

INDEX

- 969 Movement, 250, 251
- Aaland Islands, 98, 99, 104
- Abi-Saab, G., 209, 212
- Åbo, 98, 99
- ADB, 270, 271
- Administrative services
 in British India, 45
- Advisory Commission on Rakhine State, 175, 176, 241, 251, 254
- Advisory Committee
 of the Indian Constituent Assembly
 minority protection, 64–82
- Afghanistan, 226, 302
- AFPFL, 177, 179
- Africa, 13, 19, 35, 92, 94, 95, 99, 100, 118, 147, 206, 226, 280, 281, 287
 decolonisation, 101
 ethnic conflicts in, 5
 nation-building in, 5
 postcolonial boundaries, 90–105
 postcolonial states in, 4
 uti possidetis, 90–105
- African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 150, 237
- African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, 13, 150, 151, 235, 237, 238
- African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, 235
- African Union, 99
- Ahmed, S., 53
- Ali, S. A., 52
- Aligarh College, 51, 52, 53
- Ambedkar, B. R., 64–82
- Amnesty International, 257
- Anghie, A., 5, 95, 203, 212
- Anglo-Burma Wars, 11, 106, 113–116, 117, 242, 243, 244
- Anglo-Indian communities, 43, 64–82
- Anjumans*, 52
- Annan, K., 175, 241, 251, 254
- Ansari, M. A., 53
- Anticolonial ethno-nationalism, 17, 27, 35–36
 in India, 32–54
- Arab, 108
- Arab Spring, 304
- Arakan, 10–14, 105–123, 177, 179, 242–247, 249, *See* Rakhine State
- Arakan Army, 253
- Arakanese Buddhists, 179
- Arendt, H., 171–174
- ARSA, 120, 253
- Arya Samaj*, 49
- ASEAN, 11, 170, 171, 259
- Asia, 13, 35, 92, 94, 95, 118, 147, 206, 287
- Asian Relations Conference, 92
- Assam, 43, 303
- Assimilation, 65, 66, 83, 84, 139–175
- Australian Aid, 271
- Authoritarianism, 298
- Ava, Kingdom of, 109–112, 113, 117
- Awami League, 136
- Azad, A. K., 40, 53
- Badinter Commission, 102–104
- Balkans, 283
- Balochistan, 303
- Bandarban, 133, 136
- Bandung Conference, 92, 93, 206
- Bangalee, 121–137, 148, 175–196, 284, 303
 exploitation of hill peoples by, 261–275
 immigrants, 242–247

