officielle).
7. Ahil n wessyer deg lakulat d tsewayiyyin d wayen nniḍen ad yili d ccyel n unabaḍ (lḥukuma) azwaw (aqbayli).
8. Awanak ad yefk afus i tutlayt tazwawt.
9. Ad yili wexxam n tmusni tutlant (l'academie) n tutlayt tamaziyt.
10. Taluft n yemsulta (police) ara d-yilin di tmurt tazwawt tadsimant ad tili d taluft n unabaḍ (lḥukuma) azwaw (aqbayli). Yal adzayri yezmer ad yili d amsaltu (apolis) di tmurt tazwawt. Dacu kan tutlayt tmezwarut n twuri d tamaziyt tazwawt.
11. Tulawin d yergazen ad seun azal yiwten
12. Yal amdan yezmer ad yextir ddiin i s-yehwan, ney ur yettamen ara
13. Tamurt tazwawt ad tesu ssanḡeq (drapeau) adigan (aḡihawi) zdat n win n Ddzayer
14. Tamurt tazwawt ad tesu "L'hymne national"
15. Timeyriwin timaziyyin yettwasnen di tmurt tazwawt ad

ilint d ussan n lficta.

16. Tutlayt taerabt d tutlayt tafransist ad ilint dayen d tutlayin n twuri.
17. Kra n wamur (..%) n tiwsi (leyrama) ara ad xelšen imezday n tmurt tazwawt ad yeqqim dinna.
18. Asiweḍ yer tedsimant ad yili s wemciwer d uwanek adzayri.

V. Awal aneggaru

Lemmer yufa yiwen, tilaq tamurt tadzayrit ad tili d awanak afidiral am waṭas n tmura nniḍen. Dacu kan di tmurt n Ddzayer ala Izwawen kan i yebyan (yaṣ mačči meṛṛa) taluft n tmurt tafidiral. Ihi yeḥ akka i ten-idemmer wakud ad awin tadsimant i tmurt kan tazwawt. Ihi ma nessawḍ nekkni yer tedsimant i nebya wissen ahat ad kkren Imaziyeen nniḍen d yedzayriyen nniḍen, ad tuyal tmurt d awanak afidiral. Annecta d abrid izemren a d yesnecreḥ ulawen n imezday-is ad yefk tazmert i twuri n tmurt, acku imezday merra n tmurt ad ḥussen iman-nnsen xeddmn yeḥ yiman-nnsen mačči yeḥ wiyiḍ. Amedya, tamurt n Lalman tebḍa yeḥ 16 n tmura (Bundesländer). Yaṣ Almanen merra ḥussen iman-nnsen d Almanen, ssawalen merra talmant d tutlayt tayemmat, maca yal tamurt di 16 n tmura tesca anabaḍ adigan (gouvernement regional) d umni adigan (Parlement local), tesca taydemt tadigant (justice locale), imsaltiyen (police locale). Ula d yal taddart tameqqrant tesca ssaṅṅaq (drapeau)-ines d wayen-nniḍen. Almanen/Talmanin ḥemmlen tamurt-nnsen seg tilist yer tilist, zedyen, xeddmn di yal tiqernit i sen-yehwan. Ula di tudrin timezyanin zedyen medden deg-sen i d-yewsan si lḡihat-nniḍen, teddern s talwit.

Nekkni nezdey deg yiwet n tmurt tadzayrit, anida llant aṭas n tmeslayin, tella tnezruft, llan idurar, yernu meqqert tmurt aṭas, yad i iḥekmen ṭṭfen abrid n tmurt n Franṣa. Am akken ugaden ad brun i ugerruj ad iṣiḥ kra i imezday n tmurt.

Nessaram kra n wass ad teffey targit!!! ☐

*Atan wayen i yi-d-yura : *Tadsimant* yekka-d si *dde* « organiser » d *iman*, ihi d tudsa iman-iw s yiman-iw. Awalen am *iman*, *timant*, *timanit* yessefk yiwen a ten-yeḡḡ akken a d-nesnulfu awalen nniḍen yettilin s « auto-... » s tefransist (ney *self* s teglizit, *selbst* s talmant...) am « autobiographie, autocollant, autogène, auto-induction... ». Yernu yessefk yiwen ad ixemm i wawalen n tmusni : D amedya *Iman* ney *Timant* zemren ad ttwaqedcen syur ifiluzufen, ibsikyatren... Ihi awal *Iman* iman-is ur nezmir ara a t-nessexdem akka d aḥerfi ney d asgal.

