

Index

- 1984 Ordinance, 43, 146–8, 152, 155, 161,
 162–5, 167–75, 179, 186, 188, 195,
 196–7, 199, 200, 201, 203–4, 221
- Ahmad, Ghafoor, 114, 142, 143, 153–4
 Ahmad, Khurshid, 102
 Ahmad, Mirza Nasir, 62–4, 129, 131–3
 Ahmadiyya Community, 1, 3, 6, 7, 42, 43,
 48, 52, 62–4, 66, 68–71, 74–5, 79, 109,
 115, 116, 118, 127, 129, 130–1, 133,
 134, 148, 153–4, 155–6, 165–6, 169,
 174, 176–7, 208, 210, *See* Ghulam
 Ahmed, Mirza
- Ahmadi Question, 6–7, 9–11, 14, 15, 38,
 41, 42–3, 45–7, 57, 64, 65, 67, 77, 85,
 95, 99, 105, 106–7, 127, 136, 137,
 152–3, 158, 176, 177, 178, 180–1, 184,
 187, 191, 206, 207–8, 210, 214, 215,
 221, 223, 229, 234
- Ahmadis, 1, 2, 6–7, 9–11, 38, 42–3, 46,
 47, 48, 51–3, 57–8, 59–62, 64–8,
 69–70, 71–6, 79, 85, 94–6, 100, 101–2,
 103–4, 107, 109, 115–20, 122–3, 124,
 127, 129–32, 133–4, 138–9, 142, 145,
 152–60, 163–4, 165, 166, 168, 171–4,
 175, 176–82, 184–91, 195–6,
 198–205, 206–8, 210, 220, 221,
 229–30
- and Iqbal, 57–65
 anti-Ahmadiyya movement (1952–3),
 94–7
 anti-Ahmadiyya movement (1974),
 116–22
- anti-Ahmadiyya movement (1984),
 158–61
 citizenship rights, 7, 9, 40, 42, 156, 166,
 180, 185, 207, 216, 217, 229–30
 Lahore Attacks (2010), 1–2, 13
 numbers, 7
 religious beliefs, 48–50
 split, 52
- Ahmed, Ghafoor, 114, 138
 Alavi, Hamza, 99
 al-Banna, Hassan, 226
 Ali, Sahabzada Farooq, 122, 127–8, 129,
 138, 164
 All-India Muslim League, 45, 47, 55–7, 62,
 67, 68–74, 76, 77, 80, 82–3, 86
 an’Naim, Abdullahi, 35, 216
*Anti-Islamic Activities of the Qadiani
 Group, Lahori Group and Ahmadis
 (Prohibition and Punishment)*
Ordinance, 1984. See 1984 Ordinance
- Arendt, Hannah, 7–9, 34, 35, 39, 207
 Arjomand, Said Amir, 21, 40
 Arya Samaj, 48, 49
 Asad, Talal, 17
 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 19, 216, 225
 Aurangzeb, Miangul, 138, 139
 authoritarianism, 26, 33, 98, 110, 225,
 226, 227
 Azad, Abul Kalam, 55
- Baha’is, 226, 227
 Bakhtiar, Yahya, 128–9, 131–3, 135, 153
 Balibar, Etienne, 34, 108, 216

