

Social Justice in Sudan Under a Situation of Resource Mismanagement

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Abstract

The problem under consideration in this paper is the absence of social Justice in Sudan under a situation of socio-economic underdevelopment and resource mismanagement. As it is well known, Sudan is a country endowed with plenty of natural and human resources. Major among these resources is the abundant fertile vast land area, with plenty of water sources such as the River Nile and other rivers and water sources. Despite all these endowments, the Sudanese people are living in a state of war and internal violence since Sudan gained its independence in 1956. The lifestyle of the Sudanese people, who are mainly preoccupied in farming and animal breeding, is overwhelmed by poverty. Unfortunately, this state of poverty is seen as a mere outcome of unfair distribution of wealth, education and health service and investment and employment chances. This paper discusses the underlying reasons for the absence of social just in Sudan. During the past thirty years of Sudan the ruling regime have been raising the slogans of Islamic Sharia rule, whereby they claim that they will develop the economy of the country and improve the shares of individuals from the revenues of the country. Unfortunately, things are not handled as per the teachings and rule of Islam which had known social justice almost more than one and a half century ago. The western countries have been applying social justice policies in a very well-tailored and applied on their entire citizen according to laws and regulations which guarantee a fair share for everyone. Few Islamic models which were applied in some Islamic countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Turkey have been successful and fair, unlike the situation in Sudan. In this paper we will provide detailed analysis of the phenomena and give proofs for what went wrong and what needs to be done.

Keywords: Social Justice, Fair distribution, Poverty, Corruption, Islamic verses, Favoritism, Nepotism, Policies. Underdevelopment.

1. Introduction

It is important at the outset of this paper to explain the meaning of the title above and to set out the objectives we are trying to achieve. There is quite a big difference in the meaning of social justice in the Western Culture and in the Arab and Third World countries conceptualization of the statement of social justice.

When we use the term social justice from a Western perspective, we are talking about improving the lifestyle of individuals such as, in the UK for example, where we discuss the situation of those unemployed or, those who are working but receiving less than the minimum sufficient for a decent living, in any western city such as London, Liverpool or anywhere else. It also entails talking about pensioners and elderly people. That means we are discussing what is known now as a "Social Security System", where the state takes the responsibility of ensuring a good lifestyle for its people.

In the Arab and African World, this system does not exist. Hence, we are talking about something quite different, but not very far from what has been described above. To clarify the difference between the two concepts, we need to go into some definitional and conceptualization details, so as to make it easier to understand the differences.

As an example of what has been mentioned above, there is no institutional commitment towards social justice in most of Third World Countries. What might look as an exception, is in the form of efforts to combat poverty through Ministries of social affairs, or through health insurance systems, which do not offer a lot. The only successful form of help is through providing certain medical treatments by providing cheap medicines. Such medicines do not include lifesaving medicines. Many NGO's have been involved in providing medical treatment and offering food and shelter, although they face a lot of constraints and challenges often created by the government itself. (Ministry of Social Affairs, Khartoum, 2016). Therefore, people's ambitions in Sudan as regards social justice were confined to the following as fundamental factors of social justice:

- The free choice of lifestyle including freedom of expression, Religion, beliefs, political organization and work. (UN, Human Rights Accord)
- The equal treatment in terms of all rights and obligations as well as in front of the law. (Sudan Government: Sudan Constitution: Citizens Rights & Obligations: 2005)
- The right to an equal share in wealth and power and equality in front of law.
- Equal and fair distribution of income, wealth and development between regions as well among individuals. (Sudan Development Plan 1988)

These were the main pillars for a framework of social justice which most scholars and almost all Sudanese people would understand as social justice. (Bilal, G; The Dilemma of Social Justice in Third World Countries, A

case study of Sudan,2014).

2. The Research Problem:

The problem being researched in this paper is social justice in Sudan. As it is well known, Sudan is a country endowed with plenty of natural and human resources. Major among these resources is the abundant fertile vast land area, with plenty of water sources such as the River Nile and other rivers and water sources. Let alone the mineral wealth including petroleum and gold among other 13 valuable minerals.

Despite all these endowments, the Sudanese people are living in a state of war and internal violence since Sudan gained its independence in 1956. The lifestyle of the Sudanese people, who are mainly preoccupied in farming and animal breeding, is mainly characterized by poverty and in most cases starvation. Although the country mainly relies on exporting raw agricultural products, cash crops and cotton, most of the food needs of the people are met by food imported from abroad. (**Sudan's Ministry of Finance & Economy: The Budget speech 2017**) It is really surprising, and questionable, why a country with all these resource and able manpower, is living in such a state of poverty and social unrest? This is the context of the problem which we will be dealing with in this paper.

3. Research Objectives:

The objectives of this paper are to highlight the main values of the Islamic model as regards social justice, applied by early Muslim communities according to the Quran and the Sunna of Prophet Mohamed (peace be upon him). Muslim people during this time lived in a just and fair society. In that society, everyone was happy compared to the present model applied in Sudan, where people are living in extreme poverty and life is full of hardships. To investigate the reasons for this poverty and hardships to see what went wrong, and whether the reasons were a result of misunderstanding or misleading interpretation, or mismanagement of resources, or failure in policies, or something else.

This research gains its importance from the fact that the Islamic values applied in the early period of Islam, proved to be a successful model. (Al-Agaad, M. "Men around the Prophet," 1968). That model was able to solve all the problems of the community at that time. Furthermore, a recent Islamic application of these values in the present time, by the republic of Turkey, Singapore and Malaysia, were able to transform their communities from poverty, ignorance and debt, to rich and affluent communities. (Bilal,G.: The third Pass, 2014). So these communities are now competing with world leading states in a span of a few years. The examples of Malaysia and Singapore reflect how their people's lifestyles were completely changed to modern, rich communities where the people are now living in prosperity. In Sudan, the present government kept raising the slogans of Islamic rule and the application of sharia laws, for the last thirty years, but people's lifestyle was continuously deteriorating. (Bilal, G. 1892).

As a result of government failure in economic policies, the Sudanese pound is losing value while the economy is collapsing (Elbadawi, I. 2018). The number of poor people is increasing and most people are at the edge of starvation despite the richness of the country (ElTayeb, M. 2017).

There is no single evidence of the existence of social justice. So the prime objective of this paper that gives it importance, comes from the fact that, we are trying to find out, what went wrong as regards Sudan's Economy? What can be done to put things right? Why can't Sudan be developed like the above-mentioned countries? What holds Sudan back? Why are the Sudanese people not enjoying the benefits of their country's richness? To answer these questions, we are putting forward in the following parts some research questions followed by hypotheses that may help us to find logical and reasonable answers and suggest solutions for these problems.

4. Research Questions

- 1- What are the root causes that create prejudice within a culture, leading to imbalance of power, unfair distribution of wealth, income, development and lead to ethnic minorities' revolt?
- 2- What does power have to do with fairness of distribution of wealth, and development and social justice, within a community?
- 3- What are the benefits and consequences of questioning and challenging the prevailing social order?
- 4- What inspires individuals, ethnic groups or minorities to take a stand against prejudice oppression, while others choose to participate in it?
- 5- Is it against ethics morals and values of Islam to stand against oppression prejudice and absence of Social Justice?
- 6- Is it fair to stand against unfair distribution of wealth, power, and development and try to put things right, or to submit to the status quo?

5. Hypotheses

- 1- Social Justice in Sudan is prevailing in the form of poverty combating programs, Medical insurance and

distribution of Zakat by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Ministry of Finance but it was not adequate.

2- Sudan is lacking in application of Social justice policies due to the overwhelming unfair distribution of wealth, income, and development between regions and people.

3- Absence of social Justice Policies in Sudan could be clearly felt in the form of high rate of cost of living, and variations in income distribution, prevailing poverty, deterioration of health and educational services, absence of development.

4- Absence of social justice policies in Sudan is reflected in the opposition of many armed movements and the opposition of the major political groups, and ethnic minorities' movements.

5- Lack of Social justice is apparent, in the huge number of people suffering from poverty, malnutrition, Cancer spread, huge number of death of infants and mothers at delivery.

6- Absence of social justice policies could be clearly visible, in the form of rural urban migration, high rate of unemployment among young qualified nationals, (19% -31%) of total population) and high rate of external migration of qualified personnel.

6. Research Methodology

It is our intention to address the issues related to social justice policies in Sudan, and the underlying reasons for the spread of poverty, malnutrition, social violence, and lack of services, unemployment, and all other negative phenomena characterizing the Sudanese people's lifestyle. To be able to address these issues we will follow a descriptive approach. While relying on descriptive data in the first part of the study, which is mainly theoretical and constructed on available data, the second part of the study will be supplemented with empirical data derived from a survey. Questionnaires will be distributed through Survey Monkey to derive evidence that, could either prove the truth of our assumptions and answer the research questions, or otherwise nullify our assumptions.

A random sample of about 150 questionnaires was distributed through electronic social media tools. The collected data have been analyzed and depicted in statistical manner, to evaluate the responses of the universe of research population sample.

The whole paper organized into two major parts. The first part will be mainly theoretical, while the second part will be based on empirical findings.

Finally, we will provide our results, recommendations and policy implications.

6.1. The Scope of the paper

This paper has been written on the basis of information and data that collected from readings in literature review, and available data in journals or books, on social justice. This will be followed by a theoretical framework which will be supplemented with empirical survey data, collected through a questionnaire distributed electronically. The universe of population of the survey sample will be selected randomly from among a population of Sudanese diaspora living worldwide. Those respondents being surveyed through electronically distributed questionnaires during 2017 were expected to be representative of the general Sudanese population worldwide, although there were difficulties in getting them to respond as mentioned below. This is the only possible fast means of collecting data with reference to this sensitive issue. It was not possible to conduct this research in Sudan due to the security measures applied which does not allow freedom of research on such issues.

6.2. Difficulties and Challenges Faced

1- One of the major challenges that faced this study is the lack of a unified global acceptable definition of social justice. This dilemma stems from the fact that what constitutes social justice in the Western World is quite different from what social justice means in the Arab World in particular and the countries of Third World in general. The difference in values, ethics, and norms of the Western World, is quite different from what applies to the oriental Communities. In the Western World the community is mainly based on individualism, while in the Arab World in particular and third World in general, the institution of the extended family and the tribal and regional ties, constitute a social network that suffices to overcome a lot of social upheavals. (Bilal, G. 2014). This is not the case in the Western World. Therefore, the nature of the society reflects a different understanding of social justice due to the absence of state responsibility towards the society (John, R. 1971).

2- The meaning of social justice and what it constitutes differs from one society to another in the Arab World in particular and Third World Countries in general, subject to the culture and the nature of each of these communities. Therefore, we found ourselves forced to devise our own framework that suits the objectives of the Sudanese society to satisfy the purposes of this paper (Bilal, G. 2014).

3- There are no clear-cut figures as regards social justice policies, and little research is available as regards this phenomenon, so we are struggling to come out with what we can say is a pioneering research effort as regards the matter in consideration.

4- This researcher was confronted with difficulties and challenges pertaining to the sensitive nature of the research subject. So many people who are either supporting the ruling government or afraid of giving their

viewpoints abstained from answering or responding to the questionnaire. To get a sound representative random sample seemed to be a task beyond reach. The author launched a massive effort to convince a lot of people to respond to the questionnaire explaining to them that, it is an academic work and had nothing to do with those who are supporting the government, or those against it since it is an academic research trying to grasp the source and problems related to social justice in Sudan.

Structure of the paper: -

This paper will be mainly laid out in three major parts.

Part one will be mainly earmarked to discuss the theoretical background and conceptual framework of social justice in general, where we distinguish between the Western concept of social justice and The Arab and Third World conceptualization of social justice. In this part we reflect our newly devised framework for the purposes of analyzing the origins of the statement and what it means and how it works to address the matter in consideration scientifically.

The second part of the paper will be discussing the outcome of the survey results derived through distributing our questionnaires electronically among a universe of Sudanese respondents selected randomly from among Sudanese scattered all over the world who are members of different social network groupings.

Part three of the study will be portraying our findings and evaluating our hypotheses in the light of the findings to see whether our hypotheses were correct or otherwise and put forward our recommendations Yet and policy implications.

