

***The Ideology of the Illiterate: A Marxist Reading of Okot p'  
Bitek's 'Song of Lawino' and Abdul Rahman Alabnudi's 'The  
Letters of Heraji Elgot'***

**A Paper**

Submitted by

***Lamees Mohamed Mohamed Abdel Ghany Younis***

*Under the Supervision of*

***Dr. Magda Hasabelnaby***

Professor of English Literature

Professor of English Literature

Faculty Education Ain Shams

Ain Shams University

***Dr. Shokry Megahed***

Faculty of Women

This paper studies how the illiterate view different beliefs via a process that depends mostly on observing, experiencing and practicing. The study also focuses on how the illiterate characters use their indigenous ideology as a touchstone for judging new beliefs and changes occurring in their society. The role of both poets as committed writers who propagate the ideology they believe in and who help in reshaping the reader's consciousness is also illustrated.

A comparison between the different cultures and ideologies affecting the illiterate characters is given by the researcher to illustrate the process through which the consciousness of the illiterate is being reformed. The role of certain institutions and their agents in proliferating particular beliefs in a given society is also highlighted.

The paper then proceeds to analyze two specific poems with reference to the 'ideology of the illiterate': the Ugandan *Song of Lawino* (1966) and the Egyptian *The Letters of Heraji Elgot* (1969), by Okot p' Bitek (1931-1982) and Abdul Rahman Alabnudi (1939- ) respectively. In these two poems, illiterate characters are portrayed and the different ideologies they experience are highlighted. Both p' Bitek and Alabnudi show how the illiterate characters view these ideologies and judge them according to their mother or indigenous ideology, culture or collective consciousness.

Marxist literary school with special reference to Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser, has been chosen as a framework of reference for the analysis. Certain terms like ideology, 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (ISAs), 'Organic' and 'Traditional' intellectuals are used in the attempt to study the ideology of the illiterate.

### **Ideology**

Ideology is a broad term that has a wide range of significations. The term here is used in a sense that is closer to 'worldview' or 'weltanschauung'. As Ez EdDein Ismail states in an interview with Abdul Kader Zeidan, a worldview is a man's attitude towards the whole world and that 'weltanschauung', as Louis Awad points out, represents an ideology ("Literature and Art" 29).

Zaki Naguib Mahmoud, a devoted positivist in his article "Ideology and Cultural Life" defines ideology as the cultural compound that surrounds the social subjects of a given society and that unifies them (27-28). Mahmoud states that this cultural compound comprises politics, literature,

art and other fields of life and forming a homogenous whole. Such a cultural compound can affect the whole society or certain groups. It is this unifying cultural component that governs the social group and states what to be accepted or refused (27-28). In this sense ideology is being a worldview or common sense and culture that Leon Trotsky defines as “everything that has been created, built, learned, conquered by man in the course of his entire history” (*Art and Revolution* 93) or as Raymond Williams puts it in more simple words, ideology is “a whole way of life” (Carter, *Literary Theory* 66).

In his book *Marxism and Literature*, Raymond Williams defines ideology as “a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group” (55), thus ideology governs societies and marks their identity and specificity. As Louis Althusser indicates in his famous essay “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses”, “Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (Althusser) or “the way I ‘live’ my relations to society as a whole” as Eagleton explains him (*Ideology* 18).

In this paper, the term ‘ideology’ has a similar sense to that introduced by Stuart Hall. In his book *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, he defines ideology as:

...the mental frameworks-the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation-which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works. (26)

The paper is therefore mostly concerned with ideology in its sociological sense as culture or collective worldview and not in the strict sense of Marxist thought which limits it to a ‘false consciousness’.

Since the main concern of the paper is the delineation of the ideology of the illiterate, my focus falls on the illiterate characters in both works of art that happen to belong to subordinate and working classes in their societies and therefore their observations, critiques, queries, statements and other ideologies that are shaped by way of opposition or disillusionment.

Antonio Gramsci gives due care in his *Prison Notebooks*, a book that the researcher uses in reading the “argument” of the Ugandan and the Egyptian speakers of the works under study, to the ideology of the subordinate groups. In his notebooks, Gramsci mentions that the history of

those groups or classes is “necessarily fragmented and episodic” (2:21). For Gramsci, as Terry Eagleton explains, the consciousness of those subordinate groups is “fissured and uneven” and that there are two ideologies operating on those groups or classes, “the one drawn from the “official” notions of the rulers” and the other is the one “delivered from an oppressed people’s practical experience of social reality” (*Ideology* 118).

Gramsci focuses on the idea of ‘experiencing’ as a way to reform one’s ideology. This proves quite relevant to the analysis of both *Song of Lawino* and *The Letters of Heraji Elgot*, since the two texts focus on the implicit way through which the illiterate ‘proletariat’ acquire ideology. It is important here to define the word proletariat in a true Marxist sense. The word proletariat refers to “the class in society which lives entirely from the sale of its labour power...whose weal and woe,... whose sole existence depends on the demand of labour...” (Engels, *The Principles of Communism*). In spite of the fact that Lawino lives in a tribal society, she is a proletariat as her entire life depends upon working for the weal of her Acoli tribe. As for Heraji, he is a hired peasant who ‘sells’ his labor in his village in Upper Egypt and who is exploited by the landowners of the remnants of the semi-feudal system.

### **A Closer Look at the Texts**

Besides dealing with illiterate characters who function as the protagonists of both works, the two texts under study have other socio-political and historical similarities. Both Uganda and Egypt in the sixties were countries that relatively newly gained their independence, whether from occupation, like Uganda, or from subordination to the West, like Egypt. The two countries were engaged in what can be described as identity crises, a major element of which is the oscillation between an indigenous culture that is wrongly accused of being the cause of backwardness and the culture of the former colonizer. Both societies were negotiating their way into the future with all the fears and concerns of a transitional period. Such societies adopt certain ‘ideologies’ that shape their identity and their socio-political system.

In *Song of Lawino*, p’ Bitek offers his readers a portrait of the Acoli couple, the illiterate woman, Lawino and her Westernized husband Ocol, the son of the chief of the tribe. The whole book is a ‘lament’ song in which Lawino laments the ‘metaphorical’ death of her husband Ocol which stems from his ‘uprooting’ of himself from his African land to implant himself in the white man’s land and be watered by his culture.

In spite of this metaphorical death, Lawino is trying to bring Ocol back from the land of the dead by comparing the indigenous Acoli culture to the out-of-context white man's culture and proving the appropriateness of the African culture to the African land. By choosing the form of a lament or a song, p' Bitek supports the Acoli tradition and heritage, the culture that is under attack by the westernized 'former' son of a chief. Singing songs celebrating different occasions is a deep-rooted African practice in Uganda and other African countries. Many Africans have songs to sing on different occasions like giving birth and weddings (Wanambisi, *Thought and Technique in the Poetry of Okot p' Bitek* 3).