- Bangladesh, 45, 79, 112, 113, 223, 228
 Barma, Prem Hari, 92–3
 Bayat, Asef, 11
 Berger, Peter, 12
 Bhandara, Minocher P., 163
 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 231, 232
 Bhargava, Rajeev, 232
 Bhatti, Shahbaz, 177
 Bhutto, Benazir, 204
 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 7, 111–12, 122, 123–6,
 127–8, 136, 138–9, 142, 148–9, 150,
 161, 175, 220
 Blasphemy Laws, 145, 151, 177, 207
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 29, 30, 34, 142, 179, 218
 British India, 3, 6, 41, 45, 47, 65, 72, 75, 80,
 132, 184, 199, 222, 223, 224
 elections, 46, 56–7, 67, 68, 69, 73,
 77, 80
 Government of India Act (1919), 53, 55
 Government of India Act (1935), 66
 Muslim politics, 45, 46, 54–5, 77, 223
 partition (1947), 74–5, 155
 religious fields, 41, 54, 80
 religious policy, 47, 52, 53, 62
 separate electorates, 46, 56–7, 76
 Brown, Nathan, 20
 Brubaker, Rogers, 34
 Bukhari, Attaullah Shah, 59
- Cady, Linell E. and Elizabeth Shakman
 Hurd, 25
 Casanova, Jose, 17, 22
 Chakravarty, Raj Kumar, 90, 92
 China, 104
 Constituent Assembly (Pakistan), 73, 78,
 80, 81, 86, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102,
 110, 142
 flag debates, 81–6
 Objectives Resolution debates, 86–93
 Constitution (Second Amendment) Act of
 1974. *See* Second Constitutional
 Amendment (SCA)
 Cornelius, A.R., 182
 Council of Islamic Ideology, 150, 160,
 163–4, 182
- Datta, Bhupendra Kumar, 90–3
 Datta, Kamini Kumar, 91–2
 Daultana, Mumtaz, 94, 95, 101
 democracy, 5, 27, 33, 35, 37, 41, 42, 91–2,
 104, 107–8, 109, 116, 121, 123, 136–7,
 143, 144, 146, 164, 169, 172, 175, 200,
 205, 211, 222, 227
 desecularization, 4–5, 6, 11, 22–4, 26, 29,
 37, 41, 76, 81, 93, 106, 107, 124, 128,
 137, 143, 146, 174–7, 178, 184, 201,
 206, 208, 210, 213, 219, 223, 224, 225,
 228
 settled, 24, 26–7, 224
 unsettled, 4, 5, 25, 28, 109, 146, 178, 210,
 224, 226
 differentiation, 4, 11, 17, 22–3, 28, 46, 150,
 212. *See also* secularization
- Ebrahim, Fakhruddin G., 194, 204–5
 Egypt, 21, 22, 28, 209, 221, 226–7, 233
 Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 225
 Establishment Clause (United States), 19,
 26, 230–1
- fatwa*, 6, 38, 50–1, 64, 71, 101
 Federal Shariat Court, 44, 151, 179, 193–4,
 195, 196, 197, 200
 Fetzter, Joel S. and Christopher Soper, 4
 France, 8, 19, 25, 209, 219, 223, 229, 232
 Free Exercise Clause (United States), 19, 230
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, 55, 70,
 75, 82
 Ghamdi, Javed, 176
 Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza, 6, 48–53, 60, 61,
 66, 94, 116, 123, 130, 154, 155,
 165, 198
 Gilmartin, David, 45
 Gorski, Philip S., 17
 Greenfeld, Liah, 33
- Hasan, Shamsul, 70–1
 Honig, Bonnie, 12
 Hudood Ordinances, 145, 151, 152
 human rights, 8, 11, 35, 169, 174, 211,
 216, 224
 Hussain, Aftab, 187–91, 193, 195–8
- ideal-types, 24
 Iftikharuddin, Mian, 87, 99
 India (postcolonial), 18, 19, 25, 26, 45, 74,
 79, 104, 111, 113, 132, 223, 229,
 231–2
 Indian National Congress, 45, 55–6, 59, 65,
 69–71, 77, 80, 82, 231
 Indonesia, 27, 222, 228

- Iqbal, Muhammad, 6, 47, 57–8, 59–65, 68
 Iran, 3, 22, 26–7, 28, 35, 104, 174,
 224–6
 Baha'is, 35
 Green Movement, 26, 225, 226
 Revolution (1979), 174
 Islam, 1, 7, 10, 11–12, 15, 26, 32, 42, 48–51,
 53, 58, 61, 63, 64, 65, 69, 72, 85, 101,
 111, 113, 118, 121, 122, 128, 130, 138,
 141, 143, 145, 154, 156, 165, 171–3,
 176, 185, 190, 191, 199, 200, 204, 207,
 211, 225, 227
 and constitutionalism, 40, 86–93, 110,
 114, 132, 136, 143, 150, 182–4, 193,
 201–3, 215
 and national identity, 3, 5, 33, 47, 80, 83,
 84, 85, 106, 116, 124, 125, 126, 143,
 144, 148, 152, 158, 166, 167, 174,
 210, 224
 finality of prophethood (*khatam-
 e-nabuwwat*), 49–50, 61, 62, 63, 115,
 122, 123, 130, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159,
 198–9
 fiqh/ usul al-fiqh, 36, 38, 88, 198
 Quran, 59, 83, 88, 92, 93, 150, 151, 153,
 154, 156, 173, 185, 195, 220
sharia, 2, 6, 35–6, 71, 88, 89, 148, 180,
 182–4, 185–6, 188–91, 193, 195, 197,
 199–200, 201, 206, 221, 227, 228, 232
Sunnah, 83, 88, 150, 173, 189, 190, 195
 Islamists, 7, 88–9, 109
 Islamization (Pakistan), 16, 42, 145, 146,
 148, 150, 151–2, 159, 163, 167, 174,
 176, 192, 198, 227
 Israel, 3, 22, 23, 27, 28, 116, 130, 209,
 221, 229

