Ideology and the Construction of 'isms' in contemporary Muslim Societies.

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1.1 Introduction Sunnis debate Shiism, Salafis debate Hanafism, etc. each claim to be Muslims and none to be a sect of Islam. Islamic scholars have developed a spectrum of viewpoints that Islam is a science in itself. It has solutions to every problem. "There is no conflict between Islam and science," says Zaghloul al-Naggar[1] (Pitock, 2007). One can argue that El-Naggar's views are based on an ideology that views Islam as science. It is because ideology attends to the *promotion* and *legitimation* of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests[2] (Eagleton, 1991, p. 29). How can we consign anyone's idea as ideology? The question that Larrain raises as to how one tackles the relationship between ideology and science. Ideology in this regard is an antithesis of science. It may be equated with pre-conceptions of irrational elements which disturb reason, thus preventing it from reaching the truth" (Larrain, 1979, p. 14). Adding to his argument Larrain states "science has as its object the establishment of the origin of ideas; in this task, it must set aside metaphysical and religious prejudices" (Larrain, 1979, p. 27). Therefore, Ology is the science of a certain phenomenon. The prefix of 'ology' is always a noun. When attached to the suffix (ology), signify a branch of study. 'Inversely it is regarded as the 'phenomenon studied' rather than the systematic knowledge of it' (Eagleton, 1991, p. 63). 'Ism' on the other hand, when used with a noun produce a distinct doctrine[3].

1.2 Sources of Data: The paper explores mainly the secondary sources

1.3 Theoretical Framework: The argument of the paper depend on the Marxist understanding of the term 'ideology'. Ideology after Marx continues to be a study with a political undercurrent. It is argued in the paper that there are certain concepts in Islam that are not considered as an ideology but as an idea. The paper challenges this rhetoric and argues that there is an ideological undercurrent in evolved with the ideas in contemporary Muslim societies.

1.4 Methods Applied: The paper used the technique of content analysis. In order to draw valid inferences, the discussion replicates the materials coded in the sources. The paper represents a systematical evaluation of texts and its conceptual relationship with one another. The paper conceptualizes the impact of 'ism' on the few concepts of Islam.

1.5 Note to the readers: All the translations in the document are mine unless mentioned.

2.1 Evolution of ideology: The evolution of the concept ideology from 'science' to a 'belief system' gives it a pejorative tint. The difference lies between the enlightenment philosophers and the emergence of the Marxist understanding of the term 'ideology'. Ideology after Marx continues to be a study with a political undercurrent. The following points demarcate the difference between the two:

Table 2.2 Difference between 'ology' and 'ism' in the formation of an ideology

Ideology as 'ology'	Ideology in 'isms'
Analysis of the ideas	Expounding an idea
Independent of external conditioning	Dependent on external conditioning
Rational inquiry	Non-transparent enquiry
A revolution against the Priests and the Kings who acted as the traditional custodians and technicians of the inner life	A counterpoised inversion of the same resulting out of material interest

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[1] Al-Naggar born in the year 1833 is an Egyptian geologist and a leading figure. He is a member of the Geological Society of London. He views the universe through the lens of the Qur'ran

[2] The title of the source on Najjar is *Science and Islam in Conflict* that reflects that the writer of the article has contrasting views with that of Naggar's.

[3] Not all isms produce distinct doctrine like fetishism, pessimism, optimism etc.

Ideology as truth or theory[4]	Ideology as differences and heterogeneity
Deals with 'what is'	Deals with 'what is, more than it is'

Source: Terry Eagleton's *Ideology: An Introduction* (pp. 63, 64, 65, 126).

2.3 Evolution of Ideology in Islam and Muslim societies: The concept of *Ummah* in this connection can also be perceived from an ideological angle. The concept of *Ummah* tries to homogenize people on religious grounds irrespective of their cultural identities. The concept of ideology might not take a pejorative turn in relation to the concept of *Ummah*. But it does in the *Khilafat* model. The concept of *Khilafat* in the twenty-first century create an 'intolerant' image against Islam's tolerant ideals. There are many such impressions in Islam that has become more of an ideology than an idea.