Paradoxically, *Song of Lawino* is a song of death, though the man is literally alive. This metaphorical death of Ocol stems from imitating the white colonizer and despising his tribe's traditions. By this, Ocol was uprooted from his Acoliland to which he belongs and thus he is now dead.

Similarly, in *The Letters of Heraji Elgot*, Alabnudi introduces Heraji, the illiterate Upper Egyptian peasant who leaves his village Gabalayet-elfar, his wife Fatma and his children; the girl Aziza and the boy Eid, to work in Aswan building the High Dam. This male protagonist is shocked when seeing a completely new world outside his village which he assumingly has never left before. Alabnudi successfully portrays how Heraji and Fatma both judge the new culture and social and economic change using their culture and ideology as Upper Egyptian peasants. Heraji's journey in Aswan is introduced to his wife who by her turn passes it on to the people of the village. It is clear that this illiterate peasant knows little about life outside his village. All that he knows in his life is his ax and being a hired peasant in the lands of the landowners. He was introduced to this job as the only means of living and the only profession for people like him. Being in Aswan allows him to know other things that might, for him, contradict his past experience and life.

In his letters to his wife, he introduces her to everything new he sees and lets her share his experience so that she may understand the changes he sees happening not just to him but also to Egypt as a whole. Fatma Ahmed Abdul Ghaffar, Heraji's wife, in turn passes his experience to the people in their small village giving them the chance to 'see' outside their small and alienated place.

### **Approach**

The paper offers a comparison between p' Bitek's characters who are the representatives of the Acoli ideology as opposed to the Westernized

ideology and Alabnudi's characters who are representatives of both the pre and post 1952 Revolution. This comparison between the different characters shows how the two poets managed to draw the characters and the ideologies they are supposed to represent. A comparison between Lawino and Fatma as the two female characters of the two books is made as well as a comparison between Ocol and Heraji, the two male characters in *Song of Lawino* and *The Letters of Heraji Elogot*. Comparisons between the forms of the two books is presented. The role of both Okot p' Bitek and Abdul Rahman Alabnudi as two committed and ideologically oriented writers is highlighted.

To start with, p' Bitek represents the Acoli society as a tribal society captured at a moment of identity crisis after independence. Such a society is pulled between two forces, the first one is adhering to its native Acoli culture and the second one is adhering to the allegedly 'progressive' Western culture of the former colonizer. It is a society that depends upon certain relations of production and "Gentile Constitution" that govern this society and construct the relation between its social subjects. It is a society that has its own system of living and 'worldview'. However, the society in *Song of Lawino* has a specific case. Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* introduces his definition of a tribal society that it is the one that does not suffer from exploitation (Engels).

Opposite to Engels's definition of the tribal society, the Acoli society of the Ugandan text suffers from exploitation. This exploitation was originally before 'Uhuru', it was the exploitation of the colonizer; the white man. Then after 'Uhuru', the exploitation was exercised by the local African 'agents' of the occupation. So here, the tribal society is not a model of 'primitive communism' but it is an exploited society. It was exploited by direct occupation, 'Western' religion, education and culture and their representatives like the priests, nuns and church teachers.

In *The Letters of Heraji Elgot* Alabnudi portrays a village in Upper Egypt in the sixties which in its best cases is not way far better than the Acoli society. It is a poor village like any other village in Upper Egypt where the norms and traditions are the governing principles or the "Gentile Constitution". It suffers from the bad conditions that the semi-feudal system left like illiteracy and low standard of living of the working class.

The two societies do not just share this condition of exploitation, they also share the deteriorated conditions of women. It is clear that the two

female protagonists of the two texts suffer from the fist of a patriarchal authority.

### **Lawino and Fatma: Living in a Patriarchal Society**

Both Lawino and Fatma are female characters who live in a patriarchal society where the ruling ideas are those of men. We see that Lawino accepts her ideological role as a wife and a mother or any other role that her society allows and does not complain about polygamy. All that she asks for is that Ocol “should stop the insults,” (p’ Bitek 29). So here, Lawino accepts the rules of a patriarchal society of a man having more than one woman. Her point is that he should choose a ‘real’ woman, a condition that Tina does not meet according to the Acoli norm.

On the other hand, we find that Fatma opposes this patriarchal society after being affected by Heraji’s experience in the High Dam. After Heraji acquires self-consciousness through working in the High Dam, Fatma implicitly comes to the conclusion that she too has the right to work as long as she is modest and respectable (Alabnudi, *Letters* 145-146). Therefore, she is opposing the patriarchal society and also knows the consequences of her actions but she is a revolutionary character who wants her village to be a ‘developed’ and ‘progressive’ one. Not only this, she even goes further by saying that she will sell her crops in the local market. Her revolutionary character is what makes her oppose the patriarchal society despite knowing the consequences of her action.

The two characters Lawino and Fatma are pulling their societies in two opposite directions; Lawino is pulling her society to the past while Fatma to the future, however, both pull their societies away from the colonizer and his culture. Lawino wants her society to go back to its African culture suitable for the Acoli land. It is the society that presumably does not exploit the African social subjects and, in spite of its alleged ‘primitivism’, allows the Africans to survive their conditions. Fatma as well wants her social subjects to get rid of the exploitative conditions that the previous semi-feudal system made Egyptians live under. Fatma, like Heraji, now wants her social subjects to achieve self-consciousness through their chosen labor. She believes that the problem of the people of Gabalayet-elfar, especially the women, is that they have nothing to do in their time to keep them busy (Alabnudi, *Letters* 201). Though both Lawino and Fatma take up their ideological roles as wives and mothers, Fatma performs another role as a woman who cultivates her own tiny land in a patriarchal society that does not allow this.

Another difference between Lawino and Fatma is their view of education. Lawino does not believe in institutional education. This is clear when Lawino criticizes the church teachers, priests and nuns who exploit young girls and even Ocol who does not answer her question in the episodes entitled “I am Ignorant of the Good Word in the Clean Book”, “From the Mouth of Which River?” and “My Husband’s House is a Dark Forest of Books”. She even criticizes reading and says “And the reading/Has killed my man,/In the ways of his people/He has become/A stump.” (p’ Bitek 200). She accuses Ocol of behaving as a white man’s dog and traces this back to reading and education which made him "understand English", the language of ‘its’ master. She says,

Listen, my husband,  
Hear my cry!

...

You may not feel so,  
But you behave like  
A dog of the white man!

...

The dogs of white men  
Are trained

And they understand English! (204-205)

Lawino’s point is that Ocol does not use this knowledge and education for the good of his people. This knowledge of English and other tricks is in the service of the ‘master’, the white man. It is ironic that Ocol uses English as a means to unnecessarily climb the social ladder. In a formerly colonized society, the locals need to know the language of the colonizer to guarantee a higher position. However, the son of the chief learns English not to guarantee a higher position, but rather to become “A dog of the white man!” (204).

