

(69)

INSTITUTE OF
18 MAR 1982
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
LIBRARY

Essays in
Islamic Economic Philosophy
No. 2

Editor:
Syed Nawab Haider
Naqvi

**THE ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM:
A FEW HIGHLIGHTS**

Co-Editors:
Munawar Iqbal
A. R. Kemal

Associate Editor:
S. H. H. Naqvi

MIAN M. NAZEER

AUGUST 1981

**PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS
ISLAMABAD**

PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS

Quaid-i-Azam University Campus
Post Box 1091, ISLAMABAD
(Pakistan)

The Institute, established by the Government of Pakistan in 1957, is an autonomous research organisation devoted to carrying out fundamental research on development economics and Islamic economics in general and on Pakistan's economic problems in particular. Its research, besides providing a firm foundation on which economic policy-making can be based, also provides a window through which the outside world can see the direction in which economic research in Pakistan is moving. The Institute also provides professional training in economic analysis and research methods.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Mohammad Afzal	Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman	Ejaz Ahmad Naik
Abdul Ali Khan	H. U. Beg	Saeed Ahmad Qureshi
A. Sami Qureshi	Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi, Director	R. A. Akhund
Imtiaz Ahmad Sahibzada	Rafiq Ahmed	Mian M. Nazeer
	U. K. Afridi	
	M. A. Hafeez, Dy. Secy.	

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

J. Tinbergen, Nobel Laureate	Sir Arthur Lewis, Nobel Laureate	Gunnar Myrdal, Nobel Laureate
Fritz Machlup	Albert O. Hirschman	E. Malinvaud
Paul Streeten	Janos Kornai	Henri Theil
Just Faaland	Robert Triffin	Lief Johansen
Winfried Von Urff	Ansley J. Coale	Sukhamoy Chakravarty

SENIOR FELLOWS

Ziauddin Ahmed	Rafiq Ahmed	Mian M. Nazeer
S. A. Sarwar Rizvi	M. Rashid	Dilawar Ali Khan
Amir Muhammad Khan	Jawaid Azfar	Shukurullah
Mahfooz Ali	Ghulam Hussain Khaskhelly	M. E. Abro

Essays in
Islamic Economic Philosophy
No. 2

**THE ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM:
A FEW HIGHLIGHTS**

MIAN M. NAZEER
Professor and Chairman,
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS,
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR

AUGUST 1981

**PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS
POST BOX 1091, ISLAMABAD**

In the same series

Essays in Islamic Economic Philosophy No. 1

Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi. **Individual Freedom, Social Welfare and Islamic Economic Order.** Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics. 1981.

First published in Pakistan in 1981

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

©Pakistan Institute of Development
Economics. 1981

List of Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Acknowledgement	iii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 The Foundations of the Islamic Economic Outlook	5
1. The Nature of the Physical World	5
2. The Qur'anic Conception of <i>Mata'</i>	6
3. Man's Love of Wealth	7
4. Equality in Basic Economic Rights	8
5. Importance of Attaining Knowledge	8
Summary	9
Chapter 3 The Guiding Principles of an Islamic Economy	11
1. The Trusteeship of Man	11
2. Social Responsibility	11
3. Social Equality	13
4. Economic Co-operation	14
5. Wider Circulation of Wealth	15
6. The Ethical Consistency of Economic Choices	15
Summary	16

Chapter 4	The Main Features of an Islamic Economic System: I (Individual Initiative: Freedom with Responsibility)	18
	Equitable Distribution of Wealth and Income	20
	<i>(i) Feeding of the Needy</i>	21
	<i>(ii) Giving of Alms</i>	21
	<i>(iii) Law of Inheritance</i>	23
	Summary	23
Chapter 5	The Main Features of an Islamic Economic System: II (Interest-Free Economy)	26
	Private Ownership and Property	28
	Extended Role of the State	30
	Summary	31
Chapter 6	Concluding Observations	33



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author is heavily indebted to Prof. Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi for his valuable suggestions on both the form and content of the paper. He is also grateful to Mr. S. Hamid Hasan Naqavi for his editorial suggestions which have greatly improved the readability of the paper. However, the author alone is responsible for any mistakes of omission or commission.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

For the most part, man's struggle is directed towards the production, consumption and distribution of wealth. A particular economic system is a reflection of the mode of such a struggle, and one economic system differs from the other in the manner it recaptures the essence of this continuous struggle.

The orderly regulation of man's economic activity requires that there be (i) a distinct *underlying philosophy or ideology* by reference to which the sphere and scope of man's actions are delimited, and (ii) an explicit *mechanism* for resolving problems and regulating man's actions.

The underlying philosophy or ideology of the Islamic Economic System is embedded in the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the traditions of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). As regards the actual mechanism of such an economic system, it will evolve and vary according to the genius and the socio-economic organization of the people, circumscribed, of course, by the spirit of the underlying philosophy.

Since there does not exist a blueprint of an Islamic Economic System, complete in all respects, nor is there anywhere a fully Islamic society regulating the whole gamut of economic activity by

reference to the Holy Qur'an, the best one can do is to spell out an *a priori* framework, which approximates the Islamic Ideal. Such an attempt would consist of two steps: (i) spelling out the basic concepts of an Islamic Polity; and (ii) outlining certain specific features on which eventually the edifice of an Islamic Economic System may be raised. It may be pointed out that a clear-cut economic system will emerge only after an economy has actually operated for some time and has developed a distinct mechanism for the achievement of its socio-economic goals, in terms of offering a solution of man's basic economic problems, and a framework for resolving the inevitable social conflicts and regulating man's actions to conform to prescribed rules of social behaviour.

In evolving an appropriate framework of an Islamic Economic System, the idea is not to weave some past pattern within the fabric of a modern economy. Far from that. The distances of today and tomorrow cannot be travelled by the milestones of yesterdays. Real life keeps confronting a people with ever-changing situations, each situation laden with diverse issues.¹ If all these issues are to be resolved effectively within a particular economic system, that economic system will have to have a built-in flexibility to accommodate new challenges.

