Identity as a Critical Subject: Aesthetical to Cultural Critical Analysis of Izz Iddin Manasra’s Ideology

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Abstract
This study is intended to follow one of the most important transformations in the comparative cultural studies movement presented in the efforts of Izz Iddin Manasra, the critic, who is considered one of important contributors to the modernizing of the comparative approach by taking it into new horizon. He does so through his insistence on the fact that the comparative studies should take its role, and there should be new relations between it and the merging fields, such as cultural criticism, rather than the old ones, like history. The study intends to present a critical reading of Manasra’s ideas in his book *Identity and Multilingualism* as a comparative and intellectual work and makes the identity a comparative study that can be handled through cultural criticism theory to scrutinize the strategies of the new transformations and to follow Manasra’s efforts in handling identity in the comparative domain.

Key words: Identity; Criticism; Culture; Resistance

INTRODUCTION
Izz Iddin Manasra, the poet and the critic, are known as a cultural encyclopedia who enriched the references of comparative critic and made him/her well-informed and acquainted with the cultural entries. In this context, we have to go back to the methodology Manasra adopted in his comparison i.e. his methodology of cultural criticism which begins from literature, but not necessarily ends there. Additionally, the methodology of the man does not restrict the comparison to reveal the influence of the different factors at play.

Accordingly, Manasra took the cultural criticism into account and considered it as umbrella for the comparison. Besides, he is not content with the fulfillment of the literary criticism and its aims and objectives. Al-Ghathami and Isteif (2004, p.19) contend that “Manasra did not examine the meta-aesthetical questions or the relational questions between the collective appreciation of the beauty and its relation with the systematic component of the collective culture, and if he handled some of the non-aesthetic issues in the text, he would confine himself to the defects of the aesthetic and linguistic discourse in addition to the non-tactful, non-aesthetic features. This is, of course, scrutinizing the eloquent, and inattentiveness of the cultural symmetry.

Undoubtedly, the beauty is basic and essential, and discussing it is necessary and essential as well. But how if this beauty changes into symmetric defect when used to form the public culture and to form the cultural identity of the nation?! This is not handled by the literary criticism or stored in its intellectual record. And this is what the cultural criticism may assume to contribute to the projects of discourse criticism.

So Manasra adopted a mixed-project that combines comparative criticism to cultural criticism equally. So he presents the concepts of comparison towards more functions. In addition to discussing the issues of effectiveness and aesthetic aspects criticism, the researchers may discuss or handle the related systems and discover their dominance. This is the basic incentive that motivated Manasra to go into the literary and non-literary phenomena, and so he accomplished integrated researches in poetry, history, anthropology, cinema, plastics arts...
popular studies … etc. hand in hand with his traditional literary and critical ones. The following works of Manasra fall into the cultural, non-literary context:

- Al-Jafra and Muhawalat (Readings in the Dialectical Poetry in North Palestine) Daar Al-Karmil – Amman, 1933.

1. Identity as a Linguistic Phenomenon

This study intends to discuss the ideas of Manasra in his *Identities and Multilingualism in the Light of Comparative Criticism*. In this book, Manasra appears as a critic different from other comparative critics (Arabs and non-Arabs). If the literary criticism failed to handle the issue of identity, but succeeded to handle other issues just as heritage, mythology, literary genres, rhythm, poetics, style among others, identity as human issue – ancient and modern – should find a foothold in another domain. It is certain that comparative criticism, in some of its stages, tried to raise the issue of identity as its objective transcendence, but in limited extents. Modern Arabic poetry, for example, could not exhibit or present the voices of the marginal minorities in the Arab society. This, of course, is reflected in the critical activities, but not in the novelistic or fictional innovation that granted literary a comprehensive vision which has been presented to minorities’ lives and cultures in a linguistic form based on what is happening in an international status quo which is attracted towards Globalizations theses which propagate to erase or distort the identity. Perhaps this book, issued approximately seven years ago (2004), has not found its actual impacts in our thoughts and modern culture because the author himself specifically in this project is an annoying author in a positive sense of annoyance.

