RELIGION, STATE, AND POLITICS IN THE MODERN WORLD

MA (PISM) Optional Course

Course level	: MA
Course Title	: **Religion, State, and Politics in the Modern World**
Course Code.	: IS474N
Semester.	: Winter
Course Type	: Optional
Course Teacher	: Dr. Saumyajit Ray
Credits	: 4
Contact hours	: 4 per week

Course objectives

Apart from laying before students the broad canvas of religion and its concepts and requirements, this course intends to introduce them broadly to the doctrines of the major religions which have helped shape political ideas and ideals, movements, and institutions at various times in the modern world.

This course also aims to disabuse students about political phenomena associated with religion like theocracy, fundamentalism, and Holy War. It would be the further attempt of this course to explain students why religion continues to be a major force in modern industrial societies, inspiring revolutions and insurgencies, and even influencing domestic and foreign policy.

Learning outcomes

Classroom instruction will help students

1. Develop knowledge of the doctrines of major religions, the adherents of which had attempted to capture state power for the fulfillment of religious objectives, and thus understand religion as an important socio-political phenomenon;
2. Gain a broad understanding of how and why religions still both unite and divide nations, giving communities an identity and a sense of purpose;
3. Understand and explain why atheistic ideologies, parties, and leaders have been largely unsuccessful in sidelining, let alone dislodging, religion from its place even in modern societies;
4. Articulate how religions rival modern ideologies in enunciating political concepts like freedom, equality, revolution, and social justice and inspire the writing of constitutions and laws accordingly.

Evaluation Methods

Term paper (25%), Scripture reading and analysis (25%), End Semester Examination (50%). The term paper topics and the books and/or articles for review are to be decided by the course teacher.

Course content

Unit I: Religion and International Relations

1. The resurgence of religion in the post-Cold War world
2. Religious freedom
3. Religion and foreign policy
4. Transnational churches and global religious communities

Unit II: God and state

1. Religion: Definition and requirements
2. Theology: The study of God
3. The essentials: Fundamentalism (scriptural inerrancy and God's law); theocracy (God's government); blasphemy (sin against God)

Unit III: Church and state

1. Church: Definition and requirements
2. Church-state separation: The modern secular state; American non-denominationalism
3. Church-state confrontation: Specific instances (East Europe, PRC, Afghanistan)
4. Church-state cooperation: Established church and official religion

Unit IV: God, State, and people: Abrahamic faiths

1. **Judaism**: The God of Israel; the kingdoms of Israel and Judea; Patriarchs, Sages, and Prophets; the Messiah; *Tanakh*; oral and written *Torah*; *Midrash* and *Talmud*; the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes; Rabbinic Judaism; the Halakhic state; Orthodox, Ultra-Orthodox, and Reform Judaism; Jewish rejection of Jesus
2. **Christianity**: The messianic movement of John; Kingdom of God; the Promised Messiah; the Son of Man; the Second Coming of Jesus; the Old Testament and the New; Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels; the *Didache*; Jewish Christians; Gentile Christianity and the rejection of Talmudic law; James and Paul; the Nicene Creed (Trinity, Consubstantiality, Hypostatic Union); Christendom and Christian denominations; Hebrew Christians and Messianic Jews
3. **Islam**: Allah; the Messenger of Allah; the Holy *Qur'an*; the *Hadiths*; the Charter of Medina; Rightly Guided Caliphs; the *ummah*; the *Imam*; Islamic political order; Islamic jurisprudence (*ijma*, *qiyas*, *ijtihad*) egalitarianism; protection of minorities; internationalism; political *jihad*; the Shia-Sunni schism; the Shia Imamate and the *Mahdi*