On the contrary, Fatma is pro institutional education just like her husband Heraji. She feels that education is what makes them “worthy” (Alabnudi, *Letters* 34); Heraji too laments not being educated (110). So here, the characters’ view of the type of education is different. Lawino supports the indigenous education that depends upon tradition and heritage while Fatma and Heraji support institutional education. This enforces Lawino’s image as a nationalist sage who sticks to her native Acoli ideology that does not know institutional education and shows Heraji and Fatma’s

ideology that believes in institutional education as a way to guarantee a place in a higher social stratum.

This view of education is the result of the marital relationship between the two female protagonists and their husbands. We see that Lawino and Ocol are a couple that suffer from a widening gap between them. It is a gap created by the different worldviews that each of them embrace. Ocol believes that the Western culture is the way to the development of a better Africa and tries to westernize his Acoliland while Lawino thinks that westernization is a disease attacking Africa and that the only suitable ideology for Africa is the African one. This is not the problem, the problem is the absence of tolerance on the side of Ocol. He does not want to see Lawino embrace and practice her indigenous culture; he mocks her and abandons her one time for being a 'pagan' and another time for not being a 'modern' woman. His behavior makes Lawino reject Western culture even more. Ocol lives with Lawino in the same house but he is metaphorically aloof and alienated from her as he does not share anything with her. Lawino does not try to adopt a Western ideology to keep her husband; she does not accept to be a white man's 'dog' (p' Bitek 204). She is a proud woman who does what she believes in, practices her Acoli beliefs, and acts as Gramsci's organic intellectual who propagates the ideology he or she believes in, helps the people of his or her social class, and "takes account of the interests and tendencies" of the class he exerts power on (Eagleton, *Ideology* 122).

Fatma has a totally different experience. It is true that Heraji is miles away from her, yet he is always there through his letters. He shares his experience with her and is keen on getting her feedback on his experience in Aswan as well as its effects on the people of Gabalajt-elfar. He is so persuasive to the extent that he changes Fatma's opinion about dynamite. In the beginning, Fatma, just like any other illiterate woman had her fantasies about such a dangerous and lethal invention. Afterwards, when the women of her village started to share myths about Aswan telling that it is the place of no return, Fatma defends it and even defends dynamite. By doing so, Alabnudi manifests Heraji's effort on her consciousness as well as her first steps on the road to being an organic intellectual (Alabnudi, *Letters* 84-85). In doing so she feels that she was Heraji, and even better than him (84). This shows the effect of a healthy marital relationship between the couple of the Egyptian text and its effect on the development and the reformation of the consciousness of the female character of *The Letters of Heraji Elgot*.

Heraji, unlike Ocol, is present in the life of his wife and children in spite of his physical absence. When Fatma sends letters to her husband and asks him to come back to them, she is not as angry with him as Lawino is with Ocol. Lawino is so sad and desperate, she laments the death of her husband while trying, may be for the final time, to bring him back to his land. She is mostly addressing her clansmen who, unlike Ocol, still have the chance to escape the western schools and churches. However, when Fatma asks Heraji to come back to their village and he refuses as he wants to gain knowledge, she does not get this adherence to the High Dam. Maybe this is because she knows that Heraji is developing in a better way or because he did not abandon her for another woman. Heraji's aim is to be a better person; he does not seek a more comfortable life or a more beautiful woman; in this respect he is different from Ocol.

In Alabnudi's case, the marital relationship is the gateway for Fatma to know outside her village. Fatma does not leave her village to see Aswan or to develop a different ideological role than the one she used to have. It is Heraji who leaves his village to see the world and communicate it through his letters to Fatma. Therefore, Fatma has a secondhand experience in the beginning, and then she achieves self-consciousness through labor or cultivating her own land. Lawino, on the other hand, has a firsthand experience with the culture of the colonizer that her husband embraces. She is negatively affected by the practices of her husband and the representatives of this culture. When she rejects this culture, it is her direct choice that depends upon empirical observation. Hence, Fatma hears about the ideology that Heraji experiences, but Lawino experiences the effects of the ideology that Ocol represents.

However, Fatma does not agree with Heraji about everything he believes in, whereas Lawino does not accept anything that Ocol believes in. Fatma believes that Heraji should come back to his family and children to be with them. She considers the High Dam to be an exploitative project that takes men from their families and lives to serve for a small amount of money. She thinks that their conditions as proletarians are the same whether they are workers or farmers, they sell their power of production for a small amount of money and the higher social classes exploit them (Alabnudi, *Letters* 233-234). This shows that after listening to Heraji and after 'digesting' her secondhand experience she comes to this disillusionment or conclusion. Therefore, both characters, Lawino and Fatma are independent characters who are not affected by the opinions of their husbands and their

marital relationships; they are two organic intellectuals who propagate the ideology they believe in.

### **Ocol and Heraji: Two Ways of Consciousness Reformation**

I have discussed the effect of the marital relationship on both Lawino and Fatma as the female characters of the two works under study. I here come to discuss the role of the partners in these marital relationships as represented in the two books.

Ocol and Heraji are two opposing characters for a number of reasons. Ocol has an assumed voice in *Song of Lawino*. We do not listen to him singing his own song, but he has his own *Song of Ocol*. All the time Lawino is telling us about what he says and feels. Ocol is portrayed as a proud man who thinks that he is higher than his wife Lawino just because he is a 'mock' white man. He believes in the supremacy of the ways of the white man and regards the ways of the black people as evil (p' Bitek 200). This, I argue, is the effect of the school that alienated him from his society. The reader does not see Ocol as a worker or as a peasant (being the son of the chief is hardly a profession), only in the eleventh episode "The Buffalos of Poverty Knock the People Down" that he is introduced to be a politician. He is a man who speaks to the poor Acoli people promising them a lot of things that he never fulfills. Like any other politician, he needs their votes but gives nothing in return other than promises.

On the contrary, Heraji is a man whose consciousness is the product of "matter, which is to say, of the human engagement with the material world through labour" (Edgar and Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory* 153) as he is engaged in an act of production towards the end of the book. Heraji's consciousness is the implicit result of analyzing his experience and the surrounding changes in a country transforming from a semi-feudal to a semi-socialist system shortly after independence. The protagonist's consciousness reformation takes place with the help of engineer Talaat who functions as an organic intellectual. As for Ocol, his consciousness is the result of the operation of the ISAs of the colonizer represented in the church and the school or in other words, Ocol is the result of an organized process of consciousness formation by the colonizer.

Because Heraji had the chance to 'freely' reform his consciousness independently from ISAs, he is more objective than Ocol. In his last letter to Fatma, Heraji admits that the High Dam that he adores is not the ideal place to be in, but is rather the place that offers him the knowledge he seeks (Alabnudi, *Letters* 240). He knows what he wants, and is aware of the cost.