- Bangladesh, 3, 8, 10–14, 18, 120,
 121–137, 184, 186–196, 249,
 250, 251, 257, 260, 261–275,
 284, 292, 301, 303
 international organisations in, 18
 Rohingya refugees in, 1, 301
 war of independence, 291
- Bangladesh Army, 15
- Bankim, 36, 49
- Base and superstructure, 59
- Battle of Plassey, 109
- BBC, 259
- Bedjaoui, M., 214, 216
- Belgium, 94
- Belt and Road Initiative, 254
- Bengal, 40–54, 55, 108, 109, 111,
 113–116, 127–134
- Bengal Provincial National
 Assembly, 127
- Berlin Conference, 100
- BJP, 303
- Bolshevik Revolution, 98
- Bombay, 45
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 102–104, 291
- Boundaries
 of Arakan, 105–121
- Boundary Commission, 127–134
- Bourgeois class, 32–40, 266, 268, *See*
 Bourgeoisie
- Bretton Woods Institutions, 207
- British Government, 40–54
- British imperialism, 40
- British India, 11, 242–247
- British Indian Ocean Territory, 96
- British policy, 40–54, 66, 68
- British rule, 11, 32–54, 109–112, 116,
 121–137
- Buddhism, 11, 107, 110, 183
- Burkina Faso, 100
- Burma, 10–14, 105–121, 175–186,
 240–260
- Burma Office, 118
- CAA, 302, 303
- Cabinet Mission Plan, 65, 66
- Calcutta, 44, 45, 52, 242
- Capitalism, 7–8, 32–40, 54–55, 82
- Capotorti, F., 159
- Catalonia, 192
- CEDAW, 16
- Central planning, 37–38, 77–82, *See*
 Economic planning
- Chagos Archipelago, 96
- Chakma, 121–137, 186–191,
 261–264, 269
- Chatterjee, P., 32–40, 77, 80
- Chimni, B. S., 8, 18, 224, 225, 279, 283
- China, 117
- Chinese
 immigrants, 244, 245, 246
- Chittagong, 108, 109–112, 121–137,
 243, 249, 263, 274
- CHT, 3, 10–14, 19, 111, 121–137,
 186–196, 287, 290, 303
 economic development, 261–275
 hill women, 15
- CHT Development Board, 266, 267
- CHT Hill District Council, 191–196
- CHT hill people, 8, 10–14, 121–137,
 186–196, 281, 283, 285, 287,
 288, 289
 economic development, 261–275
- CHT Peace Accord, 137, 191–196, 198,
 267, 272, 285, 287
- CHT Regional Council, 191–196
- CHT Regulation, 135, 186–191
- CITIC, 253, 254
- Citizen Scrutiny Cards, 181
- Citizenship, 14, 37, 71–77, 119, 120,
 171–174, 197, 290, 303
 of CHT hill people, 186–196
 of Rohingya, 175–186
- Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 302,
See CAA
- Citizenship Law, 180, 181
- Civic state, 25–28
- Civil society, 294
- Civilisation, 24, 30, 95, 143, 202–206
- Civilised, 141–144
- Civilising mission, 203, 206
- Class, 59, 60, 78, 79
 bourgeois and petty bourgeois,
 32–40
- Class interest, 32
- Cold War, 4, 280
- Collective rights, 139–175, 215–221

- Colonial administration, 29, 36, 40–54,
 83, 118, 124, 125, 242
- Colonial borders, 94, *See* Colonial
 boundaries
- Colonial boundaries, 2, 3, 6, 90–105,
 137, 280–284
 international law, 9
 of Arakan, 105–121
 of Burma, 105–121
- Colonial capitalism, 23, 32–40, 55,
 242–247, 248
- Colonial Declaration, 93, 94, 95, 96
- Colonial peoples, 147
- Colonial policies, 28–32, 36, 40–54,
 129, 262
 India, 54–55
 of divide and rule, 27
- Colonial rule, 23, 24, 28–32, 77, 241,
 242–247, *See* Colonialism
 economic exploitation of CHT,
 261–264
- Colonial state, 37
- Colonialism, 5, 7–8, 27, 36, 38–40, 44,
 77, 82, 202–206, *See* Colonial
 rule
 of India, 54–55
- Commercial forestry, 261–275
- Communal organisations, 49
- Communalism, 37, 38–54
- Confederation, 153
- Conflict studies, 24
- Congo, 94
- Congress Muslims, 53
- Consciousness
 ideological, 58
- Consociationalism, 156–159, 284–287
- Constituent Assembly debates
 of Bangladesh, 186–191
 of India, 8, 55, 57, 64–82
- Constitution of Bangladesh, 137,
 186–196, 287
- Constitution of India, 40, 66, 73, 76, 302
- Constitution of Myanmar, 175–186,
 189, 190
- Constitution of Pakistan, 134–137
- Cow protection, 74, 75, 76
- Cow slaughter, 52
- Cox's Bazar, 15, 107, 300
- Crawford, J., 3
- Croatia, 102–104
- Cultural identity, 35
- Cultural synthesis, 36
- Culture, 202–206
- Curzon, Lord, 43
- Darwinism, 30, *See* Social Darwinism
- Decentralisation, 299
- Declaration on Friendly Relations, 151
- Declaration on Minority Rights,
 159–175, 229, 230, 235
- Decolonisation, 3, 4, 5, 8, 84, 90–105,
 137, 202, 206–215, 280
 of India, 8, 37
- Delhi, 44, 50, 92, 130, 303
- Deliberative democracy, 232
- Democracy, 64, 152–153, 195,
 205, 297
 post-conflict peacebuilding, 221–227
- Democratic entitlement, 152–153, 183
- Deoband*, 53
- Depressed community, 43, 64–82
- Development, 14, 37–38, 77–82, 84, *See*
 Economic development
- Developmentalism, 2, 6, 7–8, 10, 77–82,
 200–240, *See* Economic
 development
 in Rakhine State, 252–258
 in the CHT, 261–275
 marginalisation of CHT hill people,
 261–275
 marginalisation of minorities, 289
 peacebuilding in the CHT, 270–275
 post-conflict peacebuilding, 221–227
- Dhaka, 43, 44, 108
- Differential treatment
 of ethnic groups. *See* Group
 differentiation
- Dissimulation, 70, 72, 82, 201, 227, 260,
 276, 277–279
 ideological mode of operation, 61–64
- Divide and rule, 27, 29, 31, 40–54, 63
 of India, 54–55
- Divide et impera*, 41, *See* Divide and
 rule
- Domestic violence
 against women, 15

