THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM ON THE DINKA OF THE SUDAN

By

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Arts – Integrated Studies with specialization in Cultural Studies; the experiences I had with fellow program students will remain vividly engraved in my memory forever; and to that a zillion thanks to all who had shared this remarkable academic path with me. May our paths cross again in the near future!
Dedication

To the voices of decolonization which continue to tirelessly fight an uphill battle not only for themselves, but more importantly for the masses that are not privileged to have the necessary tools needed for the deconstruction of colonial structures.
Abstract

This project presents the impact of cultural imperialism among the Dinka of the Sudan as lived and experienced by the writer. The project brings to light cultural imperialism which the Dinka people continue to endure, the revelation of the contemporary existence of cultural imperialism, and how it continues to slit the soul of the Dinka culture and identities. The project draws from the writer’s experiences as a Dinka man at the crossroads of two worlds – the authentic Dinka culture and the flaming forces of cultural imperialism.

In exploring the impact of cultural imperialism among the Dinka of the Sudan; this project also scrutinizes the question of religion, identity, and tradition among others, within the context of cultural imperialism. The dominance of English and the introduction of formal education to the traditionally oral Dinka culture and how it clashes with the acquisition of formal education is addressed. In a nutshell, the writer sees ex-colonial languages, particularly English that had attained global language status, as a tool which could be used in the deconstruction of colonial structures.
1 Introduction

1.1 My Voice

I would like to set the stage for the readers that the structure and story telling method used in this project might appear unfamiliar within the Western epistemological framework. This project is a voice of decolonization; telling it in my own voice is fundamentally of great significance. Therefore, while the project is about cultural imperialism, I am choosing to keep away from indulging in theoretical discussions of imperialism. This project is rooted in my lived experiences of cultural imperialism as a member of the Dinka community. Athiang Deng Garang’s poem –Deng and Mohamed in Sudan, in this project, echoes my decolonizing voice as a Dinka; to me, this is a voice that the Dinka would collectively identify with.

**Deng and Mohamed in Sudan**

Someone who confuses people’s steps is never allowed to lead the path
Someone who doesn’t know dancing rules is never allowed to lead the dance
Someone who doesn’t know how to guide and lead his people is never allowed to be a leader

Since leading humans is
   More complex than leading cattle
   And the mean leader who discriminates against a people in the use of their resources
   Is also discriminated against by the land before the season is over

There is no mistake for me to share the same Nile’s water in one cup with you Mohamed
   Because we were born in one country
There is no mistake in my sharing the vegetables of one land with you
   Because we share the name of the same country
There is no mistake in my sharing the same path of life with you
   Because we were born in one country

Also don’t poison me with your religious laws
And don’t poison me with your cultural laws
   Because you are not me and I am not you
If you wish bad things for the innocent
Because they don’t belong to your tribe
Then I have no agreement with you
Because my soul revolts against
The torturing of the innocent

If you like deceiving and hate being governed
Then you will not lead me
Because if we reverse the hierarchy
You will not know how to be governed

And we will not share one path of life
Because you don’t know yourself,
And you don’t know the future
And the past in Sudan

If you are laughing at a Sudanese
Whose life is shattered by your bad deeds
Then I have no agreement with you
Because you slips out of the good life of humanity

Let your door face where you desire
And I will let my door face where I desire
Because you are not me and I am not you

Praise your God in your residence
In the language of your father and mother
And I will praise my God in my residence
In the language of my father and mother

And don’t poison me with your religious laws
And don’t poison me with your cultural laws
Because you are not me and I am not you
I am called Deng and you are called Mohamed

A big tribe never gives up its identity on a misty day
And the day when the cattle have not gone for grazing
A big tribe never changes its name because others hate it
A big tribe never runs away and leaves the land to cowards

We will not allow our ancestors graves to be tampered with
By the people walking by
And the same applies to our identity
Take your hands off me
So that my soul can grow in a free space
Because you are not me and I am not you

Deng and Mohamed in Sudan
If you like to protect your identity
I also like to protect my identity
From those destroying it

And I have led a life to protect the language
Of my grandmothers and grandfathers
From those destroying it

I am holding the shield in my hand ready
To guard the dignified culture of my people
From those who want to erase
Any color that doesn’t belong to them on earth

The earth that is partly ours
The earth that is partly our ancestors’
The earth where everything decays and others germinate

The earth full of hatred and love
The earth full of the generous and the mean
The earth that is shallow and deep

The earth that is full of happiness and pain
The earth that is full of cowards and heroes
The earth where the wise manage his life

The earth where a camel pushes its owner into the cold
I have to struggle to manage my life
For my life to be what it should be
In thoughts and in work

Because if not
My life and existence will have no meaning
In the context of my people’s history
In the context of World’s history
1.2 The Scope of the Study
This project will explore the impact of cultural imperialism on the Dinka of the Sudan.

Apart from the Dinka oral literature like the above poem, there is no written work specifically on Dinka cultural imperialism. The authors who have written on Dinka have done so with a more anthropological focus – exploring the Dinka socio-economics and the likes or more specifically, what I would call an ethnographic vantage point. Like many other ethnic groups in the Sudan, Africa, and other parts of the colonized world, the Dinka had a distinct authentic\(^1\) culture before the storms of colonial powers hit\(^2\).

However, unlike most other ethno-cultural groups around the World who experienced the sharp edge of the colonial sword, the Dinka of the Sudan experienced a double-edged sword as they were colonized (and to some extent continue being colonized) by both the Arabs and the British. During the colonial era – from 1898 to 1956, (Collins and Deng, 1984) the Sudan was colonized by Egypt and Britain. Their respective languages, Arabic and English, were passed down as part and parcel of the cultural imperialism package.

Given the cultural significance of language, the above mentioned colonial powers were successful in the quest to elevate their languages and thus their cultures – Christianity and Islam came into the Sudan as part of these colonizing cultures.

The Sudan obtained its independence on January 1st 1956 from Egypt and Britain. However, the so-called independence only goes as far as self-governance. Post-colonial politics in the Sudan continue to be remotely controlled by the former colonial powers. As far as cultural imperialism is concerned, the difference today is that it has taken new tones and costumes from colonialism. In other words, cultural imperialism in

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1 By ‘authentic’ I mean the original state of the culture before colonial influence.
2 The Great Britain colonized the Sudan from 1898 – 1956. Even though Egypt was part of the Condominium, and thus the name ‘Anglo-Egyptian Sudan’; the Great Britain was more dominant; see Collins and Deng 1984 & also Fluehr-Labban et al. 1992.
this day and age is more systemically implicit; Britain and Egypt are not involved in actually running the government of Sudan. The respective colonial languages (English and Arabic), however, continue to flourish and dominate all other indigenous languages in the Sudan. As a part of the impact of cultural imperialism on the Dinka of the Sudan, this project also will explore the prospect of linguistic extinction due to the negative impacts of cultural imperialism.

