Political islam or conservatism: a typology of the Deobandi movement

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Abstract. *The article analyzes the general nature, branches, political and religious enlightenment activities of the Deobandian movement, which appeared in India in the 19th century and passed through various stages, based on the issue of typology related to religious movements in Islam. Thus, a typology of religious and political groups originating from the Deobandian movement is created. A systematic conclusion is made on such issues as the beginning of the movement, its relationship with the colonial government, branching, involvement in political decisions, sources of religious education, legal and creedal sect, and its current state. Without such a comprehensive analysis, it is impossible to reveal the meaning of a certain religious movement on a scientific basis.*

The division of the Deobandian movement into different branches due to historical conditions requires an analysis of the problem of typology in a political context. In the 20th century, the emergence of the phenomenon of political Islam in the Islamic world affected the involvement of some branches of this movement in politics in the form of a party, and now, one of its directions became radicalized and turned into a military force influencing the geopolitical conditions in the region. Therefore, the political experience of the Deobandian movement, which began with classical religious education, mixed with colonialism in the 19th century and a new political structure in the 20th century, should be considered an important factor in the typology of this movement.

Keywords: *Deobandi movement; Taliban movement; Tablighi Jamaat; Political Islam; conservatism; religious extremism; radicalism.*

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Introduction

In the 19th century, the military, economic and political pressure of Western countries increased, and they among others started colonize the Islamic world. In addition to the modernist movements that implemented the reformulation of religion according to the conditions of the time, movements that considered political activity on the one hand, and traditional religious education on the other as a way out of the deadlock appeared on the scene of history. One of them is the Deobandi movement, which originated in India. The center of education created by this movement, which chose religious education as the way to revive Islam, was called Daru-l-Uloom. The name of the town where the madrasah was located was Deoband, which associated with religious leaders from this region. It is customary to present all the groups as branches of the Deobandian movement. It is understandable that researchers study the essence of the Deobandian movement, which influenced the entire subcontinent, from every angle. Before studying the origin, historical and current state of the mentioned movement by making a historical excursion, it is necessary to dwell on the issue of typology related to the movement.

Research materials and methods

In the article, based on the researches related to the Deobandian movement, a typology of the religious and political groups separated from the listed movement was made. The works of an American researcher like Barbara Metcalf, who carefully studied the history of the Deobandian movement, are rich in original data related to the history of the movement. And the data related to the internal structure of the general movement and the views of eminent scientists can be found in the works of local researchers such as Muhammad Arif Jamil al-Qasimi al-Mubarak Fauri. Based on these and other studies, the history of the movement and the problem of typology of the religious groups that grew out of it were analyzed. The value of the Deobandian movement was analyzed using the comparative method, the interdisciplinary

method and the methods of sociological analysis.

Discussion

As a feature of religious movements and parties defined as political Islam or Islamism, we can point to the attempt to implement the Islamic religion in the form of an active ideology in all spheres of political structure and social life. Islam has been an integral part of the public consciousness of Muslim peoples for centuries. In European countries where secular values are established, religion and the state or religion and social relations are separated from each other, so religion is considered as a legal issue interpreted within the framework of people's personal life and constitutional freedom of religion and belief. And in the countries that follow the Islamic religion, religion is a set of rules that coordinate the socio-cultural sphere, determine the relationship between people, the behavior in everyday life, family relations and social-political life (Butterworth, 1992: 28). Therefore, in the 20th century, the phenomenon of Islamism in Islamic countries appeared on the one hand in the form of a struggle against colonialism, and on the other hand in the form of an ideology that implements the creation of a political structure within the framework of Islamic ideology in accordance with new conditions in the countries freed from colonialism.

Said Qutub, a prominent representative of political Islam in the 20th century, proposed the theory of creating an Islamic state or a true Islamic society, calling it Hakimiyyah, which means «the realization of the Almighty power of God». And another ideologist of Islamism, Pakistani Abu Ala Al-Mawdudi (1903-1979) raised the idea of «Muslim nation» and stated that Islam rejects any form of nationalism (Lerman, 1981:495). The ideas of Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949), the main ideologist of the Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood) movement, also promoted the ideology of ummatism.