- East Bengal, 40–54, 127–137
 East India Company, 45, 109, 112, 122,
 123–127, 242, 261
 East Pakistan, 10, 127–137, 148,
 264–270, 284
 Eastern and Central Europe, 144–147
 Economic development, 3, 10, 17, 37,
 77–82, 84, 200–240, 277–279
 in minority rights discourse,
 227–240
 marginalisation of Rohingya,
 240–260
 Economic imperialism, 84
 Economic planning, 37–38
 Elite-constructivism, 24, 25, 78
 Elites
 dominant minority, 14
 Engels, F., 58, 59
 English education, 45, 48, 51
 Enlightenment, 35–36, 141
 Equality, 3, 120, 139–175, 177, 183, 189,
 191–196, 198, 219, 277–279,
 284–287
 Indian Constituent Assembly
 debates, 71–77
erga omnes, 147
 Eritrea, 281
 Ethiopia, 281
 Ethnic attachments, 24, *See* Ethnicity
 Ethnic cleansing, 1, 171, 258
 Ethnic conflicts, 24, 174, 198, 221, 227,
 285, 289
 Ethnic entitlements, 36, 39
 Ethnic federalism, 156–159
 in CHT, 191–196
 Ethnic group comparison, 28–32
 Ethnic identity, 25
 Ethnic minorities, 13, 30, 196
 economic development, 227–240
 Ethnic relations, 28–32
 Ethnic tension, 5, 28–32, 78, 267, 285
 Ethnic violence, 4, 23–25, *See* Ethnic
 tension
 Ethnicity, 5, 24, 78
 Ethno-national politics, 23–25, 28–32
 Ethno-nationalism, 1, 23–25, 54–55, 56,
 78, 82, 105
 geneses of, 7–8
 in India, 54–55
 in Indian nationalist movement,
 40–54
 in postcolonial states, 5, 7–8, 25–28
 Ethno-nationalist movements, 225
 Ethno-religious, 54
 Europe, 13, 35
 European Framework Convention, 169
 European Union, 281
 Evolutionary progress, 30
 Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar, 1,
 176, 183, 290
 FAO, 251
Faraizi
 in Bengal, 46, 51
 Federalism, 156–159, 280, 284–287
 in CHT, 191–196
 Feminism, 290–297, *See* Feminist
 approaches
 Feminist
 international lawyers, 290–297
 nationalist movements in India, 40
 Feminist approaches, 16
 to statehood, 290–297
 Finland, 98
 Forced displacement, 227–240, 288
 of Rohingya, 252–258
 Foreign investment, 211, 226, 252–258
 Foreigners Act, 177, 178
 Forum on Minority, 165, 239
 Fragmentation, 72, 82, 159, 174, 196,
 220, 276, 277–279
 ideological mode of operation, 61–64
 France, 96
 Free market economy, 288, 297
 peacebuilding in CHT, 270–275
 post-conflict peacebuilding, 221–227
 FWAIL, 6
 Gambia, 1
 Ganapati festival, 52
 Gandhi, M., 36–37, 50, 132
 Geertz, C., 25–28, 38–40, 54, 61
 Gender, 17, 290–297
 Gender equality, 16
 Genocide, 171
 against the Rohingya, 1

