Index

Adams, John, 37, 69
Advani, L. K., 205, 206, 209
All India Hindu Mahasabha, 189
Alliance Party, 144
All-India Muslim League, 188
    conflict with Congress Party, 184, 193
    Lahore Resolution of, 192, 193
    origins of, 191
American civil religion, 18–19
    and religious unity, 38–9
    and U.S. Constitution, 48
    Catholic support for, 45–8, 51
    Jewish support for, 45–8
    Muslim support for, 53
    political support for, 39
    religious support for, 37
    secular challenges to, 53–4
American Jewish Committee, 75
American Revolution
    religious support for, 13, 33
Anderson, Benedict, 3
    anti-Semitism
        in Greece, 129–10
        in the United States, 44
Antuña, Hugo, 171, 172, 175
Anwar Ibrahim, 149, 155, 158–9
Arab Christians (in Israel), 100–1
Arabs, Israeli, 90–1
Archbishop Christodoulos, 118, 123
    controversy over identification cards, 123
    Archbishop Ieronymos II, 110, 118, 124
    religious nationalism of, 128
Artigas, José Gervasio, 162, 163, 164, 165, 173
    lack of anti-clericalism, 163
    religious beliefs of, 163–4
Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 5
    secular nationalism of, 4, 16
Barreiro, Manuel, 173
Batlle y Ordóñez, José, 17, 161, 168–9, 171–3
    ant clericalism of, 168
Begin, Menachem, 78, 92
    and Labor Zionism, 77
    negotiating religious conflict, 81, 85, 86
    rhetoric of, 106–7
    secular nationalism of, 78
    status quo letter of, 86
Bharatiya Janata Party, 28, 184, 209, 213
    and promotion of Hindutva, 204, 209
    electoral success of, 204, 205
    Hindu nationalism of, 1, 20, 204–5
    origins of, 202
Bhargava, Rajeev, 198
BJP. See Bharatiya Janata Party
Blanco Party (in Uruguay), 166, 167, 170, 182
Blum, Edward, 56
Bong Kee Chok, 147
Bordaberry, Juan María, 181
Bose, Sumantra, 202
Index

Brubaker, Rogers, 8, 12
Bumiputera, 139
Bush, George W., 52
Caetano, Gerardo, 170, 172, 175, 182
Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece, 118
Chand, Lal, 189
Chin Peng, 147
Church of Sweden, 23
civic republicanism, 35, 44–5
Civil Union (in Uruguay), 167, 170, 171, 175
civil religion
in Israel, 74, 87
instability of in Israel, 87–8
civil-religious nationalism
as alternative model, 8–9
institutional features of, 10
variables in development of, 17–19
Clegg, Richard, 112
Colorado Party (in Uruguay), 167, 170, 171, 172
Congress Party, 188, 190, 193, 204, 217, 221
and Constituent Assembly of India, 194
and Morley-Minto Reforms, 188
electoral success of, 202
Karachi Resolution of, 188
Constituent Assembly of India, 185, 194, 196, 200
and Hindu Nationalism, 195–6
and Islamic personal law, 197
and Mahatma Gandhi, 197
and secular nationalism, 194–5, 198
background of, 194
Constitution of India, 17, 198, 226
secular features of, 198–9
Cooper, Samuel, 35, 36, 39
cultural Zionism, 76, 77, 90
Cyprus, 110, 122, 132
Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, 80
and religious nationalism, 81–2
and Revisionist Zionism, 82
and secular nationalism, 80–1
Democratic Action Party, 139
democratization
and rise of religious nationalism, 7
Don-Yehiya, Eliezer, 9, 77, 87
Douglass, Frederick, 36
Durkheim, Emile, 8
Eisenhower, Dwight David, 50
elites, political, 20, 21
Ely, Ezra Stiles, 39
Episcopal Church, General Convention of resolutions on Iraq War, 68
Erdogan, Recep
religious nationalism of, 6, 24
ethno-symbolic theories of nationalism, 5
Ford, Gerald, 70
French Revolution, 1, 4, 77, 114
anticlericalism of, 3
influence on Greek nationalism, 111
Friedland, Roger, 4, 7
Gandhi, Indira, 202
appeal to Hindu nationalism, 202
assassination of, 203
emergency rule of, 20, 202
secular nationalism of, 17, 202–3, 208, 218–19
Gandhi, Mahatma, 184, 192, 225, 229
and civil religious nationalism, 192
assassination of, 190, 195
Gandhi, Rajiv, 203
and Shah Bano affair, 203
appeal to Hindu nationalism, 203–4
secular nationalism of, 219–20
Gellner, Ernest, 3
Godse, Nathuram, 190, 195
Golden Dawn Party, 130
Golwalkar, M. S., 190, 216
views on Kashmir, 216
Gorski, Philip, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 24, 38, 71
Graham, Franklin, 229
Greco-Turkish War, 121
Greece
conflicts with Turkey, 122
constitution of, 110, 116, 118, 228
troversy over identification cards, 123
public attitudes toward Turkey, 126–8
religious education in, 117–18
religious minorities in, 118
religious nationalism of, 16
War of Independence, 112, 113
Gregorius V, Patriarch of Constantinople, 112, 113, 115
Ha'am, Achad, 76
Halikiopoulou, Daphne, 121
Haredi, 76, 78
Herzl, Theodor, 76
secular nationalism of, 76
Index