The book flows of information, analysis and investigations that lead a professional reader to have a headache or to feel (considerably) dizzy after reading any chapter, but this problem is related to the reader and to the reading mechanism not to the author or to the book itself. In addition, we are certain that the intellectual thought which is included in *Identities and Multilingualism* is as important as what Huntington. P. Samuel presents in his famous book the *Clash of Civilization* issued in English in 1996, adopting a major idea indicating that the post-cold war conflicts will be more aggressive, culturally, based. In order to understand the nature of the conflict in age and in the future, we should realize and comprehend the cultural conflicts.

So, why was Manasrah’s book very important to that extent? And what is the relation between his book and the current study? i.e. Manasra contrastive efforts?!

Hereby I will present the following:

- The content of the book.
- Manifesting Manasra’s motivating reasons to write in this subject.
- Then, trying to connect that with comparative studies field as presented by Manasra presented.
- The direct and indirect impact of the author methodology and his basic enterprise to establish his own theory in comparative studies.

The book *Identities and Multilingualism* contains six chapters:

(a) Globalization and Identities (anxious identities, reassured identities, subjugated or defeated identities).
(b) Assyrian and Syriac languages.
(c) Kurds and the Kurdish language.
(d) Amazigh and the Tamazight language in Algeria and Morocco.
(e) Francophone in Lebanon.
(f) Francophone in Arab Africa: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt.

Accordingly, it can be noticed how the researchers relied on a linguistic basis in defining the identity concept, recognizing universal concept of “identity” as a linguistic phenomenon. Therefore, any linguistic study should take identity into consideration if it were meaningful and complete, because identity is meaningless but in the core of the language, methods and reasons that help it to exist and develop, and how it is learnt and used (cf. Joseph, 2007, p.342).

Additionally, such study needs to scrutinize the factors that reinforce and keep the identity on the hand and the reasons and motives behind its instability, inconstancy and in durability on the other. (Two issues Manasra paid a lot of attention to). It is worth to mention that Manasra took a lot of concern in such both issues.
Undoubtedly, the book dedication to (Taha Hussien, 1973), (Edward Saeed - 2003) and (Franz Fanon -1961) implies a significant and hidden message in the context of how the identity is presented and how it is handled, and this is a dangerous sign in a general context of the study because all of those figures are symbol of thought and action. Taha Hussein, Edward Saeed and Fanon provided the world with their cognitive visions mixed with a genuine suffering expressed in radical conflict between the self and the other.

Due to his liberal tendency and his cognitive methodology, the author of the two books The Future of Culture in Egypt-1939 and The Jahili (Pre-Islamic) Poetry 1926 faced a serve criticism from the fundamentalist institution and suffered a lot from superficial culture to reach judicial level. Edward Said has represented a unique phenomenon in our current time, as the contemporary universal culture considered him as an icon for the educated scholar who joined the resistance originated from the metropolis against of the Western imperialistic hegemony. His books including Orientalism 1978 and Culture and Imperialism 1993 among others shocked the West as if they literally repeated the Arabic verse:

I daily teach him the art of shooting: When he became talented, he shot me.

I daily teach him composing poetry: When he became a poet, he satirized me.

Franz Fanon, a black psychologist and sociologist, born in the Martinique Islands is famous for his struggle for freedom and his fighting against racism and discrimination. His famous book is The Wretched of the Earth 1960. Undoubtedly, all the inspirations introduced in this work led to the type of thinking for Manasra. This will be very clear in the first chapter entitled Modern Comparative Criticism which concentrates on:

(a) The concept of culture emphasizing the features of elite.

(b) The concept of cultural criticism where a new function for criticism appears outside its aesthetical framework. Manasra refers to the branches of cultural criticism in both the Arab and Western cultures regardless of the names.

(c) The relationship between cultural criticism and the related sciences. It is strongly related with all human sciences.

