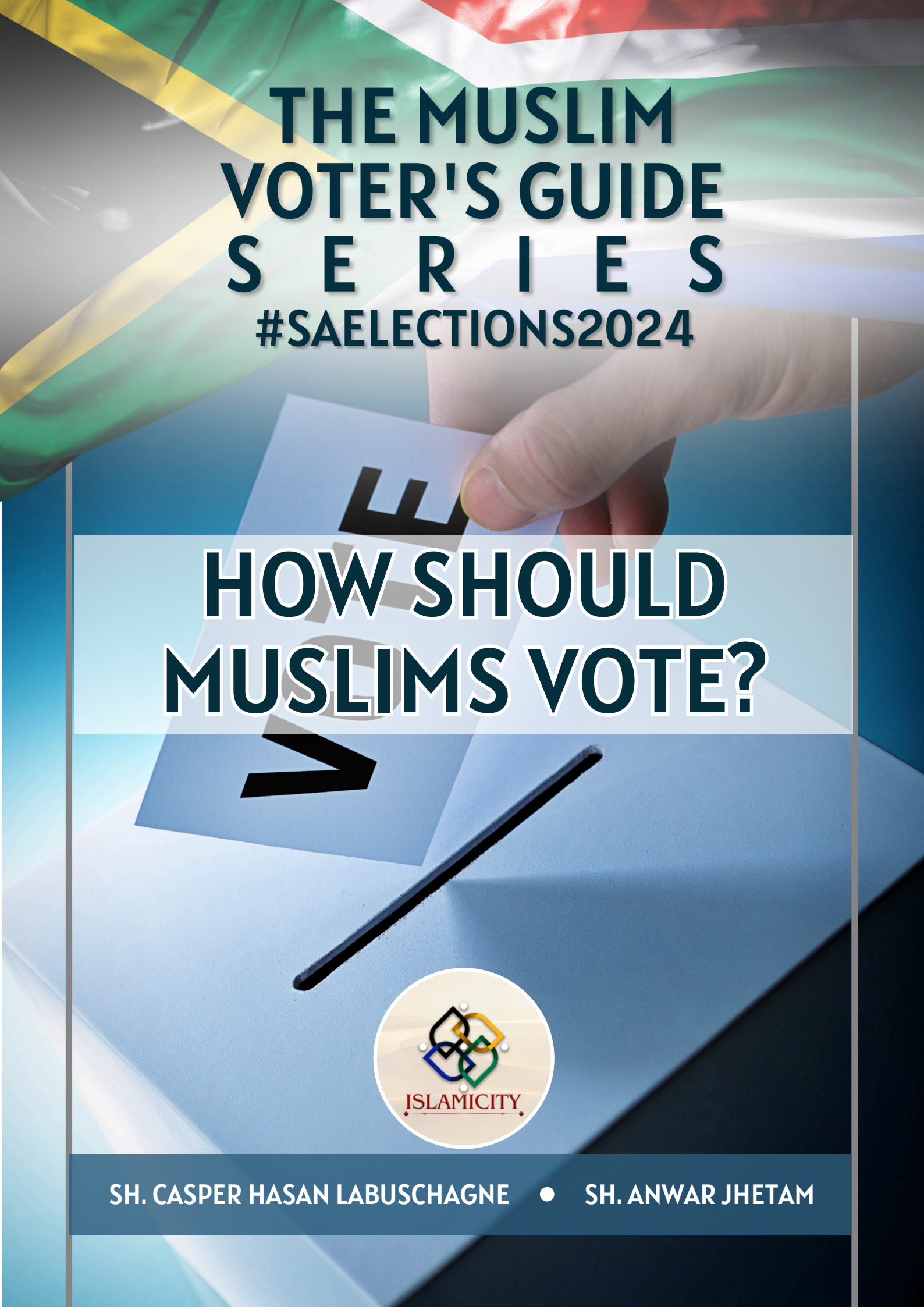


THE MUSLIM VOTER'S GUIDE SERIES

#SAELECTIONS2024

HOW SHOULD MUSLIMS VOTE?

