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*Editorial*

by  
*Arezki Boudif*

It is common knowledge that politics tend to invade other domains of expression of a society. However, in countries governed by democratic rules and respective of their diversity, legislators have instated sets of mechanisms that limit the effects of "the political ogre" more or less successfully. The success of such mechanisms depend on various factors which may be cultural, religious and economic.

What about countries ruled by authoritarian regimes? In those countries, regrettably, no domain of life is spared by the interference of politics within other domains such as culture, sports and religion.

In North Africa, Tamazgha in particular, it is the identity issue of these countries that is subject to manipulation, forgery and marginalization... which makes a researcher from that region say: " In our country, even archaeology is a political issue".

And, the shallowness of this ideological assortment has been revealed on the occasion of a soccer match between two North African countries, namely Algeria and Egypt. The story started with Egyptians trying to qualify as one of the African representatives for the next FIFA World Cup, but made it clear that they want to represent Arab countries at that competition. Subsequently, they deny Algerians the right to represent Arabs at this same sport

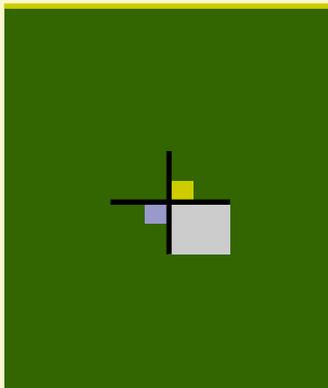
event because "they are not Arabs". Insults seeming to be an authorized weapon, the Algerians have been "depreciatively" identified as Berbers. Ultimate insult!

Dealing with a country where freedom of speech is a longtime forgotten dream, nobody gives a damn about the *vox populi*. As for the authorized voices, they turned a blind eye to the event. With the exception of few short chronicles in French-expression newspapers evoking the victory of Sheshonq the Libyan on the armies of the Ancient Egypt or the help provided by the Koutamas of Kabylia to install the Fatemids\* on the throne, in Cairo, but no official reaction. Not a word! Neither to hold forth on the alleged Yemenite origins of the inhabitants of North Africa, thus more Arabic than the Egyptians, nor to assume the authentic Amazigh heritage of this region of the world, marked by glorious and founding epics. Here and there, some tried to convince us that the official silence was the appropriate, dignified answer and... a diplomatic one!

Far from us the idea to play the warmongers! Nevertheless, we think that the reasons of the official silence are somewhere else, and can be summarized as follows:

- At first, the fear to see the societies of

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## The Amazigh Voice

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## News/ Isallen

### Letter from a Libyan Amazigh Reader

Dear Editor

Please find the attached file of an article I wish to publish in your magazine *The Amazigh Voice*. Just to let you know that for a longtime I have been following the issues of the Amazigh Voice posted on your association's website. It is very interesting that there is a voice that speaks on the struggle of Imazighen to the western world, specially USA. I wish you all the best and keep up the good work.

Note: I have used the email I have found in the magazine which is amazighvoice@tamazgha.org and it seems to be working.

Again thank you for your support and hopefully we can keep in touch.

Best regards,

Mazigh B.\*  
Ifraan-Libya

*\*Mazigh has included his full name in his letter. We have decided to disclose only the initial of his last name as it can harm him if it comes to the knowledge of some zealous servants of the Libyan regime.*

### The Amazigh Voice:

*Thank you very much for your nice letter and for the article you submitted for publication in A.V. Please keep in touch with us so you can inform the Amazigh Community around the world on the situation of Imazighen in Libya.*



### New development in the contentious legitimacy of the two factions within the Amazigh World Congress (AWC)

The issue is between the organizers of the AWC's convention in Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria, led by Rachid Raha and Ferroudja Moussaoui and those who organized the convention in Meknes, Morocco, led by Belkacem Lounès and Ahcène Bozettine. Indeed, Kabyle.com has reported that the Parisian Office of Registry allowed the



*The two leading protagonists of the dispute : Belkacem Lounes (on the left) and Rachid Raha (on the right)*

address change of the Amazigh World Congress (CMA 57, Boulevard of Barbès 75018, Paris, France) submitted by Ferroudja Moussaoui's faction. This development would allow the organizers of the convention in Tizi-Ouzou to challenge the legitimacy of the newly reelected president Lounes Belkacem.

**Source:www.kabyle.com**

### The Amazigh Voice:

*It is unfortunate that Amazigh activists who are supposed to provide leadership for the promotion of the Amazigh Culture and the fight for the recognition of fundamental rights of Amazigh communities don't realize the damages they are inflicting to their organization with these repeated coups.*

*(Continued on page 23)*

# *Algeria: Amazigh Spring, Lessons to Be Learned*

## *April 20, 2008*

*By Robert VASSEUR*

*Translated from French by Hsen Larbi*

*This text titled “Kabylia, six years later” was written in 2007. Its author, Robert Vasseur, a librarian in Paris, France, who followed the development of Kabylia’s struggles, attempts to analyze the reasons of the failure of the Aarch movement to carry out its objectives, and its decline.*

Today there remains nothing of the Federation of Villages and Neighborhood Committees that were formed in spring 2001. Without being explicitly dissolved, they slowly disintegrated under the effect of lassitude and demoralization. They became the victims of both their helplessness vis-à-vis the State and of their own contradictions. Only a few ex-delegates, based on the credit they had built up amongst the local population because of their firm refusal to pursue their dialogue with the government, are still trying to be in the forefront, seeking to artificially keep alive the *Aarchs* as an organizational structure. In deeds, however, these ex-delegates are no longer representative of the population, while their achievement may be summarized as an attempt to hide their rout resulting from the farcical Memorandum of Agreement (*Protocole d'accord*) which they signed with the government on January 15, 2005<sup>1</sup>.

It would yet certainly not have been shameful for a Movement that has already gone very far, by committing itself to nothing less than the fall of the regime to acknowledge its own failure rather than to expose itself to mockery by trying to make people believe that it has achieved whatsoever in a way that is reminiscent of bureaucratic apparatuses.

Such palinodes and subterfuges would have been of less importance had other members, specifically those who meant to remain loyal to the Movement’s initial spirit, committed themselves to write the authentic history of their organization by acknowledging their limits and shortcomings, in order to preserve the memory and

leave open the possibility of a continuation. Unfortunately, however, the Algerians capable of providing a meaningful analysis remain silent, at least publicly; perhaps they are not convinced that what matters the most after a defeat, is not so much to be aware of it but to explain the “whys” and the “hows”<sup>2</sup>.

Many of those who, despite everything, are willing to learn a lesson from this failure agree, retrospectively, that the first and most serious of their errors was the June 14, 2001 march on Algiers, with its disastrous consequences on the entire process. This is all the more true that some of them speak about it as the “beginning of the descent to Hell.”

We will never know exactly how many participants this march brought together, but it is undoubtedly more than one million. Such a capacity to rally, in addition to extremely violent riots that were then bursting daily in different regions of Algeria, seems to indicate that, on the one hand, the moment was not inappropriate, on the other

hand, it is also true that “extending the upheaval by one day in Algiers could have been enough to make visible some signs that the regime is wavering and, as a consequence, the population of the whole country would have joined the battle”<sup>3</sup>.

The events that followed, however, proved that this initiative was premature at best. As a matter of fact, the [El-Kseur] platform had been adopted only three days before while the rest of the Algerian population, who was unaware of its content, could not measure all its implications. Furthermore, upon closer inspection, it transpires that what should have been number one



*Massinissa Guermah: first victim of “Black Spring”*

priority was to give the platform a lot of media coverage and render it more explicit, make the objectives and the means of the *Aarchs* better known to the public at large, find reliable and long-term allies, expand their organization mode to other geographic areas so as to face what obviously seemed to be a long-lasting struggle.

Although the need for such strategic requirements were felt almost everywhere in Kabylia, other priorities that sounded more critical and pressing to the majority swept everything else off the way. For two months, the area turned into chaos. The Kabyl youth was eager to fight. Testimonies on the atmosphere that prevailed during that period revealed how intense was the feeling of an imminent civil war. A war the Kabyls would not have wished for, and which they wouldn't have been able to carry out alone. No later than the end of April, committees of villages, along with other associations intervened for the sake of sparing bloodshed amidst the population, but also to transform the revolt into a positive project and prepare a strategic response. They did so with a lot of success and they deserve all the credit for achieving such goals. From the moment the El-Kseur platform was adopted onwards, not only was there a unanimous agreement regarding the objectives set, but the members also agreed to the fact that riots alone would not make it possible to reach them.

Furthermore, a great cohesion and a tremendous force was then emerging from these achievements at a spectacular speed, which was visible not only during the confrontations and the street battles, but also through the thousands of contacts, meetings, discussions and debates in assembly sittings almost uninterruptedly. They all raised the same vital question: what to do immediately with such a force that is impatiently waiting to act; how could such a powerful and seemingly unstoppable initiative be transformed into a more promising action so as to redirect this considerable energy so that the population involved do not engage, for lack of better options, in a spiral of violence which could lead only to an armed struggle that is lost in advance?

The dilemma was resolved by default so to speak. It was decided by the *nif*<sup>4</sup>. Too powerful not to continue on its momentum and too inexperienced to know to

conciliate its tactical choices with its long-term goals, it is finally with a mixture of enthusiasm, a blind rush forward and paradoxical instinct of self-preservation that the Kabyl uprising was forced to risk on this one march, the possibility of the extension of the conflict to the remainder of Algeria. We could not, in this article, describe in detail the hasty character of this decision, and on the blatant lack of preparation that largely contributed to the success of the trap tended by the government. Let us note only two of the catastrophic consequences suffered by the *Aarchs*, and from which they have not recovered ever since despite all their efforts.