Hibbard, Scott, 20, 21, 188, 198
Hindu Code Bill, 201
Hindu nationalism, 186
origins of, 190
Hindutva, 193, 202, 204, 209, 220
Hobsbawm, Eric, 3

India
anti-conversion laws in, 196, 200, 207, 223
British colonialism in, 187–8
communalism in, 188, 189, 193, 205–6, 221
cow-protection bills in, 195, 197, 200, 202, 208, 223
partition of, 185, 193
public attitudes toward Pakistan, 212
religious demographics of, 206–7
religious diversity of, 183
Sikhs in, 188, 193, 202, 207
Iqbal, Muhammad, 191
Iraq War
public attitudes toward, 62
Ireland, 15, 183
constitution of, 15
religious nationalism of, 7
Islamic Party of Malaysia, 148, 157
Israel
Basic Law of, 73, 86, 91, 226
democratic principles of, 82
Druze in, 101, 102, 109
external threat to, 83
immigration to, 88
Muslims in, 102–3
public attitudes toward settlements, 96–9
religious parties in, 84, 91–2
secular Jews in, 74, 90
Six-Day War of, 89
Status Quo Agreement, 86
War of Independence, 79, 83
Jabotinsky, Ze’ev, 77
Jacobsohn, Gary, 199
Jaffrelot, Christophe, 190, 192, 195
Jews in the United States, 44
Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 184, 191
Juergensmeyer, Mark, 6, 8, 11
Justice and Development Party, 20, 24
Kapodistrias, Ioannis, 114
Kashmir, 200, 202, 206, 211

Kennedy, John F., 51
Khoo Teik Ee, 136
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 56, 229
Koak, Abraham Isaac, 76
and Zionism, 76
Koak, Zvi Yehuda, 89
and Jewish settlement of the territories, 89
Korais, Adamantios, 111, 114, 120
Kruse, Kevin, 50
Ku Klux Klan, 43
Labor Zionism, 76, 77, 78
Lacalle, Luis Alberto, 181, 182
Larrañaga, Dámaso Antonio, 162, 165
role in founding of Uruguay, 165
Latorre, Lorenzo, 181
Lavalleja, Juan Antonio, 164, 165
role in Uruguay's founding, 164–5
views on religion, 164–5
Lerner, Hanna, 79, 86, 200
Liebman, Charles, 9, 7787, 92
Likud Party, 79
religious nationalism of, 92
Liow, Joseph Chinyong, 139, 148, 149
Lucknow Pact of 1916, 189
Madan, T. N., 199
Mahathir Mohamad, 141, 147, 149, 155
rhetoric of, 156–7
Malayan Communist Party, 135, 147
Malayan Emergency, 135
Malayan People's Liberation Army, 135
Malaysia
13 May Incident, 140
Allah case in, 148
colonial history of, 138–9
Constitution of, 143, 154
debates on religious establishment, 143–6
ethnic and religious conflict in, 146
ethnic violence in, 140
Japanese occupation of, 134–5
minorities in, 136–7, 133–4
Proclamation of Independence, 156
public attitudes toward China, 150–2,
154–5
religious and ethnic diversity of, 138–9
religious establishment of, 143
Sedition Act of 1948, 141
Malaysian Chinese Association, 139
Malaysian Indian Congress, 139
Malaysian Islamic Party, 133, 156
Marty, Martin, 39
Marx, Anthony, 5
Mirsky, Yehudah, 91
Mizrahi, 76, 78
models of religion and nationalism as ideal types, 14
demographic challenges to, 22–4
external threats to, 21–2
political challenges to, 20–1
Modern Orthodox Judaism, 89
modernist theories of nationalism, 6
Modi, Narendra, 205, 218, 222, 229
Hindu nationalism of, 222–3
Monterroso, José Benito, 164, 165
as religious leader, 164
Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, 188, 189
Mujica, José, 182
Murray, John Courtney, 51
Muslim Association of Greece, 128, 129
Muslim Brotherhood, 7
Muslims in the United States, 34, 55
Mylonas, Harris, 122
Najib Razak, 133, 149, 155, 158
rhetoric of, 157–8
Nandy, Ashis, 192, 229
National Operations Council, 140
National Prayer Breakfast, 50, 70
National Religious Party (in Israel), 84
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 13, 187
and British colonialism, 187
and Hindu Code Bill, 201
secular nationalism of, 4, 5, 17, 189, 218
twist with destiny speech, 195
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 73
religious nationalism of, 108
New Economic Policy (in Malaysia), 141
Noll, Mark, 35, 36, 44
Noonan, John, 45
Obama, Barack, 52, 53
religious rhetoric of, 54
Onn bin Jaafar, 136
Orthodox Church and Greek Constitution, 110
religious nationalism of, 110
Orthodox Church of Greece, 16, 116
autoccephalous status of, 120–1

religious nationalism of, 21
role in War of Independence, 113–14
Orthodox Judaism, 86
and zionism, 75, 89
divisions among, 76
Ottoman Empire, 16, 21, 121
millet system in, 112

