

The Amazigh Voice

Tayect Tamaziyt

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442 Route 206 North Suite 163
Bedminster, NJ 07921 USA
phone/fax: (630) 718-1129



Tasyunt n Tiddukla Tadelsant
Tamaziyt deg Mmarikan
<http://www.tamazgha.org>
acaatamazgha.org
amazighvoice@tamazgha.org

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Road Signs In
downtown Tizi-Wezzu, Kabylia

The Amazigh Voice

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Editors

Rabah Seffal
Arezki Boudif
Jane Josie-Bounar
Akli Gana
Sabrina Gana
Ahcene Larbi

Contributors

Zighen Aym
Kamal Bouamara
Akli Gana
Mokhtar Ghambou
Helene E. Hagen
Ahcene Larbi

Design & Production

Rabah Seffal
Akli Gana

Distribution

Rabah Seffal

The Amazigh Voice welcomes articles, columns, reviews, and poems in Tamazight or English. Please send your contribution by e-mail to:

amazighvoice@tamazgha.org
or

Amazigh Voice
PO Box 1763
Bloomington, IL 61704

ACAA can be contacted at
PO box 5266
Wheaton, IL 60189

Letters to the Editors

Tibratin i Yimazragen

Azul

Di tazwara azul fella-wen d ameqran akken tellam, saramey ad teyrem ayen i awen-d-uriy deg tebratt-a. Nek d tanelmادت i lemden tamaziyt deg uyerbaz wis sin (Leerbi Imadalen) aswir n 9AF. Hemley tamaziyt atas, byiy seg wul ad tili d tutlayt tayelnawt tunšibt, ad as-nekkes taduli i as-rran, ad fsin leqyud, ad teğğugğeg tefsut, ad nkemmel abrid i d-neğğren imezwuranney, akken i as-yenna Dda Lmulud at Mammer: “Nek°ni nefres d annar, wiyad yewwi d ad kemmlen”. Ihi d nek°ni i d immal, d nek°ni ara d-ikemmlen ayen bdan lejdud-nney.

Nek d tanelmادت i zedyen deg wedrar n ġerğer di tmurt n Lezzayer, luley ass wis 11 di stember 1983, i yebyan ad d-yeskeflen izerfan-nney, amezruy ak° d izuran i wakken ad yim-yur yidles-nney. Acku, lemmer ad nemmuqel ad d-naf idles ibeddu deg temzi.

Ad ak°en snemmerey atas, yerna ad sqedcey mass Ġridi Nadir, aselmad-nney n tmaziyt, yides ay ssawđey ad awen-d-aruy s tutlayt-iw.

Tanemmirt.

Syur Zehra Abderrahmane
Sidi-Aich, Bgayet

Hello,

My name is Fikri and I wish I could write to you in Tamazight. I am an Amazigh myself. I was born and raised in Holland but my parents are from the Rif region in Morocco. I am happy that organizations such as ACAA exist. I am sure that Tamazight and Imazighen will live forever. I think it is going to succeed because our youth is strongly conscious about our roots, and nothing can stop them. There is a lot of difference between our parents and our youth. Our youth is more realistic today while our parents were concerned about physical survival rather than Tamazight.

Tamazight will live forever while it still threatened by the Arabicisation program. I don't know much about the Kabyles but I think that we, from the Rif, are strongly related because the language of Ait-ouariaghel sounds similar to the language of the Kabyles. I am searching all kind of information about Imazighen. History should not be a mystery. Please E-mail me back at dark.angel@wxs.nl

Fikri
Holland

Independence, Development, Peace, and Tamazight in Algeria

by Zighen Aym

Once again, Tamazight found itself a victim of the government's political program of denial. On September 2, 1999, while campaigning for the peace initiative in Tizi-Wezzu, the Algerian Amazigh Capital, the new Algerian President, Abdelaziz Boutefliqa¹, shocked the Amazigh community when he said: "If it [Tamazight] must be a national language, it would never be an official one, and it can be a national language only through a referendum." He added that peace among Algerians came first before Tamazight. In doing so, the government has found a way of putting, for the third time on the back burner, the people's demand for the respect and promotion of the Amazigh culture and the teaching of Tamazight.

War of Independence

The first time was before the war of independence. At that time, a crisis had developed within the independence movement. Later known as "the Berber Crisis of 1949", it saw a rift between two groups: One sought an Algeria that would only be Arab in both language and culture. The other sought a democratic Algeria where all popular cultures would be respected and promoted without any discrimination. Resorting to violence, the pro-Arab group physically eliminated many Amazigh people. As a result, the issues of Amazigh language and culture were put on the back burner for the sake of independence from France.

During the seven-year long war of independence against France, the main Amazigh regions, Kabylia and Aures, were the main pillars of struggle, and supported the guerilla war with both money and fighters. A case in point is the number of Amazigh leaders among the Algerian revolutionary forces. A strong guerrilla in the Amazigh regions opposed the powerful French military machine. In addition, Wilaya III (Kabylia) had the largest funds among all the six different regions of Algeria as indicated in the recent publication of Abane Ramdane's Soumam Congress Report.

Development Plan

Upon independence, the Algerian government initiated a program to develop the country, but it simultaneously started a process of Arabicization and hired teachers from Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and Syria to teach Arabic to Algerians. For the second time, the government found a way to put Tamazight on the back burner when it argued that building and strengthening newly-independent Algeria came first before Tamazight. Repression fell on militants of Tamazight who made claims for their language and culture.

Today, more than 37 years since Algeria got its independence, it is still developing itself. And the government has no plan for Tamazight.

Peace Initiative

Today, for the third time in

Algeria's history, the government argues that peace comes before Tamazight. Despite the peace initiative and the amnesty given to the armed groups, more than 100 people have been killed in the month of November 1999 only².

Starting in 1988, the government faced a popular discontent triggered by an economic crisis. It resulted in riots, which were met with violent reprisal by the police and armed forces. Amidst the turmoil, the early 1990's saw the formation of armed religious groups that resorted to violence against the government forces. However, their main targets were intellectuals, journalists, educators, women, and farmers, peasants, and foreigners. One such victim was the Amazigh writer Tahar Djaout, a journalist and editor of a weekly newspaper "Ruptures", who was gunned down outside his house and died in June 1993. As a strong proponent of democracy and freedom, he was known for criticizing the policies of the government policies.

Double Standards

During the eight-year civil war, more than 100,000 civilians were killed. While violence was reaching every segment of the civil society, the government-appointed the non-elected National Transitional Council passed a law that made Arabic the only official language of Algeria in 1994. This law forbids people from using any language other than Arabic in ➔

public. It also requires the use of the Arabic language in all official documents.

When the government passed the language law in 1994, Algerians were daily targets of car bombs, and mass execution at roadblocks. Did the government care about the civilians then? Does it care today more than it did yesterday? This only shows the government's double standards when it comes to Tamazight.

By suggesting the idea of referendum, one must wonder how come the government neither suggested nor held a referendum for Arabic to become the official language. That is something called double standards. Moreover, the idea of referendum on Tamazight is illogical: One people's identity, language, culture and dignity, in this case Imazighen, can not be voted on by another people, in this case the speakers of Algerian Arabic.

Tamazight

During 1994-1995, Algeria faced a popular yearlong school boycott in the Kabylia region. After lengthy negotiations with the leaders of the Amazigh cultural movement (MCB), the government agreed to form a commission called HCA (High Commission for Amazighity) in May 1995. It also declared that: "Tamazight was the language of all Algerians", giving itself the right to manage the future of Tamazight: the common heritage of all Algerians as the government had asserted. Shouldn't such a declaration be a sufficient reason for making Tamazight an official and national language? Doesn't the declaration mean that Tamazight

is a full dimension of Algerian history and heritage?

The objective of the government's declaration is far from implying its genuine interest in the future of Tamazight: It was obviously only a ploy to stop Tamazight from becoming a regional issue because its discrimination against Tamazight and Imazighen would attract the attention of the international community.

By arguing that Algeria needs peace first instead of Tamazight, the government, for the third time, seeks to buy time to continue its repression of the Amazigh culture and language. Even if the government is telling the truth, how will peace be measured? By the number of people being killed each day? Despite the peace initiative and the amnesty, more than 100 people have died in the first three weeks of November only.

The government's previous arguments for delaying the recognition of Tamazight turned out to be ploy to silence the aspirations of Imazighen. It never wanted to start a program of promotion and preservation of the Amazigh culture and language. Consequently, the government's plan to seek peace for Algerians is anything but a ploy to distract them from Tamazight, which should have been recognized to be an Algerian dimension before, during, and after the independence.

The Algerian government continues to miss opportunities to correct its policy and treatment of the several-thousand-year culture and language. Is this the way in which the Algerian government want to reward the hundred of thou-

sands of Imazighen who gave their lives so that Algeria would be freed from France?

Perseverance

Today, to the government dismay, more Imazighen than ever in Algeria and outside are claiming the rights to their language and culture. Their interest in Tamazight is clearly indicated by the numerous publications of books and magazines in Tamazight. More than three movies in Tamazight have been produced by Amazigh directors. Many cultural associations are providing young Imazighen with lessons in Amazigh grammar and transcription: All indications of love and dedication of Imazighen to recover and promote their culture and language.

Perseverance pays. ■

Notes:

1 *President Boutefliqa is no other than the former foreign minister of Houari Boumediene under whose rule Amazigh activists were met with one the harshest repression. Even high school students were arrested for the mere possession of Tifinagh alphabet in their textbooks. Last August, President Boutefliqa refused an invitation to attend the UNESCO general conference at the end of October in Paris (AFP October 1, 1999.)*

2 *The Algerian daily newspapers reported that more than 18 people were killed on November 20, 1999 at a road block between the cities of Medea and Blida.*

Zighen Aym is a regular contributor to Amazigh Voice. ■

Interview with an Amazigh Sociologist

by A. Larbi and R. Seffal for *Amazigh Voice*

Amazigh Voice found Dr. Jean Ait-Belkhir in New Orleans where he is presently a professor of sociology at the Department of Social Sciences at Southern University at New Orleans (SUNO). He is the co-president of the Race, Gender, and Class (RGC) Association, and co-director of the Center for Research and Teaching on Race, Gender and Race. He also was the co-organizer of the First Annual RGC Conference which was in October 1999 in New Orleans. In addition to being the founder and editor of the RGC Journal since 1993, Dr. Ait-Belkhir has published numerous books, and articles. His e-mail is jbelkhir@suno.edu The SUNO-RGC Project web site is <http://www.suno.edu/sunorgc/index.html>.

