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A Translation of the pages (1-53) of the Book Entitled
“The Sudanese Character By: Dr Mohamed
Ibraheem Abu Saleem”

ترجمة الصفحات من ١-٥٣ من كتاب في الشخصية السودانية لمؤلفه
الدكتور محمد ابراهيم ابو سليم

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إِسْتَهْلَال

﴿اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَةٌ وَلَا نُومٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدُهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَؤُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ﴾

الصلوة
الخطب

﴿سورة البقرة الآية ٢٥٥﴾

Dedication

This work is dedicated to all the people who I indebted in their efforts by supporting to let me complete this work particularly Dr. Mohamed Alamin Alshingeeti, for his advices and efforts also I dedicate this work to Mr. Mamoon Mohamed for his assistance and advices as well I dedicate to my father, mother, sisters ,brothers, teachers and colleagues.

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Abstract

This book represents more importance particularly these days in which Sudan faces a big and real change negatively and positively, these changes represent the real and big challenge of roots, civilized storm beside manifestation of what called as conflicts due to several reasons.

This book has contributed a lot in this regard and useful to be a guidance and real text for the administrative cadres ,teachers, elites and scholars of the state .Also this study considered a serious study of the Sudanese character, his components, roots, and features which considered the principle of the society .The author of this book considered as one of the constructor of the Sudanese thought , he was deepen in this part . Through this book he confronted all issues which were mentioned therein by insight culture, administrative consciousness, historical credit, and his real coping with its problems till he pointed out three main issues as follows:

- Linking the African, international and Islamic-Arabic cultures to take suitable line with its personality which can play a big historical role as point of connection between the Arab and international world.
- Confronting the modernized issues considering it as necessary civilized process in favor of the Sudanese progress
- Giving more opportunities for unification of the above cultures with existence of various information in respecting their cultures.

المستخلص

هذا الكتاب تبرز اهميته اكثرا في هذه الايام التي يشهد فيها السودان تحولا حقيقيا سلبا او ايجابا، لانه يواجه تحديا كبيرا بين الجذور والوجهات الحضارية وبروز ما كان كامنا من نزاعات بفعل عوامل كثيرة

وهذا الكتاب يسهم في هذا ويصلح ان يكون مرشدا ومرجعا للحاكم والاداري والاستاذ والعالم واعلام البلاد كما انه يعتبر دراسة جادة عن الانسان السوداني ومكوناته، جذوره وسماته وهو اساس المجتمع ومؤلفه يعد احد بناء الفكر السوداني وقد تعمق في هذا الجانب وتصدي له بعمق ثقافي ووعي اداري ورصيد تاريخي ومعايشة للمشكلات حتى فرغ الي تحديد الرؤي ولفت النظر الي ثلاثة مشكلات تواجه الشخصية السودانية وهي:

- التوفيق بين الثقافات الافريقية والعالمية والاسلامية العربية ليتخذ خطها منسجما مع شخصيتها وعلى اساس توفيقها هنا يمكنها ان تلعب دورها التاريخي كهمزة وصل بين العالمين العربي والافريقي.
- التصدي لمشكلات التحديث بإعتبارها عملية حضارية ضرورية لتقديم الانسان السوداني.
- إعطاء المزيد من الفرص لعملية التوحيد مع الابقاء على البيانات المختلفة واحترامها واحترام ثقافتها.

Preface

The Sudanese character, its features, advantages, disadvantages and components. Why the Sudanese is active, in a place or position, whereas he is an idle, inactive in another location? To what extent our elites and intellectuals contributed in the discovery of ourselves, and legalize our relationship with the external world which is almost agree on the unique positive attributes of the Sudanese more than others? These and other questions remained without satisfactory answers, on the contrary, Sudanese personality was a subject of differences between people who denied his features and who perplexed and hesitated due to the multiplicity of cultures, customs, and traditions. Then the question where is the real model for the Sudanese that distinguished him to other one?

Hence the publication of this book considered to be a new addition and pioneering work which holds the answers to the above questions. The author of this book has mobilized the efforts of others for more study after it sets for them the basic from where they can set off. And due to the importance of this aspect of self-understanding, he did not stop very much upon the critique of his critics, on the denial of his opponents, and those who had other points of view, but he exceeded that, because he believed that the study of nationalism of a nation is a necessary if there were a goodwill of self-discovery that why he began from this point in search of what have been written on other nationalities, then he did not find any contrast or damage in this regard.

The author added to this part, the study of Almaalia and Alrizaigat problem in a historical context through his actual close relations of the problem and his close stand on written reports. Because he was aware of such study would leave certain effects for some parties, he affirmed that he was not intended to support one party against another, but he was on a point of view to strive to identify the historical context of the problem which he lived with by his all conscience, and worked hardly in his mind to find a

solution of the problem, and this was really sincere, pure and net diligence endeavor.

It is be noted that the author did not set off from nothing, but he rather handled the subject as an expert who knew the dimensions of the problem, and believed that the main issue how this local problem with its historical roots of civilization influences and nationalistic trends, and how this problem took serious dimensions through these effects.

He then discussed the problem of the South, which was ended - as he said - by the peaceful settlement of Addis Ababa Accord and had lived closely after several visits to its cities when he was setting the new formulation of the provinces of the south, and therefore dealt with the topic from the inside after he listened deeply to the officials and public. In this regard he said that: "I used to listen to everything said by my own two ears, one ear for the provinces, its re-formulation, and related problems. The other one was for the situation of the South and the North and results of Addis Ababa accord".

The author attached to the context of the problem of(Almaalia and Alrizaigat) and the southern dimension a related study that effected on both problems (custom and earth),in which he gave a summary of his Readable and invisible experience of trilogy (Fung and earth – Alfur and earth - the earth in Mahadia).

I have come again to the topic of the book- the Sudanese character, in which the author began by raising a question on "why the Sudanese nation? Did the Sudanese character have a distinct existence? Did it have an objective or purpose? Did it have a message towards itself and towards the others? If it had a purpose for its existence or it was just a show? Did this personality have autonomy of itself and path of life that express itself?

"These and other questions were not raised by the author out of blue, but due to several different views raised around the Sudanese character, some of these views recognized the features of this character, others opposed its

existence, other people had seen in its features were not clear and its existence did not have an objective, some others denied already its existence, but rather who saw the Sudan, as just a mere vacuum giving the right for Muhammad Ali Basha to conquer and own it. This was a theory of the Egyptian Author Mohamed Fouad Shukri who advocated for the sovereignty of Egypt over Sudan. And also Mc Michael, who had seen the Sudan as a country without a system or target until the condominium rule had come. It could not be concealed to anyone with insight beyond this view which justify the legitimacy of colonial rule, which came – according to his view - for the advancement of the country and to fetch out the rut barbarism to the light of Western civilization, till this legend became almost a real for good plotting and directing.

The reader may notice that we had paid attention previously on part of these issues, but we mentioned it here again in order to link the phases of the topic with each other. The author had the right in spite of the seriousness of these opinions; he did not give up but he concentrated on what was left by "the Sudanese on his way of life, in the path of its historical course, in emotional expression of his existence, and on the political and social systems which he left through its stages and the taste that adapts his behaviors".

Then the author questioned on the features of this character and its characteristics and to what extent was clear and able in dealing with the events in state of steadfast or weak.

What the author arose up here was an issue with its dimensions. He thought that the solution would not be found unless it were exerted efforts in order to make these characteristics of this character clear because it was resulted by several factors. Then he mentioned the influence of Egypt in which he considered the River Nile as a main influence and the fundamental factor in the formation of its character and its life. But for him, in Sudan the situation was absolutely different because the formation factors of the Sudanese character were several. The Nile, rivers,

trains, waters, mountains, the plains, the geographical boundaries that allowed the country to welcome throughout the centuries, crowds of immigrants of various races such as Negroes, Samyeen and Hamyeen and different elements carried their civilizations and that born the Sudanese character, grown and took its historical dimension. During its long historical course, this character was influenced by two factors which were:-

1. The different environments, its interaction, dealing with it and its progress.
2. The civilized Impact of these environments and their impact in constituting of the personality of the individual in which was dealing with it without emerging in it, maintaining his personality and its own temperament and belonging.

The author believed that these environments had remained in spite of the fusion process and the external impact, maintaining itself. He added that these environments had received new elements and trends coming from the outside. But it remained swallowing these elements and trends digesting their culture and restore them to its sentiments.

In this preface and through reading this book with its details, the reader would find that the components of the Sudanese character were multiple and that was the mystery of its strength, medium, and homogeneity. The author added other effects represented in four areas that formed the Sudanese character which were: the Nile region, AL-Jazeera, the Northern province, the area of the East, the plains of Kordufan and Darfur and the tropical areas as well as the general effects which were: Christianity, Arabic language, Islam and then the modernization movement.

The author added other general impacts such as Africa with its religions, its local languages and all that related with its direct life in housing, food, agriculture, arts and the missionary Christianity which deployed peacefully and epitomized politically in the state of Christian Nuba and left an existing impact in the Nubian sentiment. Then he transferred to

Islam with its features, teachings, means of deployment and its respect for the local customs then the Arabism came through its migrations which affected and influenced by the active movement led by Traders, the poor people, the migrants, Quranic schools and the studying schools until the fall of the Christian Nuba state and establishment of the Islamic Kingdom of Sinnar.

But concerning Darfur, the matter was a little bit different, because its change was domestic through embracing Islam by the ruling Family followed by spread of sultanates in its most areas. Then Islam became the most important working force and most impact on the Sudanese Character.

And due to weakness of the sultanates, there were misbalance of power as the author said- then the religious sects appeared of its roots and mysticism that penetrated into the sentiment of people and then sects which have ancestral tendencies which representing the new stream in place of the old sects.

When the Egyptian army which was led by Ismail Basha moved towards Sudan, did not face any resistance because it was carrying the logo of the Islam. But the Sudanese people had rejected the grievances of the Egyptian- Turkish rule expressing it by the tribal resistance which rejected transgression. The soldiers and employees were in the forefront of resistance and the poor people were the real representatives of people's hopes and maintainer of their inherited heritage.

Egypt was not far from the events, therefore, a cultural trends had stemmed from its schools and from the Sudanese who learned at these schools, rather, the country had shifted culturally under the direct Egyptian rule which made a new style of life ,Sudanese did not accustomed. They were familiar with the direct rule and knew the gun, the ships, exorbitant taxes and trade. This resulted in gathering of small units and consequently big one who did not understand the new and

strange system of government. They expressed their refusal by joining Al-Mahdia reflecting the desire of the Sudanese in a totalitarian regime for the protection of the great entity represented in land, man, and sentiment. Mahdia revolution was representative of the Sudanese sentiment. It took a wide reputation and found the Sudanese society similar to community of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his companions, Allah bless upon them) but at the same time it imposed a comprehensive Policy without considering the variables around it and without understanding the nature of the Sudanese character. But on the other hand, it highlighted the heroic aspect of the Sudanese character and its fidelity on what he believes. Moreover Mahdia had set the basis of the independent Sudan.

In the context of the movement of history, the Sudanese character came out of the good and bad experience of Al-Mahadia to confront a new system through creating a new position of religious sects, strong tribal organizations, secret associations and revitalizing religious occasions.

He thought that the most important effect which the condominium rule had left was the organized management as well as more modernization in creating of Intellectual and civilized duality. Among the youths of schools and the graduates of khalwa between the self propensity and the Attachment with Novelty rather than inherited traditions, the change in uniforms and the work in the governmental institutions .there were great difference between khalwa graduates who represented the inherited culture, their life and issues whereas the new educated one became a part of the government and arrogant on the traditional graduates and far away from their social base but he did not totally became separate rather than he accepted a new pattern of life. In this regard, he was different from the Algerian ones who had lost his identity

absorbed the French culture and replaced his Arab tongue by the French tongue. He also differed from that of the African one who was on the point of losing his African identity due to the influence of Western culture but the literate Sudanese did not lost his character and his identity. On the contrary, the Arabic Islamic culture was his protective shield for self-defense. The modernization Movement has brought a shift in the Sudanese Life which crossed beyond the village life and also the cities. The author saw the modern Agricultural pump near to the traditional water Sagia, the mechanized agriculture near to primitive agriculture. Cars, trains, plane along with the animals In the Sudanese houses you would find the grandmother by her influence, as a representative of the inherited tradition with her grand-daughter, a university graduated who linked herself in working at the government institutions.

