
From Sufism to Activism: A Case Study of Tehreek e Minhaj Ul Quran

Sharwan Ali Khan

This article intends to analyze the revivalist approach among the Barelvis, a Sufi-oriented religious movement of the 19th century that emerged in British India but gained momentum after the division of the Indian Sub-Continent and the creation of Pakistan. Though the group has been widely ignored in the mainstream political arena of Pakistan it gained some momentum after adopting new approaches after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Their unique and versatile concepts have given a new life to this political and reformative struggle. As a reformist movement of Pakistani Muslims, Barelvi came up with an idea of their own after 1979. The movement of Minhaj Ul Quran and its academic discourse affected many middle-class educated Pakistani men and women of different social and cultural backgrounds. The movement, in broad terms, adopts an inclusive approach that promotes the South Asian culture of Sufism along with the slogans of political change and revolution that have caught the eyes of many in its favor. It has a well-equipped agenda for various political and social problems faced by the people of this region, these ideas provide a unique acceptance and recognition in every corner of the world. In this way, their revivalist ideology has provided a different approach from the rest of the Muslim revivalist movements.

Key Words: Pakistan, Purification, Political Islam, Tehreek e Minhaj Ul Quran, Baralvi

Introduction

Islam as a *Deen* has social, cultural, and religious values incorporated into its teachings which have faced the decay in its practices. Like most of the other religions, Islam has suffered the same distortions with time leading to its decline as *Deen*. The followers of Islam did not cope with the demands and requirements of a constantly changing modern and scientific world, which resulted in the diminishing of its strength as an effective political system and the efficacy of its teaching which attracted the masses. They made its way as a very efficient Islamic political ideology.

The revivalist movement started during the last days of the Ottomans and gained systematic momentum right after its disintegration. The revivalist movement started in different countries in different forms and shapes but lacked nationalistic or unionist ideology. The Indian subcontinent faced the same dilemma of lack of unity of thought even before the collapse of Turkish power, Muslim political power & thought suffered a steep decline in the aftermath of the 1857, War of Independence, also known as the Indian Rebellion of 1857. With the sudden decline of influence in the political system, the Islamic reformist of the Indian subcontinent started their activities to reform their political ideology to suit modern needs. Many reformist movements emerged with their ideology of reforming political thought, largely dominated by religious fractions known as Deoband, Barelvi, and Ahl e Hadith.

The difference in these movements was further prolonged after the partition of India and the emergence of the state of Pakistan. These differences have grown further as ideologies formed into more concrete shapes; these differences have the potential to be the future battle ground for ideological rivalries. Despite the serious disagreements amongst each other, some elements are working on the academic framework for bridging these gaps, and one of these is the Movement of Minhaj Ul Quran. The movement of Minhaj Ul Quran is unique as it is based on the ideology of Sufi Islam and Hanafi traditions, with a touch of Political revivalist Islam. In its unique way, the movement of MUQ is dynamic and has a flexible strategy that paved the way for their acceptance from both traditional Sufi and Revivalist schools of thoughts¹

A. Islamic Revivalism/Political Islam

The term Islamic revivalism broadly seeks to fill the gaps in the Western liberal system of politics, democracy, and modern social system. These gaps in the Western system provide a dire need for a change in the Muslim world to part ways from Western-oriented political thought to a more Islamic-

oriented ideology. Muslims of the Sub-Continent during their long period of colonial rule acquired these modern political terminologies, in which, they experienced the new Western technologies, and methods of economic management, in their political system and ideology.² This encounter of the Muslim world in general and the Muslim subcontinent in particular, with the modern Western ideas in the past three centuries brought about the decline of the Muslim world.³ The Western liberal system and the concept of modernity had support from colonial rule, and they both found their ways in Dar al Islam.