ISLAMICITY

SH. CASPER HASAN LABUSCHAGNE • SH. ANWAR JHETAM

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

2. HOW DO THE THREE BALLOTS WORK

3. OUR COLLABORATION WITH POLITICAL ANALYSTS

4. THE ISLAMICITY VOTER SCORECARD

5. THE ISLAMICITY INDEX IN ACTION – SCORECARD BY POLITICAL ANALYST DR AHMED JAZBHAY

6. SCORECARD BY POLITICAL ANALYST – EBRAHIM FAKIR

7. SCORECARD BY POLITICAL ANALYST – QAANITAH HUNTER

8. SCORECARD BY POLITICAL ANALYST – RASHAAD AMRA

9. SCORECARD BY POLITICAL ANALYST – SANDILE IBRAHIM MOLOI

10. 'INTIFADA AT THE BALLOT BOX'

11. PARTIES IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

12. CONCLUSION

13. ABOUT THE AUTHORS

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

Introduction

As the South African National and Provincial Elections are less than a week away, it is our pleasure to present the second instalment in 'The Muslim Voter's Guide Series' titled 'How Should Muslims Vote?'.

In our previous writing, 'How Should Muslim Voters Decide?', we introduced the Islamicity Index, a system and an intellectual framework that Muslims can use in order to think about how to rank political parties in order of preference and proximity to Islamic values. In this writing, we demonstrate the Islamicity index in action, showing its practical application in the hands of political analysts and experts. We also outline our Palestine solidarity strategy, which we have titled 'Intifada at the Ballot Box'. We also appeal to the reader and the broader Muslim community to think long-term, and to consider what must be done post-elections to create a more just, equal and prosperous society.

The aim of the above exercise is not to prescribe to prospective Muslim voters who they should vote for but rather to demonstrate how the Islamicity framework can be used when making their own voting decisions for Wednesday 29th May 2024. The analyses provided could serve as an indicator of what the Muslim Voters Guide user should keep in mind in terms of policies and actions of political actors, and the circumstantial factors surrounding them, both locally and globally.

As authors, we recognise that the methodology we are sharing with voters is one that is experimental and would naturally lend itself to improvement and further development. This is something that we are committed to and we hope to present better and more substantial voter education for our community in subsequent elections, in shā Allāh.

How Do The Three Ballots Work?

This election, unlike all previous elections, will introduce a new three-ballot voting system. It will feature three ballot papers: (1) a national ballot paper , (2) a provincial ballot paper and (3) a regional ballot paper. It is important for voters in the 2024 National and Provincial Elections to understand the impact of each ballot. We share an educational video by the Independent Electoral Commision (IEC) of South Africa to familiarise yourself with voting procedures for the 29th of May:

‘3 Ballot Features - Balloting Education’
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3WfJfd82geI

National Compensatory Ballot



Contested by political parties ONLY.

National Regional Ballot



Contested by political parties and independent candidates for your region.

Provincial Legislature Ballot



Contested by political parties and independent candidates in your province.

Our Collaboration with Political Analysts

As promised in our first issue ('How do Muslim Voters Decide?'), we have consulted numerous political scientists, economists and journalists in order to derive expert guidance on the performance of political parties and how to think about allocating our own scores on the Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard. The consultation of experts is an Islamic tenet that is expressed not only in our Sacred Texts, the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, but also in the writings of the scholars in many fields of knowledge, and throughout Islamic history. This value of seeking guidance from the people of knowledge as expressed in our Sacred Texts is broad in implication. It motivates the layperson to consult the Islamic scholar with regards to the Sharʿī ruling on something, but also motivates the Islamic scholar to consult with experts from various fields of study in order to be capable of faithfully determining the relevant rulings related to that field. The following verse from the Noble Qur'ān encourages one to seek out knowledge and guidance from those who possess it:

"And We did not send before you messengers except men whom We inspired with revelation. So, ask the people (having the knowledge) of the Message, if you do not know"

(Qur'ān, 21:7)

In these weeks leading up to the elections, we have frequently been asked by members of our community: "Maulana/Shaikh, who should I vote for?". As stated before, the aim of our work is to revive a spirit of inquisitiveness and intellectual confidence in each and every Muslim, and to encourage them to think for themselves instead of abdicating their thinking process to another. In spite of this however, we are optimistic and take inspiration from the fact that Muslims are still seeking out the people of knowledge in order to solicit their advice and guidance. This is cause for great optimism, as it shows that Muslims want to approach voting and any other engagement with "secular" society from a position of Islamic knowledge and Ummah-centric thinking. In line with this divine guidance, we have consulted with experts from the social sciences in order to more faithfully advise the Muslim community on matters pertaining to the elections.

The Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard:

The Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard is composed of two core components namely: Justice and Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah (Higher objectives of the Shari'ah) which are conservation of religion, life, sound intellect, lineage and wealth . For a more comprehensive explanation of the Islamicity Index, please refer to part one of
'The Muslim Voter's Guide Series: 'How Should Muslim Voters Decide?

Justice

The first index on our scorecard, in order of weight and importance, is justice. This will be judged by the parties' overall commitment to justice as a value. This is not limited to justice within the borders of South Africa but rather a broad commitment to justice everywhere and for all people. A party will receive a score out of ten (10) points for their commitment to justice. The index of justice will be measured at a higher overall score than the other indices, as justice is the ultimate *Sharʿī* cornerstone of governance. The proper allocation of points for the Justice index are shown below.

- 0 - 3 points: Poor Commitment to Justice.
- 4 - 6 points: Moderate Commitment to Justice.
- 7 - 8 points: Good Commitment to Justice.
- 9 - 10 points: Exceptional Commitment to Justice.

Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah

The remaining indices of the conservation of religion, life, sound intellect, lineage and wealth will be measured out of two (2) points for each index, according to the points allocation mechanism outlined below:
:

- 0 points: Poor Performance.
- 1 point: Moderate Performance.
- 2 points: Good Performance.

The total achievable score for all indices collectively will be twenty (20) points.

The Islamicity Index In Action

Dr. Ahmed Jazbhay

Dr. Ahmed Jazbhay is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of South Africa (UNISA). He holds a PhD in Political Studies from the University of Johannesburg, which he completed in 2016. Dr. Jazbhay has a particular interest in Decoloniality, African Politics and Political Theory. He has contributed to many books and academic journals on various subjects within African and global politics. For more information, please see the link below:

Dr Ahmed Jazbhay

Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard
- By Political Analyst Dr. Ahmed Jazbhay

Political Parties:	African National Congress (ANC)	Democratic Alliance (DA)	Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	ActionSA	Good Party	Rise Mzansi	Patriotic Alliance	Al Jama-ah	Sizwe Ummah Nation (SUN Party)	Allied Movement For Change (AM4C)
Justice (Max 10 points):	8 /10	6 /10	7 /10	4 /10	6 /10	6 /10	2 /10	8 /10	7 /10	8 /10
Conservation of Religion (Max 2):	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2
Conservation of Life (Max 2):	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2
Conservation of Sound Intellect (Max 2):	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2
Conservation of Lineage (Max 2):	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	2 /2	1 /2	1 /2
Conservation of Wealth (Max 2):	1 /2	2 /2	0 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2
Total (Max 20 points):	13 /20	12 /20	11 /20	10 /20	12 /20	12 /20	8 /20	17 /20	15 /20	16 /20

Click the here to view the explainer video of Dr Ahmed Jazbhay's scorecard.

Ebrahim Fakir

Ebrahim Fakir is regularly consulted as a commentator and facilitator by the domestic and international media, business and other organisations. He was formerly Senior Researcher and Analyst at the Centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg (2003-2009), he worked at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) [1998-2003] at both IDASA's Pretoria and Cape Town offices and he also worked at the first democratic Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (1996-1998) in the Legislation and Oversight Division. For more information, please see the link below:

Ebrahim Fakir

Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard
- By Political Analyst Ebrahim Fakir