The author continued counting the attributes of the Sudanese character, as his Interaction and dealing with the novelty and legacy till he could acquire the religious tolerance. This character became familiar modernized and rejected the extremism and violence. The logical result accepted it as opponent and other party and different character and then the preparation to live according to this basis.

After highlighting other effects, the constitution of this character in politic, invisibles, religiosity, trust, the believing in magic and Conjurations, adhering to traditions with the accepting of the new if he is convinced by it, he will come to the challenges and he will see it confronting three problems which are:

Firstly: the reconciliation between the African cultures and the international Islamic Arab culture to select a line in harmony with its

character. According to this reconciliation, this character can play historical role as a liaison between the Arab and African world.

Secondly: confronting the problems of modernization as a necessary civilizational process for the progress and the happiness of the Sudanese man.

Thirdly: to give the unification process more opportunities, maintaining and respecting the different environments and their cultures at the same time.

Then the author concludes his study by clarifying the several effects in the unification process. He believes that these effects are existed in the religion, the language and the economy and it is necessary to rely on these elements as the basis for the national work, giving the elements and the different environments more opportunities for understanding, taking into account the sentimental factors or similar to it such as language and religion to remain the common interests and the mutual respect, as a basis of national work.

We elaborated in the narrative of the contents of this useful guide because the majority of its contents have connotations on our contemporary reality and the problems posed from home and abroad and the threats of the Sudanese character. I hope for every individual who is eager for the interest of this nice country, to see from time to time, the analysis and diagnosis of the Sudanese character, the origin of the problems and its solutions means which exist in this book. And this is what the author wanted when he issued this book since many years ago and predicted about some of what we are now.

Allah helps us

Dr. Yahia Mohammed Ibraheem

Introduction

These papers contain many researches which have been written in different times and for varied purposes. I did not think that they will be collected in one book. But when I insisted to publish my research about the Sudanese character, I decided to joint it with my researches about the dispute of Almaalia and Alrizaigat, the custom and the function of the land because the topics that I discussed in these researches, remedy some aspects of this character and explain the pattern of its conduct about what is being said of Topics...

I prepared the first research which is about the Sudanese character, in order to be presented during honoring ceremony thrown by my departed colleague doctor Jafar Mohamed Ali Bakhit, on the occasion of my promotion to the first group. Three days before the ceremony, doctor Jafar said to me that he invited the president of the republic to attend the ceremony and he accepted. He also said that he want to me to deliver a conference in order to make the ceremony be fitting the president prestige and we might encourage those who were presents- they were the best of Khartoum society- to discuss about a topic, instead of talking about inutile things. And he said that this way that we will adopt, shall be the subject of the city and people will comment on it. And he say if the lecture was succeeded, the saying of people about it will be serious moreover it will encourage the others to do the same thing.

Despite I was convinced by what he said to me, I hesitated, and then I accepted. So we started searching the topic of the conference. My colleague, Mister Mohamed Mahjoub Malik was with us. Doctor Jafar proposed the first topic which was about the political system in Mahadia as it is the material of my academic field but we did not dealt with. Then we proposed three other topics, after that, Mohamed Mahjoub

suggested the topic of the Sudanese nationalism. Jafar strongly accepted it because it contains many ideas and things that had interested us since we became colleague in that small office where I was managing the affairs of archives home of. At that time Jafar was preparing his university thesis. However, I found that the Sudanese nationalism topic is large and long so, I thought to focus on one of its parts which is the Sudanese character. I delivered the conference and I felt that it had desirability from the attendees' part. Then there was a discussion as in newspapers, forums the people preoccupied with the subject of the Sudanese character for a period of time as Jafar predicted.

The occasion was at the eve of Addis Ababa peaceful for the settlement of the problem of the south. The results of this accord were not revealed therefore; I focused very much on the matter of the North. After the situation in the South has been stabilized, I visited its cities one by one when I had been charged to make a new formulation for the south provinces. I had the opportunity to listen to lot of officials, to listen more to the leaders of the regions and to the people."I had listened to everything said by tow ears, one for the provinces and its reformulation, and related problems. The other one is for the situation of the South and the North and for the results of Addis Ababa accord ". So I set up the chapter about the southern dimension accordingly.

The topic of the Sudanese character or the Sudanese nationalism has a national importance. I remedied a part of it during the conference and in the southern dimension. It is the components of the Sudanese mind and its origins considering for the differences in color, race, varying levels of life, the profundity of human experience and then the review of the behaviors of this mind and attempting to legalize it. Lot of people was disagreeing with my conception. Some of them denied even the existence of the Sudanese character. And others think that I didn't continue the attempt until its end and that I Left some issues without solution. Other people thought that I oppose a particular stream. But that is not the matter. However it was a sincere attempt to discover

ourselves. After the preparation of the conference, I read some books about the Egyptian character, the small nationalisms and about the Arabic nationalism. I did not find that can interrupt the relation of small nationalism from the big one, or harms certain nationalism for the interest of the other one.

As I explained at the end of the conference, that the cultivated Sudanese have to legalize our relation with the Arabic and African world. And they have to legalize the meaning of our belonging to the two worlds, our mediation between them, our effect upon them and its effect upon us, until our national center become as a dependent nation not separated from its origins and its belonging. Our regional centre as a part of the African and Arabic world, our humanitarian centre as a nation that contributes in humanitarian development civilization and enjoining it.

Studying the nationalism of any nation has a positive mission if it aimed at the self discovering. It would be a negative vision about the nationalism if it aimed to oppose other nationalism.

Concerning the other subject, it remedies Alrizaigat and Almaalia dispute in historical framework. I started searching about this dispute when I had been charged by Ameer Alsawi, who was at that time secretariat of the ministry of interior affairs, to make report about Alrizaigat tribe and the situation of their local leadership. When I completed it, he charged me to make other one about Almaalia tribe and their role in the existing problem. Now, I return back to these two reports, I amended them a lot and I added to them something new until the amended copy almost becomes a new research. And I depended in this amendment on the report of the problem of Almaalia and Alrizaigat committee after I took permission of its editor Jaffar Mohammed Ali Bakheet.

I say also to my brothers from Alrizaigat and Almaalia who might find in my research something harm them that I didn't aim to support one party against another. But I want to clarify as possible as I can the

historical framework of their problem and I believed that I lived their problem with my heart and I thought lot about it and I hope to find its solution.

I said also to the officials of states, who are party of this problem that I didn't aim at a particular person or certain institution, however, I aimed at the behavior of an employer belonging to an institution and the action of an institution toward another about the reality of a particular problem.

And the fundamental issue is the influence of local problem which has particular historical roots with civilizational influences and national streams and how a problem like this has a serious national dimension due to these effects. The heroes of the two tribes and the officials of state, who participated in our point of view, are just actors who play their roles in a drama and we take care of every person through his role at the play and not from his personal reality.

The third subject is the custom and the land and its function in society. I have occupied by this topic for a period of time so, I issued for that subject three books which are: Alfonj ant land, Alfour and land in Mahdia period. After that doctor Spoldeng and I wrote a book in English language about the archives of Sennar in eighteenth century. We also discussed through it the land and we translated within it several archives that are related with land. But the research that we are going to present in this book, I prepared it after my visit to kordufan as a member in studying civil management committee. It comes as annex of the comprehensive report which Doctor Jafar Mohamed Ali Bakheet had written. But I amended it lot until the party which concern custom almost be a good research.

Finally, I dedicated these words to Mister Ameer Alsawi, the chief of the civil service who took me up and all those who progressed in the field of public service and for his advices. I hold for him the favor of what he offered of true help and support for the archives entity project which at

that time people was far from it or considers it as a criticism topic until it reached to what it is now. As well as I hold for him the sincere affection and appreciation.

Mohamed Ibraheem Abusaleem

Khartoum 5/6/1976

Why the Sudanese character?

If somebody asked you who were you, where were you from? And what was your goal? Surly you would ask yourself these questions and you would search yourself in crowd trying to discover therein.

In this manner, we could wonder: why was the Sudanese nation? What was there a distinct existence of the Sudanese Character? Did it Has an aim, a message towards itself and towards the others? Did its existence had an aim? Or was it just something non essential? Did you think this character has autonomy and path in life through it expresses itself? In spite of many attempts that have been done to suppress this character, it remains existent. Lot of blood has been spilled for its existence.

The Egyptian historian Mohamed Fuad Shukry considered that Sudan before the conquest of Mohamed Ali Basha, was just vacuum and Mohamed Ali Basha had the right to conquer and own it according to Alkhulu theory. Also Mc Micael considerd according that Sudan has lived in a barbarism without any system or goal until the condominium rule had come. Other people considered that every powerful Egyptian governor had the right to conquer this country.

Views like this which had been propagated at the end of the nineteenth century until the end of the twentieth century for political purposes, should not disturb us a lot, but we should focus on the impact that the Sudanese man has left behind on his way of life, in the historical direction and in material and sentimental expressing about his existence, in the political and social systems which he left through his stages and the taste that adapts his behaviors.

After that we have to wonder: what are the features of this character? What are its Characteristics? Are these features and characteristics have remained clear in any time? Dose this character remain immovable against the events and their latest news? Or it will lose its constituents?

It is so difficult for such a research to be all known through a conference. So the efforts of lot of people must be concerted and several domains of

sciences must collaborate in order to be competent to determine the lines of this character.

The first thing that draws our attention about this character is that it is the result of multiple environments. We can accept for example, the saying that Egypt is the gift of the Nile because the Nile is the giver of life in Egypt and it gives that style in Egyptian life.

But in Sudan, it is different because the factors that provide the life in Sudan are several, such as the Nile, the small rivers, the rains, the water, the mountains and the plains. Moreover the Sudanese boundaries interfere with inhabited countries, that is why Sudan has received throughout the centuries, crowds of immigrants of various species such as Negroes, Samyeen, Hamyin and other different elements. These crowds had variant civilizations. Within this natural and humanitarian framework, the Sudanese character was born and then, grown and taken its historical dimension. During his long historical course, this character was influenced by two factors which are:-

The first one is the effect of these multiple environments, within a particular environment the Sudanese individual appears and takes his distinct characteristic, grows and develops accordingly. He creates his own culture and may be his own language and his local systems which rule his life and arrange his relation with the other.

The other factor is the civilization factor which is the largest relying these environments each other. Consequently gives the Sudanese character a new dimension. This new dimension is an attempt of contacting with the others and living with them without sacrificing by the individualism or the mood or to feel the locality and cherishing it.

In fact, these environments have remained in spite of the fusion process and the external influentials, retaining its distinctive self. All these environments or most of them had received new elements or new trends coming from the outside. But it remained swallowing these elements and

trends digesting their culture and restores them to their own sentiment. Neither the Arabs who came remain pure Arabs nor the existents are Copts, nor the porns are Egyptians. They left their races. So every new environment entered under the umbrella of multiple environments and fuse with them.

The most important environment constituting the Sudanese character represented in four areas which are: the area of Nile which include AL jazzeera, the province of the North. This former is the cradle of ancient civilizations witnessed the Kingdom of Kush and the state of Christianity. Moreover It received strong effects from the outside particularly Egypt. Then, the area of the east, the plains of Kordufan and DarfOur and then recently, the tropical areas. Concerning the general effects, those are: the africanisme, the Christianity, the Arabic language, the Islam and then the modernization movement.

Africa did not provide to the world a religion neither international language however; it created local religions and languages. They were about the tribe and arrange its particular life. So the effect of the African upon the Sudanese character was about the quotidian life: the habitation, the food, the agriculture, its equipments and its names, the arts, the looking to the self and to the world through the tribe or the social unity. As for the Christianit came through the missionaries and has spread without war then expressed itself politically by the State of Christian Nubia and has left a lasting imprint in the Nubian sentiment.

Then the Islam came and spread without war or a fighting. The Sudanese character has taken this doctrine and absorbed it, but at the same time retained their local customs which are not contradict with this doctrine. In many cases these habits gave Islamic imprint. The Arabism came in mass migrations with the Islam, maybe before it. It took and gave. The Islam and the Arabism had become the effective effect this character and spread decisively in the area of Aljazeera and the North region. According to this strong basis this effect he adding to the parties, thanks of the merchant,

the poor and the immigrants. Alkhalawi of the Koran had expanded and the schools had been established. The regime of the State changed decisively the state of Christian Nubia fell and the Islamic Kingdom of Sinnar established.