Being from the Dinka myself I have lived to experience the effects of cultural imperialism. I am in a generation which is facing an identity crisis as the imperialist powers\(^3\) toil to erase the Dinka identities and transform them to be in alignment with their own identities and cultures. Through the writer’s lived experiences and cultural knowledge, this project will bring to light the cultural imperialism which the Dinka people continue to endure. This research project will draw from my experiences and cultural knowledge as a Dinka man at the crossroads of two worlds – the Dinka culture and the flaming forces of cultural imperialism. To explore the impact of cultural imperialism on the Dinka of the Sudan, I will scrutinize the questions of religion, identity, indigenous knowledge, traditions, and modernization.

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\(^3\) In post-colonial Sudan, the government is dominated by the minority Arab elites whose quest is to arabize and Islamize the Sudan irrespective of its diversity (See Voll and Voll, 1985).
1.3 Introducing the Dinka

The Dinka people consist of four major groupings – Agar, Bor, Padang and Rek.

Traditionally, the Dinka were pastoral-nomadic people whose economy was based on cattle, not money. So the equivalence of the modern day millionaire/billionaire within the Dinka culture would be an accumulation of cattle in large numbers. Just like money can settle almost anything in today’s economy, in the Dinka economy, cattle played that crucial role – from buying food, to settling court fines, to paying dowries. The Dinka residential settlements were permanent but their cattle camps which were almost exclusively run by youth got seasonally relocated in search of water and pasture for the cattle. Most tasks in the cattle camps, including milking the cows, were performed by teenagers.

One of the steps of the initiation process into adulthood was, in fact, the discontinuation of the milking task. As a patriarchal culture, the Dinka’s initiation process into adulthood gave boys the most celebrated initiation rituals in comparison to girls. While male initiations consist of *chuel*⁴ (circumcision), *hooth*⁵ (removal of six lower teeth), *pal e rhak*⁶ (graduation from milking tasks), and *gheer*⁷ (engraving of deep cut marks on the forehead, that leaves permanent scars of a particular pattern), their female counterparts, on the other hand, only undergo the removal of six lower teeth. Irrespective of the discrepancy in male and female initiations, one fundamental thing was constant – both boys and girls were educated of their adulthood responsibilities by their

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⁴ Some sections of the Dinka use the term *nguot* instead of *chuel* for circumcision.
⁵ Dinka cultural ritual in which six lower teeth are removed. This ritual is performed on both boys and girls.
⁶ Dinka cultural ritual that marks the end of boyhood and the beginning of manhood. Literally, the ritual symbolizes the graduation from milking cows, among other tasks performed by boys.
⁷ It should be noted that in some sections of Bor and Rek, young women undergo this cultural initiation as well. Those who do not perform *gheer* on women sometimes ridicule those who do.
respective gender elders. In other words, men would mentor the boys and women would mentor the girls on socio-cultural expectations of manhood and womanhood in the Dinka culture respectively.

A typical permanent Dinka residential compound would consist of at least two huts, a cattle byre, and a granary all surrounded by at least fifty acres of arable land for the cultivation of food crops like maize, sorghum, and millet, among others. Generally, most of the work from agricultural tasks (caring for livestock, building huts, granaries, and byres) were performed by women. In agriculture, men would prepare the land by clearing off shrubs and tree stumps. The women would then do the planting, weeding, and eventually harvesting. One major way in which men would do the planting or harvesting of the crops was through harvesting and planting feast. For example, a family would prepare meals and wine and invite young men in the village to do the harvesting or planting and enjoy the food and drinks prepared by women from that family with the help of other women relatives and friends. The Dinka culture being a patriarchal culture, it goes without saying that household chores such as cooking and caring for the young ones were exclusively women’s responsibilities.

After *gheer*, a young Dinka man would start courting a girl or two. The courting would typically go on for at least two years before it leads to a marriage. Getting married and having children is a cultural expectation (with economic incentive - more children means more manpower in the family particularly in the days when husbandry was central to the Dinka lives) on both men and women in the Dinka culture. Women are viewed as God’s deputies, in the sense that life starts in their wombs and is nurtured there for nine months prior to being delivered into the world.
The Dinka believe in immortality or continuity of life through offspring. In other words, an individual who passes away after having at least one child is not mourned much, because he is believed to be alive in the form of the child. On the other hand, if no child had been left behind at death, then one is considered dead. There is, however, a remedy for such scenario when the deceased is not survived by a child. The family of the deceased marries a woman on his behalf; and one of his brothers or paternal cousins (if he does not have a brother) would bear children with the bride on behalf of the deceased brother or paternal cousin. So while the brother or paternal cousin is the biological father of the children from this kind marriage; this individual can not claim the children as his own (even though he is the biological father), within the cultural context the deceased is the father.

The biological father (brother or paternal cousin) would be responsible of putting food on the table and supporting the deceased’s wife and children in any other ways just like he would do with his own. The Dinka call this *koch e nham*, which can be literally translated as ‘standing the head’. In a nutshell, the brother or paternal cousin of the deceased becomes a husband and father to the deceased’s wife and children respectively to ‘stand his head’ and make him immortal. It is also fundamental to note that, consistent with its patriarchal tradition, the Dinka family lineage is paternal. Therefore in a scenario where the deceased does not have a brother or half-brother, a cousin identified by the family for *koch e nham*’s obligations would be a paternal cousin and never a maternal cousin.

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*8 A cultural practice among the Dinka, whereby a brother or paternal cousin gets married on behave of his deceased brother or cousin, to preserve immortality. The phrase can be literally translated as ‘standing the head’.*
2 The Question of Religion and Identity among the Dinka

2.1 Personal Testimony

My personal testimony on the question of identity in the Sudan is central to this project and particularly to this section on religion and identity; and as such, I would like to start with *The Question of Identity in Sudan: A Personal Testimony* to set the stage for this section of the project.