Unit V: God, State, and people: Non-Abrahamic faiths

1. **Hinduism**: The *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas*, *Itihas*; *Dharmashastra*; the Ten Incarnations of Vishnu; Shiva as Universal Godhead; Goddess worship and Bengali devotionalism; Devas and

their opponents (Asuras, Daityas, Danavas, Rakshasas); monarchy (king as Divine Incarnation, male primogeniture, functions & powers); imperialism; righteous war; Hindu denominations
2. **Buddhism**: *Tipitaka*; *Kathavatthu*; *Visuddhimagga*; King as protector of faith; the Bhikkhu Sangha; Buddha *Sasana;* Buddhism and the use of violence
3. **Sikhism**: The ten human Gurus; Guru Granth Sahib; *Miri-piri*; the *sangat*; Sikh egalitarianism; the sovereignty of Sri Akal Takht Sahib; the Singh Sahiban; the Sikh martial tradition; "*Raj karega Khalsa*"

Unit VI: Religious ideologies
1. **Judaic**: Zionism; Cultural Pluralism; Jewish anti-missionary activity; *Aliyah*
2.**Christian**: Evangelicalism; Christian fundamentalism; Christian nationalism; Christian Zionism
3. **Islamic**: a. **Sunni**: Islamism and Islamization (Maulana Mawdudi, Taliban);
b. **Shia**: *Valiyat-e-faqih*, *Enghelab-e-Islami*, and Islamic democracy (Ayatollah Khomeini)
4. **Hindu**: *Hindutva* and *Hindu Rashtra* (19th century Bengali intelligentsia, the Arya Samaj, RSS-BJP, Hindu Mahasabha, Shiv Sena); the "way of life" idea
5. **Sikh**: Shiromani Akali Dal and Singh Sabha movement; the Anandpur Sahib Resolution; the *Dharamyudh Morcha*; the militant campaign of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale
6. **Buddhist**: Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism (Anagarika Dhammapala)

Reading List

Unit I

5. Abrams, Elliott (ed.). *The Influence of Faith: Religious Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001)
6. Ahdar, Rex and Ian Leigh. *Religious Freedom in the Liberal State*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20134)
7. Bettiza, Gregorio. *Finding Faith in Foreign Policy: Religion and American Diplomacy in a Postsecular World* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019)
8. Dark, K.R. (ed.). *Religion in International Relations* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000)
9. Day, Abby (ed.). *Contemporary Issues in the Worldwide Anglican Communion: Powers and Pieties* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017)
10. Evans, Malcom D., Peter Petkoff and Julian Rivers (eds.). *The Changing Nature of Religious Rights under International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
11. Fabio, Petito and Pavlos Hatzopoulos. *Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
12. Farr, Thomas F. *World of Faith and Freedom: Why International Religious Liberty is Vital to American National Security* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008)
13. Gamwell, Franklin I. *The Meaning of Religious Freedom: Modern Politics and the Democratic Resolution* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995)
14. Gunn, T. Jeremy. *Spiritual Weapons: The Cold War and the Forging of an American National Religion* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2009)
15. Hanson, Eric O. *Religion and Politics in the International System Today* (New York, NY: Cambridge Press, 2006)
16. Hertzke, Allen D. (ed.). *The Future of Religious Freedom: Global Challenges* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013)
17. Hitchcock, James. *History of the Catholic Church: From the Apostolic Age to the Third Millenium* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2012)

18. Jomaa, Katrin A. *Ummah: A New Paradigm for a Global World* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2021)
19. Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State, from Christian Militias to al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008)
20. Juergensmeyer, Mark. *The New Cold War: Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994)
21. Lindkvist, Linde. *Religious Freedom and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017)
22. Mandaville, Peter. *Global Political Islam* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007)
23. Mandaville, Peter. *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the umma* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2001)
24. Pankhurst, Reza. *The Inevitable Caliphate? A History of the Struggle for Global Islamic Union, 1924 to the Present* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013)
25. Patterson, Eric. *Politics in a Religious World: Building a Religiously Informed U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011)
26. Rausch, S.J., Thomas P. *Global Catholicism: Profiles and Polarities* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2021)
27. Roy, Olivier. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004)
28. Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber and James Piscatori (eds.) *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018)
29. Thomas, Scott M. *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
30. Toropova, Maria (ed.). *Rethinking the Religious Factor in Foreign Policy* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer, 2021)
31. Ward, Kevin. *A History of Global Anglicanism* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
32. Wingate, Andrew et al (eds.). *Anglicanism: A Global Communion* (New York, NY: Church Publishing Incorporated, 1998)