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(Continued from page 2)

Tafsut in Agadir (Morocco) - A report by the Moroccan Amazigh Cultural Movement (MCA)

The MCA has just organized two days of cultural activities in commemoration of the Tafsut Imazighen (Amazigh Spring).

Tuesday April 20 2004

The students were particularly mobilized. They attended a conference on the topics "Tafsut Imazighen in Kabylia" and "Amazigh activism in Morocco." This conference, put together by Moustapha Barhouchi, who presented the situation of the Amazigh Movement in Morocco in comparison with that of Algeria, provided an opportunity to criticize the State's position and the obvious demagoguery of "makhzanized" Amazighs who serve the regime's interests. For Moustapha Barhouchi, the first generation of Amazigh activists was too close to the Makhzen and resulted in little benefit for Amazighness. The speaker questioned the direction taken by the Amazigh Movement. In his opinion, the Amazighs must focus their energy to create an independent movement and continue to protest against the "Amazigh Manifest" that was conceived by the Makhzen.

Wednesday, April 21 2004

This day was marked by a huge demonstration to commemorate the 3rd anniversary of "Tafsut Taberkant" (Black Spring) at the college of Arts and Science. During the students' march, slogans referring to Kabylia's revolt such as "Tizi-Ouzou resists", "One thousand martyrs", "Guermah rest in peace, we will continue to fight" or to Makhzen's policies, such as "IRCAM=Makhzenian policy". The main demand of the students was "Tamazight, national and official language". Trapped by the army near the Eddkhla residence, the demonstration ended in violence, where the military seized the banners and beat up the students.

In the face of this repression, the MCA put together this report to inform the public of the abusive arrests and violent interrogations that took place.



MCA, 2004

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- Four prisoners were subjected to violent abuse during interrogations that lasted more than five hours. Abdellah Bouchtarte, one of the leading activists was among the arrested.

- In addition to these arrests, there were dozens of injured who were humiliated. For the

MCA, this savage attack clearly shows the deeply antiquated mentality of the panarabist Makhzan.

List of persons injured or imprisoned during the Amazigh Spring commemoration (April 21, 2004)

Abdellah Bouchtarte. Arrested and interrogated for five hours. Molested and tortured by the Agadir brigades – Abdellah has wounds on the hands, feet and head.

Abdellah Ezzemouri: Arrested and interrogated five hours. Tortured, Abdellah has wounds on the hands, feet and head.

Mouloud Zemmour: Wounded on the hands, chest and feet.

Youssef Salhi: Serious wound on the hand and other wounds on the remainder of the body.

Ali Mourif: Wounds on the hands and feet.

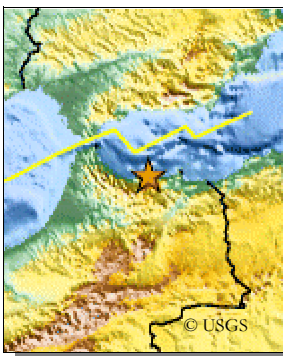
Med Bahmouch: Wound on the knee.

Khadija Oufqir: Severe contusions on the knees and fingers.

This report was compiled by the Amazigh Cultural Movement
Tel. +21264752295

An earthquake of magnitude 6.4 on the Richter scale rocked the Al Hoceima region (Rif) of Northern Morocco on February 24th, 2004 at 02:27:48 AM local time. The epicenter was located

Earthquake in the Rif



at 13 km depth and 35.178°N, 3.903°W. The distances to the closest large cities were 160 km North-east of Fes, and 190 km East-Southeast of Tanger. At least five hundred and seventy one people died and 405 injured. The earthquake struck as most people were asleep, which accounted for the many deaths. The earthquake was felt as far as east of Melilla and southern Spain. The quake caused serious damage to poorly designed

buildings and old adobe type homes. In Imzouren, ten kilometers south of the Al Hoceima port, according to AFP (French press agency), an official said the quake destroyed 40 houses

filled with their occupants. Thousands of scared residents spent the night outside as the aftershocks continued to shake the region. According to published reports, rescue teams were sent or ready on standby from many countries in Europe, the United States, the United Nations and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Help in the form of medicine and other supplies were sent from many European countries, including France and Spain.