On the one hand, the *Aarchs* ended up being isolated. The ruthless blockade launched by the regime in Kabylia combined with the repression and the media blackout as well as the crushing in the bud of any attempt made in other regions (in particular in the Aurès region) to follow suit ultimately deprived the region of the possibility to launch the signal of a new general offensive. On the other hand, direct confrontation was

then established as a habit, which was certainly necessary but never really discussed, again resulted in the *Aarchs* being constantly in a situation of emergency (see for example the hunger strike organized by the detained delegates in December 2002 - January 2003) to the detriment of long term constructive initiatives in Kabylia.



A 2001 Arch March

Because nothing was lost after the terrible disenchantment of June 14: the *Aarchs* were winning in all the showdowns engaged in Kabylia during the following summer, and the orientations they chose then were undoubtedly the best possible, under the condition that they continued to push them until their ultimate result. They were strong enough to carry out their "civil disobedience" plan and to make their entry through the breach they had opened. Strengthened by their advantage of having opted for a territorial mode of organization, they could have included all the social aspirations despite the enormous pressure from the repression, since the self-defense was after all ensured (among others through the "Vigilance Committees" set up by the young rioters: everyone knows everyone in the villages and the small towns of Kabylia, any suspicious intruder, civilian clothed cop, agitator, or

member of the mafia at the service of the regime was immediately located and identified, and is often even neutralized). Without causing a massacre, the police force could not, alone, quickly regain the lost ground; the government realized all too well that the only choice it had was to drag its feet to gain some time and tire the Movement by testing its patience, hoping that the Movement would be undermined by its own indecisiveness and contradictions.

An example of such indecisiveness we should particularly keep in mind is the progressive abandonment of the balance of forces between Kabyls that the first riots had clearly defined. This remained an obscure point that ended up drowned in the heavy “martyrologist” rhetoric. The first riots targeted the state as much as the corrupt, the fat cats and the local “Mafias”. The local Committees initiated many actions which, if deepened and multiplied, could have given all its meaning to their will “to reveal the reality of the Algerian regime” and, probably, by their exemplary character, to find an echo across Algeria. An example of such an action is the case of an individual who was forcibly ousted for creating on his self-declared authority, a lucrative beach of 4000 square meters (43055 square feet). Only more so when the Committees bordering the Asif Sebaou (the largest river of Greater Kabylia, which is dying, partly because of the illegal activities consisting of sand extraction) shut down the quarries and attacked the trucks transporting the sand.

There were opportunities to get the demands formulated by the local population satisfied. To this latter, such concrete demands were no less important than the El-Kseur platform or, put in other terms, meeting these demands was synonymous of the platform enforcement. The shrinking and then the complete abandonment of this kind of actions is certainly related to the will to preserve at all costs the sacred unity of the Kabyls against the “regime”, “the common enemy”; however, one cannot help but see in this the success of the sabotage by those who, from the start, had planned to neutralize a major revolutionary tendency that threatened them directly. Because

neutralizing conflicts aiming at the heart of the very social organization one is confronted to, is not synonymous of reinforcing the organization but synonymous of weakening or stripping it of an essential dimension of the revolt.

Admittedly, the Committees did not claim any other objective than fight peacefully to bring the State to yield to their demands; however, the evolution of the power balance in Kabylia had *de facto* projected them beyond the role that they had initially assigned themselves. All the more so that they had logically become extremely radical, as an answer to the attempts by the regime to divide them, by solemnly declaring the platform “sealed” and “nonnegotiable.” Consequently, at best, it was naive, at worst irresponsible, to think that one could continue without a redefinition of the historical function of the Committees. It was this very concern that the CICB<sup>5</sup> raised – without really answering it - by affirming that it acted “to show that the citizens’ Movement can transcend the insurrection and that the population is not merely protesting against what it refuses, but is ready to build the life which it wishes to live and is prepared to defend it.”



*Belaid Abrika one of the most outspoken leaders of the Arch Movement*

This condition implies for the Committees not to hesitate to substitute themselves to the unanimously rejected official structures, in every aspect where it was possible. Undoubtedly, that posed tremendous problems<sup>6</sup>, but a Movement that successfully outlaws the State, be it on a limited territory, is to some extent condemned to optimize all its potential, proving that it surpasses

the State that it is fighting in all aspects. Otherwise such a Movement is automatically forced into immobility and helplessness.

It would be too long to describe the many and complex reasons for which the *Aarchs* finally remained extremely timid in their drafting of a program for a fundamental rebuilding of the Algerian society, to the point of focusing on the least innovative and productive aspect of their initial claims: the introduction of a “Nation of Laws” of the Western type<sup>7</sup>. Let us note that among the internal reasons of their approach, that this

sterility was closely related to their failure to occupy the ground they had conquered, with their persistence not to seek answers to the problems arising from the length of the conflict. It is precisely towards such a dead end that the State wanted to lead them by means of delaying tactics.

This was clearly proven during the local elections of October 2002, which were, after many missed opportunities, the last chance to move forward. The document arguing in favor of the rejection of these elections had lucidly anticipated the consequences, by predicting all the possible impacts, in particular the attempt by the regime's relays "to worsen the preexistent climate of insecurity," but the Movement remained trapped in the contradiction that was present since the beginning at the very heart of the guiding principles: it reaffirmed "that no form of substitution for the elected authorities would be accepted," while insisting on the need for a "more thorough structuring of the society," which precisely meant for some that the village and district Committees begin to control the local daily life as much as they could. However things stagnated after the success of the rejection of the elections, in spite of some failed attempts to drive out the heads of *Dairas*\* and the "illegitimate candidates." The *Aarchs* stuck to their position, which they re-stated many times as being a position they held only to mitigate the consequences of the "institutional vacuum that was deliberately created". While signs of deep lassitude were being visible among the population, the regime skillfully hit the nail on the head by again carrying out massive arrests.

As the means of "direct democracy" proved ineffective, the moral of the general population is inevitably declining. It is noteworthy, however, that very few Movements of this kind throughout history equipped themselves as quickly as the *Aarchs* did, with formal rules aimed at implementing simultaneously the democratic and anti-hierarchic principles (which they called horizontality), and their independence and autonomy vis-à-vis the regime and official institutions, thanks to their so-called guiding principles and code of honor. Despite inherent difficulties encountered during the rigorous enforcement of such principles, the overall system has functioned during the first months that were characterized by a general enthusiasm. Because no text, by itself, can guarantee respect for the best principles, the Kabyls have suffered the cruel consequences for not having defined, at each stage of the process, to which purpose they could use this new way of organizing their society. Conceived from the start as defensive weapons,

the local committees could reasonably overcome the inherent problems encountered during this kind of enterprises such as political manipulation, careerism, personal ambitions, the weight of personal conflicts, and even lack of common sense. This required that they [the local Committees] remained relevant and that the inertia caused by an increasingly static position did not wheedle out their substance. Their recurrent commitment to bring the El-Kseur platform to fruition became almost an obsession and deprived them of any further initiative. Their fields of experimentation were the village, the district, the township, and the county. The requirement that everything has to come from the grassroots, and that all returns there, had meaning only if it allowed the Committees to have a grip on reality; to achieve if not all desired changes, at least to continue the transformation of the social balance which had become one of the essential stakes of the selected mode of organization<sup>8</sup>.

In view of all these elements, it turns out that it is not only the manipulation by the opportunists and the political parties that finally led to the transfer of sovereignty from the local assemblies to the Movement's leadership (*wilaya*\*\* Committees and inter-*wilaya* Committees) whose primary function had been only to formalize the directives emanating from the population, and to reflect them on a broad scale. Instead, are also to blame their inflexibility and rigidity regarding their final objective, which exclusively consisted of bringing down the regime instead of remaining open to other means of emancipation.

Besides, the Movement's leadership did not easily fulfill this function. The inter-*Wilaya* conclave held June 2002 in Iflissen felt compelled to warn on the dangers of a digression. Indeed, the summary report of this conclave noted already a list of the dysfunctions, among them: the "non-observance of the guiding principles, the code of honor and the procedural rules; the non-renewal of terms; the non-observance of horizontality; the lack of implementation of the ratified decisions." In the recommendations section, one could find the following statement: "the proposals must emanate from the base; the holding of briefings between the revolving presidencies of the different *wilayas*; to define the criteria determining the statutes of participating and observer delegates; primacy of the delegate over the partisan activist." And it concluded as follows: "All of the delegates wished for a special conclave of the inter-*wilaya* in which the only point on the agenda would be the in-depth discussion, in reference to the code of honor, guiding principles, procedural rules, the

clarification of the El-Kseur platform and the document on the rejection of the elections.”

However, not only this special conclave never took place, but a few months later, in the document of the preparatory commission of the CADC<sup>9</sup> (January 31, 2003), the question was quickly resolved in a single paragraph under the chapter “Organization” basically expressing auto-satisfaction on the subject. At this stage, the best that could have been done would be that one or more local Committees call openly for secession. They would denounce publicly opportunists with a hidden agenda, criticize the disappointing consequences of the trans-partisan character of the Movement, require the strict application of the guiding principles and a more severe reformulation of the code of honor, invite the base to seize again the initiative wherever they can, and reaffirm that no strategic choice can be made without a formal vote of all the assemblies of villages and districts. Finally they would stress the disastrous consequences generated by the cozy relations between a fraction of the movement and the media. For, it is also worth bearing in mind that it is because of the refusal to formulate new organizational requirements that the initial intention got lost.

