

the articles in part two. Even if intra-regional trade will not have a great impact on national economic development, cooperation in all the areas mentioned can play a substantive role in confidence building within the region. Europe's path towards integration can certainly not be regarded as a model for regional groupings in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that forms of collaboration in non-political sectors can contribute to a better understanding between the countries involved. Especially conflict ridden regions like South Asia should therefore follow this approach as a first step towards an enduring regional cooperation. That these opportunities for collaboration are not grasped despite the possibilities and common problems, like the high levels of poverty in all states, seems to be the real tragedy of South Asia's present approach towards regional cooperation. An annex with the Charter of SAARC and the SAPTA Agreement is included at the end.

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CARSTEN WIELAND, *Nationalstaat wider Willen. Politisierung von Ethnien und Ethnisierung der Politik: Bosnien, Indien, Pakistan*. (Campus Forschung, 814). Frankfurt/Main, New York: Campus, 2000. 372 pages, € 45,-. ISBN 3-593-36506-5

Today, wars and civil wars are shaped by the media. The media tend to simplify conflicts by labelling participants as "ethnic" or "religious" groups, all the more so since ideological divisions seem to have diminished. Academics are sometimes involved in this discourse as "experts" for "background" analysis, but mostly their opinions are just ignored. Carsten Wieland is a rare exception: He is an academic with considerable journalist experience, or a journalist with excellent academic training. In his dissertation, he analyses the beginnings and developments of "ethnic" national movements in Bosnia and India that claimed to represent "Muslim" minorities and turned later into state-building parties. Wieland criticises the fact that "among academics and particularly among journalists a confusion of ideas and a lack of distance towards concepts that originate from the political field, prevails" (p. 37) He summarises results of theoretical discussions in history, political science, cultural anthropology, and sociology in a very precise and clear language. He rejects both the primordial and constructivist definition of "ethnic group" ("ethnicity"), "nation" and "nation state". Wieland highlights the fact that "ethnic groups" are constructed by use of *one* primary peculiarity that is alone not enough to create a group. Therefore the "ethnic group" is constructed by *secondary peculiarities* which are added to the primary to make differentiation of the group more plausible. The secondary characteristics of an "ethnic group" are "modified, overemphasised or constructed *ex post* for this purpose". Wieland calls this primary peculiarity the *Ethnizentrum*, around which the secondary categories of the "ethnic" group are organised in order to distinguish his own approach from that of Donald L. Horowitz. The author deals with a huge amount of reference books, but sometimes his study of secondary sources leads him to mistakes. On p. 58 he quotes Stalin's definition of "nation" as: "a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and *psychological make-up* manifested in a community of

culture", taken from an English version of "Marxism and the National Question" (New York 1942). For a truer account of Stalin's works, it is advisable to follow the German version "Marxismus und nationale Frage" (Moscow 1945), in which, instead of "psychological make-up", *psychische Eigenart* (character) (p. 8) stands, i.e. the very opposite.

In Bosnia as well as in Pakistan and India religion was used as *Ethnizentrum* of nationalist groups. Historical myths like that of the Bogumil in Bosnia (pp. 128–132), of the Aryan-Hindu in India and of "prehistoric Pakistan" (pp. 133–137) functioned as amplifiers to the weak religious core of the "ethno"-national construction. Conversion to Islam took place in both areas during periods of Islamic domination, providing Muslims with higher social and economic status. But in India Muslims remained a minority while in Bosnia they became the majority, which led to different forms of state-building. (p. 147) The Ottoman principle of *millet*, group autonomy on a religious basis, enforced separatist tendencies among Muslim populations in the modern period. (p. 158)

Only in the 19th and 20th century were efforts taken to "define" the different groups in Bosnia and India according to religious and then "ethnic"-religious concepts that were introduced by Serbian or Croat nationalists or by British colonialists. (p. 166) Herder's ideas of "ethnic" nationalism spread among intellectuals in both areas. Later, racist concepts, ideological mainstream at the time, were adopted. During the first half of the 20th century, religious denomination was more and more turned into an "ethnic" category and Muslim groups developed a kind of "defensive homogenisation". (p. 179) Interaction and conflict among ideological leaders of different groups and a process of modernisation of the means of communication was a necessary condition for this. Religious and linguistic conflicts intensified and were interpreted within the context of the new "ethnic" discourse. (p. 195) By instrumentalising symbols for "secondary" group characteristics the small elite which consciously worked on the construction of "ethnic" identity could appeal to larger groups of the potential "ethnicity". In the cases of the Muslims in India and Bosnia, other "ethnic" groups, the Hindu nationalists, Croats and Serbs, were much faster in constructing their "national" parties at the turn of the century. After WW II terror, massacres led to the victimisation of the "own" group and the demonisation of "the other" (pp. 270–273). Violence by radicals "proved" their own assertion that it is "impossible" to live together with "the other".

