

Index

- 3 June Plan, 7, 98, 99, 109
- Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), 174
- Abell, George, 98, 102
- Abohar, 125
- Adi-Dharmi, 179
- Afghanistan, 167
- Afghans, 41
- Africa, 84
- Air India Flight 182, 137
- AISSF, 141, 181, 199
- Akal Takht, 36, 45, 130, 133, 134, 146, 173, 175, 181, 184
jathedar, 141, 146
 Operation Blue Star, 133, 134
- Akali movement, 59–62, 68
- Akhand Kirtan Jatha, 181, 199
- Ali, Chaudhri Rahmet, 75
- All-India Radio, 151
- All-Indian Muslim Conference, 75
- Amar Das (Guru), 35
- Ambala, 87
- Ambedkar, B. R., 111
- Amnesty International, 149, 157
- Amrit-dharis, 62, 81
- Amritsar, 54, 87, 97, 134, 147, 154, 184
- Anand Marriage (Amendment) Act (2012), 185
- Anand Marriage Act (1909), 58, 185
- Anandpur, 38, 153
- Anandpur Sahib Resolution (ASR) (1973), 110, 127, 128–9, 131, 143, 161, 168, 215
- Anderson, Benedict, 13, 14, 17, 24, 26, 66, 189, 210
- Anderson, Perry, 112
- Angad (Guru), 35
- antiterrorism, 145–6
- Appadurai, Arjun, 13, 14, 22, 24, 190
- Arizona, 203
- Arjan (Guru), 35, 36
- Aroras, 63
- Arya Samaj, 21, 73, 183
arya dharam, 73
 Sikhs, 73
- Asian Games, 129
- Assam, 137, 155, 167
- Atlee, Clement, 97, 98
- Aulakh, Gurmit Singh (Dr), 199
- Aurangzeb (Mughal emperor), 38
- Australasia, 1
- Australia, 84, 191
- Axel, Brian Keith, 2, 14, 23
- Ayodhya, 163, 166, 186
- Babbar Akali movement, 61
- Babbar Khalsa (BK), 142
- Babbar Khalsa International (BKI), 197, 199, 213
- Babri Masjid, 163, 166, 167
 Supreme Court verdict, 186
- Badal, Harsimrat Kaur, 177
- Badal, Parkash Singh, 137, 138, 158, 169
- Badal, Sukhbir Singh, 173
- Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), 158
- Bains (Justice), 156
- Bajpai, Rochana, 111, 112
- Bajrang Dal, 114, 165
- Ballantyne, Tony, 14, 20, 31, 32, 46, 47, 50
- Balmikis, 193, 202
- Baluchis, 5, 28, 218
- Banda Bahadur, 41
- Bangladesh, 15, 115, 130, 167
- Barnala, Surjit Singh, 139, 146
- Barrier, N. Gerald, and Verne A. Dusenbery, 190
- Basques, 25
- Behbal Kalan, 174, 176
- Belgium, 25
- Bengal, 52, 98, 165
- Bengalis, 53, 82
- Bentham, Jeremy, 45
- Berlin Wall, 177
- Bhakra-Nangal Dam complex, 123

254 Index

- Bharatiya Jana Sangh, 114, 116, 166
 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 5, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 183
 Operation Blue Star, 183
 Punjab (the), 168
 Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), 185
 Sikh Gurdwaras Act (1925), 185
 Bhindranwale Tiger Force Khalistan (BTFK), 142
 Bhindranwale, Sant Jarnail Singh, 27, 130, 131, 133, 143
 dharam yud morcha, 128–9
 Bihar, 97
 Birmingham, 135
 Blair, Tony, 207
 Border Security Force, 145
 Brahma Samaj, 165
 Brar, K. S. (Lieutenant-General), 133
 Brass, Paul R., 11, 14, 16, 22, 31, 50, 52, 79, 82, 102, 105, 106, 110, 116, 121, 130, 131, 152, 215, 217
 British
 annexation of the Punjab, 45
 Christian missionaries, 54
 colonialism and Sikh nationalism, 50
 declaration of Second World War, 84
 economic development, 53
 Khalsa Sikhs and the Indian Army, 48
 Labour government and India, 95
 official language in the Punjab, 54, 67
 British Sikh Report, 209
 Buddhists, 112, 113, 114, 165, 167
 Burma, 115
 Butalia, Urvashi, 105, 108, 148