As for the Deobandian movement, we can see that in the initial stage of this movement, which followed the path of revitalizing religious education in opposition to English

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colonialism in the 19th century, there was no idea of creating a real Islamic state. It can be seen that the political events of the 20th century, the separation of Pakistan from India, and the political situation in the post-colonial period changed the political positions of Deobandian scholars at a certain level. For a deeper understanding of this issue, it is necessary to dwell on the history of the movement's creation and development stages (Britannica, 2023).

In 1857, there was a large-scale rebellion against the colonial policy of the British military in India. However, this movement, which was supported by both Hindu and Muslim peoples, failed. After these events, Indian Muslims were subjected to political and cultural oppression. The British started to introduce new educational programs according to the European system. In addition, Hinduism and Christianity were actively propagated. The old madrasah system funded by the Muslim rulers of the Indian subcontinent collapsed, and the system of religious education that had been established for centuries was on the verge of collapse. Therefore, there was a need to preserve the Muslim teachings among the Indian Muslims. At first, a group of scholars started teaching religious sciences in a small mosque called Chatta. And on May 30, 1866, both Muhammad Qasim Nanutawi (1830-1883) and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1826-1905) founded Dar al-Ulum Deoband Madrasah. To resist the British colonial rule, the madrasah was established in a remote town called Deoband, 150 kilometers from Delhi (Chopra, 1988: 101). The theological foundations of the Deobandi school are inspired by the views of the religious reformer Shah Waliullah Dahlawi (1703-1762). Dar al-Ulum means «House of Knowledge». The main goal of the founders of the madrasah, led by Maulana Nanutawi, was to counter the threats to Islam through these educational institutions, to prepare leaders who would serve the religion, develop academic Islam, and lead the country out of political crises (al-Qasimi Faury, 2015: 7).

Deobandi schools taught traditional Islam based on the Hanafi school. The madrasah focused on ridding the Islamic religion of foreign elements (bida`). It is said that Dar al-Ulum Deoband schools used the experience of the colonial British schools during the creation of the educational system. The Deoband scholars, who followed the Hanafi school of jurisprudence and the Maturidi school of theology, included Ashari and Salafi commentaries in their curriculum. Due to historical conditions, it can be seen that they are inclined to imitate tradition. On the one hand, probably related to the colonial situation, it can be seen that the traditional Ahl-i Sunna wal-Jama`a school, including the classical texts of the Hanafi school, has been taught without critical thinking. At the same time, it will be clear if we consider that this educational institution was not limited only to religious education with the beginning of the development of political views related to the colonial policy at that time. It is clear that in the eyes of the Muslims, this education center was an existential opportunity, since it was crucial to preserve Muslims as a nation, and to resist the hinduization and christianization of Muslim poputalion. Therefore, Deoband Dar al-Uloom was not only an educational madrasah, but also a center of religious movement and ideology. Over time, madrasahs began to be opened in other settlements of India under the Deoband Dar al-Ulum system. Gradually, it began to become an influential force for Muslims in the territory of India and the Asian continent. Dar al-Ulum Deoband established contact with the rulers of the Ottoman Empire, notably Abdulhamid II. Latter sent Arabic and Persian books from Istanbul to Deoband to support the madrasah (Özcan, 1992: 554).

One of the features of the Deobandi madrasah system was the public funding of the educational institution. Maulana Nanutawi forbade the madrasah to be financed from one source permanently or from the goverment. Before that, madrasahs were mainly supported by the ruling class or wealthy people. The new financing system led to the independence of educational institutions. In the past, teachers used to live on waqif (charity), i.e. money received from funds, or in some cases, they gave free education to students at home. In both cases, the students would bear their own expenses. Therefore, religious education was available only to certain groups in the society. And poor children did not have the opportunity to get an education. Meanwhile, the Deoband

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madrasah made religious education accessible to all sections of society by providing free food and shelter to its students (Qasmi, 2005: 7-8).