Two days only after the devastating earthquake people took to the streets to complain about the Moroccan government's lax attitude towards the region, particularly its slow reaction in getting the necessary help to those who need it despite the significant international solidarity. According to Amazigh sources, the Moroccan government was not effective at deploying the rescue teams that were sent by many European countries and in some cases rescue teams were turned back by local authorities. The demonstration was violently repressed by the Moroccan military and riot police, and several people were injured. The Paris-based Tamazgha association which defends the rights of the Amazigh people charged the Moroccan government of irresponsibility when it decided to stop rescue efforts in Imzouren only two days after the earthquake. Further, it denounced the government's policy of marginalization of the Amazigh provinces (poor infrastructures and general neglect for the Amazigh regions). Perhaps this state of affairs runs deeper than it appears and the region's historical opposition to the regime may have a role to play in the way the government managed the area's problems.

Morocco's worst earthquake in modern times occurred in February 1960 in the coastal city of Agadir. It measured 6.7 on the Richter scale and killed at least 12,000 people. But only four years ago (November 10, 2000), another Amazigh region was deeply affected by a 5.4 magnitude earthquake. This region is called Ayt-Wartilan, in the heart of Kabylia, Algeria, where two people were killed and severe damage was caused to masonry residences leaving many people homeless. More recently, on May 21, 2003, the area of Zemmouri (Boumerdes, Kabylia) was the location of the epicenter of an even more destructive earthquake (6.8 magnitude). It impacted many towns and villages including Corso, Tidjelabine, Reghaia, Tizi Nat Aicha, Bordj Menayel, Sidi Daoud and Dellys and killed 2,278 people. Shaking was felt all over Kabylia and as far as Spain and Italy. Both times, the Kabyls came together to help the victims despite the traditional indifference of the Algerian government, particularly in the case of Ayt-Wartilan.

ACAA's Call for Solidarity

ACAA, a non-profit organization registered in New Jersey since 1992, has opened a relief fund account to help the victims of the earthquake, which struck the region of Rif (North of Morocco) on February 24th, 2004. The latest assessment shows 571 dead and over 405 injured. An undetermined number of people lost their homes. We are calling for your generosity to help ease

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the suffering of the victims.

Donations to the fund can be deposited, wired or mailed to:

MOROCCAN EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS RELIEF FUND
ACCOUNT # 011000138 9487462178
At:
Fleet Bank
431 North Main Street
E. Longmeadow, MA 01028

You can also mail your check to

ACAA

P.O. Box 265

Malden, MA 02148

Please make check payable to:

MOROCCAN EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS RELIEF FUND

Amnesty International and Human Rights abuses in Algeria

Human Rights

Amnesty International's newsletter, The wire, of April 2004 published information on dozens of people that were reportedly exhumed from a mass grave, in the Ighil-Izzan (Relizane) province (Western Algeria). The remains are believed to be those of civilians killed in the mid-1990s by a local state-armed militia. Amnesty believes that the exhumation and transfer of the remains to unknown locations is an effort to conceal evidence of human rights abuses in this North African nation. Items recovered from the dead were believed to belong to persons abducted from the area. Other mass graves exist in other parts of the country. AI has repeatedly called for an independent inquiry into these gross human rights abuses. Algeria has done nothing to establish the truth about these abuses.

Permanent Forum on Indige-

nous Issues

Hassan Id Belkasm (president of Tamaynut Association, Morocco) has been appointed to the permanent forum on Indigenous Issues for a term of three years starting January 2005.

A group of nine Amazigh associations and the Moroccan Section of the World Amazigh Congress sent a letter to the King of Spain following the events of

Madrid Events

March 11 during which more than 200 people were killed in terrorist attacks. The letter, after regretting the tragic events, stated that "The Amazigh people, through its associations and NGOs, condemn with the greatest force and energy this wretched act...". After expressing solidarity with the families of the victims and the Spanish people, the letter went on to add that "[the] values of the Amazighs do not share anything with "the wahabist extremist ideology" that inspired the perpetrators of this criminal act." The letter was dated Thursday March 18, 2004.