As for Ocol, his eyes see nothing but the supremacy of the white man and that he is the role model to be followed. He is one of those black men who wears a whole suit in the hot African weather just to resemble the white man (p' Bitek 37-38). Everything should be like that of the white man even food: he thinks that the black man's food is "primitive" which makes Lawino wonder "what is backward about them?" (79).

Ocol is prejudiced against his own race and color. This prejudice is not just associated with food, color, religion and other aspects that Lawino echoes throughout the book, but there is the point of language that manifests a big difference between Ocol and Heraji. Heraji of course speaks Arabic, his mother tongue that was not changed by occupation and also kept his religion, Islam. The Egyptian text deals with the socio-political changes in the sixties that do not cover a change in religion or language. While in the Ugandan text, p' Bitek deals with the socio-political changes that Uganda witnessed during the sixties that included religious and linguistic changes as conveyed by the text. It is illustrated by p' Bitek that the occupation and its missionaries tried, and later succeeded, in changing Uganda into a Christian and an English-speaking country. p' Bitek is portraying this period in *Song of Lawino* where Ocol, the son of the chief is the manifestation of this success of the colonizer in transforming the country into a 'mock' white one while Lawino is the manifestation of the opposition to this as well as the symbol of Africanness. Ocol, the English speaking man, abuses his illiterate wife in English (15). Lawino, the illiterate woman, is unable to speak the language in which she gets insulted and which she does not understand. Even in her attempts to understand the Christian faith, Ocol refuses to answer her claiming that

Some of the answers  
 Cannot be given in Acoli  
 Which is a primitive language  
 And is not rich enough  
 To express deep wisdom.  
 He says the Acoli language  
 Has very few words  
 It is not like the white man's language  
 Which is rich and very beautiful  
 A language for discussing deep thoughts. (p' Bitek  
 141)

This echoes how Ocol sees the language of the colonizer in relation to his mother tongue. In his book *Black Skin White Masks*, Frantz Fanon discusses the use of the colonizer's language by the colonized. The colonizer in any colonized society is the ruling class that oppresses the other classes and that is associated with power and superiority. Therefore, as Fanon argues, mastery of the language of the colonizer allegedly “affords remarkable power” (9). Therefore, by mastering the language of the colonizer, Ocol possesses power and exerts it over his wife Lawino. According to the racist belief propagated by the colonizer, “the Negro is the link between monkey and man-meaning of course, white man” (18), “[t]he colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country’s cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle” (9). This is exactly what Ocol does, he thinks that despising his blackness and aping the white man will make him a man, a white man.

Heraji has a different case, though. He is not trying to imitate a colonizer, a white man, but he is imitating the educated countrymen and borrowing some of their expressions and their rhetoric. In his letters to Fatma, letters 1 to 6, he uses the expression “the gem and diamond” addressing his wife Fatma, although he does not know the meaning of this expression. It is in his seventh letter, after he started cutting pipes, which marks the beginning of his labor, that Heraji acquires self-consciousness, he stops using any rhetoric that does not represent him. He starts writing what he feels and starts using images that are associated with labor. He admits that he does not like the expression of the gem and diamond that he does not even understand; he says that Fatma is even better than the gem and the diamond.

Delving in his experience in the High Dam makes Heraji he start expressing his feelings towards Fatma through concrete images. He says “You Fatma/Are the most precious thing that I hold in my hands../My savings and seat.../God created me in this Earth with nothing/And made you my fortune” (Alabnudi, *Letters*107). Here Heraji’s language shows that for him the most precious thing is his labor. He knows that he is a worker and accepts this fact and is proud of it because it is being a worker that makes him understand the world and know himself. Using a rhetoric strange to his class and patronizing his wife does not make him a better or a more civilized person like what Ocol thinks.

Heraji is technically educated to help his wife and develop her as well as his people in Gabalayet-elfar. He is an organic intellectual to his wife and to his people, unlike Ocol who is a traditional intellectual to his wife and trying to gain power over his hungry and tired people without helping them. Both Ocol's and Heraji's views of education are different. For Ocol, education is the one obtained from the colonizer in its schools and guarantees his hegemony as well as praising whiteness and despising blackness. It is a means to transcend the primitivism of the Acoli culture by being able to speak the language of the 'developed' colonizer.

Heraji on the contrary wants to gain education and knowledge to help his people and understand the world around him. Heraji's education opens the way in front of him to think and develop himself and reform his consciousness. In his last letter to Fatma when he tells her about his attempt to sit in the employees' club, it is clear that it is Heraji who came to a conclusion that he was equal to those educated engineers as long as he, like them, works in the High Dam. Ironically, being illiterate has protected Heraji from the effect of the educational ISA, unlike Ocol who became the victim of the colonizer institutional educational system. Hence, illiteracy protected Heraji, Fatma and Lawino from the working of the educational ISA.

### **Lawino and Heraji: The Protected Illiterate**

Lawino and Heraji are two illiterate characters portrayed by the respective poets as the main protagonists of the two books. The difference here is that p' Bitek chose the speaker to be a woman but Alabnudi chose the speaker to be a man. This can be traced back to the theme of the two works of art.

In *Song of Lawino*, p' Bitek portrays the son of the chief, who is supposed to protect the tribe and keep its traditions, adopting the ways of the colonizer and 'uprooting' himself from the land of his ancestors. He abandons his ideological role as the leader and the protector of the traditions. Therefore, his wife Lawino, the woman who believes in tradition and the ways of the ancestors, goes back to tradition and sings a lament song in which she aims to bring her husband back to life.

Singing a song that can be heard by her husband and her clansmen is the thing that Lawino thinks she can do. She puts the wisdom of the Acoli in a song that highlights the appropriateness of the African culture and worldview for the Africans. Her illiteracy acts as an immune system that protects her from the invasion of the white man's culture. She is unable to

understand the Western culture and Christianity because of her illiteracy and because of the deep rootedness of her Acoli origin.

Being illiterate makes Lawino able to watch, experience, notice and judge the Western culture, its ISAs and the practices of its representatives without being affected by them. She does not believe in the supremacy of the white man because she does not go to the schools of the white man nor speak his language. She is illiterate in the Western sense of the word and she does not regret it. For her, education is the Acoli education that enables her to carry her ideological role as a wife, a mother and any other role allowed by her Acoli society.

