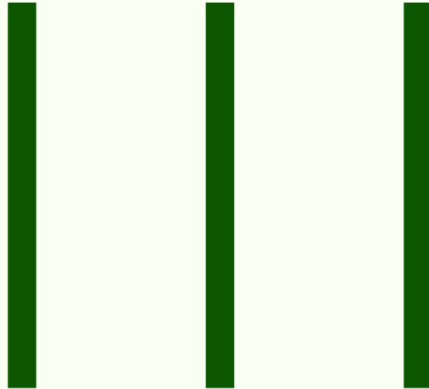


Mahmoud Muhammad Taha

# The Islamic Constitution?

**Yes... and No!**



January 1968

Mahmoud Muhammad Taha

President of the Republican Party

*Presents*

**The Islamic Constitution?**

**Yes... and No!**

**Omdurman - Shawal 1387 / January 1968**

## Dedication

To the honorable Sudanese people:

Today, your caravan is led by guides who have strayed from the truth and led others astray.

Do not believe everything you hear.

Let the Hadith of the Prophet (peace be upon him) to Abdullah ibn Umar guide you:

*"[Adhere to] Your religion! Your religion! O son of Umar! Do not let what I did for your parents deceive you. Take from those who are upright, not from those who merely speak."*

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

*"He is the One who sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religion. And sufficient is Allah as a Witness." (48:28)*

## Introduction

### **The Charter Front:**

The proposal for a complete Islamic constitution was defeated in the Permanent Constitution Committee for Sudan.

Details of the events surrounding this defeat can be found in the second volume of the Committee's deliberations. For instance:

Mr. Musa Al-Mubarak stated: "In the technical committee's memorandum on the Islamic constitution, on page 7, it is stated that the head of state must be a Muslim. I would like to ask: Do non-Muslims have the right to participate in electing this Muslim president?"

Mr. Hassan Al-Turabi responded: "There is nothing preventing non-Muslims from electing a Muslim president. The state considers both Muslims and non-Muslims as citizens. On matters of discretion where there are no express provisions, it will be left to the general public to decide because such issues depend on public interest. There is nothing preventing non-Muslims from participating in the election of a Muslim president or serving in the parliament to legislate discretionary laws not governed by explicit sharia texts."

Mr. Philip Abbas Ghaboush asked: "Mr. Chairman, can a non-Muslim be at the same level of eligibility and be chosen as head of state?"

Dr. Hassan Al-Turabi replied: "The answer is clear, Mr. Chairman. There are other eligibility conditions, such as age, integrity, the absence of criminal convictions, nationality, and other such legal conditions."

The Chairman asked Mr. Ghaboush to repeat his question.

Mr. Philip Abbas Ghaboush then clarified: "My question, Mr. Chairman, is essentially the same: Can a non-Muslim be chosen as head of state within the framework of the state?"

Dr. Hassan Al-Turabi ultimately answered: "No, Mr. Chairman."

This dialogue illustrates the initial opposition to the proposal for a complete Islamic constitution. Note Dr. Al-Turabi's initial evasion, which compelled the Chairman to request Mr. Ghaboush to repeat his question to receive a clear answer. Once the question was repeated, Dr. Al-Turabi could not evade and answered with a definitive "No." This marked the beginning of opposition that eventually culminated in the rejection of the Islamic constitution proposal. This rejection was recorded in the Constituent Assembly records.

Dr. Al-Turabi's initial evasion of a specific response is not incidental; rather, it is highly indicative of the profound contradictions under which Dr. Al-Turabi and his fellow Islamic advocates, who have received extensive Western education, grapple with. These contradictions arise from their extensive exposure to Western thought and their attempts to align with contemporary progressive frameworks, particularly democracy and socialism. Yet, they find no support for such alignment in the traditional Islamic thought they studied. As a result, they live in an unsettling state of contradiction, which has stunted their intellectual potential and rendered them pitiable figures.

## Other Islamic Advocates

When the proposal for a complete Islamic constitution was rejected by the Permanent Constitution Committee, a group of distinguished citizens representing an elite familiar with both Western and some Islamic thought formed what they called the “National Commission for the Complete Islamic Constitution.” They issued a memorandum on “The Complete Islamic Constitution for the Republic of Sudan,” which begins with the following statement:

*"As a result, the northern parties declared their acceptance of the Islamic constitution despite their differences. This internal discord within the Permanent Constitution Committee prompted a group of your brothers in the tripartite capital to deliberate on the best way to achieve a complete Islamic constitution."*

*"A commission was formed under the name of the National Commission for the Complete Islamic Constitution. After many meetings, the commission decided to establish a council to consult, research, and reach out to party leaders to garner support for the complete Islamic constitution, as they were convinced that building the state upon it would ensure the happiness of all citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims alike."*

*"The commission contacted party leaders and prominent figures, receiving welcoming and supportive responses. Some leaders even encouraged the commission to draft a memorandum outlining the distinct features that would set the Islamic constitution apart from other constitutions."*

*"Consequently, the commission tasked seven of its members with drafting the memorandum. Once the committee completed its work, the memorandum was presented to the broader commission for discussion and approval. The document before you represents the finalized version."*

*"The following are the names of the commission members and the drafting committee:"*

- Mr. Al-Dardiri Mohamed Othman (Chairman)
- Dr. Kamel Al-Baqir (Secretary)
- Mr. Ahmed Al-Baili (Rapporteur)
- Mr. Abdel-Majid Ali Abu Quseisa
- Mr. Awadallah Saleh
- Mr. Mandour Al-Mahdi
- Mr. Badawi Mustafa
- Mr. Majzoub Madthar Al-Hijaz
- Mr. Mohamed Al-Arabi
- Mr. Abshir Ahmed Hamida
- Mr. Daoud Al-Khalifa Abdullah
- Mr. Youssef Ishaq Hamad Al-Neil
- Mr. Ali Talaballah
- Mr. Mohamed Hashim Al-Hadiya
- Mr. Awad Hamid Jabir Al-Dar
- Mr. Youssef Al-Khalifa Abu Bakr
- Mr. Omar Abdullah Sabir

### **Drafting Committee:**

- Mr. Al-Dardiri Mohamed Othman
- Dr. Kamel Al-Baqir
- Mr. Majzoub Madthar Al-Hijaz
- Mr. Awadallah Saleh
- Mr. Badawi Mustafa
- Mr. Mandour Al-Mahdi
- Mr. Ahmed Al-Baili

The memorandum concludes: *"We hope that all political parties, regardless of differences, will unite behind these principles. We also call upon members of the Constituent Assembly to fulfill the nation's demands by establishing a complete Islamic constitution that brings happiness to all citizens."*

*"We urge every individual, regardless of their political or sectarian affiliation, to work tirelessly and with determination to build our state upon the foundation of Islam. Those who do so will surely triumph."*

Here, we have provided a list of the esteemed members of this commission so you can become familiar with them, as they are among the most distinguished figures in this country in terms of academic achievement and official positions in the state.