Taftilt is Back in Business

Taftilt is a cultural magazine by the Al-

Taftilt An Amazigh Magazine

giers-based Amazigh association Imedyazen. Taftilt is now a monthly magazine. Taftilt's goal is to make of Tamazight a modern language. Taftilt will be informative, thought provoking and entertaining. If you wish to subscribe or contribute to Taftilt, write to Tiddukla Tadelsant Imedyazen BP 129 Poste Didouche Mourad, 16006 - Algiers - Algeria. Email: adadam89@yahoo.fr

Taftilt tlul-ed i tikkelt nniden

Tiddukla tadelsant Imedyazen terrad tasyunt-is tadelsant, Taftilt, ara yuyalen ad d-tteffey, seg wass-a d

asawen, yiwen webrid i waggur, ma yebya Rebbi. Iswi ameqqran n tesyunt-nney netta d tiririt n tmaziyt d tutlayt tatrart i lmend n ussiwed n yisallen s tira. Tasyunt-nney ad d-ilin deg-s dima yimagraden yeqqnen s inurar meçra n tmussni, yernu nebya-tt ad tili d allal ara yezzhun wid i tt-yeqqaren, d allal n uxebber imeenen akk d u s e l m e d n t m a z i y t .

Neggar tiyri i yakk Imaziyen ih emmlen tamaziyt akken ad eiwnen tasyunt-nney, ad d-agzen çur-sen (s'abonner) u ad seelmen medden i d-yezzin fell-asen d akken tella. Ilaq ad tili Teftilt, acku tutlayin timuddirin meçra, timettiyin meçra yeddren yernu iqeddren hwaçent allal n ussiwed n yisallen, allal yettmeslayen s tutlayt-nnsen. Xas ttawil meçtuç, aql-aç nessesaram ad naweç s iswan meçqren, yernu, akken i syenna yiwen umeçnas ameqqran i lmend n tutlayt tamaziyt, Bessaud Muçend Aeçrab, "nekker-as i wedrar s tqabact," d acu kan, çur-ney, yeçqar-as diy wanzi "açru, açru, ad yali wexxam."

Yura-t-id Umaru Amatu n Tiddukla Σ u m a r M u f e ç Wid iran neç izemren ad d-fken afus, neç ad d-agzen çer Teftilt, ad arun çer:

Tiddukla Tadelsant Imedyazen
BP 129
Poste Didouche Mourad
16006 - Alger - Algérie
Email: adadam89@yahoo.fr

The Tamazight Exam at the French 2004 Baccalaureate

Tamazight

On March 24 more than 2000 students took their Tamazight portion of the 2004 baccalaureate exam. Tamazight is an optional test and used to be oral up until 1994. In 1995 it became a written test

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offered across the country. This is the case of many other languages referred to as "langues rares" (rare languages) by the Education Nationale (ministry of education). Of the total number of students that took the test approximately 25% are from the Paris region. Three versions of the test are offered to the diverse student backgrounds: Taqbaylit (Kabyl Tamazight), Tacehit (Shluh Tamazight) and Tarifit (Riffian Tamazight).

The students receive no preparation for these tests as classes in Tamazight are not yet offered. Fortunately there are many Amazigh associations that offer classes that teach Tamazight classes and train students for the test. In 2002, Jack Lang sent a note to the school board directors to ask them to take the necessary measures to ensure the preparation of the candidates to the Tamazight optional test, but to date no concrete measures have been taken.

Ethnopsychiatrie, cultures et thérapies (Ethnopsychiatry, cultures et thérapies)

Books

et thérapies)

by Hamid SALMI (interviews conducted by Catherine PONT-HUMBERT), ENTRETIENS collection headed by Françoise JUHEL and Catherine PONT-HUMBERT. In a dialogue form, this book sheds light on the problems of cultural differences, immigration and adaptation as well as on the pathologies related to culture shocks. Four chapters make it possible to progress in the discipline. The chapters are : 1) Immigrants and their difficulties, 2) Ills, misfortunes, diseases 3) Group notions and 4) Mediation. Vuibert Editions, Paris.

Les Berbères et le Christianisme (Berbers and Chris-

tianty) By Lucien Oulahbib, Editions Berbères

La Kabylie à l'épreuve des invasions (Kabylia throughout the invasions) By Younès Adli, Zyriab Editions, Algiers, 2004.

This book tells the story of Kabylia during the period from the Phoenicians to the nineteen hundreds. The author emphasizes the democratic and secular traditions of the region that he traces back to the earliest history of the region.

De la question berbère au dilemme kabyle à l'aube du XXIème siècle (From the Amazigh issue to the Kabyl Dilemma at the dawn of the 20th Century) by Maxime Ait-Kaki, L'harmattan, Paris 2004.