 Cabinet Mission (1946), 91, 93, 111
 Plan, 95–6, 98
 Calcutta, 97, 194
 Calgary, 135
 Campbellpur, 97
 Canada, 1, 25, 156, 191, 199, 213
 Grant v. Canada (Attorney General), 196
 Komagata Maru, 194
 multiculturalism, 24, 203
 multiculturalism and Sikhs, 189–90
 New Democratic Party, 189
 Québécois, 25
 Canal Colonies, 53, 88
 caste, 63
 in the Punjab, 63
 Catalans, 25, 218
 Catalonia, 213
 Central Reserve Police Force, 145
 Chagger, Bardish, 189
 Chamars, 64, 179
 Chamkaur, 38
 Chandigarh, 110, 123, 125, 127, 139, 151, 180
 Chatterjee, Partha, 13, 14, 20, 46, 114
 Chauhan, Jagjit Singh (Dr), 142, 143, 157, 196, 198, *See also* diaspora, the Sikh
 Chenab (river), 101
 Chester, Lucy, 104
 Chicago, 204
 Chief Election Commissioner, 153
 Chief Khalsa Diwan, 58, 71, 194
 Chima, Jugdep S., 142
 China, 84, 115
 China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, 214
 Chittagong Hill Tracts, 104
 Chopra, Radhika, 181, 182
 Christianity, 3, 9
 Christians, 110, 111, 112, 114, 165, 166, 167, 184
 Churchill, Winston, 85
 Citizenship (Amendment) Act (2019), 167, 186
 civil disobedience movements (1930–2), 75
 Cohen, Robin, 14, 23, 190
 Cold War, 13, 26
 Communal Award (1932), 77–8
 communism, 74
 Communist Party of India (CPI), 74, 196
 Sikh homeland, 92
 Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI (M)), 115, 173, 196
 communists, 71, 82, 83
 Congress Party, 4, 52, 82, 83, 98, 158
 Akali movement, 60
 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946), 97
 Dalits in the Punjab, 74
 Delhi anti-Sikh riots, 135, 136
 ‘hegemonic control’ in the Punjab, 115–16
 Hindu nationalism, 114
 Hindu Right, 60
 Jat Sikhs, 81
 Lahore Resolution, 84
 nationalism, 52
 Partition violence, 107
 Punjab Hindu elite, 73, 131
 Quit India movement (1942), 86, 87
 Second World War, 84
 secular nationalism, 26
 Sikh national question, 215–16
 Sikhs before 1947, 73, 74, 83
 support base in the Punjab, 81, 116
 Congress Working Committee, 97
 Conner, Walker, 39, 218

- Constituent Assembly, 96, 97, 112, 117
 Hindu nationalist representation, 112–13
 Sikhs, 113
- Constitution of India, 64, 82, 111
 59th Constitutional Amendment, 146, 149, 150
 65th Constitutional Amendment, 150
 Articles 15 and 16, 112
 Article 25 (2), 185
 Article 343 (1), 113
 Article 356, 116
 Article 370, 166, 167, 214, 218
 Article 48, 113
 definition of a Hindu (Article 25 (2)), 112
 Directive Principles, 114
 Hinduism, 112
 religious minorities, 111
- Copland, Ian, 106, 107
- Council of Khalistan, 141, 197, 199–200
- counter-insurgency. *See* Indian Army
- Coventry, 135
- Cripps Mission, 87, 88
 Sikhs, 86–7
- Cripps, Stafford (Sir), 85, 95
 critical theory and Sikh studies, 4, 218
- Cunningham, J.D., 31, 47, 48
- Dal Khalsa, 181
- Dalits, 74, 179, 180, *See also* Scheduled Castes
 Sikhs, 74
- Damdami Taksal, 141, 146, 181
- Dar Commission (1948), 121
- Darbar Kartarpur Sahib, 176
- Dasam Granth, 47
- Dayal, Har, 194
- Delhi, 1, 2, 36, 41, 42, 95, 123, 125, 128, 129, 135, 168, 170
 anti-Sikh riots, 132–7, 159, 169, 171
 Jagdish Tytler, 171
- Deol, Harnik, 19
- Dera Baba Nanak, 176
- Dera Sacha Sauda (DSS), 173, 180–1
 Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) Haryana, 180
 Congress Party, 180
- Dera Sachkhand Ballan, 180
- Dhulipala, Venkat, 76
- diaspora, Ravidasi, 180
- diaspora, Sikh, 1, 7, 23, 119, 159, 182, 212
 California, 194
 commemoration of Operation Blue Star, 182
 geographical distribution, 191–2
gurdwaras, 192–3
 human rights abuses in the Punjab, 156
 imagining Khalistan, 126, 201–2
- India's intelligence agencies, 202
- insurgency, 160–1
- Khalistan movement, 132
 lobbying by, 201
 long-distance nationalism, 23–4
 millennials, 209
 nationalist organisations, 198
 North America, 58
 Operation Blue Star, 135
 politics of recognition, 203
 relative autonomy of, 189–90
 Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), 199
 Sikh nationalism, 5, 29
 size, 192
 social change and the future, 210
 sovereignty, 208
 victim diaspora, 23
- dominant minority, Sikhs as, 5, 52, 71, 218
- Dusenbery, Verne A., 2, 3, 8, 14, 21, 46
- Dyal Singh College, Delhi, 185
- East Africa, 64, 193
- East India Company, 42, 45, 46, 112
- East Pakistan, 115, 167
- Eastern Europe, 75
- Edmonton, 135
- Emergency (1975–7) (the), 125, 128
- ethnicity, meaning. *See* nationalism (primordialism and instrumentalism)
- ethnie*, definition of, 12
- ethno-symbolism, 4, 19–20, 57
- Europe, 84, 156
- European Court of Human Rights, 208
- European Union, 1, 24, 156, 191, 207
- Faridkot, 42
- Faridkot, maharaja of, 54
- Fazilka, 125
- Fenech, Louis E., 31, 36, 39, 50, 61
- Ferozepur, 102, 147, 154
- First World War, 59
- Foucault, Michel, 14, 21
- Fox, Richard G., 20, 21, 48, 54, 57, 58, 59, 68, 79
- France, 111, 208
- Gallipoli, 59
- Gandhi, M. K. (Mahatma), 40, 59, 68, 86, 98
- Gandhi, Indira (Mrs), 2, 18, 110, 122, 123, 125, 128, 131, 133, 135, 217
dharam yud morcha, 130
 River Water Award, 125