What did they say about these principles, which they invite parties and groups to support "with solidarity, perseverance, and firmness to build our state on the foundation of Islam" - "as they were convinced that building the state upon it would ensure the happiness of all citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims."?

On page 5 of the memorandum, they state: *"When we call for the establishment of an Islamic constitution and the realization of the principles of Islamic Sharia, we are essentially calling for the establishment of a modern state in every sense of the term. Democracy, in all its political, economic, and social forms, was understood by Islam long before modern states conceived of it. In Islam, governance is based on land, people, and government, as is the case in modern state theory."*

This is what they said on page 5. But consider what they say on page 11: *"Democracy has become a slogan bearing various and often contradictory meanings, reflecting the ideological divide between the communist East*

*and the capitalist West. Communist states describe their systems as democratic, as do Western capitalist states, despite the ideological and philosophical differences between East and West. As for Muslims, Allah describes them thus: 'And thus We have made you a moderate nation, that you will be witnesses over the people.' (2:143)."*

*They continue: "Likewise, the term 'socialism' bears so many contradictory meanings that its use often becomes a tool for distorting the principles of justice and inciting class warfare. Since Islam encompasses all principles of justice, consultation (Shura), and sound human values, we see no need for the inclusion of 'socialism' or 'democracy' as terms in the constitution. It is sufficient to describe the constitution as Islamic."*

*"Unless, of course, we accuse Islam of deficiency, incompleteness, and lack of comprehensiveness - a thought that would never cross the mind of any Muslim."*

## **The Shortcomings of Muslims, Not Islam**

Those who read the memorandum of the "National Commission for the Complete Islamic Constitution" with awareness will not perceive a deficiency in Islam but rather a glaring deficiency among those advocating for Islam. This includes a failure to grasp the realities of contemporary issues and, even more troubling, a lack of understanding of the truths of Islam itself.

The commission displayed intellectual dishonesty. They sensed the need for evasion, much like Dr. Hassan Al-Turabi, but without the immediate pressure of someone like Mr. Philip Abbas Ghaboush forcing them to clarify. Consequently, they resorted to cloaking their vagueness in ornate and superficial language that lacked any substance of truth. On page 8 of their memorandum, under the heading "*The Rights of Non-Muslims,*" they

state: *"1. Non-Muslim citizens enjoy full freedom in their religions, worship, and religious education within the bounds of the law. 'There shall be no compulsion in religion; truth stands out clear from error' (2:256). 'Allah does not forbid you from being righteous and just toward those who have not fought you on account of religion or driven you out of your homes. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly' (60:8). 'You are not over them a compeller, but remind by the Quran those who fear My warning' (50:45)."*

*"2. They have the right to demand adjudication in their personal matters according to their religious laws or customary traditions."*

*"3. They are equal to Muslims in other rights and obligations."*

This is despite the fact that anyone with even a modest understanding of Sharia knows that non-Muslim citizens - Jews, Christians, and others - are referred to as *dhimmi*s. This term denotes individuals granted safety for their wealth, honor, and lives by Muslims in exchange for paying the *jizyah* tax. While able-bodied Muslims pay *zakat*, able-bodied *dhimmi*s pay *jizyah*. To speak of equality in rights and obligations, therefore, is baseless nonsense.

The verses cited under point 1 above are all abrogated and not enacted within Sharia. They have been superseded by the verse of the sword: *"When the sacred months have passed, then kill the polytheists wherever you find them..." (9:5)* And by the verse: *"Fight those who do not believe in Allah or the Last Day and do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden and do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture until they give the jizyah willingly while they are being humiliated."* (9:29)

With such unequivocal verses, how can anyone claim that non-Muslims "are equal to Muslims in other rights and obligations"?

Moreover, when you speak of democracy—and you inevitably speak of it when you discuss the constitution - it is not enough to grant equality among citizens in some rights and duties while discriminating among them in others, whether based on creed, race, or class, for example.

There must be complete equality among citizens in all rights and duties - otherwise, do not speak of a constitution, and do not speak of democracy.

## **Between Sharia and Religion**

Our people who advocate for Islamic thought, across all its schools, make a grave confusion between *Sharia* and religion (*deen*). Because of this, they fall into contradictions. When they sense these contradictions, they attempt to evade, obscure, or obfuscate the issue, but they achieve nothing meaningful in the end.

We provided an example earlier of how Dr. Hassan Al-Turabi avoided giving a direct answer until he was cornered. Similarly, the National Commission for the Complete Islamic Constitution resorted to flowery rhetoric and inserted an entirely baseless claim: "*They are equal to Muslims in other rights and obligations.*" They then attempted to justify this falsehood by referencing abrogated verses.

The first point that must be emphasized is that Islamic *Sharia* is not Islam itself but rather the gateway to Islam. It is the aspect of Islam that was revealed to meet the immediate needs and conditions of society fourteen centuries ago. In some of its forms, it carries the characteristic of being *time-bound* (*muwāqāt*), making it subject to evolution. This evolution involves transitioning from a secondary text (*nass farii*) in the Quran, revealed to address the circumstances of the time, to a primary text (*nass asli*), which had been considered abrogated (*mansukh*) - that is, deferred until its appropriate time. The secondary text was considered applicable at

the time, while the primary text was postponed for future application. Thus, the evolution of Islamic *Sharia* in some of its forms means transitioning from one verse to another within the Quran itself.

For instance, the "verse of the sword" (*āyat al-sayf*) and its counterparts are not fundamental (*asl*) in Islam; they are secondary (*farii*). The secondary verses were necessitated by circumstances and descended from the primary verses to align more closely with the conditions of the people, gradually guiding them toward the primary verses. The primary verses are those considered *abrogated* (*mansukh*), while the secondary verses are the *abrogating* (*nasikh*).

If we are to discuss Islamic *Sharia*, we must refrain from invoking the verse: "*There shall be no compulsion in religion. The right course has become clear from the wrong.*" (2:256) unless we are advocating for the evolution of *Sharia* from the verses of compulsion to the verses of tolerance.

Another essential point to establish is that the current *Sharia* is neither democratic nor socialist. Politically, it is based on the concept of consultation (*shura*), a system akin to governance by a wise individual who serves as a custodian over an immature people. This custodian is tasked with nurturing and guiding them toward becoming fit for democracy. At that point, *Sharia* will evolve, transitioning from secondary Quranic principles to primary ones - moving from *shura* to the Quranic injunctions: "*So remind, you are but a reminder. You have no dominion over them*" (88:21–22). Thus, with this development, it becomes more aligned with Islam than its previous form. Or you could say, it was more so before it evolved.

Economically, the current *Sharia* is capitalist, not socialist. However, it was designed to pave the way for a societal progression toward socialism. This eventual transition involves moving from the secondary Quranic principle of minor *zakat*: *"Take, [O Muhammad], from their wealth a charity by which you purify them and cause them increase..."* (9:103), to the primary principle of major *zakat*: *"They ask you what they should spend. Say, 'The excess beyond needs.'"* (2:219).