 Jalal, Ayesha, 59, 97
Jamaat-e-Islami, 79, 88, 94, 102, 106,
 110, 228
Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam, 1, 113
 Jewish question, 7–9
 Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 45, 47, 55, 67, 69,
 70, 71–3, 76, 80–6, 97, 100, 105, 152,
 170–1
 judicialization
 of politics, 39
 of religious politics, 39–40, 43, 180–1,
 182, 221
 Justice and Development Party (AKP),
 225–6

 Kashmir Muslim Conference, 59
 Kashmiri, Agha Shorash, 115, 185
 Kasuri, Ahmad Raza Khan, 140–1
 Khaksars, 67, 73
 Khan, Ayub, 110–11, 125, 184
 Khan, Liaqut Ali, 70, 71, 84–5, 86, 90
 Khan, Yahya, 111, 183
 Khan, Zafrullah, 60, 65, 68, 87,
 94, 172
 Kuru, Ahmet T., 223

 Laclau, Ernesto, 34, 124
 Laïcité (France), 19, 212

 Mahmud, Bashiruddin, 53, 60, 66, 67,
 70, 75
Majlis Tabaffuz Khatm-e-Nubuwwat
 (MTKN), 115, 118, 156–7, 158, 160,
 162, 166, 168–9, 175
Majlis-e-Ahrar-Islam (Ahrar), 47, 57,
 59–60, 65–7, 68, 69, 71–2, 73, 76,
 94–6
 Mann, Michael, 42, 107
 Maududi, Sayyid Abu'l-A'la, 88–9, 94–5,
 96, 110
 Mazari, Sherbaz, 138, 139
 Metcalf, Barbara, 55
 Mohammad, Ghulam, 97–8
 Mouffe, Chantal, 37
 Movement for the Restoration of
 Democracy, 149, 167
 Mughal Empire, 36, 51, 217
 Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, 188–9, 195, 196
 Munir Report, 99–102, 104, 182
 Munir, Muhammad, 99, 181
 Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt), 226, 227
 Muslim League (Pakistan), 79, 85, 87, 89,
 93, 99, 161
 Muslim societies
 definition, 11
 religion and politics, 11–16, 32–3, 35–8,
 217–18

 National Awami Party (NAP), 111, 113
 nationalism, 33, 34, 55, 57, 77, 103,
 106, 111, 152, 166, 210, 215,
 227, 232
 civic, 35, 106, 107, 216
 classification struggles, 34, 38, 42, 77,
 108, 210, 220
 ethnic, 107–8, 144, 216

nationalism (cont.)

- national identity, 3, 7, 10, 16, 29, 33, 34, 41, 47, 78, 81, 82, 84, 89, 92, 93, 105, 107, 109, 111, 114, 116, 121, 122, 123, 126, 130, 136, 143, 146, 152, 164, 166–7, 178, 210, 213, 215, 216, 220, 221, 224, 231
- religious nationalism, 37, 41, 85, 106, 143, 146, 148, 152, 174, 178, 195, 200, 206, 212, 219, 224
- Nazimuddin, Khwaja, 95–6, 98, 101
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 55, 75
- Nepal, 233
- Objectives Resolution, 3, 86–94, 100, 105, 142, 182, 194, 200, 203, 215, *See also* Constituent Assembly (Pakistan)
- Ottoman Empire, 8, 36, 217, 225, 226
- Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), 148–9
- Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), 111–13, 125, 127–8, 148–9, 169
- Pakistan Taliban, 1, 13
- Patel, Sardar Vallabhai, 75
- Pirzada, Abdul Hafeez, 122–3, 135–6
- Pirzada, Sharifuddin, 162, 196–7
- political field, 30–3, 37–40, 41, 42–3, 46, 77–9, 97–8, 106, 112–13, 114, 117, 128, 141, 146, 148, 152, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 184, 187, 200, 201, 207, 208, 210, 219, 224, 225, 227
 - colonial, 46, 47, 53
- politics of expediency, 128, 142, 163, 219
- politics of fear, 137, 140, 147, 163, 177, 219
- postcolonial societies, 30–1, 78, 82, 83, 98, 214, 223
- pressure politics, 137, 140–1, 147, 163, 175
- Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO), 149, 159, 192, 194, 197, 205
- Qadian, 53, 65–7, 69, 74–5
- Qasuri, Ahmad Raza Khan, 135
- Rabwah (Chenab Nagar), 7, 53, 117, 118, 120, 121, 155, 169, 207
- Rabwah Tribunal, 117–20, 127, 187
- Radcliffe Line, 74
- religio-politicization of judiciary, 40, 43, 179, 180–1, 187, 191–2, 194, 195, 201, 206–7, 221–2

