

TAMAZGHA

*A Non Governmental Organisation
For the defense of the rights of the Amazigh*

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The Amazigh Issue in Morocco

Alternative Report by Tamazgha

Submitted to the

Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)

UN Economic and Social Council

*International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)
62nd Session of the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
Geneva, March 3-21 2003*

Contents

Preamble

Part 1. - Historical, political, sociological and educational background data

1. Introduction

- A. General
- B. North Africa, an Amazigh land

2. The Amazigh Movement: A brief historical review

- A. The colonial era at the origin of discrimination
- B. The Amazigh after Independence : The Amazigh Movement

Part 2 - Main violations of the International Convenent on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination

1. Official and constitutional denial of the Amazigh reality

- A. Exclusion and constitutional discrimination
- B. An oppressive Arabization

2. Biased Official Responses

- A. The introduction of Tamazight in the educational system
- B. The Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture (IRCAM): For a smooth decline of the Amazigh Movement.
- C. IRCAM's selection of the Tifinagh script: a weapon pointed against the Amazigh language?

Part 3 - Our suggestions for the elimination of official discrimination

References

Appendix 1. A non-exhaustive list of Amazigh associations

Appendix 2. A Press Release signed by Hamid Lihi and Ali Harcherras

Appendix 3. Press Release by the AZEMZ association

Preamble

So that the reader who is unfamiliar with the cultural issues that seriously divide North Africa understands the extent of the suppression of the Amazigh entity by the nation-state, we will briefly give an overview of the problem. We will then present the historical, political, sociological and educational background (Part 1) as well as the most important cases of official discrimination that violate the stipulations of the International Convention for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (Part 2). Finally we will present our suggestions on how to eliminate these discriminations (Part 3).

PART 1.

Historical, political, sociological and educational background data

I - Introduction

A - General

In Morocco, and in general, in North Africa, a very serious cultural and identity denial based on discrimination forms the basis for the action of the Nation-State, which considers itself Arab and Moslem and engages all its energy to arabize the Amazigh (Berber)-speaking people.

The objectives of the government policies themselves establish blatant official discrimination in violation of the principles of the International Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

This is an extremely serious infringement on the cultural rights of the Amazigh people, which are recognized by all the international laws and charters, with at the top the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Convention for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination that Morocco has always effectively ignored.

This policy which can be described as « linguistic imperialism » naturally prevents society from achieving true democracy which is necessary for the struggle against underdevelopment. An important « social energy » is thus wasted in opposing the ancestral values and identity of the Amazigh instead of using them as a foundation for the construction of a society that is at peace with itself, open, diverse and democratic.

Arabization is at the heart of an official policy of negation of the Amazighs' most fundamental rights. This negation is a racist one since Arabic is officially and constitutionally preferred to Tamazight. The latter is suppressed and in the best of cases confined to a historic and folkloric existence.

B – North Africa, an Amazigh land

All the historians of North Africa attest that the country has been populated by the Amazighs (Berbers) since very ancient times. Ibn Khaldoun in his *Histoire des Berbères*, wrote concerning the country which is usually referred to as the Maghreb and which we call Tamazgha or country of Imazighen (= plural of Amazigh):

«Since ancient times, this race inhabited the Maghreb of which it populated plains, mountains, shores, cities and countryside (Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des*

Berbères, Paris, Geuthner, 1999, p. 167).»

And relating to Tamazight, the language of the Amazighs:

«Their language is a foreign idiom, different from all idioms: the very reason the name Berber was given to them (Ibn Khaldoun, 1999, opus quoted p.168). »

Finally regarding the religions practiced in North Africa:

«Among them there were [tribes] which practiced the Jewish religion; others practiced the Christian one, and others pagan ones, and among the latter were sun, moon and idol worshipers. Having at their head kings and leaders, they carried out against the Moslems several very famous wars (Ibn Khaldoun, 1999, opus quoted, p. 177).»