Amazigh Voice (AV): *Prof. Ait-belkhir, could you tell us about your career and how you came to this country?*

Dr. Jean Ait-Belkhir (J.A.): After getting my doctorate in sociology in the area of social classes, I left France in 1987 and came to the US to conduct research on behavior and genetics. I spent 2½ years at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. I, then, moved to Wisconsin Superior University where I taught sociology for two years. After that I moved to Baltimore to do research on women and ethnic studies. I then went to New York where I taught and did research at the Michael Harrington Center at Queens College. Since September 1997, I joined the University of New Orleans (UNO) and SUNO (Southern University of New Orleans).

AV: *What interesting experiences have you had in the different countries where you worked?*

J.A.: I would like to focus on

France, Algeria, and the United States. As I said, I got my Ph.D. in France. I remember one of my French teachers, who knew that my background was Amazigh background, used to tell me repeatedly that I was French. I also found later that France did not offer any academic opportunities in the areas of ethnic studies because of its mono-culturalism. Until then I knew nothing about ethnic differences or about the history of my roots. This led me to want to study the relationships between men and women. Before moving the United States, I went to Algeria several times and I started teaching urban sociology at the University of Algiers. However, the lack of material coupled with the government's program of Arabicization did not allow academic excellence. Somehow I felt uncomfortable and I had strange and mixed feelings about the teaching position. Having had these experiences, I moved to the US where I started to do research in behavior and genetics.

Later I taught sociology,

women studies, ethnic studies and Native American studies. I have learned so much. I then moved to Baltimore to do research on class, poverty and Blacks. Now in New Orleans, I am working at two different institutions, UNO (University of New Orleans) and SUNO (Southern University of New Orleans). I finally started to open my eyes and my brain although, at first, it was first a cultural shock, but a step-by-step learning process, because UNO is a traditionally white institution while SUN is traditionally and historically a black institution. One can imagine the kind of reactions and relationship a teacher gets and builds up with his students. I must emphasize that, from the academic perspective and career, it is unfortunate that France and Algeria do not offer the kind of experience, which is characterized by multiculturalism.

To summarize, in the United States, a teacher can develop a multi-cultural perspective from both the students and the historical social context.

In contrast, official Algeria and France offer a monoculture: one culture and the idea of one-way thinking. In such environment, it is very difficult to go off the track of the culture in power that is presented and allowed.

AV: *You lived in Kabylia for a while. What were your perceptions of the Amazigh community? What experiences did you have?*

J.A.: It will be very long to talk about my experiences in Kabylia or Algeria because I have been there four times. My first trip was at the age of 17. I went there when my father passed away, which was right after the war. I knew the members of the FLN (National Liberation Front) in France who sent me to Algeria to be educated. For me, however, it was a cultural shock. Until then, my father had raised me in France after my French mother had left us. That was when I was less than seven years old and my father wanted to go back to Algeria just at the beginning of the war. I did not speak Tamazight, but I was more looking for my own roots.

During my next trips, I expected something that Algeria was unable to give me. At each of my trips, I saw Algeria become more and more Arab, and I was confronted by the Arabicization program about which I had known nothing. My mind had only a picture of the Djurdjura mountains: That of small villages, hills, and fresh figs, which I really got to see when I went there. So I had nice pictures of Algeria.

My father believed very strongly in Tamazight, and he

never talked about Arabic. When he talked about the Arabic language, he would always mention that, one day, Imazighen would have to fight for the right to their language and culture. He would say: "Tomorrow, you will be the one who will have to fight for a new Algeria. Today, we are fighting against the French, but tomorrow Imazighen will have nothing." That was the kind of education I got from my father.

I have been to Algeria several times and I have built ties with my relatives. However, I had to leave to get an education. At that time, many of the educators in Algeria were from Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Pakistan. They tried to teach me Arabic. It was both a shocking and interesting experience.

From the age of 17 to 35 years, each experience was different because, in the meantime, I had developed a new self-awareness, a consciousness, and a new perception of my identity. I had a new feeling about what I should be expecting and started to understand what the Algerian government was trying to say to us (to me at least, as an Amazigh). I felt in me resistance building up, without knowing exactly what an Amazigh was. I had not learned that much, except what I learned from my father, which was mainly through speaking and singing.. Books were not available, so I did not develop my knowledge further.

AV: *All over North Africa Imazighen are fighting to gain their cultural rights. In the case of the Tuareg community, the fight is basically one of sur-*

vival. Based on the history and the sociology of Tamazgha (North Africa), can you comment on how the Imazighen as a community should build a society in which everyone can enjoy living?

J.A.: This is a very challenging and difficult question. The key is for the Amazigh movement or any movement that seeks to develop democracy and freedom is not to become the new power, the new master, and the new oppressor. The French left and now the masters are the Arabs. If the next ones in power will be the Amazigh people, they should not repeat the mistakes of the previous people in power. My argument here is based on my own experience while traveling all over the world. I will say that there is just one key to what I am doing.

We do need to develop multi-cultural education and perspective. My experience is that people of the mono-culture like the French or Arab or the Western states always present a dominant culture that does not allow others to express themselves, to build up their self-esteem, their self-concept, their own life, and their own identity as people are able to do it here in the USA. If one can do so, then he/she is on the margin, not at the center. Then he or she has to shift him/herself to be at the center to be able to develop his/her own history and own perspective. And thus, his/her children could be educated with his/her own perspective.

In Algeria, however, the education is so mono-cultural that Imazighen are being denied their identity. At the present,

they are at the margin, and they keep fighting to be at the center. The mono-culturalists do not understand the shifting concept that has been developed in the United States through the African-American, the Native American, and the women movements and studies. In Algeria, for example, people should understand that maybe Imazighen have something very interesting to say from their own perspective just as Europeans, Euro-centrists, or Arabs present their own perspective and are not denied their own history. In contrast, Imazighen are claiming that their history is being denied and they are saying: "Please listen to our history, because if we know your history, you do not know our history. The question is then: How can I face you?"

If one culture is denied, then the other culture is the dominant one. Although dominant cultures have been important in the human civilization, other cultures should be neither forgotten nor suppressed. To answer the question, I will say that the solution is the understanding of the concept of shifting, which is a shift from the margin to the center. For example, today Imazighen are in the margin, and they are fighting to move away from it. They want to be in the center. That does not mean that they want to deny the Arab culture. That is not possible. The Arabs can still teach their own history. But Imazighen must seek to shift and continue to shift towards the center so that their history, culture, identity, perspective, and language are not marginalized.

The concept is therefore shifting so that my own roots, my own ethnicity, my own history, my own culture are in the center and that they are not denied and they do not remain in the margin.

I refuse to teach my children or my students that they do not have their own history and culture. I refuse to tell them that they have to adapt themselves to another civilization. Neither assimilation nor melting pot concepts are key answers. That is the reason behind my interest in multi-cultural education with a focus on race, gender, and class. They are key concepts in multi-cultural education. Examples in multi-cultural education can be between Arabs and Imazighen, French and Algerians, or between the whites and the blacks and so on.

The same parallel is found between men and women. The women's perspective will be very different from the men's. The solution is that both man and woman must be at the center and man needs to listen to the woman's **voice**, just like ACAA's magazine is called "The Amazigh Voice." People should listen to voices of women of Imazighen, in general to voices unheard before.

The solution is that a dominant culture must be made to listen to the voices of the non-dominant voices. This is why I refer to others as Latin, Asian, etc. VOICES.

AV: The North African states have not done enough to give the Amazigh culture the status it deserves despite the strength, the peacefulness and goodwill

of the leaders of the Amazigh movement. This will put greater pressure on this movement. What do you think the possible consequences on the Amazigh community are?

J.A.: If today I am working on multi-culturalism, it is because I want to know more about my own roots. And in doing so, I am listening to the Native American, African-American, Asian, Latin voices and the voices of women. To come back to your question, the situation of the Amazigh culture is like that of many other people all over the world. The African-American, the Native American, and the Jewish people live similar situations. From an international perspective, it is not just us. It is the history of the world, which is the fight of cultures of minorities against dominant cultures. They seek their survival and want to shift from the margin to the center.

Since 1960 and 1970, and much before, the so-called minorities have been fighting against the dominant cultures. Today amidst the advent of the new means of communications such as the Internet and the media, the African-American civil right movements, and many social movements, have made it possible to be more aware of what is going on over the world. Although it may seem the same story as before, today we know more about each other.

For example, we know that Native Americans are fighting for their cultures just like the Amazigh people are fighting for theirs. So we can learn from each other and the only way to do it is to create the connections

between the people fighting and to share information about dominant cultures.

Just like Algerians did against the French during the war, which is now an inside war. The consequences can be either assimilation or survival. There is no way all Imazighen can be assimilated. Some will be assimilated, but others Imazighen will never be assimilated. Not because they do not want to be assimilated, but because they reject the idea of being inferior. Because when you assimilate yourself to a foreign culture, it means that you consider yourself inferior and that the dominant culture looks like it is superior to your own culture. And that does not make sense. Because with education, media and communications, we become aware that we are part of the human history and we do not want to be out of the track of human history. The only way to gain recognition is to keep fighting. Peacefully, of course, because it is only the people in the dominant culture that will push us to fight with violence.

AV: *In the best of cases, it may be very hard to have two dominant cultures in the states of Tamazgha the same status. Doesn't that mean that there will always be a constant struggle for equal treatments and equal rights? What is needed to achieve the maximum in terms of equality and, in trying to keep them equal, what effects would that have on a society?*

J.A.: One solution to Algeria's monocultural ideologies, that prohibit the use of language

other than Arabic, should be to support the regional languages: especially in Kabylia, where the majority of the population speaks Tamazight. Algeria can use the Swiss model, a country with four regional languages: German, Italian, French and Romansh. In Algeria's case, it would be "one region, one culture, one language." Given the absence of multicultural studies in Algeria, the Amazigh should attempt to develop a multicultural approach. The theories of multiculturalism should represent attempts to change a mainstream mono-culturalism to multi-culturalism

By looking at what is happening in the US for example in terms of multi-culturalism model, it is then possible to develop your own culture without disintegrating that of the other and without dividing the country.

AV: *If the North African governments continue to deny the rights of Imazighen, the result could be a more radical situation. What would be the consequences?*

J.A.: It can be a repeat of the 1980 events, which became known as the Amazigh Spring. If that happened that would mean repression, which results in the loss of life and the loss of hope. But down the road, the governments cannot win because they cannot kill the will of people.

I must say that people who are for a radical change in the movement or that may be considering violence as a solution do not think clearly about the issues. Sometimes there are

more benefits when one listens to what people are saying or have to say. The government officials must adjust themselves to the evolution in the cultural arena, although some people find it very difficult to evolve and to open their minds.

AV: *You mean, people in power?*

J.A.: Yes, for people in power. They are brought up in, what is called in sociology, socialization. When you try to break down their socialization, you are attacking their rules, their myths, their beliefs, the way they have been brought up, and the ideas they have been taught. They are afraid of them breaking down because they are afraid of what will happen afterwards. They are afraid for themselves and wonder who they really are. For example, when women challenge men, the latter start to wonder who they are: Are they men or women? Then comes the question of defining men's and women's roles.