In the first year of my primary school in Sufi (a small town in Northern Sudan), my parents had to bribe the school principal as a condition for my admission into grade one. In addition to this, I had to take an Arabic name to be enrolled in the Sufi Primary School or be denied the right to primary education. Finally, there was no better choice than to take an Arabic name in order to be enrolled at Sufi Primary School. I went by ‘Mohamed Abdullah,’ a name completely alien to my culture and a blatant insult to my ancestors.

This idea of going by an Arabic name as prerequisite for enrollment in schools was replicated in the job market. My father and mother, with the names of Arop Amour and Nyanaguek Dau, were forced by the job market to go by the Arabic names ‘Abdullah Rob’ and ‘Khadija Bita Dhou’ respectively. As a child I did not know what was going on; I thought Abdullah Rob and Khadija Bita Dhou were my parents’ indigenous names, but it was a matter of time and soon I came to know the reality.

What brought things to light was my enrollment at Sufi Primary School as ‘Mohamed Abdullah’. I recalled asking my father: “Where did this name Mohamed come from?” While my father was still trying to arrange his thoughts and find a way of explaining things to me, I continued, “My name is Buk!” My father then explained things
in simple ways for me. His explanation then revealed that ‘Abdullah Rob’ was not his real name but Arop Amour, which was also the case with my mother’s name (which turned out to be Nyanaguek Dau instead of the ‘Khadija Bita Dhou’ I knew).

Also in school, the compulsory teaching of Islam was another issue. Islamic Studies as a subject in the syllabus was referred to as ‘Religion Studies’. Now I look back and wonder why it was not called what is was: Islamic Studies. This subject was not clearly spelled out as a compulsory subject, but as optional. However, there was a twist on this: when final tests/examinations came, those who were fooled that Religion Studies was optional paid an ultimate price. They were given two choices – do the exam on a subject that they had not studied or be given a mark of zero automatically. Students normally chose the former and started attending Religion Studies in the following semester.

Through my school years in Sudan, I never got the marks I had worked for and deserved; my teachers who were predominantly of Arab origin would always lower my marks and raise those of my Northern/Arab colleagues. I remember coming home crying at the end of every semester, as I was completely demoralized by what had been put into my report card.

It reaches a point in time where I had to deeply think about this oppression and how to deal with it. One night, I just could not stop thinking about the issue I was facing one semester after another. Finally, I came to transcend the oppressive education system. I made a resolution to accept and live with the reality of the things I could not change and focus on what I can change. This was one of the thousands of pieces of wisdom that came with my parents’ guidance and mentorship. In a nutshell, I resolved that I was not going
to let it get into my nerves anymore; after all, not only because it was beyond my control, but that by lowering my grades they were not lowering my knowledge. This resolution was at long run an oasis of ultimate self-motivation for me.

To me, this idea of trading one’s identity for the basic human rights is nothing short of commodification of identity. A series of questions arise in my mind occasionally, and I think these questions linger in most Sudanese’s minds, namely:

- Given that I am Sudanese by birth (undeniable identity), is there any hope that one day I shall enjoy the rights of citizenship in that country?
- Will I live my entire life being given those tough looks at various international airports in this post-9/11 era?
- Will I be fingerprinted if I happen to travel to the United States of America where Sudan is in the State Department’s list of terrorists and/or countries which harbor terrorists?
- In the Bible –Isaiah chapter 18 –it is stated that “God will punish Sudan.” Is this that punishment? Or even worse, is this just a foreshock with the real quake to follow?
- Will I live to see the ideal Sudan of justice, peace, stability, democracy and good governance?
- The current civil war has dragged on for 20 years now. It has claimed more than 2 million lives and displaced more than 4 million. How many generations is this war going to destroy?
- Is the international community going to take this matter seriously and one day bring an end to the war and it companions –torture and slavery, among others?
2.2 Naming System

The naming system is a vital part of identity among the Dinka. If I were to meet a Dinka elder from Ngok, the specific section of Dinka I hail from, the elder would be able to tell me a lot about my grandparents and great-great-grandparents. He or she would provide details of what they were well-known for; whether they were brave warriors, skilled hunters, skilled healers, masters of fishing spears or whatever the case might have been. The elder would give me all the details about my family history. All this can only happen on one condition though –I would have to tell the elder my full name. A full name in the Dinka culture consists of three names in the sequence of son, father, grandfather. In my case, for example, Buk is my first name, Arop –my father’s first name, and Amour –my grandfather’s first name. Therefore, if I were to introduce myself to an elder, I would mention the three names in that sequence – *Buk Arop Amour*. These three names help the elder to situate me within the Dinka society: “Oh, you are the son of Arop Amour Arop uh?” The elder can also recall the names of my great-grand parents and my ancestors from previous generations. Thus, any alteration in this naming sequence would make it difficult if not impossible for an elder to trace my ancestral roots.

The Dinka naming system has certain patterns some which are shared across various Dinka groups, which one can call cross-sectional. On the other hand, some patterns are only specific to particular groups of the Dinka. Example of a cross-sectional naming pattern is what I would call ‘situational naming pattern’. This is naming pattern in which names are determined by family lineage, socio-political or natural conditions at the time of birth. For instance, a child born on a rainy day or season would be named *Deng* or *Adheng*, masculine and feminine Dinka words for rain respectively. A baby boy
and girl born during a drought season would be named *Yak* and *Ayak*, respectively – Dinka words for drought. As for the socio-political conditions, naming examples would include *Tong* or *Atong* for a baby boy and girl respectively; *tong* is a Dinka word for war. A child born during a festivity is named *Yai*, a Dinka word for festivity.

For the naming patterns which are specific to particular Dinka groups, an example would be the family lineage naming system. Whereas some groups of the Dinka (*Rek* in particular) would have two, three or more generation of a given name (i.e. Deng Deng Deng) other groups of Dinka\(^9\) do an alternating sequence as in my father’s name (Arop Amour Arop). For the former, my father would have been able to name me Arop, and in turn I would name my child Arop; thus my son’s full name would be Arop Arop Arop. In the later sequence, the names have to be alternated, therefore, I would not give my son the name Buk but Arop, and so in that case my son’s full name would be Arop Buk Arop. Also specific to particular groups of the Dinka is the determination of which names are masculine, feminine or both. Among the Bor Dinka, for instance, the name *Atong* is used for both male and female. While other groups\(^{11}\) of Dinka would identify *Atong* as feminine with *Tong* as its masculine equivalency.