- Genocide Convention, 1
 German ideology, 58, 59, 143
 Global constitutionalism, 294
 Globalisation, 85, 203, 225, 226, 297–301
 Governance feminism, 295, 296
 Government of Burma Act, 247
 Government of India Act, 43, 126, 129, 133, 134, 136
 Gramsci, A., 32–40
 Great War, 90
 Group differentiation
 colonial policy of, 28–32
 Group identity, 72
 Group rights, 9–10, 84, 139–175, 191–196, 198, 284–287
 economic development, 215–221
 Hegel, G. W. F., 58, 141, 142
 Hindu bourgeoisie, 40–55
 Hindu communalism, 52
 Hindu landlord, 45
 Hindu Mahasabha, 129
 Hindu Raj, 50
 Hindu reform, 49
 Hindu revivalism, 49, 52
 Hinduism, 40–54
 Hindu-Muslim, 36–37, 38–55, 127–134, 303
 Hindus, 40–54, 64–82, 127–134
 Hindutva, 76, 303
 Horowitz, D., 28–32, 38–40, 44, 54
 Hossain, K., 208
 Human rights, 3, 65, 83, 84, 139–175, 196, 197, 199, 206, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215–221, 238, 258–260, 284–287, 297
 approach to minority protection, 9–10
 of women, 16
 Human Rights Commission, 170, 210, 213, 218, 219, 256, *See* Human Rights Council
 Human Rights Committee, 159–175, 232
 Human Rights Council, 1, 171, 176, 236, 300
 Humanitarian intervention, 184
 Hunter Commission Report, 45
 ICCPR, 157, 158, 159–175, 213, 218, 232, 233
 ICESCR, 192
 ICJ, 1, 96, 99, 100, 148
 Ideology, 61–64
 international law
 postcolonial states and minority, 8–10
 marginalisation of minorities, 3–5, 7–8
 meaning of, 57–61
 of postcolonial India
 religious minorities, 64–82
 of the postcolonial state, 3–5, 6, 7–8, 55
 Ideology of developmental state
 India
 Constituent Assembly debates, 77–82
 international law, 200–240
 Ideology of liberal state
 India
 Constituent Assembly debates, 71–77
 international law, 139–175
 Ideology of national state
 India, 64–71
 international law, 90–105
 Ideology of the postcolonial state, 277–279
 IFIs, 224, 225, 260, 287
 ILO Convention, 13, 233, 234, 236, 287
 IMF, 223, 252
 India, 8, 10–14, 91, 112, 114, 116, 121–137
 anticolonial ethno-nationalism, 32–40
 anticolonial nationalist movement, 32–54
 Constituent Assembly debates, 64–82
 ideology of the developmental state, 77–82
 ideology of the liberal state, 71–77
 ideology of the national state, 64–71