Sabr and Shukr, and the greater Jihad are some of the many core essences of Islam. The negative perception of Islam, also, does not come out of the blue. There are reasons, perhaps multiple, for such a perception. One of them is the transformation of Islam from a 'way of life' to 'the code of conduct'. One of them could be the evolution of different ideologies that dominated different societies (both Islamic and non-Islamic) and facilitated a distorted image of Islam. The transformation can be traced back to the movements that swayed different parts of the world. Religious Revivalism basically started with the thirteenth-century religious scholar Ibn Taymiyyah. Later it was carried out by Ibn Abd al-Wahhab. The alliance of Ibn Saud, founder of the present Saudi dynasty, with Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, a reformist religious scholar gave an impetus to the expansion of the Saudi dynasty in the name of Islam. The formation of different ideologies resulting from different movements created obstacles for the Muslim Ummah, especially the ones located in areas where they belong to the minority section such as India. India is a multi-lingual, multi-religious diverse country. Islam when entered the Indian sub-continent, it embraced the Indic culture and evolved into a syncretized form. The syncretistic character of Islam was the major reason for the revivalist's trends in the sub-continent. The extreme attitude towards the fused cultural practices further divided the Muslims. The 'dos and do not's' list maintained a uniform attitude towards Saudi Arabia. The influence of the Saudi preachers has left a deep impression on the India Muslims. The attitude led to certain political movements based on religious ideas. Tariqua-i-Muhammadiya movement launched by Syed Ahmad Barelwi in 1818 is one of the finest examples of the same. Mawdudi's Jamaat-e-Islami (1941) is a step away from secularism and an epitome of ideas based on Islamism. 'In the non-Arab world, Islamism has developed inconsistently in relation to ethnic identity and in the direction of political reconstruction of national ties to Islam, rather than by an ethnic-linguistic reference. **Tajdid or reform in Islam** as a movement spread in many parts of the world. Arabia became 'Centre' of *tajdid* or religious reform in Islam with their strict textual interpretation of the two main sources of *Shariah*, Qur'an and Hadith. The need to urge the Muslim society, irrespective of regional consideration, to bring about 'social change' in the community as a whole is against modernity and *biddat* (innovation) regarded as religious reformation. Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979), the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami movement (1941) revered Ibn Taymiyyah (1262-1327), a thirteenth-century religious reformer. Both Maududi and seventeenth-century religious scholar Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792) strongly derive their theological discourses from him. Both Abul Ala Maududi and Ibn Abd al-Wahhab strived for social change through religious means ultimately aiming to lead to the change in the 'political sphere' in their respective regions. Revival in Islam which has its roots in Wahhabism, the religious ideology of Abd al-Wahhab, was actually a 'contract'[5] between religion and politics. Maududi's understanding of Islam represented religion as a political Ideology. He believed that the existing and the past systems of life had to adopt certain metaphysical philosophy and Islam is one of them (Maududi 24). Political Ideology based on Islamic doctrine is known as Islamism. The only identity possible for Pakistan was to for it to be an Islamic state and not just a Muslim one; that is to say, a state whose ideology, institutions, law, and foreign policy should be based on Sharia law. The definition of nationalism changed as one crossed the border from India to Pakistan. The Muslims of pre-partitioned India was divided between secular nationalism and Islamic nationalism.

The main target of the reform movements was *Tasawwuf*. Although, living in the era of globalization an extreme attitude towards anything is widely viewed as against fundamentals of universalism, humanism, etc. A government, as well as the citizen of civil society, expect each other to be 'unbiased'. When we expect something from someone then we are directed consciously or sub-consciously by our 'imbibed' or 'instructed' ideologies. The writer derives the idea of imbibed ideology from Tracy's understanding of ideology. The idea is politically neutral and it is imparted by the family, close kin, etc. at an early childhood. For example the religious ideology that the child absorbs from the family. Whereas instructed ideology is politically charged and is imparted by certain institutions like organizations, institutes, political parties, etc. it works with a certain motive based on dominance. Expectation and interest are related. So is interest and ideology. As mentioned earlier 'interests of the social groups' works with certain expectations. One shall also keep in mind the ambiguity of the term ideology.