Political Parties:	ANC African National Congress (ANC)	DA Democratic Alliance (DA)	EFF Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	ACTIONSA ActionSA	GOOD Good Party	RISE MZANSI Rise Mzansi	PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE Patriotic Alliance	AL JAMA-AH Al Jama-ah	SUN Sizwe Ummah Nation (SUN Party)	AM4C Allied Movement For Change (AM4C)
Justice (Max 10 points):	8 /10 (Palestine: 8)	4 /10 (Palestine: 0)	5 /10 (Palestine: 7)	3 /10 (Palestine: 1)	4 /10 (Palestine: 6)	6 /10 (Palestine: 6.5)	1 /10 (Palestine: 0)	2 /10 (Palestine: 7)	3.5 /10 (Palestine: 7)	3.5 /10 (Palestine: 8)
Conservation of Religion (Max 2):	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2
Conservation of Life (Max 2):	1 /2	1 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	0 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2
Conservation of Sound Intellect (Max 2):	1 /2	2 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2
Conservation of Lineage (Max 2):	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2	2 /2
Conservation of Wealth (Max 2):	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	1 /2	2 /2	2 /2	1 /2	1 /2	2 /2	1 /2
Total (Max 20 points):	14 /20	11 /20	12 /20	10 /20	12 /20	14 /20	7 /20	10 /20	12.5 /20	11.5 /20

Click the here to view the explainer video of Ebrahim Fakir's scorecard.

Qaanitah Hunter

Qaanitah Hunter is an award-winning journalist and political editor in South Africa. She is the author of well-acclaimed books and is a political columnist. She has hosted her own podcast and her political analysis has been featured on all major national and international news outlets. She is currently pursuing a master's in journalism and is a public speaker. She is known for her efforts as a mental health activist. For more information, please see the link below:

Qaanitah Hunter

Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard
- By Political Analyst Qaanitah Hunter

Political Parties:	ANC African National Congress (ANC)	DA Democratic Alliance (DA)	EFF Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	ACTIONSA ActionSA	GOOD Good Party	RISE MZANSI Rise Mzansi	PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE Patriotic Alliance	AL JAMA-AH Al Jama-ah	SUN Sizwe Ummah Nation (SUN Party)	AM4C Allied Movement For Change (AM4C)
Justice (Max 10 points):	6/10	4/10	7/10	4/10	7/10	7/10	0/10	6/10	6/10	6/10
Conservation of Religion (Max 2):	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Life (Max 2):	0/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	0/2	1/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Sound Intellect (Max 2):	0/2	1/2	2/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	0/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Conservation of Lineage (Max 2):	0/2	0/2	0/2	0/2	0/2	0/2	0/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Wealth (Max 2):	1/2	0/2	2/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Total (Max 20 points):	9/20	7/20	14/20	9/20	13/20	14/20	2/20	13/20	14/20	14/20

Click the here to view the explainer video of Qaanitah Hunter's scorecard.

Rashaad Amra

Rashaad Amra is a Visiting Researcher at the SCIS's Public Economy Project. He is an economist with over 10 years experience in applied public policy. He started his career at the National Treasury's Economic Policy Division where he worked on several sectors of the real economy. He subsequently advised the legislature on fiscal policy, public finance, and economic policy at the Parliamentary Budget Office, where he was chiefly responsible for the Office's macro-fiscal and revenue modelling. Rashaad holds a Masters in Economics from Stellenbosch University. For more information, please see the link below:

Rashaad Amra

Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard
- By Political Analyst Rashaad Amra

Political Parties:	ANC African National Congress (ANC)	DA Democratic Alliance (DA)	EFF Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	ACTIONSA ActionSA	GOOD Good Party	RISE MZANSI Rise Mzansi	PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE Patriotic Alliance	AL JAMA-AH Al Jama-ah	SUN Sizwe Ummah Nation (SUN Party)	AM4C Allied Movement For Change (AM4C)
Justice (Max 10 points):	7/10	6/10	5/10	7/10	6/10	8/10	3/10	5/10	6.5/10	6.5/10
Conservation of Religion (Max 2):	2/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	0.5/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Life (Max 2):	1/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	1.5/2	2/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Conservation of Sound Intellect (Max 2):	1/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	0.5/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Conservation of Lineage (Max 2):	1/2	0/2	0/2	0/2	0/2	0/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Wealth (Max 2):	1/2	1/2	0/2	1.5/2	1/2	2/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Total (Max 20 points):	13/20	12/20	8/20	13.5/20	10.5/20	15/20	8/20	12/20	13.5/20	13.5/20

Click the here to view the explainer video of Rashaad Amra's scorecard.