Pertaining ALfour area, the change was not due to the mass migrations influence of the Arabs, but it was internally, when the ruling family had changed and the new home converted the Islam. At the same time, the Islamic sultanates had deployed in the camel men area: Sinnar sultanate, Alfour sultanate, Almusabaat sultanate, Tagaly sultanate, Almassaleet sultanate... etc. At the same time people started to go toward the cow areas where the Arabs changed their life and they became cowmen.

Then the Islam began gathering pace to head towards the tropical areas. As the road of the Nile was blocked by the bridges and the Nilotic powerful tribes, the Islam tried to cross through Bahr el Ghazal were they were many Islamic sultanates in eighteenth century. But this movement did not succeed but relapsed by the anarchy of Commerce, the incidents of Mahdia and by the policy of the condominium rule which isolated the South from the North.

The Islam had become the most important workforce and the most influential in the Sudanese character take and give. It was able to keep its power even if his political strength became weak or if there was none Islamic regime. As well as the Arabic Language has become the language of writing, science and exchange.

When Alsaltana Alzarga “the black Sultanate” waned as the result of Imbalance in the internal forces, the powerful religious sects had appeared. And we have to remember that Alshazaliya Sufi doctrine entered Sudan before that. But it did not spread As if the Sudanese character replaced the installation political weakness by creating a strong religious organization. Therefore, we find the strong sects and we find that mysticism is in principle a holistic and spiritual view to the life, has hauled all the aspects of Culture. As a result of the different effects and due to weakness in the

political authority and for its fall and the establishment of foreign rule in the Turkish period Salafist Sufi orders had appeared and swept up the old Sufi orders. Since that time the Alsamania, Alkhatmia had deployed and the modern Magzubia sufi order deployed by sheikh Mohamed Almajzub. As though this new trend in mysticism is a replacement for further degradation in the political expression of the Sudanese character.

When The Egyptian rule came, did not find any tangible resistance in the beginning and maybe because this rule has come on behalf of the Muslim Sultan and directed against the totalitarian regime and the Sudanese did not knew the colonialism and the foreign ruling before. When they felt the danger, the resistance came and taken three aspects:

Firstly: the tribal Resistance that means expressing of self-preservation and for being.

Secondly: the resistance of the soldiers and the workers of the governmental organizations. Those represent the nationalism Leaders though they were also expressing tribal racist tendencies.

And thirdly: perhaps it is the strongest one is the resistance of the poor. Those are the keepers of inherited customs, traditions and keepers of Islam and Arab culture written and spoken. They were the locker of the heritage.

Consequently a cultural stream appeared from Egypt through its messengers, its schools and through the Sudanese who have been educated in Egypt and the stream of traditional Sudanese culture.

At the same time, the influence of Egyptian rule on the society was hard so the people familiarized with the direct rule, the arms, the ships, the taxation and the extensive trade. The small units began automatically pile up to be large units. From here, for the first time, we find in the human map, the big tribes Rizaigat Hawazma Kababish ... etc.

As a result of the heavy impact of Turkish rule and the Sudanese character refusing for this strange kind of governance, Diwani and military systems, and its rejection of the direct rule on the individual

Mahdia revolution braked out reflecting the desire of the Sudanese people to totalitarian regime protecting his entity represented in its land, its human and its consciousness. For that reason the revolution braked out and Sudan has sacrificed by millions of his sons. In addition, Mahdia was carrying big political connotations. It has raised a great slogan which was: creating an Islamic society based on the pattern of the Muslim community in the time of the Prophet and the Righteous Caliphs and establishing of the State worshipers of Allah and eternal bliss for mankind. So the groups which we have mentioned supported it.

But Mahdist Revolution was carrying some weakness factors it wants to leave this world in order to build the other world although the Sudanese society had begun to enter into the framework of world trade and started to move commercially, economically and socially to better life.

Then it refused to accept the local entities and the personal freedom which are essential in building the Sudanese character as I said and it headed to subjugate everything to its religious goals and for its movement objectives. Mahdia had highlighted the heroic face of the Sudanese man and has mobilized what he has and it spends all his precious and valuable things for the principle to believe on it. Mahdia has made the basis of the independent Sudan.

When the period of the condominium rule came and Sudan had lost its political parties, it headed back to create the big religious sects and the powerful tribal parties and to make the hidden societies such as Sudanese Union Association Alliwa ALabiad Association. And celebrate the religious occasions such as the Prophet's birthday and the Islamic year Feast. And the creation of social organizations such as sports clubs. So the political vacuum that had happened as a result of the condominium rule, the Sudanese character returned to express about itself through its own

organizations and its religious occasions. It is obvious here that this expressing is sentimental in the form of sects and religious occasions, traditional in the form of tribal leadership and then modern in the form of clubs and political organizations. The most important effect that the condominium rule has left is creating a kind of intellectual and cultural binary in addition to the organized management and further in the modernization rate. Schools graduated some sort of modern youth who are different from that sort graduating from Alkhawla.

So he received a special education and educated special culture tends to the subjectivity, to what will happen more than the traditional inherited. He wore special uniforms, working in the institutions of the state and not in the reality of the Sudanese life. While the son and the graduate of Alkhawla is the representative of the inherited culture and he integrates into the lives of ordinary people and mobilizes them, the new learner became the representative of a part of government and flaunts at his conventional counterpart and kept away from his social base. But the new learner did not go away from his societies to that extent permitting him to lose its subjectivity. But he was trying to express about a new developed style of life.

The Sudanese learner was different from the Algerian learner who lost his own culture and nourished by the French culture and replaced the Arabic language by the French language. He is also different from his African homologue who was about to lose his africannerism taking the Western culture whether it was English or French. In other words, the Sudanese character represented by the Sudanese learner, did not give up and did not lose its specific nature. But rather it had resorted to the Arab-Islamic culture for self-defense.

The change that resulted from the modernization Movement became a sweeping shift the Sudanese character has living this severe shift in the Badia, the village and the city. We find its impact at the Agricultural pump near to the old water wheel. At the large mechanized agriculture near to

primitive agriculture. At the cities near to the villages, the cars, the trains, the plains, at the animals and at the Sudanese houses into which we find the grand Mather with her influence, as a representative of the inherited tradition with her granddaughter, university graduated working at the government institutions.

We come back to say that the Sudanese character keeps the small entities and the Sudanese human within these entities. And it has been exposed to religious and cultural streams which have comprehensive nature pushed by them toward reunification in peaceful and slow ways, facilitated for the entities to receive the new and subject it to its values. As the result of entities existence, the succession of religions and its multiplicity, the Sudanese character has acquired the Religious forgiveness. Its behavior characterized by moderation and not always to the delinquency of extremism, violence and subjection. As long as it recognizes the entities, the individual and it respects the existence of others, the logical outcome is to accept it as an opponent, another party, and a different kind of thinking and as a different character. Then preparing to live on this basis.

The Sudanese character has always expressed about itself in the field of politics as alliances tend toward the public interest and totalitarian goals and maintain at the same time on the private entities and the dignity of the individual. Whereas this character was exposed to the natural disasters and epidemics, it tended remarkably to occult so there were the strong religiosity, the feature of trust, the believe and satisfaction of magic. The Sudanese man is traditional, he adheres to the tradition but, he accepts at the same time the novelty and speed up to it if he is convinced by. The Sudanese character is faced by three problems:

The first one: the reconciliation between the African cultures and the international Islamic Arab culture to select a line in harmony with her character. According to this reconciliation this character can play its historical role as a liaison between the Arab and African world.

Secondly: confronting the problems of modernization as a necessary process for the progress and the happiness of the Sudanese.

Thirdly: to give the standardization process more opportunities, maintaining and respecting the different environments and their cultures at the same time.

We found that the factors that were affecting the process of unification were multiple some were conscience like religion, others were social factors such as language and third group were economic factors. The National work must depend on these elements. It is necessary to give more opportunities for to understand each other the elements and more care of conscience factors as the language, the religion and so on. But the principle of the national work must base basically on the Common interests and mutual respect between the groups. So I would like to greet deeply the Adis Ababa Accord that raised the third of the nation from the nationals' level to the rank of citizens and open the door for the Sudanese character to grow naturally with conviction, without compulsion, toward work and construction.

Before leaving this place, I want to say that my job as an employee in the state and my duty as a patriot is to save the heritage of this Sudanese man and to share everything I have for his development. I am so glad because my mission was met with all this care, appreciation and this honoring. I will never forget the effort of those working with me in the Archive Home, They helped me a lot and great credit is due to them. Also I would like to thank and appreciate all those who attended this ceremony and all of you as participant in this task whether by direct help or by your point of view or by your encouragement. Thanks for all.

The Southern Dimension

We can say that until the nineteenth century, the Southern region was not known by the external world. At the same time, the Southern communities did not leave any written documents or any other sources documenting the

history of the region. What can be said of the Southerners history until that time is that the southern have created their special society away from the foreign influences. It is possible to say that the southern people, through their own experiences they created in the creation of tribal configurations.

Here, there are some opinions about the origins of tribes or grandparents, or about their memorable battles. People talk about them orally. The creation of these tribes is made generally and not in a repetitive way. The tribe is considered as a society, politics and religion. Every tribe has a particular formation which is different from any other tribe.

Dainka tribe has a distinct character which is different from Shuluk and Nouair tribe, Shuluk has also distinct character from Nouair and Zandi. The character of these tribes is different from any other tribe etc. Dainka tribe has a political system through which political leaders and the way of their work are selected. They have a particular social system that determines the situation of the individuals, their rights and their responsibilities.

Dainka tribe also has a particular religious belief and this applies to all the tribes of the South. It was possible that the north trends reach to the South and affect it culturally, but the dams on the Nile was so strong that does not allow ships to go beyond. The natural conditions strict and do not encourage the interior immigration. The strong Nilotc tribes - Dainka, Nuair, Shuluk were like shield protect within the region. Tsetse was sworn enemy of cows and a deterrent which deters the entrants.

When we say the North trends we do not mean the geographical North, but we mean the civilizational one. In the North, the civilizations and states were established. The cultural trends from the east, the west and North had come there and took a lot of it. But the North did not convey this experiment to the South due to the factors mentioned previously. So the relation between the North and South was limited, it does not exceed the boundary line and what is behind to a limited extent. Those who have been adjacent deal with each other take and give and the others who are far from these boundaries have not this mutual dealing. The Northerners did

not deal with the Southerners as Northerners as they dealt with the Egypt or Hejaz and the Southerners did not deal with the North as Southerners but, the neighboring tribes of north and south dealt on a tribal basis.

This Dealing was accompanied by the conflict of pasture and water. Alliance with a party against the other one. So there were the war, the peace, blood money, vengeance, Intermarriage and affinity, Commerce and ruin. By virtue of neighboring, Shuluk, Dainka and Nuair knew Reizigat, kinana and rufaah tribes and whom they knew the same tribes and they dealt with them.

The Northern tribes sometimes fight against the neighboring Southern tribes and vice versa. It is noteworthy in this regard, what Wad Daif Allah narrated in his "Altabagat" about Shuluk tribe attack against the Arab tribes in the White Nile and its Destruction of Koran schools there. The border links did not organized by central supreme authority on the basis of sovereignty but, it has organized by special agreements and local customs held between some tribes, it kept with the passage of days. It is held and annulled according to the requirements of time and place.

This linkage has created a kind of affinity, give and take in the border as a result of mating between the two groups and the local wars this led to the creation of a number of tribal enclaves extending from the North to South and South to North. The Shuluk extended westward of the White Nile to the North in the form of enclave. The Dainka extended Northward in the form of enclave east of the White Nile and they extended in the form of a long tongue toward Kordufan, neighboring Misseriya and they constituted their local leadership there. In contrast, Rizaigat extended southward beyond the Arabian Sea also, Misseriya tribe extended to White Lake and Saleem tribe extended south adjacent to the Shuluk and sometimes mixed with them. Thus, the boundary line between South regions and North regions always serpentine always northward and southward. If we know that this line is just administrative and that the moves of the tribes on both sides exceed it northward and southward, we were been able to know the

reality of these tribal enclaves and its real face. Like this were the style of life in the South and that the relationship between the North and South. On the other hand, we find that Fung Sultanate did not constitute a central authority allow it to unify many regions directly. Its relationship with Masheekhat and provinces in the north was like the Federalism relationship.