7. Theoretical Framework

In one of her famous Tanner lectures on human values, delivered at Stanford University on April 30 to May 2nd 1996, Nancy Fraser, stated that,

"In today's world, claims for social justice seem increasingly to divide into two types. First, and most familiar, are redistributive claims, which seek a more just distribution of resources and goods. Examples include claims for redistribution from the North to the South, from the rich to the poor, and from owners to workers. To be sure, the recent resurgence of free-market thinking has put proponents of redistribution on the defensive. Nevertheless, egalitarian redistributive claims have supplied the paradigm case for most theorizing about social justice for the past 150 years.

Nancy Frazer (1996) claimed in a lecture that, "Today, however, we increasingly encounter a second type of social-justice claim in the "politics of recognition". Here the goal, in its most plausible form, is a difference-friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect. Examples include claims for the recognition of the distinctive perspectives of ethnic, "racial" and sexual minorities, as well as of gender difference. This type of claim has recently attracted the interest of political philosophers, moreover, some of whom are seeking to develop a new paradigm of justice that puts recognition at its center".

She further added that "In this new constellation, the two kinds of justice claims are typically dissociated from one another- both practically and intellectually. Within social movements such as feminism, for example, activist tendencies that look to redistribution as the remedy for male domination are increasingly dissociated from tendencies that look instead to the recognition of gender difference".

She concluded that "Only by looking to integrative approaches that unite redistribution and recognition in the service of participatory parity can we meet the requirements of justice for all" (Frazer ,Nancy: 1996).

The argument put forward by the above author suits our conceptualization of social justice as a unified statement that handles both redistribution and recognition without disintegrating them from each other. It as well reflects the concerns of western culture as regards their understanding of social justice in quite a different conceptualization compared to its meaning to the people in Third World countries.

7.1. Definitions and conceptualizations

The term social justice has been defined by Wikipedia as" social justice represents the values and norms of the society that has been accepted by most if not all the members of the society". (Wikipedia; Definition of Social Justice, 2017)

Social justice is the fair and just relation between the individual and society. This is measured by the explicit and tacit terms for the distribution of wealth, opportunities for personal activity and social privileges. In Western as well as in older Asian cultures, the concept of social justice has often referred to the process of ensuring that individuals fulfill their societal roles and receive what was their due from society. In the current global grassroots movements for social justice, the emphasis has been on the breaking of barriers for social mobility, the creation of safety nets and economic justice. (John,R. 1974).

Social justice assigns rights and duties in the institutions of society, which enables people to receive the basic benefits and burdens of cooperation. The relevant institutions often include taxation, social insurance, public health, public school, public services, labor law and regulation of markets, to ensure fair distribution of

wealth, and equal opportunity.

Interpretations that relate justice to a reciprocal relationship to society are mediated by differences in cultural traditions, some of which emphasize the individual responsibility toward society and others the equilibrium between access to power and its responsible use. Hence, social justice is invoked today while reinterpreting historical figures such as Bartolomé de las Casas, in philosophical debates about differences among human beings, in efforts for gender, racial and social equality, for advocating justice for migrants, prisoners, the environment, and the physically and mentally disabled. (Wikipedia; The definition of Social Justice: 2017)

While the concept of social justice can be traced through the theology of Augustine of Hippo and the philosophy of Thomas Paine, the term "social justice" became used explicitly from the 1840s. A Jesuit priest named Luigi Taparelli is typically credited with coining the term, and it spread during the revolutions of 1848 with the work of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati. In the late industrial revolution, progressive American legal scholars began to use the term more, particularly Louis Brandeis and Roscoe Pound. From the early 20th century it was also embedded in international law and institutions; the preamble to establish the International Labor Organization recalled that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice". In the later 20th century, social justice was made central to the philosophy of the social contract, primarily by (John, 1974). In 1993, the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action treats social justice as a purpose of the human rights education.

The first modern usage of the specific term "social justice" is typically attributed to Catholic thinkers from the 1840s, including the Jesuit Luigi Taparelli in *Civiltà Catholica*, based on the work of St. Thomas Aquinas. He argued that rival capitalist and socialist theories, based on subjective Cartesian thinking, undermined the unity of society present in Thomistic metaphysics as neither were sufficiently concerned with moral philosophy. Writing in 1861, the influential British philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill, stated in Utilitarianism his view that "Society should treat all equally well who have deserved equally well of it, that is, who have deserved equally well absolutely. This is the highest abstract standard of social and distributive justice; towards which all institutions, and the efforts of all virtuous citizens, should be made in the utmost degree to converge". (John Stuart Mill, 1863)

In the later 19th and early 20th century, social justice became an important theme in American political and legal philosophy, particularly in the work of John Dewey, Roscoe Pound and Louis Brandeis. One of the prime concerns was the Lochner era decisions of the US Supreme Court to strike down legislation passed by state governments and the Federal government for social and economic improvement, such as the eight-hour day or the right to join a trade union. After the First World War, the founding document of the International Labor Organization took up the same terminology in its preamble, stating that "peace can be established only if it is based on social justice" (ILO; The Preamble of ILO Constitution).

From this point, the discussion of social justice entered into mainstream legal and academic discourse. In the late 20th century, a number of liberal and conservative thinkers, notably Friedrich von Hayek, rejected the concept by stating that it did not mean anything, or meant too many things. However, the concept remained highly influential, particularly with its promotion by philosophers such as John Rawls (1974).

As regards our contribution to this debate, with reference to the definition of social justice, in a way would suit our purpose from one side and reflect our cultural and political heritage, it may be worth noting that in the Middle East in particular and Third World in general, the idea of Social Justice is to some extent not very popular simply because people either do not know it or maybe they know it but their understanding of its meaning varies because very few elites can define the term or explain what it means. However, in most cases the term is mainly confined to the writings of concerned scholars and maybe a few journalists.

As I have explained earlier in the introduction, due to the lack of a clear conceptualization and definition of social justice that suits our cultural heritage and enables us to discuss social justice ala Third World countries, our devised framework would suffice to explain our case in consideration so as to discuss social justice within the existing Islamic model applied in Sudan by the government of "The National Congress" and see whether it fits with the Islamic original theoretical model of social justice or not? And Why?

For the purpose of my book " The Dilemma of Social Justice in the Arab World: The Sudanese case" which was published in 2014, (Op. Cit.) and in the absence of clear cut definitions for social Justice in the Arab World in particular and Third World in general, I have developed a framework of my own based on four patterns to explain social justice in the Arab World in particular and Third World in general, using Sudan as a model for both.

7.2. Framework:

Now, and as for the purpose of this paper, we will still be using the same framework until further notice. These main patterns of my framework are:

- 7.2.1 The Constitutional and Legal pattern.
- 7.2.2. The Political pattern.
- 7.2.3. The Economic and development pattern.
- 7.2.4. The Social pattern.

The details and definition of the framework and its mechanism will be detailed in the next coming part of definitions and conceptualization.

7.3. Social Justice from a Philosophical perspective

Hunter Lewis' works promoting natural healthcare and sustainable economies advocates for conservation as a key premise in social justice. His manifesto on sustainability ties the continued thriving of human life to real conditions, the environment supporting that life, and associates injustice with the detrimental effects of unintended consequences of human actions. Quoting classical Greek thinkers like Epicurus on the good of pursuing happiness, Hunter also cites ornithologist, naturalist, and philosopher Alexander Skutch in his book *Moral Foundations*: "The common feature which unites the activities most consistently forbidden by the moral codes of civilized peoples is that by their very nature they cannot be both habitual and enduring, because they tend to destroy the conditions which make them possible." (Al-Exander, Skutch; *Moral Foundations*)

Pope Benedict XVI cites Teilhard de Chardin in a vision of the cosmos as a living host embracing an understanding of ecology that includes humanity's relationship to others, that pollution affects not just the natural world but interpersonal relations as well. Cosmic harmony, justice and peace are closely interrelated: "If you want to cultivate peace, protect creation".

Political philosopher John Rawls draws on the utilitarian insights of Bentham and Mill, the social contract ideas of John Locke, and the categorical imperative ideas of Kant. (Bentham & Mill; *Insights on the Social Contract*) His first statement of principle was made in his essay on "A Theory of Justice" where he proposed that, "Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason, justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others". A deontological proposition which is echoed Kant in framing the moral good of justice in absolutist terms. His views are definitively restated in *Political Liberalism* where society is seen "as a fair system of co-operation over time, from one generation to the next."

All societies have a basic structure of social, economic, and political institutions, both formal and informal. In testing how well these elements fit and work together, Philosopher John Rawls based a key test of legitimacy on the theories of social contract. To determine whether any particular system of collectively enforced social arrangements is legitimate, he argued that one must look for agreement by the people who are subject to it, but not necessarily to an objective notion of justice based on coherent ideological grounding. Obviously, not every citizen can be asked to participate in a poll to determine his or her consent to every proposal in which some degree of coercion is involved, so one has to assume that all citizens are reasonable. Rawls constructed an argument for a two-stage process to determine a citizen's hypothetical agreement (John, 2003)

- The citizen agrees to be represented by X for certain purposes, and, to that extent, X holds these powers as a trustee for the citizen.
- X agrees that enforcement in a particular social context is legitimate. The citizen, therefore, is bound by this decision because it is the function of the trustee to represent the citizen in this way.

This applies to one person who represents a small group (e.g., the organizer of a social event setting a dress code) as equally as it does to national governments, which are ultimate trustees, holding representative powers for the benefit of all citizens within their territorial boundaries. Governments that fail to provide for welfare of their citizens according to the principles of justice are not legitimate. To emphasize the general principle that justice should rise from the people and not be dictated by the law-making powers of governments, Rawls asserted that, "There is a general presumption against imposing legal and other restrictions on conduct without sufficient reason. But this presumption creates no special priority for any particular liberty". This is support for an unranked set of liberties that reasonable citizens in all states should respect and uphold — to some extent, the list proposed by Rawls matches the normative human rights that have international recognition and direct enforcement in some nation states where the citizens need encouragement to act in a way that fixes a greater degree of equality of outcome. According to Rawls, the basic liberties that every good society should guarantee are:

- Freedom of thought;
- Liberty of conscience as it affects social relationships on the grounds of religion, philosophy, and morality;
- Political liberties (e.g., representative democratic institutions, freedom of speech and the press, and freedom of assembly);
- Freedom of association;
- Freedoms necessary for the liberty and integrity of the person (namely: freedom from slavery, freedom of

movement and a reasonable degree of freedom to choose one's occupation); and

- Rights and liberties covered by the rule of law. The arguments of John Rawls are suitable and fit our conceptualization of the meaning of social justice but we add to them the right of equal share of income, wealth and power. (John, 2003)

On the other hand, Thomas Pogge's arguments pertain to a standard of social justice that creates human rights deficits. He assigns responsibility to those who actively cooperate in designing or imposing the social institution, which the order is foreseeable as harming the global poor and is reasonably avoidable. Thomas argues that social institutions have a negative duty that means that their duty is to not harm the poor. (Pogge: World Poverty and Human Rights)

However, Pogge speaks of Institutional Cosmopolitanism and assigns responsibility to institutional schemes for deficits of human rights. An example given is slavery and third parties. A third party should not recognize or enforce slavery. The institutional order should be held responsible only for deprivations of human rights that it establishes or authorizes. The current institutional design systematically harms developing economies by enabling corporate tax evasion, illicit financial flows, corruption, trafficking of people and weapons, by way of a few examples. Joshua Cohen disputes those claims based on the fact that some poor countries have done well in spite of the current institutional design. Elizabeth Kahn argues that some of these responsibilities should apply globally. (Pogge: Human Rights and Justice Taxation))

The United Nations' 2006 document Social Justice in an Open World: The Role of the United Nations, states that "Social justice may be broadly understood as the fair and compassionate distribution of the fruits of economic growth...". (UN: Social Justice in an Open World: 2006)

The term "social justice" was seen by the U.N. as a substitute for the protection of human rights [and] first appeared in United Nations texts during the second half of the 1960s. At the initiative of the Soviet Union, and with the support of developing countries, the same document reports, "From the comprehensive global perspective shaped by the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, neglect of the pursuit of social justice in all its dimensions translates into de facto acceptance of a future marred by violence, repression and chaos". The report concludes, "Social justice is not possible without strong and coherent redistributive policies conceived and implemented by public agencies". UN: Social Justice in an Open World: 2006)

The same UN document offers a concise history: "[T]he notion of social justice is relatively new. None of history's great philosophers—not Plato or Aristotle, or Confucius or Averroes, or even Rousseau or Kant—saw the need to consider justice or the redress of injustices from a social perspective. The concept first surfaced in Western thought and political language in the wake of the industrial revolution and the parallel development of the socialist doctrine. It emerged as an expression of protest against what was perceived as the capitalist exploitation of labor and as a focal point for the development of measures to improve the human condition. It was born as a revolutionary slogan embodying the ideals of progress and fraternity. Following the revolutions that shook Europe in the mid-1800s, social justice became a rallying cry for progressive thinkers and political activists.... By the mid-twentieth century, the concept of social justice had become central to the ideologies and programs of virtually all the leftist and centrist political parties around the world...".