Acoli language, however, is an oral language; thus, Lawino is illiterate by nature not by choice. This is not directly given in the text, but Gerrit J. Dimmendaal in his article "Nilo-Saharan Languages" states that most of Nilo-Saharan languages are oral languages (Dimmendaal). In addition, G. A. R. Savage in his book *The Essentials of Lwo (Acoli)* (1956) used the Latin alphabet to be that of Acoli (1). In *A Short Acoli-English and English-Acoli Vocabulary*, Savage says "The "standard orthography" of Acoli, in so far as there is such a thing, is based on the recommendations of the committee which met in Uganda in 1947 to consider the orthography of Southern Nilotic languages" ( III). Lawino can speak her mother tongue and carry her ideological role as an Acoli wife and mother and this is all that is needed in her society. Mastering the English language of the colonizer is optional not mandatory for Lawino.

Heraji, the illiterate protagonist of *The Letters of Heraji ELgot*, has different feelings towards illiteracy. In spite of the fact that the book is a series of letters between him and his wife Fatma, the book bears his name as he is the main protagonist whose journey to the High Dam not only affects him, but affects his wife as well. Heraji is illiterate; cannot read and write his own mother tongue even though his language, unlike that of Lawino, is both a spoken and a written one. He is illiterate because of his poor economic situation. He is a poor hired peasant who had to immigrate to Aswan in order to have a better economic situation. Like many poor Egyptian peasants, he did not believe in the importance of education. Nevertheless, after he goes to the High Dam and sees how engineer Talaat and the Russian experts who came from Russia to help the Egyptians speak and behave, he comes to the conclusion that the difference between "us" (he means Egyptians) and the people on the other side/shore of the world or Europe (Alabnudi, *Letters* 54) is education. Thus being educated, that is

being able to read and write for him is so important. He says “We, Fatma, who do not know how to read and write.. are poor/.../We have never asked about the origin of things ..” (89).

Unlike Lawino, he equates being able to read and write with being aware of his surroundings, understanding the world and having self-consciousness in spite of the fact that his self-consciousness is the result of his labor. He knows that the High Dam is his source of knowledge and understanding yet he laments his inability to read and write. This view of education differs between Lawino and Heraji because education in Lawino’s case is the education of the colonizer, but in Heraji’s case, education is the gate to be a developed and a knowledgeable person. However, both characters’ views of education result from observation and experience. Heraji observes the deeds of engineer Talaat, other engineers and the Russian experts and comes to the conclusion that it is education that makes them who they are. Although he does not like the deeds of the other arrogant engineers who do not speak to him, he does not hate education. As for Lawino, almost all the examples of educated people including Ocol were not encouraging ones, or rather repulsive.

The two characters meet in that they both, as illiterate and subordinate characters come to their conclusions and consciousness reformation that depends upon experience. However, the two writers differ in introducing this consciousness reformation. In *Song of Lawino*, Lawino rejects the Western culture from the beginning until the end of the poem and preaches Ocol and her clansmen to adhere to the Acoli ideology. Throughout the song, she is defending her choice and giving evidence to support it.

As for Heraji and Fatma, Alabnudi exhibits their journey of consciousness reformation as changing and developing. At the beginning of the book, Heraji is not the same person as that of its end. Heraji who carries the pebbles is not Heraji who uses the dynamite. The one who thinks that the workers are effendies is not the one who thinks that he is equal to the educated employees. Likewise Fatma, in the beginning, does not know about Aswan, the High Dam and dynamite, but towards the end, she rejects the High Dam as an entity that exploits Heraji. One of the strongest points of similarity in the representation of these illiterate characters is the propriety of the form of the two books of poems for those illiterate characters.

**The Form and Language of Both *Song of Lawino* and *The Letters of Heraji Elgot***

Both works under study are two books of poems. *Song of Lawino* was first written in the Acoli language then translated by p' Bitek himself into English. Thus, the book can be regarded as a 'rewriting' of the original Acoli text, *Wer pa Lawino*, a lyrical book of fourteen chapters (Imbo, *Oral Traditions as Philosophy* 110). In *Song of Lawino*, there is one direct voice that is the voice of the female protagonist, Lawino. There are other indirect or assumed voices that are echoed by Lawino in the text such as Ocol, priests, nuns, church teachers, Ocol's brother and the Acoli people who aspire to be heard.

By giving the floor totally to the female character, p' Bitek is not being a feminist, he does it for thematic reasons I argue. Women are the ones who breed children and can keep or 'kill' a culture. In addition, women are weak, they are, in patriarchal societies, followers of men. As a woman, she cannot urge her husband to be a 'true man' again, an Acoli man, all that she can do is singing a lament song that carries all her beliefs and sorrows.

This form of a song also serves the theme of the book. p' Bitek whose aim is to protect the Acoli culture and tradition, uses one of the most important features of the Acoli practice, songs. This song is a long one that consists of thirteen episodes which all discuss cultural matters like food, dances, concept of beauty, religion and politics. In each episode, Lawino is able to compare a certain cultural component in the two cultures, the African and the Western ones, to prove the appropriateness of the African culture to the Acoliland and the significance of the Acoli ideology: Lawino cannot understand how God the creator created the earth (p' Bitek 138-139) because of the absence of the concept of creation in the Acoli theology. The song is confined to the specific cultural components. If any piece of information about Ocol is offered, it is just to add to the point that he is a westernized man who despises his own culture and uproots the pumpkin. *Song of Lawino* can be summed up in the motto written on its first page "Let no-one uproot the pumpkin in the old homestead" that is, as Charles Okumu mentions in his article "The Form of Okot p' Bitek's Poetry", an Acoli "carolok" or proverb which is "Te Okono, pe luputu" that exactly means the pumpkin must not be uprooted (Okumu). Therefore, there is a unity of purpose in *Song of Lawino* even though it consists of episodes.

*The Letters of Heraji Elgot* consists of twenty-four letters, thirteen sent from Heraji to his wife Fatma and eleven replies sent by Fatma to Heraji. They discuss Heraji's journey in the High Dam and his change from being a peasant to being a worker and the effect of this journey on his and

Fatma's consciousness. The letters have both emotional and ideological details. Fatma tells Heraji about how his children miss him as well, and he tells her about his longing for them.

In addition to the emotional matters, the letters include ideological matters that convey the cultural change that happened to Heraji and Fatma. The letters show three stages of Heraji, first, the villager carrying pebbles; second, the semi-skilled worker using dynamite; and finally the skilled worker cutting pipes. Heraji in the last stage developed into the semi-socialist worker. Fatma's journey of consciousness reformation is less complicated. First, there is Fatma who does not know anything outside Gabalayet-elfar; secondly, there is Fatma who transmits Heraji's experience to the people of the village; thirdly, there is Fatma who starts reforming her ideological mold by adopting another role as a peasant; and finally there is Fatma who sees that the High Dam is an exploitative entity.

The epistolary technique is the most suitable one for the Egyptian text as it is the only technique that enables the two remote characters to have such a dialogue. The time period between each letter also helps them to have a duration to collect the sparks of the experience they have and unify them to reach their final conclusion and come to their ideological reformation.