Closer to us, in 1931, the anti-colonialist historian Charles-André Julien observed that:

«Today, it is generally unknown to the majority that Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia are populated by Berbers. These are boldly referred to as Arabs, all the while the natives often called themselves Amazigh (Tamazight for the feminine and Imazighen for the plural) which literally means "free people", or sometimes "noble people" and was used by several tribes as far back as before the Roman occupation. (C.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, Payot, 1931, p. 2).»

Currently, the more demanding reader, who seeks the opinions of the greatest researchers in the Amazigh field, can find the *Encyclopédie Berbère*, published in France with the assistance of UNESCO's International Council of philosophy and the social sciences most useful.

II - The Amazigh Movement: A brief historical review

A – The colonial era at the origin of discrimination

In 1912, Morocco officially fell under a French-Spanish protectorate, under the request of the Sultan of Fez who was besieged, at the time, by Amazigh tribes of the Middle Atlas. France entered Morocco to protect the Sultan of Fez and his political entourage against the Amazigh population. Colonial France has, thus, declared war to the Amazigh people.

In 1914, Amazigh armed resistance, under the command of Muha U Hammu Azayi, won the battle of Lehri.

In 1921, the Amazigh northern forces led by Mohammed Abdelkrim El Khattabi win the most famous battle against the Spanish troops. This allowed the liberation of the Rif. Defeated, the two powers protecting Sultan organized their counter attack.

In 1926, Lyautey's successor, Marshal Pétain, expressly ordered the liquidation of El Khattabi who was exiled in the Island of the Reunion. In spite of that, the Amazigh continued to resist.

In 1934, the French Army suffered many defeats in the Southeastern part of the country. One such defeat was during the famous battle of Badou in which the troops of Assou U Bassalem triumphed.

It must be emphasized that the position of the Sultan and his political allies has traditionally been in favor of the colonial powers for the benefit of which true propaganda campaigns were organized in the mosques of Fez. One can perceive here the origins of discrimination that would hit the Amazigh populations in independent Morocco ruled by the descendants of the Sultan.

In 1930, the French governor of Morocco promulgated a *dahir* (a text of law) signed by the Sultan. Let us point out for the record, that at their arrival in North Africa, the French were confronted to various legal practices that were distinct from Islamic practices and were unknown from the rest of the Islamic world. As pointed out by Salem Chaker (*Berberes Aujour'hui*, page 64), « the Amazigh common law is a fact of life in Amazigh society; it pre-exists the arrival of the French, who did not create it as it may appear from reading Arab-Islamic nationalist literature. » This « Amazigh *dahir* », a text of international law, has the tendency to apply the Amazigh common law to the Amazigh populations, whenever it came to penal matters. This is no more than an example of the principle of the personality of laws. The reactions that the promulgation of this text caused within the urban populations, which are traditionally close to the Sultan, deserve to be analyzed. Fearful of seeing the Amazigh take a lead politically, the proponents of the Arab ideology warned against division among North Africans and rose against what was described as an attempt at “christianization” of the Amazigh people. These reactions from the servants of the Sultan are highly indicative of the “deep suspicion and illegitimacy in which Arabo-Islamic nationalism has always held the Amazigh” (see Salem Chaker, *Berbères Aujour'hui*, page 65). It is on this basis, that any reference to the Amazigh entity will be combated. We can see here the sources of the discrimination the Amazigh populations will be subjected to when Morocco gains its sovereignty.

B – The Amazigh after Independence: The Amazigh Movement

We will restrict ourselves to recalling some of the most significant stages (since 1990) of what constitutes the Amazigh Movement. The Amazigh Movement designation here is intended to mean the facts and actions that converge with a goal to bring about or at least favor the recognition of the Amazigh entity by the Moroccan authorities.