After long months of a conflict that had impacted all the forces involved, certain orientations that seemed self-evident had become a burden and a hindrance. For instance this is the case of “neutrality” that the *Aarchs* maintained with political parties (including the parties in disguise such as the MAK, the Kabyl autonomists). One can understand the fondness the Algerians have for multi-partism: a gain of the 1988 riots that ended the one-party rule. But this fondness harmed considerably the clarification of the goals and the means of a Movement that had spontaneously emerged as a criticism of the very nature of the political parties, as organizations that are alien to the society, fighting to seize power, and whose function is the confiscation of the public’s awareness and discourse. It is this essential difference between political parties and the population that pushed this latter to collectively take care of its destiny. *The Aarchs*, from the start, have symbolized this aspiration for new method of organization, and there was no reason to put the face behind the mask: they indeed had become the only real opposition to the regime, and they would have had nothing to lose to affirm themselves explicitly as the future of the policy that they already embodied. That meant, at least, that they had to give up the “trans-partisan” character of the Movement, in order to put an end to entryism and to prevent the most sincere delegates from withdrawing, as

a result of their aversion to the pressure and the maneuvering of the political representations inside the Committees.

At some point it also became necessary to dismiss all ambiguities created by the interactions with the media by amending the guiding principles, the code of honor and the procedural rules. While the boycott of the State bodies<sup>10</sup> imposed itself to all as self-evident, the same cannot be said about the interactions with the so-called independent press<sup>11</sup>, which posed a rather difficult problem. It is by a formal vote that the presence of journalists was decided at each of the conclaves and the *Aarchs* never ruled clearly in any detail regarding the methods of communication with outsiders nor on the duties and obligations of delegates in this respect. This could seem superfluous at first sight: after being firmly warned<sup>12</sup>, the newspapers have in the first three months largely covered the events, and published a number of press releases and clarification statements by local sub-Committees and Committees. But each newspaper chose its long-term approach to the Kabyl crisis according to its own aims and the interests of the clan it serves. It was only afterwards that some of them seemingly adopted the *Aarchs*’ cause. There is no doubt that some delegates, who cannot all be categorized as ill-intentioned, saw an unexpected opportunity to use the press as a sounding board and are embarked in a cozy alliance<sup>13</sup> violating, if not their formal mandate, at least the founding ethics of the uprising, which had strived to be without chiefs and irremovable spokesman.

It does not matter much whether this was done for some tactical reasons by the most intelligent or for the sake of self-glory by the craftiest of the delegates, nevertheless, the outcome is the same. What is more, it was not up to them alone to make such a choice. It was a dangerous game in which the great majority would certainly not have embarked had they weighed all the risks involved: selective information, oriented and without control, distorts little by little the perception and the hierarchy of what is at stake; the exchanges between the various representative authorities of the Movement are constantly interfered with by external requests; polemics through interviews replace the honest and open discussion of the conclaves; the grassroots felt that it is dispossessed in favor of those who were supposed to be their representatives.

Because that is exactly what happened at the end of the Movement’s slow drift, it becomes interesting to analyze its mechanisms. On this point, one can say that the *Aarchs* were confronted with the most modern form

of alienation, which they did not know how to handle. By not taking any concrete measures to prevent that the image of their fight substitutes for the real fight, they finally allowed it to be occulted by the arbitrary labels made up by the media. Admittedly, a large majority of Kabyls blame harshly, and rightly, the delegates who obligingly accepted the fame status, but this criticism is insufficient: what makes all this worse is the fact that the population did not explore other venues for its independent expression and, thus by so doing, it let itself be despoiled of its own narratives.

It is impossible to say today whether the population of Kabylia will recapture the opportunity to speak up itself in the future: only those who are on the spot can evaluate what in the collective memory remains alive and identify the path to follow henceforth. Many rioters are clearly conscious of their defeat, but when considering what they did, they feel pride and express the fact they have no regrets. They are right to feel this way too: despite all the mistakes, some of which are quite understandable for a Movement that has so little experience, no revolutionary attempt has gone as far in Algeria as the one which they launched in April 2001. As for the most sincere delegates who have not given up, the majority has retreated back to their associations (similar to what had been the case after the Amazigh Spring of 1980). No one knows if in the future the necessary conditions will be met to resume the hostilities. There is, however, serious doubt that this may be the case. The Kabyls for now are tired and resigned. They are helpless in the face of the decomposition of their society. As it often happens, the defeat accelerated this decomposition and reinforced its most negative tendencies set on the background of material misery that has so far remained unabated, and the proliferation of the local mafia gangrene.

In the meantime, Algeria continues to agonize, with the usual processions of unachieved riots. Its leaders can continue to enjoy their gang wars on the succession of Bouteflika and what an analyst has recently named, without a note of humor, “the virtuous sanctuarization of the oil private income.”

*Paris, October 22, 2007*

### Footnotes:

\* Daira: equivalent of the French sub-prefecture (sous-prefecture) or the US county.

\*\* wilaya: equivalent of the French territorial department. Historically, the administrative division called “department” was defined as a territory with an area of 6400 Km<sup>2</sup> ( 2500 sq.mil.)

1. This protocol “engages the Algerian State to enforce the El-Kseur platform within the framework of the constitution and the laws of the Republic.”
2. It is certainly a daunting task to write the history of the Black Spring, the more so as those who were directly involved still have difficulties in taking the necessary distance. It is nevertheless regrettable that less ambitious texts (booklets or brochures and such) were never written.
3. Apology for the Algerian insurrection.
4. A word that comes from dialectical Arabic and that means honor, dignity, courage.
5. Coordination Inter-communale de Béjaïa (Inter-township Coordination of Béjaïa).
6. Among which it is obviously necessary to include the lack of preparation, but also a certain pride in the fact that they were not interested in seizing the power.
7. A brief remark nevertheless: While Algerians are very aware of the history of their country, the majority is ignorant of the revolutionary attempts in Europe for the last two centuries . They are moreover victims of the enticing display (all the glitter of commercial abundance) that the west presents to the penniless of the world. Any genuine revolutionary movement , at least in France, could perhaps have helped the Algerian insurrection to clarify its project.
8. There exists for the moment no serious and exhaustive study on this subject, in particular when it comes to the crucial question of the evolution of the relationships between the rioters and the delegates.
9. Coordination des Aarchs Dairas et Communes de la wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou (Coordination of the *Aarchs*, Counties and Townships of the Province of Tizi-Ouzou).
10. In particular ENTV, the State run television, banned from Kabylia.
11. This expression which is in use in Algeria refers to the private media. It refers to all of the news media, the majority of which is in French, which was born after the 1988 riots and the liberalization that followed. Actually, each newspaper has secret material and ideological ties to one or another clan of the Algerian government. These ties are more or less firm and each news paper worries first about serving its clan than informing. In their immense majority, the Algerians are not easily deceived on this subject.
12. Cf. Apology for the Algerian insurrection.
13. A comprehensible complicity with some local correspondents who are sincere sympathizers that is suspect in the eyes of the national press, which, besides, often blocked the information transmitted by these correspondents ■

# *The Return of the Moors*

*By Tarik Yacine*

*Translated from French by Rachid Dahmani*

*Tarik Yacine was born and still lives in Tigzirt, a town on the Mediterranean Coast of Kabylia in Algeria. He is an alumnus of the Mouloud Mammeri University, Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria, from where he graduated in French literature. He is currently teaching the French Language and literature in one of the high schools in his hometown.*

*Tarik writes in Tamazight and French. He contributes regularly to the Amazigh Voice with his short novels.*

I stood there, unmoved, like an invisible witness in an unusual and insane event. I saw a column of the dead coming out from underneath the tombs in our ancestral cemetery. Draped in white shrouds, resembling white waves in a sea in fury, they appeared successively from the belly of the ground. They looked alike, they all had the same faces, cold, dug, and ploughed by wrinkles. The swing plow of time had indistinctly furrowed their skin. A skin of the mummified, mat and dried up, expressing the pain that would have pursued them even after their long departure. Only the wet look of their eyes seems to give them life. A spark in the darkness in contrast to the frozen expression of these bodies set in motion by some kind of phantasmagoria.

They walked one behind the other as in a funeral procession. They moved forward, slowly but surely, in the same direction. They followed the same path. They must have acted in concert, obeying the same order, in a whitish, orderly, almost military procession.

Alone as a guard of honor, I saw parading these ghostly faces, each telling me a story. Such as dusty old books, they suddenly opened up on past existence, and, at precise passages, I could read the last moments before their demise.

Among them is a *Numid* warrior whose death as a gladiator in an arena goes way back. Another one was shot by a firing squad, in the middle of the colonial conquest. A martyr of the last war? I can't say which last war. Soldiers of God and other gods. Principal actors of these tragedies that this Land would know, this Land of free people that had seen them born, then would have buried them, until it exhumed them in my dream. Another resistance fighter, this one a victim of his own brothers. The causes were sacred and the enemy omnipresent.