Terry Eagleton writes, nobody has come up with a single adequate definition of ideology because the term 'ideology' has a range of different but useful meanings not compatible with each other. Sectarianism, secularism, nationalism or religious reformism have one thing in common. They are all are ideologies. The writer shall first discuss the idea of nationalism from an ideological point of view.

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[4] To quote Theodre Adorno "Our reified consciousness reflects a world of objects frozen in their monotonously self-same being, and in thus binding us to what is, to the purely 'given' blinds us to the truth that 'what is, is more than it is' in '*Ideology:An Introduction*' by Terry Eagleton, Verso; Cambridge pp 126.

[5] The Pact of 1744 commonly known as the Emirate of Diriyah was an alliance that took place between Abd al-Wahhab and Ibn Saud (b.1765), the founder of the first Saudi state which became the House of Sauds present day till date. Abd al-Aziz succeeded his father Ibn Saud and eventually was also the son-in-law of Abd al-Wahhab.

3.1 Nationalism in relation to colonialism: After World War II the successful revolutions like that of People's Republic of China (Chinese Communist Revolution of 1946), Republic of Vietnam (August Revolution) etc. have defined itself in *national terms* (Anderson, 2006, p. 2). Hobsbawm is in tune with Gellner about *nationalism creating nations* and not the other way round (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 10). European nationalism came to be adopted by new movements of *colonial liberation* (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 3). The growth of nationalism in colonial area succeeded in breaking up with the large part of the European colonial system creating nations or nationalist states in the near and far east (The Breaking-Up of the Colonial Empires and its Implications for US Security, 1948, p. 1). So, basically, the type of nationalism we are discussing is the *overthrow of the foreign rule* by the 'people (ethnic) belonging to the region' irrespective of religion, culture, language, class etc. One of the many reasons for freedom from the colonial rule was 'unity' of the people on national grounds. National unity means having a loyal and united population that is willing to sacrifice (and in extreme cases, to fight and die) for the state leading to the increases its power and ability to deal with external threats (Walt, 2011). The essence of Indian nationalism in the words of Rabindranath Tagore is, 'in my country, we have been seeking to find out something common to all races, which will prove their real unity. No nation looking for a mere political or commercial basis of unity will find such a solution sufficient. Men of thought and power will discover spiritual unity, will realize it, and preach it' (Tagore, 1914, p. 127).

3.2 Nationalism in the Islamic context: The coming of nationalism in the course of nineteenth and twentieth century claimed that distinctive changes have taken place in the history of humankind (Gellner, The Coming of Nationalism, and its Interpretation: The Myths of Nation and Class, 2005, p. 143). Same can be applied in the case of sectarianism (Islamic) where a group of people derive their religious *aqeedah* from the same sources but come out at different interpretation. Aqeedah linguistically derived from the term aqada 'to tie the knot'. In Arabic, it also means the rope. The rope of Quran and Sunnah must be tied firmly forms the basis of one aqeedah. It is an affirmation of something that you believe. It is the core or base of all actions and the belief that transforms one's intentions into deeds.

There are various groups, communities, sects, etc. which base their proposition on the same sources but come out with different understanding. The different sects (Shia, Sunni, etc.) or forms of belief (Baha'ai, Ahmadiya) coming out from Islam testifies the differences in ideology. There are different sects within the Sunni Muslims. Each one of them follows the same sources i.e. the Qur'an and Hadith yet they have differences in their *aqeedah*. It depends on the methods they apply to deduce laws from the sources and secondly the ideological undercurrent of the time period, the socio-political scenario, etc. The textualist and scholastic approaches resulted in Ahl-ul-Hadith School of Thought (date) and Ahl-ur-Ray (date). The Wahhabi doctrine is the result of the socio-political scenario. Having two or more different understanding of the same thing is ideology with a condition that it must have certain interests and aspire to dominate one over another. Secularism again is a term that differs from person to person who looks at it from different dimensions. For example, a religious 'fundamentalist' would always have serious issues with secularism. The concepts in such a system must be universally defined. The concepts of Islam is universally applied to Muslims all around the world. Theoretically, there remains no scope for shift because the whole idea is based on Qu'ran and Hadith which are static in nature. But there are transitions in the societies where Muslims are a part of. A shift or transition from agrarian to industrial society[6] led to the linkage between state and *nationally* defined culture (Gellner, The Coming of Nationalism, and its Interpretation: The Myths of Nation and Class, 2005, p. 143).