The question is: How can we trust the people in power? From a historical perspective, one day they will have to recognize Tamazight because the movement is so strong. Remember the Berlin wall, nobody was waiting for it to fall, but it fell. Like Mandela, like Africans who were slaves for 400 years but today they are here free.

What we need is to continue our struggle and to keep going without making any extrapolation about what tomorrow will be. It is today that we have to fight for our culture and someday, sometimes, some-

where I am pretty sure that it will be alive and strong. Similar to my case, I did not have strong ties but I was self-aware because I want to be me when I look at you. I do not want you to tell me who I am. Each time you tell me who I am, which I am a not, I am fighting back because I got the education. That is why the education is a very strong tool. That is why we need to develop an education from an Amazigh perspective. We need to publish books, and develop research, and so on. That is the only way to survive. If you do not have these things, how can you back up what you have to say? A culture needs a written language, a literature, history, books, and historical books. Just like many Imazighen are doing. Today only a few people are reading the books, but tomorrow, these books would become the textbooks, which Amazigh children will use in schools.

So we need to move to the center and develop our own tomorrow. I know that in Algeria it is a struggle, especially with the current violence. But that may be the price to pay for a better tomorrow.

AV: *You are the director of the Review RGC (Race, Gender and Class), and we understand that you are planning a special issue that focuses on the Amazigh Culture. Can you tell AV readers a little bit more about it?*

J.A.: The RGC journal is very interesting and so are the reasons for doing an issue on Amazigh culture. I am doing an RGC issue for two reasons. The first is for my own personal

experience. Although I was born in France, I feel that I am an Amazigh. I was told that I was an Arab. Here, I am in the United States and I ask myself: Who am I?

I enjoy education and my father had several times told me: “*Ammi, asegmi d abeckif* (Son, Education is a gun).” You are too young to go and fight with Colonel Amirouche¹ against the French.” That was our model: Amirouche was there. I saw my father crying and screaming when he learned of the death of Amirouche, who became my model since. My father used to tell that I was too young and that tomorrow Algeria will need me. He told me: “You are Algerian first although you are born in France. You will have to decide for yourself when you want to go and what you want to do with your life.”

My father was illiterate but very smart as a person. I had to read to him articles in French newspapers, but I was too young to understand the meaning of the words so I was always reading between the lines. Down the road I finally went to complete my education and attend the university.

I will go back to your question about my experience in the USA. I was teaching sociology at the University of Lake Superior. My students were mostly white with a few Native Americans. I found it very hard to connect with the students because of the textbook materials. I remember from my own experience when I attended a French School and I was being told that I was French. Here, the books tell the students that they are American

without defining who were the native Americans. As I kept on searching, I looked for something to work on to connect with my students. Since I was not an American, I decided to get in touch native American scholars doing research on native Americans and to pull them together. The tasks were to gather material, and to do it my way. If I have in front of me Native American students, I cannot teach them history from the western perspective. I want them to look and seek history from their own perspective, to get a better understanding and to realize that they have something to say and that they too have a voice. That was the beginning of the RGC journal.

Afterwards, many people who asked me whether I wanted to do an issue on African-American studies, which I did. Then others told me that I should do one on Asian-Americans and I accepted. But the Amazigh issue is a special project. It is specific. After, I contacted the then-President of ACAA and I visited the offices of an Amazigh association in Paris. I don't want to be seen as a French Publisher or as I am seen as an American one. And if I published in Algeria, they will say that I am an Arab. I said how about, I am an Amazigh and I want to identify everything I am doing as an Amazigh. I want the issue to be written on Amazigh culture from an Amazigh perspective and written by Imazighen. This project is very dear to me because it is my gift to my father. I am trying to pay him back and tell him that I now understand what he had told me forty years ago. Now I

understand when he said that my pen would become my gun. I was too young then to get a gun and go to war. But with my words and my pen I can also fight for Tamazight.

AV: *What are your current projects in New Orleans and in connection with Amazigh issues that relate to your area of expertise?*

J.A.: I have been publishing the journal for the last seven years. My experience has put me at the crossroads where I feel that I must give back something to my culture. I want to work as an Amazigh. I am now the director of the SUNO RGC center and co-president of the RGC institute. We have just held our first RGC conference. Our activities include book and newsletter publication. We also have just finished creating the RGC web site².

By giving back something to the Amazigh culture, I am allowing myself to be me. One cannot be himself/herself if he/she is not himself/herself and if one does not know his/her roots the road will not lead him/her anywhere. Speaking about ties, my father's was Amirouche, for me it is my father. Through my father's teachings, I knew about the Djurdjura Mountains, the life in the villages before I even went there. When I went there, it was exactly as he had described it. He had also indicated not only will Imazighen have to claim their culture after independence from France, but they would also have to claim it among Imazighen themselves. How do Imazighen define themselves?

Among Imazighen, some were doing business in France and profiteering during the war. Unfortunately, there exist also a fight within the society structure. My father did not have a Ph.D. in sociology, but he was the best sociologist I ever met in my life.

AV: *Both the former Prime-Minister and the President of Algeria are Amazigh. How can you explain their opposition to Amazigh culture and language?*

J.A.: The reason is that the power of a master is to make sure his slaves do their dirty work for them. The best master is the one who is able to have his/her job done by his/her own slave. Some people will never understand the concept of identity, and some may understand it later in their life. There are several levels of consciousness or self-awareness. For example during the war of independence, some understood its importance right away. Some did not care that the French were occupying Algeria. Today, some do not care that the Arabic is the dominant culture. As described by Frantz Fanon who said: "white mask black face". It is exactly the same. We should not focus on such people whose goal are power. The dominant culture has always used people and has assimilated them to better make use them. These people believe that the key is being assimilated. They are *harkis*³. They are people who live day by day without vision.

My research interests are people who move from the margin to the center. That is why I focus on women studies, ethnic studies, and class studies.

I have not been looking from the perspective of the dominant culture. My interest is the bottom that has been shut off. I am looking for the voices of the other, which until now, had no voice. I do not want to waste my time listening to the voice of the dominant culture.

Now is the time to listen for the culture that has not been heard. Let alone waste my time on people who are slaves and are being used by the dominant culture. I draw information from my father's teachings. He was not against the French not against the Arabs. He was just for Tamazight. Just like here in the USA, there is an African-American middle class, which is out of the mainstream African-Americans. They are middle-class or even upper middle class without belonging to the mainstream Western civilization. They are out of the mainstream because most of them deny they are descendants of slaves. They deny they are black. They believe they can become white. They try to assimilate themselves to the white men's culture and putting down people who are trying to be African-American. However, in reality, it is impossible to assimilate yourself. If I want to be equal, I need to know my roots and myself. If you know yourself, I will be able to talk with you. But other people, who do not know themselves, will be wiped out from history because they cannot talk or present themselves.

Assimilation is not the answer. The people who can talk are Nelson Mandela and Amirouche. They are the people who fought for their identity

Inzan

sàur Kamal Bouamara

- Ur ferreí a bu-yirden, imi d akuz yella
Ur ferreí a bu-yirgazen, imi d lmut tella.
- Ur ttwatan yiñlan, alamma ttwaí eqren imawlan.
- Tameslayt d ayen iñlulen,
Lefhama d ayen yu²ren.
- Eml-iyi-d igran, ad ak-mleà tilisa.
- Kerheà gma, kerheà wi t-yewten.
- Adefel deg yidurar, ssem-is deg swaí el.
- Awal ma wezzil, yelha
Ma àezzif ad d-yawi kra.
- Awal ma yewweñ sin, ad yaweñ xemsin.
- Lbaz d lbaz, l²ec-is d isaaren.
- Ayen idergen i tiñ, yedreg i wul.
- Ili-k d alemmas, ur ttzid ur ttenqas.
- Ttif a²iban iban, win yeffaen i yiberdan.
- Wi iwehhan yewwet, wi yewten yenàa.
- Yenna yizem:
Lejruf teqqden íellun,
Yir lehdur ààazen renun.
- Wi í edren i taàa²is turew sin,
Wi ur neí dir turew yiwen.
- — Anwa i d gma-k, ay azger ?
— D win wuàur qqnen àer uzaglu.
- D ime²fan i fukken aman.
- D inebgi n yiwen n yiñ,
Ad ak-fkeà i tebàíñ
Ma d win yumayen
Ad ak-geà uftiyen
- **(Variation)**
Inebgi n yiwen n wass d afeffas
Win n yumayen d amessas
Win n yal ass ddu fell-as.
- Ameyyez qbel aneggez.
- A win ifeñren s lekdeb,
S wacu ara te^{©©}eñ imensi. ■

OVER-READ

"Thanks to French, we avoid the dangers of regionalism. Although I am Algerian, I do not see any need to make a fuss about using it, and those who do are covering up their impotence"

Mohamed Dib in an interview in

(Continued from Page 10)

and their culture. The goal of a dominant culture has always been to assimilate the others. One such example is the Arabicization program which attempts to make Algerians in general and Imazighen in particular become Arabs.

The only solution is for one to become aware of his/her own identity. However, self-awareness comes with education, and without education the struggle fails. If you get your brains working, and you set yourself to understand what is going on, you may be killed. But tomorrow someone will come and continue the struggle. Your life has to be built up step by step. You have to make sure that the people are provided with materials. The weakness of our own culture is that, until recently, it has relied on orality. Oral cultures are fragile. When we die, we need to give something back and be able to pass on the torch. And the only way to achieve that is to produce something and to do something. Many people in the world are struggling like our people. They connect with each other at the international level and do whatever is necessary to keep their torch alive and reach their goals. ■

Notes:

1 Colonel Amirouche, an Amazigh, was a strong military leader in the Algerian resistance and National Liberation Army.

2 Information updated in November 1999.

3 Harkis: (pl of Harki): A term used to refer to Algerian who joined the French army and fought against Algerian independence.

4 Amazigh (pl. Imazighen): proper name to refer to Berbers. ■

If you drop gold and books, pick up the books first, and then the gold.

- Jewish Proverb

When I get a little money, I buy books. And if there is any left over, I buy food.

- Desiderius Erasmus

Introduction to the Modern Amazigh Alphabet Tazwart yer ugemmay amaziɣ atrar

by Ahcene Larbi

BACKGROUND

The researchers who developed the Amazigh modern alphabet (see the table at the end of this course) realized early the need for a "phonological" notation instead of a "phonetic" one because it simply would make the alphabet too complicated. Representing every sound (including the rare ones) would render writing and learning Tamazight very hard. Many would argue that this approach ignores the phonetic diversity of Tamazight, i.e., the differences between local idioms. That may be true in the long run if the modern alphabet is adopted by all imazighen. But then the question is rather: "what do imazighen want? Do they want an alphabet that is standard so they can easily communicate among themselves and let time and usage decide on what aspects of what local idiom will remain. Or do they want several alphabets and each region will have to develop its own separate language, school etc. with its own means and face the consequences of a tough communication.

