

MANIFESTO

OF

JAMA'AT-E-ISLAMI PAKISTAN

Approved by

**The Majlis-e-Shoora, Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan
on 10th Shawwal, 1389 (20th December, 1969)**

**This manifesto incorporates the 22 Principles of an
Islamic State proposed by the 31 accredited Ulama
of the various schools of religious thought in
Rabi-us-Sani, 1370 (January, 1951).**

**JAMA'AT-E-ISLAMI PAKISTAN
5-A, Zaildar Park, LAHORE
(W. Pakistan)**

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

INTRODUCTION

JAMA'AT-E-ISLAMI PAKISTAN is an ideological party in the widest sense and not a mere political party or a religious or social reform organization. It is based on the firm conviction that Islam is an all-pervading and comprehensive 'Order of Life' which it intends to promulgate and translate into action in all spheres of human life. The Jama'at believes that the root cause of all troubles in man's life is his forgetfulness of God Almighty, his disregard of Divine Guidance as revealed through the Prophets and his lack of concern about his accountabilities in the Hereafter. As a matter of fact wherever and whenever any type of evil has plagued human life, this very deviation from God has been the main cause of trouble. No scheme of reform in human affairs can bear fruit unless and until Obedience to God, belief in Man's accountability after death and adherence to the Divine Guidance as revealed through the Prophets are sincerely and actually made the basis of the entire edifice of human life. Without bringing about this fundamental change, every attempt to reform society on the basis of any of the materialistic concepts of justice, will only result in other forms of injustice.

Jama'at-e-Islami is not a nationalist party either. Its ideology transcends all geographical boundaries and encompasses the welfare of the whole world and all mankind. But it is conscious of the fact that unless we make our own country a true specimen of Islamic way of life, unless we show to the outside world that we practise what we preach as truth, and unless we practically demonstrate the blessings resulting from following Islam in our own country, we cannot convince the world abroad, of the truth and efficacy of what we hold to be the panacea for all human ills.

In the Jama'at's opinion what is wrong with us in Pakistan is not the lack of people truly believing in God, man's account-

ability to Him or in the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him). What we really lack is that the faith and system of life which an overwhelming majority of our people believes in as the only true and right way of life is not being implemented and reflected in the collective life of the nation. That is why in spite of being an Islamic country, Pakistan is neither itself receiving the blessings and benefits of an Islamic Order of Life nor is it serving as a witness thereof to the rest of the world.

To remove this deficiency, Jama'at-e-Islami is resorting to all possible ways and means within the resources available to it. For instance, the propagation of the pristine pure teachings of Islam, the exposition of erroneous concepts and innovations introduced in Islam by ignorant people in the past or present, a concerted effort to show the intelligentsia how accurately and efficiently Islam solves all our problems, and a continuous campaign for the moral uplift of the masses have formed permanent features of the Jama'at's programme from its very inception in 1941. But along with all these efforts the Jama'at considers it fundamentally essential that the system and machinery of the Government must also be reformed and corrected. Especially in the present age when the executive authority of the Government has everywhere encompassed every sphere of life, no scheme for the establishment of social justice in society and no programme of reform in the life of individuals is possible without reforming the system and machinery of the Government. A bad government is not only the greatest obstacle in the way of reform, but also becomes the mainstay of all the forces of evil. If the reins of the Government are in the hands of the people who are dragging the country towards the abyss of capitalism, socialism, communism or some other un-Islamic system of life, howsoever much the protagonists and the lovers of the Islamic Order of Life may exert outside the political field, they can never succeed in achieving their desired objective of seeing Islam implemented in the individual and collective

*Reformation of Government
is the first step towards
the Islamic Order of Life*

spheres of life.

That is why Jama'at-e-Islami is trying to bring about a change in the system of government as well by democratic, peaceful and constitutional means and convert Pakistan into a State:—

- ★ that positively upholds and conforms to the Islamic way of Life as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, follows the example and precedents set up by Khilafat-e-Rashidah and allows an unhampered expression to and a proper fulfilment of the fundamental principles and injunctions of Islam;
- ★ that eradicates vice and promotes virtue and upholds and exalts the Word of God;
- ★ that uproots injustice, exploitation and moral depravity in all its shapes and forms, reconstructs the entire social set-up on the values envisaged by Islam and establishes justice in every sphere of life;
- ★ that behaves as a servant of the public, guarantees to every citizen of the state the basic necessities of life i.e. food, clothing, education and medical relief, facilitates all lawful (*halal*) methods of earning livelihood and prohibits every unlawful (*haram*) mode of earning thereof, and that multiplies the national wealth by all possible legitimate means and ensures its equitable distribution amongst the people;
- ★ that tries to comprehend people's difficulties before they precipitate into the shape of an agitation and redresses their grievances even before they are voiced;
- ★ that genuinely strives for the welfare of the people and the people too wish well for it, and wherein the fundamental rights of the people are fully secured;
- ★ that should be a Democratic State in the real sense of the term, wherein governments will be formed and changed through fair and free elections and no body may come to or remain in power without a genuine popular sanction.

POLICY AND PROGRAMME

I. General Principles

Foundation of the State Unchallengeable:

- 1—It is an indisputable fact that Pakistan is and has to be an Islamic polity. No body can, nor is entitled to challenge this foundation of the State. Any effort directed towards turning this country into a secular State or implanting herein any foreign ideology amounts to an attack on the very existence of Pakistan. And an attempt to propagate a foreign ideology under the label of Islam is nothing but an artful trick to deceive the people. We shall fight against every such effort or attempt in whatever form and from whatever quarter it may be.
- 2—We deem it our primary duty to preserve the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan. All those movements that try to divide the people by arousing racial, linguistic, regional or class prejudices are in our opinion most dangerous and disastrous for the country. We hold that the security of Pakistan, the safety and welfare of its citizens nay, its very freedom and independence depends upon the inculcation of a sense of unity and oneness amongst all its people and the establishment of a just order which satisfies all of them by its equitable dispensation.
- 3—According to our judgement, the injustices inflicted upon the various regions of the country in the past are mainly responsible for jeopardising the sense of unity and oneness of the people. We stand for the eradication of all these

injustices and for the granting of maximum autonomy to every region consistent with the integrity and solidarity of the country as a whole.