- India (cont.)
 nationalist movements in, 3, 8
 partition of, 25
 social Darwinism in, 30
- Indian community
 in Burma, 116
- Indian Home Rule League, 90
- Indian Independence Act, 134
- Indian National Congress, 39, 40–54,
 64–82, 127–134
- Indian-Christians, 43
- Indigenous peoples, 39, 221,
 227–240, 287
 in Asia, 6
 under international law, 10–14
- Individualism, 139–175, 202–215
 right to development, 215–221
- Indonesia, 94, 95
- Industrialisation, 206–215, 249
- Instrumentalism, 24, 25, 78
- Inter-American Court of Human
 Rights, 230, 235
- International conflict feminism, 295
- International institutions, 84, 203, 207,
 258–260, 301
 peacebuilding in CHT, 270–275
- International law, 3, 137
 colonial boundaries, 9
 creation of postcolonial states, 5
 creation of states, 3–5
 development
 minority protection, 200–240
 economic development and
 developmentalism, 200–240
 ethnicity in, 24
 ideological making of postcolonial
 states, 6
 ideology of developmental state,
 200–240
 ideology of liberal state, 139–175
 ideology of national state, 90–105
 ideology of the postcolonial state,
 3–5, 8–10, 82–85, 277–279
 individual and group rights, 16
 marginalisation of minorities,
 3–5, 8–10
 postcolonial boundaries, 90–105,
 280–284
 postcolonial developmental state, 10,
 82–85
 postcolonial liberal state, 9–10,
 82–85
 postcolonial national state, 9, 82–85
uti possidetis, 90–105
- IS, 303, 304
- Islam, 107, 183
- Islamic tradition, 50
- Israel, 304
- Jammu and Kashmir, 302
- Jihad*, 51
- Jinnah, M. A., 53, 119
- Johnson, B., 240, 241
- Joom cultivation, 123, 261–275
- jus cogens*, 84
- Kaladan Project, 253
- Kant, I., 141, 152, 154, 298
- Kaptai dam, 264–270, 274
- Karnaphuli Paper Mill, 265, 266
- Katanga, 94, 99, 150, 151
- Khagrachari, 136
- Khan, Nawab Salimullah, 44
- Khan, S. A., 51
- Kosovo, 149, 150
- Kurdish minority, 303, 304
- Kyaukpyu projects, 253, 254, 255
- Land grabbing, 227–240
 against Rohingya, 252–258
 in the CHT, 261–275
- Land rights, 227–240
- Latif, A., 51
- Latin America, 19, 97, 99, 100, 101
uti possidetis, 90–105
- League of Nations, 144–147, 197
 Commission of Jurists, 98
 Commission of Rapporteurs, 98
 Mandate System, 202–206
- Lebanon, 286
- Legitimation, 70, 72, 82, 196, 201, 227,
 260, 275, 276, 277–279
 ideological mode of operation, 61–64
- Lewin, T. H., 111, 121, 134, 263
- Liberal constitutionalism, 37, 38,
 71–77, 196, 284–287

- Liberal democracy, 152–153, 224
 Liberal feminism, 296, 297
 Liberal individualism, 3, 6, 9–10, 17, 83,
 139–175, 193, 196, 197,
 284–287, 288, 289, *See*
 Liberalism
 Indian Constituent Assembly
 debates, 71–77
 Liberal tradition, 24, 160
 of the 19th century, 141–144
 Liberal universalism, 190, 285
 Liberalism, 7–8, 48, 139–175, 191–196,
 213, 299
 Liberation war
 of Bangladesh, 11, 15
 Lok-Dessallien, R., 258
 Lower Burma, 242–247

 Madras, 45
 Mahamuni, 110
 Majoritarian, 65, 72, 83, 175, 197,
 259, 276
 Mali, 100
 Mandalay, 109, 240, 249
 Mandate System, 202–206
 Marks, S., 17, 57–61, 63, 64
 Marx, K., 57–61
 Marxism, 32–40
 Masculinity, 290–297
 Mass mobilisation, 32, 36, 48, 49, 50
 Material condition, 58
 of capitalism, 33
 Mauritius, 96
 Middle East, 108, 304
 Migration, 29, 68, 122, 250
 to Burma, 242–247
 Militant nationalists
 of India, 49
 Minorities, 55, 57, 82–85, 90–105,
 139–175, 284–287, *See* Minority
 groups
 definition of, 159, 160
 feminist approach to, 17
 future of statehood, 297–301
 global order, 297–301
 in Indian Constitution, 8
 India
 marginalisation of, 64–82
 marginalisation of, 3
 international law and
 ideology, 8–10
 oppression of, 1
 postcolonial boundaries, 90–105
 Minority groups, 23–25
 marginalisation of, 6
 Minority protection, 3, 4, 65, 67, 69,
 138, 139–175, *See* Minority
 rights
 economic development, 200–240
 feminist approaches to, 290–297
 Minority protection mechanism
 under the League of Nations,
 144–147
 Minority rights, 2, 4, 5, 10, 65, 72
 under international law, 6, 10–14
 Minority treaties, 144–147
 Minority women, 15
 Modern state, 38–40
 of India, 54–55
 Modernist, 25, 48, 54, 55
 response to primordial attachments,
 25–28
 Modernity, 24, 35–36, 37–40, 48, 201,
 204, 207, 221, 276
 Modi, N., 76, 302
 Mohammedans, 40–54, 107
 Molecular transformation, 34
 passive revolution, 33
 Moment of Arrival, 37–38
 Moment of Departure, 36
 Moment of Manoeuvre, 36–37, 48
 Mountbatten, Lord, 131, 132
 Mughals, 107, 108, 123–127, 261–264
 Mughls, 111, 112, 121
 Muhammadan Literary Society, 52
 Multiculturalism, 143
 Muslim aristocracy
 of north India, 45
 Muslim bourgeoisie, 40–55
 Muslim League, 39, 40–54, 64–82,
 127–134
 Muslim peasantry, 45
 Muslim revivalism, 52
 Muslim rule, 49
 Muslim upper class. *See* Muslim
 bourgeoisie