In colonial and postcolonial era, the Dinka core identity – the naming system became under attack from both the European and Arab cultural imperialists. While the former hide behind Christianity, giving people their name and claiming them to be ‘Christian names’; the latter explicitly forces their names on the Dinka in exchange of basic rights. For example, my school admission was dependent on taking an Arabic name (see *The Question of Identity in Sudan: A Personal Testimony* in section 2.1).

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\(^9\) *Yai* is both masculine and feminine name.  
\(^{10}\) Bor and Pandang are examples of Dinka groups which alternate names  
\(^{11}\) All Dinka groups with the exception of Bor.
From the very beginning of colonialism – late nineteen century all across Africa (Walter 1974), the colonial administrations worked closely with the missionaries; the two were basically different faces of the same coin. Even in the Postcolonial era, the missionaries are still baptizing the Dinka and other indigenous people across Africa, giving them the so-called Christian names which are of European origin at baptism. The poem – *Give me a meaningful name* by Priscilla Dube exhibit the impact of the European names on cultures and identities of African indigenous people.

*Give me a meaningful name*  

They call me Priscilla.  
What strange, weight armour  
To put on an African child.  

Priscilla is no more a lifetime burden.  
To my grandparents it symbolizes nothing  
It is a curse on my ancestral spirits.  

You call me by the name of a saint  
But my ancestors  
Who died for just causes  
Are they all in the flames of hell?  
When will we have  
A Saint Lobengula or Saint Kagubi?  
Does God close the gates of Heaven  
To African history-makers?  

Let some call me Priscilla,  
But you my brothers,  
Gathered in front of the tombs of our ancestors,  
When the horn of sacrifice sounds,  
Give me a meaningful name.  

I shall answer happily,  
Tears of joy in my eyes,  
My soul will be satisfied.  
Blood will flow through my veins  
Like the water of a flooded river.
I will then take off the old mantle,
Be she a saint or a martyr,
And put on the gown of my ancestor,
Be she a heroine or a rain-maker.

The Dinka identity among other indigenous ethno-cultural groups in Sudan and Africa at large is still being continually eroded away by the unmerciful winds of imperialism. To sum up this section on the Dinka naming system, I want to note that the so-called Christian names are not yet questioned by the masses across Africa, after more than fifty years of an end to full scale colonialism. Maybe Ngugi wa Thiong’o is right in asserting that the people who continue to take the so-called Christian names without questioning the motives have not become conscious to the fact that “this business of getting new names has roots in slavery where the slave dealer branded the slave with his own name so that he would forever be known as that master’s property” (1983, p. 94).

2.3 God, Prophets and the Spirits

The Dinka believe in one God – Nhialic, as the creator of the universe. Even though they prefer to communicate to God through numerous spirits, they also pray to God directly. The Dinka word for spirit is Yath or Yeith for plural. The most common spirit among the Dinka is Deng. It should be noted that the Dinka see rain as one of the means in which God communicate with them. When it rains at the opening, during or end of a festivity the Dinka would joyfully see this as God’s blessing of that particular occasion. The Dinka trace their belief in existence of God from the oral history which had been past down to them from one generation to another. Their own experience of the unexplained world around them; such as the questions of how the people were created, how the other forms of lives and other natural features in their surroundings came to existence also

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12 Deng is also a Dinka word for rain.
make them believe that there is a creator who is the source of all these things. This is demonstrated by Chief Ayeny Aleu’s explanation to Mading Deng of how the Dinka see God in procreation:

Where God created people, I don’t really know. It is very difficult to imagine in one’s mind. But he did create people. And he did not leave us; the creator did not leave us. Why? There is one thing which makes me believe that the thing that created us was good and is near. For instance, your mother was married and what she did with your father was a game; they were playing a game of pleasure. And that game has now become Mading. So, you see, can we really say that the creator has gone away? He is here and he is good. Here is Mading, and it all began with a game between your father and mother, between Deng Kwol and your mother.13

Most of the spirits and prophets among the Dinka are specific to particular groups of the Dinka.14 For instance, the Ngok Dinka would be more familiar with spirits such as Ring Yath, and Pachotpiny among others. The most commonly known prophet among all the groups of the Dinka is Arieth Makuei as most of his prophecies have materialized across the Dink land. The Dinka also believe in their ancestors as having connection with God, therefore, they can pray to God through their ancestors which personalize their relationship with God. For instance, within my family tree, my great-grandfather Arop-Kuachajiing is viewed as connected to God, and we have Nhialic Arop-Kuachajiing or ‘God of Arop-Kuachajiing’.

Both the Arab and European ignored the Dinka religious beliefs imposing their own religion systems, Islam and Christianity, respectively. While the European imperialism is more implicit as evident in the shift from colonialism to neocolonialism; the Arab on the other hand are co-habitants in the Sudan and continue to explicitly and

14 In the Dinka belief system, spirits are mostly ancestors and few are associated with past miraculous events. Prophets on the other hand are individuals within the Dinka culture who have the ability to precisely predict future man-made and natural events.
aggressively impose elements of their culture on the Dinka among other indigenous cultures in the Sudan. Therefore the fight for the Arabs to Islamize (Lesch, 1998) and Arabize the Dinka has become an ongoing identity clash as the Dinka try to protect and preserve the essence of their identity. Thian Deng Garang’s poem is an exemplary voice of resistance in this struggle:

Praise your God in your residence
In the language of your father and mother
And I will praise my God in my residence
In the language of my father and mother

And don’t poison me with your religious laws
And don’t poison me with your cultural laws
Because you are not me and I am not you
I am called Deng and you are called Mohamed

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3. Dinka Culture at the Crossroads of Tradition and Modernization

3.1 Love, Romance and Marriage

Before the flames of imperialism engulfed the Dinka culture; love, romance and marriage where viewed under different lenses. Traditionally, the Dinka believed in the high socio-economic status which was defined by the number of cattle and children. Cattle are very central to the Dinka lives as Lienhardt outlines it below:

A Dinka’s self-esteem and understanding of the community are intimately bound up with cattle …Dinka sometimes treat cattle as though the beasts had a kind of understanding of wishes of their human guardians. They are often addressed by name …The cattle have rights according to their kind within the society, and the Dinka look with disgust upon their non-Dinka neighbours who slaughter cattle merely for meat…to have rights in a herd is to have rights in a decent-group, and through that in the political group to which it belongs. To have no such rights, or to be unable to assert them effectively, is to have no place in the main structure of Dinka society …cattle are thus intimately connected with human personality; a man cannot be fully a Dinka without them. (1961, pp 16 – 27)

A Dinka man who did not have cattle was referred to as *abur*\(^{16}\). Once an individual was identified as *abur*, the chances of that particular individual getting married were highly unlikely. It is a social pride and prestige for a Dinka family to marry their daughter into a well known and respected family. In turn, social prestige and respect correlate with the cattle riches; therefore, *abur* would not represent this social status. An individual who had a lot of cattle was referred to as *ajak*\(^{17}\).