The Moroccan monarchy, following the example set by the Algerian government, strongly affirmed the Arabness and Moslemness of Morocco. Arabic is the only language to benefit of a recognized status, and Arabness and Moslemness are the only identification terms cited in the official texts of the Moroccan monarchy since its existence.

In 1991, six Moroccan associations published the “Agadir Charter”. This text calls for the recognition of the Amazigh language and culture. It also expressed a number of other claims. Following this publication, several associations were created.

In 1993, several Amazigh associations published a memorandum by which they denounced the policy of forced assimilation practiced against the Amazigh, their identity, culture and language. This occurred during the International Conference on Human Rights held in Geneva.

In 1994, the Amazigh associations gathered to create an umbrella organization for the Amazigh associations. This organization was called *Conseil National de Coordination* (CNC = National Coordination Council). This is no more than the translation of the need for Amazigh Movement to unite its forces and coordinate its activities.

In May 1994, seven activists belonging to the Tilelli association were arrested. Their only wrongdoing was to display banners written in the Tifinagh alphabet (Amazigh script) during a May 1st demonstration. The banners called for the teaching of Tamazight (Berber language). Their action was considered by the Moroccan authorities to be disrupting public order and as an attack against the values of the State. Their arrest caused an important mobilization throughout Morocco as well as in the Kabylia region (Algeria) and France, which forced their release.

In August 1994, King Hassan II made a speech in which he promised to introduce the teaching of “Amazigh dialects” in Moroccan schools. This speech remained an unkept promise.

The associative movement realized a significant development because within a few years the number of Amazigh associations increased tremendously. There are at least 48 associations today (see Appendix 1). These are duly registered associations, in other words they received the blessing of the Moroccan authorities. It should be noted, however, that there are several associations that still haven't obtained this blessing. This prevents them from carrying out any activities. **To this effect, the Moroccan government, in its report submitted June 2002 to CERD (CERD/C/430/Add. 1, paragraph 42s) stated that only 18 associations exist in Morocco. This misstatement raises a question: Is the Moroccan government ignorant of the facts of its own kingdom, or does it simply treat the Amazigh issue with negligence. Moreover, in its report to CERD (CERD/C/298/Add. 4, in paragraph 81) submitted December 1997, the Moroccan government recorded the same number of Amazigh associations, i.e., 18, as if between 1997 and 2002 the Amazigh associative movement in Morocco did not register any evolution. The idea of negligence mentioned above may be reinforced by the fact that in both reports (1997 and 2002) the paragraphs treating the Amazigh issue are practically the same.**

The arrival of Mohammed VI to the throne after King Hassan II's death has not brought any concrete change with regard to the Amazigh issue. Since his enthroning, it has been said that the “young king” would favor Tamazight and that he would be committed to the recognition of the Amazigh entity. However, too many contradictions appeared in his speeches and his official actions. On one hand the royal palace showed an interest for the Amazigh issue, particularly by creating the IRCAM (Royal Institute for the Amazigh Culture) under the terms of the October 17, 2001 Dahir. On another, he did not hesitate to make use of the harshest of methods to muzzle the Amazigh activists to whom the authorities prohibited all sorts of public demonstrations under penalty of penal judgments.

PART 2

Main violations of the International Convenent for the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination

I – Official and constitutional denial of the Amazigh reality

Anti-Amazigh discrimination is an official and deliberate act, legalized in the Constitution. It has the support of State institutions that are used with the aim of denying the Amazighs' ancestral identity and forcibly making of them Arabs. The ultimate goal would be to integrate them as a dominated element in an Arab-Islamic political model.

A – Constitutional discrimination and exclusion

Let us point out the main provision of the preamble to the Constitution on which the policy of Arabization and denial of the Amazigh identity is based: “the Kingdom of Morocco, a sovereign Moslem State, whose official language is Arabic, is part of the Large Arab Maghreb” (Constitution of September 13, 1996).