Flexibility in the system will be as essential for promoting socially desirable change as permanence in the fundamental values is for keeping this process going along a pre-assigned track [2, p. 42]. There must be a meeting of minds on this between the system specialists and the ideologues. However, the flexibility in the system to meet change cannot be open-ended. The fabric of an Islamic system cannot be made to assimilate "solutions" otherwise extraneous to Islam. As Mohammad Asad has put it, "Islam is a self-sufficing orbit of culture" [1, p. 9], and, as such, does not admit of alien elements. However, as Naqvi has pointed out, "It is

¹See Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi [4, p. 169] where he says: "The search must go on for the ultimate truth, not by raking up the ashes of an irrelevant past but by venturing forth in search of new horizons in the spirit of pioneers and pace setters". See also M. Nejatullah Siddiqui [5, p. 2].

by no means insular. It is *complete* in terms of given socio-economic parameters, which change with time, but is *not closed* with respect to future potentialities” [3]. The emphasis should be only on an extended application of universal principles within the context of ever-changing socio-economic realities.

The Islamic economy of our age will be a thoroughly “modern” economy – modern in its techniques of production, in its organization of resources, and in its social and physical infrastructure – and yet truly Islamic. This characteristic will reflect itself in the espousal of values, in the choice of means and ends, in the norms of economic activity, in the bases of societal relationships, and in the aims and contents of social policies.

Islam is a religion of balance and proportion. It teaches moderation and enjoins the “middle course”. It combines justice with freedom, equality with incentive, liberty with limits, and acquisition with sharing. State action mixes freely with private initiative, maximization of output combines with imperatives of distribution, enjoyment of worldly things blends with self-restraint and private gain flourishes side by side with sacrifice. Such apparent opposites are welded together by a total “submission to the will of God”², and the resultant social harmony – the state of “peace”³ – is the reward for such submission.

REFERENCES

1. Asad, M. *Islam at the Crossroads*. Lahore : Sh. M. Ashraf. 1975 (Reprint).
2. Ahmad, Khurshid. “Islam – Basic Principles and Characteristics”. In Khurshid Ahmad, *Islam – Its Meaning and Message*. London : Islamic Council of Europe. 1976.

² ; ³These are the two meanings of the word “Islam”.

3. Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider. "Ethical Foundations of Islamic Economics". *Islamic Studies* (Quarterly Journal of the Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad). Summer 1978.
4. Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider. *Ethics and Economics – An Islamic Synthesis*. Leicester (UK): The Islamic Foundation. 1981.
5. Siddiqui, M. Nejatullah. *Some Aspects of the Islamic Economy*. Lahore: Islamic Publications. 1970.

Chapter 2

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ISLAMIC ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

The economic outlook of Islam is based upon certain conceptions about life itself, about man and his earthly tenure, about his relationships with his Creator, fellow beings, and physical surroundings, about his rights and obligations, and about the social organization geared to this end.

1. The Nature of the Physical World

The first conception is that regarding the nature of the physical world and its relationship with man. The physical world has been created to serve a Divine purpose. In the words of the Holy Qur'an, "And We created not the heavens and the earth, and all that is between them, in play. We created them not save with truth; but most of them know not" (44 : 38-39). And man has been chosen to execute the Divine Scheme. As such, everything in the Universe has been made subservient to him.¹

¹"And He hath made of service unto you whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth; it is all from Him" (45: 13). And again, "He it is Who hath made the earth subservient unto you, so walk in the paths thereof and eat of His providence" (67 : 15).

2. The Qur'anic Conception of *Mata'*

The second conception is that of *Mata'* which relates to the bounty of the Creator whose enjoyment has been ordained by Him.² As a matter of fact, the ethically-constrained Divine permission to exploit natural resources for worldly good forms the focal point of Islam's economic perspective.³

However, these resources have been created by Him as a gift to *mankind as a whole*, to be shared on an equitable basis. Hence, their *exclusive* control by individuals or groups of individuals is a negation of the Islamic ideal. It is also the basis of the Islamic doctrine of man's trusteeship of Allah's bounties. (See the next Section.)

3. Man's Love of Wealth

The third conception is that regarding man's love of wealth. The Holy Qur'an takes cognizance of the fact that man is greedy,⁴ impatient,⁵ and violent in his love of wealth.⁶ Islam has endeavoured to subject this instinct to a moral purpose in order to restrain greed. However, the creative instincts in man must not be suppressed, but should be turned into a force for the good rather than for the evil.⁷ Man's self-interest, within the Islamic perspective, is to be disciplined and regulated so that the society can

²"And we have given (mankind) power in the earth, and appointed for you therein a livelihood" (7 : 10).

³"And when the prayer is ended, then disperse in the land and seek of Allah's bounty" (62 : 10).

⁴"Greed hath been made present in the minds (of man)" (4 : 128).

⁵"Lo, man was created anxious" (70 : 19).

⁶And lo, in the love of wealth he is violent" (100 : 8).

⁷As the Holy Qur'an says, "Wealth and children are an ornament of the life of the world. But the good deeds which endure are better in thy Lord's sight for reward, and better in respect of hope" (18 : 47).

benefit by it in two ways: (a) by *man's* efforts and abilities exerted to the maximum, and (b) by having its own rights safeguarded in the fruits of such efforts.⁸ This two-way recognition of rights in an Islamic society forms the basis of its views on social justice, economic co-operation, communal harmony, progress and welfare.⁹

To highlight the supremacy of social purpose, man's pursuit, acquisition, possession and disposal of wealth have all been circumscribed by clear Qur'anic injunctions. The Islamic notion of wealth is not that it should be grabbed by all possible means, but that one should have it so as to give it to the have-nots. The giving of wealth in the way of God is one of the most frequently repeated themes of the Holy Qur'an. At the same time, the squandering of wealth has been condemned, as has been niggardliness.¹⁰

4. Equality in Basic Economic Rights

The fourth conception concerns the recognition of certain basic economic rights and the equality of all men in the enjoyment of these rights. These rights are: the right to a minimum standard of living, the right to work and freely associate in Islamically legitimate social activities, and the right to a fair deal, i.e. the right to receive what is one's due. These three basic economic rights furnish the basis of social justice, equitable rewards to the factors of production, and freedom of action and initiative in an Islamic economic system. If birth or circumstances have denied to an individual access to Allah's bounty, then an Islamic society must bring

⁸See Qutb [7, p. 127]. "Accordingly, when Islam comes to lay down its rules and laws, its exhortations and instructions, it does not disregard that natural love of self-interest, nor does it neglect that deep natural avarice; it rather cures this sordid selfishness and avarice by instruction and laws, and charges man only to his capacity". See also Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi [5].

