

The strength of Schworck's study is to explain the rise of Hindutva as a function of modernisation and to point out further concrete causes, but once more it shows the dilemma of the fundamentalism paradigm. To be sure, aggressive political movements can arise in pluralistic religions like Hinduism and their similarities with movements from other cultural backgrounds are obvious, but do their anti-Western attitudes qualify them as fundamentalistic? The main aim of Hindutva is to create a Hindu nation, and even Schworck states this fact. To name it a domestic fundamentalism is not convincing. One should remember that the opposition against full-scale modernisation is as old as modernisation itself and that European nationalisms of the late 19th century are full of such ideological antipathy. By insisting on his concept Schworck missed the chance to present a study about the characteristics of nation-building in a Third World country and its characteristics which would have provided a better cross-cultural perspective.

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JAKOB RÖSEL, *Die Gestalt und Entstehung des Tamilischen Nationalismus*. (Ordo Politicus, 31). Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1997. 277 pages, DM 98,-. ISBN 3-428-08849-2

This book deals with ideology and politics in southern India and northern Sri Lanka. It begins with the Dravidian movement in the Madras Presidency in the early 20th century, which led to the foundation of a regional party, from which the two contemporary major parties of Tamil Nadu - the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) - originate. These parties have ruled in Tamil Nadu since 1967 and play a decisive role in the national arena at present. In addition, two chapters are dedicated to the emergence of Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka. The foundation of this regional identity is of crucial importance for the analysis of the present conflict. However, the contemporary politics of Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka is the topic of a separate publication by the same author (see review in this issue). Rösel's work integrates these two developments in India and Sri Lanka into one analytical framework, and thus provides valuable insights into the political history of India and Sri Lanka. The flow of the text follows the chronology of events and the well-founded analysis is embedded primarily in the regional context. A reader interested in political theory will find an excellent case study of great depth and range but should not expect much discussion of nationalism in general.

The first seven chapters deal with south India: In a brief and sophisticated introduction into its cultural history the emergence of the Dravidian movement is described. Rösel's point of departure is the interaction of a north Indian Brahmanic tradition with a local culture which led to a synthesis in its own right. Inspired by the linguistic works of Robert Caldwell in the mid-19th century, who described Tamil culture as an independent autochthonous tradition, a political movement emerged which was basically anti-Brahmin and (therefore?!) pro-British. The Dravidian Justice Party (JP) challenged the Congress Party and won the 1916 elections, but soon lost influence. Rösel rightly concludes that opposition to a political, economic and

administrative system with Brahmins in privileged positions was one factor responsible for this early success. However, the other side of the coin, opposition to a social and religious system was not supported by the majority (p. 47). Finally, the charismatic founder of the self-respect movement, Ramasamy Naiker, who had opposed party politics previously, became President of the JP. His stand was firmly anti-Brahmin and anti-ritualistic, he encouraged beef-eating, inter-caste marriages and demanded that women should enjoy equal status with men. Before the independence of India he renamed the Party 'Dravida Kazhagam' (DK), underlining his three nation theory, i.e. the struggle for an independent south Indian state as a third state beside Pakistan and India.

But within the first two decades after independence Naiker's approach seems to have been forgotten and the struggle for a separate state was absorbed by political parties headed by his political heirs. Separate chapters are dedicated to their life and work: The three outstanding personalities are C.N. Annadurai (DK), the successor of Naiker, M.G. Ramachandran (AIADMK), a god-like chief minister (1977-1987), whose funeral in 1987 attracted more than 4 million people, and T.M. Karunanidhi (DMK), former and present chief minister of Tamil Nadu.

Chapters 8 and 9 refer to Tamil nationalism in Jaffna, the peninsula at the northern tip of Sri Lanka. If the south Indian movement was a mass movement and anti-Brahmin and pro-British, the Sri Lankan pendant in the first half of this century was confined to a Vellala elite, was anti-Christian but doubtless not anti-Brahmin. These chapters deal less with parties and politicians than with social and cultural history. Rösel describes the ideological discourse in Jaffna as a utilitarian and opportunistic movement that is hardly based on historical achievements of its own but on a tradition borrowed or claimed from the mainland.