While these are important questions that need to be debated among the promoters of Tamazight, it is important to note that the will of imazighen is not enough since Tamazight itself is almost literally banned in its own land. As a result, many imazighen view this issue as one of survival rather than of standardization. If, on one hand, the North African states deny Tamazight's existence and rights, the Amazigh people should simply look at the good side. Although it may take Tamazight a long time to have a standard writing system, the freedom among different writers contributes a great deal to improve this writing system. In fact the improvements of the last few years indicate that Amazigh linguists are extremely careful in the treatment of the regional differences and other issues of standardization. The general philosophy is to let usage and time decide and not force the changes.

SOUND NOTATIONS

Tamazight is a language that is extremely rich in sounds. From a phonetics point of view, and as an example, in Taqbaylit, or Kabyleⁱⁱ, there are as many as 82 different sounds.

Tamaziɣt ɣures aṭas imesla. Di tentala taqbaylit llan azal n 82.

However, this is not limited to Taqbaylit. In fact, all the spoken variants of Tamazight (Taqbaylit, Tacawit (Chaoui) in Algeria, Tarifit and Tacelhit or Tamazight in Morocco) have almost exactly the same sound system.

Tamazight is considered a consonantal language. Its sound system is affected greatly by the level of stress applied to the consonants. As described by Chaker (1) sounds in Taqbaylit can be organized in three categories depending on the stress level. Take a look for instance at the sound "k" in these words:

- rku (to rot): low stress
- nek (I or me): medium stress
- rekku (to rot -continuous form): high stress.

For the purpose of notation, however, the modern Amazigh alphabet distinguishes between two categories of sounds only: stressed and unstressed sounds. If the alphabet took care of representing each stress level with a different notation we would end up with a complicated alphabet. The issue was simply resolved by using one letter of the alphabet for a regular, i.e., unstressed sound, and a double letter for a stressed sound, whether that stress is medium or high.

Yiwen usekkil i imesla ur nessid ara, sin isekkilen i imesla issden.

The stress is usually part of the consonant forming the root of the word. In this case the consonant stays stressed no matter in which word it is encountered. We say that the stress is part of the lexeme. A few examples follow:

- nek (I, me) (medium stress)
- ag^gus (belt),
- yug^ges (to wear a belt),
yettwag^ges (to be strapped with a belt).
- Tawaff^{ya}, tu^{ff}ya (action of exiting, exit),
eff^{ey} (to go or to get out)
suff^{ey} (to make one go out or get out).
- Uč^{či} (food),
ič^{ča} (he ate).

However, the stress may be of a different nature. It can be grammatical. This is the case of all verbs when they are in the "intensive", form, which corresponds to the continuous form in English. Three examples follow:

- rennu (from: rnu = add ...in a continuous fashion, i.e. keep adding), "intensive form" of "rnu" (add).
- rekku (intensive of rku (to rot))
- gellu (intensive of glu (to bring along))

SOUND CATEGORIES

The main categories of sounds encountered in the Amazigh language are:

- Unstressed occlusive sounds (= *occlusives simples non tendues* = imesla aggayen ur nessid ara):
b, d, ḍ, g, g°, p, t, ṭ, k, k°, q.

Most of these sounds usually become spirant [ttuyalen d izenzayen] in Taqbaylit, as well as in most of the Tamazight variants of Northern Algeria and Morocco. A spirant sound is a sound that is almost whistled between teeth (air should flow between the palate and the tongue while pronouncing the same sound in its occlusive form). However, some exceptions exist, depending on the origin of the soundⁱⁱⁱ. The result is a contradiction that is illustrated by the following example: agrud (child) with an occlusive g versus agrur (cave/alcove/niche) with a spirant g.

- Velarized labial sounds: [*Les labio-velarisées* = imesla anyiyen]:
g°, k° and their spirant counterparts, **x°, γ°, q°, b°b°/p°p°, g°g°, k°k°, x°x°, q°q°**, ³.

In the modern alphabet the velarized sounds are noted by adding a small circle to the consonant of the same occlusive or spirant sound. The small circle is added just above the letter or in the same place as an exponent or superscript. Some examples follow:

Ak° (all);	ag°ad (to fear);	aq°rab (Suitcase);
aly°em (camel);	tayeg°g°at (belt);	taceb°b°at (donut);
ajelk°k°ad (a slender stick)		

- Affricative (or dental) Sounds [*Les affriquées* = imesla izgenaggayen]:
p ä, č, ğ, pp ää, čč, ğğ.

The sound **p** is found to be mainly the result of a softening of **t** and **tt** (Taqbaylit). Although it is frequently found in Taqbaylit, it is not noted in the modern alphabet. In fact many Tamazight idioms do not have this sound. It is decided to note it with two t's, i.e., **tt**, which represents the sound rendered in most Tamazight idioms. However, the sounds **čč** and **ğğ**, on the other hand, are the result of a phonetic transformation. Look at the following example for instance:

- **ččar** (Taqbaylit) = **tkar** (Tamacaq)= to fill.

The sounds **ä** and **ää** are of rather rare occurrence as in the word:

- **Leääayer** (Algiers).

Consequently, it is simply suggested to replace it with z.

- Emphatic sounds [*Les Pharyngalisées ou sons emphatiques* = imesla ufayen]

đ, ʈ, ʑ, ʒ, ʝ, ʕ, ɣ, ʕ (occlusives) **tt, zz, ʃʃ, ʝʝ, ʕʕ, ɣɣ, ʕʕ** #

Here it must first be noted that **j** and its stressed counterpart **ʝʝ** are very rare. So are **ɣ** and **ʕʕ**. For this reason they are simply not noted in the modern alphabet. The following is an example:

ʝ: **weʝʝ ir** (pins and needles that one has after sitting on his/her body part for a long time).

The sounds **ɣ** and **ɣɣ** are very common as radical sounds. Examples include:

ɣwiɣ (I am stuffed)

faɣes (to hurry in order to save time, to take advantage of...)

They also occur in the presence of :

Emphatic velar sounds such as **ɣ** or **q**. Examples are:

Aɣɣum (bread)

Aqerɣu (head).

Velar/emphatic sound such as **ɣ** in the following example:

taqɣrayt (herd)

Almost the same can be said about the sound **ʕ**, which occurs in presence of **ʈ**, as in

aʕʈub (small branch cut out of a tree).

Its stressed counterpart, on the other hand, may not be predictable. Such is the case in **uʕʕ ay** (= hound). Finally, we can add also that **ɣ** and **ʕʕ** are rather of rare occurrence.

- Semi-vowels [*Semi-voyelles* = izgenayriyen, sing. azgenayri]:
w and **y**.

These two letters usually represent consonants in many languages, but in Tamazight they are both consonants and **semi-vowels**. Examples of these as consonants are many:

awal (word),

awray (yellow, gold/golden),

abruy (a small bit),

ayaziđ (a chicken).

While their status as consonants is obvious as seen in the previous examples, their status as semi-vowels is dependent on the vocal context, i.e., by the simultaneous presence of certain vowels.

Let us consider the verb:
 rwel (to flee / to run away)

When it is put in the past tense of the third person, it usually becomes:
 yerwel (he fled).

While the original form should have been "irwel", the vowel "i" which indicates the third person becomes a "y" followed by a (e) or a neutral vowel. The reason is simply an easy pronunciation.

Note that the indicator "i" of the third person (present in the past tense) does not always turn into the semi vowel "y" as it is illustrated by the following example
 ičča (he ate)

Another example is **w** in:
 sin warrac (two children)

The original form of the noun is "arrac". However, in its construct state, a "w" is added to it. In this case the "w" is not a consonant, but rather a semi-vowel, because it is not part of the root of the word.

- Vowels [*Voyelles* = tiɣra, sing. tiɣri] **a, i, u**

According to Tamazight linguists, it is very hard to indicate the exact value of each vowel. They depend very much on the vocal context.

- Neutral vowel [*voyelle zéro* = ilem] **e:**

Such vowel does not formally exist in the Amazigh language. One main use in the modern alphabet is to facilitate the pronunciation, i.e., break the word into easily pronounceable parts. An example follows:

We write *meslay* instead of *mslay*.

In another use, it can be found in front of a "particle" such as the directional particle^v. [Tazelya n tnila]: *ed*. Examples are:

yuyal-**ed** instead of **yuyal-d** (he came back]),
 or a in a verb in the imperative tense: **effe**r (hide) instead of **ffe**r.

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3. Achab, R., *Langue berbère, Introduction à la notation usuelle en caractères latins*, Paris, Editions Hoggar, 1998 (4th Ed. of above title).
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The following table summarizes the Modern Amazigh Alphabet [**Agemmay Amaziɣ Atrar**]. It in-

cludes examples and comparative values of a few unusual sounds.

Character	Sound Value	Example	English Meaning	English SoundEquivalent
Asekkil	Azal-is	Amedya		
a	a	aman	water	fan, man
ε	Same as Arabic ε	aεbbud	stomach	
b	occlusive b	bibb	to carry	value
	spirant b	baba	my dad/ father	
b°	velar b	ibb°i	he took	
c	sh	amcic	cat	show
č	tch	ečč	to eat	match
d	occlusive d	amendil	scarf	door
	spirant d = th	adrar	mountain	mother
ḍ	emphatic d	idelli	yesterday	
e	e	els	to put on, to wear	decision
f	f	ifires	pears	perfect
g	occlusive g	argaz	man	gaze
	spirant g	agelzim	ax	
g°	velar occlusive g	ag°ad	to fear	
	velar spirant g	ag°em	to fetch water	
ğ	j	ameğged	mourning complaint	genius
h	h	ih	so, ...	hill
h	same as Arabic h			
i	i	iyi	buttermilk	fit
j	soft j	agujil	orphan	j as in "soup du jour"
k	occlusive k	ibki	monkey	monkey
	spirant k	akal	land, soil	
k°	velar occlusive k	ak°	all	
	velar spirant k	ak°er	to steal	
l	l	tili	shade	land
m	m	imi	mouth	member
n	n	ini	to say	manipulate
q°	Arabic q	aqcic	boy	
q°	velar q	aq°rab	briefcase	
γ	gh (or French "r")	ayrum	bread	
r	r (rolled)	iri	edge, border	
ṛ	emphatic r	ṛwiṛ	I am full	
s	s	asif	river	sense
š	emphatic s	ašefšaf	type of tree	s in sauce
t	occlusive t	ntu	to stick in	tilt
	spirant t = th	tamurt	country	th in tooth
ṭ	emphatic t	tiṭ	eye	t in tide
u	u	ul	heart	brutal
w	w	awal	word	away
x°	kh (German ch)	axxam	house	
x°	velar x	ax°lenğ	type of bush	
y	y	ayla	property	yes
z	z	izimer	sheep	maze
z	emphatic z	azar	root	z in zombie

A FIELD OF GOLDEN MUMMIES : Politics, Scientific Integrity and Egyptian Archaeology

by Helene E. Hagan

Is the recently excavated giant burial ground of the Bahraya Oasis, or Field of Golden Mummies, labeled an "Egyptian" archaeological treasure, a unique and remarkable Amazigh (Berber) tribal cemetery?