256 Index

- Gandhi, Rajiv, 135, 136, 137, 152, 217
 assassination, 153
 Gellner, Ernest, 12, 14, 17, 18
 Germany, 84, 187, 199
 Ghadar Party, 58, 74, 194
 Gill, K. P. S., 153, 156
 Gilmartin, David, 46, 53, 60, 61, 75, 78,
 79, 80
 Glancy, Bertrand (Sir), 88
 globalisation, 7, 26, 163
 meaning, 13, 164
 Goindwal, 35
 Golden Temple, 36, 36, 41, 110, 119, 130,
 133, 134–5, 140, 142, 146, 149, 189
 Government of India Act (1918), 70
 Government of India Act (1935), 53, 70, 78
 Grewal, J. S., 41, 44, 54, 55, 58, 59, 66, 67,
 71, 82, 85, 98, 124, 128, 137
 Guibernau, Monsterrat, 25, 218
 Gujarat, 166
 Gujrat, 97
 Gulf, Persian, 1
 Gurdaspur, 87, 104, 147, 154
gurdwaras, 46, 48, 58, 60, 134, 175, 213
 tourist guides, 68
gurmatas, 41, 141
 Gurmukhi, 15, 35
 Granth Sahib (Guru), 9, 34, 36, 37, 41, 47,
 55, 174, 184

Ham Hindu Nahi, 55, 185
 Hargobind (Guru), 36
 Haryana, 1, 122, 123, 125, 128, 180
 ‘hegemonic control’, 115, 131, 132, 158,
 160, 168, 177, 188, 215
 Himachal Pradesh, 1, 122, 123, 125
 Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act
 (1956), 117, 185–6
 Hindu Code Bill (1955), 117
 Hindu Marriage Act (1955), 117, 185
 Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act
 (1956), the, 117, 186
 Hindu nationalism, 5, 7, 26, 113–14, 163
 Arya Samaj, 73, 165
 definition of a Hindu (Savarkar), 165
 ‘genuine secularism’, 114, 165
 Hindu Mahasabha, 71, 73, 165
 Hindu Right, 163
 Hindu state, 165
 Hindutva, 165, 181, 183
 public space redefining, of, 166–7
 religious minorities, 165–6
 rise of, 165
 roots, 165
 Sangh Parivar, 183, 184, 185

 secular state, 114
 Sikh nationalism, 217
 Hindu Succession Act (1956), 117
 Hinduism, 3, 9, 33, 180
 ‘a way of life’, 186
 Hindus, 167
 massacres of, 148
 Punjab and Sikhism, 183
 Punjab and Sikhs, 184
 Hitler, Adolf, 187
 Hobsbawm, Eric, 14, 18, 162
 Hong Kong, 191, 193, 194
 Hoshiarpur, 102
 Houston, 204
 Human Rights Watch, 157
 Huntington, Samuel, 26