4—In our opinion, the Muslims who migrated to Pakistan from India, have, in all respects, the same rights and obligations as the previous inhabitants of this country. No discrimination of any kind is justifiable amongst the old and new inhabitants in any part of the country. The notion of "Son of the soil" is entirely alien and repugnant to Islamic concept of nationality. The viewpoint that unless and until the immigrants totally merge into and adopt the language, culture and mode of life of indigenous population, they should be treated as aliens, is absolutely unfair. Although this merger is bound to take place in course of time, yet this should not and cannot be made a condition precedent to the grant of equal rights of citizenship.

5—We accept both Bangla and Urdu as the national languages for the whole of the country and are opposed to restricting any of them to any part or region of Pakistan.

Requisites of a Stable Democratic System :

6—We believe that no solid and stable democratic system can come into being and work in the country unless all sections of our nation sincerely and honestly agree to abide by the following six principles:

Firstly: As the overwhelming majority of the people of Pakistan wants to make it an Islamic State, the people holding any other view should accept the majority decision and give up opposition to it by undemocratic methods. We have no hesitation in saying that the people who try to impose on their nation un-Islamic ideologies by intrigues and violent methods are enemies of Pakistan and it is the duty of every well-wisher of the country to meet this menace with full force.

Secondly: The country belongs to all its inhabitants and not to any particular class or group. Therefore nobody is entitled to monopolise the authority of the State to the exclusion of the people of the country.

Thirdly: The right to govern the country belongs to the people's representatives. The Government employees must run the administration of the country as directed by them. If some persons in the service of the State are not prepared to obey the people's representatives or are not satisfied with their policies or wish to give currency to their own private views in the affairs of the country, the right course for them is to resign from Government service and try to bring about the required change by democratic methods. So long as they are in the service of the State, they have no right to organize themselves as a political cell or a pressure group and misuse the authority of Government entrusted to them to run and defend the country for usurping power and subjugating their own nation.

Fourthly: The real representatives of the people are only those who are elected by them through the exercise of their own free choice. The persons who win elections by means of bribery, deceit, fraud, intimidation, official interference or other corrupt practices, are, in fact, usurpers of power and the enemies of democracy. All political elements in the country should solemnly pledge that neither they themselves will ever resort to such practices in elections nor side with any person or party indulging in any such act of treason to their country and nation.

Fifthly: Everybody is entitled to mobilise public opinion in favour of his point of view through democratic and constitutional means. There should be no restriction on the exercise of this right. Every individual and every group is justified to seek power through the exercise of

this right. But none has any right whatsoever to do so by any other means. We hold that even if somebody is in a position to capture power by arbitrary methods, he should desist from doing so in the larger interests of the country.

Sixthly: The Press, Radio, Television and the News Agencies of the country are the media which the people have to depend upon for information to form their opinions on the various points at issue. Therefore these media of public information should never be used for one sided propaganda in favour of anybody or any particular point of view, nor should they be allowed to misrepresent facts. Democracy can neither flourish nor function properly unless the people are kept informed of the real state of affairs in the country and unless the exact point of view of the various political groups and parties on the issues confronting the nation is fairly and honestly presented before the people.

Code of Political Ethics:

7—We are of the considered opinion that unless all the political parties of the country make it a point to practically adhere to the following code of Political Ethics, the political life in the country cannot be cleansed of unhealthy trends:

- (1) Nobody should indulge in anything repugnant to the Ideology of Pakistan (i.e. the Islamic way of life) and to the integrity and solidarity of the country.
- (2) No party and no responsible person belonging to it, should transgress the limits of decent and fair criticism while talking in public about other parties and their leaders or about their candidates during the period of elections, nor should they charge them with accusations which they cannot prove. False and vilifying propaganda and use of abusive language

against anybody in the political field should be totally prohibited. The Election Law should provide that the onus of proof of an accusation made by any person against any party, its leader or any candidate contesting election, will be on the person making such allegations and that if he fails to prove it, he will be held guilty and punished. And in case such an offence is committed by a political party contesting the elections, it will be disqualified for taking part in elections.

- (3) Every party has a right to hold public meetings, take out processions and organize peaceful demonstrations, but none has any right to disrupt or interfere with the meetings, processions and demonstrations organized by other parties. There should be an express provision in the Electoral Law of the country that any party or candidate resorting to such behaviour during elections, would stand disqualified.
- (4) No party has any right to resort to violence or propagate revolutionary methods to bring about a change in the political life of the country nor to launch any movement to achieve this end by force against the democratic will of the people. Any party resorting to such methods should be banned by law.
- (5) Parties as well as persons may, if they so desire, boycott the elections, but they have no right to declare that they would not allow the polls to be held, or that they would forcibly obstruct others from taking part in elections, or that they would not permit the polling stations to function during the elections. Not only such persons and parties should be disqualified and debarred from taking part in the political life of the country, all such acts and activities

should be made cognizable offences under the law of the land and deterrent punishments should be fixed for them.

- (6) After the declaration of the Election Time-Table and during the elections all parties and candidates should scrupulously abstain from the following acts:
 - (a) Purchasing the votes by money or any other allurements,
 - (b) Securing votes by means of official pressure or private intimidation through party workers and supporters.
 - (c) Appealing to the racial, linguistic, regional or sectarian prejudices of the voters.
- (7) Every party should solemnly declare that in case of its coming to power by means of elections, it will abstain from the following:
 - (a) Abuse of Government machinery and resources to advance the interest of their party.
 - (b) Abuse of the country's propaganda machinery viz. radio, television, news agencies and the press in their own favour and against the opposition parties.
 - (c) Imposition of curbs on the press and platform in the interest of their party.
 - (d) Abuse of route permits, licences and other means of Government patronage to win over the independents and members of other parties to their side.
- (8) No party which does not believe in the Islamic basis or integrity and solidarity of Pakistan, or wants to establish any other system against the democratic will of our people, should be allowed to take part in the elections.

II. Constitutional Reforms

8—The Constitution of 1956 should be adopted as the Constitution of Pakistan with the following amendments:

- (1) The Federal Centre should have a bi-cameral legislature. In the Lower House the representation should be on population basis. In the Upper House all the provinces should have equal representation in case of a disagreement between the two Houses, the matter should be referred to a joint session and the voting procedure for the settlement of points of disagreement should be such that no injustice is done to any part of the country by its decisions.
- (2) The One Unit in West Pakistan should be dissolved and the former provinces should be restored. Quetta and Kalat Divisions and Lasbela should be incorporated as one full-fledged province. Karachi should be merged into Sind and Bahawalpur should be made a separate province.
- (3) Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency, Federal Finance, Foreign and Inter-regional Trade and Communication and such other subjects as may be agreed upon, should vest in the Centre which should also have the powers to levy taxes to run these departments.
- (4) All other matters should be the concern of the Governments established in the two wings of the country under the constitution and they should have complete regional autonomy.
- (5) The tribal territories in the Frontier regions should be completely merged into Pakistan and its people should be given the rights of representation on the basis of adult franchise. All the Laws of Pakistan should be extended to these areas and their special status and separate entity should be completely dissolved.

