

sions. If one were to focus more on poverty-alleviation, the aid record is probably not that positive. Also, the study is somewhat economic; as the authors themselves admit (p. 175), political and societal influences have hardly been dealt with.

This second edition is supposed to update the original version fully. Generally, it does so by adding an extra section to each chapter, briefly discussing the research since 1985. At times, for example in the chapter on aid and poverty, this does not do justice to the studies which have been published. Sometimes, for example in the chapter on policy dialogue, new information is integrated into the main text. This is slightly confusing: for example, it is noted (p. 208) that 'lately' British aid has come under pressure to increase the amount of tied aid, and one wonders to which period this refers. And when recent findings are mentioned at the end of the chapter, for example regarding the necessity of institutions of civil society (chapter on technical cooperation, p. 172), it is not always clear what these signify for the general conclusion. But these are minor criticisms in the context of the wide range of issues dealt with in detail, and collected in a book which is eminently readable.

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KARL REINHOLD HAELLQUIST, *Asian Trade Routes. Continental and Maritime*. (Studies on Asian Topics, 13). London: Curzon Press 1991. 292 pages. ISBN 0-7007-02121

This volume of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies is a compilation of papers presented at the conference on "Asian Trade Routes" which was arranged by Per Sorensen and Niels Steensgaard. The articles cover a wide time-span from around 3000 B.C. till the 1930s; the geographical dimension is also enormous: Asia, split up in the categories West Asia, Central Asia and Afghanistan, South Asia, Southeast Asia and East Asia. Twenty-four internationally renowned authors give an excellent glimpse of the various trading activities of merchant communities and companies throughout the ages.

In his preface Niels Steensgaard points out the historical dimension of trade, which has always been and still is a complicated social act. Markets do not operate by the simple notion of supply and demand; there are obviously additional factors determining trade, markets, and politics. These are interdependent entities including a wide range of substructures like com-

pany management, pedlar trade, monetary policy, and the influence of "war and peace"-politics on commerce.

Arthur Attman considers "The flow of precious metals along trade routes between Europe and Asia up to 1800". It was apparently not only American silver which found its way along traditional and new trading routes into the "East", but also the silver of Central Europe discovered in the 15th century. Merchants from the Baltic, Italy, England and Holland, as well as the Iberian powers, could cover the balances in the "eastern trade". Holland played the major role in transporting silver, carrying about two thirds of the silver exports to the Baltic, the Levant and Eastern Asia.

Mughal India during the reign of Shah Jahan developed a protectionist policy, forcing the merchants of Surat to export a certain quantity of north Indian cotton on ships built specially for that purpose by order of the Mughal. Between 1651 and 1662 the Mughal Empire acted like a contemporary European "mercantilist state", the sovereign pushing merchandise exports and supporting bullion influx. A series of studies is still needed to explain the discontinuation of this policy in the 1660s.

The pepper trade of Malabar in the 16th century is a convincing example of a stable and extra-political network, which did not work according to market models. There was a permanent prevalence of demand over supply. Though aware of an expanding pepper market in the "Indian Ocean World System", as J. Kieniewicz calls the economic region between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Melaka, neither local rulers nor tradesmen could gain control of the production areas. Nevertheless there existed a sophisticated trading network, apparently supporting export facilities rather than developing import structures. Besides, we can observe an "intermediary sphere, characterized by the creation of longitudinal links, utilizing both sea and the fresh water bays as well as the coastal lakes and canals." Neither the Portuguese nor the V.O.C. could change this pepper trade pattern, which at the same time proves the strength of this network within the World System of the Indian Ocean.

In a brief case study of the eighth East India Company voyage, A. Farrington demonstrates the role of broadcloth within the export-scheme of the Company. Quite early on the London merchants realised that no market existed for woollens in the East. Yet the Company was forced to export a fixed amount of broadcloth to silence the English wool industry. By means of coercion, various tricks and the acceptance of local customs and habits, the Company merchants were able to sell at least a small amount of the rather useless merchandise on eastern markets. Again the demand/supply model fails to explain the economic reality.

A quite interesting hypothesis is offered by H.-D. Evers, who, referring to van Leur's "peddling trade" model in Asia, gives us two fine examples of 20th century intra-Asian structures which come fairly close to the historical models presented by van Leur. There seems to be a continuity of substructures. An analogy with the Malabar pepper trade of the 16th century suggests itself when one reads that "the social organisation of the trading network meets the constraint of the market system, which in turn is part of a modern world system. The persistence of local trading network over long periods of time, in fact through several 'world systems', speaks, however, for their relative autonomy." And again, these substructures do not always conform with the main stream of a world system.

All the articles offer a great variety of Asian trading patterns which prove the exception to the rule of world market models, governed by the simplistic idea of supply and demand. We have to accept that since the 16th century, Asian trade routes, interrelated and embedded in socio-economic, ethnic, religious, and political systems, did to a large extent not function according to Western economic models, but developed their own rules and patterns, which made them into strong and independent, but nevertheless connected "units" within the trading world of Asia.

*Michael Mann*

MAHATMA GANDHI, *Wahrhaft sein*. Ausgewählt, aus dem Englischen übersetzt und eingeleitet von Detlef Kantowsky. Fotos von Andreas Hoffmann. Solothurn und Düsseldorf: Benziger 1995. 108 Seiten, DM 39,80. ISBN 3-545-33141-5.

Als der amerikanische Präsident Truman 1949 erstmals die Länder der Erde in ökonomisch "entwickelte" und "unterentwickelte" aufteilte – ohne seine rein abendländische Perspektive auch nur wahrzunehmen – war er im Kern bereits seit vielen Jahren widerlegt: von Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, genannt Mahatma, der zentralen Figur bei der Befreiung des alten Kulturlandes Indien aus der kolonialen Beherrschung durch Großbritannien.

Ein wichtiger Pfeiler in Gandhis Philosophie bzw. politischer Pragmatik war die Überzeugung, daß der Westen für Indien eben keineswegs ein nachahmenswertes Modell sei. Er sagte 1924: "... [ich] möchte die alte indische Kultur vor der drohenden Zerstörung durch die den Indern aufgezwungene moderne westliche zu bewahren versuchen." Gandhi wollte zwar die Kastenschranken überwinden, suchte Indiens Zukunft aber trotz-