Maulana Nanutawi, one of the founders of the Deobandi madrasah, prepared a set of rules for the stable and healthy functioning of the educational institution. These rules are known as «Usul Hishtgana» (Eight principles). They are:

1. The managers of the madrasah should always consider ways to increase the amount of material assistance;

2. The management of the madrasah must provide students with food and drink and actively attract new entrants;

3. The management of the madrasah should put the interests of the educational institution first. Otherwise, the madrasah will stagnate;

4. The teachers of the madrasah should not think only about themselves and have the same attitude as above;

5. The curriculum of the madrasah for four years must be taught and completed within the specified period. This will be the key to the development of the madrasah;

6. Even if the madrasah does not have a permanent source of income, it should continue its work with faith in God. Believing only in money reduces faith in God. If faith in God is weakened, it will not lead to good;

7. It is necessary to avoid receiving financial assistance from authorities and wealthy people;

8. Donations of people who do not intend to achieve fame through financial assistance bring blessings (Qasmi, 2005: 5-6).

From these rules, it can be seen that the founders of Dar al- Ulum Deoband madrasah intended the educational institution to be as independent as possible from external factors.

What we can learn from these details about the founders of the Deobandian movement and the peculiarities of the educational system, the religious and theological basis, is that the movement initially chose traditional religious education as a way to escape colonialism. Since Islam is not a religion that defines only the hereafter or the relationship of an individual with God, as in Christianity, active participation in social and political life is considered a Muslim duty. From this point of view, the Deobandian movement's involvement in political life outside of education should be connected with the lack of experience of a secular state among Muslims and the anti-colonial protest of the Muslim community following the Islamic religion. Therefore, looking into the history of the political experience of the Deobandian movement, it is necessary to analyze the factors that influenced the emergence of groups inspired by the movement.

And now, if we analyze the political views of the later Deoband movement and scholars, we will see that they were not limited to providing religious education according to historical events and contemporary conditions, but did not refrain from showing political activity. It is even said that Muhammad Qasim Nanutawi, one of the founders of Daru-l-Ulum Deoband, led the revolt of 1857 (Tayyib, 2012: 271). However, the failure of this coup led to the establishment of a strict British political system in the Indian subcontinent. Some of the Muslim scholars in India participated in the uprising and died or spent the rest of their lives in prison. In this regard, the Muslim scholars, who had previously been politically active at a certain level, stayed away from politics (Metcalf, 2002: 7). But this situation changed before the First World War. For example, until 1920, Deobandi historians wrote that scholars did not participate in the National Liberation Uprising of 1857. But historical records written after 1920, on the contrary, mention that the Deobandis took an active part in the rebellion of 1857 and describe them as «Fighters for peace» (Metcalf, 2002: 7). Muhammad Tayyib Qasimi (1897-1883), the grandson of Muhammad Qasim Nanutawi, who served as head of the madrasah for many years, tells about the relationship of Daru-l-Ulum Deoband with politics as follows: «Daru-l-Ulum Deoband is not only a madrasa of education, but also a school of thought. The educational institution inculcated the spirit of freedom in its graduates from the very first day... It cannot be said that «Daru-l Ulum Deoband was distant from politics, had no connection with it». Yes, the madrasah was not engaged in special education in the political direction. However, the madrasah did not spare itself in training politicians and political

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personnel working in the field of politics. These individuals imbibed the values and education of Daru-l Ulum Deoband, and also drank from the intellectual and practical richness of the madrasah» (Tayyib, 2012: 279-280). That is, the Deobandis do not deny that they are involved in politics. Another thing we can see from the above words is that they accept that politics is an important component of life and consider it necessary to engage in it purposefully. If we pay attention to the political side of the Deobandi system in general, it can be seen that the category of ulama was more active than Daru-l Uloom Deoband as an institution in this direction. Therefore, it can be said that the political face of Daru-l Uloom Deoband is reflected through the positions and political practices of its scholars.

Maulana Mahmud Hasan (1851-1920) and his student Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani (1879-1957), who were recognized for their political activities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, stand out. Maulana Mahmud Hasan involved the Deobandi madrasah in politics and opened other centers to prevent it from being harmed in any way. Through these centers, which were considered educational institutions on paper, he actually conducted underground political activities against the authorities (Hamid, 2005: 41).