In the current *Sharia*, there is no democracy, and therefore, there is no Islamic constitution. Any discussion about an Islamic constitution by those who do not advocate for the evolution of Islamic *Sharia* is a reflection of dual ignorance - ignorance of Islam and ignorance of contemporary culture. This is the foundation upon which the efforts of Islamic advocates among us are based.

In concluding this introduction, we would like to say to them: if you fail to grasp the true essence of Islam and the nature of modern cultural challenges, it would be better for you to cease speaking in the name of Islam. Otherwise, you bear the burden of hindering the call to Islam with misconceptions that you attempt to attach to it, though Islam is entirely innocent of them.

The result of your attempts will only be to delay the progress of true advocates for some time. It is enough of a misdeed for a person, through their ignorance, to obstruct a call to goodness, even for a single moment, while being aware of their error.

## **Democracy, Socialism, and Islam**

### **Democracy**

*"Since Islam encompasses all principles of justice, consultation (Shura), and sound human values, we see no need for the inclusion of the terms*

*'socialism' or 'democracy' in the constitution. It is sufficient to describe the constitution as Islamic". "Unless, of course, we accuse Islam of deficiency, incompleteness, and lack of comprehensiveness - a thought that would never cross the mind of any Muslim."*

With these words, the National Commission for the Complete Islamic Constitution concluded its memorandum. The commission rejects democracy - why? They explain in their memorandum: *"Democracy has become a slogan bearing various and often contradictory meanings, reflecting the ideological divide between the communist East and the capitalist West. Communist states describe their systems as democratic, as do Western capitalist states, despite the ideological and philosophical differences between East and West. As for Muslims, Allah describes them thus: 'And thus We have made you a moderate nation, so that you will be witnesses over the people' (2:143)."*

I am deeply certain that anyone who makes such a statement has no right to speak about democracy, nor does he have the right to speak about Islam. If he does speak, he is merely a man who speaks about God without knowledge. Such a person may also be someone who shows no reverence for God.

As for Islam, this verse cannot appropriately be cited in this context, because there is no middle ground between communism and Western capitalism; both are materialistic.

Western capitalism is responsible for distorting democracy in the West, while communism has distorted democracy in the East. Although the distortion of democracy in the West is significantly less severe than in the East, the key issue lies in the shared departure from spiritual values in both systems.

This spiritual deficit in both the East and the West renders Western civilization, in both its capitalist and communist forms, materialistic and incapable of accommodating the full potential of contemporary human being who seeks freedom and material prosperity as a means to achieve freedom, not as a substitute for it.

The Republican Party expressed this perspective in its book, *The Challenge Facing the Arabs*, on page 19: *"Unifying humanity through thought - there is no other path - requires a civilization that grants preeminence to thought. However, this is not the case with contemporary Western civilization, neither in its capitalist Western branch nor its communist Eastern branch. In fact, modern Western civilization is fundamentally built on the denial of thought. It is a materialistic civilization in both its communist and capitalist forms. The difference between communism and capitalism is merely one of degree. It is particularly evident in communism's disdain for thought and its suppression of intellectual freedom.*

*Western civilization has declared its bankruptcy and reached the limits of its evolutionary capacity. It has failed to accommodate the energy of contemporary humanity and its aspiration to unite socialism and democracy within a single governmental system. This is because modern individuals desire freedom and view socialism as their natural right and an essential means to achieve that freedom.*

*It is a grave misjudgment to ask individuals to relinquish their freedom in exchange for the rights guaranteed by socialism, as Marxist communism now demands. Similarly, it is unreasonable to expect them to achieve democratic freedom under a capitalist economic system that barely meets the needs of the body and sustenance, as Western capitalism proposes."*

Thus, there is no middle ground between Western democracy and Marxist communism for Muslims to occupy, guided by the interpretation of this noble verse. Rather, this verse highlights the moderation of Muslims between the spiritual excess of Christians and the material excess of Jews. We have discussed this extensively in our book *The Second Message of Islam*, page 108. Readers are encouraged to refer to it for further detail.

As for democracy, it is a mistake to attribute its shortcomings to the failures of those who implement it or to the distortions introduced by those who misrepresent its essence. This commission has not conveyed to us the true essence of democracy; instead, it has chosen to dismiss it on the grounds that it has become, in their view, "*a slogan bearing various and often contradictory meanings.*" Such a stance reflects nothing more than superficiality and intellectual bankruptcy.

Here, we shall not embark on an exhaustive exploration of the intrinsic meaning of democracy, as this is a subject we intend to address comprehensively in our forthcoming book, *"Islam: Democratic and Socialist."* However, we must first direct the reader to our earlier work, *"The Leader of the Charter Front in the Balance of: 1- Western Culture and 2- Islam,"* specifically page 9 and subsequent pages, for a succinct yet sufficient understanding of democracy that meets their immediate needs.

For now, we can present a brief excerpt from that work: *"The fundamental equality of all people is one of the most important manifestations of the democratic philosophy. People, in their essence, are the same regardless of differences in gender, color, language, religion, nationality, or class. There is something basic that unites them: intellect and the capacity for reasoning. People, from this perspective, are not merely members of a specific social group, economic class, or nationality, because (what*

*fundamentally unites them stems from their shared attributes, not from what divides them.)"*

This is what we articulated there. Democracy, at its core, is a system of governance that upholds the dignity for every citizen. Human dignity is not defined by the mere satisfaction of material needs or provision of sustenance, but rather by the respect accorded to intellectual freedom. Indeed, what elevates humanity above mere animal existence is the capacity for thought.

It is stated in the Republican Party's book, *The Second Message of Islam*, on page 165: *"The dignity of a human being arises from their unique capacity among living beings to learn and progress. Similarly, the dignity of democracy, as a system of governance, lies in its unparalleled ability to provide opportunities for individuals to attain their dignity and honor. Humans learn from their mistakes, which is the most effective method of education.*

*In a dictatorship, the government prevents individuals from experimenting or acting independently, thereby stifling their intellectual, emotional, and moral growth, all of which depend on practicing, taking responsibility for mistakes in speech and action, and learning from those mistakes. In contrast, democracy is built on the right to make mistakes. This does not mean mistakes for their own sake but rather acknowledges that freedom necessitates choosing among various courses of action. A person cannot truly be democratic without learning how to choose, make better choices, and continually correct the mistakes they inevitably make from time to time.*

*In essence, all behavior and the practice of freedom are a series of individual decisions in choosing and acting - or, in other words, in freedom*

*of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of action - under one condition: the individual bears the consequences of their mistakes in speech and action according to constitutional law. Democracy is the right to err. At the pinnacle of this definition is the statement of the Prophet, peace be upon him: 'If you did not make mistakes and seek forgiveness, Allah would replace you with a people who would make mistakes, seek forgiveness, and He would forgive them.'"*

This is what we stated at the time, and we will delve further into the matter of democracy in our forthcoming book, *Islam: Democratic and Socialist*. However, what we have presented here is sufficient to demonstrate that democracy, as a way of life, aligns entirely with the Islamic approach.