9—After the adoption of the 'Constitution of 1956' with the above mentioned amendments as the Constitution of the country and the transfer of power to the National Assembly, we shall try, during the second phase, to bring about the following additional amendments:—

- (1) The Holy Quran and Sunnah should be explicitly declared as the Chief Source of Law.
- (2) A satisfactory machinery must be established for bringing the existing law into conformity with the tenets of Islam as soon as possible.
- (3) The system of Separate Electorate should be reintroduced and every non-Muslim minority should be given separate representation on the basis of its population, or otherwise the system of proportional representation should be adopted.
- (4) All unreasonable and unfair restrictions on the fundamental rights should be withdrawn, particularly the provisions relating to Preventive Detention should be so amended that the liberty of no one could be curtailed without due process of law in a court of justice.
- (5) The judiciary should be completely separated from the executive and made absolutely independent.
- (6) The powers to suspend fundamental rights in a state of Emergency should be cancelled.
- (7) The unlimited and un-qualified power to impose Martial Law and enact indemnity laws should be subjected to reasonable restrictions.
- (8) The Defence services should be granted a right of appeal to the Supreme Court against the verdicts of Military Courts just as other citizens of the country have against the decisions of Civil Courts.
- (9) The oath of office of the President, Ministers and other persons in key posts should include a pledge to discharge their duties with honesty and also to observe

the tenets of Islam in their personal lives.

- (10) All Government servants including the Army Personnel should be made to take an oath not to obey such orders of their superior officers that tend to abrogate the Constitution of the country.
- (11) Those who believe in the prophethood of anyone after the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and consider the people not believing in him as *kafiris*, should be declared a non-Muslim minority, because to accept them as Muslims will clearly imply that the Muslims of Pakistan constitute a non-Muslim majority.

III. East Pakistan

10—It will be the responsibility of the Government that it takes all such measures as are necessary to uplift and improve the economy of East Pakistan and bring it in all respects on the same level as that of West Pakistan. To achieve this objective following measures will be taken:

- (1) All the Foreign Exchange earned by East Pakistan after allowing for its proportionate share of Defence and Foreign Expenditure and Central liabilities including foreign loans incurred or to be incurred, shall be spent exclusively in that wing. In addition, the Government of Pakistan shall give priority in foreign aid and loans to East Pakistan until its economic disparity is removed.
- (2) Currency, Foreign Exchange, Central Banking, Inter Wing Trade and Communications and Foreign Trade shall each be managed by a Board consisting of an equal number of members from East and West Pakistan to be elected by the members of the National Assembly of the respective wing.
- (3) All possible measures will be adopted to check the flight of capital from East Pakistan and to eradicate

the causes of this flight. Capital formation and investment in that wing will be encouraged by all possible means.

- (4) Recruitment to the Central services from the two wings in future will be done on the population basis.
- (5) It shall be the constitutional responsibility of the Government of Pakistan to bring at par the effective fighting and firepower of the defence services in the two wings of the country and to that end to establish a Military Academy, ordnance factories, cadet colleges and schools, raise recruits for the three services from East Pakistan and shift the Headquarters of the Pakistan Navy to East Pakistan. To ensure implementation of the above a Defence Council consisting of an equal number of members from East and West Pakistan shall be established.
- (6) The Deputy Commanders-in-Chief of Army and Air Force will be stationed in East Pakistan and they will be given powers sufficient to cope with all exigencies in an hour of emergency.
- (7) The resources of the country will be mobilised and distributed in such a manner that the per capita income in both the wings becomes at par.
- (8) Suitable Financial Aid will be provided to check floods in East Pakistan, to construct barrages over Ganges and Tista rivers, to complete the projects respecting Bridge and Barrage of Brahmaputra and to finance the irrigation schemes in East Pakistan so that the cultivators may have irrigation facilities at cheaper rates.
- (9) All the deposits and premiums earned by the banks and insurance companies in East Pakistan will be wholly utilized in East Pakistan.*

*See Jama'at's policy about Banking and Insurance under the heading "Economic Reforms" on pages 21, 26 and 28.

IV. Law Reforms

11—We want to bring about the following reforms in the legal system of the country :

- (1) To give legislative effect to such injunctions of the Holy Quran and Sunnah as should be enforced as law in an Islamic State.
- (2) To repeal all such laws that empower the executive to unjustly curtail the people's liberty without a fair trial or violate their fundamental rights. Also to amend Section 144 Cr.P.C. in such a manner that it may no longer be misused to curb the civil liberties of the people.
- (3) To abrogate all such laws and restrictions that unnecessarily and unjustly curtail the freedom of expression of the people or press.
- (4) To gradually abolish the system of Court Fees so that the people may have free access to justice.
- (5) To improve and amend the codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure in such a manner as to expedite the dispensation of justice.
- (6) To enact without unnecessary delay such laws that effectively check adultery, drinking, gambling, nudity, indecency, traffic in women and children, immoral films, books, journals and obscene advertisements.
- (7) To give legal effect to the rights granted to women by the Shariah and to amend the current family laws so as to bring them in conformity therewith.
- (8) To enact laws necessary to reform and reconstruct the society on Islamic Principles.
- (9) To reform the laws relating to Defence Forces in the light of the Principles of Islam and the laws prevailing in the modern Democratic countries of the world.

V. Moral and Religious Reforms

12—We have the following programme for the moral and religious uplift of the Muslim society:

- (1) All possible measures will be taken to promote, organise and establish Salāt (prescribed prayers) and all necessary facilities will be provided for that purpose.
- (2) Observance and sanctity of Ramadhān will be strictly enforced.
- (3) Weekly holiday will be fixed on Friday instead of Sunday.
- (4) The Auqaf will be administered in accordance with the law of Shariah under the supervision of a representative Board of Ulama; and special attention will be paid to see that the department of Auqaf does not misuse the mosques or turn them into temples of power worship.
- (5) The importance of the mosque in a Muslim Society will be revived and proper arrangements will be made for the education and training of Imams and Khateebis for this purpose.
- (6) All possible facilities will be provided for the performance of Haj (pilgrimage to Mecca) and the present restrictions will be abolished.
- (7) All possible means will be adopted to acquaint the people with the teachings, tenets and fundamentals of Islam so that every Muslim becomes aware of at least the essential requirements of his faith and those injunctions which one must know to live as a Muslim.