342

INDEX

- Muslims, 11, 35–36, 38–54, 64–82, 127–134, 303
 Mussulmans, 40–54, *See* Mohammedans
 Myanmar, 1, 3, 8, 10–14, 15, 18, 105–121, 131, 171, 175–186, 190, 240–260, 287
 Myanmar Army, 1, 176, 290
 Myanmar Sustainable Development Plan, 241
- Nation, 5, 91
 National ethnic races
 of Myanmar, 181
 National identity, 65
 National Planning Committee
 of Indian National Congress, 80, 81
 National Register of Citizenship, 303,
 See NRC
 National state, 37–38, 77, 79
 National unity, 3, 7–8, 27, 79
 Constituent Assembly debates,
 64–71
 Nationalisation
 of Burmese economy, 248, 249
 Nationalism, 23, 27, 48, 196, 197
 in non-Western world, 32
 Nationalist consciousness, 35–36
 Nationalist elites, 3, 48, 55, 64, 68, 92,
 93, 287
 Nationalist movements, 79
 in India, 36–37, 54
 Nationalist politics, 36
 Nationalist thought, 32–40
 Nationality, 171–174
 Nation-building, 5, 7–8, 25–28, 38–40,
 64–71, 82, 139, 183, 190, 211,
 221, 266, 285
 Nation-state, 5, 13, 92, 137, 202, 284
 NATO, 185
 Natural resources, 200–240, 288
 Nazi, 147
 Nehru, J., 37–38, 40, 41, 64–82, 130,
 131, 134
 Neoliberal developmentalism, 200–240,
 270–275
 Neoliberal economy, 299
 post-conflict peacebuilding, 221–227
- New Guinea, 94
 NGOs, 261–275
 NIEO, 84, 206–215, 216, 222, 288
 Nigeria, 198, 285
 Non-cooperation movement, 50
 Non-discrimination, 3, 120, 139–175,
 176, 177, 183, 189, 191–196,
 198, 219, 277–279, 284–287
 Indian Constituent Assembly
 debates, 71–77
 Non-interference, 83
 Non-self-governing territories, 96, 97,
 148, 161
 North India, 49
 NRC, 303
- opinio juris*, 100
 Organisation of African Unity, 99, 100
 Charter of, 99
 Orthodox Hinduism, 49
 Orthodox Islam, 50
 Otherness
 ethnicity as, 24
- Pakistan, 11, 54, 64–82, 119, 121,
 134–137, 186–191, 264–270,
 274, 291, 302, 303
 Palestine, 304
 Paris Peace Conference, 90, 144–147
 Partition
 of Bengal, 43, 47
 of India, 8, 10–14, 44, 54–55, 64–82,
 127–134, 170, 264, 302
 Partition Plan, 127–134
 Passive Revolution, 55
 of capital, 32–40
 Patel, S., 64–82, 130, 134
 Patriarchy, 295
 PCIJ, 146, 173
 PCJS, 130
 PCJSS, 190, 191, 271
 Peacebuilding, 221–227, 260
 feminist approaches to, 294, 295
 in Rakhine State, 252–258
 in the CHT, 270–275
 Peasantry, 36–37, 39, 51
 Peoples, 84, 91, 206–215
 Permanent Settlement, 45

