

A Glimpse in the History of Nationalism in Muslim World

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Introduction:

The article is a glimpse into the history of nationalism in the Muslim world. It surveys the initial waves of nationalist ideology in some major Muslim countries, and deals with different aspects of nationalist movements in the Muslim world in general.

The idea of nationalism was accepted in Europe during the nineteenth century after the French Revolution(1) as a supreme political gospel. It was worshipped by people almost like a secular religion,(2) and the nation-builders were idolized as heralding a new era in world civilization. Nationalism is the foundation rock over which the whole super-structure of the modern state system has been built. Basically, it is a state of mind; a cultural phenomenon through which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be owed to the nation-state.(3) It emerged as humanity's dramatic leap forward from its tribal existence to a bigger unit of socio-political organization. Nationalism generally appears among people who demonstrate deep identification with a particular territory and a common culture which they idolize. All these elements are then strengthened with an overriding desire for political independence. On the world scene, the last element becomes the most critical dimension of nationalism. It raises an extremely sensitive issue of sovereignty of the state. It is only when people sharing the above mentioned common traits demand political independence, and develop an inflexible fixation to their sovereign existence that nationalism becomes a potent manifestation of people's collective will.(4)

a. Nationalism - A Reaction to Imperialism:

Developments in Europe undeniably had a profound impact on the mindset and thought processes of the Muslim intellectuals who were being educated in the European political tradition during the nineteenth century.(5) The role of the nation state and nationalism has been the central theme and an 'invariable constant' in the modern history of the Islamic world. It has been confirmed as the dominant, extremely flexible view of the world among Muslims in spite of the passage of a succession of distinct ideological political phases.(6) The Muslim world was caught under the spell

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4. The practice of late payment penalty should be discontinued. It is directly against the prescription of Quran.
5. It is usually observed that transaction flow of Murabaha is not practiced as prescribed. Moreover pledge line swapping is against the spirit of Murabaha whereas some time Islamic Banks swaps the pledge lines by wiping out documentary proofs in wild pursuits of business . To fend off such anomalies Islamic Banks should recruit only those people who deeply understand and believe in the rulings of Islam and understand the importance of strict adherence to the guiding principles of Murabaha.

These recommendations are not collectively exhaustive and can be modified. There is always room for improvement. The objective of the study is to bring clarity and diffuse the confusion on Murabaha. Current practices of Murabaha are not based on true essence of Islam. The study highly recommends that Murabaha based exposure should be curtailed to minimum and use of Mudarba, Musharka and Qarz e Hasna should be promoted. The scholars should take firm stance to improve practices of Islamic Banks so that real objectives of Islamic Banking may be achieved. The owners of Islamic Banks should modify their orientation of profit maximization into the orientation of economic justice coupled with reasonable profit. Otherwise Islamic Banking will remain a rhetoric which would create no difference in society and overall economic system.

Conclusion and Recommendation:

Despite the fact that many scholars vigorously defend current practices of Islamic Banking in Pakistan, a handful of scholars have completely opposite stance and criticize these practices openly. The Murabaha is dominant in Islamic Banking and at the same time attracting most of the criticism. Therefore the study explores various issues related to Murabaha and seeks guidance from relevant sections of Quran and Hadith.

The study reveals that there are certain issues with current practices of Murabaha in Pakistan. The criticism is not based on mere misunderstandings. There are some attributes of prevalent Murabaha which deviate from Quran and Sunnah. The deviation from the principles set by Quran and Sunnah is ample reason to reject the legitimacy of current practices of Murabaha. The study clearly denounces the contemporary Murabaha and firmly believes that it needs a complete overhaul.

The study recommends that Islamic Banks should concentrate on ideal Islamic modes of financing i.e, Musharka and Mudarba. They should abstain from Murabaha as much as possible. However if Murabaha is inevitable then its share in total portfolio should be minimal. Moreover following measures could be helpful to improve its compatibility with the spirit of Quran and Sunnah.

1. Islamic banks should set up their own godowns and ensure physical possession before selling the product to buyers.
2. The banks should also find some specialists in frequently traded commodities to appoint them as agents instead of appointment of buyer as agent to purchase the product. These specialists should be appointed as bank's agents more frequently. Appointment of buyer as agent for every transaction is not the spirit of Murabaha. Moreover it gives resemblance to Murabaha with conventional banking transactions.
3. Murabaha is essentially a trade instead of lending. Therefore price benchmark should be taken from the market of underlying commodity. The use of money market pricing as bench mark is tantamount to interference in price mechanism of underlying commodities. If the commodity in Murabaha is an intermediary product, the effect of higher price (KIBOR based) can disturb the price mechanism of other products as well. For example price of the products, that use commodity, purchased through Murabaha as input, will also be affected. Futures on commodities are frequently written and not an alien phenomenon in today's world. Therefore future prices of the underlying commodity can be used as bench mark to set price of Murabaha.