13—**General Moral Uplift:** For the general moral uplift of the country as a whole we have the following programme:

- (1) The whole machinery of law and administration and

all the means at the disposal of the Government will be harnessed and geared into action to rid the society of all kinds of vice and immorality and no effort will be spared to root out the causes that promote crime and moral depravity.

- (2) Comprehensive and effective measures on a large and countrywide scale will be taken for the moral training of the general public to make them God-fearing, conscious of their duties and responsibilities, and ingrained with respect for law and sense of public welfare, so that the performance of social duties and the resistance to the forces of evil in our society does not entirely depend on coercive force of law.
- (3) Family Planning Schemes will be totally abolished and the problems created by increase in population will be solved by development and expansion of the means of production.

VI. Educational Reforms

14—We believe that Education occupies pivotal position in the development and reconstruction of society and we have the following programme in this respect:

- (1) The entire system of education will be so organised that Islamic ideology pervades every subject of study—whether the arts or sciences.
- (2) The different types of Education prevailing in the country at present will be gradually merged into a single unified system.
- (3) Education will not be restricted to the mere teaching of different subjects. It shall include compulsory moral training necessary for the subject concerned so that the Educational Institutions of the country produce God-fearing, conscientious and dutiful citizens.

- (4) By the end of Secondary Education stage, every Muslim young adult will be made conversant with the beliefs and essential injunctions of Islam and will also be enabled to correctly recite and, to a certain extent, understand the Holy Quran.

As for the Muslim sects professing beliefs other than those of the majority, possible separate arrangements will be made in accordance with their wishes.

Non-Muslim children will be given general moral instructions instead of Islamic Education.

- (5) High Standard Research Institutes for various faculties of Art and Science will be established and special attention will be paid to research in the field of Islam.
- (6) All possible measures will be taken to eradicate illiteracy from the country as early as possible.
- (7) Arrangements for providing compulsory and free education up to the primary standard and free education up to the secondary stage will be made without the least possible delay.
- (8) Education will be made cheap and proper measures will be adopted to ensure that no capable young person is deprived of higher education merely because of poverty or lack of resources.
- (9) Technical Education and Training Institutes will be established in different parts of the country in a sufficient number.
- (10) Co-education will be abolished and separate Universities and Educational Institutions will be established to provide highest possible education to the women according to their needs.
- (11) The Educational Institutions will work and function in an atmosphere of freedom and liberty and the Universities will enjoy full autonomy within the limits prescribed by the National Education Policy.

- (12) Adequate remunerations with fair terms and conditions of service will be fixed for the teachers so that the best brains of the society are attracted to this profession.
 - (13) Special attention will be paid to give correct and healthy training to the teachers so that they not only turn into better teachers, but also are able to impart good moral and Islamic training to their pupils.
 - (14) In the recruitment of teachers, their academic qualifications alone will not form the basis of their selection. Special vigilance will ensure that their views are not inconsistent with the ideology of Pakistan and they are fit for the training and up-bringing of the coming generation of the country according to the required moral standards.
 - (15) Missionary Schools and Institutions will be nationalized.
 - (16) The Public Exchequer will not bear the burden of establishing and running Public Schools.
 - (17) Private Educational Institutions will be encouraged, but they will not be permitted to run as commercial concerns, and arrangements will be made to see that a satisfactory standard of education is maintained in such institutions.
 - (18) Necessary facilities will be provided to the Bangla speaking people in West Pakistan and to the Urdu speaking people in East Pakistan to receive education in their respective mother tongues.
 - (19) Proper arrangements will be made for imparting military training to the young men in the Educational Institutions so that they get prepared for the defence of the country.
 - (20) The Arabic Language will be taught as a compulsory subject.
 - (21) The National Languages will replace English as the
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medium of instruction.

- (22) All facilities will be provided for the development of regional languages and wherever they are already being used as the medium of instruction, the status quo will be maintained.

VII. Administrative Reforms

15—We believe that no Programme, howsoever good in principle, can bear fruit unless an honest, capable and dutiful executive machinery is available to implement it. We want to adopt the following methods to achieve this end:

- (1) Effective measures will be taken to eradicate corruption, dishonesty and other types of mal-practices and irregularities from the various Government departments. All the causes that make the low-paid employees succumb to these vices will be uprooted and removed.
- (2) At the time of appointments on higher posts, the financial position of every appointee and his relatives will be assessed and thereafter also, a periodical check will be made to see that the increase in these assets is not out of proportion to his lawful earnings.
- (3) In case a Government servant is found to have acquired property or assumed a standard of living in commensurate with his lawful financial resources, immediate enquiry will be ordered to ascertain the real state of affairs.
- (4) A high powered Government machinery will be set up for the purpose of hearing complaints against the misuse of official powers and injustices perpetrated by Government officials and for making necessary amends in that respect.
- (5) All competitive Examinations will include Islamiyat as a compulsory subject. Religious instruction and

moral training will be made an integral part of all institutions that train Government functionaries so that in addition to increasing efficiency and capability for their jobs they also become God-fearing, honest, dutiful and conscientious. Furthermore the present practice of forcing them to imbibe western culture and modes of behaviour and keeping them aloof from the masses will be abolished.

- (6) The Government Servants Conduct Rules inherited from the British days will be reformed to make them rational and in conformity with the requirements of Islamic moral standards.
- (7) English language will be replaced by the National languages at the earliest possible date.
- (8) National dress will be compulsory for the Government officials while on official duty and at the State functions. All remaining vestiges of former British domination that still persist and breed mental salvery among our people will be wiped out.
- (9) The Administrative machinery of the Government will be made less expensive and the National Exchequer will be rid of all unnecessary expenditures.
- (10) All inhuman methods of investigation of crimes will be abolished.
- (11) The misuse of Intelligence Department will be stopped and its activities will be directed towards the checking and location of corrupt Government servants and control of crime, smuggling, black-marketing and other vices prevalent in the society.
- (12) The prosecution and investigation branches of the Police that at present are separate only in name, will be separated in fact.
- (13) All the uncivilised and inhuman practices prevalent in our jails will be reformed in accordance with the Shariah so that the jails instead of serving as training

centres of crime and dungeons of torture, will be transformed into real reformatories which turn the prisoners into decent and law-abiding citizens.