Apart from the big differences between them, Izetbegovich and Jinnah both treated Muslims not as citizens but as "ethnic"-national groups, as endangered minorities which had to be protected by as much political autonomy as possible. By so doing they ethnicised politics and politicised "ethnic" groups. (p. 291) External factors such as the actions of the dominating (British, Austro-Hungarian colonial administration) or intervening (European Union, NATO, UN) forces weakened political representatives of alternative trans-"ethnic" or liberal (citizen-oriented) programmes and catalysed the conflicts among "ethno"-national groups. They could thereby better mobilise the population and appeal more successfully to political players on a higher, international level. (pp. 311, 320) Since the foundation of Pakistan and Bosnia-Herzegowina, the Muslim "ethno"-national camps are moving in different directions: whereas in Bosnia, a certain homogenisation and tendency towards a

Muslim nation-state-building may be observed, in Pakistan inner conflicts between different Muslim groups led to growing conflicts that caused e.g. the separation of Bangladesh, which rejects the label of a "Muslim" state, or the Kashmir conflict caused by the general problem that more Muslims live in India than in "Muslim" Pakistan. Terror, particularly against women who symbolised "ethnic purity" in the nationalist ideology was used to "prove" that the different "ethnic" groups could not live together anymore – a terrible "argumentation" which was used by the foreign power to suppress alternative political solutions to those propagated by terrorists.

This is an important book. It shows that "ethnic" conflicts *per se* do not exist (p. 366), and how political leaders with mixed or unclear identities themselves mobilise groups by appealing to "ethnic" categories, whereas foreign powers enforce this process by statistics on ethnic bases (British, Austro-Hungarian colonial administration), by following the argumentation of "ethnic" leaders who represent only small minorities. It should be stressed that the political cultures of India and Bosnia were organised by "ethnic" categories not because they were the most important dividing lines, but because other divisions – social, economic, cultural – were translated into the language of "ethnic" division at a critical period of time. In Western Europe, e.g. Britain, political cultures developed *before* "ethnic" and racial thinking became important political issues. Therefore in India or the Balkan "ethnic" categories do *not* matter more than others, but they began to matter at a certain period of time, thus becoming more important than other issues. Wieland's contribution to the theory of "ethnic" and "national" politics is important: He explains how and why constructed identities become realities.

Árpád v. Klimó

MONIKA KIRLOSKAR-STEINBACH, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Liberalismus, Säkularismus und ,tolerantem Fundamentalismus' im gegenwärtigen Indien*. Göttingen: Afrikanisch-Asiatische Studienförderung e.V., 2001. 178 Seiten. ISBN 3-930333-89-9. (Zu beziehen über AASF e.V., Theodor-Heuss-Straße 11, 37075 Göttingen.)

Die Afrikanisch-Asiatische Studienförderung Göttingen (früher Afrikanisch-Asiatische Studentenförderung) gibt seit kurzem eine eigene Schriftenreihe heraus, in der vorwiegend Diplomarbeiten und Dissertationen von Studenten/Studentinnen aus afro-asiatischen Ländern veröffentlicht werden sollen, die für einen breiteren Leserkreis von Interesse sein könnten. Als erste Arbeit ist im August 2001 eine Studie von Monika Kirloskar-Steinbach erschienen, die sie im Jahr zuvor an der Universität Konstanz als Dissertation eingereicht hatte.

Den Anstoß zu der auf eingehenden literaturkritischen Recherchen basierenden Untersuchung gab die Zerstörung der Moschee in Ayodhya durch radikale Hindus im Dezember 1992. Im ersten Teil werden die Spannungsfelder zwischen Fundamentalismus und Liberalismus sowie die unterschiedlichen Inhalte von Toleranz in religiösen und politischen Systemen allgemein behandelt. Im zweiten Teil konzentriert sich die Autorin auf eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den verschiedenen Aspekten eines fundamentalistischen Weltbildes, wobei das Hauptaugenmerk auf