 India, 82, 111, 176, 177
 as an ethnic democracy, 167
 economic liberalisation, 164
 economic planning, 164
 federalism, 110, 111, 163
 globalisation, 164
 secular state, 26, 111, 112
 separatism in the Punjab, 214
 Sikh state, 214
 Sikhs, 216
 Sikhs, integration of, 161, 188, 216
 Union of, 7, 110, 111, 122
 Indian Army, 2, 131, 187
 counter-insurgency in the Punjab, 153–6
 martial races, 46
 recruitment from the Punjab, 69
 recruitment of Sikhs, 48–9
 recruitment of Sikhs after 1947, 216
 Indian Independence Bill (1947), 98
 Indian Mutiny, 46
 Indian National Army (Japan), 86
 Indian Workers’ Associations, 74, 196
 Indo-Pakistan war (1965), 122, 131
 Interim Government (1946–7), 96, 97
 International Covenant on Civil and
 Political Rights, 208
 International Sikh Youth Federation
 (ISYF), 197, 199, 205
 Iqbal, Mohammed (Sir), 75
 Iranian revolution, 26
 Iraq, 25
 Islam, 3, 9, 33, 179, 180
 Ismay, Hastings (General), 98

 Jaffrelot, Christophe, 15, 26, 27, 73, 164,
 166, 167, 183
 Jains, 113, 114, 165, 167
 Jakobsh, Doris, 3, 49, 50, 55

- Jalal, Ayesha, 75, 84, 96
 Jammu and Kashmir, 52, 104, 115, 214, 215
 Janata Party, 128
 Japan and the Second World War, 86
jathas, 68
 Jats, 15, 36, 64, 193. *See also* caste
 conversion to Sikhism, 64
 Jenkins, Evan (Sir), 101, 102, 106, 107, 109
 Jews, 30, 53, 205, 217
 Jind, 42
 Jinnah, Mohammad Ali, 15, 75, 84, 97, 98, 99, 100, 107
 Cripps Mission, 86
 Lahore Resolution, 84
 Jodhka, Surinder S., 181
 Johnson, Boris, 207
 Jones, Kenneth, 21, 53
 Juergensmeyer, Mark, 14, 26–7, 60, 64, 74, 129, 179
 Jullundur, 54, 87, 88, 102, 184

 Kairon, Partap Singh, 73, 120
 Kapur, Rajiv, 14, 17, 22, 56, 187
 Kapurthala, 102
 Karnal, 95
 Kartarpur Corridor, 176–7, 186
 Kashmir, 122
 Kashmiris, 5, 28, 82, 218
 Kenya, 191, 193
 Kerala, 187, 215
 Kesh-dharis, 62, 81, 204
 Khalistan (Sikh state), 7, 96
 1989 Lok Sabha elections, Punjab, 149
 Amritsar Declaration (1994), 157–8
 anthropological explanation of the
 movement's decline, 161
 armed Sikh groups, 146–9
 Bhatti, V. S. (Dr), 85
 declaration of (1986), 142
 etymology of, 85
 imagining, 143–4
 intelligence agencies and the movement,
 141, 146
 Khalistani paradigm, 27
 meaning, 2
 movement and women, 148
 Shiromani Akal Dal resolution (1946), 91
 Sikh as a nation (SGPC), 128
 Sikhs as a nation, pre-1947, 91–3
 territorial claims, pre-1947, 93–5
 Khalistan Commando Force (KCF),
 141, 142
 Khalistan Council (KC), 127, 142,
 197, 198

 Khalistan-Affairs Centre (KAC), 200
 Khalsa, 2, 9, 37, 50
 as chosen people, 39, 68, 127, 211
 as sovereign, 38–40
 creation of, 38
 ethnie, 19, 28, 48, 50, 57, 211
 feminist scholarship, 40
 gender, 42
 identity, 37, 57
 identity and Sikh nationalism, 56
 relapse into Hinduism, 42
 Singh, Gobind (Guru), 39
 Khalsa College, Amritsar, 69
 Khalsa Tract Society, 67
 Khalsa Unionists, 82
 Khan, Imran, 176, 177, 214
 Khan, Zafrullah (Sir), 100
 Khatri, 35, 63
 Kim, Heewon, 5, 28, 112, 166, 167, 171,
 187, 213
 Kirti Kisan Party, 74, 75
 Kurds, 5, 28, 218
 Kymlicka, Will, 10, 203, 218

 Lahore, 33, 36, 41, 42, 54, 75, 84, 85, 87,
 88, 95, 100, 123
 Leicester, 135
 Lijphart, Arend, 70
 Linlithgow (Viceroy Lord), 84
 London, 135, 193
 London School of Economics, 100
 Longowal, Sant Harchand Singh, 133, 138
 Los Angeles, 135, 204
 Lucknow Pact (1916), 74
 Ludhiana, 54, 93, 154, 184
 Lyallpur, 54, 95