\(^{16}\) Poor; the Dinka use this term specifically in reference to individuals who don’t have cattle, so the term does not have bearing on any other form of wealth.

\(^{17}\) Dinka term for rich/wealthy, traditionally it exclusively refered to cattle riches. In the modern days monetary wealth would fall under this term.
Traditionally, the Dinka man would court a girl he is in love with, often he will face other competitors who are also trying to win the heart of his love. The competition usually become fierce as each man tries to downplay his competitors by defaming them through spreading of true and untrue stories about them. There are two major ways in which the defamation of the opponents is done, namely, conveying negative stories directly to the girl or through songs. The second strategy (the use of songs) was viewed as the most creative way of delivering the message that needed to be sent to either influence the girl, her family and/or her peers who are also considerably influential in determining who wins her heart. The ordeal is comparable to modern days off-putting ads in political campaigns in which the candidates’ ultimate goal is to distinguish themselves from their political opponents in order to increase their popularity and win the elections.

Below is an example of songs aimed at wooing the bride-to-be’s family:

The sons of Kwol d’Arob have thrown me to Ngok
They have thrown me to Ngok of Arob
The Ngok gossip about me
Arob d’Allor is a man without a mother
Do not give him this only girl
He is a man who cannot hold a hoe.
Do not give him this only girl
Do not give him Alai. 18

In the above song, the composer is Arob d’Allor who is competing with one of the sons of Kwol d’Arob for a girl called Alai. It is explicit in the song that sons of Kwol d’Arob had spread gossips about Arob d’Allor that he doesn’t know how to hold a hoe – meaning that he does not have agricultural skills which are among the paramount qualities expected of a responsible and well mannered Dinka man. To get married and bear children is a cultural expectation in the Dinka society.

18 Quoted in Deng, 1971, p. 120.
There is not the least exaggeration in saying that the Dinka consider marriage as the first [thing] in the standard of importance. The duty to marry …is so strongly felt by all and believed in, that to have married is to have done the main duty in society. Thus any young Dinka will always think of the means to marry, whatever his social status maybe. A person who, after having reached the age of maturity, has not the means to marry is usually considered as *ayur*, i.e., low in the estimation of members of society. Even if the only thing a young man can afford is marriage and nothing additional he would be prefer to marry and *toom Nhialic nyic*, i.e. to gaze on God’s face, by which is meant to remain without anything but his wife and God will again look upon him.\(^{19}\)

While the Dinka culture has a great respect for a woman, it also holds grave abuses which of course are not viewed as abuses in the eyes of the Dinka people. The Dinka respect for the Culture, make them believe that whatever was culturally practiced by their ancestors is divine and should not be eradicated from the belief system or the cultural practice. In the Dinka Culture a woman is considered as the foundation of a family unit. Thus, a woman’s death is deemed as a greater loss over that of a man in a family. The Dinka culturally socialized women to care for the offspring compared to men who tend to take disciplining role later in the child’s life. Therefore, a child whose mother had past away, would experience a more direct, immediate and profound agony in comparison to a child whose father had past away. In a child’s life, the Dinka culture considers the mother as ‘The Second God’. Due to their relative physical strength, in comparison to women, men are considered as the community’s defenders and expected to be ready to protect their community in the event of an attack. Women in the Dinka culture are believed to be divine-beings with procreation powers. They are respected for the nurturing and nourishing of new lives – from conception to the point where one becomes an independent being capable of making decisions and caring for himself or herself. For instance, all necessary support is rallied around a pregnant woman in the

\(^{19}\) Lienhardt as quoted in Deng 1971, p. 134.
Dinka Culture. Such support continues through the delivery and into the first few months of the newborn’s life.

Men, on the other hand, enjoy the privilege of being the paramount power in the family structure, and in the community at large which is typical in patriarchal systems. At family and community level, men are the decision makers. The court system and the entire governance of the Dinka society is exclusively a male domain. When it comes to defense in the Dinka society, a Dinka man would do anything, including giving his life, to protect any woman in his life (wife, daughter, sister etc.) from any harm, real or alleged. Therefore, in any situations of social violence and clashes among the Dinka, women are spared. For instance, if two clans were engaged in a fight, and one clan defeated the other, the victorious clan would never inflict any harm on women of the defeated clan. They would maintain their respect for women even under the rage of war.

At the same time, women in the Dinka society are subjected to a wide range of abuses which all starts in childhood when boys are favored over girls. Parents focus more on empowering their sons, giving them all the help they need to become independent individuals. In opposite, the daughters are deprived of independence. They are taught to play a supportive role to their husbands, to be a mannered wife and mother.

According to cultural tradition, parents have a tendency of viewing their daughters as source of wealth. More girls in the family mean more wealth. The girls get married to wealthy men and the family gets the dowries (that is the Dinka cultural expectation on girls). Since girls are considered as source of wealth, the Dinka do not see the importance of sending girls to school. After all, if they are educated, such set of skills and knowledge will be only of benefit to the families in which the girls will get married.
into, the Dinka would argue. Dowries being the focus, the Dinka parents see it fit to arrange marriages of their daughters to wealthy families. Girls are normally expected to comply as a sign of respect to their parents. If a girl does not comply, she will be forced to comply by involving every effort including beating her. Boys, on the other side, have the freedom of choice in terms of who they want to marry. However, attempts are sometime made by parents to arrange their sons’ marriages, but the sons can successfully oppose such attempts and marry a girl of their choice 20. Boys are viewed as the children who will always be there to help the family throughout their lives. This is actually the justification for educating and empowering the boys and not the girls.