- (14) The specialised Technical Departments of the Government will be entrusted to and headed by competent persons of the same departments. No special service will be allowed to monopolise the entire administration of the country.
- (15) The standard of salaries and conditions of service for the doctors, engineers and other technical hands will be made so attractive that the tendency in the people of these professions to leave the country comes to an end.
- (16) The higher cadre of Government servants will not be allowed to organise themselves into a political group or a cabal. Stern measures will be adopted to keep them in harness so that they behave and work as servants of their people and not as their masters.
- (17) Suitable steps will be taken to correct and reform Pakistan's embassies and missions abroad.

VIII. Economic Reforms

- 16—The current economic system of our country has assumed its present tyrannical shape of ruthless oppression and exploitation for the sole reason that it has become a repository of all the evils of ancient feudalism and modern capitalism which have been further multiplied by the unjust economic policies of the Government and the selfishness of a despotic bureaucracy. Therefore unless the present economic system is radically transformed, social justice cannot be achieved. But the scheme of this transformation must be such as is in conformity with the principles of Islam and also safeguards the fundamental rights of the individuals and civil liberties of the people.

17—The fundamental objectives of our Economic Policy are:

- (1) Just and equitable distribution of wealth.
- (2) Prevention of concentration of wealth and means of production in the hands of a few.
- (3) Eradication of all forms of tyranny and unfair exploitation.
- (4) Equality of opportunity for all.
- (5) To make the benefits of Economic Development available to the people as a whole.
- (6) Eradication of poverty and guarantees of basic necessities of life to every inhabitant of the country.

For the achievement of the above objectives we have divided our programme into the following four parts:

- (A) Agriculture.
- (B) Industry and Trade.
- (C) Rights of Labour and other Low-paid Employees.
- (D) General Economic Reforms.

(A) Agriculture

18—The present imbalance in our agrarian economy which is the result of an un-Islamic and centuries old unjust system of land tenure, will be corrected by the application of the following Islamic principle: "In abnormal circumstances, extra-ordinary measures, not in conflict with the principles of Islam, can be adopted to restore normalcy." Under this principle:

- (1) All Jagirs, whether new or old, created by misuse of Governmental power or acquired by prohibited means, will be abolished, because under the law of Shariah the very ownership thereof is unlawful.
- (2) As for the ancient landed properties, they will be brought within prescribed limits. The limit in fertile areas of West Pakistan will be fixed from 100 to 200 acres according to the quality of land and in the less productive areas it will be adjusted equitably. This limit in East Pakistan will be fixed at 100 bighas.

Any landed properties beyond this limit will be acquired by payment of reasonable compensation.

This ceiling or limitation of landed properties has been proposed and will be enforced only as an emergency and temporary measure to remove past injustice. It cannot be made permanent, because the prescription of any permanent ceiling will be repugnant not only to the Islamic Law of Inheritance but will also infringe many other provisions of the Shariah.

- (3) All agricultural land, whether owned by the State or accruing to it as a result of the application of the above-mentioned measures (a) and (b) or rendered fertile due to the construction of new dams and irrigation facilities, will, as a rule, be sold on easy instalments to landless tenants and those small holders of land who do not possess a subsistence holding. In doing so priority will be given to the local inhabitants.

The policy of selling Government lands at nominal rates or giving it as awards to Government servants and other influential persons will be stopped and the land so given out will be recovered from undeserving beneficiaries.

Furthermore sale of Government land through auction will also be stopped.

- (4) The Law of Shariah regulating the relationship between a landlord and a tenant will be strictly enforced and all practices in this respect repugnant to Islam will be statutorily abolished so that no landholding in the country in the future assumes the form of feudalistic oppression.

19—All possible efforts will be made to provide every cultivator with at least a subsistence holding of agricultural land.

- 20—Effective arrangements will be made to enable the cultivators to receive a reasonable price for their produce and check the middle-men from grabbing more than their rightful share of profits. Particular attention will be paid to undo and eradicate the injustices being done to the growers of Jute, Cotton, Tobacco, Sugar Cane and other cash crops.
- 21—The land revenue of holdings up to a 'subsistence unit' in West Pakistan and up to ten acres of agricultural land in East Pakistan will be totally abolished.
- 22—Assessment of land revenue will be made on the principle: 'the greater the income proportionately higher the rate of revenue and lesser the income proportionately lower the rate of revenue.' Furthermore the methods of recovery of land revenue will also be reformed.
- 23—No professional tax will be levied on the rural labouring classes.
- 24—Proper measures not offending against the rights of private ownership will be adopted for the promotion and encouragement of mechanical cultivation and cooperative farming and marketing.
The problems arising as a result of introducing mechanical cultivation will be given special attention.
- 25—Satisfactory arrangements will be made for the supply of improved agricultural implements, high quality seeds and fertilizers to the farmers.
- 26—Interest free 'Tacavi' loans will be made available to the cultivators.
- 27—Necessary measures will be taken to control floods.
- 28—The landless labour classes in the rural areas will be enabled to own their houses and become immune from expulsion therefrom.
- 29—Necessary steps will be taken for the protection, expansion and proper use of the forests.
- 30—Acquisition of fertile lands for industrial estates will be

stopped and the owners of such lands acquired so far will be properly compensated by giving them other agricultural lands in lieu thereof.

31—Efforts will be made to introduce and promote such industries in the rural areas that in addition to solving the problem of unemployment in the villages, provide a source of additional income for the farmers.

32—The following measures will be adopted to meet the problem of food shortage in the country:

- (1) To bring under cultivation all un-used cultivable land.
- (2) To make cultivable all those barren lands that are capable of improvement and bring them under the plough.
- (3) To check salinity and waterlogging and reclaim the lands already affected by them.
- (4) To make full use of the existing and possible means of irrigation and supply them to the cultivator on cost.
- (5) To protect the crops from pests, to save the land from soil erosion and remove all other causes that are responsible for low production.
- (6) To maintain proper balance between the cash crops and food crops.

33—All those practices in the trade of foodgrains that create artificial shortage and raise the prices of goods will be eradicated. Furthermore, such measures will be adopted that make the necessities of life available to the common man on cheap rates and let the cultivator also receive fair price for his produce.

34—Martial Law Regulations No. 89 and 91 will be cancelled and all sufferers thereunder will be properly compensated.