However, in the South the Sultanate did not try to expand and penetrate towards the south and it did not think about it or to change the local arrangements between tribes into political one. But Four sultanate has claimed theoretically that, some areas of Bahr el Ghazal belong to it. In fact, its trade was extended to those areas. But the direct control is doubtful. The Rizaigat and other Baggara tribes were resisting Four authority and consequently they considered as a barrier between them and the South. That is why the stretch toward the south directly is impossible. Under the pressure of Alfour some tribes left their original home in Darfour and settled in some Bahr el Ghazal areas. Those have a role and cultural impact in spreading Islam in Bahr el Ghazal.

The basic strength that move the community in the north were Arabism and Islam. Since these strengths had consolidated their centers in North semi-desert wilderness, could stabilize at savanna region managed in the eighteenth century especially after the abandonment of the Arabs in the southern regions of Kordufan and Darfur in the White Nile breeding camels and tended to the breeding of cows. Thus, we find new tribe such as Rizaigat and Misseriya and new structural constructs differ from the camel men constructions. They began gathering their forces to expand towards the tropical zone, but that was for the pasture and not for resettlement or integration the proof of that, the incursion Rezaigat beyond the Arabian Sea and their insistence throughout their history that this area should be for them and for their pasture. Thus the deep penetration of Misseriya from Southern Kordofan and the deep penetration of Rufaah Kenana from Southern Blue Nile. The phenomenon of the deep penetration to inside was not exclusive for Sudan and the herdsmen, but was also on the Savannah

zone along the East and West and at the Muslim preachers and those who call for Islamic Jihad, so their goal was to eliminate the paganism and spread the Islam by persuasion or force.

This phenomena is represented in Danfodio movement against the paganism in Nigeria which finished by establishing an Islamic empire. It represented also in Abusafia and Ismaeel Alwly movement at Alnuba south of Kurdufan for the purpose of spreading the Islam and it represented in the appearance of Alfrugy Islamic Sultanate in gazelle river "Bahr Alghazal" and others. In other words, there are two forces of Arab herdsmen and Muslim preachers which move strongly and violently toward the continent, leaving a great impact on the neighboring African tribes.

When the north sultanates, Alfunge, Alfour, Tagaly and others had fell, Egypt conquered all Sudan, this activity was in the beginning and then it was natural that the movement shrinks. At the same time the Egyptians had taken an interest in the Nile and the river Transportation. The trade widened on the Nile, and became active on the Nile, the steamers going south. And so the transport cringes from the outskirts and concentrated at the line of Nile.

Then the exploration movement had come. Both exploratory and commercial movements were done by the Europeans who had taken the northerners as workers for them. The appearance of the Europeans in the south was a new element in the region and had a major impact in the severity of the direct relations between the north and the south in the future.

Every dent trade has activated at the beginning. When this commodity decreased and the demand for slaves increased, the trade tended from white Ivory to the Black one. And then the tragedy of the slave trade began. The Egyptian-Turkish administration in the era of Muhammad Ali has the biggest portion of sniping and Commerce. This issue coincided with the desire of the leaders tribes in the South who, in staid of get rid of their captives by murdering them as they were doing before; they sell them for

slave traders to get in return weapons and goods. And thus the slave trade became a destructive process of the southern community.

When the government changed its policy as a result of the pressures and the lack of effectiveness of the slave recruitment in the army, the Europeans men abandoned their monopolies areas for some compensation. The northerners who were working with them stayed with them and most of those northerners were adventurers. Their remnants have begun to gather in Bahr Al Ghazal to form later on a great center of gravity. And Zubair Basha became the most powerful in Bahr Aghazal. It seems that the movement of Alzubair Basha wanted to create a Muslim kingdom on the pattern of the Kingdom of Tagaly, but the arrival of the Turkish administration in the matter may change the movement to other thing.

However the civilizational outlet of the South in the nineteenth century was not confined to the north and the Nile only but Zanzibar traders had begun penetrating from the coast into East Africa and as time pass, they arrived to Congo, to the region of lakes and to the current Rhodesia. The consequence was a creation of a series of African kingdoms in the Lakes Region. Then they moved from there to the North and met Zanzibar and Nile traders in Uganda and competed each other. These verities of this competition had reflected in the changes which had occurred to the attitude of Uganda kings and Unioro toward the Egyptians. They are sometimes with Egyptian and accept subordination and sometimes they are against that. This conflict had ended on Uganda ground with the predominance of eastern trend and declining of Nile trend.

At the same time, the international competition movement around Africa began so, the dispute started between Britain and France and between Catholics and Protestants in Uganda. This has led to the liquidation of the nilotic influence crucially, then, ended by shrinking the Arab influence newcomer from East Africa, the predominance of Christians over Muslims and rendering Uganda under British protection.

Then, Mahdia came; it was mobilization of the Islamic effort. Mahdia eliminated the Egyptian-Turkish administration in Sudan. Mahdia tried to the incursion towards the south to eliminate the Egyptian administration there or to resist the European incursion and spread Islam and that was in two phases:

The first was an extension from South Darfour to Bahr el Ghazal, the most striking is the alliance, which was held in Gadeer Mountain between Almahdi and the leaders of Adinkh who came with Rizaigat and Almaala leaders. On the basis of this alliance Dinka made a violent gangs war, with the support of their allies from Reziegat, lasted for about three years and ended by the fall of the Directorate of Bahr el Ghazal in the hands of Prince Karam Alla who was put in charge by Almahdi for this diroctorat. However, this front has lost its vitality for the northerns by transfering of the capital from Alobayd to Omdurman in addition to the disturbances in South Darfur, led by Rezaigat.

The second stage came along the River Nile when a military force led by prince Omar Saleh moved and conquered some areas in the equatorial state. Here, Mahdi followers, southern tribes, jihadists and the European armies shared power and fought each other until the Anglo-Egyptian rule came and put an end to the international game in Africa, removed the jihadi force and then decisively developed administrative and political boundaries for the south. During the early years, the Anglo-Egyptian administration had been interested in the issues of security and oppressing tribes. Then, it based its policies on removing the effect of the North from the South. It started with fighting the Arabic language and the Islam, expelled northern merchants and replaced them by Syrians and Greeks. Tribes which converted to Islam or had been influenced by the North had migrated to Darfur and some Islamic centers had been destroyed. The whole South became a blocked area with intensive measures to spread Christianity instead of Islam and English instead of Arabic. Missionaries were offered facilities and the area was divided into influence zones for them and they became responsible of education and health. Regarding the

social and economic development, the administration did not do much except Anzarah project which was set up recently and some schools and health facilities.

It was normal that this policy would result in further division between north and south as well as the cultural and developmental disparities and how to look at the world. The two sides did not have the opportunity to deal with each other throughout this era. As there was intense focus on slavery when mentioning the north, this gap was surrounded by hatred and suspicion.

During its late years, the British administration realized that it was unwise policy and that the iron bars which were placed around the south did not offer it opportunities for development or to be linked to eastern Africa as hoped, and that the normal direction of the south was to be linked to the north.

In Juba conference, Southerners decided to join the north and participate in the Legislative Council which was being planned by the administration. Then events ran hurriedly till independence. But a major point remained undefined and not codified sufficiently; it was the relationship between the north and south.

The two sides kept discussing and fighting for this codification and identification and to develop the relations into constitutional and administrative formula. This took seventeen years, during which blood had been stained, great potentials had been destroyed and a lot of money was wasted at the expense of the development of the country until the relationship was interpreted and codified in Addis Ababa agreement which opened new horizons. In short, this is the history of the relations between the south and north. Here, we noticed that there are factors which help unity and others work to separate the two regions. But what is the result and what the nature of the relation is, and where is the position of the southern citizen in the analysis we offered about the Sudanese personality.

Firstly, we can say that there is a difference between the north and south which led to the lack of common effort for understanding, but this has reasons. In short, south was developing slowly, while the north was relatively developing quickly and that was the worst result of the separation between north and south and blocking it tightly against the influence of the north and stopping the physical and human development or at least lack of enthusiasm under the cover of preserving the African identity.

Under the policy of separation, the development of the south was in a different direction from that was going on in the north and had negative goal, for it neither worked to build an independent south that depends on its own resources, nor to suitably link it to the neighboring African countries in order to independently grow. Instead, it focused on a direct goal, separating it from the north. So, the long-term goal for this policy was a negative one that does not lead the south to any result. The method adopted to support separation policy based on hatred against the northerners and on the perception that Christian and Islam are enemies. Northerners and southerners were prevented from the common dealing and interaction which would have created the humanitarian understanding and acquaintance. Therefore, southerners became apart from northerners and lived in opposite psychological atmosphere.

The British administration was treating southerners themselves according to the tribal framework, so southerners did not have the opportunity to have the internal unity, nor their social and political attitudes had been unified on a national basis. Since the south historically lacks a history that combines tribes, the tribal spirit prevailed even among educated people. This is a big difference between north and south for the civil administration and attempts to build tribal entities faced strong opposition in the north, not only from educated people but also from large segments of citizens depending on the past political components such as the Islamic Sultanates and Mahdia.

So the national situation in the south was negative at the national level and the south as well. When the national movement began in the first half of the twentieth century, it witnessed a substantial participation from some southerners who grew up in the north, but people in the south were isolated from what was going on in the north and they expressed their refusal to the foreign rule in a series of tribal revolutions.

When the north developed the modern political formula of the political action and formed the parties, south was left behind. The same thing happened in the labor movement and the economic field. Therefore, they did not have a voice in the discussions that were taking place about the future of Sudan. Later, they protested against it and they were right, as they must have a voice in a future that they will be part of. But the deficit was a result of the isolation policy that was built and applied by the British for many years and northerners did not invent it, though they did not give the southerners' protest sufficient care when it came.

The political movement in the south began from scratch while the south was sitting as a negotiator on the talks tables with the British and Egyptian politicians. It started on demanding basis that taking from the north. And that was right because the north was controlling or was going to control. The Southerners did not trust the north and day after day their hatred increased, especially when the north won the larger prize. Some British administrators and pastors supported their cause.

The administrators wanted to maintain their political line aimed to isolate the south from the north, believing rightly sometimes that the two regions are far, whereas the pastors feared that the glory that they had built for Christianity would be attacked by Islam. It is hard to blame them thoroughly, as there were not an understandable basis of the relation between north and south and it was natural that they would interact with the general atmosphere.

Northerners did not know what was going on in the south, nor the nature of the southerners' movement and their legitimate demands for

negotiation about their political future. Confusion was the expected result of ignorance and misjudgment. The northern politicians sometimes threw responsibility for what was going on at the British policy, and that is historically true, but it had become a reality and responsibility of failure to understand it lies on the northern politicians. They sometimes argued that the matter is not the southerners but it is a conspiracy done by some British administrators and pastors. And this is logical because they were behind many incidents and they encouraged southerners, but they had found a suitable atmosphere to work in.

The most dangerous thing was that those politicians outweighed the southerners' demands and they estimated them wrongly. On the other side, southern politicians did not expose their political cause to the people in the north and did not work to rid their legislative demands from the bad impression that felt by the northerners who saw them as movements pushed by foreign powers and just based on hating the north.

The terrible killings and excitement that targeted the north provoked the northerners' feelings. Perhaps the worst work with which southerners started their demands was the mutiny of the northern forces in Toreet and the subsequent horrors. That irresponsible action created a wave of hatred in the north towards the southerners and made the people in the north accept the policy of force towards the south. The Southern movement showed immaturity in many of its maneuvers. Its investment to the hatred in its adoption to a large issue like the relation with the north was wrong and devastating act to both north and south.

People in north and south must not be blamed, but politicians in both sides and those who fuel the conflict must take the full responsibility. Isn't the people's acceptance to Addis Ababa agreement considered evidence that these people would have accepted the political solution whenever it was appropriate and satisfactory?

It would have been possible for the northerners and southerners to avoid the disasters that the country suffered if they had met on a political base,

but it was mistrust and miscalculation and above all, immaturity of the political movement in the south and that the political parties in the north were preoccupied with the conflict and its lack of respect to the southerners' protest and its failure to address this issue. Even when the issue was about to be solved and the two parties sat for negotiation after October revolution, the partisan maneuvers and political auctions from both sides were the greatest obstacles.

Addis Ababa Agreement had put the optimal political base for the relationship between north and south, and southerners became citizens; significantly contribute to the national structure. In addition the field has become open for work in different life affairs and joint construction.

When I was in the south in late 1973 and early 1974, I noticed how the psychological map of the southern human changes. There was clear focus on services such as education and health. Tendency towards agriculture and construction was also clear, especially in Bahr Alghazal and Zandi area, though that was limited because of the special circumstances of the south and the process of resettlement. It was noted that they had benefited from the years of war, as they imported new experiences from the countries that they fled to during the war.