Then came the supporting roles, the extras of an entire life, the representatives of the overwhelming majority of

the territory of the shadows. Those who, unwittingly, had constituted the decor of history. Those who endured the events even when they were actors. There was one woman who died of hysteria; she was said to be possessed. And yet another woman who died by giving life to a small man. There were numerous women who left while giving birth, engendering heirs who had no other heritage than the land of their ancestors. A young man who had killed himself was following behind. His heart must have given to irrationality. They kept following each other, each with his pains. Like volcanoes long ago extinct, at the dawn of an eruption. There were as many narratives as resurrected bodies.

The line of ghosts was just a sinuous vein in the middle of a plain. Like messiahs of a new religion, they began their pilgrimage. My dream had become their theater, as big as this African land. The purgatory had just begun, with the past ahead of them and the future behind them. Carrying a message from the assembly of the after-life, they were going to meet the living, those who were on borrowed life.

From village to village, city to city, the news spread throughout the country like a powder trail. We did not know which saints to worship anymore. We claimed a miracle. We bowed down. A blissful proselytism was born and a sudden religiosity captured these very amnesic mortals.

They had, by a sudden delight, become human again. They rediscovered sharing, solidarity, and respect for others. They decreed a national brotherhood. We started again talking about values from the past, dignity, love for neighbors, and justice. It was a real sea of holiness. They were overtaken by indescribable feelings. Fear, doubt, anxiety, the feelings were in their paroxysm. Time had stopped. Nothing was important anymore. The supernatural had regained its rights. We watched

cemeteries. We scrutinized the sky. Uncertain times had returned. A feverish restlessness rose slowly from the most humble toward the community leaders. Sought by all, the leaders of villages and other governors of the cities had people wait. They listened out for their decisions. Astrologers, theologians, and pressed by their believers, scholars too were in conclave. The event was unprecedented, as no reference can be found in sacred books or other predictions. The Last Judgment was not so described. So, what was thus happening? Meetings were organized. Information was sought. Endless discussions were taking place. The event was unprecedented, as no reference can be found in sacred books or other predictions. The Last Judgment was not so described. So, what was thus happening? Information was sought. Endless discussions were taking place. The event was new and the precedence was too archaic. The natural order was in question, an offence toward such an established common belief.

The reaction had to be commensurate with the upheaval. It was necessary to answer the miracle with a miracle. In fact, was it possible? The democracy of the living could not accommodate that of the dead. Who were the most representative of the living? Who was going to speak in their names? Who were we going to appoint? The hereditary leaders or the politicians? The elected representatives of the people or the religious leaders? The wisest or the bravest? The centenarians or the condemned to death? How do we receive them? What would we give them?

The time was crucial. The fateful moment of the meeting was approaching and required serene, humane, and courageous resolutions. We choose an idyllic place, like "a hole of greenery where a river sings," surrounded with olive and fig trees. Flowery plants of all kinds sprinkled the ground. A tepid and beneficial light stopped lighting

this Eden. The most favorable arrangements must be made and the ominous atmosphere that existed must be moderated.

The representatives of the living were already in place. They were the hosts of an unexpected and absurd visit. What could we expect from a dead man? They were all dressed well. They were dressed in their festive dresses, brilliant, multicolored, as in a marriage. The couscous was the only thing that was missing. Their heads were covered with *fezes*, with straw hats. They were really alive. We brought in a choir of nubile girls accompanied by a traditional orchestra. A hymn to the glory of the dead must be intoned in sign of welcome. A stele set up at the meeting place should immortalize the event.

A small white cloud, lost in the middle of the valley, moved upstream all the way to the plateau. It was them: the visitors. Those who had been forgotten and no one had been waiting for them. It was thus true that they were really there. It was deadly quiet throughout the plateau. Only the noise of insects, some sparrows, and the streaming of the water could be heard.

The anxiety was faced with tranquility. We stared at the newcomers, we tried to mentally reconstitute their faces in search of some resemblance, some knowledge. Who knows, it could be a grandfather, an old aunt, a distant parent. Who were they?

In a sweet child voice, the young choir broke the deathly silence and began an old tune in the language of their ancestors, giving grace to the heroism of the missing, praising their bravery, expressing the pain of the survivors. It was poetry to the rescue of the fate of man. Long and strident ululation came from the back following the lead of the melodious songs of the girls, giving more courage to the living. There were no embraces, no extended hands.

Embarrassment and distrust still remained. In sign of salute, the ghosts leant slightly forward, lowering their heads and shoulders, in a dignified reverence. Were they finally going to talk? We closely watched what these mouths, streaked with wrinkles, were going to say. One of them, probably their representative, stepped forward:



*A view of one of the Roman ruin site in Tigzirt*

"May the salvation of the after-life be with you," he said in a clear and lucid clear voice.

"May the grace of God be with you too, welcome," answered the representative of the living.

"Long live the dead!" chanted another in a breaking voice, the forehead covered with sweat. "You have forgotten us."

The spokesman: "we did not come to live among you again. May the providence save us from it. Nor did we come to break the balance of elements or the nature of things."

There was a brief silence, and then he continued:

"First of all, we come to refresh your memory, to wake you up since your oversight mortified your memories and plunged you into deep sleep. We come to remind you of many things that today you ignore disparagingly, because we know what you do not know yet. You are building your future by mystifying your past, which is us. Your omissions are unbearable and your lies unacceptable to the most resigned among us. Your amnesia is beyond belief. It is treacherous, and more than death, it is murderous. It scoffs at history and violates the memory."

"You have forgotten us, you left us out of your discussions. Aren't we your past anymore?"

You made us leave in your children's

history books. Aren't they our descendents anymore? You have forgotten that we preceded you on these hills, this valley, this plateau. Did we not exist? Haven't we been here? Would you be here if we had not been here."

"You have deliberately forgotten what we bequeathed to you. You have forgotten that you are on your way to join us. Or have you become immortal?"

"Many of those among us died only for your salvation. Their sacrifices made it possible for many of you to live. Others continue to live through your life. We are no longer here, but you should not get rid of the witnesses of our existence. You have, for a long time, broken the pact sealed between life and death. Do you believe that they are separable?"



*The little island from which the name of the city of Tizirt derives*

"There are people born among us who have forgotten their language, the one that their mother breastfed them. There are those who have forgotten even the names of their forefathers, the names of the plants that grow in their meadows, things that have no meaning without their name."

As if I floated above the head in a dream, I saw this handful of people in white, from whom we can only distinguish dark spots, by way of faces. In front of them was a subjected assembly, somewhat reassured by the turn of events.

The moments of silence that interrupted the monologue of the spokesman of the dead disturbed the living. They were stronger than words. They were the reason and the words were the heart.

The ghost caught his breath:

"We are also here because the space that was reserved for us was not meant for such a heavy death toll, all at once. Cemeteries are no longer cemeteries, they have become

battlefields. The often violent departure of those who join us does not allow us to handle their serene passage to the new life that we lead. Those we welcome today do not let us live the peace that we had hoped for in the hereafter. Their rest is disrupted by images from your world. Their sleep is shaken, and the frenzy haunts their double death.

They continue to complain and make us lose our sleep. They don't want to keep silent anymore. Some try to return among you; they have not been able to cut off the links by which they are connected to you. They wish they have completed what they had begun in your world. They left the heart tight, the soul bruised."

There was another much heavier silence. :

"Your irrationality exceeds all boundaries, even those that separate us ..." Salvoes of Kalashnikovs tore the dawn of Tizirt. I woke up terrified by the noise and disturbed by the visitors of my night." That morning at the high school, the time was no longer for the study of the narrative of fiction. We were already preparing the funerals■

# Tttrad n Yugurten

Tasuqilt n “La Guerre de Jugurtha”, Aħric wis 3.

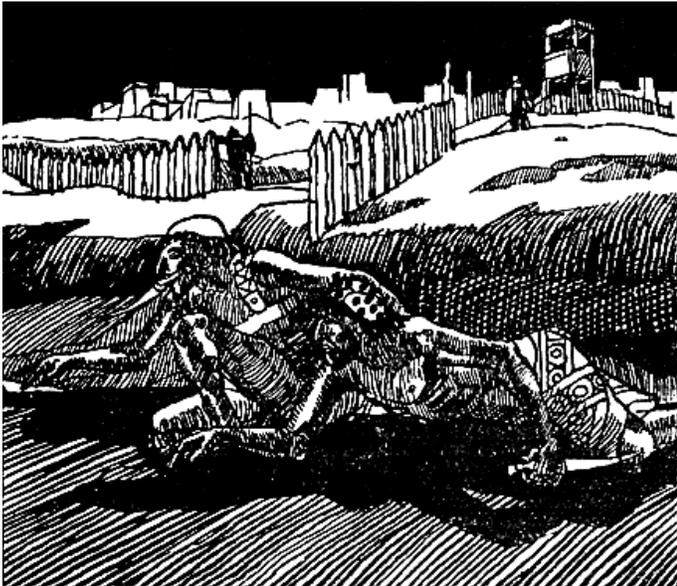
Syur Karim Achab

Wagi d aħric anegarru i d-yernan γef sin yezrin yakan. “Tttrad n Yugurten” d yiwen wedlis i yura Salust di leğwahi useggas -40 (weqbel Sisa) γef umennuγ i yedđran ger Rūm d Yugurten deg iseggasen – 111 d-105 (weqbel Sisa). Maca Salust d general n lεasker n Rūm, ittekka di tttrad-nni. Amezruy n umennuγ-agi yura-t akken yebγa ad t-walin medden. Nekkwni m’ar nγer ayen yura, ilaq ad nerr di lbal-nney belli tadyant-a tettunefk-aγ-d si yiwet n lğiha. D win i tt-ixedmen, i tt-irebħen, i tt-yuran.