In the meantime, it should be noted that Hussain Ahmed Madani's political approach was in the opposite direction to the ideas of Pan-Islam and political Islam at the time of the partition of India and Pakistan. It can be seen that he looked at political issues, including the situation of Muslims, from a realistic point of view. In his opinion, Hindus and Muslims belong to one nation (community), even though they have different religions. Because he thought that the fact that people have different religions does not prevent them from belonging to the same nation. He cited the example of the prophets who brought revelation to their nations. For example, he claimed that the Prophet Muhammad established a community of Arabs and Jews in the city of Medina. He even broadened the scope of the idea of ummah, which is usually used only in relation to Muslim countries, and declared that representatives of other religions can join this concept. From his point of view, the

concept of milla (nation, country, community) in Islam includes only Muslims. Therefore, although religion was important for the milla, it was not important for qaum (community). Therefore, he opposed the separation of the state of Pakistan from India. He believed that the partition of India would create division among Muslims, and ultimately, this idea would be against the interests of Muslims (Hamid, 2005: 46-47).

Hussain Ahmed Madani's idea of one Hindu-Muslim state contradicted the political position of the Muslim League, another movement founded by Muslims in India. The Muslim League considered Hindus and Muslims as two separate nations, and according to their view, Muslims should have their own state. They considered this idea to be implemented during the British rule in India. The Muslim League was mainly led by Muslim leaders of a secular background. Hussain Ahmed Madani clashed with prominent intellectuals of the time, such as Muhammad Iqbal and the aforementioned Said Abu Ala Maududi, who supported an independent state of Pakistan due to his political views (Hamid, 2005: 47).

It is interesting that in the middle of the 20th century, just as the representatives of the conservative Jewish religion opposed the creation of the state of Israel, some of the Deoband scholars opposed the creation of an independent state of Pakistan, led by a Western-educated group. They found it right to live in an undivided entire Indian country and continue their religious activities there (Metcalf, 2002: 7).

If we distinguish the above data, the history of the Deobandian movement, which started as a center of religious education during the colonial period, begins to become politicized over time. It should not be forgotten that conservatism developed because it was a movement that tried to preserve religious education within the framework of colonial conditions. History testifies that colonialism is not only a military domination, but also a phenomenon that destroys the socio-cultural order that has been established for centuries. This is one of the reasons for the emergence of conservatism or ultra-radical religiosity. Because religion is the only guarantee to save

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yourself as a united nation before the colonial power.

However, Muslims who lived the colonial yoke had different views on the new historical situation. In this regard, it should be mentioned that a group of scientists and centers of education, following the modernist direction, appeared in India as a way out of the impasse. In that period, on the one hand, a group of conservative ulama, like the Deoband ulama, who passionately defended the past and considered innovation to be anti-Islam, had a great influence on the masses, and on the other hand, a group of intelligent Muslims who tried to understand the features of the new historical era appeared on the stage of history to show that Islam and modernity can be compatible with each other. This direction, which played an important role in the development of the Islamic mind, aimed at the following two goals: first, to deconstruct religious dogmas that hinder the progress of society; secondly, on the basis of modern rationalist discourse and scientific knowledge, but in a way that does not contradict Islam, to form a new understanding of the reality (Kamal, 2017: 511). Now if we compare the educational system, the Daru-l-Ulum educational institution of Deoband was founded in 1857, and after almost twenty years in 1875, intellectuals gathered around Said Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) founded Muslim Anglo-Oriental College. Later, in 1921, this institution became Aligarh Muslim University (Khan, 1966: 743). Therefore, the practice of religious education, which is considered the origin of the Deobandian movement, should be defined as traditionalism, and the religious consciousness caused by traditionalism in this education should be defined as conservatism.

Results

We have already said that Daru-l-Ulum Deoband, which is considered to be the origin of the Deobandian movement, generally followed a traditionalist direction. It is not wrong to say that this traditional education system, which creates conservatism and fundamentalism, created fundamentalism in the course of political experience. The next stage of fundamentalism will inevitably lead to radicalization. It is worth discussing the phenomenon of fundamentalism, which can be considered as a consequence of colonialism in the Islamic world. Karen Armstrong, in her book «The Struggle for God: A History of Fundamentalism», argues that fundamentalism, which is an attempt to fill the vacuum at the core of a society based on scientific rationalism, is a hatred of the outside world and an exclusive attitude towards it. At the same time, it means an attempt to re-sanctify life, relying on knowledge that leads to the transformation of impurity. Karen Armstrong, tracing the history of fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, defines it as «a reaction against the scientific and secular world that arose first in the Western world and later manifested itself with similar features in other parts of the world». It is also emphasized that this has become an increasing religious and socio-psychological phenomenon in the modern era. If modernism was a phenomenon that brought Christianity itself into social turmoil in Europe and America, it was a historical period that had even more serious reflexes for the Jewish and Islamic worlds. Because it draws attention to the fact that Muslims experienced modernity as conquest, invasion and being under the hands of enemies. Just as in the West, in the Islamic world, fundamentalism is a problem born together with modernity; However, while in the West, modernism was perceived as innovation and development, for Muslim fundamentalists in the Islamic world, it was perceived as dependence on others and obedience to their will. This, in turn, gave rise to religious knowledge, i.e., religious fundamentalism, which understands any social problems that society naturally faces as spiritual immorality under the influence of the West (Armstrong, 2000: 196).