If democracy has been distorted by communists, fascists, or Western capitalists, then we must reject the distortion wherever it comes from and uphold democracy in its authenticity and essence. We must defend it because it is the only human approach to governance that befits the honor and dignity of humankind.

## **Socialism**

What did the commission say about socialism? They stated: *"Likewise, the term 'socialism' bears so many contradictory meanings that its use often becomes a tool for distorting the principles of justice and inciting class warfare within society."*

Here again, the commission failed to grasp the essence of socialism. They attributed to socialism the errors of its practitioners and the distortions it has undergone, just as they did with democracy. Socialism, at its core, is "economic democracy," just as democracy is "political socialism." The two are inseparable; they are like the wings of a bird. As a bird cannot soar

with one wing, so too can society not rise without both democracy and socialism working together to uphold human dignity.

We have previously established that contemporary Western civilization has declared bankruptcy and is incapable of addressing the human potential of modern individuals, because it has failed to unite democracy and socialism within a single governance system. The modern individual desires freedom and sees socialism as their natural right and an essential means to achieve that freedom. It is misguided for them to be asked to relinquish their freedom in exchange for enjoying the rights guaranteed by socialism, as Marxist communism demands today, or to be asked to achieve democratic freedom under an economic system of capitalism that barely meets their basic needs, as Western capitalism proposes.

The commission's statement, describing socialism as "inciting class warfare within society," indicates their belief that socialism is synonymous with Marxism. This is a common misconception. While it may be excusable for the average newspaper reader, it is unacceptable for individuals tasked with writing and guiding the public on critical matters such as the constitution. Marxism is merely one school of socialism with its strengths and weaknesses. It is inappropriate to attribute the flaws of Marxism to socialism as a whole.

Socialism, in its essence, simply means that all people are partners in the Earth's resources, with no one holding a right over others while leaving some reliant on charity. Socialism emerged naturally from the long and bitter struggle between "the haves" and "the have-nots." Before the advent of scientific socialism, there was primitive socialism, which advocated for shared access to abundant resources that could not be monopolized. The Infallible [Prophet] referred to this when he said: *"The people are partners in three things: water, pasture, and fire."*

This prophetic teaching points to the necessity of socialism when resources are abundant, achieved through the utilization of natural and industrial resources. Scientific socialism builds on this foundation.

It is stated in the Republicans' book *The Second Message of Islam*, page 158, regarding socialism, that: *"Scientific socialism, as envisioned by the Republicans, rests on two pillars simultaneously: the first is increasing production from sources of production, including minerals, agriculture, industry, and livestock. This is achieved through the use of machinery, science, and the enhancement of administrative and technical expertise.*

*The second pillar is the equitable distribution of wealth. In the socialist phase, this entails establishing both a maximum and a minimum income level. The minimum income must be guaranteed for all citizens, including children, the elderly, and those unable to produce. It should be sufficient to allow citizens to live at a standard that preserves their human dignity.*

*As for the maximum income, it is required that it not exceed the minimum income by many multiples, to prevent the creation of an upper class that would disdain marrying into the lower-income classes.*

*To increase production, it is necessary to prohibit the ownership of sources and means of production by a single individual or a small group of individuals in the form of a company, whether it is a production company or a distribution company. A citizen may only own private property such as a home, the garden surrounding it, the furniture inside, a car, and similar items that do not involve employing others in a way that exploits their labor to increase the owner's income. Even within these narrow limits, individual ownership should not be absolute ownership of the object itself. Rather, it should be usufructuary ownership - ownership of the right to use and*

*benefit from the object - while the object itself remains owned by God and, collectively, by the community as a whole.*

*As production increases, equitable distribution advances by reducing income disparities. The minimum guaranteed income is raised more significantly than the maximum cap, progressing toward absolute equality. Once this equality is achieved, through God's grace and increased production, communism is realized - a state where resources are fully shared among all people. Communism differs from socialism in degree, with socialism serving as a transitional phase toward communism.*

*The Infallible exemplified communism at its peak when his teachings reflected the Quranic verse: "They ask you what they should spend. Say, 'The excess.'" (2:219). He interpreted "The excess" (al-'afw) as anything beyond his immediate needs.*

*He also embodied these principles among the Ash'aris, as he said: "The Ash'aris, when facing hardship or traveling, would gather their provisions on a cloth and share them equally. They are of me, and I am of them."*

*Another tradition reported by a companion states: "We were traveling with the Prophet (peace be upon him) when he said: 'Whoever has surplus wealth, let him give it to those without wealth. Whoever has surplus provisions, let him give it to those without provisions. Whoever has surplus mounts, let him give it to those without mounts. Whoever has surplus water, let him give it to those without water.' He continued enumerating until we thought no one had a right to surplus."*

The increase in production is achieved through the use of machinery, scientific expertise, and efficient administration, based on a cooperative approach among productive citizens rather than through centralized state ownership.

As Republicans, when we speak of scientific socialism or communism in what we advocate, we do not mean the doctrine of Karl Marx, known as Marxist-Leninism. We are fully aware that Karl Marx's socialism is not scientific. It is entangled in a fundamental and grave error, which constitutes the greatest obstacle to the triumph of socialism on earth. Socialism will not prevail unless this fundamental error is corrected.

We briefly addressed this error in our book *The Challenge Facing the Arabs*, on page 14, and we plan to elaborate on it in our forthcoming book, *Islam: Democratic and Socialist*, which will be published soon, God willing.

### **Combining Democracy and Socialism**

It can be said that a system capable of combining democracy and socialism within a single governance framework is a pressing need for humanity today. Western capitalism has failed in this regard. It clings to an outdated understanding, claiming that individual freedom necessarily includes the right to individual ownership, even of production resources. It refuses to evolve toward socialism except under slow, reluctant pressure exerted by the threat of communism and the fear of sweeping communist revolutions. As a result, the West sacrifices socialism while deceiving itself that it is democratic. In truth, no democracy that neglects socialism can be anything more than ink on paper.

On the other hand, Marxist-Leninist communism has also failed to combine democracy with socialism. It resorts to distorting democracy, claiming that Western democracy is invalid because it is a democracy of capital and feudalism. Communism introduces its own form of democracy that confiscates the freedoms of capital and feudalism, granting rights instead to workers, farmers, and patriotic intellectuals. It calls this "true

democracy." In reality, it is a falsification of democracy; it is merely a dictatorship of patriotic intellectuals over workers and farmers.

The great intellectual fallacy of these advocates lies in their assumption that democracy is inherently flawed because of the West's poor implementation. A sound perspective recognizes that democracy itself is faultless, and the flaw lies in its improper application. The solution to misapplication is not to distort democracy but to correct its implementation.

In truth, Marxism can only implement a distorted democracy - a dictatorship falsely labeled as democracy. This distortion stems from Marxism's short-sightedness in denying spiritual values, which prevents it from providing an alternative to the traditional production incentives it has dismantled.