Unit II

1. Armstrong, Karen. *A History of God* (New Delhi: Vintage Books, 1999)
2. Armstrong, Karen. *Holy War: The Crusades and their Impact on Today's World* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1992)
3. Boyle, Sarah B. *What is a Theocracy?* (New York, NY: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2012)
4. Cavanaugh, William T. *Migrations of the Holy: God, State, and the Political Meaning of the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Erdman's Publishing Co., 2011)
5. Colson, Charles. *God & Government: An Insider's View on the Boundaries between Faith & Politics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007)
6. Davidson, Tish. *Theocracy: Major Forms of World Government* (Broomall, PA: Mason Crest, 2013)
7. Derrick, Tara. *Theocracy: Religious Government* (Broomall, PA: Mason Crest, 2018)
8. Dombrowski, Daniel A. *A History of the Concept of God: A Process Approach* (Albany. NY: State University of New York Press, 2016)
9. France, R.T. *Divine Government: God's Kingship in the Gospel of Mark* (Vancuover, BC: Regent College Publishing, 1990)
10. Tierney, P.J. Theocracy. *Can Democracy Survive Fundamentalism? Resolving the Conflict between Fundamentalism and Pluralism* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, Inc., 2012)
11. Toth, Henrietta. *Theocracy* (New York, NY: The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., 2020)

Unit III

1. Ashiwa, Yoshiko and David L Wank (eds.). *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009)
2. Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017)
3. Dreisbach, Daniel L. and Mark David Hall. *The Sacred Rights of Conscience: Selected Readings on Religious Liberty and Church-State Relations in the American Founding* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, Inc., 2009)
4. Dresibach, Daniel L. *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2002)
5. Dunham, Mikel. Buddha's Warriors (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2005)
6. Eberle, Edward J. *Church and State in Western Society: Established Church, Cooperation and Separation* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016)
7. Fox, Jonathan. *Political Secularism, Religion, and the State: A Time Series Analysis of Worldwide Data* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
8. Green, Steven K. *Separating Church and State: A History* (New York, NY: Cornell University Press, 2022)
9. Hamburger, Philip. *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004)
10. Kindopp, Jason and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.). *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Relations* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2004)
11. Kirby, Dianne (ed.). *Religion and the Cold War* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
12. Leung, Beatrice. *Sino-Vatican Relations: Problems in Conflicting Authority 1976-1986* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
13. Leustean, Lucian (ed.) *Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945-81* (New York. NY: Routledge, 2010)
14. Luxmoore, Jonathan and Jolanta Babiuch. *The Vatican and the Red Flag: The Struggle for the Soul od Eastern Europe* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000)
15. Merriman, Scott A. *Religion and the State: An International Analysis of Roles and Relationships* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2009)
16. Muehlenbeck, Philip E(ed.). *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012)
17. Powers, John. *The Buddha Party: How the People's Republic of China Works to Define and Control Tibetan Buddhism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017)
18. Tang, Edmond and Jean-Paul Wiest (eds.). *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013)
19. Tuttle, Gray. *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005)
20. Weigel, George. *The Resistance Church and the Collapse of Communism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992)
21. Weiss, Ann E. *God and Government: The Separation of Church and State* (New York, NY: Houghton Miffin Harcourt Publishing Company, 1990)
22. Yu, Cindy Yik-Yi. *The Catholic Church in China, 1978 to the Present* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

