

# The Name Bor: An Analysis of the Origin, Meaning, and Implications: A Case Study of Bor in the Republic of South Sudan

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# Abstract

Many researchers, notably in South Sudan and Jongle State, have been concerned about the origin and meaning of the term Bor. The goal of this research was to determine the origin and meaning of the controversial word Bor. The goal was to figure out where the word Bor came from and who Bor's initial residents were. To augment the original data, secondary data was gathered through a review of relevant and credible literature. Group talks and face-to-face interviews were used to generate data. The study found that the name Bor does not mean "lowland with floods," but a Luo word meaning 'tall grass' or word 'bur' in the Thony dialect, from the name "Balanda 'Bor' which we are yet to research and establish the meaning. Athooc and Gok Dinka were the first to arrive in the area and inherited the name Bor from the first inhabitants (Luo or Balanda) before Nyarweng, Twic, and Hol Dinka, and Greater Bor is not a name but a geopolitical description created by politicians in 2004 as a unifying platform between the four Dinka sections in the area. The study concluded that the name Bor is from the first inhabitants (Luo and Balanda Bor tribes) of the land, and Greater Bor is a geopolitical name contracted by political elites and not a given traditional name. The study suggested that the name Bor be used to refer to the entire territory, from Chuei Keer in the south to Chuei Thon in the north, rather than just Bor County. This could result in the phrase 'Greater Bor' becoming a unifying motif for the three counties of Bor, Duk, and Twic East. Bor County should give up the name Bor to the three counties nearby and rename what remains of Bor County to promote peace and coexistence among the four tribes in the area.

Keywords: Community; Theory; Balanda Bor; Immigrations; Mading, Politics; Greater Bor Community

# The Origin of the Name Bor in South Sudan

# 1.0. Introduction

The name Bor has led to arguments among the current inhabitants of the territory; other sections have contested that the name and its origin refer to the Dinka section inhabiting the current central Jonglei State (Bor County). However, historically and traditionally, only two sections of Athooc and Gok, who are currently the inhabitants of the southwest of the current Jongle state, are being reflected. Both historians and traditional legends have provided some facts and theories surrounding the origin and

meaning of the name Bor during the colonial period. However, supporting theories lack concrete documentation for the authenticity of interpretations of colonial history and past political events. This study aimed to address the argument about the meaning and originality of the word Bor and find the best options for addressing the problem of peaceful coexistence among the communities within the Bor territory.

### 1.1.0. Objectives

To access the origin and meaning of the contested Bor in South Sudan, to identify the relationships between the name Dinka Bor and the Greater Bor community, and to find the key sources of Bor community crises and identify some solutions.

#### Assumptions/Hypothesis

H<sub>1</sub>0: The word Bor has no meaning and doesn't belong to current inhabitants.

H<sub>1</sub>: The word Bor has a meaning and belongs to the current Greater Bor community.

H<sub>2</sub>0: The current inhabitants of Bor are not the original inhabitants of Greater Bor.

H<sub>2</sub>: The Current Bor Dinka Bor are the original inhabitants of Greater Bor.

H<sub>3</sub>: Dinka Bor has no relationship with the Greater Bor Community.

H<sub>3</sub>: Dinka Bor is related to the Greater Bor

#### **1.2.0.** Significance of the Study

The study's findings will persuade the Bor communities and give valid and reliable evidence that can serve as a road map to resolving the increasing conflict of interest over the meaning and ownership of Bor territory.

Given the current wave of communal conflicts in various states of South Sudan, which has resulted in loss of life, displacement, and a lack of stability and development, a lack of reliable information is likely to increase conflict among Bor's communities, potentially leading to confrontations that can trigger communal conflict and insecurity. Resolving the conflicting parties' issues leads to peaceful coexistence, which reduces crises, and promotes stability, and progress.

#### **1.3.0.** Methodology

The study focused on the Current Bor Community as a case study area, interviewing elders, intellectuals, churches, neighboring tribes, and Luo-related tribes with the name Bor to collect primary data, colonial regime documentation for review, and related literature to support the validity and reliability of the information. Data was gathered using questionnaires, group debates, and in-person and phone interviews. Data was evaluated using statistical tools, and ideas were tested logically.

# 2.0.0. Theoretical Review

# 1.2.1.0. Theory

2. The word has no universal definition. However, the "Offline English Dictionary" defines theory as "a coherent statement or set of ideas that explains observed facts or phenomena and correctly predicts new facts or phenomena not previously observed."

Researchers argued that theory is what explains known facts and allows researchers to make predictions of what they should observe if a theory is true so that it can be accepted or rejected. The theory explains communication matters or events. It helps in communication, and research, and provides proof. There are some theories surrounding the meaning of the name Bor.