⁹Compare Abul Kalam Azad [1, Vol. II, p. 132].

¹⁰See al-Qur'an (17 : 26, 27 and 29). Compare also (25 : 67) : "And those (are the faithful slaves of the Beneficent) who, when they spend, are neither prodigal nor grudging; and there is ever a firm station between the two".

it about. However, equality in basic economic rights is not to be confused with a complete evening out of all the differences in wealth and income, since a rationally organized society must allow incentives and nurture the desire for excellence.

5. Importance of Attaining Knowledge

The fifth conception is that Divine revelation is not a substitute for a spirit of enquiry, acquisition of skills, seeking of knowledge or human experience. Revelation represents "God's grace to reveal His ways to man" while science represents "man's efforts to learn God's ways" [2, p. ix]. Scientific discovery and technological achievements are the *sine qua non* of human progress and of giving meaning to divine endowments. Without such attainments man will not be able to discharge the onerous duties of the Divine trust. "It is the lot of man", says Iqbal, "to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe, now by adjusting himself to its forces, now by putting the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own ends and purposes. And in this process of progressive change, God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative" [4, p. 12].

It is precisely for this reason that Islam enjoins its followers to attain knowledge. The Holy Qur'an says, "And he unto whom wisdom is given, he truly hath received abundant good" (2 : 269). The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) is reported to have equated the acquisition of learning to fasting and its dissemination to prayers. He is also on record as having remarked about knowledge, "He who spreads it distributes alms". His saying, "An hour's contemplation and study of God's creation is better than a year of adoration", imbued Muslim scholars with their characteristic freedom of thought and inquiry. It was also the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) who said, "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr", and thus extended the use of the term '*al Jihad ul Akbar*', "the greatest *Jihad*", to "the effort of the student to

become learned and the effort of the learned to spread knowledge” [6, p. 132].

It was this repeated call of the Holy Qur’an and of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) that infused the early Muslims with an unquenchable thirst for enquiry and made them pioneers of science and scientific methods. Robert Briffault, who sees the influence of Islamic culture in every aspect of European growth, finds it particularly perceptible in the development of natural science and the scientific spirit.¹¹

SUMMARY

The economic outlook of Islam is conditioned by certain basic conceptions : (i) the physical world has been created for a purpose which is fulfilled through the use of its bounties by man; (ii) these bounties have been bestowed upon mankind as a whole, and must therefore be shared widely and equitably; (iii) the acquisitive instinct of man is recognized as an important creative force, and is therefore not to be suppressed but subjected to a moral purpose; (iv) all men are equal in respect of certain basic economic rights, and have a claim on society for ensuring their fulfilment; and (v) man is duty bound to understand the world around him and to learn ways of doing things. Divine revelation does neither deprive man of the spirit of free enquiry nor relieve him of its burden.

REFERENCES

1. Azad, Abul Kalam. *Tarjuman-ul-Qur’an*. Lahore: Islamic Academy. 1976
2. Brelvi, Mahmud. *Islamic Ideology and its Impact on Our Times*. Karachi. 1967.

¹¹“Nowhere is it so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the paramount distinctive force of the modern world, and the supreme source of its victory – natural science and the scientific spirit” [3, p. 190].

3. Briffault, Robert. *The Making of Humanity*. Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation. 1980 (Reprint).
4. Iqbal, Sir Muhammad. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf. 1977 (Reprint).
5. Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider. "Ethical Foundations of Islamic Economics". *Islamic Studies* (Quarterly Journal of the Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad). Summer 1978.
6. Pickthall, M. Marmaduke. *The Cultural Side of Islam*. Lahore : Sh. M. Ashraf. 1961 (Reprint).
7. Qutb, Syed. "Islamic Approach to Social Justice". In Khurshid Ahmad (Ed.), *Islam – Its Meaning and Message*. London: Islamic Council of Europe. 1976.

Chapter 3

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF AN ISLAMIC ECONOMY

1. The Trusteeship of Man

This is a fundamental doctrine of Islam, and follows from man's authority derived by him by virtue of his being the vicegerent of God,¹ and the trustee of all of God's bounty so that he can fulfil his earthly mission and responsibilities.

This doctrine has important bearing on the mode of ownership of the means of production. In the first place, the propelling force of all actions will be the commitment to fulfil the conditions of the trust rather than the pursuit of unalloyed self-interest. Secondly, the right of ownership of the means of production will have to be limited so that the means of production are put to the best use and exploited for maximizing the flow of benefits from the bounties of the Creator.

2. Social Responsibility

The doctrine of social responsibility is pivotal to the Islamic system. It is at once a guiding principle of an Islamic economy, a fundamental obligation of an Islamic state, the *raison d'être* of some of the important social institutions of the Muslim society, and a witness to the brotherhood of man and the oneness of the *Ummah* (i.e. the Muslim community), symbolized as it is by one of

¹“He it is who hath placed you as viceroys of the earth and hath exalted some of you in rank above others, that He may try you by (the test of) that which He hath given you” *al-Qur'an* (6 : 165). Also, “And when thy Lord said unto the Angels: Lo ! I am about to place a viceroy in the earth” (2 : 30).

the five pillars (*arkan*) of Islam, viz. *Zakat*. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was giving expression to this principle when he told the Muslim *Ummah* that each one of them was a shepherd to every other member of the 'flock' and was answerable on that account [1, Vol. III, *Hadith* 2009, p. 756]. And again, "None of you can be a believer till such time that you wish for your brother what you wish for yourself" [1, Vol. I, *Hadith* 11, p. 91].