3.2.1 Nationalism in the Sufi context: Gellner applied the concept of 'entropy'[7] on the industrial society for establishing the theory of nation with variables like language and culture (Gellner, Nation and Nationalism, 1983, p. 64). The industrial revolution started in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. The revivalism in Islam started in the mid-eighteenth century by the teachings of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Influenced with the thoughts and expressions of Abd al-Wahhab the religious scholars of the Indian sub-continent started expressing scepticism towards Sufism.

The practices and teachings of the Sufis mystics of the Indian sub-continent became the subject of target by the revivalists or the reformists. The entropy of the Sufi *way* paved the way for an exclusivist dimension of Islam[8]. The materialist dimension of the theory of nationalism arrive at the conclusion that the agrarian society is not *nationalism prone* but industrial society is (Gellner, The Coming of Nationalism, and its Interpretation: The Myths of Nation and Class, 2005, p. 152). The same happened with Sufism, the political dimension of Islam arrived at the conclusion that the Sufi society is not Islamic but the reformed one is. When a nation is formed under an industrial society, sub-communities, though partly eroded, their moral authority gets weakened (Gellner, Nation and Nationalism, 1983, p. 64). The same theoretical base can be applied to an Islamic society that when Khilafat is established *silsilahs* (orders), different practices, syncretism etc. got fully eroded and their survival was questioned.

3.2.2 Nationalism in the Islamist context: The idea of *Khilafat* is accepted as one of the cardinal principles of political Islam. One can argue that the revivalist trend started in Saudi Arabia is also transnational. Africa, South Asia, the Arabian Peninsula got swayed with the above mentioned religious reformism. With religious reformism came the concept of Islamism. The transnational political Islam is one example where the radical form of Islam wanted to establish Khilafat through Islamism. The difference rests on the idea of *Khilafat*, which is also transnational but the tendencies like secularism, pluralism which forms the base of a poly-ethnic

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[6] The Agrarian society persisted relatively stable specialization with its regional, kin, professional, rank groupings and clearly marked social structure. The industrial society on the other hand persisted ad hoc territorial and work units where the membership was fluid, not engaging in loyalty and identity of members had a great turn over. See Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* (Basil Blackwell 1983, p.63).

[7] In Physics entropy refers to a thermodynamic quantity representing a gradual decline in the energy required to perform a chemical work.

[8] Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703) is known for his anti-Sufism approach to Islam. There are revivalist movements in India inspired by the Arab form of Islam which called to bring back Islam to its pure form independent of the customs and rituals adopted from the soil.

nation like India will come under threat by the application of Islamism. Any nation coming under the umbrella of *Khilafat* shall primarily be an *Ummah* (religious community) then *qaum* (nation).

Maulana Azad, the founder of the movement, regarded *khilafat-i-mulki* (monarchical khilafat) binding on the Muslims (Hasan, 2002, p. 94). His ideas were inspired by Jamaluddin al-Asadabadi al-Afghani from a celebrated reformer known for his pan-Islamic views, remarks Hasan (Hasan, 2002, p. 94). The pan-Islamic trends questioned the Sufi practices, the *Piri-Muridi* relationship and other ideas likely to have any resemblance to other religions like Hinduism. Though the *Khilafat* movement (1919-1924) of India and the idea of establishing uniform *Khilafat* throughout the world, share only the term and not the essence[9].

3.2.3 Composite Nationalism: The rejection of the plea of the *Khilafat* leaders by the British government considering the movement as pan-Islamic crystallized the anti-British sentiments among Indian Muslims. The Khilafat leaders viewed 'European attacks upon the authority of the Caliph as an attack upon Islam, and thus as a threat to the religious freedom of Muslims under British rule' (Minault, The Khilafat, 2015). The appearance of nationalism towards the end of the eighteenth century was not produced by the complete erosion of religious certainties (Anderson, 2006, p. 12) instead the idea of *composite nationalism*[10] erupted, on common and collective grounds, in order to fight the common enemy. "The Indian Muslim community are far from united", remarked Gail Minault (Minault, The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India, 1982) are the epitome of heterogeneity and the Khilafat movement (1919) was an attempt to unite the heterogeneous community into a central leadership formed with the Islamic concept of Khilafat.