It is one of the building blocks of Islamic Banks that circulation of wealth should not be confined to few people of the society. But contribution of Islamic Banks to achieve this objective can't be identified even after the four decades since their inception. The results of non Profit and Loss Sharing modes of financing are the same to those of conventional banks. These modes are based on acquired knowledge which can be put to test and reexamination. However Revealed knowledge is true problem solver. Therefore, if some practice contradicts the revealed knowledge and fails to achieve objectives set by Allah then it must be get rid of. Since current practices of Islamic Banking are contributing in concentration of money therefore these practices need a complete overhaul. Profit and Loss sharing modes of financing are the best available modes which have no doubts in their legitimacy and thought to be ideal to achieve the desired well being of society.

7. Late Payment Penalty Is Against The Guidance Of Quran And Sunnah:

Another problem with Islamic Banking is imposition of penalty upon delay in payment. Islamic Banks themselves consider this practice un-Islamic therefore they don't keep this amount with them and give that in charity. First of all this penalty is in contradiction with Quranic verse

“If the debtor is facing financial difficulty, allow him time until he is easy”²²

The use of this penalty as charity is another matter of concern because Allah Ta'la says

“O you who believe! Spend of the good things which you have (legally) earned, and of that which We have produced from the earth for you, and do not aim at that which is bad to spend from it”²³

Advocates of Islamic banks are claiming that this penalty is to deal with treacherous buyers but how the bank will differentiate between treacherous buyers and genuine buyers who are actually facing problems? How many genuine buyers are given relaxation is still a question.

As islamic banking system is developed to achieve a greater casue of socio economic justice and its foundations are laid on islamic teachings therefore Islamic Banks should not go for such a paltry gains by voilating instructions of Quran. The exposure of islamic banks remain secure through collateral security. Therefore chances of loss of principal amount are very bleak. The only loss will be the time value of money in case of delayed payments even by treacherous buyers. So clear instructions of Quran shouldn't be overlooked for small gains.

Moreover element of free will is also compromised because customer is suppressed by immediate need and scarcity of funds.

“O you who believe! Eat not up your property among yourselves unjustly except it be a trade amongst you, by mutual consent.”¹⁷

Another objection on Islamic Banking is that if higher price is charged due to deferred payment than it is time value of money which is implicit interest.

On the other hand advocates of Islamic Banking do have sound arguments. Money and commodity are two different things. Money has no intrinsic value while commodities do have intrinsic value and utility. Therefore owner is at liberty to sell the product at any price subject to forces of demand and supply. Moreover the seller can sell even on a price higher than the market with consent of buyer¹⁸.

There is evidence from Hadith which can be helpful to understand the legitimacy of charging higher prices. It is reported that once the prices shot up during the period of the Prophet (SAW). The people said:

“O Messenger of Allah! Prices have shot up, so fix them for us. Thereupon the Messenger of Allah said: ‘Allah is the One Who fixes prices, withholds, gives lavishly, and provides, and I hope that when I meet Allah, none of you will have any claim on me for an injustice regarding blood or property.’”¹⁹

“Ma’qil ibn Yasar narrated from the Prophet (SAW), he said: “Whoever interferes in any of the prices of the Muslims in order to increase its price for them, it is a duty on Allah to throw him into the greater portion of the Fire while his head is at its bottom.”²⁰

It is evident from both Ahahdiths that in Islamic System prices should be set by market forces but Islamic Banks are using KIBOR as benchmark to set the price. The KIBOR has nothing to do with market of underlying asset. Therefore use of KIBOR is equivalent to interference in price mechanism of the product market.

It may be the trade of fertilizer, cotton, textile made ups or some machinery, the pricing bench mark remains the KIBOR. However market mechanism demands that price of every commodity should be set according to the demand and supply of that very commodity. Prices in commodity markets can be higher or lower than KIBOR plus spread. Therefore using KIBOR to set prices for all commodities appears interference in the market.