According to Business Dictionary: Social justice was defined as "The fair and proper administration of laws conforming to the natural law that all persons, irrespective of ethnic origin, gender, possessions, race, religion, etc., are to be treated equally and without prejudice..". On the other hand, the definition of social justice according to Urban Dictionary is "Promoting tolerance, freedom, and equality for all people regardless of race, sex, orientation, national origin, handicap, etc... except for white, straight, cisgender males...". (Business Dictionary: Definition of Social Justice: 1968)

Nowadays, and in the wake of human awareness of the meaning and scope of human rights, people everywhere have started to discuss the ways and means of alleviating injustices especially in terms of economic, political and social rights. Now the notion of Social Justice is no longer labelled as part of leftist or otherwise ideology, but rather as part of basic human rights as recognized by UN documents and accepted worldwide as an existing fact and must be reality.

Given the fact that, there is no theoretical framework that suits the situation of Third World Countries including the Arab World, and in the absence of a measuring rod to evaluate the situation as regards social justice, we thought of launching this proposed framework which we believe could be used until further notice. However, since the interpretation of Social Justice and its components is different from one community to another within each country and among different regions and countries in Third World, we believe this framework would suit our objectives as regards social justice in Sudan.

To construct this framework, I have consulted many reference and sources on social justice, such as the writings of John Rawls, Pogg, Kant, Khoury and others. This is to at least simulate what might fit Third World Countries circumstances in general and those of Sudan in particular. In doing so, I have not ignored the Social heritage, Religion, and Social norms and culture. I hope this framework would help in explaining the concept of

social justice in Sudan in such a way that it may be understood. As well, I hope this framework could be developed in the future to be more comprehensive. The main pillars or patterns of this framework include in a brief account and for the purpose of this paper, we will still be using the same framework until further notice. These main Patterns of my framework are:

7.3.1. The Constitutional and legal pattern

In this pattern we refer to the responsibility of The Just Ruler to safeguard the constitutional and political rights of his citizens as well as, their human rights. In his book, “The Audacity of Hope” issued in 2008, President Obama said “the Government is fully responsible to offer chances for all classes and different social and financial groups to live a decent life”. (Obama, 2008)

The Constitution should be very clear in explaining the relation between the Ruler and his citizens. It organizes their relations, responsibilities, right and co-existence in a free society that gives everyone their freedom of choice, expression, work, and believe as well as free movements. By doing so, those citizens political and civil rights are clearly safeguarded especially as regards equality on every aspect of life. “This is called the Social Contract”. Even if that constitution was transactional, it still extends its power from being the constitution that rests on the unanimous acceptance of the nation.

On the basis of this socio-political document all citizens are treated equally in every aspect of life including equality in front of the law. They compete freely in political or social organizations and express their belief freely and choose their work, life etc. without any suppression of any kind by any one. Those citizens will go up the social, government, political or any form of organized work on the basis of their competencies and positive contribution to their community. It is as well, much important to have an independent judiciary system that does not submit to any pressures or dictation from any authority in the country. This judiciary system must be trusted to protect the legal rights of every citizen regardless of their origin, religion, race, or financial position. All Citizens must be equals in front of the law and that the system is capable of maintaining peace and order in every part of the country by the powers vested in it by the community. Under such an Umbrella of law enforcement, Social Justice could be attained, provided that, the State is ruled according to democracy, respect of laws, human rights, and transparency.

7.3.2. The Political Pattern

This pattern means that, there is a society of co-existence between different races of the country, peaceful exchange of rule, communication and mutual understanding between the government and its citizens without exclusion under any circumstance and on any basis for anyone.

This means sharing power between members of the society on the basis of democracy. The political ladder that takes any citizen or group of citizens up into power is through their political or social or professional organizations. Each one's contribution nominates him to go up. Such contribution and on the basis of recognition by the community or organization, upgrades any one through the ladder of power by virtue of voting i.e. through democratic elections. Such elections should be held in complete transparency and its results should be accepted and honored by all. This pattern suggests that people are free to express their thoughts, form their political or social or professional organizations according to their free choice and will. Under such circumstances then, social justice is enviable and likely to be considered

7.3.3. The Economic and Development Pattern

This pattern suggests an equal distribution of economic chances (employments), share of income and wealth on equal basis. That means sustainable development should meet the needs of all people in all regions of the country. This means balanced development in social, economic and political sectors for all. Unfortunately, the prescriptions of the World Bank and IMF had adverse effects on the peoples of Third World Countries and they need to follow alternative path for developing their countries. There have been many good examples of success, such as Turkey, Singapore, Malawi, Malaysia, Ethiopia, India, Brazil and many others. They need to take urgent action to combat poverty, unemployment and hunger in other places. The effect of globalization, and fast track movement to the market economy brought adverse hicks to most of Third World Countries. These countries need to revise their policies and seek alternative options. Unfortunately, most of the governments have given up their responsibility towards their citizen and left them to be victimized by the free market economy powers. That exacerbates the majority of these society and lead to further poverty. Therefore, a just and fair economic set of policies is in need to be inclusive of poverty stricken citizens where social justice and safety nets will bring things back to equilibrium. This will be done, through providing free services, creation of jobs, fair distribution of projects and investments, and transparency.

7.3.4. The Social Pattern

Under normal circumstances the government takes responsibility of the wellbeing of its citizens. That used to be the case in Sudan, where people used to enjoy free health service, free education, security and free social life.

In the last three decades, things started to deteriorate especially after the application of the policies of free market economy. Under this new set of policies poverty, increased due to the overburdening of those who have very limited resources or low incomes. Most if not all the citizens were forced to pay for the education and

medical treatment of their families. The cost paid by citizens for these services is so high that it consumes most of their incomes. One of the Workers organization leaders announced in one of the local newspapers that, the minimum wage would suffice to cover only 7.5% of the monthly cost of living for an average worker. In front of such an alarming situation, people opted either to cut their meals or other needs, or seek support from other members of their extended families or tribes. This had a negative impact on the cohesion of the society, and in many cases led to violence between citizens and opened a wide door for corruption. (Bilal, 2014)

Under circumstances of extreme poverty as it is the case in Sudan, NGO's intervened and started to call able people to donate to provide food and shelter and medicines for poor people.

This is being supposed to be the role of the government, which under a situation of shortage of resources, should create protecting social networks, to support the needy people or the disabled, or homeless young children, who have been displaced or lost their families under circumstances of war or social violence.

The situation requires clear and straight forward policy, by the government to protect those vulnerable people from joining organized crime organizations, or opt to use drugs and threaten the peaceful life of the community. Without social cohesion and efforts to keep the society well knitted, no social justice policy will succeed since poverty opens the way for crime and corruption. (Ibid, 2014)

8. Social Justice from an Islamic perspective

The purpose of our discussion on social justice is to mention those verses of the Holy Qur'an and the traditions through which the Holy Qur'an and our infallible Imams have given lessons of equality of mankind in the eyes of the law and of preservation of their rights.

They have also forbidden undue discrimination, cruelties and exploitation. Apart from this we have cited the examples of just distribution of wealth, Islamic brotherhood and fraternity set by the Prophet of Islam and Ahlul Bayt (peace be on them).

Islam is an institution of justice and moderation. It is a straight path and the Muslim fraternity is the nation which practices moderation and justice. The Islamic system is based on justice. If there are tears for the oppressed, then there are swords for the oppressors.

If it gives importance to preservation of physical health, it also stresses on our spiritual enlightenment and moral uplift. If it ordains the offering of prayers, it also orders the paying of **zakat** (religious tax). This money earned through Zakat should be earmarked to help poor people to boost their living.

If it asks us to love and respect the pious people, it also insists on hatred against the enemies of Allah. If it lays stress on acquiring knowledge it also considers the performance of noble deeds as compulsory. If it commands us to have faith and trust in Allah, it also advises us to make efforts to achieve our objects. If it allows acquisition of personal wealth and property, it also forbids taking undue advantage of ownership and damaging the interest of other people. If it recommends excluding an offender it also insists on enforcement of punitive laws and making no remissions in punishments.

8.1. Seeking Justice is a Natural Thing

Allah has endowed man with the knowledge of right and wrong things and their resultant results. The Holy Qur'an says:

And We inspired the soul with knowledge of evil and piety. Those who purify their souls will certainly have ever lasting happiness and those who corrupt their soul will certainly be deprived of happiness. (Surah Ash-Shams, 91:8-10)

Similarly, justice is a thing which man by himself considers a good thing and its proof is that the oppressor himself justifies his action by saying that he has not been unjust! Sometimes several people commit theft jointly but when the question of distribution of the booty comes they talk of making a just and equitable distribution.

Such a thing does happen and the fact that consciously or subconsciously they mean equitable distribution. And if anyone of the group wants to take the lion's share, the other partners become annoyed.

It has been a general rule that whenever a person is killed while safeguarding his rights and upholding the cause of social justice or takes a firm stand against the tyrants he is praised by the people in general. It is in human nature that man supports the cause of justice and wages war against injustice.

8.2. Just Laws Originate From the Prophet's Conduct

There is hardly any society which does not talk of truthfulness, justice and rational laws. Nor is there any regime which does not claim to uphold the people's rights and welfare. In this context we deal with the following pertinent questions:

- (i) Is there any law which can claim to be one hundred per cent just, so that nobody is deprived of his rights?
- (ii) Is there any law maker who has never been impartial and who has not been influenced by personal prejudices?
- (iii) On what standard can a certain law be determined as just?
- (iv) What stratum do the law makers come from and for which group of society do they want to protect the rights?

(v) If the law-makers are free from any political, tribal, zonal or racial bias, then on what standard will they enact just and fair laws for all the people and for all the time to come?

From the above-mentioned questions we arrive at the conclusion that social justice and just laws are only possible through Divine Laws conveyed to mankind by the Prophets of Allah.

8.3. Justice is the Basic and natural Condition

In Islam all important establishments and installations remain under the control of just people, whose reputation has been good and who are able and pious. In the matter of administration of justice, right from the Qadi (magistrate) to the ordinary clerk and the witnesses, all should be particular in upholding justice. In all congregational prayers including Friday prayers the man who leads the prayers must be just and honest. It is necessary that the mujtahid (jurist) whom we follow, the President, the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and the man pronouncing the formula of divorce are all just and honest. In the matter of giving news only the just and honest men should be relied upon. In short Islam has laid great emphasis on justice and it is the basis on which all problems of the society, be it personal, social or economic are decided upon.

The Prophet of Islam said: "A moment of justice is better than seventy years of worship in which you keep fasting and pass the nights in offering prayers and worship to Allah". (Jami'us Sa'adat, vol. II, p. 223)

The Holy Prophet further said: "The deed of justice performed by a leader for one day for his people is better than the deeds of the man who spends fifty or hundred years amongst his family members in the worship of Allah".