This encroachment into Muslim society brought about sweeping changes, like secularization, urbanization, modernization materialization, and westernization of Muslim society.⁴ As a result of this, Muslim societies faced the worst crisis of the time, in terms of radical changes on social, economic, and political levels⁵. Upon this, the Muslim political thinkers had to redesign their strategy to respond these new challenges, which shaped the political dimension in the twentieth century. Through this change, they inspired the masses and developed anti-colonial feelings which resulted in various nationalistic movements, against the alien rule.⁶

The purpose of these movements is to develop Islamic identity in its true spirit and establish an Islamic-oriented political and social order. These movements succeeded in categorizing the factors that led to the decline of Muslims in the modern world.⁷ They worked within the Muslim societies, in a way that they may accept social change that can help them to survive in the modern world.⁸ They gave a clear picture of the change that was brought under European colonialism caused a crisis in Muslim society.⁹ However, the Muslim states adopted the political and economic system of their colonial masters.¹⁰ This transformation did not provide a cure to their problem, because the political elite and paradigm of modernization could not effectively resist the multipronged reasons that led to the decline in the Islamic world.¹¹ On the other hand, the failure of the secular model of development in Muslim society led to a new systematic response among the Muslim intelligentsia, based on the feeling of revivalism.¹²

The Islamist revivalist have a road map about the importance of revivalism in Islamic political and social thought, which became one of the reasons for their split from Western ideas of Capitalism and Communism. A general belief in Islamist Revivalists is that they consider these two ideologies as the failure of the West itself. The primary focus of revivalists is to turn the table from the modernization of Islam toward the Islamization of modern experience.¹³ In this way, they introduced new strategies to reintroduce Islamic symbols, rituals, and institutions in the public sphere, intending to

prove the utility and sanctity of the religion of Islam in public and private affairs.¹⁴ These movements had a political purpose, as they started after the disintegration of the Islamic political order, due to European colonialist intervention.¹⁵ In this way, revivalists hope to shift the balance of power from secularism to spiritualism and grab power in their own respective countries.¹⁶

B. South Asian Islam, Minhaj Ul Quran, and Islamic Revivalism

The Indian Muslims since the arrival of Islam in the Indian heartland practiced the Islam of their definition, which is based on spirituality as a stamp of Islam. Though, Islam focused on spiritual values, with active resistance to ‘munker’ (Bad), the Indian scholars based their preaching of Islam based on the purification of the heart through spiritual means. The spiritual practices were threatened in the early 19th century by the purifiers. The Movement of Minhaj Ul Quran based its ideology on South Asian Islamic values but with the inculcation of modern techniques. Through this strategy, the movement gained momentum in those old guards, who considered themselves as the defender of South Asian Islam.¹⁷

The movement of Minhaj Ul Quran, with these changes and modern outlook, got support from youth, who accepted the activism of the movement. Because the youth considered this as a discourse of traditional values following demands of the modern times. Moreover, the Minhaj ul Quran also has its attached to South Asian Sufi traditions and its devotional practices. The movement through its mass gatherings promoted Sufi practices, in this way, the movement normalized the growing temperature of society.¹⁸

Minhaj ul Quran gives new shape to a devotional aspect of South Asian Islam, and this attracts youth into its fold, who were busy finding ways to heal their problems, Minhaj Ul Quran provides a way for the youth to become stronger through spiritual exercises. Minhaj bears the critique of purifiers as they incorporated many divergent ideas for their celebration such as music and dancing. Minhaj’s response on the other hand, to these critiques was formed with quotations of classical Islamic scholars and Sufis in favor of their practices. In this way, they wanted to gain legitimacy for these practices of music and dance. The founder of Minhaj ul Qur’ān himself explains the point of view of his movement on the difference between sharī’ah as a system of Islamic law, which govern the individual and communal actions and deed of people, while Tarīqah or Tasawuf is an element of Islam, which deals with spiritual purification of body, mind, and soul of individual of the Muslim community.¹⁹

The Indian Muslims, after 1857, started the movements of their survival against the foreign forces. In this way, a serious conflict emerged on the issue of taking the solution of the matter. The Movements of Deoband and Ahl e Hadith criticized some of the old traditions. At that time, Ahmad Raza Khan emerged as the defender of South Asian Islam to answer the critique of these men. However, the issue was never resolved till today. These followers of Ahmad Raza Khan used his fatwa of 'Heresy against rival movements.'²⁰

The Movement of Minhaj Ul Quran, though defended the Indian traditions, but not from the Bareilvi angle. Contrary to it, they consider those traditions as part of classical Islam that was produced during the Muslim antiquity. In this way, they detached themselves from Bareilvi's line of action through this approach they wanted to save themselves from being identified as having sectarian orientation, despite their effort to distance themselves from sectarian ideologies they are largely identified and tagged as Bareilvi.²¹

The Indian sub-continent faced colonial rule since the breakup of Muslim political power in Bengal²², and with time, the colonial masters further prolonged their rule to the whole of India in 1857. However, the colonial masters ruled for almost one century as one domain, and in the end, left the Indian subcontinent divided into newly established modern nation-states. The newly established state of Pakistan faced the same question of the political, economic, and education system, which led to the debate of reforms and finding solutions, consequently, every stakeholder came up with a different approach to the possible solutions. Among them is the Movement of Minhaj Ul Quran under the leadership of Dr. Tahir Ul Qadri emerged with its concrete step forward.