Tasuqilt-a yerra-tt-id K. Achab si Tefransist “La Guerre de Jugurtha”, akken i tt-id-yerra Francois Richard si tlařinit, tizrigin GF-Flammarion, Paris, 1968.

Adlis akken i t-yura Salust s tlařinit, isem-is “Bellum Jugurthinum”.

**XXIII.** Akken i yessla yugurten belli imazanen n Wegraw n Rūm uγalen, ihi ikemmel lebyis. Iswi-ines ad yekkes tamanayt n Sirta i Wderbal,



ad tt-yerr d ayla-s. Yenna i lεasker-is ad γazen tisrafin ar a d-izzin akkw i Sirta, yerna tal tamdiqt yessbed deg-s taqacuct n taassast acku tayiwant-

nni ur sen-d-tezga ara akken tt-waεan. Am yid am wass, laasker-is ttheggin iman-nnsen. Imdufaε i ten-id-iqublen, wa wwin-t-id γer-sen s tejsal, win yugin ggullen ar ad tent-yay. Yugurten itteg tissas i lεasker-is macci d kra, ibeggen-asen-d belli zemren ad awđen γer wayen bγan, ur yeğgi acemma, iwala kra yellan.

Aderbal, netta, yefhem belli ur as-d-yeqqim wara, yeħsa acengu i t-id-iqublen ur yeshil ara, yerna yiwen ur yezmir ad yettkel fell-as ad t-iεiwen, ur yezmir ara ad ikemmel amennuγ acku kullec ixuss-it, lεasker-is ixuss ula d učči. Amek ara yexdem? Yextar-d sin iterrasen, wid i iyfazen ger lεasker-is, wid-enni i yeddān yid-s mi yerwel γer Sirta, sked d acu i sen-inεem mara tefru taluft yellan gar-as d Yugurten, yessebgen-d iman-is d meskin i wakken ad ten-iyad, uγalen uγen-as awal, yuzen-iten γer Rūm i wakken ad ssiwđen isallen n wayen yedđran, ffγen-d tayiwant n Sirta deg yid, selken

ur ten-ttifen ara lεasker n Yugurten, cerrgen Illel Agrakal, d abrid γer Rūm.

**XXIV.** Kra n wussan kan akka, imazanan n Uderbal ssawḍen tabratt i yuzen i Wgraw<sup>1</sup> n Rūm; ha-t-ah wacu i sen-yenna deg-s: macci d lebγi-w, a syadi imeqranen, ma yella uzney-n γer-wen i wakken a n-ssutrey laanaya-nnwen. Aya d ayen yettw aḥttmen fell-i, d ayen iḥettem fell-i nncaf n Yugurten. D nncaf-a i t-yessawḍen alarmi yebγa ad iyi-yekkes ula si ddunit. Ur iyi-iggi leqder i nekk wala i kenwi, wala i ssellaḥ d ssadatt-nney merra. D idammen-iw i yebγa ad issizzel. Ha-t-an tura wamek nekk yeddān yid-wen, nekk yeddān d wegduḍ n Rūm yerra-yi di ddiq, ur yi-ttfukku wayen akkw i s-yexdem Msibsa di lxiṛ, ur yi-ttfukku ma tberram deg-s. Aqli ḥesley ger lεasker-is d laz, γas menεay i lεasker-is ad iyi-yerny laz. Liḥala i-deg lliγ ass-a ur iyi-tefki ara ad awen-iniy nnig waya γef ayen yaanan Yugurten. Rriγ-d s lexbar belli ur ttammen ara medden wid terza teswaεt. Maca γef akken walaγ, macci ala nekk kan i tḥuza tiyta, tḥuza ula d wid i d-yekkan nnig-i. Gef wannect-a, ur as-d-yewwi ara lḥal ad tent-yerbeḥ i snat: ad yawi tigelda-inu yerna ad yaεdel yid-wen. Anta axir-as si ssnat-a γef wakken twalam kenwi? D ayen zran akkw medden, γer tazwara yenγa gma Ḥemsal, yerna iderq-iyi-d si tgelda i yi-d-yeḡḡa baba. Ḥsiγ belli γer-wen drus n lbaṭel annect-a yakkw, maca ur tettut ara belli ass-agi, d tagelda-nnwen i yewwi Yugurten, d tagelda-nnwen acku d kenwi i yi-rran d agellid n Imaziγen. Ihi ass-a, zret belli d winna akken i d-tesbeddem kenwi d agellid i yerra Yugurten di ddiq. Ass-a s wayen iyi-yuγen, iban-d d acu i yezmer ad yexdem Yugurten s wayen i tcerdem fell

-as. Ur ittak azal i wawal-nnwen, ala iyil kan i yzemren ad t-yehbes.

A wi yufan lemmer acetki-agi yakkw i nettcetkiγ d wayen akkw i nessawḍey s Agraw n Rūm d tikerkas! Maca liḥala i deg lliγ ass-a tessebgan-d belli ayen akk i awen-qqaren d tidett macci d lekdeb. Ihi imi i d-luleγ i wakken ad ssiwḍey Yugurten γer lebγi n wul-is abeydi, macci d lmut i yugadeγ ass-a, a ssarameγ kan ur d-γelliγ ara ger ifassen-is i wakken ur issakkay ara fell-i adagas<sup>2</sup>. Ihi, tagelda n Numidya d ayla-nnwen, ayen i wen-yehwan xedmet-tt yis-s. Maca nekk ssukkest-iyi-d si ger ifassen n umezray-a, d annect-a kan ar a n-ssutrey di laanaya n umenkud<sup>3</sup>-nnwen d tdukli i γ-icerken, ma yella kan mazal tecfam γef lxiṛ i wen-yerra jeddi Massnsen.”

**XXV.** Mi tekfa tebratt-a s leqraya, kra n imaslāden n Wegraw n Rūm ssutren i wakken ad tazen Rūm igen<sup>4</sup>-is γer Tmazγa, ad d-ssuksen Ad-erbal. Bγan daγen ad msefhamen din-din amek ara s-xedmen i Yugurten imi ur ten-iquder ara. Maca d imuγal<sup>5</sup>-a n Uderbal (meslayey-d fell-asen yakan) i yewwten daγen i wakken ur d-ssuffuγen ara tanatt γef Yugurten am akken leṣlaḥ-nnsen nitni yekka-d nnig n leṣlaḥ n uzayez<sup>6</sup>-nnsen.

Γas akka, Rūm tuzen γer Tmazγa kra n lḥerriyen<sup>7</sup> imeqranen, wid yuγ lḥal zik d iqerra n kra n temsal. Gar-asen yella Skarus (Scarus), d Aqunṣul, meslayey-d yakan fell-as, imiren yuγi-t lḥal d ameqran n Wegraw.

Imaziγen n Numidya iyaḍ-iten lḥal aṭas γef wayen i yexdem Yugurten, tamsalt meqqret, deg wass wis

krad segmi i nnejmaɛen deg Wegraw n R̥um, tamagla<sup>8</sup> i d-yeffyen seg unejmaɛ-nni tebda abrid γer Tmazγa. Amecwar wwden γer Utik. S-yenna imazanen n tmagla-nni uznen-as tabratt i Yugurten i wakken ad d-yass s yiman-is γer temnaṭ<sup>9</sup> n R̥um anda ar a yemlil yid-sen. Asmi i yesla Yugurten belli macci d imazanen kan n menwala i d-yettwaznen γer-s, acku yesla-yissen γur-sen azal, γur-sen lhiba ula di R̥um, yuγal yergagi cwiṭ, ihuba-ten γas akken mazal yedmaɛ ad yawed γer lebγi-s.

Yugurten yugad Agraw n R̥um ma yella ur asen-yuγ ara awal, maca yessderγel-it uramsu<sup>10</sup>-yines, yerna ul-is yemmal s isenfaɛen<sup>11</sup>-is ibeγḍiyen. Fer tagara, d abrid-agi abeγḍi i yextar.

Yezzi-yas-d akkw i Sirta s lɛasker-is, yexdem akkw ayen i wumi yezmer i wakken ad yaanu talemast n tγiwant, akken ad yebḍu icenga-yis γef sin izegnan, ad yeγleb lɛasker n Uderbal s tin n draɛ neγ s tfukal. Maca, macci akken tt-yessarem i d-teffeγ, yerna Aderbal yemnaɛ-yas, ur t-id-ltṭif ara d amehbus uqbel timlilit netta d imaslaḍen<sup>12</sup> n Wegraw n R̥um. Ihi i wakken ur issiγzif ara agellel<sup>13</sup> γef Skarus (Scaurus) d tarbaɛt-is, iruḥ s amkan i-deg i s-d-fkan ttaɛud, i d-yezgan di temnaṭ n R̥um. Dinna, smeγren awal aṭas, imaslaḍen n Wegraw n R̥um cerḍen fell-as ad isbaɛd lɛasker-is si Sirta. Yugurten ur ten-yugad, ur yeqbil ad yexdem akken i s-d-nnan. Imaslaḍen n R̥um uγalen ḥenturi!