(d) Cultural criticism failed to study the Arab world problems specifically the issue of identity despite Edward Said’s fruitful efforts in applying cultural criticism methodology on fundamental phenomena that influenced the formation of the Arabic society and its historical characterization including orientalism, imperialism, resistance, etc.

All the above features were essential to clarify the study methodology and its strategies. There are also one of Manasra’s research signs. Manasra is well-known for his concentration on this side and the related concepts used in most of his works. Some of pages were dedicated, for exampl, to define the concepts used in his study as seen in his Comparative Cultural Criticism: A Dialectical Deconstruction Perspective 2005.

2. HUMAN PERSPECTIVE OF IDENTITY

In his study of the identity, Manasra starts from a sheer humanist perspective, away from any regional alignment. So he initiated his study with what he called “suppressed identities” such as the Red Indians and the gypsies. His study shows through the roles of authorities and governments in stripping denying the other of their identity, turning the center into a margin, and the right wrong. It is a topsy-turvy policy based on the following terrifying statistics: 12 million Red Indians who were living in their homeland before the discovery of America by Columbus, the imperialist, in 1492, in 1900, only quarter a million of them survived. The invading Americans waged almost 93 destructive germ warfare against the indigenous residents and that killed around 400 tribes of the Red Indians. This is the longest and the worst massacre in the history of humanity. The United States never confessed the number of the Red Indians annihilated.

The case is the same when it comes to the genocide of gypsies or their compulsory dissolution inside Europe…. With the passage of time, at the end of the cold war between the capitalist and the communist camps, reading Huntington’s point of view regarding cultural conflict, and with the appearance of the American model with its dominance and calling for globalization, the question raised in this context is what is the relationship between literary criticism and the critics of different genres, on the one hand, and the issue of identity and its political, sociological, economical, linguistic, and religious complications, on the other. Since when the school of literary criticism, its methodologies and theories interfere in issues more related to sociological analyst rather than the aesthetic or artistic analyst? In other words, what is the objectives of the literary critic in transferring his orientation into new methodological perspective that might dangerously influence his fundamental relationship with the core of his work to became as “the descent to the ground do not cut , do not stay at noon”.

Manasra, without precaution continues his application of his Comparative Literary Criticism strategies similar to the ones used in discourse analysis. The reason stems from his dependence on studying a linguistic component in studying a non-linguistic phenomenon. Thus, he overcomes the methodological restrictions of the discourse analysts when he added (what the text does not say) according to the authors of this methodology.

Manasra has an essential purpose for studying identities within the umbrella of cultural criticism. i.e. the role Manasrah plays an essential role in activating criticism, reconsidering it as an human authority which serves the society, and presenting it as a pure science is an important issue. In this way, the critic widens his role
to become socially active, away from subjectivity, elitism and social isolation.

To clarify this strategy, I refer to a number of studies which deal with identity and it’s connection to political, social and cultural problems, and how this was reflected in serious global problems like violence, organized crime, terrorism, etc.. Amrita Sun (2008, p.117), an Indian philosopher and a Harvard and Cambridge economy sciences professor maintains that:

There are no doubts that our cultural background could have a great influence on our behaviors, thoughts and life styles. Furthermore, it might also affect our identity sensation and our sense of belonging to certain groups. The doubt I try to express in here is not only related to recognize the major role of cultural background on human behavior, but also to the way culture is presented as the only major factor which causes social dilemma. Our cultural identity could be highly important, but it is not isolated from other factors which might influence our priorities and understanding. A set of preparations should be done to recognize the influence of culture on humans’ lives and deeds.