The movement of Minhaj Ul Quran was founded in 1980 with the concept of revivalism, but different from its traditional approach to South Asian tradition and culture. The movement is based on revivalist and reformative ideology while focusing on academic ways. In this scenario, Minhaj Ul Quran gives a new concept of revivalism developed by the founder of the movement is called as Quranic Philosophy of revival. Dr Qadri, who was once a student of Punjab University Lahore, was influenced by his teacher Dr Burhan Ahmad Farooqi a teacher of Punjab University.²³

Dr. Farooqi introduced Qadri to a new field of research in the study of revivalism in Islam. This was a new concept for Qadri, but with time the Quranic philosophy of revivalism became an inevitable part of Qadri's ideology. He decided to revisit the Quran, Sunnah, and the Sirah of the Prophet (PBUH), but this time with the mission of how the present condition of the Muslims can be revived in the light of the Quran.²⁴ And to

prove the effectiveness of the traditional Islamic text in modern times. This study helps him to find the answers to the issues and challenges faced by the Muslim Ummah in today's world. Moreover, it made him able to develop his strategy for the future task of the revival of Islam. This study proved worthwhile for him when he launched his movement for the task of revivalism and reform under the title of Minhaj Ul Quran.²⁵

The movement of Minhaj Ul Quran was launched by Tahir Ul Qadri in Lahore in 1980, in which he presented his analysis of the current situation of the Muslim world, and with it, he presented a clear picture of all those organizations, who are working for revival and reformation of Islam and Muslims, during his presentation he praises their efforts and also criticizes them for having no clear vision of Islam.²⁶ He differentiates his movement from others, by claiming that they have less vision of Islam. Therefore, there is a need for a global movement that should actively play its part in the global revival of Islam.²⁷ Al Qadri states:

*The primary aim of the Minhaj-Ul-Qur'an International movement is to bring about a comprehensive and multidimensional change in society. At the same time, ends the academic and ideological decline and deadlock and revives, once again, the decaying moral and spiritual values (of Islam) and reforms the Muslim Ummah, by guarding against all obstacles and hindrances in its social, economic, and political life and helps it achieve admirable and respectable status amongst all contemporary nations of the world. Furthermore, it aims to unify all dispersed resources of the Muslim Ummah and unite all scattered nations and countries in the form of a 'Muslim common wealth' so that the whole Muslim world may emerge as an effective social, economic, and political power in the contemporary world.*²⁸

Here he quotes the saying of the Prophet (PBUH) regarding the task of revivalism, "No one will be able to revive the Deen, until he comprehends and encompasses all aspects and fields of Islam in his struggle".²⁹

Minhaj Ul Quran movement was founded on the inclusive approach, it has an ideology of South Asian Islam and Sufi traditions based on the teachings of inclusiveness. With its inclusive approach, it has a global vision and multidimensional organizational structure.

C. Objectives and Stages of the Minhaj Ul Quran

Affiliation with Allah Almighty (Ta'alluq bi Ullah)

This is the first objective of the movement of the Minhaj Ul Quran, and every Muslim around the globe believes in the supremacy of Allah. This relation with Allah is the strength of the Muslims and it provides them power to revive the lost glory of the Ummah. To achieve the nearness of Allah, Minhaj gives their roadmap.³⁰

The personality of the Prophet (PBUH) is the central figure in every Muslim movement, Minhaj Ul Quran encompassed the same ideas. The idea revolves around the concept that the establishment of real Iman essentially depends on the spiritual connection of a person with the Holy Prophet (PBUH). Minhaj also emphasized that this lack of connection is the real cause of the decline of Umma, they also believe that our devotion to the teachings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) has been minimized.³¹

Qadri explains this point through the example of Muslim history, that whenever and wherever Muslims followed the eternal guidance of the Quran, their condition changed dramatically for good. Qadri also emphasized that the roots of the revival of the Umma are engraved in the teaching of the Quran, and if Umma wants to revive the lost glory, it needs to reconnect itself with the teaching of the Quran.