**XXVI.** Asmi i yewweḍ lexbar γer Sirta, laasker n R̥um i yuγ lḥal ttḥaraben γef Uderbal di Sirta imi zran sɛan azal meqquer, nwan acemma ur ten-yettaγ γas ma teγli tγiwant n Sirta ger ifassen n Yugurten acku tteklen γef lhiba i tesɛa tmurt n R̥um. Ihi nnan-as i Wderbal ad yanez i Yugurten s netta s tγiwant-is, ḍemnen-t acemma ur t-yettaγ, imi ddaw laanaya n Wegraw n R̥um i yella. Aderbal netta, lemmer d lebγi-s, ad yeqbel kullec ala annect-a! Maca yeγra ur t-id-isaḥ ara ad yagwi ayen ar as-d-inin lrumyen, yeḥsa ma yugi d nitni ara t-yeffken i Yugurten, d annect-a i t-yewwin ad yexdem akken i s-d-nnan war lebγi-s. Mi d-yeγli ger ifassen-is, Yugurten idegs<sup>14</sup>-it armi i t-yenγa, yerna imengaḍ ama d Imaziyen

ama d lrumyen, ala win ur ufin ara lɛasker-is zdat-sen.

**XXVII.** Asmi i yewweḍ lexbar n wamek tella temsalt γer Wegraw n Rūm, dinna, d wid-nni i yellan ddan d Yugurten i d-isaḥ wawal, tḥamin γef Yugurten, bγan ad d-beggnen belli ur yaadda ara i tilas, tikkwal skarayen dinna amennuγ i wakken ad d-awin lweqt imi zran ayen akkw ar ad d-inin isɛa azal-is imi γur-sen azal γer wiyad aṭas. Lemmer macci d C. Memmius, yiwen n Lamin n lγaci n menwala, ittaadi wawal-is yerna iḥerriyen d ixsimen-is, i d-yessbanen i lγaci belli kra seg wid-nni yettmeslayen γef taluft-nni bγan ad ggen am akken acemma ur yeḍri, ad rḡḡun alamma texsi, tilli akken ara ykemmell ume-slay alamma d ayen yaadda-ten wurrif, acku aṭas n medden i yettqadaren Yugurten, yerna yesserwayasen awray<sup>15</sup>.



Tugna n Sallust i yuran “Tḥtrad n Yugurten”

Imi walan imdanen iγad-iten lḥal aṭas, imaslade n Wegraw n Rūm ugaden, zran γeldēn acku macci d lḥeq ad ḡḡen taluft am tinna ad texsi. Ihi xedmen

ayen i d-yersen deg yiwen n usaḍuf<sup>16</sup> i wumi qqaren “Asaḍuf n Semprunia”. Asaḍuf-a yaammed i wdabu<sup>17</sup> n Rūm ad yefk ama d tamurt ama d tamnaṭ i yqunsuliyen ar a d-sbedden. Ihi gemnen ad fken tamnaṭ n Numidiya i wqunsul i wumi qqaren L. Calpurnius Bestia. Syenna akkin sekkren-d yiwen n yigen ar a aznen γer Tmazγa.

**XXVIII.** Yugurten, asmi i yesla s lexbar-a ur yelli ara di ddunit. Fer γur-s di Rūm kra yellan yettnuzu, yiwwass i terṣa tikti-yagi deg wallaγ-is. Ihi yuzen mmi-s d sin n yemdukalis d inesmigal s Agraw n Rūm, yenna-yasen ad xedmen akken xedmen wid-nni i yuzen mi yemmut Ḥemṣal, meḥsab ad yesserbi awray d tejsal i wid i yzemren neγ wid i yqeblen ad ḥamin fell-as deg Wegraw n Rūm. Uqbel ad leḥqen γer din, Bestia Calpurnyus, winna akken i yerra Wegraw n Rūm d aqunsul n Numidiya, yesteqsa Agraw ma bγan ad ḡḡen imazanen<sup>18</sup> i d-yuzen Yugurten ad d-kecmen tamdint n Rūm. Ha-t-a wacu i s-yerra Wegraw n Rūm: ma yella ur d-usin ara i wakken ad fken lɛahed belli a d-tḥfen Yugurten yerna aγ t-id-fken s netta s tgelda-yis, ihi ilaq-asen ad uγalen deg wass wis krad ma ɛaṭlen. Aqunsul-nni yerra-asen s lexbar i ymazanen-nni, ihi uγalen γer tmurt-nnsen fiḥel akkw ma zran imaslade n Wegraw. Maca Calpurnyus yuγi-t lḥal ihegga lɛasker-is, yerna isedda deg yigen-is kra n lḥerriyen am wid yecban Skarus (mmeslayeγ-d yakan fell-as, d wayen yaɛnan tasertit<sup>19</sup>-is) i wakken ad t-ssren anida yessexser. Gas akken aṭas n tγawsiwin i deg i yfaz Calpurnyus, ama di tfekka ama di tikiwin, ixeddem aṭas, yettmeyyiz send ad yexdem kra, yessen ad yennaγ, ur yettagwad ur yettkukru, maca yessexsar iman-is acku iteffeγ-it laɛqel γef uṣurdi d ttrika, d

aseqqaḍ macci d kra.



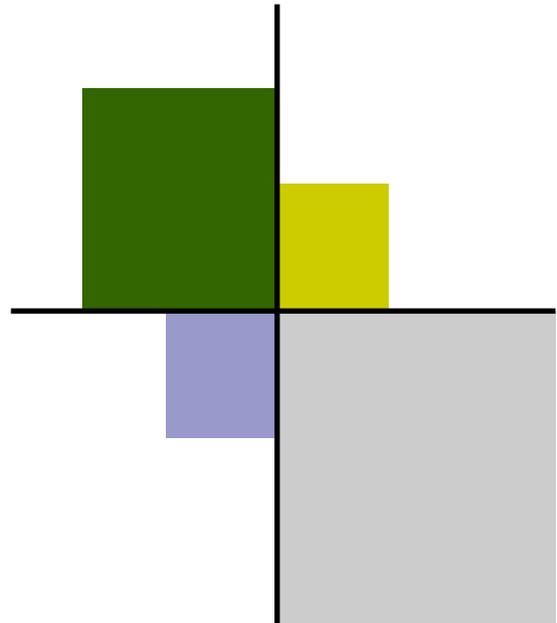
Yugurten yettwaṭṭef, yettwarez s slasel

Lɛasker n Calpurnyus tṭfen abrid yer Tmazya, kkan si Ttelyan, tazwara rran yer Rigyum, syenna yer Sisilya, kemmlen yer Tmazya. Nitni beggsen s amennuγ, acemma ur ten-ixus, akken wwḍen yer Tmazya rran srid yer temnaṭ n Numidya. Dinna, di kra n imennuγen kan tṭfen-d atas n imeḥbas yerna wwin leḥkem n kra n temdinin.

#### Inamaken:

- 1 Agraw = Senate (Senat)
- 2 adagas = torture (la torture)
- 3 amenkud = empire
- 4 igen = army (armée)

- 5 imuγal = partisans
- 6 azayez = public
- 7 iḥerriyen = nobles
- 8 tamagla = delegation (une délégation)
- 9 tamnaṭ = province
- 10 aramsu = passion
- 11 isenfaṛen = projects (projets)
- 12 imaslaḍen = members (membres)
- 13 agellel = delay ( delai, attente)
- 14 idegs-it = He tortured him (il l'a torturé)
- 15 awraγ = gold (de l'or)
- 16 asaḍuf = law (loi)
- 17 adabu = state authority (pouvoir politique)
- 18 imazanen = envoys (les émissaires)



## Tukkist n Tmedyazt

*Syur Lħasen Ziyani*



*Lħacene Ziani, ilul ass n 13 di tuber 1953 di taddart n Tala Wulman, tayiwant n Timezrit, tamnadt n Bgayet. Gar tusnakt-tanfumatit i yeγra akk d leqdic d umennuγ γef tmaziγt d tugdut di tmurt n Lezzayer, Lħacene yettwassen dayen deg wennar n yedles. Akken d ilemzi, isem-is yufrar-ed netta d tezlit taqbaylit tatrart deg iseggasen n 70. Isefra-ines cnan-ten ldeflawen, Nouara akk waggay Anzar yettilin di tmurt n Kanada. Si 1991, Lħacene Ziani yettidir di Montreal...akin i tmurt-is.*

*Awalen agi twaksen-d deg wedlis "Tijeγγigin n wawal" l yura s timad-is.*

### Tidet

Tetteqqes am tzizwit  
 Gas ma tesεa ddw a n ħellu  
 Tecba tala tanašlit  
 Tettazzal ur tkeffu  
 Udem-is ireq nettwali-t  
 Yeħma am yiγij deg unebdu

Tidet muħal ad teγli  
 Ma neqqen-itt ad d-tesseyres  
 Ma nemđel-itt ad d-temyi  
 D i tefsut lew hi n meγres  
 Di lqaε n lbir ad d-tini  
 Isem-iw yiwen ur t-ittekkes

Yiwen wass ad teγγuģeg am lxux  
 Ar d aγ-d-teγģ tizeggayin  
 A tt-ihuz wađu s zzux  
 Ad ternu i tebħirin  
 Ad yečč amur-is wefrux  
 Ad yaf ddwa-s umuđin.