(B) Industry and Trade

35—Unjust laws and wrong administrative policies of the Government have resulted in abnormally large concentra-

tions of wealth in the country and it is constantly on the increase. To prevent this concentration in future and make the already accumulated wealth circulate among the people, following measures will be enforced:

- (1) Interest, speculation, gambling, hoarding, and all other unfair methods of earning and dealing in wealth which are prohibited by Islam will be declared unlawful and serious crimes. Only those methods of earning that are allowed by Islam will be permitted and left open.
- (2) For putting an end to the current unjust concentration of wealth resulting from unlawful and prohibited means of earning, illegal rewards and favouritism of the corrupt regimes, all people possessing excessive wealth will be called to account for their property. And all such Legislative and Administrative steps will be taken as may be necessary to recover everything obtained by unlawful and prohibited (*haram*) means.
- (3) The ownership of big industries and commercial enterprises will be extended to the general public. The maximum number of shares of a person or family in the ownership of companies will be fixed by statute and the rest of the shares will be sold to the general public.
- (4) The present system of Managing Agencies will be abolished. The management of the companies will be entrusted to paid managers who will work under the guidance and supervision of a Board of Directors elected by the shareholders.
- (5) The absolute control of the capitalists on Banks, Insurance Companies, Share Markets and Financial Institutions of the State will be abolished.
- (6) The policy of granting loans will be revised and the loans will be made available to new and small

investors also.

- (7) Companies will be made to declare their exact profits and divide them in the shareholders.
- (8) Monopolies and cartels in trade and industry will be abolished and severe legal measures will be adopted to prevent capitalists from raising prices arbitrarily or by collusion.
- (9) The Export Bonus Scheme will be revised, and bonus will be granted only on such commodities which have high cost of production and do not find a ready market abroad. The bonus on such commodities too will be for a limited period so that this protection does not become a shield for the mis-management and inefficiency of our industrialists and they perforce compete for raising the standard and lowering the cost of the produce.
- (10) Restrictions will be imposed on the utilization of bonus facilities. Its use will be restricted to the import of essential goods i.e. machinery, spare parts and raw material etc. The waste of Bonus on the import of luxury goods will not be allowed.
- (11) The powers of granting licences for installation of Industrial concerns and for Imports and Exports will be entrusted to a Board consisting of honest and trustworthy persons so that the licences are granted only to deserving traders and industrialists. Mal-distribution of permits and licences in the sphere of business and industry will be totally stopped.
- (12) Strict watch will be kept on industrialists and big business to see that the profits charged by them are not excessive.

36—We are opposed to the adoption of Nationalization as a general principle and basis of economy. But we are not opposed to the running of those industries under the Government management, which are of basic importance

and occupy a key position in the national economy or the working whereof under private control is detrimental to the public interest. Such industries can be *ab initio* set up by the Government as well as taken over by it on payment of compensation to their owners. As for what industry or industries should be so nationalised, such decisions should be taken by an Assembly representing the people and before taking this decision it must see that the industry concerned will not fall a prey to the well known defects of a bureaucratic control.

- 37—We stand for reconstruction and reorganisation of the entire system of Banking and Insurance on Islamic principles of partnership and mutual co-operation. Without this fundamental change, the inherent evils of the present system of Banking and Insurance cannot be eliminated, no matter whether they remain in private ownership or are nationalised and put under Government management.
- 38—We consider that the establishment of heavy industries is of prime importance for the Industrial Development of the country, therefore they must be established at the earliest.
- 39—The installation and development of Armament industry is of paramount importance to us.
- 40—We will encourage small and cottage industries to the utmost and will try to spread them on the widest possible scale. In this respect we shall try to benefit to the maximum extent from the experiments of Japan, Switzerland and other countries.
- 41—In the development schemes and works undertaken in the country we will give more importance to the use of man-power and providing employment to the people than to the interests of capital.
- 42—We will try to spread industry in all parts of the country so that the benefits of development do not remain confined to a limited region or regions only.

(C) Rights of Labour and Other Low-paid Employees

- 43—The current disparity between maximum and minimum wages which at present exceeds the ratio of 1 to 100 will in the first instance be reduced to the ratio of 1 to 20 and then gradually to the ratio of 1 to 10. The minimum standard wages will in no case be less than the required subsistence level calculated on the basis of prevalent index of prices. Under the present conditions, for example, it can be fixed between Rs. 150 and 200. The standard minimum wage should be periodically revised in accordance with the fluctuation in the prices of basic necessities of life.
- 44—Low-paid employees will be provided with reasonable and proper facilities of housing, medical aid and education for their children.
- 45—Labour, in every Industry, in addition to the above-mentioned minimum wages, will be paid cash bonus and also enabled by bonus shares to become partners in the ownership of the industry in which they are employed so that they may share the profit of the wealth produced by their labour and thus become personally interested in the welfare and progress of the concern they work in.
- 46—The present labour laws will be replaced by such just and equitable laws that transform the present state of conflict between capital and labour to a relationship of cordial co-operation between these two basic components of industry, ensure the lawful rights of the labourers and devise such a machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes that genuinely fulfil the demands of justice.
- 47—The maximum number of working hours in a week will not be more than 42 hours.
- 48—One and a half day will be reserved as the weekly holiday.
- 49—Child labour below the age of 12 years will be prohibited.
- 50—Employment of mixed male and female labour at the same place will also be prohibited.

- 51—Medical aid in case of sickness and accidents, equitable compensation in case of consequent disability and the benefit of pension or provident fund on retirement will be made compulsory.
- 52—Labourers and employees will have the right to strike.
- 53—Healthy Trade Unionism will be encouraged. All categories of labour and low-paid employees, including the Government and semi-Government employees, will be entitled to organise themselves into trade unions according to law and there will be no compulsion to join one and the same trade union.
- 54—Provision will be made for securing wholesome environment and better conditions of work.

(D) General Economic Reforms

- 55—Arrangements for the collection of Zakāt (poor-due), Sadaqāt (penitance alms) and other welfare contributions payable in the way of Allah will be made by and on behalf of the Government and all such funds will be expended in accordance with the tenets of Shariah on the following items:
 - (1) Financial aid and stipends to the old, disabled, destitutes and all other kinds of deserving people.
 - (2) For the maintenance and education of the orphans and other poor children.
 - (3) Provision of necessary help to the un-employed until they secure employment.
 - (4) For rehabilitation of persons who can establish their own livelihood with small investments.
 - (5) Interestless loans to the needy and deserving people.
 - (6) Medical aid to the poor.
 - (7) Providing necessary help to the stranded wayfarers.
 - (8) For improving the conditions of the mosques and for the aid of religious institutions.