#### 2.1.1. Lowland Theory

This is the most common theory that defines Bor as "lowland with flooding." The word flood (noun) in Thuongjang (Dinka Language) is Boor, and flooding (verb) is Boor, meaning overflow. The word Bor is therefore derived from Boor (flooding). However, without proof, many academicians, traditional legends, historians, and Bor elders, including Rehoboam Akech Kuaai, Gabriel Berbere, William Garang Dut, and Jeroboam Machuor Kulang, among others, attributed the meaning of the word Bor to lowland with flooding, or "Pinyeboor," as assumed. However, rejecting or confirming this theory has become another case of study as both scenes require concrete evidence.

# **Boro Theory**

The late Bishop Oliver Allison (1970) of the Anglican Church (ECS) disputed the alleged meaning of the word Bor as lowland with flooding. He argued that the area was called Boro, and after being converted to Bor by Jieng (Dinka) in the 13th century, linguistically, most words in Thuongjang end with a consonant, not a vowel, which removed the last letter "o.". He further stated that Boro is a Luo word meaning "tall grass," "far, and or "prick" a cow at the neck, or dhiang, meaning to bleed the cow. The last meaning is "fat." Animal fat.

He continued that Bor was inhabited by the Luo people until the 14th century when Jieng expelled the Luo, who then migrated to Bahr el Ghazal and later to Kenya and Uganda. However, the Jur-Chol group within the Luo didn't migrate to East Africa because they were the in-laws of Jieng. The noun Jur-chol does not mean ''black tribe'' as literally translated, but in Thuongjang it simply means cool or ''spend day-time.'' In other words, Jur would only stay for a while and follow his fellow Luo people. Many historians, including traditional analysts, confirmed that the Boro area was inhabited by Luo before Jieng's arrival, and the Luo later migrated to Bahr el Ghazal. This historical view seems to prove the genesis and meaning of the name Bor. Some historians argued that only the tone might have changed (from Boro to Bor) in the course of history.

# **Balanda Bor Theory**

Other historians argued that before Luo, the land belonged to Balanda Bor, a tribe currently inhabiting Western Bahr-el Ghazal State. But Jieng later dropped the name Balanda for Bor. This argument needs further investigation from Balanda to establish the meaning of the word Bor. Our ancestors from the Bor area have confirmed (in stories) that *Lueel*, meaning brown in completion, did settle in the land before they were expelled by Jieng. Today, in Raja State, a payam called Bor does exist, probably inhabited by Balanda and Kreech tribes. We can partly agree with this theory as evidence of who was the original inhabitant of Bor. According to the researcher's opinion of the generation born in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, including that of *Moulana* Gabriel Geu Anyang, who linked the name Bor to lowland, swimming, or flooding, this was disputed by Bishop Allison and his followers.

# 2.1.2. Immigrations Theory

In the 13th century, Jieng immigrated and occupied the current Jonglei and Lakes States together with Twic East and Twic, who later migrated to Bahr el Ghazal. Ajuong came as the first and hosted Lith-Padang, including Adhiok, Abek, Ayual, Dacuek, and Kongor. Awulian arrived later, in the 16th century. The people of Twic arrived and continued to call themselves Twic unless they were out of the area. When asked by other Dinkas, this is where they refer to Twic Bor to differentiate them from Twic of Bahr el

Ghazal, and in this concept, the word Bor is Bor town (Mading) and not ethnicity (Gok/Athooc). The theory has built itself in that manner until this day.

#### 2.2.0. Review

#### 2.2.1. Empirical Review

#### 2.2.2. The Name Mading – Bor

First, the name Mading-Bor originated from a bull color (madding, grey-spotted in color) offered by a man named Ngeth Angok for an inauguration ceremony of Bor town when it was being approved as an administrative town by Turkish-Egyptian rule. However, the name Mading was also in northern Bahr el Ghazal, which led to confusion over consignments of goods from Khartoum. The consignment of goods uploaded from Sudan to Mading in the south would be diverted to Mading in northern Bahr el Ghazal and vice versa. This prompted the local authorities to rename the two towns "Mading Bor" and "Mading Aweil" to avoid any inconveniences. This change resolved the problem of diverting goods and services to the wrong location and also created the origin of Mading Bor.

Secondly, *Thany* (singular, *Thony* tribe) had also laid claim to the origin of the name Bor. From their name '*bur*' (fish camp) to 'Bor', which is also believed to be the Turkish or English accent of the word bur, The native *Thony* used both the names Mading and Bur to refer to the town, which became known as "Mading-Bur."

Thirdly, a certain explorer (probably a Turkish or English) came and inquired about the mass of water around Mading-Bur; he was told "it is *abooric*," meaning 'floods or swamps.' He was unable to pronounce the word abooric; he called it "Mading-bor." The place became known as Mading-Bor from then to this day.

The people of Bor are either Juor-mac, who are the 'fire reverting *clans*' also called Pathooth, or Juor-hol, the 'thigh reverting clans' also called Pahol.