Despite the fact that the Amazigh language is a live language that is used daily by at least 40% of the population, it has no place in the State’s most fundamental law. According to Salem Chaker, expert in Amazigh issues, there is “a minimum of 40% of the population in Morocco, that is to say 9,5 million Amazigh speakers in a population of 24 million. These figures can be regarded as minimal and can therefore be established with certainty: one cannot exclude that the percentages may actually be much higher and reach the 50% range” (See Salem Chaker, *Berberes Aujourd’hui*, L’Harmattan, Paris, 1989).

With regard to these provisions, one is forced to believe that Arabization is omnipresent insofar as Arabic is regarded as the only national and official language of Morocco. At any rate, the Amazigh language does not have any official status. Thus, we note not without some bitterness that all of the Amazigh foundation of Morocco is deliberately ignored. Consequently, it is the majority of Moroccans who are wiped from History. This treatment which goes against the spirit of the International Covenant for the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination constitutes an unacceptable infringement on the basic rights of the Moroccan Amazigh who are at the same time pressured into Arabization, a process that is often oppressive.

B – An Oppressive Arabization

The State institutions are the guardians of the Constitution. Thus, they were called upon by the Moroccan government to guarantee the realization of the Arabization, which as we explained earlier, constitutes the identity and linguistic base of the State. As an example, and interestingly enough, it is the contribution of the administration and the police force that were sought first. Let us now, report on some recent events, which testify to the severe repression the Amazigh Movement, has been subjected to.

In 1994, during the commemoration of May 1st in Goulmima (Southeastern Morocco), many Amazigh activists took part in a demonstration carrying banners that were written in the Tifinagh alphabet (Amazigh script). These banners called for the official recognition of the Amazigh language

and culture. On May 3, 1994, seven of them were arrested on the order of the governor of the province. After conducting a search at their residences, they were thrown in jail. They were charged of the following: “threat to the State’s interior security”, “inciting others to bypass the institutions” and “threat to the Constitution.” On May 9, 1994, they were presented before the court of Errachidia. The group of 74 lawyers, who spontaneously gathered to defend the activists, requested their release with bail. The request was denied and the trial was set for May 17, 1994. In the meantime the seven prisoners started a hunger strike in order to be granted a status of political prisoners. They succeeded. On May 17, the trial started. During the proceedings, the prisoners categorically refused to express themselves in Arabic. The verdict, pronounced on May 27, set three prison sentences and heavy fines. Following a massive mobilization of the Amazigh Movement, Human Rights organizations, the three political prisoners were released July 3 and granted the Royal Pardon. However, after their release and despite the fact they were pardoned by the king, the local authorities did not allow them to go back to their teaching work.

Also, let us note that the context of the trial of the Goulmima prisoners was an occasion for the Moroccan authorities to suppress many associations’ activities in particular those of AMREC and ILMAS. This was reported in an official statement by the Committee of Solidarity with the Prisoners of Goulmima (May 28, 1994). In addition, the authorities made it a point of preventing many activities related to the Amazigh issue. This is the case for instance of the interdiction to the students of the Faculty of Arts of Meknes to use the university facilities to hold any gatherings, debates or cultural events. In protest of these decisions the students of Meknes organized a strike on November 23, 2000. When the authorities did not obstruct the Amazigh associations’ activities, they simply blocked their creation. This is the case of TADA (National Coordination of Amazigh Cultural Organizations) founded February 5, 2000 in Meknes which saw its registration denied. This denial was denounced in a press release by TADA dated April 2002.

Recently, many activists suffered all sorts of troubles as a result of voicing their opinions. Once again, the Moroccan authorities targeted the same activists that they imprisoned in May 1994. This goes to prove that the Moroccan government actually intends to suppress any and all Amazigh expression. On Wednesday, August 29, 2001, the provincial authorities of Errachidia warned two Amazigh activists not to hold any public demonstration or else incur the risk of prosecution for treason. Not surprisingly, this came at a time when a demonstration was being planned in the main town of the region in support for the Amazigh of Kabylia (Algeria) who, at the time, suffered a violent repression from the Algerian government.