More concretely, social responsibility implies safeguarding the interests of those in one's charge and looking after those who are not able to do the same for themselves (such as the poor, the needy, the destitute, the infirm and the aged) or are unfavourably circumstanced (such as the orphans and the unemployed), or those adversely affected by war, natural calamities, etc., or those who need help and succour to get along in life.

To achieve this objective, Islam enjoins almsgiving and charity.² However, these well-known methods of helping the needy had existed even before Islam. What is new about the Islamic concept is that it creates a right for the needy to a share in the wealth of the community instead of leaving them to the vagaries of charity alone.³

Islam, therefore, enjoins its followers to pass on to the state/society a specific portion of their savings/earnings for the well-being of those in need. These people are God's trust, entrusted to the care of those whom God has endowed with His bounty.⁴

²For details of injunctions on almsgiving and charity, see the discussion under "(ii) Giving of Alms" in the following chapter.

³Cf. Latif [4, p. 203].

⁴In his celebrated work *al-Muhalla*, Ibn Hazm records: "It is the duty of the well-to-do people of a locality that they underwrite the economic wellbeing of the poor and the destitute of that locality. In case the Bait-al-Mal (the State Treasury) does not have the where-withals to meet the needs of these people, the Amir (State) can compel the better off people to do the needful (i.e., the State can forcibly take from their wealth in order to spend on the poor)." Quoted in Maulana Hifzur Rahman Sherwani [5, p. 45].

The care of the poor and the needy is thus the responsibility of the society and of its organized expression, the Islamic State. As this responsibility takes the form of meeting the basic needs of all the members of the society, regardless of their ability to pay for such needs, it will have a far-reaching effect on the role and sphere of the action of an Islamic State: for it will not only mean taking a share out of the savings and earnings of the well-to-do and making it available to the poor and the destitute, but it will require a conscious planning of the physical availabilities of the goods and services required for the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people. The implications of this observation for the direction of economic planning and the order of priorities should be obvious.

3. Social Equality

One of the hallmarks of an Islamic society is social equality, which is achieved not so much by pushing *everyone* down to a pre-determined lowest common denominator, but by pulling every one up to a higher level. An Islamic society is a society free of special privileges. There is complete equality of all men before law. Both Caliph Umar and Caliph Ali had “appeared in the courts as claimants or defendants to demand even-handed justice” [3, p. 263].⁵ Nature of job, wealth, origin or genealogy cannot be the source of any distinction between people. Women have as much share in all opportunities as men. The dignity of labour is an

⁵This aspect of complete equality before law in Islam has been immortalized by Allama Iqbal in *Ramooz-e-Baikhudi* in the story of Sultan Murad and the architect. The Sultan, after having been disappointed with the work of the architect, cut his hands off in rage. The architect went straight before the Qazi to seek justice, who, having summoned the Sultan, admonished him in the words of the following couplet :

“*Abde Muslim kamtar az ehrar neest,
Khoone Shah rangeen tar az me'mar neest*”.

Translation : A Muslim slave is in no way inferior to any free person (s). The blood of a (king is by no means redder than that of a mason). Both Mawardi and Ibn Quteiba have recorded a letter written by Caliph Umar to one of his judges in which, *inter alia*, Umar says, “Equalize all Muslims in your court and your attention, so neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial, nor will the humble despair of justice from you”. Quoted by von Grunebaum [2, p. 163].

article of faith,⁶ and physical work is a virtue, not a stigma. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) himself worked with his own hands, and history is replete with examples of Caliphs sharing work with slaves [6, p. 168].

4. Economic Co-operation

In an Islamic economy, the competitive spirit will be accompanied by an over-riding sense of co-operation, which is more than just an act. It is at once a mood and a motive, a principle and a psychology. The element of struggle will not be altogether absent from an Islamic society. Only it will be differently oriented.

Social conflict takes its roots from extremes of social and economic inequalities – denial of opportunities, deprivation of basic economic rights, existence of social and economic barriers, absence of equal treatment of otherwise equal people (or, what is also true, absence of unequal treatment of otherwise unequal people), lack of regard in proportion to virtue, learning, or the “good that cometh to His creatures”,⁷ and absence of reward in proportion to the quantity and quality of work (and of punishment in proportion to crime). All these bases of social conflict are alien to Islam. The supremacy of *‘Adl*⁸ – imperfectly rendered as ‘justice’ in English – in all its shades of meaning and application reveals itself in social harmony in the ideal State. Once the full measure of justice has been meted out to the people, a balance and a proportion are established which are not allowed to be disturbed.⁹

⁶As the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) has said : “The worker is a friend of God”. See Ahmad B. Hanbal’s *Musnad*.

⁷“Who is the most favoured of God ? He from whom the greatest good cometh to His creatures”, said the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

⁸“Lo ! Allah enjoineeth justice and kindness, and giving to kinsfolk, and forbiddeth lewdness and abomination and wickedness”. *al-Quran* (16 : 90).

⁹*Ibid.* (7 : 56, and 28 : 77).

5. Wider Circulation of Wealth

There are clear injunctions about wealth to the effect that it should always remain in the widest possible circulation. It should be neither hoarded nor allowed to “become . . . a commodity between the rich among you” (59 : 7). Hoarding of wealth is one of the most severely condemned acts in Islam. The Holy Qur’an is quite explicit on this point: “They who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah, unto them give tidings (O Muhammad) of a painful doom” (9.34).

6. The Ethical Consistency of Economic Choices

The dichotomy of Ethics and Economics in the Western mode of thought which underlies the evolution of the capitalistic economic thinking has done incalculable harm to the evolution of an appropriate human environment. It has practically amounted to a defence of the exploitation, rapacity and extreme materialism of the capitalist economic system.¹⁰

Devoid of any ethical validity, the ‘economic’ becomes synonymous with the selfish, the material and the monetary. Once that happens, there is little which separates the pursuit of economic ends from “the cult of Mammon”. Ethical neutrality is sometimes assumed for purposes of analysis and observation. Such an assumption may be a good scientific device. The trouble, however, is that this neutrality seldom or never ends there. It soon comes to be extended to the evolution of norms and criteria consistent with such “neutrality”, and the social scientist, often without realizing it, becomes a shield for the opportunism of the so-called practical men who wish to be judged differently in different fields of action and at different times.