Unit IV

1. Akbar Shah Najeebabadi. *The History of Islam*, 3 vols. (Riyadh: Darussalam Int'l Publishers & Distributors, 2000)
2. Al-Hakeem, Sayyid Riyadh. *Victims of Terrorism and Extremism: The Shia—Identity, Persecution*, *Horizons* (New York, NY: The Mainstay Foundation, 2015)
3. Armstrong, Karen. Islam: *A Short History* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001)
4. Aslan, Reza. *No god but God: The Origins, Evolution and Future of Islam* (London: Arrow Books, 2006)
5. Bart D. Ehrman. *How Jesus Became God: The Exaltation of a Jewish Preacher from Galilee* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2014)

6. Boyarin, Daniel. *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)
7. Boyarin, Daniel. *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* ((New York, NY: The New Press, 2012)
8. Cohen, The Revd. Dr. A. *Everyman's Talmud* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1949)
9. Epstein, Rabbi Isidore. *Step by Step in the Jewish Religion* (London: The Soncino Press, 1965)
10. Eusebius. *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine.* Translated by G.A. Williamson (London: Penguin Books, 1965)
11. Firestone, Reuven. *Jihad: The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999)
12. Fuchs, Simon Wolfgang. *In A Pure Moslem Land: Shi'ism Between Pakistan and the Middle East* (New Delhi: Speaking Tiger Books LLP, 2019)
13. Gandry, Stanley N. & Louis Goldberg (eds.). *How Jewish is Christianity? Two Views on the Messianic Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2003)
14. Godawa, Brian. *Israel in Bible Prophecy: The New Testament Fulfillment of the Promise to Abraham* (Allen, TX: Warrior Poet Publishing LLC, 2017)
15. Goldberg, Rabbi David J. *The Divided Self: Israel and the Jewish Psyche Today* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006)
16. Goodman, Martin. *A History of Judaism* (London: Penguin Random House UK, 2017)
17. Hashmi, Sohail H. (ed.). *Just Wars, Holy Wars, & Jihad: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Encounters and Exchanges* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012)
18. Hazleton, Lezley. *After the Prophet: The Epic Story of the Shia-Sunni Split* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2009)
19. JPS. *Tanakh*: *The Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publications Society, 1985)
20. Johnson, Alan F. & Robert E. Webber. *What Christians Believe* (Grand Rapid, MI: Zondervan, 1993)
21. Kadri, Sadakat. *Heaven on Earth: A Journey Through Shari'a Law* (London: The Bodley Head, 2011)
22. Kaplan, Mordecai M. *Judaism as a Civilization: Toward a Reconstruction of American-Jewish Life* (Skokie, IL: Vaeda Books, 2001)
23. Klinghoffer, David. *Why the Jews Rejected Jesus: The Turning Point in Western History* (New York, NY: Three Leaves Press, Doubleday, 2005)
24. Lumpkin, Joseph. *The Didache: The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. A Different Faith—A Different Salvation* (Blountsville, AL: Fifth Estate Publishers, 2012)
25. MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London: Penguin Books, 2010)
26. Osborn, Robert Durie. *Islam under the Arabs* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 2011)
27. Pitre, Brand. *The Case for Jesus: The Biblical and Historical Evidence for Christ* (New York, NY: Image, Penguin Random House, 2016)
28. Quilliam, W.H. *The Faith of Islam: An Explanatory Sketch of the Principal Fundamental Tenets of the Moslem Religion* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 2010)
29. Ratzinger, Joseph (Pope Benedict XVI). *Jesus of Nazareth: From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007)
30. Ratzinger, Joseph (Pope Benedict XVI). *Jesus of Nazareth: Holy Week—From the Entrance into Jerusalem to the Resurrection* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2011)
31. Robinson, George. *Essential Judaism: A Complete Guide to Beliefs, Customs, and Rituals* (New York, NY: Atria Paperback, 2016)
32. Rogerson, Barnaby. *The Heirs of the Prophet Muhammad and the Roots of the Sunni-Shia Schism* (London: Abacus, 2014)
33. Sanders, E.P. *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66CE* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2016)
34. Sanders, E.P. *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London: Penguin Books, 1993)
35. Saramago, Jose. *The Gospel According to Jesus Christ* (London: Vintage, Penguin Random House UK, 2017)
36. Tabor, James D. *The Jesus Dynasty: The Hidden History of Jesus, His Royal Family, and the Birth of Christianity* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster Paperback, 2007)
37. Vermes, Geza (Trans.). *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 2011)
38. Vermes, Geza. *The Authentic Gospel of Jesus* (London: Penguin Books, 2004)
39. Ware, Timothy. *The Orthodox Church: An Introduction to Eastern Christianity* (London: Penguin Random House UK, 2015)
40. Whiston, William (Trans.). *The New Complete Works of Josephus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1999)