8.4. Establishment of Justice is the Object of the Prophets

One of the duties and responsibilities of the Prophets of Allah that the Holy Qur'an has mentioned is the instituting of social justice. We, therefore, give below a short list of the achievements and accomplishments of the Prophets (peace be upon them):

(i) Inviting the People towards Allah to worship Allah and preventing them from obeying the despots and tyrants and to remain aloof from them. The Holy Qur'an says:

To every nation We sent a Messenger (saying): 'Worship Allah and shun the Devil'. (Surah an-Nahl, 16:36)

(ii) Giving Warnings and Bearing Good News the Holy Qur'an says:

We have sent you (Muhammad) for a genuine purpose to proclaim glad tidings and warnings. You will not be blamed for the dwellers of blazing Hell. (Surah al-Baqarah, 2:119)

(iii) Teaching and Imparting Instructions the Almighty Allah sent the Prophets towards the people so that they might give them training and tell them those things which they needed. The Holy Qur'an says:

It is He who has sent to the illiterates a Messenger from among their own people who recites to them His revelations, and purifies them. He will teach the Book to them and others who have not yet joined, and He will give them wisdom. Before this they had been in plain error. (Surah al-Jumu'ah, 62:2)

(iv) Opposing Oppressive Laws to eradicate all sorts of social taboos and customs as well as tribal prejudices and savagery based on superstitious ideas. The Holy Qur'an says:

He (the Messenger) enjoins them to do good and forbids them to do all that is unlawful, makes lawful for them all that is pure and unlawful that is filthy, removes their burdens and entanglements in which they are involved. (Surah al-A'raf, 7:157)

(v) Exposing the Futility of False and Evil Things to expose the wrong ways of the false gods and despotic rulers and disgrace them. The Holy Qur'an says:

Thus, do We explain our revelations so that the sinful ways can be plainly discerned. (Surah al-An'am, 6:55)

(vi) Establishing a Society Based on Justice the Prophets founded a society in which the people should establish justice and treat others without any consideration of caste, creed, political or economic differences.

The Prophets' main function was to inculcate in the people's heart a firm belief in Allah and the Day of Judgement and to create in the individual and the society such moral standard and Divine thinking as would arouse in them the spirit of justice and equity towards their fellow beings. The Holy Qur'an says:

We sent Our Messengers with clear evidence (to support their truthfulness), and sent with them the Book and the Balance (criteria of right and wrong) so that people would maintain justice. We sent down iron, in which is a vital war material and which benefits the people, so that Allah would know who would help Him though unseen, and His Messengers. (Surah al-Hadid, 57:25)

Since a just society depends on spiritual as well as material power, the above-mentioned verse points out to both the powers that is the Book and the Balance. And each one of them is necessary for establishing justice. The mentioning of iron in the verse points to material strength so that the transgressor may note that if they violate justice they will be crushed with an iron hand. Thus, one of the main duties of the Holy Prophets was to establish social justice.

8.5. Misuse of One's Position is Forbidden

As well written in Islamic history, during his time as Khalifa of Muslims, one day Omer Ibn Alkattab was walking around in Medina and saw a big Camel herd in very poor health due to the lack of grass to eat, though it was a rainy season but unfortunately there was no rain. Then he saw a different herd of fat Camels and was surprised. He asked the boys looking after the healthy heard to whom they belong. The boys said "they belong to your son Abdullah Ibn Omer". His immediate response was to confiscate them to the public treasury house "Baitulmal". The people were surprised and asked him why he did that? He said maybe Abdullah took advantage of being the son of the Khalifa and his Camels were treated differently for fear of his father's position!

As well, Imam Ali in his capital at Kufa addressing the people said "O people of Kufa! If ever you see some change in me and in my appearances in your town that is to say my dress, my food, my horse, and slave have changed and I have ensured for myself a prosperous and easy life during the period of my caliphate, then you should know that I have misappropriated your rights taking undue advantage of my position". During the time the Imam gave bread and meat to others, he himself ate plain bread without meat (Al-Agaad M.A.1968, p. 137).

8.6. Moderation in Expenditure and Charities

Though we are primarily concerned with social justice in our current discussion, yet from the Holy Qur'an and the traditions we find many other things which are not outside the purview of our discussion. Among them is the problem of general expenditure and charities.

Islam has also adopted a medium course in regard to these matters like other such things. In praise of the virtuous people the Holy Qur'an says: Who are neither prodigal nor miserly in their spending but maintain moderation. (Surah al-Furqan, 25:67), Do not be niggardly, nor over-generous, lest you should become reprehensive and constrained. (Surah Bani Isra'il,17:29)

In our traditions in matters of economics too, moderation has been greatly stressed. This moderation is meant to earmark expenditure of resources on welfare of the whole community and not to favor some members and give them more shares than what they deserve or more than the others in an unfair distribution. It as well prohibits the ruler to spend the public money on himself just by power of his position or spend that money in a wasteful manner on those things which are not useful for the community.

8.7. Moderation in Frugality

In Islam the system of frugality is also based on moderation and justice in the sense that exercising thrift should not be to the extent that no deserving person is deprived of his due share or rights, and every rightful claimant should be allowed to lead a comfortable life according to his needs. So the ruler is responsible for depriving the poor from their entitlement as well as not to favor those who are not entitled by giving them public money simply because they have some relationship with him.

8.8. Output of Work

Islam advises division of work for various purposes so that time may be allocated to different pieces of work including worship of Allah, picnics and lawful enjoyments. In this way all our material and spiritual needs can be fulfilled. (ISP: Sayings of Imam Ali, Peak of Eloquence,1984)

If in the event one's work is so extended as to restrain the work of another person, the officer in charge can put a check on this practice. For instance, if some people developed a barren land by the sweat of their brow, they would become its owner according to law which says: "One who develops a barren land becomes its owner".

If such a development of the land leads to deprivation of others and the social structure becomes unsound, the Islamic government can limit the extent of such a development so as to do justice to others also Islam has prohibited indulging in destructive work.

8.9. Justice in Distribution of Property

Imam Ali says: "The far-off tract of land should be equally treated like the nearby areas". (Letter 53, Peak of Eloquence)

The State's budget should be equally allocated among all sections of the society. It should not be such that people living near the capital city may get a greater share than other regions. That means all the resources should be directed to achieve development of the whole country and not to favor one region at the expense of the rest of the regions or its people to avoid injustices major among which is social justice.

Like Prophet Shu'ayb many of the Prophets, after inviting the people to the belief in monotheism and prophet hood, gave the first priority to the just distribution of wealth and honest use of weights and measures in business transactions. The Holy Qur'an says:

Maintain just measure in your business and do not cheat. Weigh your goods with proper balance and do not defraud people in their property or spread evil in the land. (Surah Shu'ara, 26:181-183)

Woe to those who are fraudulent who demand a full measure from others but when they measure or weigh,

give less. (Surah Mutaffifin, 83:1-3)

8.10 Justice in Sharing and Spending

In Islam justice is to be observed in spending also. The Holy Qur'an says:

You may eat their fruits that they produce but pay Allah's share on the harvest day. (Surah al-An'am, 6:141)

Children of Adam, dress well when attending the masjid, eat and drink but do not be excessive for Allah does not love those who are excessive. (Surah al-A'raf, 7:31)

We allowed you to consume the pure sustenance which We had given you but not to become rebels, lest you should become subjected to My Torment. (Surah Ta Ha, 20:81)

In this connection the Holy Qur'an says:

Use what you have acquired as your own good lawful property. Have fear of Allah. He is All-Forgiving and All-Merciful. (Surah al-Anfal, 8:69) 187

That is, what we eat should be lawful, pure, and of our liking, and we should observe the rules of piety in obtaining it. This means people are not supposed to take what they are not lawfully allowed to and not to forbid others from their entitlements.

To Establish Justice Prophet's Instructions Should be followed in life, one man's interests will clash with that of another man and there arise disputes and confrontations. In such circumstances everybody considers himself in the right or refuses to withdraw from the stand he has falsely taken. On such occasions Islam guides the people to refer to the Holy Prophet. The Holy Qur'an says:

Believers, obey Allah, His Messenger and your (qualified) leaders. If you have faith in Allah and the Day of Judgement; refer to Allah and His Messenger concerning matters in which you differ. This would be a more virtuous and a better way of settling differences. (Surah an-Nisa, 4:59)

The following tradition of the Holy Prophet is of special consideration which says: "Religious scholars (ulama) are the successors to the Prophets".

Therefore, whenever there is a dispute between you and there is a danger of deviation from the path of justice and violation of each other's rights you should approach the pious and just religious scholars so as to obtain their verdict in accordance with the commandments of Allah. Anyone who does not go to adhere to the laws and instead carries his personal disputes to the courts of law and seeks justice from those oppressors should give a second thought to his faith, because he is mistaken to think that he is a Muslim. The Holy Qur'an says.

O Muhammad! Have you seen those who think that they have faith in what is revealed to you and to others before you, yet they take their affairs to evil powers for judgement though they are commanded to ignore them. Satan only wants to deviate them from the right path. (Surah an-Nisa, 4:60)

8.10 Jurist is Responsible For the Supervision of Social Justice

Allah (God) created us and showed us the ways of achieving our eternal prosperity by following the teachings of the Holy Prophet of Islam. The Prophet is responsible for the social uplift, preservation of the rights and the guidance of the people. After the Holy Prophet the responsibility falls on the Imams who follow the teachings of Islam and the prophet in their judgment between disputants. They shoulder the responsibility of guiding the people to the right path.

In the absence of the Imams, this responsibility falls on the shoulders of the religious scholars, and jurists, who besides possessing a keen sense of justice, thorough religious knowledge, political acumen and administrative abilities have the capacity to deduce the true meaning of the Qur'anic verses and the narrations of the infallible Imams.

But in order that they may be called (Jurist) they must possess a thorough knowledge of all branches of knowledge so that they may interpret correctly the Qur'anic verses.

In the message that has come down to us from our Last Holy Imam Mahdi, we are guided in these words: "Do not be self-willed and do not make haste while facing hardships and difficulties in arriving at a decision. Instead go to a right jurist whom you consider above all worldly and temporal desires so that he may give you a correct guidance to follow the right path of Allah".

8.11. Reasons for Turning Away From Justice

There are two main reasons for turning away from justice. The Holy Qur'an has laid emphasis on both. One of the reasons of a man's deviation from justice is his personal interest, and his love for his relations and friends. The Holy Qur'an says:

Believers, be the supporters of justice and the witnesses for Allah, even against yourselves, parents and relatives, regardless of their being rich or poor. Allah must be given preference over them. Let not your desires cause you to commit injustice. (Surah an-Nisa, 4:135)

The second reason why a man turns away from the path of justice is the troubles which he receives from an individual or a group of individuals. The Holy Qur'an says:

Believers, be steadfast for the cause of Allah and just in bearing witness. Let not a group's hostility cause

you to deviate from justice. Be just for it is closer to piety. Have fear of Allah. Allah is Well-Aware of what you do. (Surah al-Ma'idah, 5:8)

The third cause which makes man deviate from the path of justice is the giving and taking of bribes. The Holy Qur'an says:

Do not use your property among yourselves in illegal ways and then deliberately bribe the rulers with your property so that you may sinfully acquire the property of others. (Surah al-Baqarah, 2:188)

Suppose a judge gives a decision in your favor and you know that it was the result of the bribe that you gave him and the property that comes under your possession is unlawful, thus the apparent decision of the judge, in reality does not confer the right of ownership of the property on you.

There is also a well-known hadith of the Holy Prophet which says: "Those who give bribe or take bribe are deprived of Allah's Mercy".

It should be borne in mind that some people give this evil deed misleading names like, gift, present, tip, compensation and the reward of secrecy etc. Some people informed the Holy Prophet that a certain man had accepted a bribe in the form a present.

The Holy Prophet felt displeased and asked the man: "Why do you accept a thing for which you have no right?" The man replied: "What I have taken is only a present and not a bribe". The Holy Prophet said, "If you remain sitting in your house and are not an official appointed by me would the people in that case offer you present?"

Islam has taken so much care that it says that the judge should not go to the market to buy things for himself lest any concession in price given to him should influence him.

8.12. Social Justice is For Public Welfare

Social Justice in Islam has been emphasized upon by the wholly Qur'an as follows

"Indeed, Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due and when you judge between people to judge with justice. Excellent is that which Allah instructs you. Indeed, Allah is ever Hearing and Seeing." (Alnisaa: 58)

This verse is emphasizing the importance of spreading justice among all without any prejudice and on equal foot.

" O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm in justice, witnesses for Allah , even if it be against yourselves or parents and relatives. Whether one is rich or poor, Allah is more worthy of both. So follow not [personal] inclination, lest you not be just. And if you distort [your testimony] or refuse [to give it], then indeed Allah is ever, with what you do, Acquainted."(Alnisaa

And come not nigh to the orphan's property, except to improve it, until he attain the age of full strength; give measure and weight with (full) justice; - no burden do We place on any soul, but that which it can bear; - whenever ye speak, speak justly, even if a near relative is concerned; and fulfil the covenant of Allah: thus doth He command you, that ye may remember. (AlAnaam 152)

The vehicles pass along on the right side in our country in order to regulate the smooth flow of traffic. Hence, if any of the drivers violates the traffic rules other drivers start blowing horns so as to put a check on him.