¹⁰This was also why Economics came to be called “a sordid science”, and Adam Smith, the father of the science, was indicted by John Ruskin as “the half-bred and half-witted Scotchman who taught the deliberate blasphemy : thou shalt hate the Lord, thy God, damn his laws and covet his neighbour’s good”. See Edwin Seligman’s “introduction” to [7, Vol. 1, p. vii].

Islam's is an ethically-oriented system, so that every act of decision-making simultaneously involves the making of an ethical choice also. The very conception of the individual's freedom of choice requires that social choices be ethically consistent as well. This simultaneity and concurrence of the ethical and the economic serves to guide individual action into the desired direction and promotes the broader interests of the society. In the field of production, for example, such a consistency of choices will determine the pattern of allocation of resources, the nature of business ventures, and the composition of the social product. Since choices in the field of consumption and commerce will be similarly guided, the composition of demand and the range of goods and services provided by the market will be in consonance with one another. The sales-promotion effort mounted by producers in a monopolistic market structure will be minimized and the resources so released will be diverted to the production of socially necessary goods and services.

SUMMARY

There are six guiding principles of an Islamic economy which are as follows:

- (i) The principle that man is only a trustee of all of God's bounty. This principle permeates both the motives behind social action and the use that is made of the means of production;
- (ii) The principle of social responsibility, which implies that the care of the poor and the needy is the responsibility of the society, and for this purpose, a right (*Haqq*) is created in favour of such groups and individuals in the wealth of the community;

- (iii) The principle of social equality, which sets an Islamic society free of special privileges for a particular class or individual ;
- (iv) The principle of economic cooperation, which reflects the social balance of an Islamic economy and manifests itself in social harmony ;
- (v) The principle of the widest possible circulation of wealth so that it does not gravitate towards the rich only; and
- (vi) The principle that all economic choices must be ethically consistent. Ethical validity is what separates the economic from the selfish.

REFERENCES

1. al-Bukhari, Imam Abu Abdullah Mohammad bin Ismail. *Sahih*. Lahore : Dini Kutub Khana. 1977 (Reprint).
2. von Grunebaum, G.E. *Medieval Islam*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. 1956.
3. Hakim, Khalifa A. *Islamic Ideology*. Lahore: Publishers United. 1951.
4. Latif, S. A. *Bases of Islamic Culture*. Lahore: Islamic Book Service. 1979.
5. Sherwani, Hifzur Rahman. *Islam Ka Iqtisadi Nizam*. Delhi: Nadwat-ul-Musannafeen. 1951.
6. Sharif, M. Raihan. *Islamic Social Framework*. Lahore : Sh. M. Ashraf. 1970.
7. Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. London : J. M. Dent. 1947 (Reprint).

Chapter 4

THE MAIN FEATURES OF AN ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM:I (Individual Initiative: Freedom with Responsibility)

Islam urges its followers to productive action. The cardinal factor in this productive action is the individual's freedom of choice and action, which implies the freedom to work in a way which gives him the greatest satisfaction. This freedom is, however, neither absolute nor unrestricted.¹ Islam encourages economic activity to the point of its being a moral obligation, but such an activity will have to be perfectly legitimate, socially beneficial, and ethically valid. Both the ends and the means of economic activity must satisfy these conditions. As has been remarked earlier, every act of decision-making in an Islamic society involves an ethical choice as well.

Following from the precept of ethically-constrained individual freedom, *Falah* (i.e. well-being) and *'Adl* (i.e. social justice) are the two basic norms by reference to which the legitimacy of economic activity can be established. *Falah* implies an Islamic emphasis on the well-being of the society as a whole as well as of each of its members. However, *Falah* presupposes simplicity in living, and an

¹See Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi [7] and, especially, [8, Ch. 2]. He looks upon Free Will (implying Human Freedom) and Responsibility as two of the four ethical axioms from which all the essential elements of Islamic Economics can be derived.

avoidance of luxuries and “conspicuous consumption”. Self-denial is forbidden in Islam, but so are excess and extravagance: “Say: Who hath forbidden the adornment of Allah which He hath brought forth for His bondmen, and the good things of His providing?” (7 : 32) ; also “. . . eat and drink, but be not prodigal. Lo! He loveth not the prodigals” (7 : 31).

‘*Adl* furnishes the base on which the business and the entrepreneurial edifice of an Islamic society is raised. Simply put, it stands for the achievement of ends through fair and just means; it implies keeping one’s trust [4: 58; also 6 : 153], and ‘rendering to each what is his due’, such as a wage in a just proportion to work, a fair and due share in profit or produce, and a fair charge (price) in return for a “full measure and full weight”. As the Holy Qur’an says, “Give full measure, and be not of those who give less (than the due), And weigh with true balance, Wrong not mankind in their goods, and do not evil, making mischief, in the earth” (26:181 – 183; also 6 : 153). In fact, exploitation in any form violates the norm of ‘*Adl*. In those early days, *riba* was the worst form of exploitation and, as such, was strictly forbidden. The exploitative practices of hoarding, stockpiling, profiteering and monopolising were also prohibited. With the passage of time, man’s ingenuity has contrived innumerable other forms of exploitation and added to those already known. All such activities are in stark violation of the principle of ‘*Adl* and, for that matter, are illegal and prohibited. *Man is free to choose and act accordingly, but only within the limits specified by Islam.*

‘*Adl* is also the negation of oppression and the antithesis of regimentation of all kind, and is an assertion of an individual’s responsibility to the society. Another constituent of ‘*Adl* is an equitable distribution of the free gifts of nature amongst all members of the society. An individual’s action is, therefore, inconsistent with the norm of ‘*Adl* if he resorts to oppression and regimentation, or if he aims at the concentration of economic power into his hands.