## 2.2.0. Social and Administrative Setup

### 2.2.0.1. Gok Territory Consists of

1) Kolnyang Court: Abii, Adol, Guala, Gol, and Abang sections; 2) Anyidi Court: Paleek section; 3) Makuac Court: Ateer and Adumuot sections; 4. Wer-kok/Kon-beek/Kapaat Court: Koc and Deer sections.

# 2.2.0.2. Athooc Territory

**Consists of Jale Court**: Made up of Alian, Abuotdit, and Jueet Sections; Manydeng Court: consists of Biong, Angakuei, and Pathuyith sections.

Gok and Athooc are the two largest sections into which Bor Dinka is divided. Gok and Athooc consist of six courts, which make up Bor Dinka.

# 2.2.0.3. Bor–Duk District

The first district that extends from Bor South, Twic in the center and Duk in the north was first called Bor-Duk District and consists of Bor Gok, Bor Athooc, Twic Lith, Twic Pakeer, Twic Ajuong, Nyarweng, Hol, and Thony Dinka. Under each tribe, there are sections.

In 1930, a rough population census for planning, distribution of constituencies, and resource mobilization was carried out, and the following were the results:

1. Bor Dinka was Gok 10,147, Athooc 6,699, for a total of 16,846 people.

- 2. Twic (East) Dinka was 13,056, Pakeer 2,737 Ajuong, and 1,935, for a total of 17,728 people.
- 3.Nyarweng and Hol Dinka were 1,865, Angaach 737, Ric 1,080, Luac 566, Thony 1,288, and totaling 5,536, the overall total population was 40,110.

# a. Politics

In 1970, Mr. Abel Alier Kwai, 2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President of the Republic of Sudan and President of the Executive Council of Southern Sudan, requested three geographical constituencies for Bor District, which was granted by President Jafar Muhammad Nimeri in August 1971 as the President's offer to the people of Bor. This led Mr. Abel Alier to demand the release of **Lirpiou** (the spiritual spear) who was detained in Khartoum during British colonial rule in Sudan. He did it to win popularity from Bor South for general elections expected to be in 1974.

Lirpiou was relocated to its home area in Guala, and Alier decided to divide Bor District into three geographical constituencies for general elections to be held in two years. The constituencies included: **Bor South Constituency:** which comprises Gok alone with a population of **10,147**; **Bor Central Constituency:** which comprises Athooc, Pakeer, and Ajuong with a population of **11,371**; **and Bor North Constituency:** which comprises Lith, Nyarweng, and Hol with a population of **18,592**. This population represents only adults (men) who are eligible to pay personal tax. In the same period, the four districts of Akobo, Ayod, Bor, and Pibor were upgraded into provinces. President Abel Alier Kwai decided to rename the new province Jonglei, with its capital in Bor town.

It is widely believed that Abel did this to please the Pakeer and Ajuong communities, who were unhappy with being joined with the Athooc community to form Bor Central Constituency. This idea was, however, protested by Mr. Akuot Atem De Mayen, who was the potential candidate for the central constituency. Twic, Nyarweng, and Hol Dinka felt that they too were cheated by the political structure set by Mr. Abel. Most people wanted the constituencies to be divided between the three Dinka tribes of Bor Dinka, Twic Dinka, and Nyarweng Dinka. The colonial administration had combined the Hol section with Nyarweng and named it "Nyarweng Dinka Constituency."

The name Jonglei originated from the compound Jieng word 'Jong-alei' meaning "alien spirit." People in the area have two views about the meaning of "Jong-alei." first, a **new religion** when Christianity was being preached for the first time in the area by a missionary named Revd. Archival Shaw, and second, small **fox**, the belief attributed to the first outbreak of small fox disease in the area. The impacts of new religion and disease made people question themselves: "What is this?" would it be "ee jong-alei," meaning "it is an alien spirit?" People in the area believed that their land had been invaded by foreign spirits (Christianity and Small Fox Disease), and they would pray to their ancestors and *Nhialic (God)* for healing and protection. The natives started to call the area 'Jong-alei', which later changed to Jonglei.

### **b.** New Structure

During the Civil Authority of the New Sudan (CANS), Commander-in-Chief of the SPLA/M, Dr. John Garang De Mabior, restructured the old Bor District to Bor County, with the late Nicodemus Arou Maan as its first Commissioner.

In 1999, a concerned group of elders headed by the late Elijah Malok Aleng suggested dividing Bor County into Twic East County and Bor County, while Dr. John Garang suggested Bor North County and Bor South County. The suggestions were rejected by people from Duk Padiet and Duk Payuel, headed by the late Hon. Maker Deng Malou, who proposed Dukeen County (later changed to Duk) to be three instead of two counties rejecting to fall under Twic, a suggestion confirmed by Dr. John Garang and commissioners were appointed to maintain unity and stability among the communities of the three counties, though some leaders from Gok and Athooc had wanted the name Bor to encompass the entire area from south to north, and Gok and Athooc gave a different name to their county.