6. It Facilitates Concentration Of Money:

Excessive reliance of Islamic Banks on Murabaha is causing concentration of money in few hands just like conventional banks while Quran prohibits concentration of wealth in the hands of few people.

“So that wealth may not circulate only between the rich among you”²¹

“There will come a time when people consider riba lawful by means of trade”¹²

3. Murabaha Is Not The Best Available Islamic Mode Of Financing:

Excessive reliance on Murabaha, Ijara and Diminishing Musharaka is another problem with Islamic Banks in Pakistan that receives criticism. Musharaka and Mudarba are considered best modes of Islamic Banking while these are completely being ignored. The share of these modes in Pakistan's Islamic banking sector is less than 5%¹³.

This deliberate neglect of Musharaka and Mudarba on the part of Islamic Banks is a serious problem with contemporary Islamic Banking. It indicates that only those modes of financing are being adopted which can easily imitate practices of the conventional banks. This trend is the main hindrance in achieving the real objectives of Islamic Economic System and attracting clients.

Advocates of Islamic banking are also highlighting this problem and of the view that real objectives of Islamic banking could only be achieved through Musharaka and Mudarba¹⁴.

4. Risk Sharif In Murabaha Is Theoretical Instead Of Practical:

Since Islamic Banks are using non profit and loss sharing financing modes excessively and secure the exposure through collateral security therefore it can't be said that there is a meaningful risk sharing.¹⁵ Concentration of Islamic banks is on murabaha, Ijara and Diminishing Musharaka which are not extended without securing the exposure through collateral. At the same time products remain insured and any loss due to some mistake of buyer (agent) is born by the buyer (agent). Therefore banks have no risk of loss and have a guaranteed profit. This is again a clone of conventional banking. Absence of risk sharing exposes this transaction to injustice which is prohibited in Quran

“Deal not unjustly, and you shall not be dealt with unjustly”¹⁶

On the other hand advocates of Islamic banks say that they purchase product and get their constructive possession and as such fully exposed to risks associated with ownership of products. But again this is more theoretical than practical and critic's point of view appears to have more weight.

5. Pricing Of Murabaha Is Highly Synthetic:

Murabaha is just a trade where price is set higher than market price which is tantamount to interference in market mechanism of price setting. Moreover, customer resorts to bank because he doesn't have money to purchase the assets. So the buyer will not be in a position to exercise his free will in negotiation which is necessary to keep the prices at appropriate level. Charging a higher price is injustice and exploitation of the customer.

Inah and Twarruq. However Inah is disliked in Islam and Twarruq is often discussed under Inah Transactions which is excoriated by The Holy Prophet (SAW)

Narrated Abdullah ibn Umar: "I heard the Apostle of Allah, (peace be upon him) say: When you enter into the inah transaction, hold the tails of oxen, are pleased with agriculture, and give up conducting jihad (struggle in the way of Allah). Allah will make disgrace prevail over you, and will not withdraw it until you return to your original religion."⁶

2. It Closely Resembles With Conventional Banking Practices:

Murabaha is a mode of trade where cost of the product is known and it is sold at cost plus profit. It is extensively used product by Islamic Banking. However it appears very similar to the products of conventional banking. The difference is very theoretical and philosophical in nature. In fact Murabaha is the mimic of conventional banking products. The difference is that it is not described as interest based instrument. While implicitly the product is still the same⁷.

On the other hand supporters of Islamic Banking are of the view that these suspicions and doubts are just based on misunderstanding. In Murabaha banks are dealing in commodities which have intrinsic value and utility while conventional banks deal in money which has no intrinsic value⁸. The advocates refer to The Holy Quran

"Allah has permitted trade and prohibited riba"⁹

Islam sets very high moral grounds for trade which ultimately brings well being to whole society. Murabaha is not the best available mode of Islamic Finance¹⁰ therefore use of this verse to defend current practice of Murabaha by Islamic Banks can be questioned. Although proponents of Islamic banks are defending this product at every forum but it is obvious that contemporary Murabaha has very close resemblance with interest based products and creates serious doubts in the minds of common people. In this situation guidance may be sought from following Hadiths

The Holy Prophet (PBUH) Said

"Both legal and illegal things are obvious, and in between them are (suspicious) doubtful matters. So who-ever forsakes those doubtful things lest he may commit a sin, will definitely avoid what is clearly illegal; and who-ever indulges in these (suspicious) doubtful things bravely, is likely to commit what is clearly illegal. Sins are Allah's Hima (i.e. private pasture) and whoever pastures (his sheep) near it, is likely to get in it at any moment."¹¹

He (SAW) also said:

1. Is There Any Evidence Of Contemporary Murabaha In Quran And Sunnah?

The contemporary mechanism of Murabaha used in Islamic Banking can't be traced back to Quran and Sunnah. Murabaha is mentioned in Mouta Imam Malik that implies simply a sale where cost and profit are divulged at outset of the transaction.