The general trend towards the northerners was progressing. But politics wrap everything. Power seekers exploit everything and the tribe has a power in the society that affects the political trends. The church has a considerable influence because most of the educated are Christians. However, southerners, as I knew them, are tolerant in the religion, a thing I have never seen alike before. Religion is not an obstacle for the human dealings. Southern society is open and accepts the new ideas and they do not have much of the social complexities which we suffer from in the north.

The southern region has a structure that differs from the north in terms of race, culture and the historical background. This led to a personality expression that differs from the northern personality. Arabic language, or Arabic or the south spread all over the south. It is rare to find a southerner

living in cities and big cities and does not speak Arabic. Arabic is the language of contact.

English is the language of educated, though most of them speak Arabic and use it in their own lives. And I noticed that those who did not learn this language regret it and try to catch up. I also noticed that young people who learn Arabic at schools proud of what he had learned and they use the standard Arabic in speaking and writing. I remembered my own people in the north; they are like those in dealing with this language, though they have wider space.

During Aboud government, a large number of southerners had been transferred to work in the north. Although that policy was damaging on one hand, but it had been useful on the other, because it enabled a large number of southerners to identify the north, its problems and conditions.

It is clear that the vast majority of the educated southerners are Christians, but there are Muslims in the south as well, and most of them are ordinary people. However, there is no hostility between Islam and Christianity. Southerners themselves do not know the religious commitment, but they are very tolerant in the matters of religion.

As there is a southern local administration, discontent no longer directed to the northern merchants or those who work in the south, but hatred cannot be removed overnight, especially if it was deep rooted. Existence of two different personalities does not mean absence of the unified national, as nationalism is based on the interests and connection to reach the goals not on races, color and belief, though unity can be maintained by these elements. Nationalism is based on belonging to a country not to blood, belief or color; a country consists of interests and links for its people. This is the case between the southern and northern, for there are national interests that outweigh the regional interests.

The responsibility of those who carrying out the agreement and developing the regional governance into practice is a great national responsibility, it is historical at the regional, national and continental level.

I am sure that the southern and northern people are linked rather than differ if we ignore appearances and what is based on the voluntary impression and that they meet rather than contradict. Chances to meet and build together expand day after day. The Sudanese nationalism is being built and strengthened now with a full convention and faith and by all hands.

Alrizaighat and their local leadership

Alrizaigat belongs to the group of Albaggara tribes that inhabit in that area located between the White Nile and Dar Alsalamat in the Republic of Chad. The word Albaggara refers to the profession practiced by these people. The

axis of their life depends on it which is breeding cows. As well, we find in the North the camel men (Alabbala) who their live depends on the camel breeding as Alkababish, Alkawahla and Alshukria. However, the word has become as terminology. Baggara term refers to enormous groups of people. Among the most prominent of these groups, the tribes of Habbaniya, Riziagat, Alhumur, Misseriya, Taysha and Bani Halba. It said that the name of Rizaigat grandfather is Rizaig. But I have reservations about one paternity of such huge number of people. And we will know something about the origin and the history of Alrizaigat through the following lines.

It is said that Abaggara origin is from Juhayna Arabs like Fsazh tribes or thus, speakers tells about the origins of the Arabs in Sudan.¹

The narrators disagreed about the way that they had followed until they reached their current areas. Some of them say that they had followed the Nile southwards via Nuba country toward Sudan and then moved westward until they reached their area. And some people said that they had come from Maghreb through Chad and its neighboring country. Some others said that most of them came through the Nile whereas some groups that had come through Chad joined them.²

Rizaigat region is located in the East of South Darfour region. And in addition to them, it inhabited by other groups came to the region due to historical and economical conditions. This region is adjoined by Aldainka on the South side, Alhumur on the East side, Alhabbaniya on the West side, on the North side stable groups, most important of them, Albargd, Aldajo and Albrgo. These latters differ from other Rizaigat neighbors for being stable groups practice the agriculture as a profession and they are from non-Arab origins. They were making a humanitarian barrier between the Arabs of the South and Alfour. But Almaalia, they live inside Alrizaigat region itself in the northwestern tip.

¹makamikl, history of arabs in sudan, g 1, page 271

²The same reference, page 271

Alrizaigat are herders who are not stable in a particular place. Their movement extends northward until Aldaein and southward up to beyond the Arabian Sea. And a few of them practice agriculture as a profession. However Almaalia, the majority of them are stable and interested by the agriculture. One phratry of herders from them, their life resemble Alrizaiegat one.

Alrizaigat are divided into three phratris, Almahameed and those are in the northern side of the region. Alnawayba are in the western side. And Almahiriya are in the eastern and southern side. And each phratry is divided into several branches. So Almahameed are divided into three branches which are Awladshayg, Om Saif Alddeen and Awladzait. Alnawayba are divided into four branches which are Awlad Sulaiman, Dar Balul Wad Dahassa and Awlad Siud. Almahiriya are divided into two branches which are Om Dahya and Om Ahmed. And each branch of these branches is divided into Budnat.¹ Perhaps the most important of these branches historically wise, is Mahariya Umdahia. It was and still the general local leadership of the tribe. According to the statistic of 55/1956, Alrizaigat were reached approximately 87690 person and according to the estimation of May 1965 for the election of the constituent assembly they were 954, 49 person.²

Pertaining the statistic of 1973, there was no pre statistic. Their livestock is about 534000, considering 6 of livestock for every individual.³ They have also lot of horses and they were known by the equitation practice. But Almaalia, it said that they are 25000 or 17000 person. The first number might add the minority that lives with it.⁴ All that is an estimation because there is no way to reach a real number whatever we make efforts in statistic because the statistic don't reach all whom they are far, and some people give an incorrect number because they are afraid of the eye and tax

¹ The same formal source

² Report of investigation committee in Almaalia and Alrizaigat, the first book, page 20, page 264

³ The same source, page 20

⁴ The same source, page 21

and some give biggest number for specific purposes such as the elections and the parts of financing or for supporting the entities. But the number of the livestock is most much because people afraid of both the eye and the tax. And Alrizaigat are divided administratively into 10 mayoralties and what they had payed as tax in 1965 arrive 27, 403 pound.¹

Alrizaigat have relatives in North Darfour region, they are Almahameed, Almahiria and Alnawayba tribes and this are the name of the same sons “butoun” of Alrizaigat as we will see. However, there are two groups of their relatives, different in their constitution from Alrizaigat which are Aliraigat and Alitaifat. We Remarque here that the northern are not known by one inclusive term for calling all of them whether Alrizaigat term or other, but any of them knew by his name separately. And all of them have their own tribe. But the administrators Englishmen were calling them, the northerns Rizaigat, when they are exposed to their relationships with Alrizaigat. Thus, the matter is now also. It seems that some of these branches – Almahameed- Almahiria and Alnwayba had moved southward to beyond after the camel line. Then they bred cows after they abandoned breeding camels appropriating to the nature of the area and adapted with it and settled there permanently, while the rest remained in the North and continued breeding camels. Thus, we find the three elements in the North and South. But the Southern elements have become richest than the northern as a result of the disparity in the richness of the two regions and their economic development it was also more tightly linked. It known by an inclusive term, which is Alrizaigat then it united permanently and became one tribe in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sultan Mohamed Fadul has forced a large numbers of Rizaigat to migrate to the north and living with their relatives in order to make them weak.² During the sultan Ali Dinar period, some northern people abandoned their home and followed Alrizaigat escaping from his pressure.³

¹ The same source, page 266

² Nahtgal, Jostaf: the desert and Sudan Fourth part of Darfur Valley, the English edition, page 288.

³ Abusalim, mohammed ibraheem, reportage about Alrizaigat and their local leadership.

During the condominium era, the authorities tried to integrate the two groups in only one local leadership “Nazara” but the idea did not succeed practically.¹ Thus, we find that the relationship between Alrizaigat and their relatives in the North were not broken off. The Rizaigat tribe is considered the most powerful tribes of Darfur and the most dangerous in terms of numbers, power and wealth. They had played an important role in the history of the region and the history of their relatives Albaggara. They were as an obstacle behind the fusion of Arab tribes inhabiting these areas in the first Four sultanate and their second sultanate. They protected a number of small tribes and groups of refugees escaping from Alfour pressure.

The tribe gained of this role a major asset because the people whose coming toward it increased its power and gave it a great support in the war.

The news of Alrizaigat is reported in Darfur incidents firstly from the era of Sultan Tirab (1768 1787). The german globetrotter Jostaf Nartagal mentions the war that took place between the sultan and the Rizaigat.² And Altounisi mentioned in his saying about the era of this sultan that Almisairia, Alhumur and Alrizaigat for their power and their incursion in the outdoor, they only give the Sultan the ugliest of their funds. The worker cannot take of their money except in case of their acceptance. If he himself yearned to that, he will be expelled or maybe killed. I have been informed that Alrizaigat disobeyed the order of the Sultan Tirab. He had prepared an army defeated by them and he went out to meat them personally, they fell him and entered in Albargoba with their livestock. He followed them and they killed a lot of his men and he not has not anything.³

Altounisi also said that some of Rizaigat live also in Waday borders.⁴

¹ The same source

² Nartagal, page 288

³ Altounisi Mohamed ibn omer, Sharpening minds with biography of Arab countries and Sudan, page 140

⁴ The same source, page 139

According to the same source in another place that the Sultan Abdul Rahman Alrashid 1787-1081 met the Mashaykh “leaders” of Badia Arabs from Alrizaigat and Almisseriya and requested of their support for fighting against Ishaq son of Sultan Tirab who was dispute him for the authority.¹

It is noted that the globetrotter Brown, who visited Darfour during the era of the Sultan Abdul Rahman Alrashid in 1793 to 1796 does not mention Alrizaigat, while he mentioned from the Arab tribes in Darfour, Mahiriya, Mahameed and Fasaza sons and Jarar sond. It is noted that he does not mention the Nawayba tribe, although, they are Arabs of North Darfur. But we daresay that he includes them as some usually with Mahameed. Braund was during his stay in Darfur, a resident in the city of Koby in North Darfour. In our opinion, for this reason his speech focused on North, He did not give a similar consideration to South Darfur and its inhabitants. He mentioned of those Alhabania. His mention to the tribes of North Darfur itself was brief. So we are not surprised not to mention the Rizaigat tribe. Nobody should thought of that that the tribe was not existing or it was insignificant. The figures that gives Nakhtigal to the number of knights that can be provided by each tribe in the time of the war, we can estimat the power of the Rizaigat tribe at the end of the first Alfour Sultanate. He mentioned for Almaalia 300 to 400 knight and for Alhabania, 600 to 700 knight and 1000 for Altaysha, from those the Taysh of Chad. He also mentioned for Alziadya 2000 knight and for Alrizaigat 10000 knight.²

In order to understand the behaviors and the attitudes of Alrizaigat, we have to mention the following things:

Firstly: their relationship with their neighbor’s tribes which take the form of alliances where Rizaigat enters with some forces against other one for their interests and what we concern of these relations, especially their relations with Almaalia which is the goal of this research mainly.

¹ The same source page 103

² Nakhtgal, page 288

Secondly: the internal constitution of the tribe and the attitude of each Butn of Butoun about the other Butouns and about the tribe leadership and the competitions between the tribe's men ambitiously towards the leadership or towards promoting one Batn over the expense of another or Budna over the expense of another one.

Thirdly: the expansion of Alfour sultanate southwards and the attempts of suppressing the Arab tribes. One of them is Alrizaigat. Rizaigat counteract this expansion and did not comply with the wishes of the Four's Sultans.

Fourthly: Albahara and Aljalaba concentrated in Bar Alghazal region and threatened Alrizaigat situation and their vital interests in the Arabian Sea, "Bahr Alarab" especially and in South of Darfur generally.

Fifthly: their attempt to keep the Arabian Sea as free pastures for them.

Sexily: the resistance of the central authority Starting from the Four Sultanate and then up to Egyptian administration then, Mahdia, then the second Four Sultanate during the era of Sultan Ali Dinar, that is to safeguard the entity tribe and its autonomy.

Seventhly: Their attitude towards Mahdia. They support it in its first beginning its and combatants in its ranks, then moving away from it for a time and then resist to the policy of the tribal displacement and revolutionaries against it. Then, suppressed to its will, and that was during the period of Mahdia. Then, allied with the leadership of Ansar either tribe or tribe and leadership in the condominium era and the National era.