It has also become clear that the authorities are opposed to the celebration of any events other than the official ones. In this regard, the provincial authorities of Boumalne N Dades (Ouarzazate) prohibited the AZEMZ Association from celebrating the Amazigh New Year, which was planned for January 12, 2003. The reasons invoked do not justify the decision and seem totally unrelated. These were 1) The AZEMZ Association must renew its executive committee 2) No other association celebrates an event such as the Amazigh New Year in the entire region. If the first reason does not justify the interdiction because it is an issue internal to the association, the second denies anyone to live their life, values and beliefs.

Moroccan toponymy is not safe from the policy of Arabization. Several Amazigh place-names underwent deformations to give them Arab forms when they are not completely replaced with Arabic names. For example, “Ifni” became “Sidi Ifni”, “Askourene” became “Sekkoura”, “Tadla” became “Qasbah Tadla”, “Tazagourt” became “Zagoura”, “Aharmemou” became “Ribat elkheir”, “Imteghren” became “Errachidia”, etc...

The Moroccan State often marginalizes Amazigh artistic activities. Not once Amazigh arts in general, including literature, music, dance, architecture, decorative arts, etc., have been considered for modernization or development. Amazigh artists are victims of a true discrimination by the Moroccan authorities as long as they cannot benefit from the same material and moral advantages as their Arab counterparts.

Finally, we will mention the official and formal prohibition of the use of Amazigh first names by the municipalities. This discrimination falls under the despotic linguistic policy, which recognizes only Arabic as a national and official language. According to many witnesses, in 1998, in Goulmima, the local authorities prohibited the use of the first name "Dihia". In 1999, in El Housseima, the first name "Noumidia" was prohibited.

This being said, the Moroccan government did take measures that hinted towards a timid "recognition" of Tamazight. However, these measures amount basically to a biased treatment of the issues raised by the Amazigh Movement.

II – Biased Official Responses

The dilatory character of the responses of the Moroccan government to the legitimate expectations of the Amazigh, cannot be emphasized enough. Because, in certain cases it happens, that the recognition of what the Moroccan authorities describe as the "Amazigh dimension" remains purely tactical and contextual. When it isn't closely tied to electoral contexts, it is to allow the start of a new technique of Arabization that would be carried out softly and with more subtlety.

A - The introduction of Tamazight in the educational system

Up to a recent period, Morocco must be credited for being the only country of North Africa to grant a considerable space to the Amazigh studies. However, this space has never been consecrated in any official text. In fact, everything that is official basically does the exact opposite. In all cases, Tamazight and Amazigh studies are considered a subject investigation and scholarship that should be disconnected from society. Evidently, restricting Tamazight to university research does just that.

Let us now focus our attention on the National Education Charter and the educational training of October 1999 whose wording seems to be reproduced in the Moroccan government's report (see Moroccan report CERD/C/430/add.1 - paragraph 40). This charter states under the title "Opening to the Amazigh" (Ouverture sur le berbère) (see paragraph 115) that the regional educational authorities have the freedom to choose to use Tamazight or any other local dialect alongside the official language in order to make the teaching of the latter easier. This is applicable to primary schools only. This provision which seems to tolerate the teaching of Tamazight, only contributes to the government's objective which is to accelerate Arabization. Also, the restriction to primary schools makes it clear that this introduction into the educational system was never intended as a recognition of Tamazight, because if this was the case, its teaching would be extended to all school levels. Moreover, this teaching is limited to making it possible to start the learning of Arabic. It may be concluded then, that the Amazigh language is treated as a teaching aid for Arabic and not the subject of teaching. Even the creation of the Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) does not allow one to come to a different conclusion.