### c. The Origin of Greater Bor Community and its Implications

#### 2.5.1. Introduction and Background

In the last two decades, a sharp debate erupted among the three communities of Bor, Duk, and Twic, of which Duk and Twic declined to be called Bor communities but Twic, Nyarweng, and Hol communities. They wanted Gok Bor and Athooc Bor communities to leave the name Bor to only identify the land, not communities or tribes.

In the previous two decades, there has been a heated debate between the three communities of Bo r, Duk, and Twic, with Duk and Twic preferring to be referred to as Twic, Nyarweng, and Hol. They wanted the Gok Bor and Athooc Bor communities to use the word Bor simply to refer to the land, n ot to communities or tribes.

This began when a social grouping called "Greater Bor" emerged to handle social issues, which was later hijacked by political elements and used to justify the reason why the non-Bor tribes (Twic, Nyarweng, and Hol) should be called Bor communities. The word "Greater Bor" has not only divided opinions among the five communities but also created some feelings of belonging within the non-Bor Dinka sections. The escalations reached the level where non-Bor communities pulled out of the social group, creating a situation of both social and political discontent where neither of the two sides was ready to compromise.

#### 2.5.2. The Origin of Greater Bor Community

**First,** the origin of Greater Bor Community dates back to the late 1960s, when the Bor **Students Union** in Bor Town was created to promote and maintain unity among the Jieng communities inhabiting Bor District from the south to the north.

**Second,** the three regions in southern Sudan (Equartoria, Bhar el Ghazal, and Upper Nile) let politicians refer to Greater as a tool for political mobilization. Hence, Bor politicians advocated for Greater Bor.

**Third,** the Khartoum disagreement among Bor, Twic, and Duk communities in the 1990s under the National Congress Party (NCP) let Twic and Duk propose the name Naar Atem District, while Athooc and Gok Communities maintained Bor District as the unifying name. These differences led to the formation of a body called the Bor Community Association to maintain unity, while young separatists from Duk and Twic pulled out of the Bor Community Association and maintained the name Naar Atem for the state. This dispute resulted in disunity among the people of Bor and Kongor Districts in Khartoum.

The fourth was the dispute among migrants in Egypt (1997), whereby people from Twic and Duk rejected Bor as the unifying name and proposed Jieng Jonglei as a possible unifying name instead of Bor. This dispute resulted in the formation of two different bodies, namely the Bor Community Association in Khartoum and the Jieng Jonglei Community Association in Egypt.

# Implications of the name Greater Bor

The word led to controversy and disagreement among the communities in the territory, as it was comprised of both social and political motives. The escalations led to several attempts carried out by politicians and elders of the concerned communities, advocating for a united Bor.

In Nairobi (1997), an attempt was made by Mr. Agaau Jok Kuch Nhial and some elders, among them the late Elijah Malok, Dr. Lual Acuek, Dr. Dau Aleer, and Alaak Garang, to address the disputes over the three proposed names of the Bor Community Association, the Naar Atem Community Association in Khartoum, and the Jieng Jonglei Association in Egypt. However, the elders disagreed over the opinion and instead resolved that the Duk and Twic Communities should unite under the Bor Community Association in Khartoum and Jieng Jonglei Association in Khartoum and Jieng Jonglei Association in Khartoum and Jieng Jonglei Association in Egypt for the sake of unity.

In the year 2000, several disputes arose between communities, churches, and individuals. This led Mr. Gabriel Alaak Garang, Executive Director of JARRAT, a local NGO, to write a project proposal aimed at resolving the conflict. The project was funded, and a conference was held in the same year under the chairmanship of *Moulana* Michael Makuei Lueth. The conflict was resolved, though; it created a dispute between the Duk Community and elder Elijah Malok, whom they said had insulted them.

In the year 2001, a dispute arose between the ECS top leadership, the Diocese of Bor, and some clergymen and laity, which was addressed through dialogue (a conference) in Panyagoo chaired by *Moulana* Michael Makuei Lueth.

In the year 2003, a third conference was convened in Panyagor under the title SPLM Congress to discuss controversial issues, drawing participants from different social groupings and chaired by *Moulana* Michael Makuei Lueth. Twic Community unanimously resolved to remove the name Kongor from the county as being for a specific section, which was seconded by Kongor Community. This debate resulted in the proposal of Naar Atem and Bor North, which was rejected by the Duk Community based on the fact that "Bor South and Bor North can't be in the middle. The second proposal was for two counties, Bor County and Twic East County, which was also rejected by the Duk Community, lamenting that they are not Twic but Nyarweng and Hol. This resulted in the creation of Duk County

In the year 2004, disputes over the name Kongor County or Diocese and a dispute between Kongor Community and Hon. Elijah Malok led to a fourth conference held in Panyagor. Hon. Elijah suggested that the name Kongor remain with the church area and future diocese of Kongor. "Kongor ee wendit. Wendit ee nang yath." Kongor is an elder son. Usually owns religious matters. A resolution opposed by church leaders, it was renamed the Diocese of Twic after being upgraded into a diocese, creating conflict with Kongor, who complained and requested their diocese, which was granted to resolve the conflict. The second agenda item was the formation of a body that represents the three communities of Bor. Duk and Twic East in social, political, and humanitarian matters. The conference resolved to form two bodies, namely the Bor Community General Assembly and the Central Coordination Committee. The conference was held in Panyagor, the temporary headquarters of SPLM/SPLA in Jonglei Area. The composition of the Bor Community General Assembly comprised members from women, youth, and other community social groups, including international and national organizations, churches, courts, and the County Liberation Council.