In comparison to boys, Dinka girls are taught homemaking skills as well as the qualities of being a good mother and wife in order to avoid divorce. Not only do divorces reflect badly on the girls but on their families as well. It conjures a very negative reputation. It takes away the essence of what makes a Dinka a Dinka – pride and dignity. The Dinka see themselves as the most proud people on the face of the planet and as such pride is a fundamental virtue within the Dinka Culture. Athian Deng Garang speaks to this in the following stanza:

We will not allow our ancestors graves to be tampered with
By the people walking by
And the same applies to our identity 21

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20 See the cases of Allor Biong and Deng Aguer described in Deng 1971, p. 145.
21 See Deng and Mohamed in Sudan
3.2 Formal Education

Formal education\textsuperscript{22} is a new phenomenon to the Dinka. During and in the few years after the winds of colonialism in the Sudan the Dinka were still strongly attached to their cattle and the idea of formal education was not something they wanted to buy into. At the time, the Dinka used the school system as a dumping ground for the undisciplined, difficult children who could not perform the traditional tasks such as taking the cattle for grazing, guarding them against wild animals and from destroying other people’s crops and milking the cows to name a few. “Formal education, through which modern skills are largely introduced, is minimal among the Dinka. Existing skills are predominantly traditional and aimed at the continuance of familial occupations” (Deng 1971 p. 304). Eventually, the Dinka realized that formal education is a key to wealth acquisition, and became more enthusiastic about sending their children to school. Once they children become \textit{agat wal} [a Dinka word for literate] most acquired a new world view which in turn conflicted with the traditional Dinka’s world view as the following statement of a Dinka elder testifies:

Educated youth have pushed us aside saying that there is nothing we know. Even if an elder talks of the important things of the country, they say, “There is nothing you know.” How can there be nothing we know when we are their fathers? Did we not bear them ourselves? When we put them in school we thought they would learn new things to add to what we, their elders, would pass on to them. We hoped they would listen to our words and then add to them the new words of learning. But now it is said that there is nothing we know. This has really saddened our hearts very much\textsuperscript{23}.

The Dinka culture is an oral culture and its indigenous knowledge has been passed on orally for generations. As children grow up in a traditional Dinka household,

\textsuperscript{22} By formal education, I mean Western Education and therefore, I may be using the two terms interchangeably.

\textsuperscript{23} A Dinka elder as quoted in Deng 1978, p. 26.
they are taught of taboos, acceptable manners, the societal expectations on them, their history and belief system, and the Dinka’s general world view. However, while the Dinka continue to struggle to conserve and advance their culture the economic challenges, on the other hand, press on. As a result of European and Arab cultural and linguistic imperialism in the Sudan, English and Arabic are inherited as the languages of instructions in Sudanese educational institutions.

It would therefore, go without saying that formal education has become a key to economic prosperity in the Sudan, just as it is manifested in almost every country around the world. Notwithstanding the struggle to protect the culture, the economic circumstances force the Dinka to opt for the pursuit of formal education which has unquestionably altered the Dinka culture. As demonstrated in the quote above, those who have undertaken formal education acquire new set of values which tend to contradict with the traditional beliefs and values. Another exemplary case is that of the Dinka youth who did their schooling in Cuba in the eighties and nineties only to return with a set of values which prove incompatible to the traditional Dinka values making their reintegration very challenging (Berger 2001, p. 3).

The Dinka culture exposure to formal education can also be viewed in a positive light. As formal education comes along with technology, it can be argued that the Dinka indigenous knowledge could be preserved using the technology as Ngugi wa Thiong’o asserts that “far from destroying tradition, modern technology (e.g. video, cinema, television, radio) should make it possible to actually reclaim the positive aspects of tradition and peasant cultures which are withering away under the pressures of the economic exploitation” (1983, p. 78). In the long run, as formal education becomes wide
spread among the Dinka, more cultural treasures could be preserved in writing and various forms of technological apparatus. On the same token, with English as the language of preserving the written history and oral culture of the Dinka, inevitably this becomes another avenue of advancing the dominance of English language. Nevertheless, at the end of the day the benefits will outweigh the perils.

In a nutshell, while Western education is threatening the Dinka and other indigenous cultures with extinction, it can also be use as a preservation tool. This would resolve the challenges of the modern world such as Diaspora Dinka\textsuperscript{24} being able to access the knowledge from abundant literature and technological preservation devices without being necessarily immersed into the Dinka culture by living in the Dinka land or \textit{pan e monyjang}\textsuperscript{25}.

As evident in the following passage, it takes more than just the parents to pass on the knowledge to the children, the grandparents and other village elders are involved in this education process as well.

Your grandfather gives you his words, the words of the land. And if you are a man who has lived among elders and you listened to them and you are a man who holds words in his heart, and you keep words in your heart well, those are the ways of learning among our people. Knowledge is what a man tells his child, a child who stays with elders. Elders will talk about the affairs of the past and a child who listens will hear them and when he one day has children, he will tell them the same things.\textsuperscript{26}

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\textsuperscript{24} By Diaspora Dinka, I am referring to the Dinka who reside in foreign countries either by choice or for political reasons.
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\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Pan e monjang} is Dinka phrase for ‘Dinka Land’.
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\textsuperscript{26} Quote in Deng 1978, p. 31.
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3.3 Balancing Two Worlds

In the face of cultural and linguistic imperialism, the reality is that there were/are multiple languages before, during, and after the colonial rule. In post-colonial republics the tribes fight over which language is to be used as a lingua franca; and in most cases they end up compromising on colonizers’ languages, which includes English, Arabic, French, or Portuguese among others as the languages of instructions in school system, business and government departments. So normally, the fact that such decision is a perpetuation of colonial cultural and linguistic imperialism is known but ignored in the name of peace and harmony among the various tribes which makes up a nation state.