The recent discovery and excavation of hundreds of mummies in the Bahraya Oasis of the Western Desert of Egypt has attracted worldwide attention. The find is extraordinary, rich beyond precedent in four types of mummies, pottery and artifacts. What makes it more valuable than any prior archaeological find in Egypt is that the site has remained intact over centuries, buried in the sand of the western desert. As a result, the burials have escaped the type of pillage and robbery to which other tombs of the Delta and Nile River were subjected before they became the objects of scientific study and international scrutiny.

On August 15, at the Natural History Museum of the City of Los Angeles, a symposium, held by the Southern California Branch of the American Research Center in Egypt, featured two archaeologists who are very much in the news. An audience of about two hundred "Egyptologists" was entertained with the fabricated notion that Cleopatra was a Barbarian Queen.

The first guest was Dr. Zahi Hawass, Director of the Sakkara and Giza Pyramid sites, member of the Egyptian Supreme Council for Antiquities, and newly ap-

pointed to the position of Under Secretary of State for Giza, and Sakkara. The focus of his presentation was the latest excavations in the Oasis of Bahraya, which he had directed. A slide show accompanied his presentation.

The second guest was Dr. Jean Yves Empereur, also recently in the news for his *Salvage Archaeology* of the harbor of Alexandria. He is Director of Research of the Center for Alexandrian Studies and a Research Director for the National Center for Scientific Research of France. At the opening, Dr. Allison Futrell, a Professor of History at the University of Arizona, and who has just completed a forthcoming book entitled "*Barbarian Queens*", provided a historical context for the archaeological findings.

First, history indicates that in about 600 BC, Alexander the Great conquered and colonized North Africa and implanted a Greek lineage of kings and queens which eventually produced Cleopatra. The Greekness of the Queen of the Nile is evident from her portraits on coins of the era. That said, one would never know from Dr. Futrell's presentation that Cleopatra was anything but Egyptian, a Ptolemaic Queen who identified herself with Isis. Not once did Dr. Futrell discuss Cleopatra and Alexander in the light of a conquered Egypt, with its indigenous population of "Barbarians." Cleopatra, like other Greeks, no doubt despised

the very Egyptian population of "Barbarians" (Libyans in the west, Nubians and Sudanese in the South) with which this latest American historian identified her.

Scheduled for publication this fall, Dr. Futrell's forthcoming book on Cleopatra and other "*Barbarian Queens*" has the potential to introduce yet another distortion of the history of the North African people. The term "Barbaroi" was used by the Greeks to refer to the Libyans. Consequently, to represent Cleopatra as a "Barbarian Queen" is a distortion of history, as Cleopatra was not Libyan, nor Berber nor Amazigh.

Dr. Hawass traveled to the Oasis of Barhaya, located 200 kilometers west of Alexandria, and visited Siwa, the Amazigh (Berber) oasis south of Barhaya. During the narration of his journey to the two oases, Dr. Zahi Hawass did not once mention the ethnic population of this desert area, be it now or at the time the burials occurred (200 BC to 100 AD). When he mentioned the small local temple dedicated to Alexander the Great near the Oasis of Barhaya, he did state that Alexander briefly voyaged from Alexandria to the region. Surprisingly, Dr. Hawass omitted to provide the reasons and the extent of Alexander's journey. However, the historical record is clear: Alexander the Great only traversed the region of Barhaya on his way to the oasis of Siwa, because he needed to reach the source of legitimacy in Egypt,

where the first priesthood of the central God of Egypt, Amon, is said to have originated. He needed to be empowered by the Issiwann, spiritual guardians to early Egyptian religious traditions. The Greeks called the inhabitants of the Oasis of Siwa "Ammonioi", and the locality "Ammon." The God Ammon was the equivalent to Zeus in Greek mythology or Jupiter in the Roman pantheon of Gods.

Dr. Hawass not only omitted these details, but he spoke of traveling himself to the Oasis of Siwa without indicating the reason for his interest in it. Siwa people are an Amazigh (Berber) speaking group. In fact, the whole region of this desert of Western Egypt is known to scholars for being Libyco-Berber territory.

The field of mummies found by Dr. Hawass is located near the ruins of a fort dating back to Roman occupation, which occurred after the defeat of Cleopatra and followed the Greek colonization of the area. The Greek Ptolemaic Dynasty which was inaugurated by Alexander the Great reigned in Egypt from 600 BC to 200 BC at Alexandria, and the Roman colonization in the vicinity of Alexandria lasted from that time to about 100 AD. The dating of this giant cemetery, tentatively thought to cover four square miles of desert, and possibly holding the remains of bodies, seem to span several centuries over the Greco-Roman period.

The slide pictures were impressive. Some showed the gold masks of the deceased that had been sculpted from their actual features. However, slide after

slide, it became apparent that these deceased people were all light-skinned, full-lipped, straight-nosed, neither Nubians nor Sudanese, not copper-skinned, not Asiatic, but indeed Libyans, that is to say, Amazigh. The Greeks and Romans who colonized them collectively called the Amazigh "Barbaroi" or "Berbers". The only mummy removed and transported out of the area for the purpose of tests was an unnamed individual wrapped in brown resin-coated bandlets, who Dr. Hawass has nicknamed "Mr. X." It was learned that Mr. X would be properly reburied after his return to the area.

When the floor was opened to questions, I requested from Dr. Hawass additional information about the ethnicity of the people of Barhaya. Dr. Hawass said that they were "Egyptians." When I suggested that in 200 BC, in the desert west of Alexandria, the indigenous populations were Libyco-Berbers or Amazigh, like the population of the Oasis of Siwa today, Dr. Hawass was very quick to assert that he had said "Egyptians". He added that these people looked like me. He continued in haste to add they looked like himself and that their origin was no other than Egyptian. To conclude his commentary, he indicated the following: "I know nothing about the people you mentioned."

Later, during a private conversation with him, I inquired about any documentation or historical record, Roman or other, on the existence of this Roman fort that had been erected near a substantial local

population of Libyans (which he had estimated at being well into the hundreds of thousands over time). Dr. Hawass categorically denied the existence of any such records. "Nothing is known of this population in the annals of history," he essentially repeated, asserting that these mummies are of an undefined origin. He added that these mummies were of no particular ethnic origin and that there were simply Egyptians and definitely no Roman or Greek. He also mentioned that some of them appeared to be fairly wealthy, and might have been artisans or involved in a thriving wine-making community.

Dr. Empereur, in a later private conversation, corroborated my tentative hypothesis about the ethnic origin of these mummies, by saying that it is most likely that the Bahraya people were Berber or Amazigh. He also indicated that he was familiar with French linguistic research, which places populations of Berber speakers throughout Libya, the Oasis of Siwa and the whole western desert of Egypt. "It is therefore justifiable," he said, "to state that these burials are of Berber people. They most likely are." When questioned on Dr. Hawass's evasive position, Dr. Empereur readily admitted that we were talking about "Colonial Archaeology."

Indeed, such was precisely the point, and Dr. Hawass, as a scientist, had quickly evaded the issue of indigenous burials in front of an audience of two hundred people. He also publicly stated his lack of knowledge of the origins of such burials, to avoid the cultural and

political repercussions that such recognition would entail. This evasion raises the question of scholarly probity, and historical truth, not to mention the rights of disposal of these sites, a political question of no small dimension.

When I shared some of my concerns with Amazigh (Berber) people through a quick internet note, Dr. Hassan Ouzate, Associate Professor, Faculty of Letters and Humanities at Ibn Zohr University of Agadir, Morocco provided the following comments: "...Egypt is particularly bad in this domain... Egyptian historical vestiges are there to belie such an attempt. What happens is a very selective account of truth. Official historical accounts have always considered any cultural influence coming from "west" of the Nile (The Land of the Dead) as nefarious to a mythical central Egypt... The name of the group you mentioned (Bahraya) attracted my attention as a possible Amazigh form for the following three reasons:

1. It is a collective name for the people, not a geographic name. Why? Because it is the usual Arabicized plural form given to a great many tribal names throughout North Africa. Examples: Gzennaya, Schawiyya, and Ghardaya.
2. One can easily return the form to its original Amazigh: Igzenayn, Iccawn, Igherdayn, Iberiyyen...
3. It is clear that the derivation is from "BHR" (or Arabic

'BHARI") meaning "of the sea"... Therefore "abehri" (pl. ibehriyn) is a perfectly good Amazigh term, denoting the "people of the sea," whether that means "by the sea" or "from the sea" or "living off the sea". Notice that if the power of naming resided with the Siwa Oasis, an agricultural, sedentary and inland group, the appellation would be very logical."

In addition, I consulted the published research of Mohammed Chafik, member of the Moroccan Royal Academy, on the topic of the prehistoric origins of the Egyptian pyramids. The work includes specific information on the Oasis of Siwa, the travels of Alexander the Great in the area, and the common linguistic origins of Berber and Egyptian burial complexes. It is from Mohammed Chafik's work that I learned of Alexander's visit to Siwa, and became familiar with the Arabic poem that he quoted. Dr. Chafik notes that the journey of Alexander the Great to that oasis must have been of great importance to the antique world, for ten centuries after it occurred. The poet Umayya Ibn Abl es-Salt related Alexander's journey: "He (Alexander) reached the West, seeking from the Guides of Wisdom some foundations for his power. So he went, in the direction of the setting sun, where, at evening, the sun sets near a source of bubbling waters." There are well-known bubbling wells of salt water in the region, more than two hundred in the Oasis of Siwa.

Dr. Chafik concluded his

remarks on the ancient sanctity of this region of Amazigh culture with the following comments: "Though experts are still debating which one of the two temples of Ammon, that of Thebes or that of Siwa, was founded before the other, all indications point to the anteriority and the primacy of the oasis complex of the Libyan desert." (Tifinagh: *Revue de Culture et de Civilisation Nord-Africaines*, August 1997).

In conclusion, it is my opinion that once again in a long series of historical misdeeds and cultural distortion, the scientific world is about to be tarnished by committing another form of violence to history. This violence results from the short-sightedness of Egyptian scholars and an Egyptian leadership, which might be afraid to respect the truth for political reasons. In Egypt, it is more politically correct to declare all finds "Egyptians" and to refuse to discuss the ethnic origins of this find. However, it is ethically incorrect and deplorable to deny the international community the truth of history in the name of nationalism and the protection of Middle Eastern interests in Africa.