If the form of *Song of Lawino* shows p' Bitek's being affected by his African heritage, the form of *The Letters of Heraji Elgot* too shows that Alabnudi is affected by his Upper Egyptian heritage. One feature of Upper Egypt is the oral epics that are sung on a stringed musical instrument and that Alabnudi himself worked for around 20 years to document one of them, which is AsSerah Alhelaleyah Epic (Alabnudi, *AsSerah Alhelaleyah* 41). In *The Letters of Heraji Elgot*, Alabnudi is trying to create a new epic, one whose hero is not of a noble blood or fighting gods in his journey to get the Golden Fleece. Alabnudi's hero is a simple illiterate man on a journey in Aswan fighting ignorance and the remnant of a semi-feudal system while striving for a socialist society.

Being written directly in the mother tongue of the poet, *The Letters of Heraji Elgot* escaped the fate of *Song of Lawino* that is losing the rhyme. The Egyptian text has a rhyme scheme. It is a work of art written in a semi-Upper Egyptian dialect that is the dialect of the protagonists of the book which helps in giving an air of reality to the reader.

Both poets employed a certain figurative language to convey the message they want. In *Song of Lawino* p' Bitek in his attempts to bring

people back to their African culture and to draw their attention to the fact that they are being exploited by the imperialist white man, uses many features from the African heritage, proverbs, flora and fauna.

p' Bitek uses proverbs that have implications in the Acoli or Luo culture like "My husband's tongue/.../...is ferocious/Like the poison of a barren woman" (p' Bitek 16). In this image, p' Bitek expresses the ideological role of the Acoli woman who should have a lot of children to increase the number of the tribe in order to make it stronger. Thus, a barren woman by not being able to do this mission is somehow an outcast of the tradition or is underestimated. Anywar Latim explains this image by saying that "if a woman cannot bear children she will be jealous" and when she sees other women with their children, she has the intention to kill them (Tanna, "East African Poetry of Assertion" 180). Latim also adds that the Acoli people believe that this barren woman is always "accurate in her dose of poison" due to her envy (180). Here the communal function of women as birth givers is asserted in such a tribal society as well as the text. This image echoes the importance of carrying one's ideological role in a given society.

By giving birth to a lot of children the Acoli woman is applying the notion of the all for one; all social subjects work for the welfare of the tribe. The poet also uses a lot of exact songs (130-131) in *Song of Lawino*, that is itself a song. p'Bitek's images in which he associates Africans with the powerful, noble and graceful leopard ("Leopard Panthera pardus") and westernized and capitalist Ocol with a hyena highlights the contrast between originality of the African tradition that is good for Africa and the 'white' culture that exploits the Acoliland.

Portraying the white man as a hyena enforces the portrayal of the white man as an exploitative force. Those capitalists' exploitation is extended to reach every aspect of the culture, they exploit the wealth of the Africans, change their religion and reshape their consciousness. Lawino in a very expressive image reveals this fact. She says that:

The white man has trapped  
And caught the Rain-Cock\*  
And imprisoned it  
In a heavy steel house. (p' Bitek 68)

p' Bitek in a footnote explains this image by saying that the Acoli believe that the reddish-brown Rain-Cock is responsible for lightning and thunder. When this bird opens its wings "lightning flashes and thunder is caused when it strikes with its powerful bolt" (68). This image explains how the

capitalist white man controls everything, even the natural phenomenon of lightning and thunder.

Lawino's images have action verbs like "Carry large pieces of fatty beef/.../Collect the odir insect" (p' Bitek 189) which reflects the effect of her belonging to a working class. The whole book of poems also depends on a contrast between the image of the African meaningful traditions and the out of context western tradition. Lawino also manifests this in the image of the western books blinding Ocol (215). In contrast to the role of books in opening people's eyes to new things and ways. This highlights the irony that the Western education which is supposed to open doors in front of Africans, blinds them. It is the type of education of the colonizer that guarantees the hegemony of the colonizer's ruling class.

Throughout *Song of Lawino* p' Bitek uses similes more than metaphors. For instance in the episode "The Woman with Whom I Share My Husband", Lawino describes Tina as "meatless/Like a shell/On a dry river bed" (26), "her lips look like bleeding," and that "Her head is huge like that of the owl," (24). Lawino also says that Tina's lips are "red-hot/Like glowing charcoal," (22). The use of similes instead of metaphors can be read as a sign of the inaccuracy of the imitation of a white woman that resulted in a deformed copy named Tina.

The language of *Song of Lawino* also bears a sense of bitterness and torment that Lawino feels as a woman insulted and abandoned by her husband throughout the text. In the opening episode "My Husband's Tongue Is Bitter" Lawino says "My clansmen, I cry/Listen to my voice:/The insults of my man/Are beyond bearing" (p' Bitek 15). In the opening of the sixth episode entitled "The Mother Stone Has a Hollow Stomach" she cries out loud with the reason why her husband rejects her (65) though it is difficult for any woman to say that her husband does so. Her torment as an abandoned wife is as painful as her torment as a woman who has unanswered questions about a religion that she cannot understand. In the episode entitled "From the Mouth of Which River?" Lawino describes her case having unanswered questions about Jesus: "I think about these questions/In my head/And my head begins to ache/.../Where can I go?/But I swallow the questions,/They burn inside me" (142-143).

In the episode entitled "The Buffalos of Poverty Knock the People Down" in which she criticizes the political parties and the ruling classes, she uses a strong animal the buffalo, to portray the severity and cruelty of poverty and its effects on the poor Acoli people. In that episode Lawino

shows how *Uhuru* became a buffalo which the “hunters/Rush to it with drawn knives,” (p’ Bitek 189) and if you are poor or weak you get nothing but “dung on your elbow” and “come empty-handed” (189). The image is so expressive and is driven from the Acoli environment and is full of action that suits the struggle between the political parties that, as Lawino says, “have split the homestead” (183).

Finally, the Last episode of the book, entitled “Let them Prepare the Malakwang Dish” ends in a soft language by Lawino saying “Let me dance before you,/My love,” and by the motto of the song “Let no one uproot the Pumpkin” (p’ Bitek 216).

As for the language of *The Letters of Heraji ELgot*, we can say that it differs according to the topic discussed and just like *Song of Lawino* is derived from the environment of the characters.

The first letter has no ideological hints other than telling Fatma to write on the letter in the address place “Aswan../To my dear husband/Heraji Elgot../The worker in the High Dam..” (Alabnudi, *Letters* 16). Just writing ‘The High Dam in Aswan’ in the address place on the envelop gives the impression that this place is a very organized one that the letter will definitely reach Heraji. Other than that it is a sentimental letter that expresses Heraji’s longing for his family and wife and introduces them to us as readers. To tell that two months passed since Heraji first sent a letter and to describe Fatma’s state when her husband was leaving Alabnudi says “Two months now../Have passed since your eyes Fatma../Had wet the train’s window” (13). In this letter, Alabnudi uses violent verbs that describe his emotional state and that suit the state of the departure of the head of the family. He uses for instance the verb “screams” (14) to describe the sound of the train that is going to take him to the unknown Aswan.