 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 45
 Macauliffe, Max Arthur, 31, 47
 Madhya Pradesh, 166, 187
 Maharashtra, 52, 166, 187
 Mahmood, Cynthia Keppley, 14, 27
 Malaysia, 193
 Malhotra, Anshu, 4, 31, 50
 Malhotra, O.P., 153
 Mandair, Arvind-Pal S., 2, 3, 14, 40, 50, 57,
 60, 217
 Mandal Commission Report (1990), 164
 Manila, 199
 Mann, Simranjit Singh, 145
 Sikh self-determination, 152
 Manor, James, 217
 McDonald, Ramsey, 77
 McLeod, W. H., 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 41,
 42, 57, 63, 69

258 Index

- Melville, Eric (Sir), 98
 Middle East, 5, 26
 Mill, James, 45
 Mizoram, 137
 Mona-Sikhs, 63, 81
 Montgomery, 95
 Moore, Barrington, 114
 Moscow, 74
 Motorcycle Crash Helmets (Religious Exemption) Act (1976), 196
 Mountbatten, Louis (Viceroy Lord), 98–9, 102, 105
 Mughals, 36, 36, 38, 41, 43, 46, 50
 Mukerjee, N. K., 149
 Multan, 88, 97
 multiculturalism, 203, 205, 213
 in the Punjab before 1947, 5
 Murphy, Anne, 31, 39, 58, 60, 68
 Muslim League, 4, 52, 82, 83, 84, 98
 agitation in the Punjab, 97
 Cabinet Mission Plan, 96, 97
 Cripps Mission, 86
 direct action, 97
 Lahore Resolution, 6, 15, 84, 106, 108,
 See also Pakistan
 nationalism, 52
 Partition violence, 107
 Second World War, 84
 self-determination in the Punjab, 78
 Muslim Personal Law, 166, 167
 Muslims, 110, 111, 112, 114, 165, 166
- Nabha, 42
 Nabha, Bhai Khan Singh, 55
 Nagaland, 115, 137
 Nagas, 5, 28, 82, 218
 Naidu, Venkaiah, 177
 Nairn, Tom, 12
 Namdharis, 193, 202
 Nanak (Guru), 33–35, 176, 186
 Nanavati Commission, 169, 171
 Nanded, 185
 Nankana Sahib, 33, 60
 Napoleon, Bonapart, 43
 Narain, Lala Jagjat, 121
 Narankari sect, 129
 nation, definition of, 4, 11
 National Democratic Alliance, 166, 168
 National Front government, 149
 the Punjab, 151
 National Security Act (1980), 145
 nationalism
 ethno-symbolism, 19–20, 28
 instrumentalism, 16
 long-distance nationalism, 24
 Marxism, 18
 modernism, 16–18
 postcolonialism, 12, 20–2
 primordialism, 13–15
 nationalism, definition of, 4, 11
 nation-building, 106
 in the Punjab before 1947, 53, 79
 Naujwan Bharat Sabha, 75
 Nayar, Baldev Raj, 5, 56, 64, 66, 74, 110,
 116, 118, 119
 Nehru Report (1928), 74
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 73, 76, 97, 100,
 107, 110
 Congress Party assurance to the
 Sikhs, 96–7
 democratic consolidation, 115
 Punjabi Suba, 110, 121
 New York, 13, 135, 199
 New Zealand, 191
 Nirankaris, 193, 202
 Nirmalas, 36
 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920–2), 59
 North America, 64, 67, 84, 193
 North West Frontier Province, 97
 Northern Ireland, 25
- Oak Creek, 203
 Oberoi, Harjot, 14, 22, 42, 50, 53–7, 79,
 187, 212
 Operation Black Thunder, 146
 Operation Blue Star, 7, 27, 111, 130,
 131, 132, 133–5, 137, 159, 161,
 163, 181
 Operation Woodrose, 134
 Sikh reaction, 135
- Pakistan, 15, 82, 104, 108, 111, 115, 133,
 134, 159, 160, 167, 170, 175, 176,
 177, 217
 acronym, 75
 armed Sikh groups, 147
 as Sikh homeland, 177
 Ayub Khan, 104
 Bajwa, Qamar Javeed (General), 176
 Field Intelligence Unit, 141
 Inter-Service Intelligence, 141
 Panthic Committee, second, 147
 Punjab Boundary Award, 104
 Sikh insurgency, 160
 Sikh policy, 214
 Sikh state, 214
 Zia-ul-Haq (General), 141
 Pandey, Gyanendra, 105
 Panth, 41, *See also* Sikhism and Sikh
 identity