B - The Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture (IRCAM): for a smooth decline of the Amazigh Movement

The creation of IRCAM solemnly announced in a speech by Mohammed VI at the time of the sealing of the Dahir (law) on October 17, 2001, is a remarkable event in the linguistic policy of Morocco. The announcement almost seemed like a radical change in favor of the Amazigh culture. Mohamed VI's words, however, are just babble directed to the Moroccan authorities. The so-called "revolutionary" character conferred to this Institute deserves to be rightly disputed, because the creation of such an institution does not address the legitimate expectations of the Moroccan Amazigh Movement. The reason is that instead of granting a true legal and official status to Tamazight (language, identity and culture), the State granted a recognition that is large enough just so that it may not be viewed as a folkloric and ridiculous one. By creating the IRCAM, Morocco did nothing more than deny the long-awaited constitutionalization of Tamazight, which would give it its rightful place in the fundamental law of the country. The Amazigh Movement strongly wishes that the creation of the IRCAM be followed by significant measures to consecrate the Amazigh identity in the Moroccan laws. To this effect, the Committee of the Amazigh Manifesto, stated in a press release dated July 31, 2002, in connection with the king's speech that it "wishes that this wise initiative be followed with a recognition at the constitutional level and the satisfaction of the other Amazigh Movement's claims as listed in the Amazigh Manifesto. Finally, one may ask: wouldn't have been logical to place the teaching of Tamazight under the charge of the Ministry of Education rather than under an ad hoc institute?

C – IRCAM's selection of the Tifinagh alphabet: a weapon pointed against the Amazigh language?

Charged with the duty of introducing the Amazigh language into the Moroccan educational system, the IRCAM has just resolved the question concerning which script to use for Tamazight. Let us recall that this issue caused a lot of controversy in the Amazigh field. Three types of scripts were suggested: the Latin script, the Arabic script and the Tifinagh script. The latter is the original Amazigh script that dates back more than three thousand years. The decision of IRCAM to favor the Amazigh traditional script has a lot of symbolic meaning, but amounts to nothing more than a frightening weapon pointed in the direction of the Amazigh language itself. As paradoxical as that may appear, we think that the adoption of the Tifinagh script for the transcription of Tamazight is simply a means used by the authorities to slow down the development of the Amazigh language. There are several explanations for this.

First, let us point out that the use of the Tifinagh characters raises many technical problems. In fact there are at least eight different versions of the Tifinagh alphabet, and IRCAM has not resolved the issue of which Tifinagh alphabet to use. It is obvious that the Tifinagh script will have to be standardized, which, for the moment, is not on IRCAM's agenda.

Second, the choice of the Tifinagh script has at least one important effect that is to delay if not jeopardize the introduction of the Amazigh language in the educational system. Because, currently, the totality of university works related to the Amazigh language were carried in the Latin transcription. In addition, all existing teaching aids (dictionaries, grammars etc.) are written in the Latin script. Consequently, in order to take advantage of these documents a re-transcription in Tifinagh must be done first. This in turn simply delays the teaching of Tamazight for lack of suited instruments.

Based on the above observations we arrive at the conclusion that the selection of the Tifinagh script, given its technical shortcomings, in addition to being a means of ousting the assets of the Moroccan Amazigh Studies, constitutes a wicked means of jeopardizing the effective teaching of Tamazight if not making it impossible.

PART 3

Our suggestions for the elimination of official discrimination

Alongside the Amazigh Movement, we ask that Morocco recognize Tamazight as a national and official language so that in the long term, Amazigh entity regains its sovereignty.

The Moroccan Amazigh Movement had already made a certain number of claims and proposals to the Moroccan State which are expressed in various documents and declarations: - Agadir Charter (1991); - Memorandum for the Imazighen's cultural and linguistic rights (1993); - The Amazigh Manifesto (2000).

In a bullet fashion, we would like to suggest a certain number of measures that the Moroccan State must take in order to show its will to end some of the discriminatory suppression the Amazigh people and their culture are subjected to.