At the same time, it is worth analyzing that the branching and political experience of the Deobandian movement became more complicated in the 20th century. Accordingly, the typology of religious groups branching off from the Deobandian movement will become more complicated. Both fundamentalism, which is considered a consequence of Western colonialism, the phenomenon of political Islam, which shows political activity, and radicalism and extremism, which consider the declaration

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of a holy war as an important Muslim duty, grew in this period. For example, although the political views of some Deobandi scholars, such as the above-mentioned Hussain Ahmed Madani, are realistic, it cannot be overlooked that from the time of the establishment of the state of Pakistan to the present, religious groups emerged from the Deoband platform. At this point, it cannot go without saying that the Deobandian movement has lost its homogeneous character. And three different centers of Deoband school appeared in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Organization of Islamic Scholars (Jamiyat Ulama-i Islam – JUI) transformed into a political party in Pakistan, followed the direction closest to the ideology of Islamism. During the last years of British rule in India, this minority group formed by Deobandian scholars opposed the concept of a secular state and the idea of making religion a personal matter for everyone. These positions were mainly supported by Indian nationalists. In order to demand the creation of an independent Muslim state, the mentioned Deobandi scholars founded JUI in 1945. When the independent state of Pakistan was established in 1947, the organization became a political party led by the ulama. They debated with other parties on whether Pakistan should be a secular state as intended by the founders of the state, or an Islamic state based on Sharia. However, JUI did not gain much popularity or support in Pakistan. Over the years, it did not get tired of advocating that Islam should prevail in the state. In other words, it could not present an effective and clear political program based on pragmatic views that attracts public attention. Over time, JUI party, like other parties in Pakistan, split into several factions. JUI formed alliances with any party that could give them even a little political weight. For example, in the 1970s, they formed an alliance with the Pashtun regionalist party against Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, which was based on a socialist party. And in the 1990s, on the contrary, they entered into a political alliance with the Pakistan People's Party, this time led by Benazir Bhutto, Bhutto's western-educated daughter (Metcalf, 2002: 12).

Since the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet army, JUI began to influence the spread of the idea of jihad and the mobilization of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent for armed struggle against infidels. Already in the 1980s, the Pakistani authorities supported the Mujahideen who fought against the Soviet army in Afghanistan through the Islamic organizations of JUI, the Islamic Party (Hizbi Islam) and the Islamic Jamaat (Jama`ati Islami). At that time, Maulana Fazlur Rahman, son of Mufti Mahmud, headed the JUI. The Organization of Islamic Scholars took advantage of the instability in Afghanistan in the 1980s to open hundreds of madrasahs in the Tribal Areas and Balochistan. Along with young Pakistanis, Afghan refugees were also able to study in these madrassas. Mentors were provided with free food and shelter and underwent military training. The goal of these madrasahs, which were established on the basis of Deobanism, was to prepare a generation that will live in the post-Soviet period. At that time, the Deobandi ideology did not have political support from Pakistan, but the military government of the country's then president, Ziaul Haq, did not spare financial aid to all madrassas. In 1988, near the end of Ziaul Haq's rule, 8000 official madrasahs and 25000 non-official madrasahs were operating in this region, and more than half a million teachers were educated in these religious educational centers. However, we can say that the Taliban movement was autonomous from Daru-l-Uloom Deoband scholars in India and Pakistan. The situation was complicated by the geopolitical ambitions of the Pakistani state in the region. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the Taliban movement as an autonomous entity whose further extremist activities are fully dependent on geopolitical conditions, despite being inspired by Deobandism.