The Amazigh issue is little publicized and ignored from the general public, but it constitutes a major geopolitical stake which places the states of North Africa in front of crucial choices with regards to identity, culture and democracy. All the while Islamism is extending its influence on the societies of this region. Today this issue has crossed its borders to take on a transnational and international character. Its toughening these last years, particularly in Algeria, goes hand in hand with the attempts by the governments in place to use it to halt the advance of Islamism and more incidentally within the more occult framework of the battles that occur between different factions of the military hierarchy. The case of Kabylia and its constant rebellion against the central government since the "Black Spring" (events of spring 2001) does not preclude a complete change in the political landscape of North Africa in the long run. Beyond the "Amazigh Issue", the unending "Kabyl springs" started since 1980 plead more objectively for "a Kabyl issue" that is not yet fully and truly identified.

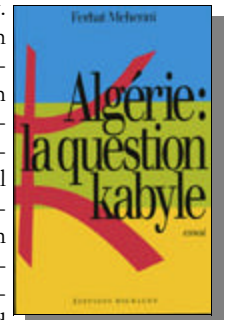
Graduate of history and journalism, the author, Maxime Ait-Kaki, is a doctor of political sciences from the university Paris-I (Pantheon-Sorbonne). (Translated from the publisher's presentation)

La question kabyle (The Kabyl Issue) By Ferhat Mehenni, Editions Michalon, Paris, 2004.

What does Kabylia want? The forgotten region of a country that sank in chaos, Kabylia has always been jealous of its Amazigh specificity. Denied by French Algeria and independent Algeria, it is victim of a forced Arabicization and a bloody repression since April 2001. From one revolt to another, in order to impose a democratic order in Algeria, Kabylia found itself isolated in its struggle. The specificity of the Kabyl people and their culture demands a specific treatment. This brings the question of Kabyl autonomy, and this is the question that Ferhat Mehenni poses with strength and conviction. If this book is an open letter to the Kabyls to take charge of their destiny, it is also for us the occasion to assess the situation in Kabylia the day before the Algerian presidential elections.

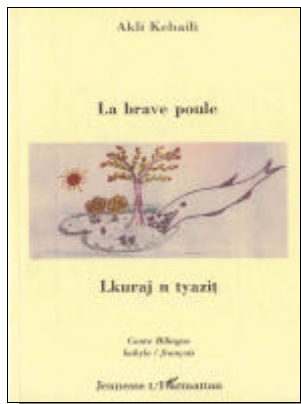
A celebrated Kabyl singer, Ferhat Mehenni founded the MAK (Movement for the autonomy of Kabylia) in August the 2001. The MAK made the defense of Kabyl interests its number one priority and claims a Spanish-style autonomy for Kabylia. (Translated from the publisher's presentation)

Lkuraĵ n Tyaziĵ (The brave hen)



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Yiwet n tyaziṭ Tban-as-d tmeddurt teemet, teeya deg-s. Dya tebya ad tney iman-is Tuyal tcemmet iyalen, tergem iyebnan n tmeddurt. Tebges-



ed yer imenyi s lkuraj d t a y r i . Taggara turew-ed yiwen n m m i - s yesddukel imdanen d lmal d w a y e n nniḍen.

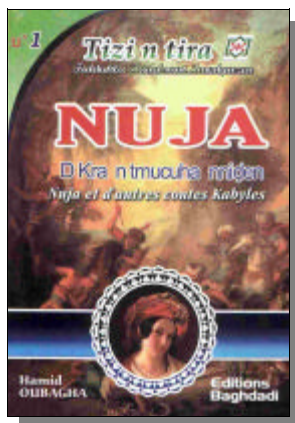
Tamacahut-a d yiwet n targit umaru Akli Kebaili. Targit-a d asirem n yal amdan yebyan ad kksent tliṣa gar yemdanen, i waken ad yezmer yal amdan ad yedder di yal tiqernit n ddunit war ughen.

Akli Kebaili d aqbayli yeddren seg useggas 1979 di tmurt n Lalman. Seg wasmi yewweḍ yer dinna, netta yekkat s tira d wawal i waken ad yettwakkes weqric d uzaglu yersen yef yedles amaziṭ. Seddaw Akli Azwawi yessufey-ed tamacahut-is tamezwarut “Imetṭi n bab idurar.”