1 - The Moroccan government must implement laws making the teaching of Tamazight compulsory at all levels (primary and high schools, colleges, universities and other educational institutions). The teaching of the Amazigh language must be carried out in a laic and free system. The government must guarantee the funds and resources necessary for the development of the needed teaching aids.

2 - The Moroccan Government must carry out a serious revision of the current history courses and programs. These are a true falsification of the history of Morocco.

3 - The Moroccan government must create a television channel as well as local and regional radios in the Amazigh language. The Amazigh people of Morocco have every right to benefit from the media as much as the other Moroccan citizens.

4 - The creation by the State of a body of interpreters who would serve in the public administrations, courts and hospitals. Their role would be to help the Amazigh speakers communicate, and get their administrative concerns resolved. Hundreds of thousands of people give up what is rightfully theirs due to linguistic problems when it comes to dealing with the authorities and the administration.

5 - The immediate repeal of the Interior Ministry's circular (98-99) that established a list of acceptable first names for use by the municipal services which deprives the Amazigh people from giving their children Amazigh first names. The so-called list established by the Interior Ministry suggests Arab-Moslem first names only.

6 - The Moroccan State must guarantee a place for Amazigh artistic activities in the public sector. It must provide the necessary means to the modernization of Amazigh arts in the various fields (literature, music, film, theater, dance, architecture, decorative arts, etc). Amazigh artists must be granted the same material and moral advantages as their Arabic-speaking counterparts.

7 - The Moroccan Government must put an end to the butchering and Arabization of Amazigh place-names by the Moroccan Administration.

8 - The Moroccan State must provide the Amazigh cultural organizations with enough grants to carry out their work in the best possible circumstances.

9 - The Moroccan State must grant Amazigh publications that work to preserve and defend the Amazigh cultural heritage the same financial assistance granted to other publications appearing in the Arabic language.

10 - The Moroccan government must put an end to its practice of suppression of Amazigh associations' activities. Amazigh people must be guaranteed the freedom to organize themselves.

11 - The Moroccan government must set up an adequate program of economic development of the underprivileged areas, where the majority of Amazigh speakers live.

12 - The Moroccan State must repatriate the remains of the symbol of Amazigh resistance, Mohamed Abdelkrim El Khattabi, who is buried in Egypt, to his native village of Ajdir in the Rif region.

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Appendix 1

Non exhaustive list of Moroccan Amazigh associations

- 1- AMREC (Rabat)*
- 2- Association Abrid (Fès)
- 3- Association Abrid Ameqran (Tinejda, Goulmima)
- 4- Association Addur Imazighen (
- 5- Association Agraw Amazigh (Rabat)
- 6- Association Akabar (Aghbalou n-iserdan)
- 7- Association Alhiwar Attaqafi (Nador)
- 8- Association Amenzu (Khenifra)
- 9- Association Amghar (Khenifra)
- 10- Association Anaruz n Demnat (Demnat)
- 11- Association Andaz (Lhajeb)
- 12- Association Anezum (Azerou)
- 13- Association Aourir (Agadir)
- 14- Association Asafar (Melaab, Errachidia)
- 15- Association Assid (Meknès)
- 16- Association Azemz (Boumalen Dades, Ouarzazate)
- 17- Association Azghenghen (Nador)
- 18- Association Bouya (Al Hoceima)
- 19- Association culturelle Anoukour (El Hoceima)
- 20- Association culturelle Asenflul (Meknès)
- 21- Association culturelle Asirem (Rissani, Errachidia)
- 22- Association culturelle Azekka (Azilal)
- 23- Association culturelle Ilmas (Nador)
- 24- Association culturelle Souss (Casablanca)
- 25- Association Fazaz (Fès)
- 26- Association Ighbula (Meriret, Khenifra)
- 27- Association In Umazigh (Nador)
- 28- Association Izuran (Ouarzazate)
- 29- Association Izuran n Tamunt (Souk Arbaa)
- 30- Association Lekhreat (Tinejda, Goulmima)
- 31- Association Massinissa (Tanger)
- 32- Association Numidia (El Hoceima)
- 33- Association pour la Recherche Culturelle et Educative (Biougra, Agadir)
- 34- Association Tafsut (Tarrast, Agadir)
- 35- Association Taltefraout (Goulmima)
- 36- Association Tamaynut (Rabat)*
- 37- Association Tamesna (Casablanca)
- 38- Association Tanukra (Nador)