Their attitude toward Alfour

Alfour sultanat began to extend southwards to suppress the Arabian tribes in the eighteenth century. The first battle between them and Alrizaigat was at the era of sultan Tairab. The reason of the war was that this sultan had imposed the taxes upon Alrizaigat considering them as subordinates to his sultanate, but Alrizaigat refused to pay these taxes and insisted on refusal and disobedience of the sultanate. Tairab dispatched two expeditions

against them, but the tribe did not surrender completely to him. Tairab did not care much for them because he was busy in conflicts with WadiHol sultan; Dar Tama region. Then he was widely drifted towards fighting Almusabbaat.

Tairab could reach eastwards up to Omdurman, but he died during his critical period. During sultan Mohammed Alfadul “1800-1838” relationship between Alrizaigat and Alfour again reached the worst status at Mohammad Alfadul era. Mohamed Alfadul could first surppless BeniHalaba and Alrizaigat, afterwards he moved forward towards Alrizaigat, but the refugees came to them resisted their army violently. The sultanate could not suppress unless after a great effort. Immediately the sultan obligated a great part of the tribe to move northwards and reside with their relatives. His target was to weaken Alrizaigat power so that it cannot over power him again, afterwards to suppress it to his direct power¹

Albahara and Aljalaba

As time pegged Alrizaigat regained their power and returned to their former power. When the Turkish period came and Albahara and Aljalaba concentrated on Bahr Alghazal and trade developed between the north and south, the importance of their home as a connection between Bahr Alghazal and the north started to appear. This importance started to grow after the nilotic route between Bahr Alghazal and Khartoum was set under a strict observation by their government as a counter procedure against the slavery trade.

This geographical factor made Alrizaigat controllable to a significant traide artery, but the presence of Albahara and Aljalaba in Bahr Alghazal used to threaten their vital benefits in Bahr Alghazal as their free posture and threaten the tribal balance in the region.

Under the pressure of Albahara and Aljalaba and their threat to their vital benefits in Bahr Alarab and Albagara region, under the influence of the

¹ Pertaining this point of view to Nakhtegal, Altounisi and Naoum Shughair

trading extension which made of their home one of the most important bridges for this trade, Alrizaigat started encountering a new situation. Until that time, they were, though they were gathered under the name of Alrizaigat and together encountered Alfour pressure, remained under their original mother tribes or much correct, their three tribes: Alnawayba, Almahameed and Almahiria.

For every mother tribe there was a big drum "nahas and sheikh". The sheikh of Alnawaiba was Alsheikh Taikteek Abuadda, the sheikh of Almahameed was Alsheikh Ahmed Abufeel, the sheikh of Almahiria was Alsheikh Ahmed Jumua wad Dakari. The three sheikhs agreed to assign a leader for the united tribes from the others to coordinate their defense against Bahr Alghazal, Bahara and Jalaba. Thus the united command of Alrizaigat tribe appeared which is dedicated for the external defense and not for the internal affairs because every Sheikh kept on maintaining his own internal practices.¹

In 1866 an agreement between Alrizaigat and Alzubair was convened concerning maintenance of the commercial route that passes by their home and securing trade generally in exchange for a special charge to be paid by Alzubair and his tribe to Alrizaigat. But Alrizaigat betrayed the agreement and attacked the commercial caravans and threatened Alzubair and his men benefits²

As a result, Alzubair attacked them in 1873 and suppressed them. This dragged to the break of war between Alzubair and the sultan of Darfour. The main reason behind that was the escape of two of Alrizaigat leaders, who were Monzil and Ayyan, after their failure in war and reaching the sultan for protection.

There are some significant elements behind this; sultan Ibrahim was young and was controlled by the jealousy and zeal of the youth, this in addition to losing experience. The sultanate was encountering weak political and economical circumstances due to the Egyptian pressure after the

¹ Musa Madibo sayings file no 1,2,c,4,7

² Musa Almubarak Alhassan, the political history of Darfour, 1882-1898, page 22

establishment of the Turkish Egyptian regime in East. The Four sultans were considering the region until Alferteet region as their own as its own. They wasted much effort and blood so as to suppress the Arabian tribes. What stirred the suspicion of Alfour was the emergence of Aljalaba and Albahara as a new force that threatened their benefits. When the conflict between Alrizaigat and Alzubair occurred and escalated a confrontation between Alzubair and sultan of Alfour, the sultan considered that a chance to take the issue completely, which is striking Aljalaba them and suppression of Alrizaigat. At the same time, the Egyptian had the desire to annex Darfour to the regions they had conquered in the East, it was planned desire.

Alzubair could lean even partially on this desire. The war broke out between the two parts. Every time the four were losing while Alzubair was winning. The conflict ended with the historical battle of Manwashi (1874) in which the sultan was killed and the first Alfour sultanate ended as a result, their region was annexed to the Turkish Egyptian administration. In this war Madipo and Ugail, the competing leaders to command Alrizaigat stood as allies with Alzubair the sultan Ibrahim, while the whole tribe stood waiting for the result to incline towards the conquerors, and indeed the whole of Alrizaigat stood together with Alzubair his conquest in Shaka battle and chased Alfour to the north. When things turned around, and Alzubair became on exile in Egypt, and Gordon's anger affected his son Suliman, Madibbo and Alhabania leader allied with Dassy in 1879 and participated together in chasing Suliman ¹

These attitudes of ALrizaigat might seem at first contradictory, but after hesitation it remains logical. The main target of ALrizaigat is to remain at a far distance from the central control, whether from ALfour or ALzubair and maintain the balancing of strength in the region for their benefit until they maintain their status as the greatest power, and maintaining Bahar Alarab as their free pastures, therefore, they stand against ALbahara and ALjalaba whom ALzubair represent and who are threatening their benefits in BAhar

¹ Musa Almubarak Alhasan, the same source, page 36

ALarab, and declare enmity against the Turkish Egyptian administration keeping to their tribal status and their entity. They used to measure the different attitudes according to their benefits and afterwards stand as allies with other side which they set their great hopes on.

Concerning their relationship with the Turkish Egyptian administration, it survived only for a short time. The entrance of Alzubair to their region was in 1873, and the arrival of Almahdi to Ghadeer and the treaty which was held between him and ALrizaigat in 1882, that is to say that their resistance under the Turkish Egyptian rule was approximately nine years. Most of this time was spent in struggles and convicts to which DArfour was exposed in that period.

The circumstances inside the tribe

But who was chosen by the tribe to be its sheikh? Here there is a difference between what happened and the contradiction between the narrations, some narratives say that it is MADobbo who had become the leader of the tribes; some others say that it was Hujail ALjangawi has become a leader. Pertaining to Madibbo Ali is he from the Mahiria or a victim. According to the estimation of Musa Almubarak Alhassan who relied on Jessy narration, he was born in 1844.¹

Hujail was Mahiria or a victim, like Madibbo, but he was the sons of Awlad Ahmed Twins and Omsalama , whereas Madibbo was descended from Mahameed sons, Ujail was written with “j” letter and it was a way of writing a name in a diminutive way.it is a popular name in western Sudan, but the name has been amended into Ughail.

The word was extracted from the brain; it could be from the influence of Khartoum. Amendment in English is easy became the jeem and ghaf letters were written in one letter. Anyhow from now on wards we would recommend writing it in the ghaf letter. Ughail. Since his family has recommended such a form. Mc Michael and Musa Madibbo mentioned in

¹ Musa Almubarak Alhassan, the same source, page 37

their allotted sayings in the archives of the administration condominium rule ¹ that Madibbo was the first public administrator of Alrizaigat, and he came after being selected by the tribe at the time of Alzubair Basha, before the region was annexed to the Egyptian administration, and that he remained at that job until he was dismissed in 1881 because he maintained the line of discussion by asking to drop away the meaning of the term general administrator, and it was the same meaning that was understood by now? Mc Michael mentioned that the sheikh Munzil, he was from Mahmoud's sons "thus" sons of Timan. He succeeded Madibbo in job and it was said that no news about him were known after that. Mc Michael came to say that Musa Madibbo succeeded his father Madibbo after he was killed.

Concerning Ibraheem Musa, he said that it was Ugail Aljingawi who succeeded Madibbo after his termination was over, then he said that the Egyptians dismissed Ugail after six monthes that why he returned Madibbo to his post after he was confirmed as innocence of the accusations. He said that Munzil succeeded Madibbo after he was killed by Hamdan Abu Anja who aws jailed at Alkhalifa's prison until he died therein. With the death of Munzil the supervision "Nazara" tribal system or leadership of the tribe was ended. The tribe's affairs passed to Albadnat sheikh as it was an issue before the general supervision "Nazara"

Officer "bozbash" Ahmed Ageed who was aspiring for tribe's leadership, in the condominium era, as hereditary that the leadership of the tribe "Nazara" had started at the days of Alzubair Basha through his father Munzil and that Munzil assisted Alzubair in four war. After his death, he was succeeded by ugail Aljingawi after he was died. he said that the tribe was splitted due to the disrupte of Madibbo with Ugail. This part of the tribe

¹ In all we depend on the administration of Alrizaigat and the stand of the characters of it on the report of the investigation committee in the conflict between Almaalia and Alrizaigat and on the following files at the central

Intel 1/2/C4/7

Intel 2/12/103/1

Civsec 66/E/11

Civsec 66/B/29

was under the supervision of Madibbo in the southern and the south west of the tribe. It was centred at Aldeain, the other part was the northern part adjacent to Almaalia under the supervision of Ugail. He said that the two parts used to meet at Shaka which was fallen between the two parts, and that the Turkish Egyptian administration used to flater this part over the account of other one, there it overturned and the dealing was reversed.

Alnour Mohammed Angara and two of the employees of the Turkish Egyptian administration in Kordofan and Darfur witnessed in the statements which they gave to the authorities of the condominium era in favor of the Ahmed Ugail. They said that the general leader tribe "Alnathir" in the Turkish era was Sheikh Munzil according to their conception; he was the uncle of Ugail. Concerning Madibbo, according to their conception, he was a sheikh or cousin. They were the sons of "Budna" of Mohammed's sons, Budna of Zeid sons and Althulaibat. He was a subordinate of Ugail, Alerban the cousins of Ugail were more in number. They were the sons "Budna" of Umsareera, Almahameed and the sons of Hassan, the Fediania and Almaalia they said that things went this way until Ugail was killed, thus the general tribal leadership "Alnizara Alumoumia", they also ignored the status of Almahdia, they counted the Budna "sons" of Mohammed Altelaibab (number 16 in the schedule) as Mabibbo Budnat in spite they were Budnat of Umsalama whose leader was Ugail. The truth was that they were subordinates of Madibbo. They mentioned a Budnat called Umsareera, perhaps, they meant Umsareera, were a Budna of Almahameed who is subordinates of Madibbo. In spite of that, they made them subordinates of Ugail. They considered Almaalia within Alrizaigat Budnat. Of course they were not. Any how the testimony of Alnour Angara and his two friends was subjective.

When the British administration presented these narrations to Musa Madibbo, he objected and said that originally there was no general tribal leadership. But for every branch and Budna there was a Sheikh and Nihas. He mentioned that Ahmed Abufela was Almahameed sheikh and that was a plot of son of Abu Adda, the sheikh of Alnwayba and Alsheikh Joma

son of Dakari who was the sheikh of Almaheria. Pertaining the sheikh Munzil, he was a sheikh (and not Nazer) of Awlad Umsalama, when Alzubair conquered Darfur. When the conflicts between Aljalaba and Albahara in Abahr Alghazal climaxed, the supervision of the tribes united and chose Madibbo as Nazer. Madibbo held this post for a long time until he was terminated due to the plentiful complains against him. Ugail replaced him who took the post for six months, afterward he was terminated and Madibbo reverted to the leadership of the tribe "Alnazara". Musa said that his father resigned from the leadership during the Turkish era due to the plentiful complains against him and instantly Munzil was appointed as Nazer. Pertaining to Ugail and according to him, he was the head of part of the tribe and in opposition to Madibbo when Munzil died, he did not appoint Nazer as his replacement, but he was succeeded in the sheikh of Budna "Badna" Umsalama son was Areel. Ugail in the leadership of Budnat Altaiman. "The twins Budna" was succeeded by his son Subahi.