A hen found the life unbearable in the hideous city where it lived. It wanted to die, but finally listened to its courage to fight its ills through love. After many peregrinations, it gave birth to a hybrid being combining the various forms of life: human, animal and plant. This allegoric tale by Akli Kebaili represents the hope of a society and humanity that know no borders, where each one could live in his/her culture and preserve his/her identity, regardless of the place he/she choses as a residence.

Nuja D Kra n Tmucuha nniḍ en

Uttun amezwaru n “Nuja d tmucuha nniḍen” d ammuḍ n tmucuha i warrac imezyanen si tmurt n Igawawen (leqbayel) i d-sezreg tiddukla tadelsant Imedyazen. Deg uyamus n wedlis-a (walit tawelaft d-nesedda d asali-a) ddan-d yismawen n Tiddukla Tadelsant Imedyazen, Ḥamid Ubaya ak d yisem n teẓrigin Baghdadi. Ur iban ara anwa i d-yuran, ney i d-ijemæen timucuha-ya, ur iban anwa i tent-id-sezregen. Unnuṭ uyamus, isskan-ed imenayen yettemyenyan s ijenwiyen deg umur n tteryel d iwayzniwen, ney ... tafukt d ijeḡḡigen. Akken yebyu yili, nesnemmir Tiddukla Imedyazen yef ugmar i γ-dgemren tikelt-a i warrac imaziyen d tsekla tamaziṭ.



**EL TE
A
MER-
ZUGA
(Tea at
Mer-
zuga -
Atay g
Mer-
zuga)**

By Jordi Badiella

El Te Merzuga is a collection of sixteen poems by the Catalan poet, Jordi Badiella. Jordi Badiella wrote his poems during a trip to the south of Morocco. El Te a Merzuga testifies to the emotions the author felt at the contact with an undervalued culture that presents many similarities with the his own Catalan culture (a past of prohibition and persecution). The poems describe the places and landscapes, but also the people the author came in contact with. They are written in Catalan with translations to Tamazight by Omar Derwic and French by Josep Maria Jarque. The Tifnagh transcription of the poems and the book cover were designed by artist Muhend Saïdi.

Jordi Badiella is professor of Catalan at Terrassa, Barcelona. Josep Maria Jarque is professor of therapeutic pedagogy. Omar Derwic is a teacher in Goulmima (Errachidia, Morocco) and Muhend Saïdi is professor of arts at Imteghren (Errachidia, Morocco).

Conference on Taos Amrouche at the University of Corsica on April 14

Conferences

“Taos Amrouche, a novelist: exile and loneliness” is the title of the conference given on April 14, 2004 by Denise Brahimi. Denise Brahimi published an essay « Taos Amrouche, a novelist » at the Joelle Losfeld Editions, in 1995. For more information, visit: <http://missaghju.univ-corse.fr/> (Faculty of Science and Technology)

A conference with Ferhat Mehenni

on the subject of his recent publication (see Book Section of this column) is scheduled to take place April 30, 2004 at 7:30 PM. The conference will be followed by a debate and a reception. Will be present in the conference political leaders, representatives of associations, journalists and Algerian and Belgian people. The conference will be held at "Alger la Blanche" Rue de Moscou 17 1060 Brussels. For information, call Ali Benabbas at 0 4 7 5 / 7 6 . 7 8 . 2 4 Ferhat will be the guest at a show on the Elmanar Radio (Brussels 106.8 FM) from 3:00PM to 6:30 PM, on April 30, 2004. The subject of the show will be about the singer and writer Ferhat Mehenni, but more importantly the autonomy of Kabylia.

Qim di Lehna Da Lmulud *(Rest in peace Da Lmulud)*

BY TAHAR DJAOUT (1)

TRANSLATED FROM FRENCH BY HSEN LARBI



One cannot talk about Kabylia and not mention Mouloud Mammeri. Mouloud Mammeri was a true Amazigh and Kabyl man. His destiny and that of Kabylia and the Amazigh people in general are so intertwined that he has become their symbol. He is the son of Kabylia but to many Amazighs and to Kabylia he is the father and the protector. In the young generation of Amazighs, Mammeri planted a seed, and that seed germinated and gave life to many sons and protectors of this tamurt (the land, the mother, the language, etc.). Mammeri, a writer, playwright, and anthropologist died in a car accident in February 25, 1989. This is a letter written by Tahar Djaout in homage to him and was published by Awal. Four years later, Djaout was assassinated by a mysterious commando.