3. IDENTITY UNDER COMPARATIVE CULTURAL CRITICISM

This discourse, among others, formed one of the main factors of Manasras’ study of identity under the concept of “comparative cultural criticism.” In addition to the fact that Manasrah himself is considered to be one of those whose identity was crushed due to the crimes of the Israelis against the Palestinians in Palestine in 1948, or in the West Bank in 1967, or in South Lebanon in 1980 or in Gaza in 2010 (a crime which happened after publishing this book). So, this feeling of identity murder is so clear to Manasrah, who says: According to Freiser: (qualified and experienced scholars relate Arabic-speaking Palestinian peasants to the pagan Canaan tribes, who settled there thousands of years ago and still standing since then.)

The Palestinian identity has been exposed to incomparable collective extermination campaigns throughout the modern age, and those campaigns are not limited to the Israeli massacres in Der Yaseen, Qubia, Nahaleen, Ad-dawaymeh, At-tanturah, Kufir Qasm, Sabra, Shatilla, Hebron, Jeneen and Rafah. There were many which preceded them, in addition to destroying thousands of houses, eradication of trees, killing children, women and old people and forcing over a million of Palestinians to leave their homeland. And since the American identity was formed using the same method, it would be easy to know the secret to this Israeli- American strategic alliance.

What Manasrah refers to is the disgraceful act the Americans carried out against Red Indians, the native Americans, and here I wonder: how does follow the historical event and its many details lead to cultural analysis and comparative methods within the same cultural perspective?

It is known that the field of cultural studies is the only choice for each critic who intends to study other types of texts rather than literature. Guthani says,” Jonathan Cooler wonders: what might happen to the field of criticism when professors of literature tend to study Madonna rather than Melon or the T.V drama Soap Operas than Shakespeare, or when French professor writes about cigarettes or his American colleague about overweight, etc.?

Moreover, cultural studies break the centrality of the text and view it as a means and the raw material used to discover certain patterns such as narration and ideological problems. The text is not the ultimate goal of cultural studies but rather the social elements. Since the social system is the core of cultural research and its essential purpose, and since Manasrah followed its historical and linguistic from as the case is in his study of “identity”, this made him a cultural researcher and critic. But how he connected between the cultural and the literary criticism what Al-Mahdi (2009, p.98) wrote may lead to an important answer in this context. Dr. Mahdi says “Many critics look at the text as a cultural / aesthetic phenomenon or aesthetic / cultural one. That is, the aesthetic and cultural dimensions do not embody any contradiction. Thus, the space of mutual interest between the two will be wider, “especially when the researcher borrows from criticism the analytical mechanism, and from the culture its typical inductive objectives or aims in scrutinizing the system. Thus Manasrah resorts to the comparative facts and their basics to enrich the mechanism of being involved in identities through his contributions to the three cognitive fields: Literary criticism theory, cultural studies, and the comparative theory. In this context, Manasrah divided identity into three types: The calm, the anxious and the subjugated, in an attempt to condemn all aspects of identity discrimination. Manasrah himself suffered from anxiety because of his national identity and the continuing suffering due to the international situation, as illustrated above. Because of his deep acquaintance with both the international and Arab experience in the resistance literature, his PhD thesis, as we all know, is about the impact of Nicolay Phibtasarof on the Palestinian resistance poetry. Undoubtedly, resistance literature remains the type of literature that reflects the human pain and subjugation and the dilemma of the incapability of retrieving the rights from the occupiers. In this context, Manasrah (2002, p.231) narrates what his sister Rania Phibsarsaf says “Nichola dedicated himself for the sake of Bulgaria liberation and now it is a communist liberated country and the day in which your myters blood would never be forgotten” (the speech was directed to Dr. Manasrah ) and you will get your land back.

The latest sentence, “you will get your country back”, is the essence feeling of the loss and the exile reflected in the Palestinian resistance poetry like Mansrah’s. In this context, Obaidallah (2006, p.10) says perhaps the experience of the Palestinian poetry which is integrated in the Palestinian suffering contributed extremely in the development of the modern Arabic poetry, strengthened
the relation between poetry and its audience and convinced the people that modernism is not a conspiracy as some think. On the contrary, modernism can be a means to bear the national grief and sorrow and to produce new kinds of poetry in response to a spontaneous reaction of ragged structure produced as a result of the Palestinian circumstances, one of the most tragic events in the 20th century. So, the Palestinian poetry bears the worries and concerns of the resistance to reveal the status of the Arab and the Palestinian people, along with the aesthetic dimension.