- Panthic Committee, first, 142, 147
 Panthic Committee, second, 146
 Panthic Committee, third, 147
 Panthic Committees, 65, 141, 146
 Parekh, Bhikhu (Lord), 205
 Parsis, 167
 Partition, 82, 111, 115
 Partition Council, 100, 104
 Partition violence, 104–5
 against women, 108
 Sikhs, 105–8
 Patel, Sardar Vallabhai, 107, 113, 117
 Patiala, 42, 169
 maharaja of, 117
 Patiala and East Punjab States Union, 117
 Patits, 63
 Peace Research Institute, 152
 Penang, 191
 Persian, 43
 Pettigrew, Joyce J. M., 14, 15, 126, 143,
 145, 146, 149, 160, 215
 Pheruman, Darshan Singh, 125
 Poona Pact (1932), 74
 post 9/11, 7
 ‘post-sovereignty’, 24–5
 Punjab and Haryana High Court, 185–6
 Punjab Boundary Commission, 93, 99,
 100
 Award, 102, 109
 Congress Party case, 101
 Muslim League case, 101
 Sikh case, 100
 Punjab Boundary Force, 104
 Punjab Disturbed Areas Ordinance
 (1983), 145
 Punjab Legislative Assembly, 76, 97, 123
 Citizenship (Amendment) Act
 (2019), 186
 elections, 1937, 78
 elections, 1946, 90
 elections, 1985, 139
 elections, 1992, 154–5
 elections, 1997, 158, 168
 elections, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017, 172
 Punjab Police, 147, 155, 156
 death squads, 149
 Punjab Referendum 2020, 209, 213
 Punjab Reorganisation Act (1966),
 123, 127
 Punjab (the), 5, 6, 115, 125
 agriculture, decline of, 178
 as Sikhs’ homeland and holy land, 109
 division of, 98
 East Punjab, 7
 economic crisis, 182–3
 farmer suicides, 179
 ‘Green Revolution’, 18, 125–6, 187
 ‘land of the five rivers’, 1, 15
 parliamentary elections, 149–50, 176
 Punjabi, 158
 regionalism, 163, 168
 religious change, contemporary, 179–81
 Sikhs and the economy before 1947, 83
 social change since the 1990s, 177–9
 Termination of Water Agreement Act
 (2004), 170
 urbanisation, 178
 West Punjab, 99
 Punjabi literature, 67
 Punjabi, 54, 58, 66–8
 Punjabi press, 66
 Punjabi Suba, 110
 as a Sikh nationality movement, 16
 Parliamentary Committee, 122
 Punjab Hindu opposition to, 121
 Save Hindi campaign, 122

 Radcliffe, Cyril (Sir), 99, 100, 102
 Radhoswamis, 193
 Rajasthan, 1, 125, 166, 187
 Rajiv-Longowal Accord (1985), 132,
 137–8, 159, 168
 Rajputs, 43
 Ram Das (Guru), 35
 Ramgarhias, 64, 193, 202
 Randhawa, Mohinder Singh, 107
 Rao, Narasimha, 135, 153
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), 114,
 165, 184
 Ravi River (river), 87, 96
 Ravidas Dharam, 179–80
 Ravidas movement, 179
 Ravidasias, 64, 193, 202
 Rawalpindi massacres, 98
 Ray, S. S., 145, 149
 Rees (Major-General), 104
 Regional Formula (1957), 119, 121, 122
 religious nationalism, 13, 25–8, 29, 60
 India, 28
 Sikhs, 213
 South Asia, 27
 Representation of People Act (1951), 153
 Republican Party, 115
 Ribeiro, Julio, 145
 Robinson, Francis, 75
 Rode, Jasbir Singh, 146, 199
 Round Table Conferences (1930–2), 76,
 77
 Rushdie, Salman, 205
 Russia, 74