Pakistan, 184
separation from India, 17
PAS. See Malaysian Islamic Party
Patriarch of Constantinople, 112
Poland, 6, 183
religious nationalism of, 1, 15
Protection of Rights in Divorce, 203
Protestant Reformation, 5
and religious nationalism, 14

race in the United States, 55–6
Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, 189, 195
and relationship with Bharatiya Janata Party, 204, 205, 213
electoral strategies of, 202
Reid Commission, 144, 145
religious nationalism, 7
in Israel, 78
institutional features of, 7–8
rise of, 5–6
variables in development of, 14–16
religious transnationalism, 3, 14, 28, 29
and Orthodoxy, 112, 120
Revisionist Zionism, 77, 78
Rieffer, Barbara-Ann, 4, 8, 12, 21
Rodó, José Enrique, 171, 170–1
Roman Catholic Church, 7
and religious nationalism, 6, 15
clergy in Uruguay, 164, 165
conflict with state, 4
in the United States, 42–3, 69
in Uruguay, 165–6
political weakness in Uruguay, 167, 170
RSS. See Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
Rukun Negara, 140, 141–2, 142, 147, 153, 160
Russian Revolution, 1

Samaras, Antonis, 131
Sanzón Corbo, Tomás, 165, 166, 167, 170
Sarawak and Sabah, 137
Communist insurgency in, 147
Sarawak Communist Organization, 147
Saudi Arabia, 7
Savarkar, V. D., 190, 206
Secco Illa, Joaquín, 170
Second Great Awakening, 39, 40, 42
Second Malayan Emergency, 147
secular nationalism, 3
institutional features of, 4–5
rise of, 3–4
variables in development of, 16–17
secularization theory, 6
settlements, 74
and Likud Party, 91
Arab attitudes toward, 102
in the Occupied Territories, 96–9, 104
Orthodox Jewish attitudes toward, 105
Shamir, Yitzhak, 107
Shapira, Anita, 87
sharia, 133, 143
Shelef, Nadav, 20, 92
Simitis, Costas, 123
Singapore, 117
Singh, Mannmohan, 221, 222
Smith, Anthony, 5
Smith, Goldberg, 44
Smith, Rogers, 245
Soler, Archbishop Mariano, 169, 170, 172
Southern Baptist Convention, 64, 67, 68
resolutions on Iraq War, 67–8
Sri Lanka, 203
Status Quo Agreement, 93
Strong, Josiah, 43
Tan Chee Khoon, 136
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 33, 46, 230
Treaty of Lausanne, 24, 115
Trump, Donald, 229
religious nationalism of, 22, 55
threat to American civil religion, 32, 52
Tsipras, Alexis, 110, 111, 118, 119, 123, 130
participation in Orthodox ceremonies, 131
Tunku Abdul Rahman, 136, 145, 155, 156
UMNO. See United Malays National Organisation
Unión Civica. See Civic Union (in Uruguay)
United Malays National Organisation, 133, 139
United States
1910s, 50–1
culture war in, 52
immigration to, 22, 42
Know Nothing Party, 44
lack of anti-clericalism in, 36
religious minorities in, 34, 41
religious nationalism in, 52–3
secularization in, 53, 230
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
and Iraq War, 68–9
United States Constitution, 18, 25
religion clauses of, 194–5
Uruguay
anti-clericalism in, 166, 171
constitution of, 17
Constitution of 1830, 173–4
Constitution of 1918, 172, 174–5
controversy over pulp mills, 162, 177, 178, 179
Declaration of Independence, 164
divorce laws in, 161, 169
immigration into, 166
independence struggle of, 162–4
military dictatorship in, 175
public attitudes toward Argentina, 177–9
religious demographics of, 167
role of Thirty-Three Heroes, 164
secularization in, 166–7, 169
separation of church and state, 172–3
Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 204, 217
Hindu nationalism of, 220–1
Van der Veer, Peter, 187
Vassallo di Torregrossa, Papal Nuncio Alberto, 170, 183
Wald, Kenneth, 78, 89
Wales, Samuel, 34, 37
Walzer, Michael, 6, 20
Washington, George, 39, 52
Witherspoon, John, 36
World Zionist Organization, 77, 86
Yang di-Pertuan Agong, 142, 143
Zionism, 75
Arab attitudes toward, 79
historical divisions within, 75–7
in the United States, 75–7
Zubrzycki, Geneviève, 24