A cultural treasure is about to be plundered once again. This time, it is the case of the refusal of Egyptian scholars and the Egyptian government to address the Amazigh origin of the archaeological treasure. The audience was misled into thinking that the newly discovered field of Golden Mummies covering a large portion of the western desert of Egypt are human remains of undetermined ori

Temse²raq ak° d Temsefra sàur Kamal Bouamara

I - Tazwara

Zik-nni tturaren medden s temse²raq neà s temsefra. Urar am wa, ma[©]i d urar n imeâyanen “ n warrac!” __ am wakken i yella àur At tura, anda ur yejli wer²ad.

Zik-nni, asmi wer²ad ur d-tennulfa tilibizyu neà tiliâri, asmi wer²ad tuà amkan gar twaculin, deg yixxamen, urar s temse²raq ak° d timsefra àures azal annect-ila-t àur Leqbayel, àur Imaziàen akken ma llan. D imeqranen, irgazen d tulawin, i t-yetturaren.

Urar-a, me²lum, àures ilugan-ines (âret da iweksar), maca àures daàen imaâlalen-ines : melmi d wanda i t-tturaren imawlan-is. Ur t-tturaren ara ihi medden - xersum imawlan-is - melmi neà anida iy asen-yehwa. Di tegti, ur t-tturaren ara alamma tella ssebba.

II- Iswi n wurar: d aselmed

Iberdan s wayes lemnden medden neà s wayes selmaden wiyad ugten: nezmer ad nelmed s usmuzget : d amedya, yiwen i d-yettales, agdud ad d-yesmuzgut; aselmad ad d-yeg tamsirt, inelmaden ad ttaàen tizmilin, atg.

Maca nezmer daàen a d-nelmed, neà a d-nessemed, s iseqsijen d tririwin : d amedya, am temse²raq, yiwen a d-isteqsay, wiya[¶] a d-ttarran. G. Bachellad yesbuda-d ussun, yenna : “ Kra n tiririt àef usteqsi d ussun.”

D acu i lemnden medden s temse²raq ihi? Lemnden tutlayt d wamek i d-tessugun ama[¶]al, neà tilewt n yemdanen, d iâersiwin d tâawsiwin.

III- Imaâlalen n wurar

Urar s temse²raq ak° d temsefra àures xersum sin n imaâlalen:

- Am tmucuha, urar-a yezga yettili-d deg yi[¶] (acku deg yi[¶] kan ay stafen, i d tnejma²en medden s ixxamen). Ama d timucuha ama dâa d urar-a, mi ara teste[¶]si imeqqrannen ad asen-tini[¶] acuàer ur tent-íekkon ara medden deg uzal, deg wass, qqaren-ed: ul ilaq (*it is not permitted*), wiyi[¶] qqaren: ma ulac ad àà-te[©] làula.
Tturaren-t At zik deg yixxamen ; mi ara rzun medden seg lexlawi (xersum deg lawan n tegrest, ticki i yella usem[¶]i __ ur zmiren ad qqimen deg Tejma²t), deffir n yimensi (ma yella wayen ara [©]en), tezzin medden i lkanun, i wakken ad mwanasen ; din, gar wayen qqaren At zik, íekkon timucuha, tturaren s timse²raq, atg. Di tegrat, wa ilemmed wa yesselmad.
- Deg tmeàriwin: imawlan n teslit d yimawlan n yisli ttemqamaren s wuraren uzmlen (*Token games*) ; deg wurar, neâra, yiwen ad yernu waye[¶] ad-t-rnun; win yernan, yewwi cci²a, nnif neà iseà; win rnan medden daà ad as-iruí yiseà d nnif d cci²a.
D amedya, irgazen n At zik, kkatèn uzal: mi ara ruí en imawlan n yisli ad d-awin tislit, irgazen (iqeffafen) ilaq ad awin xersum yiwen n rrami ara yesseàlin làer[¶] i asen-ed-snin imawlan n teslit, mett²emmed i wakken ad âren anda yewwe[¶] nnif d yiseà n yi[¶]ulan-nnsen, i wakken ad ísun belli uklalen s tidet as[¶]lulet (nnesba)-nni i ten-s[¶]ulten (nusben), i wakken ad ísun belli mgadan (mmi²dalen) deg yiseà, deg nnif.

Qqaren-ed, zik-nni, yella yiwen n bab n wayla, yes²a ur yes²i cwifú[¶] deg udrim d lmal d wakal. Yiwen n wass degwussan yesla s yiwen n ugellid n yiwet n tmurt-nni[¶]en, yes²a taqcict d tuzyint, tecbeí am wayyur ma ifa. Yiwen n wass dàayura-yas tabrat, yessuter yellis-

i zwaj.

Agellid mi yeffef tabrat-nni, yeàra-tt, yes-teqsa medden àef umdan-nni, yaf-itt deg lañel ma[©]i d agellid am netta, ur d-yefrux ara daà seg taywa n yigelliden. Din, yeqqim ibhet, i²ewweq amek armi i yebàa ad t-inaseb. Amek ara yexdem ? Yerra-yas tabrat, yenna-yas deg-es : “ Ma tebài[¶] ad ak-fkeà yelli, ad iyi-d-tini[¶] qbel ma lañel neà d Imefñel ?”.

Bab n wayla, mi yeffef tabrat-nni, yeàra-tt, yegzi nezzeh anamek n yizen akken yeffef. Yerr-as tabrat-nni[¶]len, yini-yas : “ Ur Ilià d lañel, ur Ilià d Imefñel: àayul ma ye[©]a yerwa, ad yeñhel!”

Tilawin (ti²ewwacin n unawel, n wAwal), seg tama-nnsent, temqamarent daà wagar-asant: da daà, timawlatin n teslit ad d-awint ta²ewwact-nnsent, timawlatin n yisli daà ad d-glunt s yiwet ; deffir n yimensi, tturarent tlawin s yizlan (joutes oratoires, poétiques ou autres); izlan-a, zemren ad ilin d isefra iwezlanen, d inzan s lem²un neà timse²raq ; din, tin ad d-tini, taye[¶] ad d-tini alamma ibedd-as wawal i yiwet seg-sent ur tezmir ara ad as-ed-terr. Me²lum, ur yettfakka “umyuzzem” gar-asant alamma terna yiwet taye[¶].

IV - Ilugan n wurar

Urar-a, tturaren-t medden akka:

- Yiwent(t) mgal yiwent(t);
- tarba²t mgal tarba²t-nni[¶]len;
- yiwent(t) mgal tarba²t merra.

- 1. Ticki d tarba²t ur iban ara Bab n wurar, ggarren medden tasàart (*to draw*) i wakken ad yufrar yiwent: Bab n wurar.
- 2. Bab n wurar ad d-yeqqar timse²raq, wiyi[¶] ad d-ttarran.
- 3. Send(qbel) ad yebdu, Bab n wurar ad d-yessuter tasusmi; syin akin ad d-yini tanfalit-a:

"A macahu,
Rebbi ad tt-yesselhu
Aad tes²u ahu,
Wi as-yeslan ad as-yecfu."
Neà akka:
"a egréà a²eqqa à(er) Ibir,

Wwi d-ine[¶]gen ad t-ineà ukuffir,
Wwin yessusmen asefk-is d itbir."

4. Mi ara d-yini yiwet n temse²reqt, yini daà:

"D acu-tt?
Wi tt-id-yufan ad yaf lhu,
Ma d waye[¶] ad iyi-ibab alamma d Akfadu."(Akka i qqaren deg Iwzellan)
5. Talàa n yiseqsiyen d ta: "Yella ufrux yesu[¶]fu[¶]. D acu-t?"
6. Bab n wurar itegg-asen lweqt (akud: 5 n dqayeq) i uxemmem.
7. Yezmer yiwent ad d-yini d ..., syin akin ad iste[¶]qsi Bab n wurar:

"Qrib ad aw[¶]leà,
Neà qrib ad ràeà?"
Bab n wurar ad d-yerr, neà ad d-iferreh awal-is, ad ten-iwelleh, atg.
8. Mi ara fakkent 5 n dqayeq-nni, tili yiwent ur d-yerri, ad d-yen[¶]eq Bab n wurar, yini:

"D acu-tt neà bibb (bibbet)?"
9. Da, llant snat n tefrat:
 - "Ad ak-bibbeà, ara s-yini (inin)!"
Bab n wurar, da, ad d-yerr: "Babb-iyi à Lpennet."
 - "Neà, sbibb-iyi!"
Bab n wurar, da, ad d-yerr: "Sbubbeà-ak aserdun."
10. Kra n tikelt ara yerbe[¶] Bab n wurar, ad asen-yini:

"Sbubbeà-awen aqua! (I won a point)"

V- Kra n temse²raq

- Tagertilt-iw n nne[¶] í as, ur tettruà ur tettne[¶]ffas. D acu-tt?
- Anda ddià yedda did-i. D acu-tt?
- Izi di teàgi itezzi. D acu-tt?
- Idisan ttalint, iàzer ur t-zeggrent. D acutent?
- Jebdeà-ed amrar, inhed udrar. D acu-tt?
- Tes²a-u-tse²in d arraw-is, tàum-iten s ujeàlal-is. D acu-tt?
- S ufella d tase[¶]fa, s wadda d tase[¶]fa, àer daxel d lfe[¶]fa. D acu-tt?
- D ayla-w, me²na ur ssineà isem-is. D acu-tt?

Kamal Bouamara is professor of Amazigh Literature at the University of Bgayet in Algeria.



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Notes:

- i During the last 100 years, various authors made use of Latin characters to represent the Amazigh language. However a faster development has been observed in the last 30 years. Many people should be credited for the work that led to today's alphabet (A. Basset with his "Système phonologique Berbère", the Peres Blancs (Jesuite Missionaries) with their journal "le Fichier de documentation Berbère", the pioneering work of late M. Mammeri, and the many Amazigh experts and linguists that have recently taken over the task of perfecting this writing system. Among them are S. Chaker, R. Achab, the Utrecht group, etc.
- ii Kabyle refers to the Amazigh people (Leqbayel) who originated in the province of Kabylia and to the language (Taqbaylit) they speak. Tacawit (pronounced Thashawith) and Tamaceght (pronounced Tamasheght or Tamajeght, or sometimes Tamashaq), in the same way, refer to the variants of Tamazight spoken respectively, in the Aurès region (referred to as Chaouia, or Shawi) and the Sahara (Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Algeria mainly, referred to as: Tuaregs or Twaregs).
- iii See reference 1 for a better discussion of this subject.
- iv The p sound, in Taqbaylit, occurs in the feminine pronunciation of "b" (Example: Tappurt instead of Tabburt). Other occurrences find their origin in the many French/or Latin lexicon borrowed into Tamazight during the Roman and French invasions of Tamazgha. This letter is not noted in the modern Amazigh alphabet.
- v This particle is used to indicate the direction in which the action of the verb takes place.