Equitable Distribution of Wealth and Income

A major feature of any social system is the distribution of income and wealth. As such, the scheme of the distribution of income and wealth distinguishes one social system from another. The principle of '*Adl* negates extremes of inequality. An equitable distribution of income and wealth is focal to an Islamic economic system.²

However, it should be noted that the mere existence of inequalities of income in a society is not necessarily an index of an undesirable state of affairs: for, in the present-day society, disproportionate income (earnings) may accrue to a decision-maker not necessarily because he has appropriated the due share of other factors of production but because of new knowledge, or new light on old processes, innovations, technical change or technological breakthroughs which may confer an initial advantage on the pioneers. If an analysis of the system of rewards shows that there has been no undue appropriation or unfair expropriation, then a progressive society like that of Islam would not take the winds out of the "sails" of its constituent members but would keep its own "rudder" in good shape.³

The redistributive system of Islam operates at two levels. Firstly, there is a certain minimum level where the basic needs of the "target group" have to be completely met, regardless of their ability to pay for the wherewithals of meeting such needs. This may be done by the society or the state directly or indirectly and through *income-maintenance policies*, in accordance with some accepted standards of a decent life. There may be some social

²"With the intense and unique commitment of Islam to human brotherhood and to social and economic justice, gross inequalities of income and wealth could not but be repugnant to its spirit. Such inequalities could only destroy rather than foster the feelings of brotherhood that Islam wishes to create" [3, p. 185].

³"Sails" would signify the motive of the individual in such a case and the "rudder" would stand for the balancing mechanism through which the society redistributes a part of the product of such initiative. See Wassily Leontief [5].

minimum to be safeguarded by *social insurance* when reasonable employment cannot be provided to an able-bodied and willing worker, or when the aged, the widows, and the orphans have to be looked after; and by means of *family allowances*. Both the forms are known to have been used in different periods in the early history of Islam.

The second aspect of Islamic redistributive system is that where the balancing act will constantly be on. Here, the dispersion of *earned incomes* will be reduced to the levels permissible by 'Adl and the requirements of excellence, while *wealth* will be redistributed to promote its widest possible circulation and the welfare of the masses.

The redistributive mechanism of Islam operates mainly through the following measures: feeding of the needy, giving of alms and the law of inheritance.

(i) *Feeding of the Needy*

This has been emphasized many times and in the strongest possible terms both by the Holy Qur'an and by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). The Qur'an returns to the subject in a variety of contexts. For example, "And (they) feed with food the needy wretch, the orphan and the prisoner, for love of Him" (76 : 8). And again, "But he hath not attempted the Ascent (the path that is steep) – Ah, what will convey unto thee what the Ascent is ! (It is) to free a slave, and to feed in the day of hunger an orphan near of kin, or some poor wretch in misery" (90 : 11 – 16).⁴

(ii) *Giving of Alms*

The Qur'an makes the most frequent reference to almsgiving,⁵ which is of two types : (a) Voluntary, and (b) Obligatory.

⁴Compare also *al-Qur'an* (107 : 1 – 3).

⁵Cf. Robert Roberts [10, p. 70].

(a) Voluntary Alms (Charity or *Sadaqat*). The faithful Muslims are time and again exhorted to spend in the way of God – to spend all they can. “And they ask thee what they ought to spend. Say: that which is superfluous” (2 : 219). Not only is the act of charity enjoined and those worthy of charity (starting from the closest relatives)⁶ clearly indicated, but certain high standards are also set for it: the thing given should not be such as you would sooner discard than keep for yourself;⁷ it should be neither followed by reference or reproach⁸ nor given in ostentation. As the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), according to Abu Dawood, remarked: “The most excellent *sadaqah* is the secret effort of one of meagre resources to relieve a poverty-stricken individual”.⁹ Another tradition of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) commends secrecy in almsgiving in the following way: “Alms given in secret turn away the wrath of God” [4, p. 33]. Imam al-Ghazali observes that the advantage of secrecy in giving alms is salvation from the evils of the desire to be seen and heard.¹⁰

(b) Obligatory Alms (*Zakat* or Poor Due). *Zakat*¹¹ is obligatory. It is one of the five pillars of Islam,¹² and the Holy Qur’an

⁶See, for example, al-Bukhari [2, Vol. I, *Kitab-ul-Zakat*, Hadith Nos. 1336 – 1337].

⁷Compare, for example, “O ye who believe! Spend of the good things which ye have earned, and of that which We bring forth from the earth for you, and seek not the bad (with intent) to spend thereof (in charity) when ye would not take it for yourselves save with disdain” (2 : 267). Cf. also (3 : 92).

⁸Cf. *al-Qur’an*, “Render not vain your almsgiving by reproach and injury” (2 : 264).

⁹Quoted by Imam al-Ghazali [4, p. 32].

¹⁰“He who brags about his alms seeks to be known and heard, and he who gives his alms in presence of crowds desires to be seen and recognized; while secrecy and silence are the best protection against (such temptation)” [4, p. 33].

¹¹The literal meanings of *Zakat* are, (i) growth and increase, as in the case of *Zakah al Zar’* (the crop grew) and (ii) cleansing or purification. Cf. N. P. Aghnides [1, p. 185].

¹²*al-Bukhari* [2, Vol. I, *Kitab al-Iman*, Hadith No. 6, p. 90].

makes more than thirty references to it. It is a wealth tax, covering almost all kinds of wealth. Its rate, base, and limits are all laid down by the traditions of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and *Ijma'* (consensus). As regards the heads of its expenditure, these too are given in the Holy Qur'an in the following verse: "The alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of Allah, and (for) the wayfarers" (9 : 60).