Besides, the police on duty also intervene and fine him for violation of traffic rules. And in the absence of the police people themselves inform against the offender. Under these circumstances very few drivers can dare violate the traffic rules.

9. Social Justice in Modern Islamic States: The Experience of three States:

When we looked in the theoretical concepts of Islam in general especially the verses of Quran and Hadith, we found that there is a clear vision and straight forward path to achieve social justice in Muslim communities nowadays.

A lot of successful examples are available and could easily reflect that if proper Islam is applied there is a very high likelihood that Islamic communities could live in prosperity. Sudan is not an exception of the mentioned communities. But when we compare other Islamic countries such as Malaysia, or Singapore or Turkey with Sudan we find quite a big gap between their life and our life in Sudan. That raises the question why Sudan is not like them and what went wrong?

To answer the question of what went wrong in the case of Sudan we need to learn from other Islamic experiences how they managed to put things right after they went wrong.

9.1. Singapore

The first development Experience is that one of Singapore to achieve Social Justice: According to Hany Salamoni, the editor in chief of Almasry Alyoum Egyptian Newspaper issued on April 4th 2015 who wrote in Arabic that, " Singapore was one of the British colonies up to 1960. It was one of the sea ports established by the East India Company which was an affiliate of the British Empire. It was established as part of European expansion in Asia in search of markets and natural resources. In 1965 Singapore separated from Malaysia,

where its economy was just an economy of a regional seaport. British military bases at that time represented 20% of the gross domestic product, while 75% of the population were lacking in basic education. (Hani Salamony: Almasry Alyoum Egyptian Newspaper 2015).

Lee Kuan **Yu**, the leader of modern change in Singapore, who benefited from his experience studying in the UK, started a new human and economic vision that would alleviate his underdeveloped and backward country towards sustainable development. This approach transformed Singapore from an unknown Third World country, to a first class developed country. Individual per capita income increased during the period between 1966 to 2015 by fifteen fold i.e. by a frequency triple the growth of the USA. (Lee, Kuan: From Third World to First) The magical key to the success of Singapore was education, which is one of the corner stones of social justice. Through education Singapore was able to leap to the first world and attract multi-national well-known companies to enter its market simply because of the high caliber and well educated and trained Singapore citizens.

In his book "From Third World to First: the story of Singapore" Lee Kuan referred to the importance of national capabilities in building the state. Lee said, "after few years in the government I realized that as long as I choose the talented and capable persons as ministers and administrators and professionals, the more our policies will be effective and more successful".

Singapore was very strict in administering its financial system, with very high transparency and efficiency, to avoid catastrophes that happened in other markets. The state refused requests from many international institutions to enter the markets of Singapore such as the bank of Credit and Trade which was denied opening any of its branches in Singapore because of its bad reputation of corruption. This was proved later to be a wise policy since the bank collapsed during 1991 after losing 11 billion US Dollars of its clients' money. The government allowed the freedom of media with limitations on the foreign media and allowing the local media to discuss everything without government intervention. The president believed that talking about everything openly is the safeguard of the country. Knowing that in the era of internet revolution and development of telecommunication, getting any information is so easy and quick and that propaganda media destroys the country rather than developing it.

The first phase of Singapore's development was to accumulate all revenues to transform the economy to a base of manufacturing industries that was earmarked for export. This important step was financed from local national savings of the country's people. The foreign investments so that the share of investment in gross domestic product according to the records of the World Bank rose from 10% in 1960 to 40% in 1980. Singapore added further value to its economy through developing small and light industries such as textile, as well as embarking on electronics and small engineering products and plastic industries. This was done simultaneously with developing financial services in particular and services in general. Hence began the real story of success.

Singapore developed two strategies, the first was to import the most advanced technology in the world to increase capital and labor productivity through encouraging foreign direct investments and use of foreign know how as a means of transferring knowledge. The second phase was laid on the foundation of improving the legal, intellectual and governance environment. Also special attention was paid to the creative young generations to allow for innovation through creative ideas to achieve technological development. Now Singapore is at the top of the list of incentive system for a knowledge based economy, and it is now the world number 4 in the knowledge economy ranking of the World Bank. Singapore is now classified as the top of the world list of best business practices in the world."

It may worth noting here that, this is a country occupied by a Multi-racial population and ruled by Islamic laws, yet they were able through social justice application and strict commitment to transparency and governance with full adherence to law to move into the rank of the best economies of the world.

9.2. Turkey

The second Islamic Experience we need to learn is that of Turkey according to the World Bank report 2014. On December 10th 2014 the New World Bank Report Looks at Turkey's Rise to the Threshold of High-Income Status and the Challenges Remaining. (World Bank, 2014)

The report asserted that, "Steady growth over the past decades has brought Turkey to the threshold of becoming a high-income economy, prosperity has been broadly shared across income groups in the society, and the size of the middle-class was doubled, according to a new World Bank report,

9.2.1. Turkey's Transitions:

Integration, inclusion and Institutions had been reviewed, however; challenges remain. The report examines Turkey's experience in the transition from a lower middle-income to an upper middle-income economy, and looks at what has worked well and what needs to change.

Laura Tuck, World Bank Vice-President for Europe and Central Asia, stated: "The rise of emerging markets is changing the global development landscape. For many developing countries, the most pertinent lessons in development come, not from the industrialized countries of Western Europe and North America, but from the

dynamic emerging market economies that are well on their way towards high income status.”

9.2.2. Turkey's Growth

Turkey's average annual GDP growth rate was 4.5 percent between 1960 and 2012. The share of Turkey's middle-class increased from 18 percent to 41 percent of the population between 1993 and 2010 (**World Bank Report 2014**).

The income of the bottom 40 percent of Turkey's population has increased almost at the same rate as the rate of total population growth, indicating that prosperity has been broadly shared across income groups of the society.

Tuck added that, “As a reflection of the growing role of emerging markets in the global economy, there is increased interest in the exchange of experiences among policy makers of developing countries with their peers facing similar challenges. Indeed, with a per capita income of around US\$10,500, Turkey is just a few years away from crossing the threshold of becoming a high-income economy, if past growth rates are sustained. According to the OECD, by 2060 Turkey will be the 12th largest economy in the world. Turkey's economic rise has attracted attention, and this book is an account of how this success was achieved and what lessons other countries can learn from it.”

The report finds that two central themes have dominated Turkey's economic development over the past three decades: integration and inclusion.

According to the report, Turkey's economic integration – both in terms of the country's integration into global markets and the integration of underdeveloped regions in Turkey's economy – has been a driver for economic progress. Moreover, Turkey used the opportunity presented by the deep financial crisis over a decade ago to reform its banks and its public finances – allowing public expenditure to move from debt service to public service. In addition, economic progress has been socially inclusive as poverty has been reduced by more than half, and access to high-quality health, education, and municipal services has expanded.

And yet, in spite of its remarkable achievements so far, Turkey has yet to establish the institutional prerequisites of a high-income economy. In a less forgiving global economic context, the risk of the so-called “middle-income trap” looms for countries that let off on their reform efforts. For Turkey to complete the transition to a high-income economy, improvements in the rule of law, in public accountability and transparency, and in the climate for entrepreneurship and innovation will be needed.

Martin Raiser, World Bank Country Director for Turkey and primary author of the report, said, “Turkey is undergoing multiple transitions en route to a high-income economy, some more advanced than others. We hope Turkey's experience inspires policy makers in other emerging markets to aim for high-income status. And we hope that by drawing up a balance sheet of Turkey's achievements and challenges, this book will also inspire Turkey's policy makers to redouble their own reform efforts and lift their country into the ranks of advanced high-income economies. That would make the lessons from Turkey's development experience all the more convincing for other countries”. (Martin Raiser; Predictions of the World Bank on Turkey's Development by 2060).

9.3. Malaysia

" We consider ourselves in Malaysia similar to our Muslim ancestors during the golden century of Islam. We have an original vision and approach consistent with the spirit and essence of Islam, therefore, it was a must that we start with achieving growth through the application of equality between all segments of the society, while working to raise gross domestic product. This was the reason why the west rejected us- because the west believes that the stronger are entitled to live and wealth is only for rich at the expense of the poor". This was the statement announced by previous Prime Minister Mohamed Mahateer, whom they called the "Malaysian Renaissance Maker". (Mohamed Mahateer: Public Speech in Sudan 2016)

The Malaysian prime minister, who ruled the country for 22 years, was mainly concerned with Building human capital in order to achieve an integrated human development, and deepening of care of each individual about the importance of developing the state. That was positively reflected on Malaysian individuals who felt that they are important and effective members of the process of construction and development. Manatee's vision was based on "The establishment of a full-fledged society of citizens with a strong degree of religiosity, moral values and high ethical standards"

The Malaysian experience of development was inspired by the Japanese experience of development which was a great story of success in achieving development and raising per capita income.

Malaysia concentrated on industrialization as a way out of backwardness, and moving through several stages and overcoming difficulties, now Malaysia is an exporter of technological high quality product after being a rubber exporter. Through this policy the value of Malaysian exports rose from below 5 billion US Dollars in 1980 to 100 billion US dollars in 2015.

While Muslims (Malayans), were preoccupied with ruling the country, Chinese and Indians were taking care of trade and industry and hence then, there is social peace in an atmosphere of social co-existence between the three different ethnic groups. That was the magic that put Malaysia where it is now.

The Government of Malaysia moved forward to be one of the few Islamic countries which industrialized because of developing its infrastructure and diversifying its economy which is mainly relying on industry, tourism and petrol.

Malaysia also gave great attention to capacity building and developing human skills through improving the quality of education, research institutions and sending its citizens abroad to the most qualified and reputable universities and institutes. Furthermore, the government encouraged innovation and creativity among its youth and supported all the talented ideas and projects. That could be easily felt from the big government donations to the Malaysian universities.

Malaysia today is one of the advanced countries of the world simply because they are following one motto "All for building home". Therefore, Malaysian citizens, in spite of their different ethnic backgrounds, all work for their home country with full dedication. It is then not surprising that they are living in a welfare state with an advanced network of highways, train services, airlines and first class telecommunications system. In such a state Islam was followed strictly but without extremism and social justice was applicable to all Muslims and non-Muslims equally.

The Lessons learned from the three experiences is that: if there is a will nothing is impossible. In the Models applied by the three countries we feel that they learned from experiences of other nations especially the experience of Japan.

In the three models building capacities and enhancing the effort of creative talented people was at the center of their efforts. They emphasized the quality of education and training from one side and import of technology from another side. They also put greater emphasis on transparency and governance as major tools that guarantee appropriate allocation of resources to the ideal projects, while employing qualified staff who dedicated their effort to develop their homeland. This is done under healthy circumstances where the rule of law is applied to everyone and as well social justice.

10. Critique of the Case of Sudan Government Approach: (Analysis)

After reviewing the experience of three successful examples of Muslim countries that haven't even got as much as the Sudan has, any person could really be surprised to learn that people of Sudan are dying because of either poverty or hunger. The reason for this surprise is that Sudan is an endowed country with human and natural resources that it was once considered the "World Food Basket". The rareness of such an endowment could easily be seen in the following:

- Out of its more than 250,000 hectares of fertile land only 24.7% have been utilized so far since Sudan's independence in 1956. that means 75.3% of fertile abundant land is not in use while (19-31%) of able people are suffering from an employment! (IMF, 2017).
- There are eighteen rivers that run through Sudan, the main one of which is the River Nile which crosses the country from South to North let alone the untapped underground water storage.
- In spite of all these resources without forgetting to mention the mineral resource of Gold Ore, Iron, Petroleum, Manganese, Uranium and other 13 rare minerals, Sudanese people are living in unprecedented poverty. In fact, the majority of Sudanese people who are living below the poverty line earning (1.085 \$/day) represent the majority of the population. (World Bank, 2014).