Oh how hard it will be to have from now on to speak about you in the past! A few hours after your death, that your family and your friends were still unaware of, I was having a conversation about you with an academic who had just attended the Oujda conference from where you were returning. He said to me, among other things that you had spent seven hours at the border: three hours and half on the Algerian side and as much on the Moroccan side. In spite of all your contributions to the culture of North Africa, you remained a common citizen like any other, a man who never asked for privileges – who has, on the contrary, refused all those that were proposed to him. Since the time of the literary prize awarded to your first novel, a ceremony, that you refused to attend, you were suspicious of all rewards because you knew that they asked for something in exchange. You were not one of those writers who traveled in the official delegations, as part of the luggage of ministers or presidents, and who pushed sometimes their cynicism to the point where upon their return they wrote articles against intellectuals at the orders of the establishment!

Your relationship with the government (all governments) was always very clear. You maintained a distance that guaranteed your sovereignty. Shortly, after independence, you were chairman of the first Union of Algerian writers. When you were informed that the Union was going to be under the authority of the Government Party, you packed up and left with your usual noble courtesy. You did not accept any constraint, any chains at your feet, or any leash at your neck. You were, the model of a free man. And that is also the meaning of being Amazigh (Berber). This freedom, you paid for it dearly. In any event, you knew the price and you had always accepted it. You were perhaps the most persecuted Algerian intellectual. And yet you

"You were perhaps the most persecuted Algerian intellectual. And yet you were the most valorous son this nation has ever generated."

were the most valorous son that this nation has ever generated. On the evening news, the Algerian television had laconically and brutally announced your death, I could not help notice, in spite of the inexpressible emotion, that it was the second time that you were in the news: the first time was to insult you when, in 1980, a shamefully defamatory campaign was started against you and the second time, nine years later, to announce your passing away. Your own country's television had no documentary to show us on you: it had never filmed you; it had never given you the floor. The same television that perennialized in miles of film so many approximate intellectuals so many writer-jugglers under the orders of the government.

But I will close the disturbing and long chapter of harassments. It would be an insult to your generosity and nobility if I delved into the injustices and slandering that seemed to slip on you like simple scratches, which perhaps hurt you internally but do not show outwardly. Your concerns were elsewhere, you had other things to do. And then, you had too much respect for others, even when they hurt you. Without having ever claimed to teach anyone a lesson, your life, your behavior, your courage and your integrity in themselves were examples and lessons. That is why, you, the modest man who was caught off guard only when asked to speak about yourself. You were always at the heart of everything that makes this country. And those 200,000 people who came from all over Algeria to climb these "chemins qui montent" (the ascending paths (2)) to accompany you to your ultimate residence in the heart of the Djurdjura Mountains, testify in some way to that effect. You, the peaceful and courteous man, who never bailed out from any circumstance, except in the cases where a government or a religious institution attempted to control you, you positively contributed not by explosive declarations, but by your lucidity, your sustained, meticulous and professional work in the benefit of freedom and tolerance.

Who can forget the beginning of 1980? Some individuals, who deny part of the culture of the Amazigh people, (everyone fortunately forgot their names because they are not of those that history remembers) prevented you from giving a conference on Kabyl poetry. Everywhere, in Bejaïa, Bouira, and Tizi-Ouzou, Kabylia stood up to defend its poets. And it is the entire Algeria that, year after

year, would reject the muzzles, the exclusions, the intolerance, and mediocrity, and that one day in October, will take to the streets to affirm it, one more time, by shedding its blood. You, the skeptical and independent humanist who never imposed his ideals or judged anyone, you were, almost in spite of you, at the forefront of an awakening.

From now on we must learn to live without your cordial and shining presence, your superb intelligence, your good nature that always over lasts even your physical endurance (for instance it is hard to imagine you sick) that made you drive hundreds of kilometers per day to give a free conference and afterwards get back immediately into your car. You died at the wheel of your Peugeot 205 (a car for the youth) like the impetuous young man you always were. Rest assured, Da Lmulud, the last image I will keep of you is not that of the moving image of a victim of a car accident but that of this Thursday, February 16 when we met with other friends at Ighil-Bwamas to discuss the filming of a movie. You were elegant and alert as always, in your tennis shoes. You arrived first at the meeting. You teased us for being late and said that you thought you had the wrong day. You were always the first one to leave, to make yourself available and you were always in a hurry. You had many things to do, and to give to this culture that you generously served, without asking for anything in return. On the contrary you braved with dignity all the harassments that your work has generated. You were impatient on this Thursday February 16 as if you already knew that there was too little time left. I see you getting in your Peugeot 205 and starting it loudly on the bumpy road while we were still there chattering. It was the last time that I saw you alive.