Call for the Seeking of Knowledge

In the Islamic faith, seeking Knowledge is a basic responsibility of every Muslim, that's why it is the part of first revelation, revealed by the Prophet Muhammed (PBUH). Minhaj Ul Quran, the Movement of Islamic revivalism focused on seeking Knowledge and giving a road map to its workers, on how it can be achieved;

Call for Brotherhood and Fraternity

Minhaj Ul Quran, an international movement of inclusive approach, based on Sufi-based peaceful Islam condemns all types of hatred and enemy. To promote its peaceful message, it gives few guidelines.

Minhaj Ul Quran believes in collective struggle for creating a peaceful society because Individual struggle is not fruitful for eliminating bad and establishing good. To materialize this call, these are the following stages.

- a. Consultation and obedience to the leader
- b. Calling for righteousness
- c. Discipline and organizing
- d. Steadfastness
- e. Altruism and sacrifice.

Call for Consolidation

This stage is the result of the outcome of the activities of Minhaj Ul Quran and its associated wing, here is the plan to achieve this stage. The movement of the MUQ believes in the evolutionary approach, and due to its multidimensional behavior, it divided its activities into the following stages.

This is the first stage of the movement, through every mode and means of communication the message of the movement is introduced to people on a wider level, and explains to them the need for the movement. In this, way invite them to join hands with this mission

When the first stage is fulfilled, and people come to join the movement, then this second stage is initiated by setting up the branches and center sat national, provincial, district, city, and town levels in and outside the country. At present, branches and membership of the movement exist in all major cities, towns, and villages of Pakistan. On an international level, an organizational network has been established in 210 cities in 40 countries. In 20 countries, MQI has set up its own Islamic and cultural centers, while membership exists in 90 countries around the globe

This is the third stage of the movement in which members of the movement are educated and trained in its ideology and philosophy. In this way, the movement wants to prepare educated, skilled trained, and capable workers for future courses of action.

MUQ is yet to achieve this stage of the movement, At this stage, their movement shall be fully activated and all of its branches shall express their thoughts on social, welfare, cultural, legal, economic, and political levels. On these all aspects of life, the movement is designed to guide and train people at the primary level, and on this level, they shall present their ideas to common men and women. The struggle at this stage is divided into two levels, formative and comprehensive. The formative phase is related to spreading the message of the movement among common men, and in this mobilizing them for the achievement of the desired goal.³² In this way, the movement gets political power, because, without political power, it is impossible for any movement to implement any system in the state. Without the power of enforcement, knowledge and ideology remain just a utopian philosophy. The combination of both can produce results. And any movement must achieve enforcement power to implement its ideology.³³

This is the fifth and final stage, but interlinked with other stages, because this will come. When the outcome of the other four stages is achieved by Minhaj Ul Quran. And then transform itself into actual and permanent

change, which is the renewal of the system. These are some directions given by the founder of Minhaj Ul Quran, that need focused attempts for reformation:

- According to Al Qadri, there are three terms revival, reform, and revolution. All of them have their specific meaning, however, the common among them is change.³⁴ Reform is concerned with people's minds and actions, both on an individual and common level. Because human beings themselves are the target and subject of reform.

The core objective of the thought of Minhaj Ul Quran is to change, renew, and upgrade the prevailing, social, cultural, economic, and religious conditions of individuals, society, and community. To change their way of thinking, and their lifestyle and to purify all thoughts and practices from all types of corruption and distortion.³⁵ In the view of Tahir Ul Qadri, that few necessary changes are made to bring the individual and communal life of Muslim society in line with the true spirit of Islam and also in consistency with the teaching of the Quran and Sunnah.³⁶ In this way, one must keep an eye on all modern developments and change in time and space demanding different approaches and strategy suitable and practicable for specific time.³⁷ Having said this, Al Qadri made a difference between Tajdid and revolution, for him Tajdid is closer to reform and not revolution.