Fatma’s answer to this letter, I can say, is not less emotional. She tells Heraji that when the postman called on her to give her Heraji’s letter, she felt “as if.. fire has broken out in her inside” (19) in an image that shows the intensity of her love and feelings towards Heraji.

The second letter from Heraji to Fatma marks the true beginning of Heraji’s consciousness reformation journey in the High Dam. He explains his state in Aswan after he left his village for the first time by saying that he felt “dizzy” (26). As an illiterate proletarian, he could not find a better word to explain his state other than the word ‘dizzy’. Fatma’s answer to her husband’s second letter shows her wonder. Alabnudi depicts Fatma’s wonder and how she views Heraji’s stories as adventurous ones by

resembling them to the hero of AsSerah Alhelaleyah, Abu Zaid Alhelali (34) whose adventures for her might be the most adventurous thing she could have ever heard. Thus, Alabnudi here succeeds in choosing the words and expressions that are appropriate for the ideology and feelings of the characters. In the same letter, Fatma expresses her inability to understand that Heraji, the “ax wielder” (35) is turned into a worker. As it was mentioned before, the proletarians are those who live on selling their labor power and whose weal and woe depend on the demand of labor. Thus, this expression of ax wielder echoes a sense of Heraji as a typical proletarian.

The third letter from Heraji to Fatma has a meaningful pun that expresses both Heraji’s state in the darkness of ignorance and his working place in the tunnels of the High Dam. Heraji says that engineer Talaat took his hand from the darkness of the tunnels to the light (41).

In Heraji’s fifth letter to Fatma he expresses the effect of the ISAs on the social subjects and their power of shaping people’s consciousness in an indirect way by saying that they were made to love being hired peasants without even knowing who lured into its love it (70). He adds that they were taught that “there is nothing in life other than being a hired peasant” (74) in an image that shows how the semi-feudal ruling class created a farming proletariat to serve its interests. In Fatma’s answer to this letter she says that as long as Heraji’s “voice comes out of the paper..” she feels that she sees Aswan with her own eyes (82).

The above image indicates the vividness and sincerity of Heraji’s description of Aswan. This image can be also an evidence of the love of Heraji and Fatma and an indicator of their healthy relationship and the extent to which they are so close even in spite of the distance that draws them apart. In the same letter, Fatma tells Heraji about her talk to the women of the village about the dynamite and its reality. She tells him that by eliminating any misconception that those women have and transmitting Heraji’s outstanding experience to them, she is letting them smell the flower that her husband has planted in Aswan. Again, Fatma is using a language that is derived from her contextual ideology that is a language of agriculture.

The sixth letter from Heraji to Fatma is characterized by a contrast that manifests Heraji’s state before and after working in the High Dam. He says that the High Dam opened his eyes as if it took him out of a well (89). The paradox and the contrast between the deepness of the well and the height of the dam stress how Heraji lived in a state of ignorance.

In the seventh letter Heraji likens Fatma to the most precious things he has ever known in his life, that are his savings and sweat (107) in an image that shows how he appreciates his labor as a definer and an identity giver and a way towards self-consciousness. In the same letter, he goes on describing the importance of Fatma in his life through functional images. For instance, he says that Fatma is his cane when one is needed and that she is the one who will back him when misfortunes attack him (108).

In order to convey the meaning that the people of their village were brought to hate change and development and reject them Heraji tells Fatma that those who tend to develop are regarded as infidels (155).

The twelfth letter comes with the increasing tone of sadness of Heraji as he says that “seeing is sadness” (223). In this image, Heraji equates between experiencing and observing or seeing as it is the colloquial word for experience. This image of equating seeing and knowledge to sadness indicates Heraji’s inability to go back to his old life in Gabalayet-elfar as well as his discontent that stems from the persistent bad conditions that he and his social subjects live under.

Fatma’s last letter, the answer to Heraji’s twelfth one, besides carrying her last ideological feature which is considering the High Dam as an exploitative entity, has a different tone. In this letter, Fatma begs Heraji to come back to his family and to end up this process of being exploited in the High Dam. She tells him that this is the first letter that made her feel that he is lonely and shaking like a small henna tree that is being shaken by the strong winds of khamasin (231). Again, the image is derived from the culture of the character and manifests the strength of Heraji’s torment and sadness.

Having revealed the ideology of the illiterate characters in the two texts, the Ugandan and Egyptian, it is clear that both Okot p’ Bitek and Abdul Rahman Alabnudi served the themes and ideologies they are propagating by the forms and techniques used in *Song of Lawino* and *The Letters of Heraji Elgot*. Both, the song style and the epistolary technique help to keep the reader focused on the consciousness formation of the illiterate characters by being true to the Ugandan and the Egyptian cultures and historical moments.

### **Okot p’ Bitek and Abdul Rahman Alabnudi as Two Committed Poets**

In his article “Party Organisation and Party Literature”, Lenin denotes that neutrality in literature is unattainable (Lenin). For him, literature cannot be “an individual undertaking independent of the common cause of the

proletariat” (Lenin). This applies for both p’ Bitek and Alabnudi. Both are committed writers who proliferated the ideology they believed in throughout these two poems *Song of Lawino* and *The Letters of Heraji Elgot*.

In his speech at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934 entitled “On Literature”, A.A. Zhadanov denotes that the duty of the Soviet writer who should embrace the socialist realism doctrine, is to “depict [life] truthfully... as reality in its revolutionary development” in a process in which “truthfulness and historical exactitude of the artistic image” are inevitably linked with “the task of ideological transformation, of the education of the working class in the spirit of socialism” (Zhadanov). Both poets in both works of art do so. p’ Bitek attacks and exposes neo-colonialism through Lawino who, towards the end of the book, reveals her semi-socialist beliefs. In addition, Alabnudi throughout his book takes the side of the illiterate proletarians who call for a semi-socialist ideology; hence he attacks neo-colonialism as well.

Okot p’ Bitek’s *Song of Lawino* is an important episode in his series of fighting different facets of neo-imperialism, westernization and the colonizer’s trials to reshape African’s consciousness in a way that serves this colonizer. As Samuel Oluoch Imbo says in his book *Oral Traditions as Philosophy*, Okot p’ Bitek criticized those who tried to “understand African culture outside the context of socially constructed meaning” (xiv). Imbo also states that p’ Bitek’s “priority was to capture oral traditions of the Acoli in a vocabulary that dealt honestly with a people’s “philosophy of life”” (xv). Within addition p’ Bitek reveals a “disdain of Christianity” as well as a critique of “the European penchant for metaphysics for its own sake” (102-103).