### A mmi!

Uyseγ a mmi ad timγuređ  
 Ad tessekweđ imeṭṭawen-iw  
 S trugza-k ad iyi-tcebbħeđ  
 Ad yennecraħ wexxam-iw  
 Ma d tura urεad tzemređ  
 Ad cewqeγ fell-ak iman-iw

I d fell-i a k-sseyreγ  
 I d fell-ak a mmi ad tecfuđ  
 Nekk abrid ad ak-t-nejreγ  
 Ayen ttuγ a t-id-ternuđ  
 Ma deg teswiεt-a a k-ffreγ  
 Ur k-ttaģģay ara ad truđ

Axxam γur-k ara d-yeqqim  
 Ay agellid uzekka  
 Issin aεeqqa d weclim.

**Tiselbi**

Mačči d yiwet a tt-id nini  
 Gef yixef-iw i t-izedyen  
 Sbeḥ yettargu lfani  
 Tameddit d iḍeballen  
 Ha Yettru, ha yettyenni  
 Am tegnawt ifuṛaren  
  
 Tikwal ttaḡent teftilin  
 Yettfeḡḡiḡ ḡur-i wayyur  
 Ttwaliḡ deg udrar akin  
 Ttbanen ferzen lumur  
 Tikwal d tllam i d-yezzen  
 Ttḥulfuḡ l ttejra-w teqqur  
  
 Ul-iw ameḡbun meskin  
 Yessaram ayen ur d-nḡerru  
 Ger dixel yebḡa ḡef sin  
 Ireq yettaḡ am usafu  
 Yebḡa amenzu neḡ wis sin  
 D rray-is yugi ad yefru  
  
 Kečč ay aḡebbuḡ amcum  
 Teččiḡ i yesseblaḡ wakal  
 Teḡḡiḡ-i ttabaḡeḡ aḡrum  
 Ḋefreḡ-k uḡaleḡ d lmal  
 Ma jebdeḡ lebḡar s lḡum  
 Mazal ad d-tiniḡ, mazal  
  
 A rray-iw ay aḡerbal  
 Kra rqiḡen tebrid-as  
 Truḡ-ak akkit d aqlaqal  
 Teshitriḡed am yiḡ am wass  
 Ammer ad tgerrzeḡ lecḡal  
 Ad tgeḡ i yiman-ik tilas.

**A d-nessefru**

Asefru ḡur-neḡ yelha  
 Yettruḡ uzzal i leḡyud  
 Ma yeffeḡ-d si tmucuha  
 Neḡ ibder-d kan lejdu  
 Adrar, abernus, yemma  
 Tilelli azul lbarud  
 D tayi i nsemma d tagrawla  
 S wayi i nesaḡen agdud  
 Nettmeslay mebla lmaḡna  
 Nettu akk ayen i neffud  
  
 Gef ḡerḡer necna aḡas  
 Gef tḡaltin d ideflawen  
 Yal lḡir yugar fella-s  
 Kulci iban ḡef wudmawen  
 Ur d-neḡdir ula yiwen wass  
 Gef ukessar akk d usawen  
 Gef lḡarma yeḡlin ḡef tullas  
 Yettrebbin igujilen  
 Gef ilemzi yerrzen deg wammas  
 D aqabac i t-isewwen  
  
 Kra win yennan adrar yecbeḡ  
 Yettu widak yelluzen  
 Yebḡa a ḡ-d-yesseḡli ḡer ccḡeḡ  
 Neḡ yettcewwiq ad aḡ-yesgen  
 Netta di ssraya-s yefreḡ  
 Yettferriḡ deg wiyid hebbren  
 Wamma lḡala n ufellaḡ  
 Deg laḡmer tesseḡmeḡ yiwen  
 D acu deg uḡus umertaḡ  
 Targext n uḡelzim tezyen.

**D acu akka**

Yal wa taεkemt i yeεbba  
 Izzuγur deg-s am yefker  
 Wiyiđ ur ten-iħuz ara  
 Yal wa i s-yehwan a t-iżer

D acu akka i yexdem ufellaħ  
 Deg lexla yerwa amenţer  
 Yečča wayζaz d uleħlaħ  
 Lmeħna izmer-as şşber

D acu akka i yesruħ umertaħ  
 Irwa iđes d wesxerxer  
 Deg zenqan ittenderwaħ  
 Tilufa-s akk d askaεrer

D acu akka i yxussen amechah  
 Ala tawant d uqesser  
 Deg tama-s ulac ssmeħ  
 D tarwiħt-is kan i yzeyyer

D acu i d-isaħen ameddaħ  
 Tawurt yufa a tt-idemmer  
 Asmi akken bđan lerbaħ  
 Nnan-as kečči zemmer

D acu akka i yelħeq uberraħ  
 D win yugin ad iżer  
 Asmi i yuγal d abeħbaħ  
 Ifuk fell-as usberber

D acu akka i yuγen ageswaħ  
 Akken i d-tusa a tt-imager  
 Ul-is meskin d amaččaħ  
 Alamma yefna laεmer.

**Arrac**

Ukiγ-d d yiđ yestewħac  
 Iyli-d tħlam d uγunzu  
 Wayi d şşut n warrac  
 I d-yekkan Tizi-Wezzu  
 Ttsuγun smaħ ulac  
 Ur nħebbes ur nettruzu  
 Ad neg afud i laεrac  
 D kra yeddand amenzu

Şşut yeqqel-d si Guraya  
 D luluf i t-irefden  
 Fer Tubirett d Ccenwa  
 Lberğ d Stif aεlayen  
 S tinzar akk d nniya  
 Wedfen i řsas idmaren  
 Qqaren tekfa rriya  
 Texleđ tidi d idammen

Awal deg Leqser nura-t  
 Nessefhem-it deg At Yiraten  
 W'ibγan a t-isel yesla-t  
 Ala ahat wid yemmuten  
 Ihi tura ulac tifat  
 Tasusmi ala ayen ifaten  
 Lbaţel dayen nerwa-t  
 D tissas i d-yeqqimen.

### Iɖan

Slam-nsen d rregmat  
 Tikli yid-sen d ayilif  
 Ttarran lekni yef tuyat  
 Ul berrik iles yezzif  
 Ayrum d aṭṭan ma fkan-ak-t  
 Nekkini a t-rnuγ d lhif

Ma tḥfen ajeḡḡig deg ufus  
 S wayeḍ a k-wten γer lexwa  
 S uḍar a k-dlun ammus  
 A k-simsen mi yasen ihwa  
 Deg unebdu a k-d-gen abernus  
 A k-t-cerwen di ccetwa

Sserwaten berra n wennar  
 Rran-aγ luḍa d asawen  
 Abyir iwweḍ-iten s amnaḥ  
 Nekkni bekmen-aγ imawen  
 Ma yesrafeg lbaγ yufrar  
 A t-rzen deg wafriwen.

### Anaγur

Aṭas i terεed ur tewwit  
 Ur d-teγli tiqit  
 Ur neḥri tafukt  
 Ur terwil tagut

Ata unaγur ata-ya  
 S rεud d usigna  
 Ahat tikkelt-a  
 Igenni ad d-yeγli

Ata unaγur ata-ya  
 Ata yerza-d yef tyaltin  
 Deffir n waḍu i d-yekka  
 Abu n nnhati merḥa  
 Ihuzzen akkit timdinin

A tafsut n useggas-a  
 D acu i yzaden yef yilindi  
 S unaγur i d-tessejba  
 Ttfurun isaffen d tirni  
 Tenneqlab tagnawt tura  
 Terεed tebreq tettifi

Terεed tebreq deg igenni  
 Ah! A d-ḥemlen isaffen  
 Fiḥel ma tefkam tiγri  
 Ḥsan merra ifellaḥen  
 Ḥsan s unaγur-nni  
 A d-akin akk wid yetṭsen.

**Lbaz**

Ass-nni mačči am wiyid  
 Teħzen tegnawt iwumi  
 Yeγli-d lweħc d usemmid  
 Sersen-d fell-aγ tasusmi  
 Yal tasa yekcem-itt lγid  
 Yal afus yuγal γef yimi

Yeffeγ-d ššut deg idurar  
 Yettcerrig deg ulawen  
 Aħnin yerfed s lecfar  
 Yetterdeq d imeṭṭawen  
 Γef lbaz yekker uγebbar  
 Rzan-t-id deg wafriwen

Ass-ayi amek ar a t-nettu  
 Teqqel-d fell-aγ tmeddit  
 Ma deg umezruy a t-naru  
 Wid i γ-yerzan tiffuħlit  
 Lmut n lbaz a s-necfu  
 Tezlez fell-as dunnit

Amek ar a s-nini i yemma-s  
 Yiwen d awħid ay tesεa  
 Amek ar a nmager tullas  
 Yeğğlen ur sεint dderya  
 Lbaz yeqqed-it weħlalas  
 Yeqqed-aγ akkit mi s-nesla.

**Igujilen n yiles**

Ay imeγban yennumen  
 Yennumen šber d tugdi  
 Tetten deg ufus n medden

Ayen i d-ħellan s tidi  
 Tidi tenđer-d igeđman  
 Yettef-iten ufus anekkar  
 Afus-nni i ten-yerran  
 D igujilen s ičumar

Ay igujilen n yiles  
 A tagmat izamaren  
 Win i d-yusan a ten-illes  
 S usemmid kan i ħulfan  
 Rray mačči d ayla-nsen  
 Ayagi d ayla umeksa  
 Nutni d acu ttalasen  
 Siwa leħcic ma yella

Igellil n igellilen  
 D win γef i teđsa tidi-s  
 Tettmar γef wanda tt-εelfen  
 Widak yesqađen amur-is  
 Agujil n igujilen  
 D win yettewten γer yiles  
 Tiyita-nni i t-yessawđen  
 Γer tiderγelt ur ntekkes.