# The Central Coordination Committee

The Central Coordination Committee **Office is comprised of** the Chairperson and Vice, Secretary, Information and Public Relations, and Coordination and Planning to run the office for a period of three years, with an overall objective to maintain and enhance quality livelihood and harmonize peaceful co-existence within the wider community.

# **Specific Objectives**

- 1. Facilitate relief, repatriation, resettlement, reintegration, and rehabilitation activities, and coordinate the provision of socio-economic services.
- 2. To coordinate youth, women, and child welfare development programs
- 3. Encouragement and promotion of cultural heritage and moral values, and the exercise of law and order (good governance).
- 4. Facilitate and coordinate the mobilization of human, material, and financial resources.
- 5. Facilitate and coordinate capacity building, institutional programs, and others.

The Central Coordination Committee is to maintain good inter- and intra-community relations, coordinate work within the three counties, represent the Bor Community on social, political, and development programs, and liaise with organs of governance within the counties. It is also to coordinate service and development projects with government, NGOs, and church authorities in the counties to mobilize and solicit resources for development activities internally and externally, and it has to ensure transparency, accountability, and equity within the wider community. The Bor Community Coordination Committee was mandated with one year to develop and produce the constitution of the Bor Community

#### Proposed Composition of the County General Assembly

The Conference also proposed a county general assembly with the same composition, responsibilities, and functions as the Bor Community General Assembly.

The conference was attended by 254 participants, drawn from various groups, including national NGOs, international NGOs, diplomatic codes, and government representatives.

The conference was successful, and the two organs became the authorized body representing the Greater Bor Community. It was tasked with presenting the names of selected Bor politicians to the president for approval of various governmental positions after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). At this point, the assumption of the Greater Bor Community began to develop in the minds of politicians. Greater Bor has been used as a spoken word but is not an officially formed body. However, the Constitution of the Bor Community, set to be developed over one month, was not delivered. The **one-year** mandate for the Coordination Committee elapsed, and the committee remains undissolved to this day.

# 3.0.0. Analysis, Findings, and Discussions

### To Determine the Origin and Meaning of the Bor Community in South Sudan

The review has indicated various sources for the origin of the word bor, as below:

- The first origin is attributed to "flooding," which is called boor in Dinka, meaning overflow, and, with time, changed into Bor.
- Bishop Oliver Alison (1970) argued that the name originated from the original inhabitants of the area, the Luo tribes, who called the area Boro, and was converted to Bor by Dinka, who migrated into the land in the 13th century due to a language problem. He further stated that Boro is a Luo

word meaning "tall grass," "far, or "prick" a cow at the neck, or thing, meaning bleed the cow. The last meaning is "fat." Animal fat.

- >Other reviews indicated that the name was Balanda Bor, the then tribe inhabiting the area and currently in Western Bahr-el Ghazal State. But Jieng later dropped the name Balanda for Bor.
- The Thony tribe had also laid claim to the origin of the name Bor, from their word 'bur' (fish camp) to 'Bor', also believed to be the Turkish or English accent of the word bur. The native Thony used both the names Mading and Bur to refer to the town, which became known as "Mading-Bur."

# Greater Bor Was Formed for the Major Objectives

To facilitate social and cultural agendas and strengthen relationships among the five Dinka sections of the area based on the Greater Bor Students Union formation of the 1960s.

To facilitate political agendas of gaining a strong unified body to encounter any foreign threat to their socio-cultural foundations, as well as justifying some political agendas to breathe feelings of belonging to greater Bor to build a stronger political stand and affiliation, particularly during the struggle where leaders are supported by their home followers, it allows a politician from any community in Bor to succeed in mobilizing followers from all the communities without facing resistance since all communities are deemed to be united.

#### **Implications of the name Greater Bor**

The implication is based on the two different ideologies of social and political, though the objective is unity and peaceful coexistence of the Five Dinka sections within the territory.

The word Greater Bor led to a united front among students and youths within and abroad before the political interference; however, it led to misunderstandings and disunity among the communities, including churches, with each section aspiring to have its locality, and this has led to a weaker power of the communities to face any assault from their neighboring communities, such as the cases of cattle reselling. A single section will be liable to face it without the support of other communities. In addition, the escalations led to a loss of resources spent in several attempts carried out by politicians and elders to advocate for a united Bor.