The final chapter analyzes the national level of post-independence politics in India. Rösel describes the politics of the Congress Party in favourable terms, laying emphasis on the positive management of social, ethnic and religious conflicts - in my view a controversial point (p. 247). However, the project of democracy has proved successful, in spite of the fact that India was not politically united before British rule and in spite of the shared idea of inequality. Important aspects are - as Rösel argues - the adaptation of concepts like 'secularism' and 'socialism' to the Indian cultural framework. The reader looking for a summary may return to the preface where the main theme of the book is condensed in a few lines.

The political landscape of India and Sri Lanka confronts specialists of this region with an immense number of political parties and numerous actors. This volume under review offers to political scientists puzzled by the cultural connotations of political action a well structured and readable overview of one of the major political arenas. Moreover, the great value of this book is to inform about the ideological foundations of political action in a major region of India and about the discourse on tradition among Tamils in Sri Lanka before the present ethnic conflict started. As it is full of details, all eloquently linked to each other, it is informative and interesting to the regional specialist as well. There are many explicit and implicit messages in the text. One should be mentioned here: Political observers seeking for possible solutions to the long-standing regional conflicts in Punjab, Kashmir, northeast India, Sri Lanka etc. - but, for good reasons, not having a clue as to how the blood shed

might come to an end - will find a fascinating chapter of South Asian history leading first to regional separatism and then away from it towards a populist, person-centred two-party system, absorbing the radical messages and ruling an Indian state in rather opportunistic but non-violent terms.

Rösel's language is clear and convincing. It is to be appreciated that the text is comprehensible without previous knowledge of South Asia. The arguments are represented in a particular manner indicated on the front cover: The emblem of the publisher is an eagle with open wings holding a page in its claws, on which 'Vincit Veritas' is written. Indeed, the author has followed this principle, has referred to the available professional literature, has included Indian and Sri Lankan newspapers and political journals and in 1991 he interviewed more than two dozen persons (politicians, journalists, academics etc.) in Madras.

Unfortunately we do not hear about their dividedness or disagreements over their recent history. Moreover, Rösel refers to various social scientists and occasionally provides lengthy quotes from them, but shows little interest in discussing their theses. Obviously, it is not his aim to confront us with contradictory views and divergent opinions. Maybe it is the strength of this book that we find the presentation of a major theme from a specific point of view, the perspective of a well-informed and carefully analysing political scientist.

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JAKOB RÖSEL, *Die Gestalt und Entstehung des Singhalesischen Nationalismus*. (Ordo Politicus, 29). Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996. XII, 378 pages, 2 maps, DM 128,-. ISBN 3-428-08726-7

This is a detailed study of Singhalese nationalism, its history and the various forms in which it expresses itself (*Gestalt*). The book opens with a sketch of the island's history, a very readable survey of two and a half thousand years in 70 pages. It is composed like a drama: beginning with "ethnic plurality" in pre-British times, leading to "ethnic opposition" during the British colonial period, rising to "ethnic conflict" after independence, and ending in the climax of "ethnic civil war" since 1978. After a short chapter "Theory of Nationalism" based mainly on Eli Kedourie's works of 1961 and 1970, there follow five chapters on the *Gestalt* of Singhalese nationalism: its programme (recreating the "Golden Age of Singhalese Civilisation" by huge irrigation and land development projects in the Mahaveli area, and by "reawakening the villages"); its festivals (e.g. the Tooth Procession); its daily life and routine (rise of a lay Buddhism); reconstruction of old Buddhist monuments, erection of Buddha statues, new sites of national commemoration; and the self-image of the "Lion's people". Chapters eight to eleven explore the roots and history of Singhalese nationalism. As with the other nationalisms in Asia, European research into the country's past is at the base of the awakening of a historical consciousness among the indigenous elite. Language plays a major role, Singhalese being found to belong to the Indo-European family of languages; the identification of language and "race" via the term "Aryan"; the re-interpretation of Buddhism vis-à-vis the challenges of Christian missionaries. The Theosophical Society gives a