According to a very recent publication released by the Government of Sudan Statistical Bureau which entails the government strategy to combat poverty, on the basis of a 2009 national survey, the survey results reflect that among each 2 Sudanese persons one of them is living below the poverty line. The survey covered 14 million persons living in poverty out of 35 million representing the whole population of the country. (Sudan Government Statistical Bureau; 2017)

According to the evaluation of the survey results, 46.5 % of the country's population is living in poverty where the share of each individual is only 74 Sudanese pounds since 65% of the population is living below the National Poverty Line earning only 114 Sudanese pounds per month.

A joint evaluation study by the World Bank Group and the Ministry of Finance and National Economy in Sudan to assess the Poverty Combating Strategy reflected that, poverty is deep rooted in Sudan and that most of those poor people were living below the poverty line to the extent that the poverty percentage in rural areas reached 58% compared to 26% in Urban areas. This reflected an inverse relationship between poverty and Urbanization in Sudan, though more than two thirds of the population (64.4%) are living in the rural areas where poverty levels reached 80%. (The World Bank & Sudan Government joint Country Report: Sudan Economic Performance 2013)

The abovementioned report uncovered the fact that there were variations in the levels of poverty among different regions of the Sudan. For the purpose of my book " The Dilemma of Social Justice in the Arab World: The Sudanese case" which was published in 2014, and in the absence of clear cut definitions for social Justice in the Arab World in particular and Third World in general, I have developed a framework of my own based on four patterns to explain social justice in the Arab World in particular and Third World in general using Sudan as

model for both. This framework has been defined earlier.

In the following part we will report the results of the survey and analyze the outcomes of that survey to reflect the opinion of our universe of respondents from among Sudanese selected randomly from different parts of the world including those in Sudan. The coverage of the questionnaire which was diffused electronically through survey monkey covered Sudanese respondents in USA, Canada, UK, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE, Qatar, and Sudan.

10.1. Analysis of the Survey Results:

It is worth noting at the outset to mention that the issue in consideration is very sensitive. In addition, the matter is still debatable and subject to difference of opinion subject to political or social or religious or other orientations and affiliations. That had its impact on the attitude of the respondents towards the issue itself and the understanding of each and every individual among the universe of respondents. Therefore, it was not surprising that from among the approximately 150 respondents, only 132(88%) have chosen to answer the questionnaire distributed to them, while the rest either abstained or ignored to answer the questionnaire. Of those who chosen to answer the questionnaire, costed the author a lot of effort to chase them to respond.

Looking at the overall responses to the questionnaire, it is observed that questions 3,4 and 8 have been skipped by a remarkable number of respondents, namely 43, 10, and 9 respectively either for fear of the government, or miss- understanding or for religious or other personal reasons.

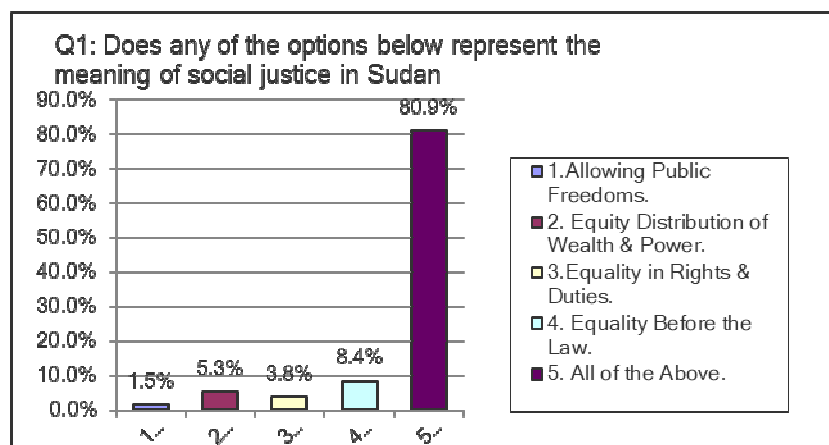
Due to the fact that issues related to social justice and terms are recently introduced to the public since the term is rather complicated even to some scholars who are not social scientists or at least having some background knowledge about the issue in consideration, question 1 is formed in such a way to guide those who are not familiar to the term of social justice to grasp the meaning from the answer options given in the question.

Table (1): The Meaning of Social Justice

Q1: Does any of the options below represent the meaning of social justice in Sudan?

Q1: Does any of the options below represent the meaning of social justice in Sudan?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Allowing Public Freedoms. | 1.5% | 2 |
| 2. Equity Distribution of Wealth & Power. | 5.3% | 7 |
| 3. Equality in Rights & Duties. | 3.8% | 5 |
| 4. Equality Before the Law. | 8.4% | 11 |
| 5. All of the Above. | 80.9% | 106 |
| answered question | | 131 |
| skipped question | | 1 |



Shape (1): The Meaning of Social Justice

From the direction of answers to question 1, (81%) of the respondents believe that social justice is represented in all of the options offered which include: allowance of public freedoms, equity distribution of wealth and power, equality in rights and duties and equality before the law. On the other hand, (8%) believed that social justice means equality before the law, while (5%) suggested equity distribution of wealth and power means social justice. Another (4%) believed social justice means equality of rights and duties. While only (1.5%) believed that social justice means allowance of freedoms. One respondent (0.75%) skipped the question.

The tendency of the majority of answers to question one reflected that most of the respondents were aware of the meaning of social justice and therefore, there is a high likely hood that the selections of answers in the following questions would be logical and based on understanding of the issue in context.

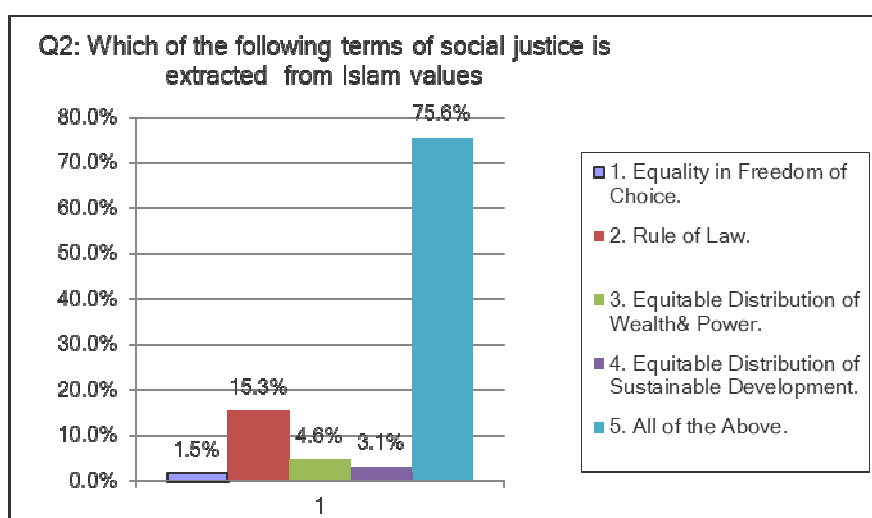
Table (2): The Meaning of Social Justice from Islam

Q2: Which of the following terms of social justice is extracted from Islam values?

Q2: Which of the following terms of social justice is extracted from Islam values?

Q2: Which of the following terms of social justice is extracted from Islamic values?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Equality in Freedom of Choice. | 1.5% | 2 |
| 2. Rule of Law. | 15.3% | 20 |
| 3. Equitable Distribution of Wealth& Power. | 4.6% | 6 |
| 4. Equitable Distribution of Sustainable Development. | 3.1% | 4 |
| 5. All of the Above. | 75.6% | 99 |
| answered question | | 131 |
| skipped question | | 1 |



Shape (2): The Meaning of Social Justice from Islam Values

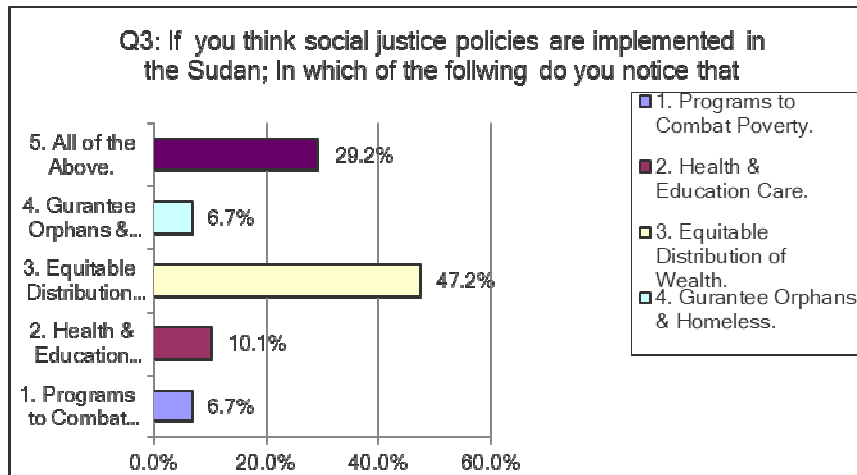
In answering question number 2, it appears that the majority of respondents (76%) agreed that all the components of social justice are extracted from the values of Islam, which means that if the ruling government is following the values of Islam, then there shouldn't be any obstacles that impede the application of social justice in Sudan. Another group of respondents (15%) believed that only rule of law is extracted from the values of Islam, while (5%) think only equitable distribution of wealth and power is extracted from the values of Islam. While the rest (3%) and (1.5%) selected equitable distribution of sustainable development and equality in freedom of choice respectively.

The small number of those who made the last two choices suggest that most of the respondents believe that social just is a package of all the choices given in this question and hence they are on the believe that Islam calls for implementation of social justice in a complete package.

Table (3): In Which Areas Are Social Justice Policies Applied

Q3: If you think social justice policies are implemented in the Sudan; In which of the following do you notice that ?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Programs to Combat Poverty. | 6.7% | 6 |
| 2. Health & Education Care. | 10.1% | 9 |
| 3. Equitable Distribution of Wealth. | 47.2% | 42 |
| 4. Guarantee Orphans & Homeless. | 6.7% | 6 |
| 5. All of the Above. | 29.2% | 26 |
| answered question | | 89 |
| skipped question | | 43 |



Shape (3): Areas were Social Justice Policies Applied

The trend of answers to question 3 returned me back to the introduction of this analysis in which I said that this issue is sensitive and hot. Out of the universe of respondents (32%) skipped the question completely either because they are not convinced that social justice is implemented in Sudan or they are hesitating to choose to answer the question or not. Out of the total respondents (67%) chose to answer this question. Those who chose equitable distribution of wealth and power represent (47%) of those answered the question and represent (31%) of the total respondents. On the other hand, those who believed that the total package of social justice is implemented represented (29%) of the total respondents and only (20%) of those answered the question.

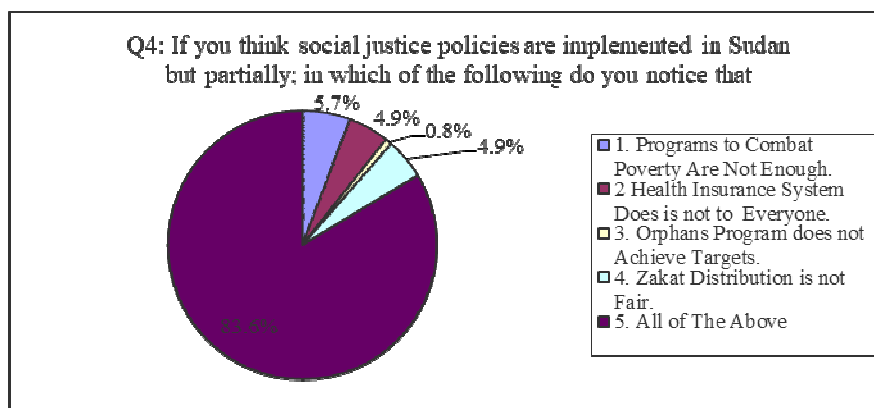
The distribution of respondents in selecting different options means everyone has got their own interpretation of social justice and there is no unanimous agreement on a single term. This suggests the need for tailoring a definition that everyone would accept.

Table (4): Application of Social Justice Partially

Q4: If you think social justice policies are implemented in Sudan but partially; in which of the following do you notice that?