On the other hand, this disagreement has projected some developmental advances, such as the provision of three counties instead of two, South and North, and more dioceses than if they were united under one umbrella.

# Conclusion

The origin of the word Bor was attributed to "flooding," known as boor in Dinka to mean overflow, which changed with time into Bor. Other sources indicated that the name originated from the first inhabitants of the area, who were the Luo tribes of Balanda Bor and Boro. After the Dinka invaded the areas in the 13th century, they dropped the name Balanda and adopted Bor, and the language seems to have changed the word Boro into Bor.

The term Greater Bor was first used in the 1960s to refer to the Greater Bor Students Union and to facilitate social and cultural agendas aimed at strengthening relationships among the area's five Dinka sections. The word received both positive and negative reactions, drawbacks, and developments.

# **Recommendations**

- $\oplus$  Consideration should be given to the early recommendation from some Athooc and Gok leaders that the name Bor be given to the entire area extending from Chuei Keer in the south to Chuei Thon in the north.
- ⊕ Bor County should give up the name Bor to the four tribes in the area and rename what is left of Bor County to maintain unity and coexistence.
- $\oplus$  For the name Greater Bor to fully achieve its objectives, political motives need to be separated from socio-cultural motives, or orientation is required to make the five sections aware of the political agendas.
- $\oplus$  The elders and politicians need to collaborate and settle any differences that might arise from time to time.
- $\oplus$  The coordination committee that was formed needs to be revived to resolve some arguments centered on the validity of the committee.
- ⊕ Further studies are required to investigate the Luo tribes on the origin of the word Bor; this can set the truth about whether it was from Balanda Bor, the word Boro, or it originated from the Dinka word boor, meaning flooding.

In Nairobi (1997), an attempt was made by Mr. Agaau Jok and some elders, among them the late Elijah Malok, Dr. Lual Acuek, Dr. Dau Aleer, and Alaak Garan, to address the disputes over the three proposed names of the Bor Community Association, the Naar Atem Community Association in Khartoum, and the Jieng Jonglei Association in Egypt. However, the elders disagreed over the opinion and instead resolved that the Duk and Twic Communities should unite under the Bor Community Associations in Egypt for the sake of unity.

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The Conference additionally proposed establishing a county general assembly with the same makeup, responsibilities, and functions as the Bor Community General Assembly.

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has been used as a spoken word but is not an officially formed body. However, the Constitution of the Bor Community, set to be developed over one month, was not delivered. The **one-year** mandate for the Coordination Committee elapsed, and the committee remains undissolved to this day.

### Why Chairperson of the Bor Coordination Committee Fail to Play his Role Fully as Mandated?

Since the Bor Coordination Committee remains undissolved, one would expect the Chairperson to exercise his role fully which isn't the case. The reasons why the Chairperson is not playing his role fully as mandated could be attributed to the following:

- 1. Being the high-profile Minister in GOSS and RTGONU
- 2. Being the Government's Spokesperson.
- 3. The mandate of the Coordination Committee has elapsed
- 4. Lack of a constitution to govern the Coordination Committee
- 5. Fear of unknown change
- 6. Leadership benefits

In 2007, the Twic Community set and appointed Dr. Chol Dau as Chairperson of the Twic Community replacing Gabriel Alaak who remained by then a member of the Executive Committee.

In 2015, during the creation of 28 states, two meetings were held in Juba to allocate the position of governorship and nominate the governor. The first meeting was held under the chairmanship of Dr. Dau Aleer who was also aspiring for the governorship. This meeting produced no resolution. The second meeting was held under the chairmanship of Michael Makuei as chairman of the Bor Coordination Committee. The meeting resolved that the position of governorship goes to Twic East County. Aspirants who were cleared by Payams and County to contest for governorship include Deng Dau, Aguer Panyang, and Dut Acuek. Shortlisting was done by the wider community and Philip Aguer Panyang was nominated and his name taken to the President by Chairman of Bor Coordination Committee Mr. Michael Makuei Lueth. Through Presidential Decree, Philip Aguer became the governor of Jonglei State.

In 2015 after the creation of 28 States, Members of Parliament from Bor County submitted two petitions to the President in 2015 and again in 2017 respectively, requesting their own Bor State, excluding Twic East and Duk Counties. There was no complaint raised either from Twic or Duk Counties.

Duk County after realizing that Bor County had requested a state, they too submitted its request for a state to the President. Twic East County felt that they were left behind. But before submitting a request to the President for a state like their sisterly counties, they decided to first confirm from Bor and Duk Counties whether they still have the desire for states, and they confirmed that their requests remain intact. As a result, Twic East County lastly submitted its request for a state to the President, signed by Hon. Deng Dau Malek, and Gabriel Alaak Garang. The names of Hon. Dr. Lual Acuek and Hon. Atem Garang appeared in the document but declined to be signed for a good reason known to them. When the request was presented to the President by Hon. Deng Dau, we are told that the President said with quote "Those who did not sign are right."