Unit V

1. Akbar, M.J. *Tinderbox: The Past and the Future of Pakistan* (New Delhi: HarperCollins Publishers India, 2011)
2. Amunugama, Sarath. *The Lion's Roar: Anagarika Dhammapala & the Making of Modern Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)
3. Aung, She Zan & Mrs. Rhys Davids. *Points of Controversy Or Subjects of Discourse* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2016)
4. Banerji, S.C. *A Brief History of Dharmasastra* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1999)
5. Bhagwat, N.K. *Buddhist Philosophy of the Theravada* (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2006)
6. Copleston, Reginald Stephen. *Buddhism Primitive and Present in Magadha and in Ceylon* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994)
7. Debroy, Bibek. *Mahabharata* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2015)
8. de Silva, K.M. *A History of Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Penguin Books, 2008)
9. Dunbar, Scott. *Classical Hindu Views of 'Righteous Warfare' (Dharma Yuddha) in Light of Michael Walzer's Just War Theory* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 2011)
10. Gonda, Jan. *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969)
11. Goyandka, Jaydayal. *Srimadbhagavadgita with Hindi translation and notes* (Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 2019)
12. Harvey, Peter. *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, history and practices* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2018)
13. Hazra, Kanai Lal. *Buddhism in Sri Lanka* (Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2009)
14. Hazra, Kanai Lal. *History of Theravada Buddhism in South-East Asia with special reference to India and Ceylon* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Ltd., 1981). Fourth Impression 200
15. Jerryson, Michael. *If You Meet the Buddha on the Road: Buddhism, Politics, and Violence* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018)
16. Khalsa, Singh Sahib Bhai Jasbir Singh. *Suhird Sant Khalsa: Sant Bhindranwale* (Jalandhar: New Dashmesh Printing Press, 2020)
17. Knutson, Jesse Ross (ed.). *Kamandaki: The Essence of Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021)
18. Macauliffe, Max Arthur. *The Sikh Religion, Vols, I-VI* (Amrirsar: Satvic Books, 2021)
19. Miller, Barbara Stoler (Trans.). *The Bhagavad-Gita: Krishna's Counsel in Time of War* (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 2004)
20. Nahal, Tarlochan Singh. *Religion and Politics in Sikhism: The Khalsa Perspective* (Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2011)
21. Olivelle, Patrick. *Dharmasutras: The Law Codes of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasistha* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2003)
22. Olivelle, Patrick and Donald R. Davis, Jr. (eds.). *Hindu Law: A New History of Dharmasastra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)
23. Pandey, Priyanka. *Rajdharma in Mahabharata with Special Reference to Santi-parva* [New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 2019]
24. Pargiter, F.E. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1997)
25. Power, Ernest Erle. *The Path of the Elders: A Modern Exposition of Ancient Buddhism* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2003)
26. Raychaudhuri, Hemchandra. *Political History of Ancient India* (Delhi: Surjeet Publications, 2006)
27. Sri Rahula, Walpola. *What the Buddha Taught* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2023)
28. Thera, Nārada. *The Buddha-Dhamma or the Life and Teachings of the Buddha* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1999)
29. Warren, Henry Clarke & Dharmananda Kosambi. *Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosâcariya* (Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999)
30. Yagnavalkya. *A Treatise on Dharma* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019)

Unit VI

1. Amstutz, Mark R. *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014)
2. Anand, Dibyesh. *Hindu Nationalism in India and the Politics of Fear* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