The nation becomes supremely important when sub-grouping is eroded and importance laid on shared literary-dependent culture (Gellner, Nation and Nationalism, 1983, p. 63). Hussain Ahmad Madani opposition to Two Nation Theory and introduction of a secular theory of nationalism instead compliments 'erosion' of sub-groupings. The very next year after the publication of the book *Muttahida Qaumiyat aur Islam* by Hussein Ahmad Madani, another book with the same title was published in 1939. The author cites the objective of Congress in the first national conference (1885).

"Hindustan ki abaadi jin mukhtalif aur mutasaadim anasar se Murakkab hai, Un sab ko muttahid wa mutaffiq karke ek qaum banaya"

"To form a coalescent among the different types of communal and separatist fractions, existent in the Indian society, we have created a composite nation" (Madeer, 1939, p. 6).

The writer, since the beginning, stressed on to the idea that composite nationalism is *siyasi mutaala* (political announcement) typical of the then *present need* to fight communalism and religious sectarianism (Madeer, 1939, p. 5) as presented by Hussein Ahmad Madani. Although, the political strategy of the Congress in doing so cannot be ignored. Hussein Madani and Congress. The Indian sub-continent during the colonial rule is one of the fitting examples in the context.

3.3.1 Islamism and Islamic Nationalism: 'There is a curious mirroring between Islamism and nationalism' remarks Roy (Roy O. , 2003, p. 1). The mirroring between socialist nationalism and pan-Arabism in Algeria during the 1970s and 1980s (Roy O. , 2003, p. 1). In case of Turkey and Iran, 'Islamism has developed against a secular nationalism with strong ethnic-linguistic overtones, which attempted to root national identity in the pre-Islamic period during Kemal Ataturk and Pehlavi (Roy O. , 2003, pp. 1, 2). The doctrine of 'political unification of the Muslim world' is known as pan-Islamism (Hasan, 2002, p. 94) which shares a close relation with Islamism.

The most precise definition of Islamism given out by Ayoob is "a form of instrumentalization of Islam by individuals, groups and organizations that pursue political objectives" (Ayoob, 2008, p. 2). Political Islam or Islamism is a 'political ideology rather than religion or theology' (Ayoob, 2008, p. 2). 'Islamism has had a social base which is closely associated with nationalists and socialists (the modern intelligentsia and middle classes) and barely attracted the representatives of the traditional religious elite in the first instance'.

The Eastern[11] type of nationalism has its own set of global standards set by the advanced Western advanced nations (Chatterjee, 1986, p. 2). Though the pan-Islamists were opposed to the idea of nationalism the global idea of Islamism was set by certain religious scholars who were highly influenced by the 'advanced[12]'. For example, Abul Ala Mawdudi's party Jamaat-e-Islami was formed with certain standards of ideas derived from Arab scholars (Ibn Taymiyyah and Abd al-Wahhab). Another example is, among the few, are 'Islamist political groupings with territorially circumscribed objectives' (Ayoob, 2008, p. 112). For example, the Muslim clergy of the Indian sub-continent responded differently to the increasing dominance of the colonial rule in the nineteenth century.

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[9] The Khilafat movement led by Ali brothers and Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted to influence the decisions of the British over Ottoman Khilafat of Turkey. In other words, the Khilafat movement in India were trying to preserve the political dimension of Sunni Islamic.

[10] *Muttahida Qaumiyat aur Islam* (Composite Nationalism and Islam) is written by Hussein Ahmad Madani in the year 1938. English translation is published by Manohar Publication, New Delhi

[11] Partha Chatterjee cites John Plamenatz classification of Western and Eastern Nationalism shaped in Western and Eastern Europe respectively.

[12] The term advance is a metaphor used for Saudi Arabia. Western countries are viewed as superior by the eastern countries likewise the South Asian Muslims living in the Indian, Pakistan, etc. viewed Saudi Arabia as a forbearer of the their faith. It may be because of the fundamental holy sites, language of the Qur'an etc. Saudi Arabia is termed as advanced because of the regional superiority it shares with other countries.