- Petty bourgeois class, 32–40, 54, 268
 Polish Minority Treaty, 145, 146
 Portuguese, 108
 Postcolonial boundaries, 17, 83,
 90–105, 277–279, 280–284
 of Burma, 105–121
 Postcolonial developmental state, 3, 6,
 7–8, 57, 277–279
 international law, 3, 10, 82–85,
 200–240
 marginalisation of minorities,
 200–240
 Postcolonial liberal state, 3, 6, 7–8, 57,
 139–175, 196, 199, 277–279
 international law, 3, 9–10, 82–85
 Postcolonial national state, 3, 6, 7–8, 57,
 89, 90–105, 137, 190, 212,
 277–279
 India
 Constituent Assembly debates,
 64–71
 international law, 3, 9, 82–85, 90–105
 Postcolonial states, 3, 5, 17, 23–25,
 54–55, 137
 ethnic violence in, 3
 ethno-nationalism in, 25–28, 56
 ethno-nationalist politics in, 28–32
 making of, 4, 6
 minority protection in, 4
 Poulantzas, N., 58, 59
 Power-sharing, 151, 156–159, 280,
 284–287
 in CHT, 191–196
 Preferential treatment
 of ethnic groups, 54
 Primordial attachments, 28, 36, 37,
 38–40
 Primordialism, 24, 25–28, 54
 Progress, 37–38, 202, 204,
 207, 288
 PSNR, 84, 206–215, 216,
 222, 287
 Public employment, 46
 Punjab, 55, 127, 132
 Qu’ran, 50
 Québec, 148, 153
 R2P, 184, 185, 283, *See* Responsibility to
 protect
 Radcliffe, C., 128, 132
 Rakhine Buddhists, 15, 105–121, 122,
 181, 182, 240–260
 Rakhine State, 1, 10–14, 105–121, 171,
 175–186, 284, 287, *See* Arakan
 Rangamati, 133, 136
 Rangoon, 117, 244
 Rape, 15, 290–297
 Recognition
 of states, 5
 Refugees, 301, 303
 Rohingya refugees, 1, 301
 Regional autonomy, 151, 156–159, 198,
 284–287
 in CHT, 186–196
 Regionalism
 in CHT, 191–196
 Reification, 82, 201, 276, 277–279
 ideological mode of operation,
 61–64
 Relations of production, 59
 Relative group entitlement, 28–32, 44
 Relative group legitimacy, 28–32, 39
 Relative group worth, 28–32, 39
 Religion, 10–14, 64–82
 Religious communalism, 36–37
 Religious obscurantism, 37
 Religious reforms, 35, 48
 Religious revivalism, 36–37
 Religious violence, 47
 Remedial self-determination, 183
 Reorganisation
 of economic structures, 37–38
 Reserved forests, 261–275
 Resident Coordinator
 of UN Country Team in Myanmar,
 258–260
 Resistance, 14
 Responsibility to protect, 3, 184, 185,
 283, *See* R2P
 Resurgence, Italian, 32, 33
 RETF project, 273, 274
 Rice economy, 242–247
 Right to development, 213,
 215–221, 222