3. Ariel, Yaakov. *An Unusual Relationship: Evangelical Christians and Jews* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2013)
4. Ariel, Yaakov. *Evangelizing the Chosen People: Missions to the Jews in America 1880-2000* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000)
5. Balmer, Randall. *God in the White House, A History: How Faith Shaped the Presidency from John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2009)
6. Bani-Sadr, Abol Hassan. *My Turn to Speak: Iran, the Revolution & Secret Deals with the U.S.* [New York, NY: Brassey's (US), Inc., 1991]
7. Beale, David. *Christian Fundamentalism in America: The Story of the Rest from 1857 to 2020* (Maitland, FL: XULON Press, 2021)
8. Bernstein, Ariella and Avi Losice. *Aliya: Home. Hope. Reality* (Lawrence, NY: 2021)
9. Berry, Damon T. *Blood & Faith: Christianity in American White Nationalism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2017)
10. Brar, Lt. Gen. K.S. *Operation Blue Star: The True Story* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers' Distributors Pvt. Ltd., 1994). 35th Reprint, 2021
11. Bush, George W. *Decision Points* (London: Virgin Books, 2010)
12. Butz, Jeffrey J. *The Secret Legacy of Jesus: The Judaic Teachings That Passed from James the Just to the Founding Fathers* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2010)
13. Chakrabarty, Bidyut and Bhuwan Kumar Jha. *Hindu Nationalsim in India* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2020)
14. Chumachenko, Tatiana A. *Church and State in Soviet Russia: Russian Orthodoxy from World War II to the Khrushchev Years* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2002)
15. Coughlin, Con. *Khomeini's Ghost* (London: Pan Books, 2010)
16. Darshi, A.R. *The Gallant Defender* [Mehta: Damdami Taksal (Jatha Bhindran), 2015]
17. de Silva, K.M. et al (eds.). *Ethnic Conflict in Buddhist Societies: Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1988)
18. de Silva, K.M. *Sri Lanka and the Defeat of the LTTE* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2012)
19. de Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2000)
20. Deegalle, Mahinda (ed*.). Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006)
21. Desai, Meghnad. *Rethinking Islamism: The Ideology of the New Terror* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007)
22. Dorrien, Gary. *Social Democracy in the Making: Political and Religious Roots of European Socialism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019)
23. Fitzgerald, Frances. *The Evangelicals: The Struggle to Shape America* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2017)
24. Flaten, Lars Tore. *Hindu Nationalism, History and Identity in India: Narrating a Hindu Past under the BJP* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017)
25. Gersh, Akiva. *Becoming Israeli: The Hysterical, Inspiring and Challenging Sides of Making Aliyah* (Woodmere, NY: Rimonim Press, 2017)
26. Goldberg, Michelle. *Kingdom Coming: The Rise of Christian Nationalism* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2007)
27. Goldman, Samuel. *God's Country: Christian Zionism in America* (Philadelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018)
28. Goraya, Brig. (Retd.) Onkar Singh. *Operation Blue Star…and After: An Eyewitness Account* [Panchkula: Brig. (Retd.) Onkar Singh Goraya, 2013]
29. Gorski, Philip S. and Samuel L. Perry. *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2022)
30. Hankins, Barry. *American Evangelicals: A Contemporary History of a Mainstream Religious Movement* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008)
31. Harding, Susan. *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* (Princeton. NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000)
32. Haselby, Sam. *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015)
33. Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989)

34. Holt, John Clifford (ed.). *Buddhist Extremists and Muslim Minorities: Religious Conflict in Contemporary Sri Lanka* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016)
35. Horton, Michael Scott. *Made in America: The Shaping of Modern American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1991)
36. Ice, Thomas. *The Case for Zionism: Why Christians Should Support Israel* (Green Forest, AR: New Leaf Press, 2017)
37. Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience* (New Delhi: Random House India, 2015)
38. Kallen, Horace Meyer. *Zionism and World Politics: A Study in History and Social Psychology* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1921)
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