Take for instance, the semi-autonomous Government of South Sudan (GOSS) which settled for English as the official language of South Sudan on drafting its constitution after the signing of the January 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The CPA is the landmark accord which was signed by Sudan People Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and the Sudan ruling party –the National Congress Party (NCP). The respective CPA parties where led by the late Dr. John Garang de Mabior who died in a mysterious helicopter crash later that year and Omar Hassan el Bashir the incumbent President of Sudan respectively. Salva Kiir Mayardit, who was second in ranks of the SPLA/M at the time, was swiftly appointed by the SPLM Leadership Council as a successor to the late Dr. Garang. Thus, he became the President of GOSS and First Vice President of the Government of National Unity as stipulated in CPA. Therefore, like in many other countries where ex-colonial languages have been used as lingua franca with the justification that such languages are ethno-culturally neutral and will not spring up political crisis; this also was a political decision for GOSS. If Southern Sudan was to settle for any other language – indigenous languages like Dinka or Nuer,
for instance, it would have been nothing short of a political suicide. Arabic and English, on the other hand, are viewed as neutral and embraced as compromise.27

There is however a very thin line between this political strategy and upholding the former colonial powers through the use of their languages in the former colonies as the ideal for holistic development. The later resonates with Fanon’s (1961) warning that trying to imitate former colonial powers would be nothing short of honoring them; and in the following lines Kusimba articulate how this relationship look like:

The vanquished always want to imitate the victor in his distinctive characteristics, his dress, his occupation and all his other conditions and customs. The reason for this is that the soul always sees perfection in the person who is superior to it and to whom it is subservient. It considers him perfect, either because it is impressed by the respect it has for him, or because it erroneously assumes that its own subservience to him is not due to the nature of defeat but to the perfection of the victor. If that erroneous assumption fixes itself in the soul, it becomes a firm belief. The soul then adopts the manners of the victor and assimilates itself to him…Or, the soul may possibly think that the superiority of the victor is not the result of his group feeling or great fortitude, but of his customs and manners. This also would be an erroneous concept of superiority and (the consequences) would be the same as in the former.28

Like in other African countries the indigenous languages like Dinka have taken a back seat in national domain. The indigenous languages have become and/or are viewed as an embarrassment in any public setting and therefore only useful at home with family and friends and in the village atmospheres where everyone would speak the language with pride. As a consequence, the indigenous languages like the Dinka has become well-

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27 It become a question of which language can the country be unified under; and if that turns out to be ex-colonial languages (Arabic and English in the case of Southern Sudan), so be it.
known as vernacular\textsuperscript{29} in the public domain. Resorting to the ex-colonial languages as lingua franca is decried by most if not all the former colonies. However, the challenge seems to be the question of how to develop the capacity of the indigenous languages into a sophisticated level required for any language to achieve a national recognition and thus gain a lingua franca status. After achieving that status, then and only then would the language in question be starting to evolve in written literature, science and technology.

In decolonization process, this trend needs to be challenged as it is nothing short of devaluing the oral tradition and knowledge in which the indigenous languages are based on. It therefore becomes the responsibility of the indigenous people to protect their language as echoed in the following lines from Athian Deng Garang’s poem:

\begin{quote}
If you like to protect your identity
I also like to protect my identity
From those destroying it

And I have led a life to protect the language
Of my grandmothers and grandfathers
From those destroying it

I am holding the shield in my hand ready
To guard the dignified culture of my people
From those who want to erase
Any color that doesn’t belong to them on earth\textsuperscript{30}
\end{quote}

One could argue that the genesis of all of this is deeply rooted in the formation of the nation states following the colonial rule, which the former colonies seem to aspire to. Fanon warned former colonies not to follow the imperialists’ foot steps, as he wrote:

“Comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies

\textsuperscript{29} Vernacular is one of those culturally and linguistically ‘loaded’ terms. And although it is widely used in Africa; it is heavily critiqued; the stigma attached to it is that of a language of a lower status. While schooling in Kenya for instance, I witness that all other African language including Swahili were referred to as vernacular and were not to be spoken in school except for Swahili which was taught as a subject and was therefore strictly used during Swahili classes.

\textsuperscript{30} See Deng and Mohamed in Sudan
which draw their inspiration from her.” 31 In a nutshell, the oral tradition of indigenous cultures which is embedded in their languages should be valued.

4 Conclusion

4.1 Preserving the Dinka Culture

The outcomes of cultural and linguistic imperialism are a lot more evident here in Edmonton which is home to thousands of Dinka families. Here in Edmonton and across Canada, I have seen Canadians of Dinka origin, who immigrated to Canada in the last ten or twenty years changed their identity. While those who immigrated here as adults still maintain the culture and language, it is not the case with the younger generation who came here in their teenage years or younger along with those who were born in Canada or other countries where their parents might have sought refuge before immigrating to Canada.

The youth who were born and/or grew up in Canada or other countries have two fundamental things in common: they are offspring of Dinka parent(s), and they have lost attachment to their ethnic origin – both culturally and linguistically. Therefore, it becomes a question of adapting to one’s surrounding environment. So they simply adopt the Canadian mainstream culture. They see themselves as Canadians as they grow up playing and going to school with other Canadian students of diverse backgrounds. However, these feelings and sense of belonging – the sense of being Canadian (their Canadian identity) – quickly comes under scrutiny as bells of racism start ringing in their lives. Bells of racism ring in from hearing racial comments being made about them; their

31 Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth (Les Damnés de la Terre). New York, Grove Press, 1961
skin pigmentation costing them a job opportunity, and being singled out in different social settings for their skin color. Also hearing racist remarks being made against their race in different social settings or in the media including the literature they could come across becomes a daily reality. This then becomes a reason for some of these individuals to start tracing their lost identity roots. Unfortunately, by the time such consciousness is gained, it is usually too late to change much. By that time one has socially got integrated into the Canadian cultural context and acquired the necessary socialization. To regain what it takes to identify with their Dinka culture sadly remains an unachievable dream for most.

To fight the issue conveyed above, the Dinka community elders, in an attempt to maintain certain elements of the Dinka culture, formed what they called The Sudanese-Dinka Cultural Association. The association was initially funded by the government of Alberta, but allegedly the youth did not respond to the call for cultural activities as they identified more with the mainstream Canadian culture. It resulted in the discontinuation of funding from the Government of Alberta. Currently, The Sudanese-Dinka Cultural Association Centre is still running but is a hundred per cent funded by community contributions. It is basically used as a common place for socialization and meetings, even though some cultural dancing and singing take place there once in a while. Last year for instance, a small group did some dancing and singing for the Heritage Festival and was featured by a local television station.

As for the older generation within the Dinka community in Edmonton, most face the dilemma of not having their Sudanese credentials recognized and having to work in industrial settings of manual labor and other menial jobs to make ends meet. There are a
number of people who are medical doctors, teachers, lawyers, and judges among other professionals, now doing menial work here in Edmonton and across Canada – all because of language barrier – English. This can all be related to linguistic and cultural imperialism which in turn is traceable to colonialism (Hogan 2000).