The power which the Muslims enjoyed in the region since the conquests of Muhammad Ibn Qasim's conquest (712) which, remained stable for the next five hundred years, was lost.

3.3.2 Islamic Revivalism preceded Islamism: The disintegration of the Muslim Empire after Aurangzeb (d. 1707) failed to produce a personality which could lead the region like their predecessors. The *ulema* made a call to the Muslim community to revive their belief system which they believed were corrupted due to the cultural influence of the soil. The *Ulema* felt the urgent need for a renaissance, for which the unity and integrity of the community (Ghazi, 2004, p. 5). The prime consideration was the development of a critical Muslim outlook and attitude towards Western culture and civilization (Ghazi, 2004, p. 6). It is in the eighteenth century that the roots of modern Islamic revivalism was increased in Saudi Arabia (Dallal, 1993, p. 341) and its influence was strongly felt in the Indian sub-continent as well. The religious communities in their heydays worked as a relevant cultural system and were *taken-for-granted* frames of reference (Anderson, 2006, p. 12). The *ulama* is treated as one of the many and most important group of intellectuals possessing knowledge of the religious scriptures. Barbara Daly Metcalfe has differentiated between two categories of Muslim intellectuals, one as the Sufi mystics and the other being the *Ulama* (Metcalfe, 1983, p. 16).

3.3.3 The Ulama and the formation of their ideology: Gramsci's idea of 'Organic' and 'traditional' intellectuals differ with each other on professional grounds. The traditional intellectual' has a certain inter-class aura about it but derives ultimately from past and present class relations and conceals an attachment to various historical class formations' (Gramsci, 1999, p. 131). These organic intellectuals, on the other hand, are distinguished less by their profession and more by their 'function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong' (Gramsci, 1999, p. 131). The Muslim *Ulema* are the combination of both types. Theoretically, the concept of class is not found in the Islamic scriptures but the position held by the Muslim clergy in the history of Islam in India shows a different picture. The idea that the religious texts can be 'understood only by those who are authorized to interpret them' separates a section from the rest (Zaman, 2002, p. 28). The community had to adhere to the laws expounded by the ulama, who saw themselves as the only persons to whom a Muslim legitimately turn (Zaman, 2002, p. 28).

3.3.4 Nationalism and the Muslim societies: Nationalism in the context shall be used not as we have used earlier i.e. as an ideology of a group of people, organization or territory to the 'identity' of the individuals, groups, organizations etc., as believed by Theodore Adorno, which is the 'primal form' of *all ideology* (Eagleton, 1991, p. 126). It is because ideology may be conceived as an antithesis of science; that is to say, "it may be equated with pre-conceptions of irrational elements which disturb reason, thus preventing it from reaching the truth" (Larrain, 1979, p. 14). Albert Schweitzer's concept of *Weltanschauung* (theory of universe), 'is a content of the thoughts of society and the individuals which compose it about the nature and object of the world in which they live, and the position and the destiny of mankind and individual men within it' (Schweitzer, 1923, p. 80). The influence of the theory of the universe, somehow, disappeared in the age of rationalism (Schweitzer, 1923, p. 81). The philosophy and the idealist thoughts collapsed in an unreflective condition 'to meet the claims of our own life and the nation's life' (Schweitzer, 1923, p. 85). A nation today in the simplest would mean a body of 'citizens', a wholly political idea[13] (Breuilly, Nationalism and the State, 1982, p. 342). Since it has already been mentioned that the words like nation, nationalism etc. are modern terms, basically crystallized after WWI but this does not mean that the sense of belongingness to the soil, one belonged, is also of recent origin. Sufism is not situational as in case of an ideology called nationalism, that depended upon certain situations[14] neither can it be established through Islamism, nor it can be time bound as in case of composite nationalism. Sufism is transnational.