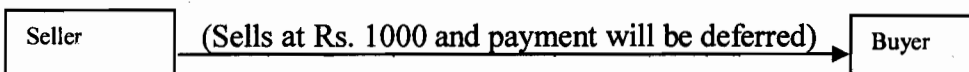
Yahya related to me, that Malik said, "The generally agreed on way of doing things among us about a man buying cloth in one city, and then taking it to another city to sell as a Murabaha, is that he is not reckoned to have the wage of an agent, or any allowance for ironing, folding, straightening, expenses, or the rent of a house. As for the cost of transporting the drapery, it is included in the basic price, and no share of the profit is allocated to it unless the agent tells all of that to the investor. If they agree to share the profits accordingly after knowledge of it, there is no harm in that."⁵

Contemporary Murabaha is more closely related to Inah and Twarruq instead of classical Murabaha.

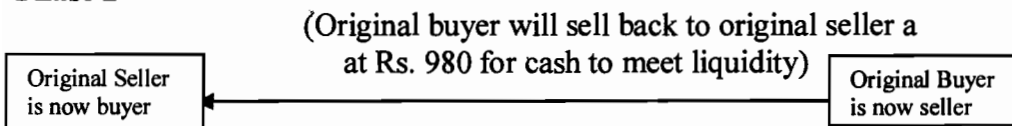
Inah is a sale of an asset on deferred payment basis and subsequently repurchase of that asset by seller from purchaser at price lower than deferred price but on cash payment. This is used to meet liquidity requirement of buyer.

Inah comprises of two phases which are elaborated graphically hereunder;

Phase 1



Phase 2



Twarruq is a transaction when a person sells goods to another person on credit (at higher price) and subsequently purchaser sells those goods to some other party on cash to bridge his liquidity crunch.

Murabaha is similar to Twarruq and Inah. Here commodity is sold at higher price on deferred payment basis like phase 1 of Inah transaction. However subsequent sale of the commodity differs with Inah as it is sold to a third party but resembles with Twarruq. In short underlying thought and results of the transactions are same.

Classical Murabaha was sale of goods with disclosure of cost and mark up price. However contemporary Murabaha has more resemblance to

A set of various modes of financing were developed by the scholars. These modes includes Murabaha, Musharka, Mudarba, Ijara, Salam, Istisna and qarz e hasna. The goals of this system were to bring economic justice in the society and reduce concentration of money in few hands. The real objective of Islamic banking was economic well being of whole society which can only be achieved by building and converting major portfolio of Islamic Banking on Mudarba and Musharka². However less than 5% of the portfolio of islamic banking sector of pakistan consists of Musharka and Mudaraba by september 2013³. This situation is not very encouraging for proponents of Islamic Banking because it is preventing the Islamic Banking System to achieve desired goals. The failure to achieve higher economic objectives invited a sheer criticism on Islamic Banking. It is Murabaha, Ijara and Diminishing Musharaka that are criticized but it is murabaha which came under hypercriticism. Due to extravagant resemblance of Murabaha with conventional banking practices, a general impression is being build up that islamic banking and conventional banking are two faces of the same coin. This situation is desparately calling for a reexamination of Murabaha in a special context of Quran and Hadith. It is imperative to evaluate the criticism and advocacy of contemporary islamic banking in order to sketch a true picture of the situation.

The study is confined to Musharka, Mudarba and Murabaha therefore it is necessary to have basic concept of these terms. **Musharka** is the partnership business where all partners contribute capital and share profit according to predefined and agreed upon ratio. However loss is shared according to the ratio of their contribution towards total invested capital. **Mudarba** is also a partnership where one partner (Rabbul Mal) contributes capital and other partner (Mudarib) manages the business. Profit is shared according to predefined ratio while loss is borne by Rabbul Mal only. **Murabaha** is a kind of sale where seller clearly mentions cost of the underlying product to the buyer. Then he sells the product at a price which comprises of cost plus profit. In Murabaha, seller divulges cost and markup price to buyer.