- 39- Association Tidukla (El Jadida)
- 40- Association Tifssa (Ai n Louh)
- 41- Association Tilelli (Goulmima)
- 42- Association Tiwiza (Agadir)
- 43- Association Tizi (El Hajeb)
- 44- Association Toudert (Errachidia)
- 45- Association Université d'Eté d'Agadir (Agadir)
- 46- Association Yugurtha (Oujda)
- 47- Association Tazelgha (Lkhorbat, Tinejdad)
- 48- Association Tifinagh (Rabat)

(* AMREC and TAMAYNUT are the oldest Amazigh associations in Morocco. Their registered offices are located in Rabat, but they both have many chapters across Morocco.

Appendix 2

A Press Release by Hamid Lihi and Ali Harcherras, Active members of the association Tilelli (Goulmima) who have been victims of intimidations on the part of the administrative authorities in 2001.

PRESS RELEASE

(translated from French)

We, Hamid LIHI and Ali HARCHERRAS, Moroccan citizens, activists of the Amazigh Movement and members of the social-cultural association TILELLI of Goulmima declare the following:

- We bring to the attention of the public that the provincial authorities of Errachidia, which summoned us Wednesday August 29, 2001, had notified us that we “are not to undertake any kind of public demonstration, under penalty of being prosecuted for treason”, all the while reminding us the events that shook the area since independence, in particular the 1957 Addi Ou Bihi affair and events of 1973,
- We consider that this form of anticipated ban, based on a judgement of our presupposed intentions, as a grave threat to our civil and political rights, which are after all guaranteed by the Constitution and the code of public liberties.
- We call upon the human rights organizations and everyone who values justice to support us and denounce these tactics of intimidation, which deprive our citizens of their rights to free speech.
- We express our gratitude to the population of the area for their support.
- We re-affirm our determination to continue our fight until our region’s and the Amazigh Cultural Movement’s legitimate claims are satisfied.

Goulmima, September 4, 2001

Hamid LIHI
Ali HARCHERRAS

Appendix 3

Press Release by the AZEMZ association (Boumaln Dades, Ouarzazate) following the ban of the celebration of the Amazigh New Year by the Moroccan authorities.

**Azemz Association
Boumaln Dadès - Ouarzazate**

PRESS RELEASE

(translated from French)

At a time when all Imazighen in the world prepare to celebrate Amazigh New Year's day (year 2953), in Boumalne Dades, the socio-cultural and sporting association AZEMZ was surprised to hear that the activities it planned for this celebration were banned by the provincial Youth delegate. This was coordinated with the local authorities of Boumalne de Dades and was brought to our attention through a letter addressed to the association by the director of the Youth house.

We would like to inform the public of the following:

- We denounce these unqualified acts to which the initiators must put an end.
- We hold the local and provincial authorities responsible of the consequences of this repression.
- We call for the lifting of the economic and cultural embargo on the area of Dades.
- We re-affirm once more our attachment to the legitimate claims of the Amazigh Cultural Movement (MCA).
- We call for the constitutionalization of the Amazigh language and culture the adoption of the Latin script for the writing of Tamazight.
- We call for the repeal of the law of first-names that prohibits the use of Amazigh first names.
- We pledge our indefectible support for Arch delegates of Kabylia.

Signed by the president of the AZEMZ association
Boumaln n Dades, January 10, 2003.