Frawsey

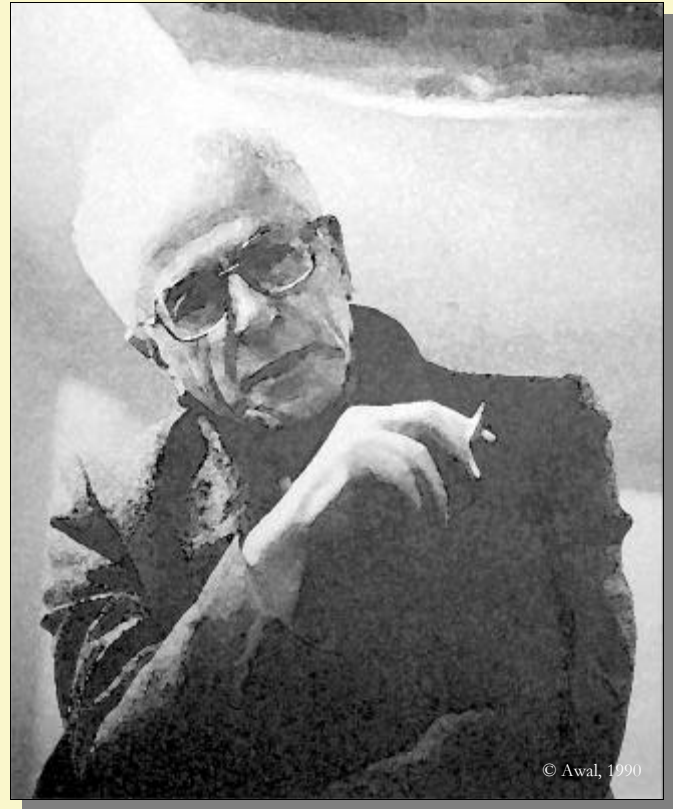
Syur Salem Zenia

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A Lmulud a ba
Tensiđ am yetri

Our youth, who is hungry for culture and freedom, always saw you as one of its icons. Some intellectuals and artists always showed you friendship, respect or admiration in the most difficult moments you had to endure. But, these last months, it is everyone, intellectuals and media that started to understand your importance and sought your point of view. It is true that a certain media that was afraid "to be compromised" kept its doors closed to you until your death. But there were so many people that wanted to associate you with so many projects! So many newspapers interviewed you! And, carried by this breeze of freedom, you rushed; you got in your car and traveled the roads and went everywhere your presence was needed. Oran, Ain-El-Hammam (where you paid homage to Si Muhend U Mhend and where you were offered a burnous), Bejaia, and finally Oujda. In January, your conference on the



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Amazigh culture in Bejaia drew so many people that no building could contain them. And it was in the city stadium that thousands of people sat and listened to you talk about their culture. What a beautiful revenge on the 1980 prohibition of the conference in Tizi-Ouzou! What an incredible journey we made since, on the path of free speech!

I remember you when we were preparing for the Laphomic editions interview. I remember your intellectual sharpness, your sense of justice, your decency and the embarrassment that overcame you when we left the subject of aesthetics and ideas and I asked you to speak about yourself (your fight for Algeria, and for example, your activism in the MTLD (French acronym for Movement for the Triumph of the Democratic Liberties), your suffering during the war). You never evoked them even when your past was disputed or a different one was made up. I especially remember your energetic youth. I remember us having ice cream in one of these numerous tea houses that line the Ben M'ghidi street or at the café "Le Véronèse" in Paris.

You will always be close to us, eternal young man of the Ath Yenni and Algeria. □

Qim di lehna, a Da Lmulud!
(Rest in peace Da Lmulud)

Note from the Translator

1- Tabar Djaout, writer, poet and journalist was killed on May 26, 1993 by a mysterious commando. Algerian authorities blamed Islamic militants but no serious investigation has been carried out to punish those responsible of his death.

2- Title of a novel by Mouloud Feraoun, a writer of the same generation as Mouloud Mammeri. Feraoun was killed in March of 1962 by the OAS, a