The Palestinian people are ruptured between their attempt to maintain identity on the one hand and their desire to convince the world of their right and the fairness of their cause. So, we have to look at the whole framework in which Manasra worked in his study, the identity and linguistic diversity, in light of the comparative -cultural criticism. What the identity achieved (resistance literature: poetry, novel, drama, plastic art, carcatair and popular art) is aesthetic linguistic material governed by the critical work and its conditions.

What the identities expose such as issues, ideas, and problems contribute in producing a certain culture. Besides the dominance of social, economic, intellectual or political systems is a basic part and essential mission or function of the (cultural study) which are still under activation till now and we don’t know their end. In addition, we don’t know what these studies will achieve for those who rely on them in diverting their critical approach because the (cultural studies) is incomplete field of study till now according to Rabbi (2010, p.311) who says although some defenders of the cultural criticism confessed that it is a new kind of study which is incomplete and abortive still but it is considered as a future pattern in 21st century. Others doubted the moral and the philosophical bases of the modern criticism and they focused on the intellectual, aesthetic and the human values that the critic should be endowed with.

Therefore Manasra looked for a partner of the same field and similar to its from, its flexibility, its analytical work, and unity of its purposes and targets. Therefore, he meant to compare to make his view a comparative cultured and critical one. In this context, he does not follow the classical approach in his comparison but he follows the modernist development and changes in the comparative theory in 21st century. So, if the cultural criticism revealed the rigidness of hegemony as many critics did in this connection like Edward Said among others, the comparative criticism contributed in its change and successive developments and transformations contributed in the revolution against the European centrism morally and intellectually and after the comparison was initially an idea of pride in Europe and its cultural and civilized role, it became marked as a guard for the transient colonial system (cf. Al-Khatib, 1995, p.24).

Al Khatib adds a very important idea in the context of invitality approach and the cognitive importance of the connection between the two fields, we mean (the comparative studies and cultural studies) and this is applied by Manasra in his book *Identities and Linguistics Diversity. Critical Approaches in the Light of the Comparative Cultured Criticism* with determination and insistence and in a way of thinking that expresses the intellectual and critical awareness and reflects the image of the well cultured number and the critic. To sum up Al Khatib’s point which Manasra applied is “For us in the Islamic and Arabic area these studies are very important, because we are the most devoted and connected to our cultural and historical identity, and we are very worried about it because of the universal media and the cultural globalization. Moreover, we are still busy in the issues of identifying the self and the other and the originality and contemporariness, the two main statements that occupy the concern of the comparative literature studies and conferences especially in the last ten years, and the Arabic literature theorists and the Islamic theorists are urged to contribute positively in this issue. This difficult issue, the clarity and explicitness of all its aspects and connecting it with the past and the present is one of the most basic skills for the Arabic comparative literary theory and it can deal with the cultural studies with its diversified system and its expansion in all aspects of life (Ibid., p.46).

This encouraged Manasra to apply this new approach in literary and non- literary studies, such as identities, cinema, plastic art…etc. After all the question arises is what is the main result of Mansara’s study of the identity and its linguistic diversity as a comparative study?

To answer this question, I will start with Bakkar (2009, p.151) in a chapter entitled the debate of the self and the other, revealing that “we should imitate the other positively in his plans, aims, awareness and his looking up to the future of his culture and identity. Isn’t the unified culture the target for the European leaders who realized the danger of the cultural division ?Was not the European dialogue which led to the European union the civilized choice in facing the danger the Europeans found it is a necessity that urged the union to exist? Jack Sherak was shocked when he knew that the French people don’t study Shakespeare, Geotehe and Dante and they just study the French authors like Volteer and Croso.