The Taliban movement emerged as a local political force in Afghanistan in 1994. Because they were able to show the people that they can resist corruption, theft and violence, and that they can bring stability to them. They were supported by the Pakistani authorities. Because the Pakistanis needed the peace of trade routes to Central Asia. At the same time, the emergence of the Taliban was also in the interest of the United States. In turn, the Americans intended to protect the safety of oil pipelines passing through the territory

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of Iran to Central Asia. The Taliban could help them with this. Since the Taliban were not influenced by a certain political ideology, they chose the necessary allies themselves. Be it American or Pakistani. They would not refuse to work with Shiite Iranians if it served their interests. However, the relationship between the Taliban and the Americans soon deteriorated. This was primarily caused by the violation of human rights in Afghanistan and terrorist attacks on US embassies in East African countries. It was concluded that Osama bin Laden, who was at the head of the perpetrators of terrorist attacks, was taking refuge in Afghanistan, and that the Taliban had connections with terrorist organizations. The Taliban's association with Bin Laden led to the collapse of their political power after 9/11. Bin Laden's prestige, influence and wealth were essential to the Taliban in order to achieve their goals. In addition, bin Laden's idea of anti-Americanism was supported by the Taliban, who were already anti-Western. But the strange thing is that the Taliban never built their ideology against Western civilization. Their main goal was to seize power in Afghanistan and establish a state based on Sharia. However, their relationship with Bin Laden in the middle of the road led to their overthrow by the Americans in 2001.

It can be said that the Taliban actually managed to demonstrate the political potential of the Deobandi school. Because until now, among the Deobandi-based movements, only the Taliban have been able to achieve state power. The fact that they established the Islamic Emirate in Afghanistan between 1996 and 2001, and then, despite being expelled from the government because of the United States, regained the reins of power after 20 years in August 2021, shows the viability of their political ideologies. Here, the support of the Afghan people, most of whom live in rural areas, should not be overlooked.

In general, the Taliban and Middle Eastern extremists are similar in terms of adherence to Sharia and social norms. However, while the ambition of international extremist organizations covers the whole world, the jihad of the Taliban was limited to the region of Afghanistan. Rather than creating a global caliphate like the extremist organizations of

Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, the Taliban focused only on a certain region. On the one hand, it can be seen that the Taliban are trying to prove that they can rule the country in a civilized manner by taking steps such as communicating with the media, organizing press conferences, appointing ministers, establishing contacts with international organizations, refraining from terrorist acts, and giving women more rights than before. Thanks to this, it was warmly received even by some neighboring countries.

The most extreme of the extremist groups based on the Deobandi ideology is the Jaish-e-Mohammed organization, which is considered an ultra-radical military organization. Jaishi Muhammad (JM) is considered to be the most violent religious extremist group associated with Deobandi. JM has been declared a terrorist organization at the international level. He conducts his activities mainly in the territory of Kashmir.

The JM was founded by Maulana Masood Azhar, a religious leader who was released from an Indian prison in 2000 as a result of a prisoner exchange process. He did not return to the Harakatu-l Mujahideen (this organization was formed in 1985), of which he was a member, but founded a new religious organization, the Islamic State, with the support of extremist religious organizations such as Osama bin Laden and the Taliban. The JM was given political support by JUI, including the Fazlur Rahman-led JUI-F. JM is funded by trade and Islamic charities such as the Al-Rashid Trust (also known as the Amin Trust). Lashkar-e-Tayyiba cooperates with religious extremist groups such as Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Harakatu-l-Jihad-e-Islami, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipahe Sahaba Pakistan in territories of Afghanistan and Pakistan. In addition, JM organized attacks against NATO forces in Afghanistan together with al-Qaeda and the Taliban.

Tablighi Jamaat is one of the religious-missionary organizations that emerged within the framework of the idea of Deobandia. This group prioritizes personal transformation of the individual over political activism and religious education. It is intended to be implemented through religion. They believe that the most effective way to learn is to teach

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and encourage others to do the same. Tablighis endorse the traditional religious education system and are close to Sufism. However, they did not want education to be limited only to the madrasah, they believed that this process should be carried out outside the madrasah as well. Therefore, it intended to spread religious knowledge among various representatives of the society. A difference between the Tablighis and the Deobandi system from which they originated was that they did not engage in debates with other Muslims on matters of fiqh (Islamic law) (Metcalf, 2002: 8).