OVER-READ

"The first treasure of a people's heritage is their language... All languages are noble, and they all have their own character and their own ingenuity. For this simple reason, it is important to develop multi-linguism, which is the only tool to understand other people, and develop true exchanges."

**Francois Bayrou, 1996
Education Minister of
France, who also speaks
Occitan.**

Isefra unefsux n i

Sàur Lí usin Ukerdis

Txilek a 2emmi Nnayer
Reḥli-yi ibbwas d aḥeḥal
Ad neàḥeà nezra usammer
D kra i-t ijjan tmal
Ajejjiḥ tuḥen Lzzayer
At nenfu ur-d yetsuàal

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gins, collectively labeled as "Egyptians". Dr. Zahi Hawass seemed visibly afraid of opening an area of discussion he preferred to keep under seal.

Such ethical misdeeds continue to rob the Amazigh people of a magnificent ancestral legacy. Hopefully, this time, the theft will not go undetected and can be stopped in its incipient stage. ■

Helen Hagan is presently the executive director of the Tazla institute for Cultural Diversity.

Mouloud Mammeri's Journey (1917-1989)*

By Wadi Bouzar

In general, the term journey is an appropriate term to describe the life of Algerians born at the beginning of the 20th Century. Their often-difficult existence was both exciting and rich. This was also the case of the "founding fathers" of the Algerian literature such as Reda Houhou, Mohamed Dib, Mouloud Feraoun, and Mouloud Mammeri.

An Enlightening Reading

At the end of the 1960's, I (wadi Bouzar) had only a vague idea on the Algerian literature. It was only after reading Mouloud Mammeri's first three novels that I started to acquire knowledge of Algerian literature. In Mouloud Mammeri's work, I discovered the Algerian historical, political, and social evolution since 1940. Mammeri had said:

"[...] Men are really ready to read and certainly to retain only what awakes in them some experiences. They have to make a connection between what they read and their inner self¹."

Beyond its literary value, Mouloud Mammeri's work describes the Algerian tragedy of the last several decades with its historical implications. This leads us to talk about the crossed journeys of Mouloud Mammeri: the man, the writer, and his main characters.

An Avoidable Transposition

Inevitably a writer subconsciously transfers a good deal of his life and personal experience to his work. The transfer depends on the quality of the writer's imagination and ability to extrapolate and process his biographical data through his literary skills. Aren't the famous literary works just an initiation of their characters to the disappointing and bitter reality of life, society and history? One does not necessarily recognize Marcel Proust in the narrator of his work *"Recherche du temps perdu"* (Quest for Lost Time), although his work includes Marcel's personal experience. The work of a writer bears a powerful touch of the society and the era in which he has lived.

The Traumas of History

Mammeri belongs to a tested generation. In an interview, he told Tahar Djaout: *"I was born in an exciting time that was not always easy¹."* (Mammeri was born at the end of the First World War) *"the first of its kind [...] that should have been the last [...] when the second one started [...] twenty years later, like in novels [...] I was just old enough to take part in it...."*

To Tassadit Yacine, Mouloud Mammeri confessed that he should have been discharged from the military be-

cause of his myopic eyesight, but he refused because he wanted to confront the harsh realities of war². Less than ten years later, the Algerian-French war erupted.

In his 1952 novel *"La Colline oubliée"* ("The Forgotten Hill"), he described the WW II mobilization but it is in his 1955 novel *"Le Sommeil du Juste"* ("The Sleep of the Just") that he writes about his WW II traumatic experience through the character Arezki. Enlisted in the French army, Arezki rediscovers the colonial inequalities. Equal ranks did not translate into equal rights, and Algerians were second class citizens. Revolted, Arezki burned the books of his favorite French writers³. Mammeri, as a man first then as a writer second, was not able to escape the traumas of history. He was born and lived in the clutches of injustice in a dominated and unhappy society. In the interview with Tahar Djaout, he said:

"The two Algerian communities of that time were stranger to each other. By this I mean in their philosophies. The relation between the two communities during this colonial era consisted of mutual exclusion [...]. To a European from Algeria [...], an Algerian did not have a fulfilled life. This was a model that was a vague fantasy¹..."

The Bet of Writing

Revolt against injustice constitutes one of the essential

motivations for writing. Mammeri said :

"[...] The writer is first a creator ... The creator of a world that is molded to our deep aspirations...when the world in which we live is hurting us."

The author has bet on writing. He has suffered because of his people's living conditions, which he had wanted to witness. He had been somewhat better off because of the open mind of his father and the influence of his educated uncle who lived in Morocco. Mammeri continued:

"I was born Algerian, that is, in country that was colonized for almost a century. At a time when the political system seemed set for a long time, France came up on top after a long war. When Algeria regained its independence, I was 40 years old. Whatever my deeds and wishes were, all what I said had to be cast in this framework. Each of my four novels reflects aspects of the Algerian people's life of that era which was both decisive and difficult. The novel "la Colline Oubliée" focuses on the ancestral roots, and it was the foundation for the ensuing novels. "Le Sommeil du Juste" described standstill situations which needed solutions. The novel "L'Opium et le Baton" or "Opium and the Stick" deals with the struggle of liberation, and "La Traversée" or "The Crossing" deals with the aftermath of post-independence celebrations."

The Moroccan Years

There were not only colonialism and wars that left an impact on Mammeri and men of his generation. The importance

of his Moroccan years (1930-1934 then 1957-1962) has not been stressed. He said in an interview with Tahar Djaout:

"[...] I was lucky to be in Morocco [...], Morocco of the 1930's [...] where men were still fighting for their freedom [...] the last independent tribe laid down its arms only in 1934, only four years after my arrival. I arrived to Rabat, a small old town marked by the nostalgia of Andalusia. It was also a forgotten town [...] because, for centuries, Fes, Marrakech, and to a lesser degree Meknes were the towns that had contributed the most to Moroccan history...[...]. After four years in Rabat, when I returned to attend high school in Algiers, Algeria [...], it was as if I changed galaxies."

In Algeria, Mammeri found "a colonized world without any disguises³." In Morocco, he had found a North African society, preserved by colonization, where Arabs and Imazighen co-existed without any major problems in spite of the 1930 decree (Berber Dahir) that attempted to divide the Moroccan society. The Moroccan Sultan had refused to sign it. Morocco had kept its flag, its ruler as well as some of its institutions... From his Moroccan experience, Mammeri understood that the Algerian cultural problems were political. They were first exploited by the French colonial regime and, after independence, by the Algerian regime.

This comparative methodology of the two similar yet different countries can be found in his novel "L'Opium et le Baton." One can detect his apprehension of post-

independent Algeria. The Moroccan episode in the novel, through the story of its characters, Addi and Bihi as well as through Itto's disillusion, illustrated the first mistakes of the Moroccan national government. They were to serve as an early warning to the government of post-independent Algeria not to commit the same mistakes. One consequently can conclude that "L'Opium et le Baton" was a premonitory novel that anticipated the events of post-independent Algeria. In his last novel "La Traversée", Mammeri described the conflicts and ruptures between pre-independence intellectual militants such as Mourad and those that held the levers of power in post independent Algeria, such as Kamel.

To a certain extent, all of Mammeri's novels have conveyed fore-warnings (such as the conflicts between those of the "old generation" and those of the "modern generation" or the temptation of exile, in "La Colline Oubliée"). They are so, because they all are lucid living accounts of a very old Algerian tragedy that will be verified later. But for now, the focus is back to the character Itto.

Itto's Aspirations

Like Aazi the beautiful young woman of "La Colline Oubliée" who is old and exhausted in "La Traversée", Itto is like a woman whom a man loved but was not able to marry, and maybe one who was loved even more for that reason. In each of his novels, Mammeri had portrayed a woman who is "inaccessible" through marriage.

About the character Itto,

Mammeri indicated that she was like the “profound lyrics” of “L’Opium et le Baton.” In fact, Itto was not only a woman who “liberates herself” before being suffocated, at least, by her traditional marriage, nor was she only an anthem for women in general and the North African women in particular. She was equally an anthem of happiness, even if such happiness was inaccessible because of the Algerian war. Itto’s unreachable happiness is similar to that of the main characters in Ernest Hemingway “L’Adieu aux armes” or “Farewell to Arms” and in “Pour qui sonne le glas” or “For Whom the Bell Tolls” in the context of other wars and in Europe.

One of the functions of literature is to express people’s unreachable desires in real life. Furthermore, Itto represents the Moroccan people’s collective aspiration to freedom and, beyond them, that of the North African people in general.

The Departure, the Shock, and the Home Coming

Not being able to find freedom and happiness in their homeland, Mammeri’s characters are tempted to leave, flee, go into exile, and break off relations with their community. This is the first step: The departure. In “La Colline Oubliée”, Menach’s farewell words on the tomb of his friend Mokrane read as follows:

“I am going away, Mokrane, my dear friend. I will never come back to this forgotten hill where I will not find you anymore. In remembrance of what we had in common, I

believe that I did my best to take care of all what was dear to you on this lowly world. Among them, I have included Aazi because your late and temporary separation was a short distraction. Deep in your heart, I am sure that you had come back to her, as she had never ceased to be yours. Yourself, you have stayed loyal to the places where we lived our common dream. So, I say farewell to you. Farewell until a future day, when for sure my soul will find yours as well as that of Aazi, Idir, and Kou to reconstitute together Taassast in a world that would have neither suffering nor hindrance. So, farewell Mokrane.”

However, it is in “Le Sommeil du juste” that the temptation of running away and breaking off relations with one’s community was best described. The main character, Arezki, is in open conflict with his father and his community. Under the influence of his French teacher Mr. Poiré, Arezki attempts the adventure of assimilation to the French community until the day that he found out that he is and will always be rejected and has to accept himself as a native Algerian. At the end of the novel, Arezki said to the judge:

“You did what was expected of you: At the gate of the fenced field, even though there were signs and barriers, I wanted to enter, but you did a good job in keeping me out. You can sleep Mr. Judge: after all it is good that the sleep of the just one be followed by the sleep of justice.”

At the beginning of “L’Opium et le Baton”, Dr. Bachir Lazrak hid behind intel-

lectual arguments to avoid his involvement in the revolution until he was forced to do so. Finally, in “La Traversée”, Mourad tries to escape during a field trip to the Sahara to realize a radical desire to flee in a planned exile to France. His desire remains unfulfilled. At the end, Mourad thinks the new exile is useless, as if, from then on, he already could draw on his own war experience, and he could also draw on the experiences of the main characters in the previous novels. Leaving a familiar environment may be like learning to better know oneself, but it is also exposing oneself to new struggles, and taking the risk of coming home more hurt and completely transformed. One way or the other, the home coming of our heroes or anti-heroes is always inevitable.