Musa Almubarak Alhassan mentioned that Madibbo was the sheikh of his relatives, sons of Mohamed they were a branch of Almahiriya and that he helped the government when Haroun rebelled against it. Gordon helped him by naming him the sheikh of all Alrizaigat.¹ It seemed that he relied on Dassy who said that Gordon awarded Madibbo for his support to the government in offering him a decoration and made him a sheikh for Alerban. Here there was no text against the leadership of the tribe "Nezara", but the text was for the sheikdom "Alshiakha" of the Erban, but the sheikhdom of the Erban could be a surname like the surname of Beck, or it could be a sheikhdom on a group of Rizaigat. According to our conception, the Nezara of Alrizaigat was older in years.

¹ Musa Almubarak Alhassan, the same source, page 45-46

Musa mentioned in another place “it seemed that Madibbo wasthough on his subordinates of the tribes heads which led afew of them to rebel against him and sheikh Ujail son of Aljangawi who competed Aljangawi in the leadership of Alrizaigat. He encountered to lead the opposition. When the disagreement climaxed, Amelyani intruded to tackle it in vain, he was obligated to dismiss Madibbo and replaced him by Munzil. Madibbo was provoked he moved with his people in anger to Bahr Alarab.

It was difficult to issue a decisive point of view about this dispute due to the fact that every infolded law suit for the pupose of attaining leadership was a history for one part without paying attention to the other parts, and that the terms of sheikh, zaeem and nazer were randomly used without control. The three leaders, Madibbo, Ugail, and Munzil were contemporary used to shoulder the leadership of their own Budna, accordingly, it became easy for every part to claim that his father was a tribe leader “Nazer”. But those who were opponent to the conception of Madibbo do not refer to the news of dismissal of Madibbo by Gordon from the leadership of the tribe “Alnazara” and his recruitment to Ugail and returning him to Madibbo, through this incident is true. This incident itself confirmed the case of Madibbo. Because termination and restoration could not be completed in such a way, expt if Madibbo was the source, their avoidance of this incident was a proof against them.

According to what narrations had already been stated and their analysis was we could say that the agreement of the sheikhs at the time of uniting, the tribe was the responsibility of Madibbo and that Madibbo remained as head of Alrizaigat until he was terminated by Gordon. Afterwards Madibbo came after six months as leader of the tribe “Nazer”. He remained in his post until he was executed. Concerning Ugail, he was head of his Budna and he used to compete Madibbo in the leadership. He found the chance during Gordon’s era. He succeeded Madibbo when terminated. Then he himself was terminated too giving the chance for Madibbo to return to his previous post.

Both leaders Madibbo and Ugail were opposite of each other until there occurred confusion in the tribe. Each one of them left part of the tribe according to internal

tribalism. When the Turkish Egyptian system was there, Ahmed Ugail truly observed, to take advantage of that and deepened it by shifting his perpetuation from one side to another due to the circumstances.

When Almahdia showed up it was an announcement of change of the surrounding circumstances of the area due to the call of the Mahdia to over topple the whole system and replaced it by a new system. Madibbo knew that he hurried to meet with Almahdi after he sent him a messenger from Ghadeer Mountain and reached an alliance with him¹. Some of Almaalia and Dinka leaders were with him. Concerning Ugail, he slowed down from helping the Mahdia sake of patience and expectation. Alrizaigat took side with Almahdi after the accord of Ghadeer, they were the first of his allies in Darfur. Alhabania, Almaalia, Doinka Tajangloal and Alfroogy, all rose up with him, and accordingly, the revolution broke up in southern Darfur and the north of Bahr Alghazal. There was another reason which pushed the Rizaigat to take side with Almahdi who was their hated one because the central rule acted against the tribal system by imposing taxes and the regulations of the system. Alrizaigat lost much of the booty of trade. Madiboo and his group, were angry of the government after he was dismissed of tribal leadership "Nezara". His hatred remained until his return.²

Salatin Basha, governer of Darfur, tried to suppress Alrizaigat but those could defeat him in Umoragat battle, afterwards, the war turned against Alrizaigat in December 1885 when they were badeley defeated by the fall of Alobeid in the hands of Almahdi. The situation inclined for the benefits of the rebels and it ended by the fall of Darfur in the hands of Alansar.

Due to the conquest of the Mahdia in Darfour, a geat change occurred concerning the internal situation of the tribe. After the fall of Alobeid Ugailn was executed, the atmosphere was in favour of Madibbo. In fact, the killing of Aljingawi , the range of Madibbo's power was greater in during this period. It was also a normal result of Ugail slow attitude whil Madibbo had inclined totally towards Almahdi. His execution and and the killing of sheikh Almonna is one of the most prominent

¹ Musa Almubarak Alhassan, the same source, page 138-140

² Sivsec 66/E/2

men of Almahdi, stirred most fuss and Khalifa Abdullah was accused of getting rid of them because they used to compete him in rank and prestige. But I favoured the idea that the end of Ugail was dictated by his stand with Madibbo, but not because he stood with the Khalifa. Ugail was succeeded in the leadership of Altaiman son of Ahmed Budna by his son Subahi.

Madibbo remained as an important pillar of southern Darfur and north of Bahr Alghazal and governor of Shaka area and leader of the tribe without competition until Almahdi died and was succeeded by Alkhalfah who insisted on the migration of Alrizaigat to Omdurman and thus pushed them to rebellion. The Khalifa's decisive policy of the migration of the tribes to Omdurman and his continuous pressure on them was bitterly opposed and resisted by the tribes. Therefore, the Khalifa encountered a series of the tribal wars in the first years of his Caliphate. The call for emigration basically referred to Almahdi. But, the target of Almahdi from the emigration was to associate him to conquer Egypt and continue the religious Jihad to all. In Alkhalfah era, the emigration together with Jihad had changed into direct security targets, because his target was closely observed the dangerous leaders and dangerous tribes who guaranteed of their loyalty and preventing them from rebellion against the regime. There was also the general tribal attitude which insisted on maintaining the tribal entity isolation of the control systems and their requirements, faced by the insistence of Mahdia on dissolving the entities in one comprehensive entity which was Almahdia system, loyalty should only have been to him above all loyalties, and that there should no tribal or religious or political split entity. Due to the consistency of the general policy of Almahdia and its attitude towards its entity with Alkhalfah's direct political targets, his objective circumstances and the support of what Almahdi did there came the insistence of Alkhalfah on the general emigration for the tribes and their enforcement on that era in the end because it stirred and strengthened the local disputes and led to tribal laws that harmed the system, pushed production to the bottom and participated in the outbreak of the major starvation.

At the same time, one of the members of Altaaysha tribes which was the smallest of Albaggara tribe or at least more little than Alrizaigat tribe, had become head of

the system. More than that, this man was not of traditional leadership. This used to stir the thought of Albaggara leadership. Through this frame generally and the frame of Baggara tribe equilibration the clash between Alkhaliifa and Alrizaigat was oversured with Madibbo in the top line. The clash started with the refusal of Alrizaigat to obey the redundant orders of Alkhaliifa to migrate to Omdurman. As time passed, the Khalifa insisted on the emigration and his pressere on them continued while the desire and determination of Alrizaigat to stay at home increased. Another factor that increased the tension was the arrival of Mohammed Karkasawi, following by some Bahara, then his brother prince Karam Allah from Bahr Alghazal and their control of Shaka region. This stirred the rage of Alrizaigat because it turned to their old conflict with Bahr Alghazal Jalaba and Bahara. But Alrizaigat hesitated until Mohammed Khalid Zugl left Darfur with his forces, there, they started the revolution. The region's tribes used to share them the feelings, fear and refusal of emigration. The others repeated the call of Madibbo and Alrizaigat. Alhabania responded to his call and Albahara and Barar Akbar, head of Alnawayba, who was competing Madibbo, come to stand beside him. Safi Alnour Satha came with a few Almaalia. Pertaining Mohammed Abusalama, the greatest Maalia leaders maintained his strong alliance with them. Instantly, Madibbo started launching raids against Albahara and blocked the route between Shaka and Bahr Alghazal. When Karam Allah sent a detachment of the Baziger against him, Madibbo retreated to Dara center and stired chaos therein. Thus, Madibbo practiced Alrizaigat traditional plans, quick strike followed by far retreat. He avoided to be involved in a big battle. On his part the Khalifa inclined towards diplomacy threatening and strike. He practiced diplomacy by sending to the tribes and leaders to keep away from Madibbo and promised them much. The threats which were sent to Madibbo and his allies promising them by affliction. He refered to strike by sending the forces from any possible side. Madibbo encountered this situation and kept on fighting until Karam Allah men reached and arrested him, then he was sent to Hamdan Abu Anja to send him in turn to the khalifa. But this one executed him due to an old enemity between him and Madibbo. By his death the glitter of this revolution faded away to the khalifa. But

the opposition did not subside completely until the coming of Mamoud Wad Ahmed in spite of the fact that Osman pressed hard on Alrizaigat and their Allies.¹

What happened to Rizaigat leadership was vague due to different of narrations and the non-recognition of Almahdia to the tribal leadership system, but with reliance on the little news that we received that Barar Ajbar was dismissed from the leadership of Alnawayba. Musa Madibbo came after he was far away, surrendered, assisted in the emigration of his tribe, and the khalifa limited resistance of Musa Madibbo and Subahi Ibn Ugail in Omdurman, cancelled the general leadership of the tribe. Munzil died and Budna was assigned as alternative in the leadership of Budna, the sons of Umsalama daughter of Areel.

The second Four Sultanate

When Khliifa Abdullah was defeated in Karari and the condominium army advanced to occupy the capital of Mahdia, four of Darfur leaders escaped from this capital and headed towards the west quickly. They were Ali Dinar, Musa Madibbo, Areel Bin Muzil Bin Ugail and Subahi Bin Ugail. Pertaining to Ali Dinar, he retrieved the reign of his fathers and established the second Four Sultanate which used to enjoy a great power though it was considered part of Sudan government. Concerning Musa and Ugail, they led a large group of Alrizaigat, came back home and agreed that Musa would be a general leader of all the tribe, while Areel was to be the sheikh of Abusalama with loyalty of Musa. Musa Madibbo assigned Alsheikh Zara Wad Abdulmalik of Alrihaimia Budna as a sheikh of the Taiman 'sons' the Budna of Ugail.

¹ Intel 1/2/C/4-7

Concerning Subahi Bin Ugail, he came back and surrendered the army leadership. After a period of time, he headed to the west. Here Ahmed Ugail and his supporters claimed that he was assigned as leader of the tribe “Nazir” by the government to all of Rizaigat. While Madibbo was assigned as sheikh for his cousins. They claimed that he got some arms from the government. Ahmed Ugail claimed that he became sheikh of Umsalama, just after his arrival home, and started competing Musa Madibbo for leadership. Alnour Angara mentioned while witnessing that Ali Dinar killed Subahi because he was not loyal to him when Musa Madibbo saw what happened to Subahi, he withdrew from his stand and became loyal to Ali Dinar. But in fact, Subahi came back before reaching home while Musa and his Ally Areef controlled the tribe. When he found no chance in the region “Aldar”, he joint Ali Dinar and from there he started creating troubles.

The greed of the Sultan and Subahi coincided against Musa Madibbo Camp. The first one would like to suppress Alrizaigat and penetrating through them, and the second one, liked the leadership of Musa. When the Sultan had sent a military force in 1901-1902 led by his commander Tairab to suppress Alrizaigat, Subahi was escorting this army to lead the tribe after the defeat of Musa, but the campaign failed. Tarab got so angry of Subahi, therefore, he executed him. As a result of conflict for the leadership at Ugail house subsided until it woke up after the conquest of Darfur and its occupation and the rise of Ahmed Ugail along the steps of the secretary general palace.¹

Two of the sons of Ugail who were Saboon and Ahmed could escape to Kordofan away from the hell of trial, then they headed towards Sinja and resided there under the care of the government. Ahmed joint the military Academy and graduated as officer. His son Dr. Ugail, was one of the most prominent lawyers. He shouldered the deanship of the lawyers at different intervals. He was one of those who participated in the national movement. Concerning Saboon, he kept working in the arsenal until he was terminated and then, he joined his brother who was working in Alobeid. They had one elder brother called Mohammed who stayed as a prisoner with his sister in Alfashir until the conquest of Darfur in 1916.