3.4.1 The Sufi mystics: kept themselves away from politics and government because of political involvement some way or the other leads to worldliness and materialism (Aquil, 2010, p. ix). It is because they believed, firstly, that government service distracted a mystic from the idea of 'living' for the Lord alone (Nizami, 2010, p. 9). Secondly, *marifat* (gnosis) was beyond the reach of one who practised *shughl* (government service) (Nizami, 2010, p. 9). Thirdly, the sources of income of the state came from prohibited sources (Nizami, 2010, p. 9). Fourthly, associating one's self with the governing class isolates himself/herself from the activity of the masses (Nizami, 2010, p. 9). Basically, Sufism is the inward dimension of Islam and not outward. In Kashf Al-Mahjub, one of the leading comprehensive books on Sufism, the author of the book suggested the meaning of a Sufi. "*Man saffahu 'l-hubb fa-huwa Safwa-man saffahu'l Habib fa-huwa sufiyy"* which means "He that is purified by love is pure, and he that is absorbed in the Beloved and has abandoned as else is a Sufi" (al-Hujwiri, 2009). No national boundaries could limit the love and longing of a Sufi. Sufism is all about spiritual purification through love, longing, compassion and control over the nerves which is absolutely in tune with the teachings of Islam. Where there is patience there remains no place for exclusion, extremism, outward show off The Sufism here refers to the classical, and not the contemporary pseudo-Sufism. Ghulam Rasool Dahelvi, a contemporary classical Islamic Scholar condemns the so-called pseudo-Sufis by stating that "Today, there is no dearth of such so-called Sufis in the *Dargah* across the country who falsely claims to be the practitioners of the Indian Sufi philosophy. But their patriarchal, exclusivist and intolerant thoughts are antithetical to the spiritual foundations of Sufism" (Dehalvi, First Post, 2018).

3.4.2 The Trans-national dimension of the Sufi mystics: is evident in the fact that the earlier Sufis were originally from different countries who settled in India. As for example, Shaykh Ismail of Bukhara who came to India in 1105 A.D. and settled in Lahore (Haq, 1975, p. 4). Nuruddin of Alamut, Persia came to Gujrat in 1094 A.D (Haq, 1975, p. 6). Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti (1236) of Herat who settled in Ajmer and Mir Syed Ali Hamdani (1312) of Iran who settled in Kashmir and is better known as Shah-e-Hamdaan. 'Sufism was imported from West Asia into India, it very quickly adapted itself to the soil and became almost an indigenous movement' (Jhingran, 2009, p. 133). Their contribution to Indian society and culture is remarkable. According to Professor Gibb, as cited by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami 'Sufism increasingly attracted the creative social and intellectual energies within

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[13] There are numerous themes arising out of the meaning of nation, perhaps, giving rise to conflicting claims. The values of 'nation', its true spirit are matter of greater disputes remarked Breiully.

[14] During the colonial era nationalism was familiar to throw the foreign rule away, post-colonial meaning of nationalism referred self-determination. The *nationalists,* after independence, were defined as the people supporting Indian National Congress. Post 2014 nationalism is more of a party ideology than of a secular nation's.

the community to become the bearer and instrument of a social and cultural revolution' (Nizami, 2010, p. 23). The Sufi *silsilahs*[15] (orders) is an epitome of the transnational trait of Islamic Mysticism.

4.1 The Wahhabi Doctrine and the concept of *Ummah*: A close example of expansionist nationalism is Wahhabism. Expansionist nationalism appears when right-wing ideologies emphasize the importance of a nation over the individual (Bicakci, 2011, p. 636). Whether the custodians of the holy places of the entire Muslims of the world have any interest in the territories or not that is a different question but the Wahhabi ideology that is followed in Saudi Arabia directly intents to establish the supremacy of the Arab culture across national boundaries. The alliance of Ibn Saud, founder of the present Saudi dynasty, with Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, a reformist religious scholar gave an impetus to the expansion of the Saudi dynasty in the name of Islam. The idea of Khilafat is accepted as one of the cardinal principles of political Islam. One can argue that the revivalist trend started in Saudi Arabia is also transnational. So what is to cherish about Sufism. The difference rests on the idea of *Khilafat*, which is also transnational but the tendencies like secularism, pluralism which forms the base of a poly-ethnic nation like India will come under threat by the application of Islamism. Any nation coming under the umbrella of *Khilafat* shall primarily be a *millat* (religious community) then *qaum* (nation).