4.2 Resisting Cultural Imperialism

Cultural and linguistic imperialism has affected me personally very profoundly. Even though I fluently speak my mother-tongue (Dinka) I am detached from the Dinka culture, because, I have not had the privilege of living solely in the Dinka cultural context. All my life I have been nurtured in multicultural and multilingual setting. Thus, in a sense, I would consider myself deprived of the Dinka traditional knowledge due to the dominance of the so-called ‘global language’ – English, a language that will continue to be at the top of all other languages that I currently speak (Dinka, Arabic, and Swahili) and with no doubt any other language(s) that I might acquire in the near future. In this context, therefore, I am a victim of the global spread of English and linguistic imperialism.

By the same token, while my acquisition of English and formal education has eroded some of my identity i.e. the authenticity of my culture, I can confidently say that it has granted me access to the global society – I can work and live anywhere in the English-speaking world. That I can use English to transmit my voice to global audiences is of a fundamental importance to me. In a way, it transcends the dominance of English. Yes, English has been imposed on me by the colonial powers, and I am obligated to put it to good use irrespective of its imperialistic origin, I can use it as resistance tool. In a nutshell, as a global language, English has become a decolonization tool to me and
having mastered it positions me in a privilege stance vis-à-vis the cultural and linguistic imperialism resistance and emancipation.

The Dinka, like many other African indigenous ethno-cultural groups, had their own system of governance. Their culture was at one point in a total isolation from any foreign influence due to limited interaction with other cultural groups. The Western and Eastern cultures later came to destabilize the Dinka culture along with other African indigenous cultures as Kusimba wrote: “[a]lthough Western attitudes towards Africa and Africans have changed over the years, Western scholarship once held the opinion, as described by Paul Ricoeur in 1965, that European culture was, in fact and by right, a universal one. Obviously, such a view adversely affects one’s perception of history and value of non-Western cultures. This is, obviously, an extreme position, but, in one form or another, the interpretation of life in the pre-colonial Africa”, (1999, p. 46). Indeed, things have definitely changed from the time described by Ricoeur, but I can attest to the fact that the perception still exists today. During my undergraduate studies at Saint Mary’s University in Halifax, there were numerous times I had to intervene when my colleagues brought Eurocentric perceptions of this kind to class presentations and discussions. Because such ideas are presented to the academic community by the so-called ‘renowned scholars’ they are taken in by students without further scrutiny.

Last but evidently not least, Christian missionaries’ cultural imperialism is evident today in all parts of Africa where Christianity exist – during the colonial period, the Christian missionaries were giving Africans European’s name (such as John, Joseph, James, Rebecca, Regina, Rachael …to name a few) and claimed these as ‘Christian names’. It was (and still is) compulsory to obtain a ‘Christian name’ at baptism in Africa.
Personally, I was given the name John at baptism, which I later dropped. My decision to drop the so-called Christian name came about a few years ago before I immigrated to Canada. Most of my African colleagues here in Edmonton and across Canada still use their ‘Christian name’ and many more are still being baptized with ‘Christian name’ in Sudan and across Africa as I write this statement. I was baptized in childhood and was too young to be conscious of the implications of this alien’s name on my cultural identity. However, in my teenage years, I denounced my baptism name in the wake of gaining identity consciousness and eventually dropped the name John. To me the name John was nothing short of a curse on my ancestral and cultural heritage. Taking pride in their identity roots, the Dinka and other indigenous cultures in the Sudan will have to press on with the struggle to preserve their culture, their identity and sense of being African. Thus, there is no better way of summing up this project then with Yousif Kuwa’s poem.

*My African-ness*

My brothers,
With thousands of my apologies
Forgive me,
Forgive me for my frankness
For my courage.

Let me tell you,
Despite all the talk
About ma Arabism
My religion,
My culture?
I am a Nuba,
I am black,
I am African.

African-ness is my identity
It is entrenched
In my appearance,
Engraved in my lips,
And manifested by my skin.

My African-ness
Is in the sound
Of my footsteps
It is in my bewildered past
And in the depth of my laughter.

Brothers,
Forgive me
For my frankness and courage
Despite my grandfather’s humiliation,
Despite my grandmother’s sale into slavery
Despite my ignorance
My backwardness
My naivety?
My tomorrow shall come.

I shall crown
My identity with knowledge
I shall light my candle
In its light
I shall build my civilization,
And at that time
I shall extend my hand,
I shall forgive those who tried
To destroy my identity
Because my aspirations
Are love and peace!
Glossary

**Abur** – poor, the Dinka use this term specifically in reference to individuals who don’t have cattle.

**Ajak** – a Dinka term for rich/wealthy, traditionally it exclusively refers to cattle riches in the modern days it monetary wealth would fall under this term.

**Chuel** – a Dinka term for circumcision, also see *nguot*.

**Gheer** – the final initiation into manhood in which Dinka men get strings of deep cuts on their forehead, leaving permanent scars. Despite the intense pain, dropping a single tear is not acceptable in this ritual.

**Hooth** – a Dinka cultural ritual in which six lower teeth are removed. This ritual is performed on both boys and girls.

**Koch e nham** – a cultural practice among the Dinka, whereby a brother or paternal cousin get married on behave of his deceased brother or cousin, to preserve immortality. The phrase can be literally translated as ‘standing the head’.

**Ngouot** – is another word for *chuel*; literally it means ‘to cut’ particularly among the Rek Dinka.

**Pal e rhak** – Dinka cultural ritual that marks the end of boyhood and the beginning of manhood. Literally the ritual is symbolized by graduation from milking cows, among other tasks performed by boys.

**Tong** – This is a Dinka word for war or any form of fight; children born during a war are mostly name Tong or Atong for female children.
Yak – A Dinka word for draught; also used for naming children born during a draught. Its feminine form is Ayak.

Yath – Dinka word for spirit; the plural form is Yeith.

Nhialic – This is a Dinka God.
Acronyms

CPA..............................Comprehensive Peace Agreement
GONU..........................Government of National Unity
GOSS..............................Government of South Sudan
NCP.................................National Congress Party
SPLA/M............................Sudan People Liberation Army/Movement
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i This Dinka poem was translated from Athian Deng Garang’s audio poem by Buk Arop on January 31, 2003. Saint Mary's University, Halifax Nova Scotia, Canada.

ii This testimonial article was prepared for the Nova Scotia Sudanese Association’s Symposium which was held on September 20th 2003 at Saint Mary’s University in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

iii Priscilla Dube, as quoted in Rubagumya, 1994, p.146.