Therefore, it needs time as Qadri explains, to reform, reinterpret, reconstruct, and revive the original text, teachings, and thought of Islam, in this way to keep it alive, effective, and practicable by the challenge and requirements of newly changed circumstances.³⁸ The process of renewal and reconstruction of academic, legal, social, and cultural thoughts in an Islamic way in modern times is called Islamic revivalism. Qadri views, this as the reconstructive spirit of Islam, which is built on original Islamic sources. This constructive spirit of Islam is made functional through the principle of Ijtihad.³⁹ Islam is a practical code of life in every time and condition, in which the Hay'atal-Alliyyah(original principles never alter or change in any circumstances. While secondary nature rules (Hay 'at-Kazāiyyah) are subject to alteration and modification by the changed time space and circumstances.⁴⁰ The amendment in secondary nature rules would happen through the concept of Ijtihad, which was the Muslim practice in the past, Contemporary Muslim scholars have closed the door of Ijtihad, which led them toward stagnation in front of the modern challenge and converted Islamic teachings inactive among the Muslims.⁴¹

In this context, Qadri quotes the saying of the prophet (PBUH), After one hundred years, a new revival of this Deen has been made⁴², and this period is

enough to introduce new changes in the life of human beings. The unique problems aroused in society, both on individual and community levels need 100 years to reform and review. Therefore, a need arises for reinterpretation of the Quran, Sunnah, and Islamic Sharia to overcome these issues. In this way, this Ijtihad is helpful for humanity to get guidance from the Quran and Sunnah and live in their light in modern times.⁴³ These reformative and revival ideologies if put into political struggle and as results put into practice as rule of law and gaining political power and authority, then it would be termed as Revolution.⁴⁴

Dr. Qadri explains the nature of the rise and fall of nations, and for him, this is strictly bound to the universal rules and laws set by divine nature.⁴⁵ He explains the principles and regulations of national life and of attaining power and dominance must directly be derived from the Quran.⁴⁶ Ideology plays a vital and key role in setting the direction of a nation, due to the increase in rational knowledge in the present time. The ideal system of thought has for more needed, than ever before.⁴⁷

The tragedy of the declined period in Qadri's words is one of the strongest voices of his day for the task of revivalism. He elaborates on the reason for the decline which is why the Muslim Ummah is on its decline because Ummah has left the teachings of the Quran. Moreover, there are people within Umma, who accepted this decline as their fate, and they are waiting for the Day of Judgment and accept this part of the decline as a process. Dr. Qadri believes that eradicating this thought can only be possible by building this assurance back to the level of Haq al-Yaqin.⁴⁸

Moreover, he explains the concept of Hikmah (wisdom), which he gets from the Quran as Talim al-Hikmah (teaching of wisdom), he wrote a book on it Qur'ānic philosophy of Revival. He explains this point wisdom refers to the Qur'ānic thought. For him, every prophet is equipped with Hikmah and this is the duty of every Prophet to not only spread divine teaching but with the God-gifted Hikmah present the solution to all problems faced by the community, where he was raised.⁴⁹ While discussing this concept, he quotes many Qur'ānic verses in his support.⁵⁰ Al Qadri is described as a Qur'ānic philosophy of revival through which utilizing the Qur'ānic wisdom to reform societies and to bring declining nations back to their vigor and glory.⁵¹

Is the philosophy of Revival a science? Qadri raises this question himself and addresses it, that the verification of the universal laws and principles explained in Qur'ān, has also been provided through the description of the conditions of various nations. In this scenario, the philosophy of revival is directly derived from the Quran. In this way, it could be considered as a

science of human knowledge⁵² He mentioned that the philosophy of revival from the Quran, a science of knowledge, and the rest of its details must be deduced from the Quran.⁵³ In this state of decline, there is a dire need for Muslims to seek guidance from the Quran and develop a fresh ideology in light of the Quran's philosophy of Revival.⁵⁴ He believes in the concept of revival, but first, he wants to address the mental and ideological changes, without it social and political revival cannot take place.⁵⁵ For Islam and Islamic thought, Qadri explains the Quranic principle of political dominance (*izhār ‘alā al-Dīn Kūllihī*). For him without political dominance, the Muslim Ummah cannot survive in terms of culture, and academics and never preserve its identity in every corner of life.⁵⁶ He declared political power as the central focal point of the Muslim Ummah. In the decline period changes took place in the political thought of Muslims.⁵⁷ That thing led them to the complete decline of the Umma, which never healed today. In his view, there is a dire need of the time for Muslim intelligentsia to come up with fresh ideas through the principle of Ijtihad and give solutions to these problems.⁵⁸