- religious minorities, 6, 12, 35, 37, 40, 42, 80, 81, 82, 104, 106, 125, 142, 148, 159, 163, 167, 173, 175, 181, 197, 206, 212, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 227, 231
- Roy, Raja Tridev, 128, 141
- Sachar, Bhim Sen, 84–5
- Said, Edward, 11
- Samdani Report, 120, 130, 164
- Samdani, K.M.A., 117, 118–20, 124, 187, 193, 205
- Saudi Arabia, 3, 22, 26–7
- Second Constitutional Amendment (SCA), 107, 109, 115–16, 119–20, 122, 123, 128, 135–9, 141–2, 147–8, 150, 152–7, 158–60, 164, 166, 167, 170, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 199, 202
- secularism, 16–19, 25, 55, 81, 90, 103, 106, 107, 110, 209, 210, 212, 216, 225, 226, 228, 229, 231–2, 233
- secularization, 3–5, 16–18, 22, 23–4, 27, 28, 46, 209, 211–13, 219, 223–5, 228
 - and modernization, 209, 211
 - settled, 24–6, 224
 - unsettled, 24, 27, 224, 226, 227
- Sewell, William H., 32
- Sharif, Nawaz, 1–2, 177, 204
- Smith, Christian, 211
- state ideology (religion), 4, 19, 20, 22, 25–8, 77–9, 106, 167, 213, 214, 225, 232, 233
 - ambiguous, 20–2, 40, 42, 89, 214–15, 218, 232
 - concrete, 20, 21–2, 25–6, 79, 114, 177, 221, 229
- statelessness, 8, 9, 35, 125, 166, 208, *See* Arendt, Hannah
- state-religion relations, 5, 7, 14, 18–21, 24, 26, 28, 33, 35, 37, 39–40, 41, 43, 47, 64, 79, 89, 93, 98, 105, 106, 107, 126, 128, 131, 142, 144, 148, 150, 158, 167, 174, 177, 178, 208, 213, 214–16, 218–19, 220, 221, 224, 226, 227, 229, 232, 233–4, *See also* state ideology (religion)
- Supreme Court (Pakistan), 44, 179, 180, 193, 194, 200
- Swidler, Ann, 19
- symbolic power, 31, 39, 108, 120, 147, 179, 233

Index

269

- Talbot, Ian, 56
 Taseer, Salman, 177
Tebrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. *See* Pakistan
 Taliban
 Turkey, 18, 19, 25, 104, 216, 223, 225, 229
 two-nation theory, 3, 77, 81, 152
- ulema*, 1–2, 6–7, 38, 45, 49, 50–1, 52, 58,
 71, 88–9, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 109,
 129–30, 134–5, 151, 152, 156, 158–9,
 162, 165, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176,
 177, 180, 191, 193, 197, 198, 200, 204,
 206, 207, 218, 224
 Unionist Party (Punjab), 56
 United States, 16, 18, 19, 25, 104, 132, 175,
 211, 223, 229, 230–1
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10,
 133, 172
 Uthmani, Shabbir Ahmad, 87, 88–9
- Wasaya, Maulana Allah, 115, 157–8
 Weber, Max, 4
 Wedeen, Lisa, 146
 Weiss, Anita M., 193
- Zafar-ul-Haq, Raja, 161–2, 163, 194
 Zia-ul-Haq, Muhammad, 7, 42, 144,
 145, 146, 147–8, 149–52, 158–9,
 162–3, 164, 166–7, 170, 174–6, 181,
 182, 187, 192–4, 196–8, 200, 205,
 206, 227
 Zubrzycki, Genevieve, 29