The Tablighi Jamaat group was founded in the late 1920s by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas Qandlawi (d. 1944). The family of Maulana Muhammad Ilyas had long been closely associated with the Deobandi school and its Madrasa Mazahiru-l-Ulum in Saharanpur. Maulana Muhammed Ilyas aimed to provide religious education to ordinary Muslims who were far from religion, who became the object of Hindu religion.

Maulana Muhammed Ilyas began his work in a politically difficult period with religious violence. He advocated that Muslims, regardless of their level of education, call on other Muslims, and even the scholars themselves, to follow the religious commandments. This was his main strategy in calling to religion. Those who joined the Tablighi Jamaat group and went out for religious sermons were fully convinced that God would support them. They believed that by abandoning their daily lives and preaching with like-minded Muslims, they would attain spiritual wealth and peace (May, 1970: 124). Some of the Tablighi Jamaat groups that came out to preach refused to respond to violence with violence, even though they were physically attacked, and avoided engaging in debate with others on any topic. The word «Sukun» (quietness, peace) can best describe their conditions. Members of the Tablighi Jamaat believed that they would enter paradise as a result of their services. And through sukun, the spark of paradise in the other world was felt in this world (Metcalf, 2002: 9).

According to the system established by the Tablighi Jamaat, the members of the group should spend one day in a week, one week in a month, 40 days in a year, and at least 120 days in their lives to preach in the way of God. In turn, women can go on preaching trips with their wives or husbands (Moosa, 2015: 105). Members of the Tablighi community often spend the night in mosques during religious visits. Even over time, the mosques where they often stopped around the world began to be recognized as «Tablighi Jamaat Mosques». It is difficult to determine the number of members of the Tablighi Jamaat, as there is no official system and no experience of registering members in the group. By the end of the 20th century, the group's annual gatherings in Raikind, Pakistan, and Tungi, Bangladesh drew nearly 2 million people. It should also be noted that regional meetings and meetings of the group are also held in India, North America, Europe and Great Britain (Metcalf, 2002: 9).

The influence of this group in Central Asia is increasing day by day. The Spiritual Administration of Kazakhstan published a material expressing its disapproval of the actions of this group. The website of the Muftiyat has the following information: Since the mentioned group is managed from abroad, it was recognized as an extremist organization for the first time among the CIS countries in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in 2006, and put an end to their activities in order to maintain state security. In 2009, the Russian Federation blocked the activities of the Tablighi Jamaat. In the country, on February 26, 2013, by the decision of the Astana city, Saryarka district court, the Tablighi Jamaat was recognized as an extremist movement, and it was forbidden to freely campaign in the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Conclusion

We can say that politics was not the main goal for the Daru-l Deoband school, which was established with the aim of revitalizing religious education. They also claim that they intervened in politics to protect themselves. The founders of Daru-l Deoband mainly intended to preserve the religion in the Indian subcontinent and, accordingly, to build centers of learning here first. Over time, these projects gained momentum, and the Daru-l Deoband education system began to spread

to neighboring states. On the one hand, it is impossible for the deobandis to remain on the sidelines without getting involved in politics. At the time when the national liberation struggle against the British was raging and the prospects of the Hindus and Muslims were being decided, the Deobandi scholars also had to choose their sides. Some of the Deobando scholars wanted Hindus and Muslims to live in one state, while the other (majority) part was on the side that Muslims should have their own independent state. In the end, it can be seen that the second opinion won. Generally speaking, the deobandis played an important role in the freedom struggle of the Indo-Muslim nation in the first half of the 20th century. They carried out these activities mainly within the framework of the Indian Scholars Organization and the Muslim League movements. However, if we look at the period after the partition of Pakistan and India, we see that the Deobandi scholars in Pakistan continued to be actively involved in politics, while the deobandis in India gradually withdrew from politics. They probably decided that the most effective way to protect the interests of Muslims there is political passivity.