### Uzligen

Taqbaylit tektal tewzen  
 D agerruj ur nfennu  
 D arraw-is i tt-ɛuzzen  
 Ad nerreḡ walla ad neknu  
 Tanemmirt i kra tt-lḥerzen  
 Lḡil ajdid a s-yernu  
  
 Nnan-aḡ wid ijerrben  
 Yir asḡar ur ittleqqim  
 Ma tseḡsam wid iɛetben  
 Yir lmal ur ideqqim  
 Ma deg tikli n wid icaben  
 Yir amdan hder neḡ qim  
  
 Ad nhedder ad nettemsefham  
 Tef at yiles d aleggaḡ  
 Ḡḡan-aḡ nettemsewham  
 lmi afus d azeggaḡ  
 Ma d tura aqlaḡ nennecham  
 Nekkini akk' ay tt-urgay  
  
 Deg tama aqemmuc d amger  
 Alami serḡmen izem  
 Deg tayed ifassen d nger  
 Mačči d kra a t-id-nezzem  
 Mi deg tefsut rekḡen iger  
 And' akken rqiḡet a tt-negzem.

### Aferḡeḡḡu

Am uferḡeḡḡu  
 l ttruseḡ ttafgeḡ  
 Ma d ḡḡay-inu  
 Amek ar a s-geḡ  
  
 Ttɛelliy igran  
 Rniḡ tibḡhirin  
 Gemreḡ-d ḡḡeman  
 Rseḡ ḡef lyasmin  
 Tikli-w deg genwan  
 Zedḡeḡ tiḡaltin  
  
 Ddiḡ i tziri  
 Ččiḡ d sslaḡen  
 Kkiḡ-d sḡḡari  
 Lḡiḡ d cwaḡen  
 Ass-a berka-yi  
 D tewser i-d-yessawḡen  
  
 Muḡleḡ ur walaḡ  
 Lhem iyi-d-yezzin  
 Yal ass ttgallaḡ  
 Ttuḡaleḡ alamma d din  
 Ma yeḡḡa wallaḡ  
 Alamma d timedlin.

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## **A member of the Amazigh World Congress arrested then expelled from Morocco**

A Tuareg representative at the Amazigh World Congress, Ousmane Ag Mohamed, has reappeared ...in Mauritania after having been arrested and held several days by agents of the Moroccan political police.

In a statement to the media, he declared that he was detained in an unknown place where he was subjected to endless interrogation. On the weekend of February 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, the Moroccan authorities deported him to Mauritania.

It is worthwhile to mention that Ousmane Ag Mohamed was in the company of his wife and his few months old baby.

The Amazigh World Congress denounced this illegal detention followed by a deportation and emphasized "the anti-Amazigh apartheid in Morocco", "that opens its doors to the Middle Eastern Arabs and closes them on our Amazigh brothers and sisters from the South of Tamazgha i.e. the Sahel countries".



## **Welcome to ZARI, a new Pan-Amazigh association in France**

Amazigh activists living in the south of France (Bouches du Rhône) native of Kabylia and Rif founded an association which hopefully will bring the changes for the future generations of Amazighs of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region.

This new organization is meant to be an incubator for the next generation of Amazigh activists from all Berber speaking regions of North Africa, the so called ZARI association will hold its general assembly on February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2010 in Marseille.



## **At Radio Soummam (Bgayet, Algeria) the purge has already begun**

Radio Soummam broadcasts its programs for 100% Amazigh speaking region (Bgayet in Kabylia). However, 40% of its programs are in Arabic language. And, for the new manager of this local Radio, M. Belaidi, 40% is not

enough.

Here is the story of Céline who used to present a program on Kabyl poetry, "Awal s Usefru" of good quality and very well documented. She worked in close collaboration with the Department of Amazigh Studies at the universities of Bgayet, Tizi Ouzou and Tubirett. This gratifying record did not, however, please the manager of this government owned radio who repeatedly blamed her for not including Arabic-speaking poets in her program. Despite Céline's argument that she has nothing against the Arabic language but she does not feel competent to talk about Arabic poetry, she has been recently dismissed. Sourced: Liberte, February 09<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

### **Amazigh Voice:**

*In fact, this story reflects the paradoxical situation of Imazighen in North African countries. They are forgotten if they live in Arabic speaking regions of their country because they are a minority. And, when they live in an Amazigh speaking regions, they are told that the rules dictated the government apply everywhere in the country, or they live under the rule of zealous individuals, such as M. Belaidi, appointed by the central government to sabotage any initiative aiming at genuinely promote the Amazigh Culture; the true objective of these media is to invade any cultural space with alienating programs.*



### **The CNPLET launches its newsletter**

M. Abderazzak Dourari is the chairman of the National Center for education and linguistics for the teaching of Tamazight in Algeria (French acronym CNPLET). According to the daily newspaper Liberté, this institution has launched a magazine called "Timsal n Tmazight". Source: Liberté 12/02/2009

Dr. Dourari, a government appointed director of the CNPLET is a zealous advocate for the use of Arabic script for Tamazight. He has always dismissed as a work of amateurs and activists, with no scientific substance the research work done by Amazigh specialists, including the most outstanding such as Mouloud Mammeri and Professor Salem Chaker .

So, what kind of magazine "Timsal n Tmazight" could be? We learned from Amazigh activists in Algeria that the Magazine in question is written in French and Arabic which shows the little interest this institution has in promoting Tamazight as a language.

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this region openly debate on their historic identity without them being the initiators.

- Add to that the ideological approximations of the regimes of this region where, at best, a model of a schizophrenic citizen being at the same time Arab and Amazigh is proposed. This cannot stand a fair debate for a minute!

Moreover, and in prevision of the next jousts, we have a suggestion to the parties in conflict: Please, go and ask the recipients of the insults in which terms they wish to be insulted. This way, the parties in conflict would be well defined. It's true; nobody is pleased to be counted as a collateral damage.

As for us, Amazighs without any other surrogate identity, we are determined to pursue our path towards the rehabilitation of our culture as well as the recognition of the historic identity of North Africa.

In this issue of Amazigh Voice, we invite you to discover (or to rediscover?) Lahcene Ziani, in an excerpt of his latest collection of poetry *Tijeǧǧigin n Wawal* or *Blossoms of words*. Tarek Yacine is back with a short story on the return of the ancestors to remind us of our duty towards our culture. A perfect script for an Ingmar Bergman's movie! Karim Achab, tirelessly continues to delight us with his translations of Sallust's "Wars of Jugurta". We also included a retrospective analysis of the "Black Spring" events of 2001 by Robert Vasseur. As the author says it so well, it is unfortunate that such an analysis is not the work of one of the leaders of the Movement, which, at first, had aroused so much hope■

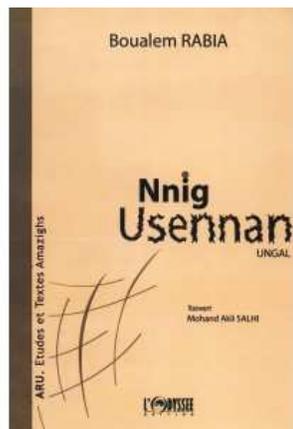
\* Middle Age Muslim dynasty that claimed ascendance to Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad.



## Kra n Yedlisen

Boualem Rabia d aselmad n tutlayt Tafransist deg temnaṭ n Iazzugen di Tmurt n Leqbayel. Yerna d anazur uṣur gten imahilen: D amedyaz, d acennay, am akken dayen i d-yefka tallalt di sinema ineṭṭqen s Tmaziyt ideg iṣeggem imeslayen (scenario) akk d uzewweq (decoration) n isura.

Deg wennar n tsekla yessufey-d sin yedlisen. Amezwaru s Tefransist "Florilege de poèsie Kabyle". Wis sin d ungal i -wumi isemma "Nnig usennan".



**Nnig Usennan**

**Syur:**  
**Boualem Rabia**

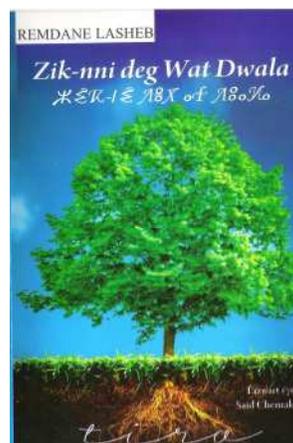
**Tizargin:**

**L'Odysee, Tizi-Wezzu, Ležayer**

Ramḍan Leṣhab d aselmad n Tmaziyt deg Tmurt n Leqbayel. Yettaru s Tmaziyt akk d Tefransist. "Zik-nni Deg Wat Dwala" d idles-ines wis sin. Yerna yura dayen kra n yeḍrisen I d-yessufuy deg tesyunin am Tayect Tamaziyt.

Tikkelt-agi yewwi-d awal yef wid, akk d tid, yesεan azal, yef wid ney tid yettwabdaren deg Wat Dwala leqrun-agi yezrin. Degs dayen tamedyazt, amezruy, Tussna n Tmetti,...atg.

Yerna isefhem-d amek i d-ttlalent tudrin n Tmurt n Leqbayel, amek beṭṭun iderman d laεrac.



**Zik-nni Deg Wat Dwala**

**Syur:**  
**Ramḍan Leṣhab**

**Tizargin:**  
**Tira, Bgayet, Ležayer**

**Isebtar: 76**