(iii) *Law of Inheritance*

The redistributive system of Islam also operates through the Islamic Law of Inheritance which, if properly interpreted, is a powerful instrument for the prevention of the intergenerational snowballing of wealth.¹³ At his death, a Muslim's fortune is further distributed among his heirs according to the prescribed shares.¹⁴ This should avoid the perpetuation of the concentration of wealth even after the death of the person who accumulated it during his lifetime [6, p. 37]. In the event of the deceased having no heirs, the property reverts to the State. Bequest through wills and testaments allows a person to meet his moral obligations to persons other than creditors¹⁵ and heirs while the limit on such transfers protects the rights of the heirs and prevents an inequitable distribution of wealth.

SUMMARY

One of the features of an Islamic economic system is individual initiative. However, this initiative is ethically constrained, and

¹³For details, see Naqvi *et al.* [9, p.13].

¹⁴Cf. *al-Qur'an* [4 : 7 and 11-12].

¹⁵Creditors come high on the priority list of charges on the property of the deceased, and are second only to the charges on account of burial.

is subject to certain norms of action. These norms are *Falah* (social well-being) and *‘Adl* (justice). The legitimacy of a particular economic action can be established only if these norms of action are satisfied.

Another feature is an equitable distribution of wealth and income. The distributive mechanism of Islam operates mainly through three measures, viz. feeding of the needy, giving of alms, and the Islamic law of inheritance.

REFERENCES

1. Aghnides, N. P. *Mohammedan Theories of Finance*. Lahore : The Premier House. n.d.
2. al-Bukhari, Iman Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail. *Sahih*. Lahore: Dini Kutub Khana. 1977 (Reprint).
3. Chapra, Mohammad Umar. "Objectives of the Islamic Economic Order". In Khurshid Ahmad (Ed.), *Islam: Its Meaning and Message*. London : Islamic Council of Europe. 1976.
4. al-Ghazali, Imam. *The Mysteries of Almsgiving*. (English translation of "Kitab Asrar al-Zakat" of *Ihya' ‘Ulum al-Din* by Nabih Amin Faris). Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf. 1974.
5. Leontief, Wassily. "Sails and Rudder, Ship of State". *New York Times*. March 16, 1973.
6. Maududi, Syed Abul A'la. *Economic Problem of Man and its Islamic Solution*. Lahore : Islamic Publications. 1968.
7. Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider. "Ethical Foundations of Islamic Economics". *Islamic Studies* (Quarterly Journal of the Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad). Summer 1978.

8. Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider, *Ethics and Economics : An Islamic Synthesis*. Leicester (UK) : The Islamic Foundation. 1981.
9. Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider, H. U. Beg, Rafiq Ahmed and Mian M. Nazeer. *An Agenda for Islamic Economic Reform*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics. May 1980.
10. Roberts, Robert. *The Social Laws of the Qur'an*. Lahore: Sange Meel Publications. 1978 (Reprint).

Chapter 5

THE MAIN FEATURES OF AN ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM : II (Interest-Free Economy)

Clearly and unequivocally, interest in any of its forms and regardless of its nature and purpose is forbidden in Islam.¹ The Holy Qur'an is quite explicit on this and returns to the theme a number of times. For example : "O ye who believe! Observe your duty to Allah, and give up what remaineth (due to you) from usury, if ye are (in truth) believers. And if ye do not, then be warned of war (against you) from Allah and His messenger. And if ye repent, then ye have your principal (without interest). Wrong not, and ye shall not be wronged" (2:278-279).

As such, the structure of an Islamic economy is ordained to be interest-free, which term, however, needs to be clearly understood. An interest-free economy will not be an economy where capital will be available free of cost. Capital is a scarce commodity. Its use must, therefore, have a cost. What will be the nature of that cost, and in what manner will it be borne by the factor-users or received by the factor-owners, and what will be the consequences of a change-over from an interest base to some other mode of capital pricing, are questions that require clear answers.

It is worth remembering that interest in an interest-based economy is not simply a charge that can be just *abolished*. It is a complete system which performs certain well-known and clear-cut functions within a given economic system, viz. Capitalism. But while interest as an instrument of performing these functions may be, peculiar to that economic system, the functions which it

¹In this case, Islam is not unique in forbidding interest. Judaism and Christianity and great thinkers of all times also condemned the practice of lending money against interest. As long as the Roman Catholic Church remained in power, it prohibited interest. Interest remained illegal in England till the time of Henry VIII.

performs are not. They are independent of any brand of economic system and have to be carried out, no matter what the brand is. If it is not permissible to retain interest, it will have to be *replaced* by such alternatives as will perform these functions without the evils accompanying interest. In our search for alternatives, however, we shall do well to be cautious. In choosing one or the other instrument of economic policy, we may not lose sight of the avowed objectives of such policy.²

It may be argued that, even under Capitalism, the relationships between the functions, which interest is claimed to perform, and the rate of interest are only “functional relationships” enshrined in the theory of interest. In the actual working of the system, its role has already been reduced, if not taken over, by other devices, at least to the extent to which such devices are called upon to reinforce the working of interest. “The claim of interest to be a suitable or effective regulator of the pace of growth of the nation’s wealth” [4, p. 151], has thus been greatly diluted. However, adjuncts are not alternatives. Interest still remains the base of a variety of financial instruments like debentures etc., which have lost none of their importance. Furthermore, even though interest alone is not decisive by itself in regulating the rate of economic growth, the fact remains that any alternative arrangements, with interest abolished, must involve a substantial restructuring of the economic system itself.

When it comes to restructuring the economic system without the device of interest, quite a few, and otherwise conflicting, economic systems are conceivable. But an Islamic economic system is only conceivable without interest.

²As Naqvi has remarked, “. . . it is a *non sequitur* to assert that since, in the Islamic perspective, a positive rate of interest is bad just any policy replacing it must be good. The “optimality” of any policy alternatives must be established “independently” by reference to the basic policy objectives of an Islamic society” [2, p. 113].

Private Ownership and Property

Man needs to have a share of the free gifts of Nature for his own immediate consumption and for taking a start in life. Both Nature and logic, however, demand that man may be permitted to appropriate for himself such a share of these free gifts of Nature as he can manage and make use of. This is the *basis* of ownership and private property in Islam.