- (9) Provision of stipends to persons engaged in beneficial academic pursuits.

The surplus funds will be utilised in the spreading of Islam on the widest possible scale throughout the world, for the uplift of the Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries and other pursuits in the way of Allah.

- 56—The entire taxation policy will be revised and the system of taxation will be scrutinized in detail. Indirect taxation will be reduced to the minimum, direct taxation will be increased and proper measures will be adopted to stop the transfer of burden of direct taxation on the common man.
- 57—The Economic Planning of the country will be done in consultation with the elected representatives of the people and all Plans will be enforced with the approval of the legislature.
- 58—In Economic Planning greater importance will be given to Education, Public Health, Public Welfare and Agricultural Development.
- 59—Expenditure of wealth for prohibited (*haram*) purposes will be stopped and all necessary measures will be adopted to put an end to extravagance and waste in public and private sectors.
- 60—Construction of palatial buildings for governmental usage and the burdening of public exchequer for their lavish decoration will be stopped.
- 61—The National Treasury will be purified of all prohibited (*haram*) sources of income and all kinds of prohibited and improper expenditure will also be stopped.
- 62—Every effort will be made to end the dependence of the country on foreign loans and foreign capital and to get rid of existing loans.
- 63—The causes of artificial rise in prices will be located and uprooted.
- 64—All possible measures will be taken to end unemployment.

- 65—Arrangements will be made for providing cheap accommodation for the low income people and to bring down house rents to a reasonable level.
- 66—Facilities of medical aid, clean drinking water, electricity and means of transport will be extended to rural areas.
- 67—Efforts will be made to develop the backward regions of the country.
- 68—Profiteering on public welfare works and Government commercial concerns will be stopped.
- 69—The Mohajir Fund will be spent on the rehabilitation and welfare of Mohajirs only.

IX. Public Health

- 70—Our aim in the field of Public Health is that nobody in Pakistan should be deprived of medical care merely for lack of means and that the daily deteriorating standard of health in the country is raised to a satisfactory level. For this purpose we will adopt the following measures:
 - (1) Cheap supply of medicines and necessary steps to lower the expenses of medical treatment.
 - (2) Gradual expansion of hospitals and maternity homes.
 - (3) Moral training of the staff of Government hospitals so that they attend to the patients with compassion and good care.
 - (4) Setting up of Unani and Homeopathic hospitals also like Allopathic hospitals on Government's behalf and thus make medical relief available on widest scale.
 - (5) Special attention towards the eradication of tuberculosis, epidemics and infectious diseases.
 - (6) Severe measures to stop adulteration in foodstuffs and medicines.
 - (7) Satisfactory hygienic and health arrangements in urban and rural areas.
 - (8) To include all essential information regarding hygiene, care of the sick, control of epidemics, healthy

and scientific diets and First Aid in the syllabi of schools and adult education centres; to adopt all possible measures to disseminate this knowledge on largest scale; and to inculcate the sense of cleanliness in the masses.

X. Rights of Islamic Sects

71—Recognised Islamic Sects will have, subject to law, public order and morality, full freedom of religion. They will be fully entitled to impart their own religious education to their followers. They will be free to propagate their view point. Their personal affairs will be decided in accordance with their own personal law and effort will be made to get them adjudicated by Qazis belonging to their own sects.

XI. Non-Muslim Minorities

72—Our policy with regard to the non-Muslim minorities will be as follows:

- (1) All their civic and legal rights will be preserved and the Government will be fully responsible for the protection of their life, honour, property and civil liberties.
- (2) Any laws which they want to enforce for the uplift and reform of their community, provided they do not offend against the rights of other people, will be supported.
- (3) Whatever justifiable help from Government resources is found necessary for their educational and cultural affairs, will be generously provided.
- (4) No unnecessary interference in their religious and social matters will be allowed.
- (5) Full effort will be made to redress all their reasonable grievances against any act or behaviour of the

majority community or administrative machinery of the Government.

- (6) Subject to law, public order and morality, they will have full freedom of religion, worship, culture and religious education and also to follow their personal law, customs and usages in their personal affairs.
- (7) Special attention will be paid to the uplift and welfare of the scheduled castes.

XII. Foreign Policy

73—The fundamental principles and objectives of our Foreign Policy are as follows:

- (1) Pakistan is an Ideological State, therefore its foreign policy too, like its internal policies, must necessarily be based upon and reflect its Ideology and aim at the fulfilment of the ideals envisaged by it. The inherent requirement of our ideology is that we should stand as upholders of truth and justice in this world; we should oppose injustice and tyranny wherever it may be; we should ourselves adhere to the path of righteousness, and persuade others to do so; we should scrupulously honour our own promises, pacts and commitments and induce others to do the same.
- (2) We stand for international peace and shall leave no stone unturned to achieve this end. But in our view the mere absence of the state of war does not amount to the existence of a state of peace. What we mean by a "state of peace" is that an atmosphere of international justice should prevail in the world, that all nations and countries (big or small) enjoy unhindered right and opportunities of development and that none should transgress the lawful rights of others nor stand in the way of their peaceful pursuits for progress.
- (3) We believe that Imperialism is a negation of inter-

national justice and it is one of the root-causes of international conflict. We hold that whatever shape and form it may assume and whichever side—East or West—it may come from, it is equally and totally condemnable. We shall try our best to bring it to an end; and all our sympathy and support will always be with nations who are or may be the victims of its oppression. The oppressed Muslim communities in various parts of the world will be the objects of special concern for us because we have double bond of kinship with them—one of Islam and the other of humanity.

- (4) We wish to establish and maintain a relationship of friendly cooperation with all nations of the world. But we are not prepared to enter into any such relationship or alliance that may be repugnant to our Ideology or offends against our just national interest or infringes our freedom and independence. Nor we are prepared to accept the position that our friendship with a nation, howsoever mighty and helpful to us in the international field, should imply or result in the import and imbibition of its ideology and culture or that we should fling our doors wide open for the spreading and propagation of its way of life.
- (5) We want to keep Pakistan altogether out of the conflicts of the Great Powers and their blocs and therefore wish to end our association with Pacts like SEATO and CENTO. The Foreign Policy of Pakistan, in our opinion, should be completely independent and in accordance with our own interests and principles.
- (6) The implementation of the right of self-determination by means of a fair and just plebiscite in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, just settlement of the Farakka

Dam issue and fair treatment with Muslim minority in India, are the three pre-requisites of normalisation of good neighbourly relationship with India. We will adopt all possible measures and tap all available resources for the solution of these problems.