Conclusion

The Muslim world has faced this political decline in the last two centuries, and different approaches have emerged to cure this problem of the Muslim world. However, most of these approaches are based on the ultra – revolutionary ideas, and violent and reactionary behaviors. Consequently, the movement of Minhaj Ul Qur’ān provides an alternative approach to the political social, and moral problems of the Muslim world. This movement is unique in a way that it gives an academic approach to revivalism while endorsing the local culture and values. In this way, the movement has a difference of opinion with the rest of the revivalist movements, which attacked the local customs and considered them as the cause of decline. This inclusive approach of MUQ made it acceptable to a larger majority of Muslims. Minhaj Ul Qur’ān’s academic approach and its concept of Ijtihad has given it an acceptance amongst Muslim intelligentsia. Moreover, after 9/11 when the Muslim world experienced waves of terrorism and extremism, Minhaj Ul Quran came forward and presented the true picture of Islam based on peace, brotherhood, and humanity.

Notes and References

¹ Muhammad Khan Qadri, *Tehrīk Minhaj-ul-Qur'ān Aur Ā'indah Qiādat* (Lahore: Nadeem Younus Printers, 1988.),29.

² A. Bagader, "Contemporary Islamic Movements in the Arab World," in *Islam, Globalization and Post-modernity*, eds. A. Ahmed and H. Donnan (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1994), 114–26.

³ John Esposito, "Introduction: Islam and Muslim Politics," in *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, ed. J. Esposito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983a), 3–15.

⁴ Fazlur Islam, *Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,1982),23.

⁵ A. Bagader, "Contemporary Islamic Movements in the Arab World," *Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1994), 114–26.

⁶ Abbas Hoveyda, *Indian Government and Politics* (London: Pearson Education,2010),67.

⁷ Angel Rabasa and others, *The Muslim World after 9/11* (New York: Rand Corporation,2004),41.

⁸ Akbar Ahmad, *Journey to Islam: The Crisis of Globalization* (London: penguin group,2007),21.

⁹ Sayyid Rami Al Rifai, *How Islam Shaped the Modern world* (Sunnah Muakada,2016),61.

¹⁰ Peter G, Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics* (London: Taylor & Francis,2002),69.

¹¹ Ibid Fazal Ur Rehman. xii.

¹² Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, "The Islamic Resurgence: Sources, Dynamics, and Implications,"in *Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World*, ed. A. Dessouki (New York: Praeger Publishers,1982),4;J. Vol, *Islam*,283;

¹³ John Voll, "Fundamentalism in the Sunni Arab World: Egypt and the Sudan," in *Fundamentalisms Observed: The Fundamentalism Project*, vol.1, eds. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 349–402, 424.

¹⁴ Cherly Bernad and others, *Civil Democratic Islam Partners, Resources, and Strategies* (New York: Rand Corporation, 2004),131.

¹⁵ Ibid, Esposito,3-15.

¹⁶ Emid Eldin Shahin, *Political Ascent: Contemporary Islamic Movements in North Africa*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press,1997), 2.

¹⁷ Muhamad Tahir ul Qadri, *Tehrīk e Minhaj Ul Quran ka Tasswar e Din* (Lahore: Minhaj ul Quran Publications, 2011),33.

¹⁸ Amer Morghai, *Purification of Hearts, Rituals, Devotion and Re-creation among Minhaj Ul Quran followers in Europe* (an unpublished Thesis submitted for PhD in de Vrije University Amestrדם:2018),23.

¹⁹ Muhammad Tahir ul Qadri, *Haqīqat-e-Taşawwuf* (Lahore:Minhaj-ul-Qur’ān Publications,2002),12

²⁰ Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Bareilwi and His Movement, 1870-1920*(London: Oxford University press,1996),17

²¹ Usha Sanyal, *Ahmad Raza Khan in the Path of Prophet* (New Delhi: One world Publications,2012),22.

²² Battle of plassy

²³ Muhammad Rafiq, *Qāid-e-Inqilāb Kī Inqilābī Jiddūjuhd* (Lahore: Minhaj-ul-Qur’ān Publications,2002),23.

²⁴ Burhan Ahmad Farooqi. 1991. *Qur’ān aur Musalmānūn Kay Zindah Masā’il* (Lahore:Institute ofIslamicCulture:1991),13.

²⁵ Abu Al-Hassan Qadri,2001. ‘*Azīm Qāid ka Fikrī Irīqā*’, *Khaşāiso Imtiyāzāt*, (Lahore: Minhaj-ul-Qur’ān Publications,2001),21.

²⁶ Masooda Bano, *The Revival of Islamic Rationalism Logic, Metaphysics and Mysticism in Modern Muslim Societies* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2020),167.