Ummah is an Arabic term that refers to a community group of people. In Qur'an, it takes on a religious connotation. Muslim *Ummah* is a concept applied to the universal Muslim community irrespective of any importance laid on their ethnic, cultural, social, economic etc. characters. As mentioned earlier that the understanding of Ummah becomes distorted when it gets aligned with *Khilafat*. The concept wants to create a *transnational nation* through *Khilafat*. Is it possible to create one in a contemporary multi-ethnic plural Islamic society?

The concept of political Islam acted as a tool to create a transnational Muslim society with political underpinning, practically applied under the veil of religious reformation.

4.2 Need to turn towards Sufism for National integrity: Asim Roy, citing Humayun Kabir, expressed that India is one of the oldest civilization not only survived an uninterrupted history but absorbed different races and fraternized them (Roy A. , 2005, p. 2), Sufi mystics of belonging to different countries were one of them. Roy further remarked that the 'assimilative' trait of Indic culture is distinct 'challenged and undermined various historical forces and contesting ideologies' (Roy A. , 2005, p. 2). Sufism with its inclusive and assimilative character contributed to the Indian India and Indian culture, on the other hand, gave Sufism its syncretistic tendency. Both together can contribute to the national integrity of India as a nation.

As mentioned above that the different ideologies like nationalism, sectarianism, secularism are the creation of a particular mindset and so is Islamism. The present scenario of the Muslims in a secular state faces many problems. The major problem originates if someone carries an Islamist approach in a secular state. An organization like Jamaat-e-Islam got split into various autonomous bodies after the partition of India. The one with Islamist approach flourished in Pakistan and the one left on the other side of the border (India) had to abide by secular ideals. However, the Jamaat-e-Islami derived their ideology from Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979). If secularism is an idea of a constitution then an Islamist approach might be problematic for the Ummah who are tolerant towards other religious and maintain a syncretistic attitude like the early Sufis. There is another side of the coin. A muti-religious state can breed a section of religious fundamentalists if they are a part of the religious majority. It becomes problematic for the same Muslim Ummah who are not a part of the Islamist group. The Muslim Ummah who rest their principles on the tolerant, peaceful, brotherly ideals of Islam gets sandwiched between Islamists and the religious fundamentalist (non-Islamic). For the Islamists, they are innovators and are deviated and for the religious fundamentalists (non-Islamic) they are terrorists for the simple reason of being a Muslim.

4.3 Conclusion: Different Muslim societies were affected by different isms. Revivalism targeted Sufism and championed Islamism. Whereas the concept of nationalism remains a matter of debate. There have been claims been different versions given by different Islamic scholars (ulama) on the same issue. The variation in the claims and the arguments is a roof of the impact of certain isms on their respective 'ism'.

4.3.1 Findings: Is a durable solution possible? If yes, then how? The writer believes that a turn towards syncretism is required. Definitely not a turn against Islam but from its perverted political ideology created on the interest of the few. The essence of Islam lies in Spirituality, an inward dimension of Islam. The outward, exclusivist dimension will alienate the Muslim *Ummah* from global issues like humanism, secularism etc. The Muslim *Ummah* must build bridges and not walls. We are already in transnational society seclusion, the exclusion will add more dismay and dissent to the Muslim *Ummah*.

Coming to the non-Islamic religious fundamentalist. A secular state rests on a democracy. Both are inter-dependent to each other each one strengthens the other. Democracy can be a tool for the Muslim *Ummah* to put their voice in the public domain.

The best example of practising Islam can be found in the two liners of Hasrat Mohani who even after attaining different opposite ideologies remains a Muslim at the end.

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[15] The teaching and practice peculiar to a spiritual leader which later transformed into a group and carried forward (inherited) by the chain of disciples is called an order or *Silsilah*. The earliest *silsilahs* in India are *Chishti*, *Suharwardiya*, *Naqshbandiya*, *Qadriyya* etc. There are many *silsilahs* which ceases to exist.

'Darweshi[16]-o-inquilab[17] hai maslak mera,

Sufi Momin[18] Huun ishtiraaki Muslim'

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[16] Darwesh is one who is an itinerant and the worldliness does not attract him

[17] Inquilabi comes from the word Inquilab. Inquilab Zindabad (Long live Revolution is the call given by Hasrat Mohani)

[18] Momin means a Muslim who is faithful and a believer not outwardly but inwardly.

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