Under feudalism and capitalism, the traditional incentive for production was that the surplus of one's production belonged to oneself, to be saved for future needs after paying a financial obligation. Socialism, however, relies on taking the surplus of your production and mine to provide for those unable to produce but capable of consuming. While we may accept this arrangement temporarily, hoping to reach communism where we all enjoy abundance, produce what we can, and take only what we need, the reality is different.

Years have passed, and Marxism has yet to transition beyond socialism. After more than half a century since its implementation in Russia, Marxism is now retreating to capitalist incentives to increase and improve production. Soviet economist Liberman's policies illustrate this retreat. Liberman and other Marxists argue that production incentives based on material rewards align with socialism and are not necessarily capitalist. However, this claim is refutable. When these incentives follow their logical

conclusion, they reveal themselves as a regression to capitalism - a regression Marxism was forced into because of its failure to account for spiritual values.

What happened in the Soviet Union was a natural outcome. Humans act or refrain from action primarily for self-serving purposes. When the state tells its people to produce at their full capacity and to sacrifice their surplus production during the present phase because they are building a socialist system that is merely a transitional stage toward communism, and when the state promises that once communism is achieved - thanks to their sacrifices during the socialist phase - they will be rewarded with everything they need, along with fewer working hours, people will initially comply. They will produce out of disdain for the feudal and capitalist systems of the past and out of trust in the new system that promised to liberate them and opened for them the door to the earthly paradise.

However, when the promised reward takes too long to materialize, it is natural for trust in the new system to weaken, especially among the older generations who experienced the suffering of the old system and initially placed their hopes in the new one.

As for the younger generations, who have not experienced much of the suffering under the old system, they do not comprehend the meaning of such sacrifices. Instead, they expect immediate returns for their efforts. And if there is any delay, it should only be a short one, given that life itself is short, and the time for enjoying its blessings is even shorter.

The natural consequence, both for the older generations and the younger ones, is dissatisfaction, rebellion, and suppressed disobedience. This discontent finds no outlet for expression under the state's tyranny and centralized power, except through deliberate underproduction.

In such a situation, the Marxist state faces three possible courses of action: It must either create a new incentive to replace the traditional incentive for production that it dismantled, resort to continuous and meticulous surveillance and espionage on producers, or collapse.

The first option is unavailable to Marxism, and the third option – collapse - is naturally undesirable. Therefore, the only remaining option is the second: continuous and precise surveillance, which is precisely what Marxism implemented in the Soviet Union. In truth, this surveillance and espionage have been integral to Marxism since its inception. Initially, these measures were directed against those labeled as enemies of the new regime - figures from the old order, such as feudal lords and capitalists. Over time, however, surveillance and espionage became inherent features of Marxist implementation. As time passed, the enemies of the new regime began to include some of its own former supporters - veterans of the old system and members of the younger generation - who lost hope in the Marxist project, as previously discussed.

This secret policing and surveillance reached its peak during Stalin's reign. The result was a series of bloody purges, which Khrushchev, in one of his speeches against Stalin, claimed had caused the deaths of as many as five million citizens.

When Stalin's era ended, and his successors took power - with Khrushchev being the most prominent - Marxism entered a period of decay. The oppressive force that Stalin wielded weakened, and trust in the regime began to erode after so much time had passed without even a distant glimpse of communism on the horizon.

Production began to decline, and the modern state in Russia found itself in need of a new incentive to drive productivity, one that could replace the

fear imposed by Stalin. However, that fear was no longer sustainable under his successors. Marxism-Leninism failed to provide its followers with any new motivating incentive, leading them to revert to capitalist incentives.

Thus, they were deemed apostates in the eyes of their Chinese rivals. And indeed, they are apostates. But Marxism itself failed to offer them any safeguard against this apostasy, nor will it offer anything to Mao Zedong. In fact, Marxism's failure under Mao is unfolding even faster than it did under the Russians. The chaos now engulfing China, ironically dubbed the "Cultural Revolution," serves as evidence. It is led by juveniles and adolescents against university professors and Marxist philosophers such as Liu Shaoqi.

Marxism inherently carries the seeds of its own failure. This point will be elaborated upon in our forthcoming book, *Islam: Democratic and Socialist*. However, we can assert the following with confidence: only a submissive follower, deceived by Marxism, or a so-called intellectual unworthy of the title - narrow-minded and shallow in thought - would fail to grasp this truth.

The fundamental flaw of Marxism lies in what it ignorantly and falsely boasts of as "science" - atheism. Atheism can never be considered science unless intellects are dulled and abandon their purpose. As the saying goes: *"Nothing can be deemed logical if daylight itself requires proof."*

This is where Islam steps in to address the shortcomings of Marxism by introducing the spiritual dimension that Marxism denies. By incorporating spirituality, values are elevated to two levels: the material and the spiritual. In this framework, material existence serves the spiritual purpose, as expressed in the words of Jesus: *"Man does not live by bread alone, but*

*by every word that comes from God."* Similarly, the Infallible said: *"This world is a vehicle to the Hereafter."*

This perspective compensates for the loss of the traditional production incentive that must be dismantled to pave the way for socialism. As previously stated, the surplus of your production is taken to support those unable to produce, providing them with the means to consume. This redistribution is one of socialism's virtues, as it reveals the humanity within us. It is through this humanity that value is found, both for individuals and society.

By willingly striving to increase production, economizing in consumption, and dedicating your effort, sweat, time, and intellect to bring happiness to others - children, women, the elderly, and the disabled - you attain a deeper sense of inner peace, satisfaction, and expansion of your own humanity, leading to your personal happiness.

Islam places significant emphasis on this, framing its acts of worship as a form of moral education designed to prepare you and me to become righteous and beneficial to others in life. Islam teaches: *"Religion is proper interaction" (Al-din al-mu'amalah)*. It also teaches: *"All creation is God's dependents, and the most beloved to God are those who are most beneficial to His dependents."* And it teaches: *"He who cheats us is not one of us."* It further states: *"A Muslim is someone from whom others are safe from his tongue and his hand."*

In its moral training, Islam makes your conscience your overseer, sparing you from the need for external surveillance - whether from a production unit manager or the secret police, which Marxism relies on and cannot do without to protect its system. When your conscience is your overseer, you

are truly free. And when citizens are free, socialism can be implemented under the umbrella of democracy.

This is why we assert that Islam alone has the capacity to unite democracy and socialism within a single governance system.

Let no one assume that Islam refrains from enforcing socialism through legal means, leaving it solely to individual consciences. Such an assumption would be erroneous. Islam employs the law as one of its many tools for moral training, alongside other methods within its system of worship. For those who transcend the need for law due to their moral upbringing, they embody true freedom. For others who require the law's application, it serves as a tool to aid their moral development, not merely as a means of deterrence.

## **Islam**

The topic of Islam does not require extensive elaboration here, as we have already dedicated a book to it titled *The Second Message of Islam*. Those interested may refer to it. However, it is essential to assert here that anyone who understands the true nature of Islam, democracy, and socialism cannot but recognize that Islam has a stronger claim to both democracy and socialism than either the East or the West - and in a decisive manner.