260 Index

- Sachar Formula (1949), 121
 Sáez, Lawrence, and Gurharpal Singh, 170
 Sahaj-dhāris, 42, 63, 185
 Said, Edward W., 14, 21, 46
 Sajjan, Harjit, 189
 San Francisco, 135, 194, 204
 Sanatan Sikhs, 22, 42, 44, 54, 55, 57, 62
 Sangrur, 154
 Sapru Reconciliation Committee (1944), 89
 Sarbat Khalsa, 41, 141, 142, 146, 175, 181
 Saund, Dalip Singh, 195
 Savarkar, V. D., 165
 Scheduled Castes (SC), 64, 179
 Scotland, 213
 Scots, 25, 218
 Second World War, 6, 79, 81, 82
 India, 84
 secular nationalism, 26
 self-determination, 96, 144
 Sikhs, 81
 Setalvad, Motilal C., 100
 Shackle, Christopher, 67
 Shahidganj dispute, 78
 Unionist government, 79
 Shani, Giorgio, 14, 24, 39, 190, 207, 208
 Shekar, Chandra
 the Punjab, 151–2
 Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), 2, 16, 59, 66, 71, 73, 81, 82
 after Operation Blue Star, 132
 Azad Punjab, 88
 Cabinet Mission Plan, 96
 Congress Party, 91
 dharam yud morcha, 128–30
 ideology, 65–6
 India as a multinational state, 215
 Mountbatten, Louis (Viceroy Lord), 99
 Muslim League, 90
 Punjab Boundary Commission, 99
 Punjabi Suba campaigns, 121–3
 resolution for a Sikh state (1946), 91
 resolution for the division of the Punjab, 98
 Sapru Committee (1944), 89–90
 Sikh political system, 65
 strategies, 1947–84, 118–119
 Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) (SAD(B)), 149, 158, 160, 168, 181
 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 185
 Citizenship (Amendment) Act (2019), 187
 corruption, 169, 173–4
 Dera Sacha Sauda (DSS), 180
 development, 172–3
 ‘Sikh political system’, 169, 175
 Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann), 145, 149, 159, 181, 213
 Nation Front government, 150
 Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), 59, 60, 64, 119, 187
 Sikh political system, 64
 Sidhu, Navjot, 176
 Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact (1942), 87
 Sikh Coalition, 191, 203
 Sikh Dharma Brotherhood, 204
 Sikh Federation (UK), 191, 203, 205–7, 213
 Sikh Agenda, 205
 Sikh Gurdwaras Act (1925), 53, 61, 64, 68, 185
Sikh Hindu Hain, 55
 Sikh Human Rights Group (UK), 208
 Sikh identity, 213
 as a global *qaum*, 25, 207–8
 as a martial race, 46
 as a minority, 3, 5, 10, 211, 212
 as a nation, 3, 10, 211
 as a religion, 3, 9, 211
 before the Singh Sabha movement, 36
 caste, 34
 divisions within, 80
 Hindutva, challenge of, 183–8
 Punjabi, 67
 religious sub-identities, 62–3
 territorialisation, 81
 today, 181
 Sikh nationalism
 as identity-driven. *See* Sikh identity
 Sikh political system, 66
 Sikh population, 1–2
 1855, 45
 1941, 71
 2011, 1
 Sikh princely states, 41–2, 83, 85
 Sikh Rahit Maryada, 62, 63
 Sikh Reference Library, 133
 Sikh sovereignty, 40, *See also* Khalsa
 Sikh studies, 2, 26, 218
 Sikhism, 179, 180
 as a world religion (British narrative), 47
 equality, 34
 gender, 34
 Hindu origins of, 33
 Indian Army and Hindu converts to Sikhism, 56
 Sant movement, 33
 Sikhs

- as a nation (British narratives), 47–8
 Simla, 90, 95
 Sind, 77
 Hindus, 53
 Singapore, 86, 191
 Singh Sabha movement, 22, 54–7
 Amritsar sabha, 21, 54
 Lahore sabha, 54
 Singh, Amrik, 133
 Singh, Amrinder (Captain), 169, 175, 177
 anti-corruption campaign, 169
 Citizenship (Amendment) Act
 (2019), 186
 Congress Party government and devel-
 opment, 175–6
 corruption, 171
 Singh, Baldev, 87, 95
 Singh, Bhagat, 75
 Singh, Bhai Vir, 56, 67
 Bijai Singh, 68
 Khalsa as chosen people, 68
 Satwant Kaur, 68
 Sundari, 67, 68
 Singh, Dhigambir (Brigadier), 104
 Singh, Duleep (Maharaja), 45, 54
 Singh, Dyal, 185
 Singh, Giani Kartar, 95, 102
 Singh, Gobind (Guru), 37–9, 40, 186
 Zafar-namha, 38
 Singh, Gurharpal, 2, 14, 19, 28, 38, 64, 74,
 75, 115, 126, 157, 160, 167, 169, 170,
 171, 174, 177, 190, 210, 213
 Singh, Gurharpal, and Darshan Singh
 Tatla, 9, 10, 196, 197, 218
 Singh, Harbaksh (Lieutenant-General), 135
 Singh, Harnam, 95
 Singh, Hukam, 113
 Singh, Jagmeet, 189
 Singh, Kapur, 127
 Singh, Khushwant, 14, 15, 31, 37, 41, 43,
 49, 59, 78, 79, 95, 96, 117, 127, 129,
 133, 136, 188, 211
 Singh, Manmohan (Dr), 164, 170, 171
 apology for anti-Sikh riots, 171
 Singh, Nikky-Guninder Kaur, 31, 34, 35,
 39, 55, 56, 57
 Singh, Pashura, 34, 209
 Singh, Ram, 69
 Singh, Ram Rahim, 173, 180
 Singh, Ranjit (Maharaja), 16, 42
 character, 44
 empire, 9
 empire and Sikh nationalist imagin-
 ation, 43
 government of the Khalsa, rule of, 43
 Kingdom of Lahore, 42, 162, 215
 military, 43
 Singh, Rulda, 184
 Singh, Sant Fateh, 122, 125
 Singh, Satwant, 135
 Singh, Shabeg (Major-General), 130, 133
 Singh, Sohan (Dr), 157
 Singh, Tara (Master), 68, 72, 87, 90, 94,
 95, 97, 106, 122
 a separate Sikh state, 85
 Lahore Resolution, 85
 Punjab Boundary Commission, 101
 Punjabi Suba, 118, 122
 Singh, Teja, 100
 Singh, Teja (Principal), 68
 Singh, Ujjal, 76, 81
 Singh, V. P., 149
 Sirhind, 38
 Smith, Anthony D., 4, 11, 12, 14, 19, 28,
 50, 129, 210, 211, 217, 218
 Sodhi, Balbir Singh, 203
 South Africa, 135
 South Asia, 1, 26, 31, 211
 instrumentalism, ethnicity and political
 elites, 16
 nationalism, rise of, 52
 religious reform movements, 53
 religious reform movements and nation-
 alism, 79
 Southall, 198
 South-East Asia, 1, 26, 67, 75, 84
 Chinese, 53
 sovereignty
 see Khalsa
 Soviet Union, 26, 83
 Spate, Oskar, 100
 States Reorganisation Commission,
 119, 121
 Supreme Court, 167, 186
 Surjeet, Harkishan Singh, 170
 Sutlej (river), 42, 101
 Swatantar, Teja Singh, 83
 Switzerland, 89