Sandile Ibrahim Moloi

Sandile Moloi is a PhD candidate at the University of Johannesburg. He is also a lecturer at the University of Pretoria, in the department of Political Science.

Islamicity Index Voter Scorecard
- By Political Analyst Sandile Ibrahim Moloi

Political Parties:	African National Congress (ANC)	Democratic Alliance (DA)	Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	ActionSA	Good Party	Rise Mzansi	Patriotic Alliance	Al Jama-ah	Sizwe Ummah Nation (SUN Party)	Allied Movement For Change (AM4C)
Justice (Max 10 points):	6/10	5/10	6/10	5/10	7/10	6/10	5/10	7/10	6/10	6/10
Conservation of Religion (Max 2):	2/2	1.5/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	0.5/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Life (Max 2):	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Sound Intellect (Max 2):	1/2	1.5/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Conservation of Lineage (Max 2):	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Conservation of Wealth (Max 2):	0.5/2	1/2	1.5/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Total (Max 20 points):	11.5/20	12/20	14.5/20	12/20	15/20	14/20	11.5/20	16/20	15/20	15/20

Click the here to view the explainer video of Sandile Ibrahim Moloi's scorecard.

‘Intifada At The Ballot Box’:

One of the two core elements that we have identified as being central to our concept of Islamicity is the concept of justice (al-’adl). No phenomenon in recent history illustrates the commitment of international governments to social justice as clearly as Apartheid Israel’s continuous attempts at genocide against the Palestinian people. After October 7th, 2023, with Israel's relentless genocide against Gaza, support for the Palestinian cause has become a determining factor in voter choice both internationally and locally. It is of such importance to many Muslims that a political party’s stance on Palestine solidarity may significantly influence their voting behaviour. The South African Muslim community is no exception in this regard. We are cognizant that justice covers a gamut of different issues, both locally and internationally. However, the importance of the Palestinian struggle as an issue of social justice for Muslim communities across the globe cannot be ignored.

In line with academic convention and standards of objectivity and impartiality, the analysts that we have interviewed went to great lengths to score each and every party by the same criteria, regardless of their affiliations with Zionism. This was not done out of disinterest or disregard for the global Palestinian Solidarity effort, but rather to maintain fairness and intellectual honesty when assessing the actual performance of parties. In fact, all of the analysts we have engaged are themselves anti-Zionists and supporters of the Palestinian cause. We also clarified to all the analysts that we interviewed, that we will be explicitly discouraging voters from voting for Zionist affiliated and anti-Palestinian parties. This has also been the message we had been proclaiming from the pulpits in the various Masajid we have had occasion to address in the recent months.

Our study encourages the reader, regardless of faith and cultural background, to consider their vote as an extension of their boycott efforts. We urge the South African voter committed to justice not to restrict their boycotting to Israeli goods, but also to take the logical step of disrupting the global Zionist political project. Zionist organisations keep their ideology alive by charitable donations to political parties and religious organisations globally. In exchange for this financial support, these organisations are in turn expected to serve the foreign policy goals of the

Israeli state by various means, such as stifling criticism of Israeli aggression towards Palestinians. After a four-hundred-year experience with settler colonialism and Apartheid, justice demands that South Africans not only prevent these crimes from rearing their head again in this country, but also that they strive to dismantle the systems that perpetuate them internationally. Therefore, we strongly encourage the South African Muslim voter and all freedom and justice loving people who wish to be on the right side of history to extend the Intifada to the ballot box on Wednesday 29th May by not voting for parties who are either supportive of Zionist Apartheid Israel or neutral on their crimes against humanity. After engaging Palestine solidarity activists, we appeal to voters to make our national parliament and provincial legislatures Apartheid free-zones by not voting for the following parties until they change their attitudes and stances on the question of Palestine:

DA READ MORE

ACTIONSA READ MORE

PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE READ MORE

COPE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE READ MORE

VF Plus READ MORE

ACDP READ MORE

BOSA BUILD ONE SA READ MORE

IFP READ MORE

Conclusion

As this Ummah is faced with new phenomena, new challenges, and new horizons, there is a burgeoning new interest in sciences of the Sharī'ah that have been neglected during the historical period of Islam's ascendance. After the fall of the Ottoman Khilāfah, the division of the Muslim world by colonialist enterprises such as the Sykes-Picot agreement, and the growth of Muslim diaspora communities in the West, fields of study such as Fiqh al-Aqalliyāt (Fiqh of Minorities), Fiqh al-Awlawiyāt (Priority Fiqh), and Siyāsah Shar'īyah (Islamic Politics) are now being enthusiastically revisited and embraced for development by a new generation of Islamic scholars. One of the most beautiful and powerful features of Islam is its adaptability to all times, places, cultures, and circumstances. Our Dīn has truly been bestowed upon us by a Merciful and All-Wise Creator Who has not left us except with the perfect guidance for every situation.

In terms of the issues that it seeks to address, and the methodology it employs, the Muslim Voters Guide fits rather comfortably into each of these heretofore under-utilised fields of study. We also note our enthusiasm for the exciting new developments in the field that has come to be known as 'Ummatics', a field of study that aims to instil an Ummah-centric consciousness which revives the intellectual, social, cultural and political ties across the Muslim world. These international ties both bind this Ummah together, and provide it with characteristic diversity and regional flavour.

As noted before, Islam contains built-in mechanisms of regulation that allows it to always adapt and provide appropriate solutions. As a consequence of this, the nature of fiqh is such that it is constantly developing, expanding and evolving. After noting this fact, we remind the reader that 'The Muslim Voter's Guide Series' is a part of this development, and is a work in progress liable to change significantly as circumstances change and as further research emerges. However, we feel privileged and honoured to have been granted this opportunity to contribute to the legacy of the Islamic intellectual tradition to the best of our ability and within our South African context.

We remind the gentle reader that our methodology presented in these publications are for educational purposes and are not prescriptive in the least. After all, this study is not derived from indisputable and unambiguous (qaṭ'ī) Qur'ānic commands or clear-cut and literal extractions from the Sunnah. Rather, it is a disputable (ẓannī) product, open to challenge and difference of opinion. This is not intended in any way to serve as a religious edict (fatwā). We are motivated above all, by the following statement of Allāh subḥānahu wa ta'ālā in Sūrat Taghābun:

"So be mindful of Allah to the best of your ability"
(Qur'ān, 64:16)

The findings of our study are derived from the application of our cumulative knowledge and intellectual efforts to a broad and charitable reading of numerous Islamic sources, in order to fashion a viable and relevant tool that Muslims can use in these uncertain times. The analyses provided by the various political analysts, journalists and social scientists are not an endorsement or rejection of any political party on their part, but rather a thought exercise to determine the applicability of the Islamicity Index within the South African political landscape. It is intended to serve simply as a tool to determine the proximity or distance of political parties in relation to Islamic principles and values.

We look forward to engaging readers concerning the post-election period as it is the need of the hour to avail ourselves and mobilise our community towards long term goals which will benefit all South Africans. We do this for the pleasure of Allāh *Subḥānahu Wa Ta'ālā.*

About The Authors

Sheikh Casper Hasan Labuschagne

has a Bachelor of Arts in International Studies at Stellenbosch University. In 2022 he completed the Alimiyyah programme in Islamic studies at Dār al-Ulūm al-Arabiyah al-Islāmiyah, Strand (DUAI). He is especially interested in history, philosophy, and geopolitics. He is currently pursuing a BA (Hons.) degree in International Relations at the University of South Africa.

Sheikh Anwar Jhetam

studied logistics management at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) then proceeded to complete an Alimiyyah programme in Islamic sciences, graduating from Jami'ah Al - Ulum Al - Islamiyya in 2022. He has an interest in islamic legal theory, politics & community development. He has served in various roles in student leadership and is active in civil society.