- Right to participation
 in development policy-making, 227–240
 of CHT hill people, 270–275
- Rohingya, 2, 8, 10–14, 15, 19, 131, 171, 175–186, 240–260, 281, 283, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290, 300
 Rohingya women, 290–297
- Rohingya Muslims, 105–121, 133, 175–186, 240–260
- Rohingya refugees, 15, 18, 184, 301
- Roman law, 97, 281
- Royal Order of Burma, 109–112, 114
- Russia, 98
- Rwandan genocide, 15
- Secession, 94, 178, 183, 248, 279, 280–284
- Secular
 India, 53
- Secular nationalism, 52
- Secular state, 69
 Indian Constituent Assembly debates, 71–77
- Secularism, 71–77
- Self-determination, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9–10, 79, 84, 90–105, 118, 137, 138, 139–175, 183, 184, 197, 206–215, 219, 280–287, 298, 300
 of CHT hill people, 191–196
- Separate electorate, 40–54
- Separate representation, 40–54, *See* Separate electorate
- Separatism, 118
- Sepoy Revolt, 41, 46, 51, 125, 262
- Serbia, 102–104, 291
- Settlement of Bangalees, 190
- Sexual violence, 290–297
- SFRY, 102–104, 162
- Shanti Bahini*, 271
- SIDA, 271
- Sikhs, 43, 64–82
- Social conservatism, 49
- Social Darwinism, 204
 monogenic and polygenic, 30
- Social justice, 37–38
- Social reforms, 48
- South Asia, 11, 18, 120, 169, 170, 303
- South Asian Regional Charter, 169, 170
- South Sudan, 281, 284
- Southeast Asia, 11
- Sovereign equality, 9, 83
- Sovereignty, 5, 209, 215, 219
- Spain, 100
- Spiritual, 48, 49
- Sri Lanka, 195, 198, 226, 259, 295, 303
- State
 nascent postcolonial state, 37–38
- Statehood, 3, 5, 64, 84, 91, 151
 feminist approaches to, 17, 290–297
 future of, 297–301
 in international law, 6
- Statelessness, 2, 171–174
 of Rohingyas, 175–186
- Structural Adjustment Programmes, 224
- Subaltern historiography, 39
- Subaltern politics, 38
- Sudan, 281
- Sultanate of Bengal, 106, 107
- Sunnah*, 50
- Supranational, 299
- Supreme Court of Bangladesh, 191–196
- Suu Kyi, A. S., 175, 241, 255, 256, 260
- Sweden, 98
- Tahzibul Akhlaq*, 52
- Tamil insurgency, 303
- Tatmadaw, 1, 176, 290, *See* Myanmar Army
- Territorial integrity, 9, 83, 90–105, 192, 215, 219, 279, 280–284
 Constituent Assembly debates, 64–71
- Territory, 5, 90–105
- Third World, 186, 206–215, 216, 283
- Thompson, J., 7, 56, 58, 61–64
- Totalitarianism, 298
- Transitional justice
 feminist approaches to, 294
- Tribal, 137, 154, 191
- Tribal community, 64–82
- Turkey, 303, 304
- TWAIL, 5, 6, 18, 283, 297
- TWAIL feminism, 297
- Two nations theory, 55, 127

- UDHR, 157, 159–175
 UEHRD, 255, 256
 Uighur Muslims, 301
 UK, 96
 UN Charter, 91, 93, 211, 222
 UN General Assembly, 92, 94, 96, 184, 206–215, 222
 UN Secretary-General, 218
 UN Security Council, 185, 186, 207, 296
 UN Special Rapporteurs, 176, 177
 UNDP, 259
 UNDP-CHTDF, 272, 273
 UNDRIP, 13, 233, 234, 236
 UNICEF, 271
 Unification, 70, 82, 277–279
 ideological mode of operation, 61–64
 Union Citizenship (Election) Act, 179
 Union Citizenship Act, 179
 Unitary state, 194, 195
 United Nations, 1, 90–105, 133, 197
 in Myanmar, 258–260
 United Nations Country Team
 in Myanmar, 258–260
 Universalism, 141–144, 206
 UPDF, 191
 Upper Burma, 242–247
 Urdu-Nagri controversy, 52
 US State Department, 120
 USA, 96
 USAID, 265, 270, 271
- USSR, 162
uti possidetis, 2, 9, 83, 90–105, 137, 147, 280–284, 292
- Vulnerability, 14
 framework of minority protection, 297–301
 of minorities, 16, 289
 of minority women, 16
- Wahabism*
 in Bengal, 46, 50
- War crimes, 303
 War of position, 34
 War on Terror, 297
 West Bengal, 43, 127–134
 West Irian, 94, 95
 West Pakistan, 148, 264–270
 Western democracies, 23
 Western education, 53, *See* English education
- Westphalia, 300
 WFP, 251
 WHO, 271
 Wilson, W., 90, 91, 144–147
 Women, 15, 290–297
 Working class, 32, *See* Class
- World Bank, 223, 224, 252, 259, 260, 265, 270, 273, 274
 WTO, 252
- Yazidi, 304
- Zaminders*, 51