The significance of this statement is to see the importance of openness on the other’s culture without worry or fear about the identity. Manasra looks at the issue of openness with some doubt and anxiety depending on his approach (the cultured approach) which presented an ugly image for the western civilization, its oriented history and its imperial tendency (in Edward Said view point). For this Manasra believes that it is useless to talk about the good intent while treating with the other culture because the other himself practiced a very rigid role in exact the identities of the others at the same time he the other claims knowledge, democracy, freedom and brotherhood. This objection in Manasra’s ideology is justified and documented by real events. Let’s suppose
that the culture interaction happens between different identities and cultures with entire equivalence with actual proportion but the falsification emerged with the Anthropology of the 19 century. Thus as an American identity was invented in skyscrapers built on blood swamps of the Red Indians, the Israeli identity was built on the bodies of the Palestinians, who were eradicated from their land and sent to exile while others were put in Israeli prisons with erasing all traces of Palestinians’ identity. However, the Palestinians have learned a good lesson from the Red Indians and mastered resistance and taught the world how to throw stones.

On this base, Manasrah refuses the so-called “Peace of Braves”. In his point of view, what is the peace that exists between the strong and the weak, the dominant and the dominated? This is the result Manasrah wants to enhance in his disclosure of the “Rape of Identities”. He explains the big trick promoted by the western media, in general, and the American media in particular. This trick (Globalization trap) which came on the ruins of Modernity as an intellectual imperialism movement. One of the most dangerous aims of the movement was separating text from its context and depriving identity from its history and basis. Therefore, comparative activity is used by Manasrah to reveal the falsity of the current culture. Moreover, the dominance of the American model and its language is considered a central element to this issue. John Tomlinson (2008, pp.110-111), a British professor of cultural sociology at the University of Trent, Nottingham, sees that the issue of language control and the threat to cultural diversity take us to a broader issue related to cultural imperialism. That is to say, the notion that Global culture is likely, in one way or another, to be a dominant culture. All this pessimistic idea about the notion of Global culture is, in fact, the most prominent in the late 20th century. It is an aspect of the hierarchical nature of imperialism i.e the increased political dominance for particular central cultures, the spread of values, consumer goods and patterns of American life. These are patterns presented through media, political, economic and social channels as a means of hegemony and dispossession of identities, just like the case of the Red Indians and the Palestinians explained by Manasrah. In order to get rid of self-reliance and projections regarding the approach in Manasrah’s study, he didn’t only talk about the American – Israeli role in suppressing identities, but he also extended his frame work to discuss burying identities in other climates. In the second chapter of Identities and Multilingualism (p.97) entitled Syriacs and Syriac Language, Manasrah when uncovers identities invaded historically massive massacres were committed against these identities, thousands of Armenians and Syriacs were killed by the Ottoman Kurdish Alliance. On 24/4/1915, Turkey committed the massacre of Armenians and Syriac where one million Armenian, half a million Syriacs and the others were expelled from their country. “However, Syriac language has remained the common denominator between all Syriac communities of different ethnicities and sects in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan. There are, for example, 20 thousand Muslims speak Syriac in Syria. Furthermore, Syriac culture has played an important role in the Arab civilization particularly in its historical centers in Edessa and Nusaybin. However, whereas Syriac language is common between religious and ethnic minorities, recognizing the importance of the Syriac language in the Levant and Iraq requires recognizing it as a second official national language after the official national Arabic in the Fertile Crescent and other Arab states. This also requires rehabilitating Syriac language in schools and universities as an oriental language in addition to Arabic. As for other non-cultural rights of the Syriacs, they are implemented through the principle of citizenship and its laws with emphasis on the principle of ensuring special protection to them by the states they live in, Manasrah says (Ibid., pp.102-103).