Q4: If you think social justice policies are implemented in Sudan but partially; in which of the following do you notice that?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Programs to Combat Poverty Are Not Enough. | 5.7% | 7 |
| 2 Health Insurance System Does is not to Everyone. | 4.9% | 6 |
| 3. Orphans Program does not Achieve Targets. | 0.8% | 1 |
| 4. Zakat Distribution is not Fair. | 4.9% | 6 |
| 5. All of The Above | 83.6% | 102 |
| answered question | | 122 |
| skipped question | | 10 |



Shape (4): Application of Social Justice Partially

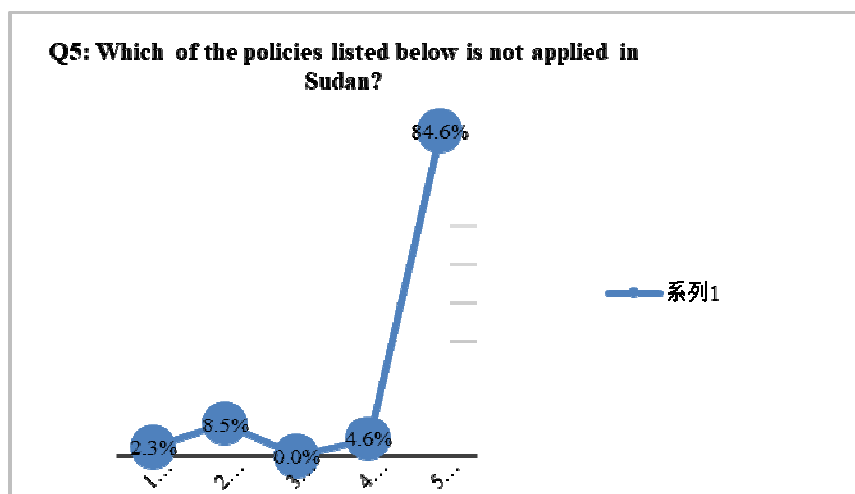
As regards question 4, about the partial implementation of social justice policies in Sudan, the majority of respondents suggested through their answers (83%) that, social justice policies implemented in Sudan include

combating poverty programs, health insurance, distribution of Zakat, but they reflected their disappointment and dissatisfaction about the application which they showed it is not sufficient to cover everybody or it is applied in an unfair and biased manner. On the other hand, as it is the case in the previous question some respondent's answers are scattered between poor poverty combating programs (6%), insufficient health insurance system (5%), and unfair distribution of Zakat (5%). The total number of those who answered this question represent (92%) of total respondent, while (8%) opted to skip the question either because they believe that even partially social justice policies were not implemented in Sudan or they were hesitating because they do not know the proper answer. The responses provided in answering this question would suffice to prove the validity of our first hypothesis where social justice policies are not implemented in a fair and adequate manner in Sudan.

Table (5): Which Policies are not Applied in Sudan

Q5: Which of the policies listed below is not applied in Sudan?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Adequate Programs to Combat Poverty. | 2.3% | 3 |
| 2. Provision of Free Education & Health Services. | 8.5% | 11 |
| 3. Provision of Orphan & Displaced People Care. | 0.0% | 0 |
| 4. Provision of Job Opportunities. | 4.6% | 6 |
| 5. All the Above. | 84.6% | 110 |
| answered question | | 130 |
| skipped question | | 2 |



Shape (5): Which Policies are not Applied in Sudan

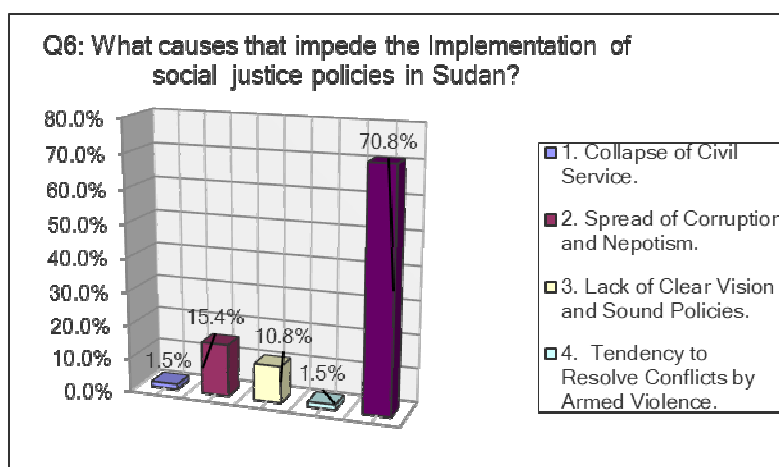
Likewise, when respondents were asked in question 5, to reflect what is not applied in Sudan from among a list of options including adequate programs to combat poverty, provision of free health & education, provision of Orphans and displaced peoples care policies and provision of job opportunities, (85%) of the total number of respondent selected all the options reflecting that these policies were either not applied at all or they were not adequate. Some other respondents (9%) selected the option of provision of free health & education services as their sole policy that reflect social justice. Another group (5%) reflected on job opportunities provision as prime indicator of social justice implementation. The responses offered by respondents to this question would be sufficient to satisfy the statement in hypothesis number two.

Table (6): What impedes the Application of Social Justice Policies in Sudan

Q6: What causes that impede the Implementation of social justice policies in Sudan?

Q6: What causes that impede the Implementation of social justice policies in Sudan?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Collapse of Civil Service. | 1.5% | 2 |
| 2. Spread of Corruption and Nepotism. | 15.4% | 20 |
| 3. Lack of Clear Vision and Sound Policies. | 10.8% | 14 |
| 4. Tendency to Resolve Conflicts by Armed Violence. | 1.5% | 2 |
| 5. All of the Above. | 70.8% | 92 |
| answered question | | 130 |
| skipped question | | 2 |



Shape (6): What impedes the Application of Social Justice Policies in Sudan

Since the general tendency of the answers of the majority of respondents so far reflect either denying any application of social justice policies in Sudan or either reflecting their disappointment in such a way that these policies are either not adequate to cover every body or are provided in an unfair manner to favor some of the people at the expense of others, where favoritism or nepotism is practiced by government officials in charge.

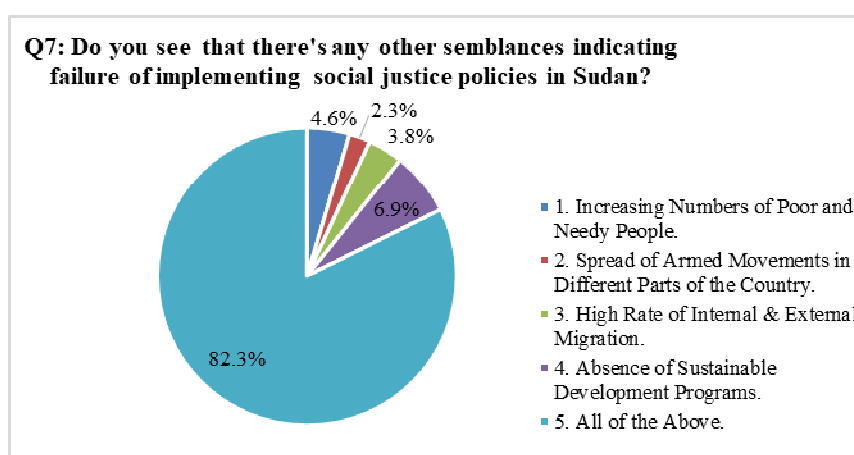
When those respondents were asked in question 6, to explain the causes that impede the implementation of these policies in a fair and satisfactory manner by selecting one option from among five options including: collapse of Civil Service, spread of corruption and nepotism, lack of vision and sound policies, tendency to resolve conflicts through armed violence or all the above mentioned reasons: (71%) of the total number of respondents suggested that all the above mentioned causes are valid. Another group (15%) emphasized that, the reason is the spread of corruption and nepotism while (11%) thought it is the lack of clear vision and sound policies. However, the overall response to this question suggests that the mentioned reasons are not easy to resolve without a real determination and change in policies in such a way to meet the needs of the public in Sudan. The outcome of answers to this question proof the validity of hypothesis three in the list of hypotheses provided in this paper about the symptoms of absence of social justice. These answers as well suffice to proof the validity of hypothesis 4.

Table (7): Semblance of failure in implementation of Social Policies in Sudan

Q7: Do you see that there's any other semblances indicating failure of implementing social justice policies in Sudan?

Q7: Do you see that there are any other semblances indicating failure of implementing social justice policies in Sudan?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Increasing Numbers of Poor and Needy People. | 4.6% | 6 |
| 2. Spread of Armed Movements in Different Parts of the Country. | 2.3% | 3 |
| 3. High Rate of Internal & External Migration. | 3.8% | 5 |
| 4. Absence of Sustainable Development Programs. | 6.9% | 9 |
| 5. All of the Above. | 82.3% | 107 |
| answered question | | 130 |
| skipped question | | 2 |



Shape (7): Semblance of failure in implementation of Social Policies in Sudan

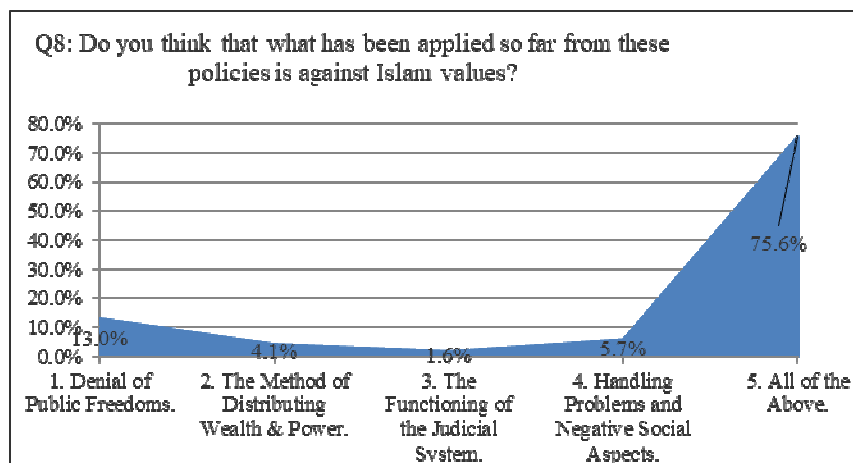
In furtherance to the previous question, respondents were asked in question 7 to reflect on any other semblances of failure in implementation of social justice policies in Sudan. Out of the total number investigated (82%) of the universe of respondents showed that they believe that: the remarkable increase in the number of people stroked by poverty, spread of armed movements in different parts of the country, the un president rate of internal and external migration in the light of absence of sustainable development are all semblances of such a clear failure. On the other hand, some of those respondents (7%) seem to believe that the absence of sustainable development is a very important sign of such a failure, while another group (5%) believed that poverty is a major indicator of that failure while a third group (4%) observe internal & external migration would only reflect a clear failure since the majority of farmers left the rural areas to join the “informal sector” in big cities, while the qualified skilled and professional manpower left the country. Responses from the universe of respondents to this question are sufficient to proof the validity of hypothesis 5 as regards the indicators of absence of social justice policies in Sudan.

Table (8): Applied Social Policies Against Islam Values in Sudan

Q8: Do you think that what has been applied so far from these policies is against Islam values?

Q8: Do you think that what has been applied so far from these policies is against Islam values?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Denial of Public Freedoms. | 13.0% | 16 |
| 2. The Method of Distributing Wealth & Power. | 4.1% | 5 |
| 3. The Functioning of the Judicial System. | 1.6% | 2 |
| 4. Handling Problems and Negative Social Aspects. | 5.7% | 7 |
| 5. All of the Above. | 75.6% | 93 |
| answered question | | 123 |
| skipped question | | 9 |



Shape (8): Applied Social Policies Against Islam Values in Sudan

When the same respondents were asked if the application of government policies applied so far is against the values of Islam as mentioned in question number 8, a remarkable number (76%) believed that all the package of government policies applied in Sudan which is resembled in denial of public freedoms, unfair distribution of power and wealth, the bad functioning of the judicial system, and the lack of efficient handling of social negative aspects reflect government failure policies. This would suggest that those respondents believed that the regime is applying policies that are totally against their Islamic slogans which they always raise but in vain.