¹ Civec/66/E/11

The tribal leadership “Nazara”

Urail bin Munzil was killed in Dasusa battle (1913) when he was fighting Aldainka, he was the sheikh of Umsalama sons in that battle. He was succeeded as sheikh of the Budna, his niece Jawad Abu Alkaily, who was in turn succeeded by Bushara Abd Allah. Bushara and Musa Madibbo remained as strong allies and harmony thanked to their cooperation and due to the pressure of Ali Dinar on both of them. And in accordance with this alliance, Budna Umsalama recognized the tribal leadership “Nazara” of Musa Madibo and her subsidiary to him and became loyal to Musa, while Musa left its internal affairs to act freely. In spite of this accord, Umsalama used to create troubles to him because they used to stand against his will in creating troubles to him because they used to launch raids against Aldinka, their neighbors. They were also insisted not to pay anything to the Sultan whatever the size of what is requested still. In 1915 approximately a serious spilt occurred inside Umsalama due to the competition of its three leaders for the sheikhdom. Finally, the issue was settled by choosing Omar Ismael who stayed in a great alliance with Musa Madibbo, who found freedom to evolve in Umsalama affairs.

Ali Dinar

Ali Dinar could establish his sultanate of internal independence; often a few times he started causing friction with the south Arabs due to the refusal of the Arabs to pay the Jizya “taxes” for him. His policy was a continuation of the Fur sultans before him to suppress the Arab tribes which resided in southern Darfur. The relationship of Ali Dinar and Alrizaigat by the arrival of Muasa Madibbo in Alfashir in 1898 to express his loyalty, but the Sultan seized the chance and resided there. Musa stayed at Alfashir until he was permitted, at a moment of tranquility to go back home, but he returned and got sorry for this unintentional mistake, he kept all of these years trying to arrest Musa by all means. The sultan claimed that Alrizaigat had launched raids on some tribes and accordingly started pressing on them. Under this pressure, Musa Madibbo accompanied by Adam Hamed Aldood one of Almaalia sheikhs topo visit Alobaied, he requested help from the

government but they were told by the government that Ali Dinar authorities in internal affairs of Darfur was in supreme and that they had to obey his orders.

They advised Musa to visit the sultan and ask for forgiveness, while the sultan was advised to adopt a friendly policy towards the Arabs. In September 1901, the sultan started the war in spite of the opposition of Sudan government and sent an army led by Tairab Suliman who advanced towards Almaalia who were surprised by the presence of the army at their home and were badly defeated, consequently, most of them escaped to Kordofan while the others resorted to Alrizaigat. After that Tairab advanced towards Alrizaigat who withdrew to the South. Since Tairab was not able to follow them, he came back without being involved in a battle with them. Tairab offered a great service to Musa Madibbo by executing Subahi ibn Ugail who was his competitor. By his execution, the sultan lost the only Rizaigat ally who could be relied on. Due to the pressure of Sudan government, the sultan issued a guarantee to Musa while the government directed Musa to visit Alfashir. When he refused that, the government suggested sending his brother Eisa. Musa also refused this request.

In 1905, Musa started again complaining the sultan. In 1909 he himself came to Khartoum complaining according to direction of the government. Musa sent a loyalty letter and a delegation of Alrizaigat to the sultan, but in spite of that the gap between them was wide because the sultan was insisting to suppress the tribe to his control, while Alrizaigat were insisting on their independence. At the end of 1913, the sultan sent a large army under the leadership of Ramadan and at the end of October, the army met Alrizaigat, fierce battle occurred at Abu Matarig, Tambarko, Kanfosa and Alnajm. In this war Alrizaigat could conquerd.¹

In spite of that the sultan did not rely to the war after that, since the situation was so dangerous. So the government obligated the sheikh Musa to write to the sultan letter of apology when he went to Alobaeid contesting and requesting the help.

At the outbreak of the First World War, the sultan started moving. In October he sent for Musa Madibbo and Alrizaigat sheikhs requesting their surrender and

¹ Civisec 66/B/29

loyalty. Afterwards he sent them a letter indicating the outbreak of war. He claimed that the French has withdrawn from Waday, and then he called for a meeting in the name of religion. But Madibbo was reserved in attitude of the sultan's call at the same time, he was angry of the government because of its refusal of supporting him with the arms. The problems of Alrizaigat and Alsultan ended by the killing of Ali Dinar in 1916. By his death, the second sultanate of the Fur ended and Darfur region became a province of Sudan provinces.

Nazara “tribal leadership”

The internal conditions within the tribe carried on routinely according to what we had been formerly mentioned until 1915. In those years the military police Bast Beck sent Ahmed Ugail in a special mission to meet Musa Madibbo. Ahmed Ugail came and informed the officials that the whole tribe supported Musa Madibbo. At the same time this trip stirred the anxiety of Ahmed Ugail and revived his old glory accordingly he started his request of Alrizaigat Nizara “tribal leadership”, on the basis that his father Ugail Aljingawi was their tribal leader “Nazir” under the Turkish Egyptian leadership. On the other hand, Musa started getting suspicious of the intention of the government. Accordingly, he sent a member to Alshareef Alhindi to inform him confidentially of the intentions of the government and what it pleased concerning the nizara “tribal leadership”. Directed by the intelligence office. Alshareef responded by telling him that the government is adhearing to him and not thinking of assigning Ahmed Ugail.

In 1916, Ahmed Ugail sent his brother Saboon to dispute with the Nazir. Saboon claimed that the sheikh Taiman had abandoned the sheikhdom for him and this Budna had acknowledged him as leader. When Saboon reached Abujabrah and started his movement Madibbo protested at Sofeel who responded by confirming the sheikhdom of Musa. Accordingly Musa issued on order to terminate Saboon and his allies from Alamoudia and Shiakha “ tribal leadership” Sboon could stir some kind of troubles, but he was arresred and exiled to Alobeid. That was in 1917 then, his residence restricted to Sinja. At the same time suns of Umsalama

based on the covenant which was formerly referred to declared their loyalty to Madibbo.

In the last days of Musa Madibbo, the weakness of his power upon the branches was observed. Since it was impossible for the government to control the tribe through him, the direct management was included to assist the nazir “tribe leader” administration. The administrations were really anxious because according to them, his son Ibraheem Musa was weak. On 28 April 1920 Musa Madibbo died. His son Ibraheem succeeded him.

The British badly trusted his capabilities. Safeel, Darfur administrator suggested that the tribe is to go back to Butoon system, but his opinion was refused because the public attitude was directed towards strengthening and enlarging the national administration. In the first days of Ibraheem era, many movements that were calling for the split from him and the tribes Butoon started to conflict. In fact there was no reason to unite Albutoon together, and had it not been for the government’s policy which called for the unity of the tribe. The tribe would had disintegrated and divided according to its tributaries. The pressure of Ali Dinar who used to unify the tribe and strengthen leadership had gone.

By the death of the strong Musa and the arrival of the weak Ibraheem, the tribe had lost the powerful character and the leader who would unify it and gather its Budna together. At that time Bozbashi Ahmed Ugail started demanding strongly the leadership of the tribe “nezara” while the tribe’s leader Ibraheem Musa rushed in his troubles and conflicts with the Mayor and with his brother Yahia. Ahmed Ugail used to press upon the government using many tactics. But his request was always refused. Several times he was prevented from visiting the house “Aldar” and was encouraged to establish a house at Omdurman and reside permanently in it. It had been seen that at the beginning the intelligence resorted to evoking Ahmed Ugail to press Musa and present him as alternative to Madibbo since Musa did not beside the government in the occasion of war with Ali Dinar that was according to the manner of assigning one of Alkhalifa Abdullah’s sons, Omer or prince of some Baggara.

When this stage ended there was nothing that leads the government to overtopple things or enter a new unjustifiable experience. Therefore, it refused his request, but it benefited of his presence to press Ibraheem Musa in case he relies on obstinacy. Concerning Ahmed Ugail, he was longing for the tribe leadership "Alnazara" due to the fact that it will guarantee a respectable prestige to him and his family. But it seems that he didn't believe that he acquired it. That is why he was not serious in requesting the tribe's membership itself "Alnazara" especially in Umsalama tribe. He was also lingering to weaken the status of Ibraheem as continuation to competition between Ugail home and Madibbo home.

At the same time he was trying to acquire through this method some improvement of service and pension and a special treatment to him. At the same time there was a desire of the sons of Ugail generally in assigning their sheikh Saboon as head of Umsalama sons and to become an independent tribe out of the Nizara "tribal leadership" but the government firmly refused to agree with this attitude. The bitterness between Ibraheem Musa and Ahmed Ugail subsided after the first one married the daughter of the second one in 1930. It was said that Ibraheem had started after that to be in bad terms with his uncle and brother Yahia.

Yahia was a strong nominee for the Nizara. But he was chosen with the mayoralty "umoudia" of the son of Mohammed. But the relationship between the two brothers got worse through the days. In 1926 Ibraheem dismissed his brother from the mayoralty. But the tribe didn't accept that it used to consider him as the second man after the Nazir. The Nazir in 1930 was obliged to turn him back to the mayoralty by instructions from the inspectors due to the accumulation of complaints. Accordingly the Nazir submitted his resignation and insisted on that if not given enough power. His purpose was to get rid of Yahya and some mayors.

The director of Darfour thought of accepting the resignation of Ibraheem Madibbo. When his idea was aborted to establish a project of how to benefit of this resignation to suppress the Nazir to make him treat the mayor fairly. It seemed that the Nazir knew that his status is not stable. In the annual race which was convened on January, 1933 a clear improvement appeared and the

relationship between the Nazir and the mayors became better. Therefore he didn't expose his resignation for discussion and competition. It seemed that all sides had agreed later on upon what they had reached. According to the administrators all problems erupted from the weakness of the power of Ibraheem Musa and his mistrust of the mayors and the sheikhs who were his subordinates, his suspicion of their attitudes, their loyalty and his fear of the shadow of Yahia whom he saw as the expected substitute. Beside that a case of split had struck the tribe often the disappearance of Ali Dinar. Had it not far the government's intention to strengthen the nezara, the tribes would have split and come back to the rule of Albutoon.

At the same time, when the circumstances inside Alrizaigat tribe climaxed, the Nazir was struggling with Almaalia tribe (1930-1931) and trying to press it, while these were complaining of him and of the taxes he imposed on gum while the gum price was declining. The Nazir requested their surrender and imposed their loyalty to him or kicking off the house and considering them to be strangers. But the government obligated him to reach an agreement with them and acceptance of reducing the taxes.

As time passed, Ibraheem became more experienced and his power, the British administrators regained their trust on him, his administration and support him. In a report issued in 1927, his administration was described as being strong and firm. But his condition deteriorated during Lambin era (1929-1933) his power. Diminished as a result of the policy this director at him and his fancy. It has intensified in accordance with that the demanding of Almaalia for separation and Interior disputes of Alrizaigat. Then the Air returned to serenity and its star star ascends in line with the rise of the desire of the English administration in the thirties in the creation of large civil administrations in Darfur modeled on the Almagdoumia and in line with the increase in his administrative experience.

In 1936, Rezaigat had its own budget and thus became a twin for the emirate of Zalingei (emirate of Prince Abdul Hameed), the emirate of Masaleet sultan. When Baggara court was established in 1941 with authority over the five Baggara tribes in South Darfur, which are Rizaigat, Habania, Falata, Bani Halaba, Taaysha and the

small tribes that neighboring it, such as Almaalia, Hamar and Almaslat, Ibrahim Musa Madibo was chosen unanimously as president of the Court and that was an admission of recognition of the status of this tribe and its local leadership among its neighbors. This project was considered as first step for a complete civil administration of Albaggara area. By entering the system of the rural councils to enter the system and district councils with its successive amendments, the civil administration entered to a new phase. But the effects of this development has remained until now non thoughtful more fully. And therefore keep the status Alrizaigat local leadership remains in framework not regulated until now like that of other internal departments.

Tribe's relationship with its neighbors

As a result of historical factors, a group of other small tribes inhabited with Alrizaigat at their home. The main factor of that was the pressure of Alfour sultanate and the civil wars. The biggest of these tribes were Almaalia and Almaagla and groups of Albagreemi and Albeebo and segments of Habbaniya which were known by the sons of Saud and khuzam tribe that settled in Umdeedan and Awiga and a large part of the Albargad differed with Alrizaigat through the local circumstances. They were excellent in their behavior and bad sometimes, there were good due to many reasons, varying in their interest, model of life, the tribal prejudice, ambitious demands to constitute the private leadership "Nazara" but they were bad in their behaviors because the influence of the leader in some issues of nazer.