4. LIBERATION OF NATIONS

Manasrah began to put us in front of a pattern of social, linguistic, political and cultural awareness which enhances the visions of liberation for nations – minorities or majorities- and devote the human rights in dignified life and to live with pride and dignity. According to Manasrah, interpreting these visions should take a comparative direction for better understanding of the desired goals and objectives. It is to compare between imperialist powers and settlement exercised on these nations and real partnership in the industry of human development following its steps in achieving “real world peace”. In this regard, we are unable to be separated from the big issue of Manasrah discusses. It is the Palestinian issue and what is practiced and being practiced by the Israeli culture of suppression and destruction against the people, civilization, Palestinian Holy places with clear American and European brutal support.

The truth is that Manasrah, who endured himself a lot in the contrastive cultural critical reading of identities, has presented a limited pattern of visions and solutions without expanding it to involve the whole comprehensive, cultural and civilization problem, which must represent the psychological content of the nation and its ability to be objective in communicating with others. Al- Jabiri, who dealt with this idea comprehensively in his discussion of the nation’s desire to break free from the western power, said the East’s desire of liberty from the West doesn’t mean the declining of the West, but the first thing, as we all know in revival Arabic discourse, what the current Arabic discourse should get rid of, in this context is the false saying itself: To liberate ourselves from the West means, the ability to deal with it critically, i.e. to enter its world wide culture through a critical dialogue, by reading its history and understanding its principles and concepts in addition to recognize the principle of its development,
then applying those to our culture and thoughts. It is not so important “to master the knowledge” only but the most important is to know the methods and procedures used for development and leadership. In other words, critical rationality is what helps the nation to succeed. See (Al-Jabiri, 1988, p.189).

In his study of identities, Manasrah dealt with both the historical and critical aspects, but without actually connecting them to the other required conditions to make his ideas realistic. i.e. changing his ideas regarding the identity rights within globalization and its hard effects, from the theoretical aspect to the realistic one and he achieved this in his discussion of the francophone issue, which will be shown later. Manasrah’s discussion of the Kurdish identity and its complicated conflict with the Turkish, Iraqi and Syrian governments was presented differently from other identity cases. He briefly illustrated that the Kurds demands of self-determination and establishing an independent country on their home land within the five regional countries is hard to achieve. As for the Iraqi Kurds, they have the right to protect the Kurdish federal, and to have their culture, civil, economical, political, and national rights within the boarders of the United Iraq.

CONCLUSION

Manasrah’s discussion of the Amazigh issue took a different dimension. For him, the Amazigh, who settle in two different geographical regions, Algeria and Morocco, have the right to carry the Arabic identity because of their language, so he considers the linguistic identity to be a major solution for this case, and here, he contradicts his own proposition regarding the francophone case, which deals with French-speaking countries that used to be French colonies, like Lebanon. Manasrah provides the following conclusions:

(a) Arabs (Arabism stream) rejected the francophone issue and consider it a form of new colonization.
(b) Francophone is a French ideology aiming to dominate North Africa politically, culturally and economically.
(c) France has promoted colloquial dialects to cause a conflict with Standard Arabic under the logo of multiculturalism.
(d) As a result of the francophone influence, some Arabs tended to propagate the English language and culture to annoy the French (and this aggravated the situation), while others invited other cultures to the stage, like Russians among others.
(e) Some educated African-Arabs admired the French culture and produced their works in French, which resulted in the appearance of a hybrid literature.

(f) Liberal Arab francophone leagues have cooperated with Europe and the USA to suppress the Islamic, national and socialist movements which enhance the peace culture and Israeli culture based on the American prototype.

(g) Dependency is imminently dangerous. According to Manasrah, it’s acceptable to learn and use other languages as a means of knowledge, but far away from Americanization and Francophone provided that Arabic remains central as the Europeans treat their national languages.

The purpose of mentioning the Arabic cultural problems is self-reform, as Abd- Alkhaliq (2004, pp.206-207) states in his theory (challenge and response), “to start producing a modern, and developed Arabic culture that reflects the historical influence on the present Arabic lifestyle, we need a public culture produced by pragmatic professionals who are raised by effective media and supported by academics, politicians and businessmen.”

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