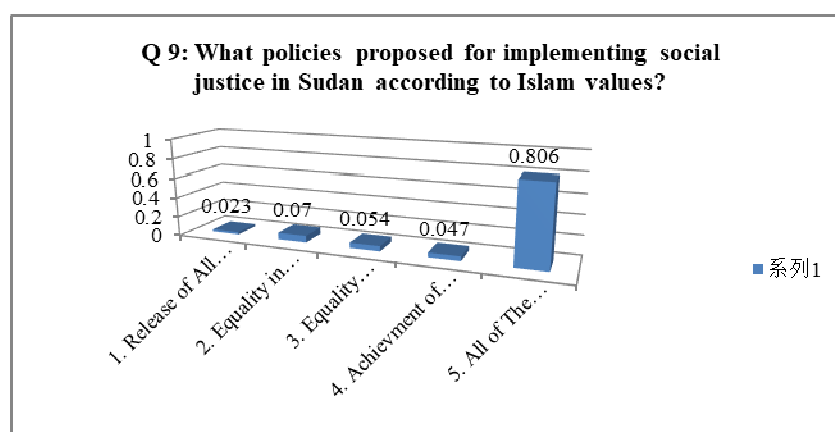
Out of the total number of respondents (13%) seemed to be very much preoccupied by the issue of public freedoms which they consider an important part of Islamic values, while (6%) of those respondents emphasized on the issue of negative social aspects which they believe is utterly against Islam while, another (4%) suggested the mal distribution of wealth and power as a damaging behavior to the values of Islam. Actually the overall answers given to this question does not only proof our last hypothesis but it tends to proof many other hypotheses suggestion alternative policy options that the present government in Sudan need to review carefully and opt to apply them to proof that it is doing what had been declared in 1989 about development of the country and providing welfare life to its people.

Table (9): Proposed Social Policies According to Islam Values

Q 9: What policies proposed for implementing social justice in Sudan according to Islam values?

Q 9: What policies proposed for implementing social justice in Sudan according to Islam values?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Release of All Freedoms. | 2.3% | 3 |
| 2. Equality in Rights & Duties. | 7.0% | 9 |
| 3. Equality Before the Law. | 5.4% | 7 |
| 4. Achievement of Sustainable Development. | 4.7% | 6 |
| 5. All of The Above. | 80.6% | 104 |
| answered question | | 129 |
| skipped question | | 3 |



Shape (9): Proposed Social Policies According to Islam Values

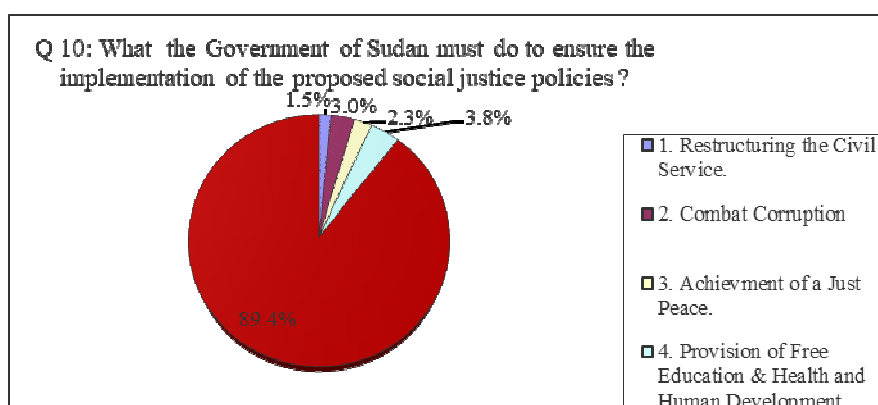
As regards the appropriate policies that coincide with the values of Islam, respondents were asked to indicate these policies are in line to their own believes in question 9. Out of the total number of respondents (81%) suggested that the policies of government can only reflect their adherence to Islamic values when they allow public freedoms, treat all the people in equal manner as regards their rights and duties and be equal in front of law while achieving sustainable development in a fair manner in all the regions of the country. On the other hand, (7%) of those respondents seem to emphasize on equality of rights and duties, while a second group opted to be concerned very much with equality in front of law and achievement of sustainable development as their prime concern.

Table (10): What Must Be Done by Government to Implement Proposed Policies

Q 10: What the Government of Sudan must do to ensure the implementation of the proposed social justice policies?

Q 10: What the Government of Sudan must do to ensure the implementation of the proposed social justice policies?

| Answer Options | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Restructuring the Civil Service. | 1.5% | 2 |
| 2. Combat Corruption | 3.0% | 4 |
| 3. Achievement of a Just Peace. | 2.3% | 3 |
| 4. Provision of Free Education & Health and Human Development. | 3.8% | 5 |
| 5. All of the Above. | 89.4% | 118 |
| answered question | | 132 |
| skipped question | | 0 |



Shape (10): What Must Be Done by Government to Implement Proposed Policies

To overcome the situation of wide dissatisfaction and discontent with government policies, which was so called Islamic, respondents were asked to suggest what the government must do, to ensure the application of social justice in Sudan. (89%) of the total universe of population of respondents believed that the government must restructure its civil service, combat corruption, achieve a just peace all over the flaming regions, and provide sufficient free education and health services. The rest of the respondents seem to emphasize on issues such as provision of education and health (4%), combating corruption (3%) and achievement of fair and just peace (3%).

Looking at the overall responses offered by respondents to this survey reflect that the majority of the answers claim that, although this government is raising Islamic slogans and claiming to rule according to Sharia laws but their policies reflect an approach that is almost against the values of Islam. This suggests that it is high time for the leaders of the ruling regime to sit down and revisit their policies again. They need to opt to new and different policies extracted from the true values of Islam if they are really determined to achieve social justice in Sudan.

11. Findings, Implications and Policy Recommendations:

For every country to achieve sustainable economic growth and social justice, the main factors empowering the economic growth should be in place and other institutions should function well through good governing, rule of law, good leadership. Besides, providing good access to education and health services, developing excellence research on development to invent and innovate goods and services that should be supported by good savings and more investment.

11.1. Findings

The survey results of this study found that, the responses provided by the universe of respondents seem to provide straightforward answers to almost all the research questions raised in terms of, the root causes of prejudice and imbalance of power and unfair distribution of both wealth and power. These answers showed that, the government is seen to have failed in creating favorable circumstances that, may lead to social peace and fair and easy access to rights and duties. This takes place as well as, equality in front of the law. Hence sustainable development can be attained where everyone would enjoy social justice without prejudice.

People cannot be creative or in other words productive under circumstances of lack of self-expression, or lack of free choices to do what they want, when they want, without any oppression of any kind whatsoever. In the absence of freedoms of expression, organization, and free press, corruption is inevitable where no one would dare to criticize the allocation of public funds or where the rule of law is on holidays. Under such circumstances those who own the power would dictate what serves their own interests regardless of the interests of the majority of citizens. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that, the majority of the population are living below the poverty line while, those few who own the power and wealth are living affluent lives. In such conditions it is quite normal not to find social justice laws in place or even if they are there, their implementation is done in such an unfair way that, it favors those who have connections with the power circles only.

Social justice can only be applicable under a democratic and just rule where everyone is enjoying equal rights and assuming equal duties, where no one is above the laws no matter who he is.

To sum up, we can safely say that, the results of the survey provided sufficient answers to the research questions raised in this paper as well as, providing sufficient proof to the research hypotheses. None of our hypotheses had been nullified. These answers to the research questions and hypotheses all work together to consolidate the fact that, the regime is far from applying any kind of rule that has any connections with Islam. Hence it is very likely that justice in any kind or form cannot exist.

Basic Findings

By reviewing the answers of those respondents who participated in this survey the study significant findings are as follows:

11.1.1. Most of those answers reflected a high level of awareness among those respondents about the meaning of social justice though it was a new term in the vocabulary of people in developing countries.

11.1.2. Most of the respondents reflected their dissatisfaction with social justice policies implemented in Sudan either because these policies were unfair or insufficient as a result of absence of good governance and rule of law.

11.1.3. The emphasis in most of the answers was calling for real social justice policies based on fairness in sharing development benefits, or distribution of wealth and power, as well as, real efforts to create new jobs and combat poverty. This will be achieved if the government institutions are functioning well; Sudan is not an exceptional case as most of the developing countries are suffering from institutional failure and absence of good leadership, governance and rule of law, and waste of resources due to mismanagement.

11.1.4. The trend of these answers suggested what the government needs to do as regards fair and balanced social justice policies. Such policies would help offering equal opportunities for the people of Sudan to alleviate poverty, spread peace and social rest through the implementation of social justice policies. Applying social justice policies would safeguard fairness and satisfaction to Sudanese people. They suggest that, by doing so, sustainable development is likely to be attained if the fundamental factors of economic growth are implemented such as (good governance and rule of law, access to education and health services, progress in research on development to create value added and innovations of goods and services plus savings and investment.

11.1.5. All the answers confirmed that the implemented policies do not satisfy the values of Islam and reflect clear mismanagement. People have been always calling for fairness and spread of justice in general and social justice in particular. In this respect, the government actions drifted from the core values of Islam led to the creation of a huge gap in social justice that, never happened before in the history of the Sudanese between those ruling and the rest of the Sudan. The centralized authority led to the concentration of the country's wealth, jobs opportunities in the hands of those ruling few and their associates. The country's resources were held for the wellbeing of few at the expense of the rest of Sudanese who were struggling to find the basic life needs in their own country with no jobs and good living chances for them.

12. Policy Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study and to achieve social justice policies implemented in a fair and just way, the following recommendations need to be applied to improve social justice in Sudan: -

12.1. The Government needs to go back and restructure its failure and unfair policies in general and the economic and financial policies in particular. The New set of policies should prioritize agricultural investment in major agricultural projects such as Gezira scheme, Rahad Scheme, White Nile Projects and

- Nuba Mountains projects in all the government budgets. Agriculture should not be treated as a sector of the economy but rather as the engine of the economic growth in an agricultural country where more than 70% of its population are farmers. At least 25% of the GDP should be earmarked to increase productivity in agriculture by introducing new technologies and agro-based Industry to benefit from the value added to the economy. This will create new favorable employment opportunities for thousands of people who are in need.
- 12.2. New marketing techniques and policies need to be in place including the recruitment of qualified marketing staff with the best marketing skills and well trained. This will help promote better sales of agricultural products to boost the economy. As well, public-private partnership policies in line with sustainable development goals should be taken on board as one of the tools to enhance sustainable development projects that create new jobs and wealth growth.
 - 12.3. New Fertilizers usage, improved seeds production technology and new cropping policies would enhance higher selling chances and create value added should be introduced into the agricultural rotation. Moreover, the use of machine efficient harvesting is an important factor of success due to the application of Knowledge transfer and knowledge economy that are highly recommended to be implemented.
 - 12.4. It is important to introduce new policies for job creation in the form of Micro-financing of new and creative youth projects for those who are qualified and equipped with new innovative projects constrained by financing obstacles. In this regard, the government should open more room for the private sector and encourage joint ventures between the government- private sector and Sudanese expatriates to work together. If this was supplemented with total alleviation of any forms of taxes or customs on agricultural products or agricultural technologies imported that would enhance productivity and packing quality for some competitive exported products. The Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) should be classified and provided with technical and financial support to grow through the improvement of the private sector activities. The government needs to look at SMEs as the backbone of every economy around the globe.
 - 12.5. All future investments must be directed to the marginalized regions which have not received sufficient development attention until now. The projects should be established on the basis of scientific research that confirms the feasibility of such investments. This will help in creating some sort of equitable distribution of wealth and share of power. It will as well, guarantee the appropriate allocation of resources.
 - 12.6. Much attention and financial allocation of funds has to be earmarked to research and scientific studies to enhance and increase productivity of land and quality of production. As well new and modern marketing innovated techniques must be used, so that we can guarantee continuous development in all sectors and creation of more equitable employment chances.
 - 12.7. The policy of rain floods storage "water harvesting" has to be taken seriously and several storage areas of water have to be implemented to guarantee sufficient water reserves for agriculture all around the country throughout the year.
 - 12.8. More storage capacities in different parts of the country especially the refrigerated super stores need to be established all over the major production areas to provide sufficient storage capacity for vegetables and fruits before export.
 - 12.9. A special care should be earmarked to nurture SME's as core establishments that would contribute towards the growth of the economy, and offer huge job opportunities for young entrepreneurs and those qualified individuals seeking employment. They can participate positively in reconstructing the imbalanced economic market structure and combat corruption.
 - 12.10. If what has been recommended above is taken seriously and implemented, then successful application of social justice is inevitable and everyone will enjoy it without prejudice or oppression. Hence, there will be a likelihood to achieve sustainable development in Sudan.

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