If an Islamic advocate claims that Islam has no connection to socialism or democracy, insisting that Islam is simply Islam, as is the common stance of Islamic advocates, including the National Commission for the Islamic Constitution, such a claim only reveals profound ignorance about socialism, democracy, and Islam. Such ignorance disqualifies one from speaking about public affairs.

Our present era is distinguished from all previous human eras by being the age of science. This era, in its current phase, is predominantly characterized by knowledge of the laws governing the material world. It is now progressing toward understanding the laws governing human psychology, with imminent success on the horizon. Humanity's scientific endeavors in exploring the external world will ultimately culminate in self-knowledge, for in all its pursuits - on land, at sea, and in outer space - humanity is fundamentally searching for itself.

God Almighty has made our understanding of the material environment surrounding us a gateway to understanding ourselves. As He says: *"And on the earth are signs for the certain [in faith] and in yourselves. Then will you not see?"* (51:20–21). And also: *"We will show them Our signs in the horizons and within themselves until it becomes clear to them that it is the truth. But is it not sufficient concerning your Lord that He is, over all things, a Witness?"* (41:53). Moreover, He has made our self-knowledge a pathway to knowing Him, which is the highest and most noble form of knowledge. The Infallible said: *"Whoever knows himself knows his Lord."*

In the domain of knowledge, Islam exists in two phases: the phase of belief (*'aqida*) and the phase of knowledge (*'ilm*). In its phase of belief, it begins as an entry level of Islam, then progresses to faith (iman), and finally to excellence (ihsan) - this is its utmost attainment in this stage. In the phase of knowledge, it evolves into the knowledge of certainty (*'ilm al-yaqin*), the knowledge of essence of certainty (*'ayn al-yaqin*), and the knowledge of truth of certainty (haqq al-yaqin) - this is its ultimate goal in the realm of knowledge. This phase of knowledge emerges through progression from the phase of belief.

It is as though a person enters Islam for the first time without yet having faith in God, for they lack sufficient knowledge about Him. However, they

believe in the truthfulness of the Prophet, trust him, and obey him. This is the stage of verbal affirmation and physical compliance - professing faith with the tongue and performing deeds with the limbs.

When one follows the Prophet with perfection, the meaning of faith (*iman*) enters their heart, transforming them into a believer in God. This is the stage of belief with the heart, verbal affirmation with the tongue, and deeds performed by the limbs.

Faith then increases, becoming excellence (*ihsan*). Excellence grows further, transforming into the knowledge of certainty (*'ilm al-yaqin*). This knowledge deepens into the knowledge of essence of certainty (*'ilm 'ayn al-yaqin*). As faith continues to increase, it becomes the knowledge of truth of certainty (*'ilm haqq al-yaqin*). At this stage, the self finds peace with God, submits its reins to Him, and lives according to His guidance, following His will with contentment and tranquility, knowing its existence within God. This state of serene submission is the true Islam referred to in the verse: "Indeed, the religion with God is Islam" (3:19).

In *The Message of Prayer*, page 46, we stated: *"Islam, in its essence, is not a religion in the conventional sense of the term. Rather, the phase of belief in Islam is a transition to its scientific phase. Its phase of Sharia is a transition to the stage of truth, where individuals ascend from collective Sharia to individual laws tailored to each person's unique truth. Collective Sharia remains preserved and respected for its role in guiding, educating, and organizing the foundational base of humanity, which continually evolves through experience."*

*"Those who enter the realm of individual laws are the true Muslims - the free individuals mentioned earlier. True freedom lies in the ability to unify thought, speech, and action within oneself, leading to a state where one*

*thinks as they wish, speaks as they think, and acts as they speak, with the outcome being nothing but goodness and kindness toward others. Such individuals transcend the collective laws, adhering instead to their personal laws, which surpass collective Sharia in refinement, benevolence, and spiritual elevation.*

Islam is the religion of innate human nature (*fitra*) means it is the religion of psychology (*'ilm al-nafs*), and it will guide humanity - simply by virtue of being human - toward its long-sought goal, regardless of their colors or languages. It will guide every individual to their true self, for, as we have said, it is a science of the self (*'ilm al-nafs*). At this scientific level, Islam will triumph in the age of science over traditional religions, fulfilling God's promise: *"It is He who sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to manifest it over all religion, even though those who associate others with Allah dislike it."* (9:33). The phrase *'with guidance'* refers to guidance to the self, as stated by God: *"Whoever is guided is only guided for [the benefit of] his self"* (17:15).

The phrase *'the religion of truth'* refers to the religion of knowledge. We do not wish to elaborate further here, as this topic will be addressed in a separate book titled *The Golden Age of Islam Is Ahead of Us.*

This is what we said about Islam in *The Message of Prayer (Risalat al-Salat)*.

We affirm here that Islam, at this elevated level, adopts a political approach that is *"democratic"*, an economic approach that is *"socialist"*, and an individual approach - specifically in the method of personal development - that is based on *"absolute individual freedom*. However, if an individual fails to manage this freedom, it is temporarily revoked through constitutional law. This law strikes a balance between society's need for

comprehensive social justice and the individual's need for absolute freedom. It does not sacrifice society's rights for the individual, as contemporary Western capitalism does, nor does it sacrifice the individual's rights for society, as Marxist communism does. Instead, this law harmonizes the ultimate goal - the individual - with the means to achieve it - the society.

When the law revokes individual freedom, it does so temporarily, not as punishment but as a corrective measure. The aim is to prepare the individual to embrace their freedom with greater capacity and competence upon restoration.

We have elaborated on this vision of Islam in all our published works, including *The Message of Prayer*, *The Second Message of Islam*, *The Leader of the Islamic Charter Front in Balance*, *The Challenge Facing the Arabs*, and *The Middle East Problem*. Those interested can refer to these works, as they contain further details that preclude the need for elaboration here.

## **Come to a Common Word**

This is an invitation directed toward the "Islamic Charter Front," the "Islamic Socialist Party," the "National Commission for the Islamic Constitution" as entities, and to every citizen individually who is concerned with the Islamic constitution.

The need for an Islamic constitution today is not merely driven by the needs of Muslims. It arises from the need of all humanity. Humanity has outgrown the capacity of contemporary Western civilization to meet its demands. It is now in search of a new civilization - one that is already inherent and present within Islam but nonexistent outside of it.

Thus, we, as Muslims, bear the responsibility of presenting this new civilization that can direct the immense and modern human energy and effort toward security and peace.

Islam is complete and flawless, without any deficiency whatsoever. The deficiency lies with us, the Muslims. We are profoundly incapable of understanding it. Worse yet, we project our lack of understanding onto Islam itself, accusing it of shortcomings. Each contemporary scholar of jurisprudence acts as though they are the sole authority on Islam. What aligns with their understanding is considered Islam, and what contradicts their perspective is dismissed as heresy and apostasy.