Purpose of the study is to bring clarity about Murabaha among muslim community. The study identifies Quran and Hadith as "Revealed Knowledge" and fiqh as "Acquired Knowledge". The acquired knowlege can be mistaken but revealed knowledge is the true, final and free from any mistake. The study claims that revealed knowledge can't go wrong therefore special reference to it would bring more clarity in analyses of criticism on murabaha.

"And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the messenger, if you believe in Allah and the last day. That is the best and best in result"⁴

Is the Current Practice of Murabaha In Pakistan Literally Based on Islam?

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Introduction:

Strong edifice of conventional banking is standing tall on the pillar of interest. Despite strict prohibition of interest in all revealed religions- Judaism, Christianity and Islam, it has permeated in the life of every one. Quran, Exodus, Deuteronomy and Leviticus disapproved interest with an overt clarity. The last word of Allah- The Holy Quran- takes clear stance against riba and gives final notice to the people who are still indulge in the interest.

“O believers fear Allah and abandon interest if you are true believers. If you don't give up interest then be ready for war against Allah and his prophet. However if you repent the principal is yours. Neither you should do injustice to others nor others should do injustice to you” (1)

All monotheistic religions discourage interest therefore it remained subdued till the proliferation of banking system. But now it has become an integral part of economic system. Despite its diffusion throughout the world, a sense of its illegitimacy remained associated with it. The situation was grimmer for Muslims because primary source of Islamic Jurisprudence “The Holy Quran” has a clear stance against interest. It was argued that interest based banking system is the root cause of some severe economic problems like concentration of wealth and economic injustice. On the other hand some people believed that banking is indispensable for economic activity and religion has no alternative of banking system. Therefore people especially Muslims had no choice except living between the devil and the deep sea.

In the latter half of 20th century some Muslim scholars stood upright against this notion and proposed an alternative of conventional banking which ultimately emerged as Islamic banking system. The basic principle of Islamic banking system is economic justice. The contracting parties are bound to share risks as well as return. The concept of risk free profit is rejected by Islamic banking and alternative products were introduced by ensuring their compatibility with basic injunctions of Quran, Sunnah and Fiqh.

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and civilization. On the contrary the US should eradicate the true cause of deprivation, poverty and illiteracy. If Muslim countries may avail their sources and utilize them properly, they can get progress by leaps and bounds. In this respect Muslim leaders should be like Fedel Castro and Muhatar Muhammad. Western intrigues may be crushed by creating awareness in Muslims alongwith Western masses, there should be no snatching of sources and open the doors of education to the Muslims that are banned due to becoming Pakistan a Nuclear Power. So fair play is the only solution. Such a writers like George Galloway, Robert Fisk, Seymour Hersh, Noam Chomsky, Karen Armstrong, John L. Esposito and Bernard Lewis may be highlighted by the Muslims so that such plus points and positive pockets may aware the east and the west properly. This forum can play well, can aware the western society by the printed and electronic media; it can make a stoppage to the US attacks in the Muslim world in different shapes. The need is to organize them systematically.

respects the law but bypasses and gets the target by hook or by crook". (33)

Galloway is of the view that British, claiming the oldest democracy in the world, never had a consultation in the house (Parliament) or open discussion at mass level, over the attack of on Iraq and Afghanistan, merely a secret done agreement to crush the Muslims. He depicts the British history a full of such follies, it never trusted even its lower administration and changed without warning as is the ease in parliament, inside the country and also internationally.(34)

Galloway throws light the circumstances this coalition created in the perspective of crusades where United States and United Kingdom revenge alongwith restoring economy in the guise of reinstating democracy and eradicating fundamentalism. He writes:

"Gordon Brown paid for the war-crime without demur. Alan Muburn, Jack Straw, David Blunkett, Charles Clarke, John Reid all the pretenders to the Blairite throne sang for Ten Downing Street cabinet supper from the same hymn sheet as the Vicar of Bray himself. Britain, like any modern developed country, needs a labour party; for those who have become too old to work and for their grandchildren; a party which speaks for those with nothing to sell except their work, for party which not only speaks for, but legislates for, equality between the races, religions and genders, and for the most vulnerable, the marginalized and the despised".(35)

He is of view that I founded a new party respect, so, the people may know, respect can only be get by welfare and respecting others. He writes;

There are no signs that Britain is going to get its original labour Party back any time soon. But a political vacuum will always be filled and I am one of those determined that it shall be. I am now trying to put some Respect back into British politics. Because I continue to believe the things that drew me into the socialist movement so many years ago, I believe that another Britain is possible. I believe we can build a world without war or exploitation one by another. I believe in justice and equality and that the earth and all who live upon it deserve respect. You may say I'm a dreamer. But I'm not the only one".(36)