In Mammeri’s four novels, the characters have had to confront many realities due to the weight of archaic socio-economic systems, the ethnic discrimination, the social injustice and oppression as well as abuse of power. Mammeri’s work brings out the deep distrust of men seeking power at all cost and of those, in power, who use ideological deception or physical means to hold on to their position. At the end of “L’Opium et le Baton”, Bachir Lazrak declares:

“[...] I am immunized against illusion, hearsay, and pretense. I cannot mistake glass jewels for diamonds anymore. Truth! I cannot be satisfied by anything less than that, the truth that cannot be bewitched nor enslaved [...] neither opium nor the stick.”

In each novel of Mammeri’s

(Continued from page 25)

tetralogy, the hero is alone against a socio-political system from which he is excluded or that from which he has excluded himself. In all cases, he realizes that he cannot change things, but that a man's struggle for freedom and dignity never ends.

It is very rare for literature to predict "History", but "La Traversée", predicted future ideological conflicts that were more violent than the ones of the 1970's. Correspondingly, the goal of literature is not to predict destiny but to sketch it. When History takes place as fast as in "L'Opium et le Baton", Mammeri's characters do not escape it, in fact they have hard time catching up with it. No matter what they do, or wherever they go, they cannot escape from their community, origins, roots, and their destiny. Fleeing is not the answer anymore: They are always trapped because they carry the collective tragedy in them.

Now that Mouloud Mammeri has passed away and that his work has ended, even though he still had a lot to say, we confirm that he, himself, was not able to avoid his destiny, that of his generation, and that of his people. ■

Notes:

1. Mouloud Mammeri, "Entretien avec Tahar Djaout", Alger, Laphomic, 1987.
 2. Tassadit Yacine, "Aux Origines de la quête: Mouloud Mammeri parle", Awal, 6-7, Special No., 1990 p. 67-77.
 3. Eric Sellin, "Arezki Bookburning in Mouloud Mammeri's *Le Sommeil du Juste*", The International Fiction Review, 10, No. 1 (1983).
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(continued from page 27)

berbères des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles" in the Travaux et Documents de l'Iremam no. 19 in Aix-en-Provence in 1998. The 241-page book presents an Amazigh lexicon, which have been obtained from the XVII Century Chronicles of Abdallah al-Hilali and that an unknown author. The book focuses on the usage of Tamazight (Tashelhit) in Morocco during the last centuries .

THE HCA (High Commission for Amazighity) in Algeria has published a book by Moroccan Mohammed Chafiq titled " 33 Centuries of the History of Imazighen". The book is available in bookstores in Algeria. ■

Changes in Morocco?

by Mokhtar Ghambou

The Arab daily "Al Hayat", August 11, 1999 reported that Hassan Ourid, an Amazigh intellectual from Arrachidia, Morocco, was appointed "official spokesman of the palace" by the new king Mohamed VI. Al Hayat also mentioned that Mr Ourid wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on "the cultural discourse in Islamic (ist?) and Amazigh movements." Ourid is known to many in Morocco as an Amazigh intellectual.

One of his most interesting articles on Tamazight appeared in AlHayat, September 17, 1998, and entitled: "Tamazight Now and Tomorrow." the article is rich in information on Amazigh history, how it was obscured by the institutions and continues to be marginalized by "Moroccan Arabists." to quote from the article: "Tamazight (language, culture, and identity) is the responsibility of the state and the responsibility of the entire Moroccan nation, especially of its representative intellectuals.....[] Is it rational for the universities and schools of post-independence Morocco to teach Persian and Hebrew but not Tamazight?" Compared to what is written on Tamazight in Morocco, I found Ourid's article very fascinating, not only for its intellectual value but also for breaking the isolation imposed on the delicate issues it raises. ■

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Amazigh News from Around the World

Compiled by R. Seffal

ARTICLES

Two articles title "The Birth of Matoub Lounes" by Peter Snowdon and Hamid Lallami and "No Peace without Tamazight" by Amira Howeidy are available for reading at the <http://www.ahram.org.eg>, the site of the Egyptian newspaper of July 8, 1998.

The magazine Jeune Afrique has included a review of an interesting book in its issue No. 2014-2015, 17-30 Aout 1999). The book "Le Tassili des Ajjer", by the Algerian Specialist in Ancient History of North Africa Malika Hachid, was published by Editions Paris-mediterranee et Eddif Casablanca).

INTERNET

A new web site offers a short Tamazight-French lexicon. With a little less than 800 words, the site offers the possibility to the visitor to add Amazigh words. The address is: <http://perso.club-internet.fr/til-it/lexiquetamazirtfrancais.html>

A new web site <http://home.pacbell.net/hehaie> has the list of a series of 13 television programs produced by Helene Hagan. The series is called: "Tamazgha, Berber Land of Morocco." A photo gallery will soon be available to the web side.

Tremendous information in French on Kabylia and Algeria

can be found on the web site called www.kabyle.com.

One of Matoub Lounes' poem can be listened at: people.bu.edu/BOBL/Tamazight

MOVIE

Karim Traida, a Algerian film maker, has recently begun to shoot his second movie titled "A-Ziel". The movie focuses on the life of Said Mekbal, an Amazigh journalist at the Algerian daily "Le matin", who was about to leave Algeria for the Netherlands when he was killed in 1994. Traida's first film in Dutch was called "DePoolse Bruid" was shot in 1997.

MUSIC

The Tamazgha Group (ACAA's member Fatah Kaci is a member of the group) have performed at the Ashkenaz Place in Berkeley California at 8:30 p.m. on August 4, 1999. The address is: 1317 San Pablo Avenue, Berkeley, CA.

"Taziri" is the title of the second CD by a group of six children who sing in Tamazight. It includes 6 songs. The lyrics are by Harfouf and Taεmanti, who are two poets from the Rif region of morocco. For more information, contact Amazigh Music. 49 Boulevard Ibn Tachfine. Nador Maroc. Tel.: (212) 0607542.

BOOKS

"CHRONOLOGIE DU MOUVEMENT BERBERE" is the title of a book authored by Ali Guennoun, a young researcher in Algeria. Published by Casbah Editions, the 1999 book has 223 pages, and is a chronological summary of the Amazigh (Berber) movement. The book serves to decolonise the history and present the struggle and the men/women behind it.

"Tidet s tkerkas" is a short compilation of Aesop's Fables in Tamazight. Its author is Mohand Ounaneche. The small book includes 19 fables. Some of them are *Zdec d twettuft, takerruct d tghanimt*.

A book by G. Dorren titled "Nieuwe tongen: de talen van migranten in Nederland en Vlaanderen", is in the market. It is published by Utrecht, Forum 1999 and focuses on the native languages of immigrants in Belgium and Netherlands. The 280-page book claims that Tamazight (Tarifit) is the native language most spoken in the homes. The book also present a historical perspective as well as transcription and pronunciation details. The book's ISBN is 90-57-97019-8.

A book by S. Bodt and F. Brakenhoff, M. Haan, M titled "De reis van Jacobus van Looy" was published by Zutphen: Walburg Pers. In

1998. The 128-page is a travel diary of the Dutch painter Jacobus van Looy (1855-1930) in the North of Morocco at the start of the century.

P. Muus and E. Dam have just published a book titled "Comparative Research on international migration and international migration policy." Published in Luxembourg by the Official Press of the European community (Bureau des Publications Officielles de la CE) in 1998, the book presents a comparative study on immigration from Africa, Turkey, and Latin America to Europe and North America. The 92-page book includes a chapter on the host country's policies.

Amahan has authored a book titled "Les Goujdama. Mutations sociales dans le Haut Atlas." Published in 1998 by the Foundation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris and La Porte Editions in Rabat, the book is a historical study and offers an important definition of some notions such as tribe, *tajma* et. Amahan, an anthropologist and a supervisor at the Moroccan Ministry of Cultural Affairs, presents the social mechanisms of social and traditional resistance.

A work titled "The Berber Question Today" has been published by the Moroccan Association of Research and Cultural Exchanges (AMREC) in Rabat, which is an association founded by students in 1967. The 1998 book, which

deals with the Berber question in Morocco, includes the work of Mohamed Chafiq and Ahmed Boukous, and contains a chronological contribution of AMREC.

Ahmed Asid has authored a book titled "L'amazigh dans le discours de l'Islam politique" which has been published by AMREC in Rabat. 1998. The book serves as a response to the 1997 book "Dialogue avec un ami amazigh" by Abdesslam Yacine, the leader of the Muslim Fundamentalists in Morocco, which was considered to be an attempt to viewed as a political harvest. A philosophy professor in Rabat, Ahmed Asid reveals that the political Islamic thought has a basic ethno-center: by making sacred the Arabic language and by reducing the Moroccan national identity to the Arabic-Islamic dimension only.

D. M. Hart, an American, has authored a book "Estructuras Tribales Precoloniales en Marruecos Bereber 1860-1933. Una Conctrucion Etnografica en perspertia Historica". Published by Imprenta Comercial in Mortil in Granada in 1997, the 159-page book is an introduction to the history of Morocco: Monarchy, central Power, and the notion of dissidence. The book includes an historical approach to the two confederations of 1860-1933: Ait Waryaghar in the Rif and the Ait Atta in the South. The book contains 34 pictures and a map and rich bibliography.

A series of three books on Kateb Yacine have been published. The first book titled "Kateb Yacine, Minuit passe' de douze heures" presents Kateb's work as a journalist from 1947-1989. They have been collected by his son Amazigh Kateb. The 358-page book published by Editions du Seuil in Paris in 1999.

The second book titled "Kateb Yacine. Boucherie de l'esperance" is a collection of unpublished writings and plays by Kateb Yacine. Compiled by his widow, Zebeida Chergui, the collection includes "Boucherie de l'esperance ou Palestine trahie", "Mohamed, prends ta valise", "La Guerre de 2000 ans ou Le roi de l'Ouest", and "Le Bourgeois sans-culotte ou le spectre du parc Monceau." The 566-page book is published by Editions du Seuil, in Paris. Its ISBN is 2.02.033905.6.

The third book titled "The Politics and Aesthetics of Kateb Yacine" is the first complete English study Kateb Yacine's work. Authored by Kamal Salhi, professor at the University of Leeds, the study includes a 19-page chronology of Kateb, the English translation of the complete play "Kahena", and a series of drawings illustrating Kateb's popular theater. The 450-page book is published by E. Mellen Press in Wales. UK. Its ISBN is 0-7734-7871-X.

Author Boogert, Nico vn den has published "La révélation des enigmes. Lexiques arabo-