*The Letters of Heraji Elgot* also reflects Alabnudi’s Marxist ideology and his belief in a literature that serves the proletariat and reflects their state in a historical moment. As Abdul Qader Yassin states in his book *The Egyptian Communist Movement*, Alabnudi was a member of a communist movement named The Communist union that was headed by Ibrahim Fathy with other poets who were arrested in 1966. During this arrest, the first manuscript of *The Letters of Heraji Elgot* was confiscated by the police. In an interview with Asherbiny Ashour, Alabnudi declares that the intellectuals’ role is to “demolish and rebuild the mind and the soul of the nation and enlightening the different paths in front of it” (Alabnudi, “Defeating”). Thus, the book under study is a work of art of a committed

poet who fought what he saw as a departure from the principles of socialist 1952 Revolution.

It is clear that the two texts, *Song of Lawino* and *The Letters of Heraji Elgot* are two texts that belong to the category of tendentious literature or at least a type of literature that has certain ideologies to propagate. The ideology proliferated by Okot p' Bitek and Abdul Rahman Alabnudi are those which aim at achieving better conditions for the proletariat, especially the illiterate ones, and help them understand and react to the different forces acting upon them and changing their society.

\*\*\*\*\*

### Works Cited

- Baxandall, Lee and Stefan Morawski (Eds.). *Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels on Literature and Art*. New York: Telos Press, 1974. Print.
- Carter, David. *Critical Theory*. Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2006. Print.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology an Introduction*. London: Verso, 2007. Print.
- Edgar, Andrew and Peter Sedgwick. *Cultural Theory the Key Thinkers*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2001. Print.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin White Masks*. London: Pluto Press, 2008. Print.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Prison Notebooks*. 3 vols. New York: Colombia University 2011. Print.
- Hall, Stuart. *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 2005. Print.
- Imbo. Samuel Olouch. *Oral Traditions as Philosophy: Okot p' Bitek's Legacy*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2002. Print.
- p' Bitek, Okot. *Song of Lawino*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966. Print.
- Savage, G.A.R. *The Essentials of Lwo (Acoli)*. East African Literature Bureau: Kenya, 1956 PDF file.
- . *A Short Acoli-English and English-Acoli Vocabulary*. Nairobi: Eagle Press, 1955 PDF file.
- Trotsky, Leon. *Art and Revolution*. London: Pathfinder, 2013. Print.
- Wanambisi, Monica. *Thought and Technique in the Poetry of Okot p' Bitek*.

New York: Vantage Press, 1984. Print.  
Williams, Raymond. *Keywords a Vocabulary of Culture and Society*.  
London:  
Fontana Press, 1988. Print.  
---. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977. Print.

### Dissertations

Tanna, Laura. "East African Poetry of Assertion 'Song of Lawino and Orphan'." MA thesis. University of Wisconsin, 1972. Print.

### Online Materials

Alabnudi, Abdul Rahman. Interview "Defeating the Dream is the Experience of the Evil People in this World: *Ahewar.org*, N.p.6 Sept. 2005. web. 26

Dec. 2013

<http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=44806>

Althusser, Louis. "Lenin and Philosophy." *Marxists.org*. n.d. web.

10

July

2014

<https://www.marxists.org/refernce/archieve/althusser/1970/ideology.htm>

Dimmenaal, Grrit J. "Nilo-Saharan Languages." *Encyclopedia Britanica.com*. n.d. web. 24 Jun. 2014

[www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/415424/Nilo-Saharan-languages/225833/Writing](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/415424/Nilo-Saharan-languages/225833/Writing)

Engels, Frederic. *The Origin of the Family Private Property and the State*.  
Trans. Ernest Unterman Chicago: Charles H. Karr and Company,  
1909. Web 10. Feb 2014

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/ch09.htm>

---. *The Principles of Communism*. *Marxists.Org*,  
1999. Web 12 Feb.2014

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/11/prin-com.htm>

"High Dam". *TheArab contractors.com*. N.p. n.d, web. 24 Jun. 2014

<http://www.arabcont.com/English/projects/project-144.aspx>

"Hyaenas in Art and Literature." *Hyaenidae.org*. N.p, n.d. web 30 Dec.  
2013

- <http://www.hyaena.org/Hyaenas-in-art-literature.html>  
Lenin, Vladimir. "Party Organisation and Party Literature". Marxists.org, n.d. Web 3 Feb 2015  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/nov/3.htm>
- "Leopard Panthera pardus." *National Geographic*, National Geographic Society, n.d. Web. 30 Jan 2013  
<http://animals.nationalgeographic.com/animals/mammals/leopard/>
- Marx, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Marxists.Org, 1999. Web 12 Feb 2014  
<https://www.marxists.org/archieve/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy>
- Okumu, Charles. "The Form of Okot p' Bitek's Poetry: Literary Borrowing from Acoli Oralo Tradition". *Research in African Literatures*, 23.3 (1992): (53-66) JSTOR. web. 29 March 2014  
<http://www.jstore.org/stable/pdfplus/3820055.pdf?acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>
- "Tribal Society." *Marxists.org*. N.p. n.d. web. 10. Feb 2014  
<https://www.marxists.org/glossary/terms/t/r.htm#tribal-society>
- "Trip Down Memory Lane." *Kwekudee Blog*. 11 June 2013 web. 12 Feb. 2014  
<http://kwekudee-tripdownmemorylane.blogspot.com/2013/06/acholi-people-famous-east-african.html>
- Yose, Joash. "Malakwang, a Bitter Sweet Delicacy." *Daily Monitor*, 19 Aug. 24 June 2014  
<http://mobile.monitor.co.ug/Life/A+bitter+sweet+delicacy/-1055104/1481938/-format/xhtml/-30gq19/-/index.html>
- Zhadanov, A. A. "On Literature". All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, 1934. U.S.S.R. Web 3 Feb. 2015  
<http://www.revolutionarydemocracy.org/archive/zhadanovlit.htm>

#### المراجع العربية

- الأبنودي، عبد الرحمن. *السيرة الهلالية*. القاهرة: أطلس للنشر والانتاج الإعلامي، 2002  
الأبنودي، عبد الرحمن. *جوابات حراجي القط*. القاهرة: دار الأحمدي للنشر، 2001

بدران، شبل. *التربية والأيدولوجيا دراسة في التربية وبنية النظام السياسي*. القاهرة: مركز المحروسة للنشر والخدمات الصحفية والمعلومات، 2008

#### الدوريات

اسماعيل، عز الدين. لويس عوض وآخرون. "الأدب والأيدولوجيا". فصول مجلد 5 عدد 4 ج 2 (1985)  
محمود، زكى نجيب. "الايدولوجيا ومكانها من الحياة الثقافية". فصول مجلد 5 عدد 4 ج 2 (1985)