²⁷ Muhammad Rafiq, *Qāid-e-Inqilāb Kī Inqilābī Jiddūjuhd* (Lahore: Minhaj Ul Quran Publications,1996),9.

²⁸ Ibid, 12.

²⁹ Ibid, *Tehrik e Minhaj Ul Quran ka Tasswar e Din*,21

³⁰ Hussain Mohi Ud din. *Taswuf or TalimatSalasal*(Lahore: Farid e Milat Research Institute,2023),93.

³¹ Ibid,15.

³² Muzffar Khan,“*Can A Shaykh and A Cricketer salvage the corrupt political system in Pakistan?*”.Defense Journal Karachi, Vol 17, issue 7., 16.

³³ Zofshan Taj, “*The Political Thought of Tahir ul Qadri and its Islamic context: understanding the concept of Khalifah and its Relevance to Modern Society in the Light of Medieval Islamic Teachings*”. Intermountain west Journal of Religious studies, 3, no (2011),18.

³⁴ Interview with Dr Tahir Ul Qadri, 07-05-2023.

³⁵ Hussain Mohi ud din Qadri, *Falsfa e Tehreek: Fakri Wahdat, Ijtamiat, aur Manj o Maqsad* (Lahore: Minhaj Ul Quran Publications,2012),29.

³⁶ Muhammad Tahir Ul Qadri, *Ijtihad Meanings, Application & Scope* (Lahore: Minhaj Ul Quran Publications,2007),21.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸Syed Abu Ala Mawdudi, *Tajdeed -e-ahye -wo deen* (Lahore: Islamic Publications,2018),13.

³⁹ Interview with Dr Tahir Ul Qadri, 07-05-2023

⁴⁰Hassan Mohi ud din Qadri, *Wahdat o Ijtamiat aur hamri Tehreeki Zandgi* (Lahore: Minhaj Ul Quran Publications,2012),66

⁴¹Ibid,88.

⁴²Abu Abdullah, Muhammed bin Ismail Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari* Hadith no,131, chapter 17 (Lahore: Kitab Khana Faizi,2012),331.

⁴³ Ayatollah Murtadha Mutahhari, *The Principle of Ijtihad in Islam* (California:Create Space Independent Publishing Platform,2017),132.

⁴⁴Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (London: Harved University Press,1994),23.

⁴⁵Ibid Ijtihad ,17.

⁴⁶Muhammad Rafiq Habib, “A Critical Analysis of the Ideology of Dr Muhammad Tahir Ul Qadri with special reference to Islamic Revivalism” (an unpublished thesis submitted for the PhD at University of Aberdeen,2017),81.

⁴⁷Hassan Mohi ud din Qadri, *Tehreeki Zandgi main Nazam* (Lahore: Minhaj Ul Quran Publications,2015),33.

⁴⁸Ibid, Hussain,91.

⁴⁹Muhammad Tahir Ul Qadri, *Qurani Falfasa e Inqalab* (Lahore: Minhaj Ul Quran Publications,2013),116

⁵⁰Ibid. Qadri, Qurani Falfasa e Inqalab ,167.

⁵¹Muhammad Qasim and others. *Rhetorical Devices Employed by Dr. Tahir ul Qadri in his Speech At Peace for Humanity Conference: A Religious Discourse Analysis*. Pal arch Journal of Archaeology, vol 19, issue 2(2022), 23.

⁵²Abdel Wahab El Affendi, *Who Need an Islamic State* (London: Malaysia Tank,2008),138.

⁵³Anthony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From Prophet to Present* (Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press,2001),239.

⁵⁴Hussain Mohi ud din Qadri, *Islamic philosophy and Muslim philosophers* (Lahore: Minhaj Ul Quran Publications,2021),51.

⁵⁵Jorgen, s Nielsen eds, “*Mosque and Organization*” *Islam in Denmark* (New York: Lexington Books, 2012),83.

⁵⁶S Akbar Zaidi, “*Resilience in Pakistan's Democracy? The Tahir-ul Qadri Episode*”. Economic and Political weekly, Vol 48, No.5 (2013), 12.

⁵⁷James p. Piscatori. *Islam in World of Nation States*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1991),42.

⁵⁸Hassan Mohi ud din. *The Journey of Revolution: Social and Spiritual aspect*. (Frankfurt: Lambart publications,2017), 49.