As we can see, making a typology by examining the Deobandian movement and its political experience is a very difficult problem. The palette of groups that grew out of the Deobandian movement is vast. There is a reason to define the direction of Daru-l-Ulum madrasahs as a conservatism, which

follows classical religious education as the main direction. As an educational center that emerged under colonial conditions, we see the result of the maximum adherence to the traditional heritage. And the activities of the Organization of Islamic Scholars (Jamiyat Ulama-i Islam), who have shown loyalty to the slogans of political Islam, can be characterized by the ideology of Islamism. It would be fair to typify the Taliban movement and the Jaishi Muhammed military organization supported by this organization as extremist groups for their militaristic and terrorist activities. We see the Tablighi Jamaat organization as a religious-missionary movement. The Deobandian movement, which has experienced so many political experiences in almost two centuries, is considered to be a movement that is gaining influence day by day in the Islamic world. In the information age, it is very important to analyze the history of such a complex movement, define its typology, and study its current state.

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Саяси ислам әлде консерватизм: Деобандия қозғалысының типологиясы

Аңдатпа. Мақалада исламдағы діни қозғалыстарға қатысты типологиялау мәселесін негізге ала отырып, XIX ғасырда Үндістан жерінде пайда болып, түрлі кезеңдерден өткен Деобандия қозғалысының жалпы сипаты, тармақтары, саяси һәм діни ағартушылық бағыттағы істері талданады. Осылайша, Деобандия қозғалысынан бастау алатын діни-саяси топтардың типологиясы жасалады. Қозғалыстың бастауы, отарлық үкіметпен қатынасы, тармақталуы, саяси шешімдерге араласуы, діни білім берудегі қайнар көздері, құқықтық һәм ақидалық мәзһабы, мен қазіргі жай-күйі секілді мәселер бойынша жүйелі қорытынды жасалады. Мұндай жан-жақты талдау жасалмай белгілі бір діни қозғалыстың мәнін ғылыми негізде ашу мүмкін емес.

Деобандия қозғалысының тарихи шарттарға орай түрлі тармақтарға бөлінуі типология проблемасына саяси контексте талдау жасауды қажет етеді. XX ғасырда ислам әлемінде саяси ислам құбылысының бой көрсетуі аталмыш қозғалыстың кейбір тармақтарының партия түрінде саясатқа араласуына әсер етсе, енді бір бағытының радикалданып аймақтағы геосаяси жағдайларға ықпал ететіндей милитар күшке айналуына алып келді. Сондықтан, классикалық діни білім беруден басталған Деобандия қозғалысының XIX ғасырда отарлықпен және XX ғасырда жаңа саяси құрылыммен астасып жатқан саяси тәжірибесі аталмыш қозғалысты типологиялау ісінде маңызды фактор ретінде қарастырылуы қажет.

Түйін сөздер: Деобандия қозғалысы; Талибан қозғалысы; Таблиғи Жамағат; Саяси ислам; консерватизм; діни экстремизм; радикализм.

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Политический ислам или консерватизм: Типология движения Деобандия

Аннотация. В данной статье производится анализ Деобандийского движения, которое появилось в XIX веке в Индии в качестве религиозно-образовательной структуры. Исследование опирается на типологию религиозных движений в исламе и направлено на классификацию религиозных и политических групп, связанных с Деобанди. В ходе исследования формулируются систематические выводы по таким аспектам, как происхождение движения, его отношения с колониальным правительством, процесс разветвления, становление глобальной образовательной сети, вмешательство в политические решения, источники религиозного образования, правовой и доктринерованный опыт, а также современное состояние движения. Обширный анализ данных аспектов является необходимым для глубокого научного понимания конкретного религиозного движения.

Разделение Деобандийского движения на различные ветви в соответствии с историческими условиями требует анализа проблемы типологии в политическом контексте. В XX веке рост

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феномена политического ислама в исламском мире повлиял на участие некоторых ветвей этого движения в политике в партийной форме, а другое направление радикализировалось и превратилось в милитаристскую силу, способствующую геополитическим условиям в регионе. Поэтому политический опыт Деобандийского движения, начавшегося с классического религиозного образования, переплетающегося с колониализацией в XIX веке и новой политической структурой в XIX веке, следует рассматривать как важный фактор в деле типологизации данного движения.

Ключевые слова: *Движения Деобандия; Талибан; Таблиги Джамаат; политический ислам; консерватизм; религиозный экстремизм; радикализм.*

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