After every County has separately requested a state, politicians from the three counties convened a meeting to review their stand regarding the demand for the state (s). The meeting resolved that the three requests for states presented to the President should be unified and request one state only. Duk and Twic Counties agreed to share a state and Bor County one state. So, the desire for a state was unified and one request was finally submitted by the three counties to the Head of the Nation.

#### 4.0.0. Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations

Greater Bor has been used as a spoken word and not a body officially formed and mandated. The Bor Coordination Committee's mandate to represent three communities for a period of one year died out quietly and no other body was legally formed to represent the wider community. The constitution that was supposed to be developed in one month was not delivered. Five Members Committee that was mandated to run the Coordination Committee deserted the Committee and the objective of the Committee was not accomplished.

The issue of identity should not create a conflict between the three communities of Bor, Twic East, and Duk. None of the three communities had ever run out of names so it could be named after its sisterly community. Some people who advocate that failing to call the wider community Bor will cause disunity is baseless. Three communities have been sharing social and mutual interests for centuries and nothing has divided us. Every individual family has kinship within the wider community. Those who continue to advocate for a dead group, are those who have personal or political interests that may be affected by the dissolution of GBCA.

Instead, the presence of GBCA has contributed to the weakness of the political class. For example, politicians from Twic East County are not working together. This was noticed by our sons and daughters from the diaspora. As a result, Mr. Chol Apai in the resent two years, took an initiative to mobilize funds from members in the diaspora to hold a conference to reconcile politicians from Twic East County. The committee was formed comprising Bishop Isaiah Majok Dau, Fr. Primate Daniel Deng Bul, Dut Garang, Gabriel Alaak, and others. The Committee has held several meetings with promises from politicians that they are ready to unite and work together for the benefit of Twic East County and the Twic Community. The initiatives remain to be continued.

### Why Did TECA Pull Out from The So-called Greater Bor Community Association?

On October 29, 2022, in an extraordinary conference held at BMC Garden in Juba City, South Sudan, Twic East Community Association, under the chairmanship of Amb. Gen. Bior Ajang Duot, resolved to end its membership in the Greater Bor Community Association (GBCA) due to the following:

- ⊕ The Greater Bor Community Association was already dissolved when the parliamentarians from Bor County submitted two petitions to the President in 2015 and 2017, respectively, requesting their own Bor State, excluding Twic East and Duk Counties.
- ⊕ Defamatory and demeaning songs were composed against leaders from the Twic East Community in 2010 and intensified in 2014.
- ⊕ Communal insults against the Twic community occurred during the Bor Community Extraordinary Conference held between October 15 and 16, 2022, at the White Nile Hotel in Bor Town, Jonglei State.
- ⊕ The name Bor was claimed by the Bor Community when they named their county, Bor County.
- $\oplus$  The Bor Community has the right to claim the name Bor, but they shouldn't enforce it on the wider communities.
- $\oplus$  The Greater Bor Community Association has been used by the Bor Community for social and political supremacy.
- $\oplus$  The historical and geographical connection between the three communities of Bor, Twic, and Duk was the district and mutual relations, not the association.
- Withdrawal from the Greater Bor Community Association is a popular demand from the Twic Community in its all-social groups.

- $\oplus$  A name is a matter of identity. Twic, Nyarweng, and Hol communities have never had a shortage of names for them to be called Bor.
- $\oplus$  The implications brought about by the Greater Bor Community Association have made it a divisive factor among Bor, Twic, and Duk communities.

The third phase could be attributed to the upgrading of old districts into counties by the Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the liberated areas. In Khartoum, people began to refer to old districts, for example, as greater Gokrial, greater Warrap, greater Kapeota, greater Bor, greater Akobo, greater Bentiu, greater Anzara, and so on.

# **Greater Bor**

The word greater has been used in southern Sudan to describe the three regions of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria, and Upper Nile. The term was adopted first during the political division in Khartoum, when the ruling elites of the National Congress Party (NCP) divided Sudan into twenty-six states, with ten in southern Sudan; and secondly, it was adopted in SPLA/M-liberated territory after the creation of the three counties of Bor, Twic East, and Duk from 1999–2000. Leaders from these counties saw that there were outstanding issues that still required people from the three counties to come together and resolve them in collaboration. As a result, Moulana Michael Makuei Lueth was tasked with moderating on some of the outstanding issues, such as the dispute between Kongor Section and Twic Community, Nyarweng Community, and the late Elijah Malok Aleng, and the conflict within the Episcopal Church of Sudan (ECS), Diocese of Bor (of which I was one of the lead negotiators) over the

Upgrading of Kongor Area into a full diocese Kongor Community wanted Twic East Payam to be named "Kongor" when it was upgraded into a county but was strongly rejected by other sections of Twic, which led to the Panyagor Conference in 2003.