We once met a man of this type - someone regarded as a leading figure in "religious scholarly responsibility". Our purpose in meeting him was to present to him the Republican Thought and learn his perspective. During the conversation, we cited the verse: "He it is who sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religion, and sufficient is Allah as Witness" (48:28), as we reflected on the future of Islam. He responded, saying: *"It has already prevailed, for what is meant here is the manifestation of proof, and that has been achieved."*

We asked him, *"So, you do not expect Islam to prevail over all religions in the future?"* He replied firmly, *"No!! It has already prevailed!"*

Such a man has no right to speak in the name of Islam, unless doing so carries no scholarly responsibility - as is unfortunately the case in our times.

Islam's return is certain, without the slightest doubt. It is the promise of Allah and the promise of the Infallible. Upon all Muslims, and upon the Arabs in particular, rests the responsibility of spreading this message and

heralding Islam's return. It is their duty to call humanity, scorched by the blazing heat of discord, back to Islam's cool and expansive shade.

However, Islam will not return in its "doctrinal" form but in its "scientific" form. The Republicans have spoken extensively about this transformation. If Islam were confined to doctrine alone, its time would have passed. This is because, at the level of doctrine, Islam is confronted by numerous other doctrines, whose adherents are unlikely to abandon them for another. As the Quran states: *"Every faction rejoices in what it has."* (30:32).

Doctrines divide humanity rather than unite it. In contrast, at the level of science, Islam stands as the ultimate peak, where all paths converge. At this summit, all of humanity will find what they need.

The phrase "Islam is the religion of innate human nature" uttered by the Infallible points to this scientific level of Islam. At this level, human unity emerges and becomes a reality, for the innate nature of humanity is universal, regardless of differences. We have discussed this in detail in our books, which spares us from elaborating further here. At its scientific level, Islam is both democratic and socialist.

## **Is There an Islamic Constitution? The Answer Is Yes... and No!**

There is no constitution in the Islamic *Sharia* we have today. This is due to a simple reason: the governance under which our ancestors lived was not democratic; rather, it was a wise ruler's governance. This ruler acted as a guardian over a people considered minors, tasked with overseeing their affairs while consulting them to instill a sense of dignity and humanity. This consultation also provided them with opportunities to learn how to manage their affairs under his guidance, preparing them for democratic governance when they reached maturity.

The Quranic verse addressing consultation (*shura*) reflects this: *"So by mercy from Allah, [O Muhammad], you were lenient with them. And if you had been rude and harsh in heart, they would have disbanded from about you. So pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult them in matters. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely upon Him."* (3:159).

All Islamic advocates in our time claim that this is a verse of democracy, or rather, a verse of consultation governance (*Shura*), asserting that Islam is unrelated to democracy and that consultation is its alternative. Despite this, these advocates speak of a constitution, and yet every constitution - aside from cases of distortion found in fascist, communist, or other authoritarian regimes - represents democratic governance. This distortion is easily recognized and rejected by thoughtful individuals.

The verse of consultation relates to the governance of a wise ruler and forms the basis of Islamic *Sharia* in dealing with believers. At this level, it abrogates the two Quranic verses that embody democracy in Islam: *"So remind, [O Muhammad]; you are only a reminder. You have no dominion over them."* (88:21-22).

If we are to speak of an Islamic Constitution, we must develop Islamic *Sharia* in political matters from consultation (*Shura*) to these two noble verses. Otherwise, we are merely speaking without knowledge.

## No Constitution in Sharia, but a Constitution in Islam

We have previously discussed the distinction between Islamic *Sharia* and Islam, which can be reviewed in *The Second Message of Islam*.

Just as democracy is one wing of society, socialism is the other. Similarly, socialism does not exist in the Islamic *Sharia*, but Islam is inherently socialist - and more. We mention this briefly because a constitution stands on both these wings. In *The Second Message of Islam*, we have elaborated on the development of zakat (*almsgiving*), moving from fixed measures to drawing inspiration from the Infallible [Prophet]'s broader practice of zakat.

In brief: We have no right to discuss an Islamic Constitution if we do not advocate for the development of Islamic Sharia in political matters. The Salafist rule upon which *Sharia* was established was not democratic; it was based on *shura* (consultation). However, *shura* is not democracy, because the guardian is not bound to follow the advice of the consultative council if he holds a different opinion. Democracy, by contrast, requires binding decisions. *Shura* is merely consultation, with the guardian retaining the right to dissent.

If we recognize the necessity of developing Islamic *Sharia* in political and economic matters - shifting from secondary texts to primary texts, which were deferred in consideration of the time and the people's capacity - then we can speak of a constitution. Details of this development are discussed in *The Second Message of Islam*.

Once More: Is There an Islamic Constitution in Islam? The answer is yes - and no. Yes, there is a constitution in Islam. No, there is no constitution in the Islamic *Sharia* as it currently exists.

To the Islamic advocates in this country: come to a common word between us and you. Let us sit together, leaving behind our personal biases, and strive to deepen our understanding of our religion. Do not let the apparent strangeness of the Republican Party's ideas deter you. Perhaps this strangeness holds the promise of guidance rather than misguidance. Did not the Infallible say: *"Islam began as something strange and will return to being strange as it began, so blessed are the strangers."*

When asked, "Who are the strangers, O Messenger of Allah?" he replied: *"Those who revive my tradition after it has been forsaken."*

In another narration, he described the strangers as: *"A small, rightly guided group among a large, misguided one."*

Who knows? Perhaps you will find in the Republican Party's call a revival of the Infallible's tradition after it has been abandoned. And perhaps the Republicans are that small, rightly guided group among a large, misguided one.

## Conclusion

At the outset of this work, we stated that the proposal for the complete Islamic constitution had failed. Let us be clear: the Islamic constitution did not fail because it was not presented; rather, what failed was an incomplete and ignorant constitution that falsely claimed the name of a "complete Islamic constitution." Fortunately, it was rejected. This proposal, presented by the Technical Committee, reflected the views of the Islamic Charter Front on the Islamic constitution.

What did the Islamic Charter Front say after its failure? In a special issue of their newspaper *Al-Mithaq*, dated December 31, 1967, under the title *"The Future Vision for Sudan as Shaped by the Islamic Constitution,"* they

stated: *"The resolutions of the National Commission for the Constitution have now been finalized, and the draft of the permanent constitution has been approved. It can be said that the permanent constitution has a reasonable degree of commitment to Islam, as evident in Article One: 'The Constitution of Sudan shall be derived from the principles and spirit of Islam.'"*

They called it the Islamic constitution and claimed it had a reasonable degree of commitment to Islam. But anyone with even a basic understanding knows that Islam is indivisible. If your constitution is 95% Islamic and 5% non-Islamic, it is not an Islamic constitution. Who knows? Perhaps the 5% you neglected is more critical in God's eyes than the 95% you achieved. Nothing illustrates the Islamic Charter Front's ignorance of Islam more than this statement.