- (7) We wish to establish closest ties with the Islamic world. We shall try our best to unite the Muslim countries on the basis of Islam and persuade them to formulate and adopt a common programme at least on the following points:
- (a) Revival of Islamic culture and defence of the world of Islam against the onslaught of un-Islamic ideologies and cultures.
 - (b) Adoption of a common and balanced educational policy and programme by all the Muslim countries.
 - (c) A joint and concerted effort for the establishment and development of Armament Industries in the Muslim countries so as to make the Muslim world self-sufficient in this respect.
 - (d) Adoption of the Arabic language as the lingua franca of the Muslims.
 - (e) Setting up of an International Court of Justice for adjudication of disputes amongst the Muslim countries on the lines of the International Court at Hague.
 - (f) Provisions of maximum facilities for International travel between the Muslim countries.
 - (g) Arrangements to keep the Muslim countries abreast with the conditions and affairs of one another.
 - (h) Measures to promote and expand trade and commerce amongst the Muslim countries.
 - (i) Efforts to lend support to the Muslims of Africa.
 - (j) Protection of Muslim minorities of various non-Muslim countries against violence and oppression.

XIII. Parliamentary Policy

74—The Parliamentary Parties of Jama'at-e-Islami in the National and Provincial Assemblies will function in accordance with the following principles:

- (1) They will cooperate with all other parties for the promulgation of Islamic injunctions, establishment of justice and in all genuine efforts for the welfare of the country. But they will not support or side with anybody for the achievement of any ulterior end or objective.
- (2) If they constitute or control the majority in the Assembly, they will form their own cabinet and adopt the following policy:
 - (a) Not to ignore public criticism merely in arrogance of governmental authority.
 - (b) Carefully attend to all grievances of the public whether they come to light through the press or other channels of public information.
 - (c) Seek advice and cooperation of the knowledgeable and experienced public men in the conduct of public affairs.
 - (d) The ministers should desist from overawing the public by their pomp and show and big salaries. Instead of keeping aloof from the public and raising their standard of living, they should raise their standard of service and behaviour and move in the public so that they remain informed with the real state of affairs under their rule and are able to set it right.
 - (e) Public money and the Government machinery should not be used for party purposes nor should they derive any other unfair advantage from their official positions.

- (f) The Executive authority should not be used against opposition parties.
 - (g) The Government should shun the methods of Western diplomacy and conduct its affairs in an upright and straight-forward manner.
 - (h) Instead of trying to retain power at all costs, the party should sincerely stand by its programme and make every effort to translate it into action in accordance with its creed and objectives. In case it does not find that possible, it should resign from the Government.
- (3) If in spite of being a minority this party finds itself in a position to form a Coalition Government with other parties, it will do so only if:
- (a) the party or parties joining the Coalition Cabinet agree with its creed and objectives and its programme of reforms or at least with its fundamental principles; and
 - (b) they agree to work in accordance with the policy laid down in the above mentioned paragraph No. 2.
- (4) In case this party has to sit on the Opposition benches, it will never oppose anything merely for the sake of opposition, but will function on the principle: "Co-operate and side with truth and righteousness and combat falsehood and sin."

SUPPORTING LITERATURE

The points mentioned briefly in this manifesto are based upon an extensive literature of Jama'at-e-Islami. A study of the following selected books out of the vast literature of the Jama'at, is recommended to the readers, who are interested in knowing the detailed view-point of Jama'at-e-Islami:—

ENGLISH BOOKS

1. Islamic Law & Constitution—by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi.
2. Islamic Way of Life—by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi.
3. First Principles of Islamic State—by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi.
4. Islamic Law & its Introduction in Pakistan—by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi.
5. Political Theory of Islam—by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi.
6. The Economic Problem of Man and its Islamic Solution—by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi.
7. Birth Control—by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi.
8. Principles of Islamic Education by Prof. Khurshid Ahmed.
9. Jama'at-e-Islami and Foreign Policy by late Ch. Ghulam Muhammad.

URDU BOOKS

- ۱۔ اسلامی نظام زندگی اور اس کے بنیادی تصورات -
- ۱۱۔ اسلامی تہذیب اور اس کے اصول و مبادی -
- ۱۲۔ اسلام کا نظام حیات -
- ۱۳۔ اسلامی ریاست -
- ۱۴۔ اسلام کا نظریہ سیاسی -
- ۱۵۔ اسلامی قانون اور پاکستان میں اس کے نفاذ کی عملی تدابیر -
- ۱۶۔ انسان کے بنیادی حقوق -

- ۱۷۔ تعلیمات -
- ۱۸۔ قرآن کی معاشی تعلیمات -
- ۱۹۔ پاکستان کا مستقبل اور طلبہ -
- ۲۰۔ اسلام اور جدید معاشی نظریات -
- ۲۱۔ سود -
- ۲۲۔ اسلام اور عدل اجتماعی -
- ۲۳۔ انسان کا معاشی مسئلہ اور اس کا اسلامی حل -
- ۲۴۔ اسلامی نظم معیشت کے اصول و مقاصد -
- ۲۵۔ معاشیات اسلام -
- ۲۶۔ مسئلہ ملکیت زمین -
- ۲۷۔ اسلام کا نظریہ ملکیت -
- ۲۸۔ شرکت و مضاربت کے شرعی اصول -
- ۲۹۔ غیر سودی بینک کاری -
- ۳۰۔ موجودہ اقتصادی بحران اور اسلامی حکمت معیشت -
- ۳۱۔ اسلام میں عدل اجتماعی -
- ۳۲۔ اسلام اور سوشلزم (۳۱ سوالات کے جوابات)
- ۳۳۔ اسلام اور ضبط ولادت -
- ۳۴۔ ضبط تولید کی شرعی حیثیت -
- ۳۵۔ جماعت اسلامی اور خارجہ پالیسی -

These books are available from all the prominent book-sellers in all towns or can also be had directly from the Publishers of this literature :

Islamic Publications Ltd.,

13-E Shah-Alam Market, Lahore

Or

16, Baitul Mukarram (1st Floor) Dacca (East Pakistan)

The above mentioned books can also be had from all the local branches of Jama'at-e-Islami and its workers in all parts of the country.