The *nature* of ownership in Islam, however, must be clearly understood. In the first place, it is God to whom belongs all that is in the heavens and in the earth. Of this bounty, man has been made a trustee, and he has been permitted, and even encouraged, to exploit and utilize these gifts for his own good and for the good of his fellow-beings. In the second place, it is to mankind as a whole that the riches of this world belong, and it is by mankind as a whole that these riches must be shared. Hence, in view of wider public interest and to promote common weal, the State may also limit or regulate the acquisition and rights of ownership of such things as oceans, rivers, ponds, natural springs, forests, places of worship, and certain species of wild animals, birds and fish during given months or at given places.

However, as long as the rules of divine trust are not violated, private ownership of property is sacred and inviolable. In his Farewell Hajj Address, the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) likened the sanctity of such ownership to the sanctity of human life. As such, its protection is assured against the predatory acts of not only individuals and groups of individuals but also the State. If the wider interests of the community demand, the State may acquire private property but only after paying a fair compensation.

Although Islam does not impose any upper ceiling on private property, its regulatory and redistributive mechanism soon gets into action, so that wealth and ownership rights can not remain concentrated in a few hands. In the case of the ownership of agricultural

land, for example, the right is regulated by what one can effectively utilize. *The right of transfer of ownership along with the right of inheritance of the prescribed share* is another powerful mechanism for securing the desired ends of redistributive justice, broad-based ownership, and a wider circulation of wealth.

Now a special word in respect of agricultural land. As remarked earlier, the right to private ownership is limited by a person's capacity to utilize it fully and to manage it properly.³ This insistence on utilization and capacity to manage has a two-fold function. It places a limit on the size of ownership as well as discourages "ostentatious" investment in land. Thus, if a piece of cultivable land is not utilized for three consecutive years, the right of keeping it in ownership is liable to be lost. Again, this utilization is linked to the owner's own efforts. It is this last condition which has been the spring of the controversy concerning certain categories of land-tenure arrangements such as share-tenancy and lease of bare land against a fixed sum paid in cash. While some jurists have tried to hold a brief for share-tenancy on the ground of practice (i.e. *al ta'amul*) and analogy between *al-muzara'ah* and *al-mudharabah*, others (including Imam Abu Hanifa) have termed both lease and share-tenancy as contrary to the spirit of Islam.⁴

In this connection, the arrangement made by Caliph Umar al-Farooq was possibly the closest to the spirit of Islam and the requirements of universality, namely, that the landowner should share with the other party in investment or labour or both [1, *Kitab-al-Wakala*, p. 806]. Such an arrangement will compromise neither the landowner's share as a return on account of

³Islam takes cognizance of differences in the abilities of individuals. "It is recognized that one person may be able to plough and manage a larger area of land than that which another person can profitably exploit. To put a curb on such an extension of effort is to retard common welfare and the total output of society as a whole" [5, p. 192].

⁴For details, see relevant chapters in Zia-ul-Haque [6].

a free gift of Nature (to which he is obviously not entitled), nor his status in society as that of a *rentier*.⁵

Extended Role of the State

An Islamic economic system can not crystallize without individual action or an enlarged and extended role of the State. This extended role is not to be evaluated in terms of the jargon of modern political theory where every extension of the role of State is an infringement of individual liberty. The political system of Islam has a variety of in-built checks on the powers of the State whereas individual liberty has been bounded by the requirement that the exercise of such liberty be in harmony with the interests of the society.

An Islamic State derives its role from the need to give legal authority to the enforcement of a just social and economic system which guarantees the basic needs of all the members of the society and ensures their economic rights, such as the right to a minimum standard of living, the right to work and freely associate in socially acceptable activities, and the right to receive their due. The duty of an Islamic State does not end simply with the furnishing of opportunities to work. It must enlarge and improve the capacities of the individual citizen by means of education, vocational guidance and technical training. It is only in this way that an Islamic State can enable people to discharge the divine mission of trust and responsibility.⁶

The State, by virtue of its overall view of the economy and society, should be in a better position to keep the productive effort of the society in consonance with the hierarchy of social needs and

⁵How close would such a practice come to money-lending and usury is a matter to be seriously pondered.

⁶M. Rafi-ud-Din describes these two duties of the State as (a) the creation of conditions "in which the individual may be able to provide himself with the means of his biological existence", and (b) the "creation of conditions in which the individual may be able to provide himself with the means of ideological existence" [3, pp. 130-131].

requirements. Public opinion must be informed with the teachings of Islam, and the machinery of production and distribution must be regulated to bring about a socially desirable allocation of resources.

SUMMARY

A yet another important feature of the Islamic economic system is the abolition of all forms of exploitation, including *Riba*. *Riba* or interest can, however, only be abolished if it is replaced by an alternative mechanism which will take over its functions. Such a step is, however, not possible without a substantial restructuring of the economic system itself.

An Islamic system is also distinguishable by the way it regulates the private ownership of property. While private ownership of property is allowed, its use and operation must not violate the rules of divine trust. Furthermore, the redistributive mechanism of Islam does not allow ownership rights to concentrate in a few hands.

By its very nature and function, an Islamic economic system implies an enlargement in the role of the State. This role is derived from the need to give legal authority to the enforcement of a just social and economic system, guaranteeing the basic needs of all the members of the society and ensuring their economic rights.

REFERENCES

1. al-Bukhari, Imam Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail. *Sahih*. Lahore: Dini Kutub Khana. 1977.
2. Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider. *Ethics and Economics: An Islamic Synthesis*. Leicester: The Islamic Book Foundation, U.K. 1981.
3. Rafi-ud-Din, M. *The Manifesto of Islam*. Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf. 1973.

4. Shackle, G.L.S. "Recent Theories Concerning the Nature and Role of Interest". *Surveys of Economic Theory*, Prepared for the American Economic Association and the Royal Economic Society. New York: MacMillan. 1967.
5. Yusuf, S. M. *Studies in Islamic History and Culture*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture. 1970.
6. Zia-ul-Haque. *Landlord and Peasant in Early Islam*. Islamabad. Islamic Research Institute. 1977.

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>