In 1976, President Nimeri created the Kongor District out of Bor District, with Panyagoor as its headquarters; and this could be the reason why the Kongor community wanted the new county to be named "Kongor County." However, after long deliberations in the Panyagoor Conference, the Kongor Community accepted the decision reached by the Twic Community to name the new county "Twic East County," though they appealed for compensation. They wanted the expected new diocese to be named "Kongor" as compensation for their detached name, a request which was agreed by the late Elijah Malok but was again rejected by Twic Community. Kongor Community again complied with the decision reached by other sections of Twic regarding the name of the would-be diocese. Kongor Community will create their diocese, and call it after their name, they concluded. This dream was realized later in a few years; the Diocese of Kongor was created and consecrated. It operates today as the Episcopal Diocese of Kongor, Anglican Communion.

Moulana Michael Makuei Lueth successfully delivered all the outstanding issues he was tasked to moderate. This probably resulted in the unofficial confirmation of Moulana Michael as the Lead Elder of Bor, Twic East and Duk Communities; and that was the birth day of the so-called Greater Bor Community Association (GBCA). It has existed for over twenty years.

# Findings

 $\oplus$  The name Bor does not really mean "lowland with floods" but it is a Luo word which mean 'tall grass' or word 'bur' in *Thony* dialect corrupted by Turkish or English accents or else, from the name "Balanda 'Bor' which we are yet to research and establish the meaning.

- Athooc and Gok Dinka was the first to arrive in the area and inherited the name Bor from the first inhabitants (Luo or Balanda) before Nyarweng, Hol and Twic Dinka
- Nyarweng Dinka, Hol Dinka, and Twic Dinka arrived and found the Dinka in the south already being called Bor Dinka, after the name they inherited from the first inhabitants of the area.
- $\oplus$  The name Bor was used by the colonial administration to refer to place (bur) not people, though the same authority later attached it to Athooc and Gok Dinka, probably for being closer to Mading Bur.
- ⊕ The name Bor has never been historically identified with Twic Dinka, Nyarweng Dinka, and Hol Dinka, but only with Bor Dinka.
- $\oplus$  Greater Bor is not a name but a geopolitical description created by politicians as a unifying platform between the three Dinka sections in the area.
- ⊕ Greater Bor Community Association has never existed. The body that was formed officially in 2004 was called "Bor Community Coordination Committee."
- $\oplus$  It should be noted that every name that exists has its origin and ownership. For example, the name Jonglei has its origin in Pakeer, the name Twic in Ajuong, the name Lith in Twic Ariam, and so on.

#### Conclusion

Certainly, the name Bor does not originate from flood or lowland as many people believed. Bor Dinka, Twic Dinka, Nyarweng Dinks, and Hol Dinka do unanimously agree that the name Mading Bor is the copyright of Thony Dinka, though they are ignorant to understand the traditional fable that the name Bor originates from the first inhabitants (Luo and Balanda Bor tribes) of the land. The founder of Mading Bor is Thony plus the colonialists (Turkish/English). The name Bor historically was identified with Athooc and Gok Dinka and has never been applied to Twic, Nyarweng, or Hol Dinka until the time of social and administrative setup by the colonial 1930s, which led to the first rough census conducted by the colonial authority to boost their planning.

Finally, one would argue that the name Greater Bor is a geopolitical name contracted by political elites and not a given traditional name like Bor, Twic, Nyarweng, and Hol tribes.

# Way Forward

- $\oplus$  Consideration should be given to the early recommendation from some Athooc and Gok leaders that the name Bor be given to the entire area extending from Chuei Keer in the south to Chuei Thon in the north
- ⊕ Bor County should give up the name Bor to the three tribes in the area and rename what is left of Bor County to maintain unity and coexistence
- ⊕ Once the word Bor is no longer a viable name for Bor County, then the phrase 'Greater Bor' could become the unifying platform for the three counties of Bor, Duk, and Twic East.
- $\oplus$  Take a good example of the Pakeer Community; they claim the name Jonglei, but they have left it entirely for Jonglei State.
- ⊕ Take the compromised example of the Kongor Community, their name was removed from the District and Area Diocese, but they gave up their privileges for the sake of coexistence in unity.
- ⊖ All of the Bor, Twic, Nyarweng, and Hol tribes, each have absolute rights to define and describe their identity without any intimidation.

- $\oplus$  Calling the three counties Greater Bor or each calling or defining its identity differently, should not deter our social and historical unity in diversity.
- ⊕ The name "Jieng de Jonglei" refers to the four tribes in four counties of Bor, Twic East, Duk, and Pigi.
- ⊕ The name Greater Bor refers to three counties of Bor, Twic, and Duk excluding Pigi.
- $\oplus$  The name Jieng de Jonglei is inclusive, while Greater Bor is narrow

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