 Talbot, Ian, 70, 90
 Talbot, Ian, and Gurharpal Singh, 98,
 105, 109
 Tamil Nadu, 52, 172
 Tamils, 5, 28, 53, 218
 Tat Khalsa, 20, 54
 gender, 55
 ideology, 18, 22, 54, 55, 181
 Tatla, Darshan Singh, 2, 14, 18, 23, 84,
 135, 137, 198, 202, 210
 Taylor, Charles, 203

262 Index

- Tegh Bahadur (Guru), 36, 186
 Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Act (1984), 145
 Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (1985), 145, 154
 Thora, Gurcharan Singh, 133, 137, 138
 Tiwana, Kizar Hayat Khan, 91
 Toronto, 135
 Treaty of Lahore (1846), 45
 Trudeau, Justin, 189
 Trump, Donald, 203
 Trump, Ernest, 47
 Tully, Mark, and Jacob Satish, 134
- Udasis, 35, 36
 Uganda, 193
 Unionist Party, 70, 83, 87
 coalition government 1946, 91
 Muslim League, 76
 Muslim League in the Punjab, 90
 United Akali Dal, 141
 United Kingdom, 1, 8, 64, 156, 191, 213
 Anti-Terrorism Act (2001), 205
 Commission for Racial Equality, 196
 Equalities Act (2010), 30
 House of Commons, 85, 98
 House of Lords, 8, 128, 196
 Mandla v. Dowell Lee, 8, 196
 multiculturalism, 205, 207
 Race Relations Act (1976), 30, 128, 196
 SAS and Operation Blue Star, 130
 Sikh migration, 195
 turban campaigns, 195–6
 United Nations, 100, 119, 205
 General Assembly, 177
 Human Rights Committee, 208
 World Conference on Racism (2001), 208
 United Progressive Alliance, 170
 Punjab the, 171
 United Provinces, 107
 United States of America, 1, 156, 199, 213
 California Alien Land Act (1913), 194
 Civil Rights Act (1964), 203
 Department of Homeland Security, 204
 gora Sikhs, 9
 Immigration Act (1965), 204
 Luce-Cellar Act (1946), 195
 Patriot Act (2001), 204
 Second World War, 86
 secularism, 111
 US Supreme Court v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 194
 University of California, 73
 University of Michigan, 73
 Uttar Pradesh, 1, 166, 172
- van der Veer, Peter, 5, 14, 22, 27, 52, 60, 183
 Vancouver, 135, 191, 193, 194
 Victoria, 191
 Victoria (Queen), 45, 46
 Diamond jubilee, 193
 Vienna, 174, 180
 ‘violent control’, 115, 131, 132, 158, 160, 168, 215
 Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), 114, 165
- Washington, 135, 204
 Wavell (Viceroy Lord), 90, 96, 98
 Welsh, 25
 West Bengal, 145, 187, 215
 Westminster, 89
White Paper on the Punjab Agitation, 127, 160
 Whitehall, 96
 Wisconsin, 203
 Wolverhampton Transport Authority, 195
 World Sikh Organisation (USA), 141, 197, 199
 World Sikh Organisation (WSO), 189, 213
 World Trade Center, 13
- Yuba City, 193
 Yugoslavia, 26
 Zaffarwal, Wasant Singh, 157
 Zira, 102
 Zoroastrians, 111, 114