Their newspaper continues to mislead the public with statements like: *"The approval of the permanent constitution will provide Sudan and its people with a positive idea that will serve as a lens through which we can view our circumstances and work to change them in accordance with the Islamic vision."*

It goes on to say: *"The comprehensive solution to the complex and intertwined issues the country faces must stem from a vision of life that is first acceptable to the people and second consistent with all subsidiary solutions. Such a system will enable the executive apparatus to be effective and coherent, avoiding the successive pressures that lead to contradictory or inconsistent decisions. This vision will also strengthen the general public's ideological awareness, enhancing their ability to discern political, strategic, and practical applications of policy that conflict with Islam's view of life. Furthermore, planning will align with the direction set*

*by the people as a measure of its validity, while political thought will strive to align itself ever closer with Islam."*

These words filled me with profound distress as I read and transcribed them for you. They are steeped in darkness. The message behind them is a plea to the public: "Give us another chance in the next elections so we can continue striving to achieve complete Islam for you."

The Islamic Charter Front has been the worst at exploiting Islam for political purposes in this country. On November 21, 1965, the Republican Party issued a pamphlet titled *"The Exploitation of Religion for Political Purposes Has Harmed Religion and the Nation's Morality More Than Open Calls for Atheism."*

In that pamphlet, we stated: *"We were met with the news of a tragic incident involving the student Shawqi Muhammad Ali. Reports indicated that he would be released after written statements were taken from Ms. Suad Al-Fatih, and after he was sent to the psychiatric hospital at the request of his lawyer, Mr. Fathi Hassan Kashif. The lawyer argued that the accused suffered from a neurological condition and had previously received treatment at the psychiatric hospital. This means that all actions and statements by officials in this country were based on the words of a student who is not legally accountable.*

*We are not writing now to confirm this painful reality. The accountability of irresponsible officials will come on a day when the weight of its reckoning will silence tongues, and for that day, we wait. But we are writing to clarify the following to the public:*

1. *The Republican Party calls for the development of some aspects of Islamic Sharia, which bear the mark of temporality (muwāqāt), so they may better address the challenges of today's world,*

*thereby becoming more aligned with the purposes of Islam. Islam's objectives include legislating for society at the level of its problems and potential. Our present society is vastly different from that of our ancestors.*

- 2. All Islamic organizations, led by the Muslim Brotherhood, oppose the Republican Party's call for development. They believe all aspects of Sharia derived from definitive texts need only to be re-applied to perfectly address today's issues.*
- 3. Despite this, the Muslim Brotherhood, in alignment with the first October Government, granted Muslim women the right to vote and run for office on equal footing with men.*
- 4. The Muslim Brotherhood also appointed a young woman, Ms. Suad Al-Fatih, to lecture students at the Teachers' Training Institute on matters concerning Muslim women. The tragic incident occurred during one of these lectures.*
- 5. It is the right of this Muslim nation to ask this group: From where did you derive this action, which you attribute to Islam under its current legislation?"*

This is what our pamphlet stated at the time. Today, we add that the Islamic Charter Front neither understands Islam nor cares to understand it. Instead, it exploits Islam in the most egregious manner, misleading the public with talk of the Islamic constitution in the style we have shown you.

The constitution currently under discussion by the Constituent Assembly, referred to by *Al-Mithaq* newspaper as an "Islamic constitution," does not deserve to be called a constitution at all. It encroaches upon fundamental

rights under the guise of combating communism, undermines the independence of the judiciary, and is riddled with contradictions.

For instance, Article 1 declares: *"Sudan is a democratic, socialist republic founded on the guidance of Islam."*

However, Article 113 states: *"Islamic Sharia shall be the primary source of state laws."*

And Article 114 adds: *"Any provision in a law enacted after the adoption of this constitution that conflicts with any ruling of the Quran and Sunnah shall be considered void, except where such conflict existed inherently before the adoption of the constitution."*

We assert here that Islamic *Sharia* - specifically zakat with fixed proportions - does not embody socialism, nor does it embody democracy. Therefore, these articles are contradictory, rendering the constitution nothing more than ink on paper.

Another contradiction can be found between Article 18, which states: *"The state guarantees parents the right to choose the education they want for their children,"* and Article 22, which declares: *"The state works to achieve social justice in the economy, to free society from injustice, monopoly, and usury, and to guide economic development through precise scientific planning. This ensures a continuous increase in production, achieving self-sufficiency and guaranteeing a decent standard of living for citizens while preventing economic exploitation and ensuring the fair distribution of national income among citizens."*

This is mere flowery language with no practical intention behind it. Anyone with even basic knowledge knows that precise economic planning requires training specific professionals in predetermined quantities and qualities.

For instance, you need to train architects, mechanical engineers, electrical engineers, agricultural engineers, doctors, and specialists in all necessary fields, and in numbers dictated by the economic plan. If you claim, as in Article 18, that parents can choose their children's education freely, then you are either a person who does not mean what they say when talking about economic planning, or a person who does not understand what they are saying.

Beautiful rhetoric is the overarching theme of the proposed constitution. The absence of a clear implementation framework makes one suspect there is no actual intent behind the lofty language. This is not due to ill intentions among those who prepared the draft but rather due to egregious ignorance.

Take, for example, Article 14: *"The state strives to spread religious awareness among citizens and works to purify society of atheism and all forms of corruption and moral decay."*

This rhetoric may initially appeal to readers and gain their support for the draft constitution. But pause and ask: How exactly does the state plan to "purify society of atheism and all forms of corruption"? Do we not all know that the state's apparatus is itself corrupt? Do we not lament this corruption in ministers, the civil service, and the party system? Or are we expecting to harvest grapes from thorns?

Or consider Article 15, which is even more peculiar: *"The state oversees curricula and pedagogy in all educational institutions and directs them to instill faith in God, love of country, virtue, moral values, and a sense of responsibility."*

Reflect on the phrase "faith in God" being instilled through curricula overseen by institutions whose lack of faith allows them to exploit religion for worldly gain.

The Republican Party has consistently called for an intellectual revolution. In one of its most recent books, *The Middle East Problem*, it states: *"An intellectual revolution among Arab peoples is essential. This revolution must restore the simplicity, purity, and sincerity of "No deity but Allah" (La ilaha illa Allah) as it was in the seventh century AD in the valleys of Mecca and the hills of Hijaz."*

This call has resonated, forming the foundation of a small Republican community within Sudanese society. This community continues to grow, and God willing, it is the subject of the noble prophetic reference to the "strangers."

For this Republican community, the constitution currently being debated by the Constituent Assembly is not merely a fake constitution, but, in fact, the greatest official document of deception - or one that attempts to be official - that the Sudanese people have ever encountered since they gained independence, or, more precisely, since the foreign ruler departed from their land.

If this draft becomes the constitution, the Republican Party will be the first to declare its lack of respect for it.

Currently under preparation is a draft for Sudan's permanent constitution - one based on the Quran. This constitution will serve all people, regardless of language, creed, or color, because the Quran, in its essence, addresses all humanity. A book detailing this constitution will be published soon, God willing. May Allah guide and support us.