Conclusion:

George Golloway with many other western writers criticizes West and its Allies should reconsider of this war of terror. This alliance merely desires to crush Muslim army, economic sources, alongwith their culture

A4 posters bearing the legend 'Galloway = IRA' had been posted throughout the constituency. Outside every polling station. On every shelter. In fact more of them than we could count".(30)

I'm not the Only One:

Third book by Galloway is I'm not the only one. Why did he write this book Galloway elaborates:

"Britain today is caught in a systematic political crisis. Victims of a lethal combination; no written constitution or proper mechanisms for dealing with abuses of political power, and a media which is browbeaten or bribed into submission or is in full collusion with the abuses".(31)

This book which is his biography, ideas and the details of his Iraq and Middle East visits, particularly his backing up to the weak nations and criticism on Allies i.e. Britain, United States and rest of the aggressive countries France, Canada, Spain and others who monitorily and by manpower both help out to American coalition to eat up sources in the Muslim countries. He writes:

"Just a year ago the BBC was defenestrated. Its Director General and Chairman were forced out by a ferocious government assault. Its star reporter Andrew Gilligan was crushed to the edge of suicide for reporting and standing by a story which said that Tony Blair and Alastair Campbell had sexed up' the intelligence case for war on Iraq".

He, then, writes, the bottom line is that Britain has a prime minister who entered into a secret agreement with a foreign power to commit British forces to a military attack on a member state of the United Nations in defiance of domestic and international law. And he is still lying about it. Moreover, it has turned out to be a catastrophic failure, achieving the very reverse of the benefits claimed for it". There were no fearsome weapons of mass destruction. The Iraqis continue to fight the illegal occupation with a bitterness and bloodiness which seems to have taken the great 'war leaders' quite by surprise. Far from paving the way to a road map for a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians the Oslo peace process has been washed away in the bloodshed. Terrorism and Al-Qaeda, which didn't exist in Iraq before the war, have alighted like spores of anthrax upon the gaping wounds of a country shattered by Crusader invasion. So the whole world is now an incomparably more dangerous place. And still the losses, and the costs, in blood and treasure, ineluctably rise and rise.(32) He writes: "West has a history of cruelty and intrigues inside the country and outside, as it never

with him so he can depict the true picture of the hero of North and Latin America truly. Galloway comments at many places the weak stand of United States of Russia as it had taken back the missiles from Cuba.(27)

Open Season:

His second book is Open Season. The theme is about Neil Lennon, a Catholic, Celtic footballer was removed from the team captaincy, managership, beaten, threaten and sent parcel bombs, just he was from Ireland and a Catholic. In this book Galloway unveils the covers of majority protestants who have narrow approach and cannot bear the Catholics and someone who is not their fellow minded i.e. they hate Lennon he has the sect other than the rest of the team members and viewers so he has to face the biased mentality of the majority terrorists. Galloway writes;

“The cause of my troubles on that front were my views on Ireland. I have all my life supported the struggle for freedom, unity and independence in Ireland. This is my DNA, but it is not mere sentiment. Ireland was England’s first colony. It was taken by force. When the force was no longer enough it was cheated by the promise of the independent. Britain voted for by the partition of the country, the gerrymandering of what is describing as Ulster to ensure a permanent (so they hoped) protestant (mainly settlers from Scotland) Unionist majority. I hate colonialism not for religious or familiar reasons but because I am above all anti-imperialist approach to change the situation by protesting against it”.(28)

Open Season is a reflection of Galloway’s mind as a revolutionary. Galloway has been a footballer from the very tender age so he concludes that playground should be free of narrow and coward culture, as this footballer is tortured just to snub his talent and qualities, Galloway rejects and simultaneously criticizes the situation to create an open-mindedness. Galloway writes in this context;

“Once I came home from school having been presented by a huge map of the world colored largely in pink, and told my Irish grandfather Tommy Reilly that the teacher had told us that, ‘Britain had an empire so vast that upon it the sun never set’. My grandfather answered, ‘that’s because God would never trust the British in the dark’.(29)

Galloway from the younger age had a cleanliness of mind and desired to get an atmosphere where everyone should get his due share and right. He writes, In the subsequent general election in 1992 I woke up on polling day to discover literally thousands of green and white sticky backed