

his contention that left-wing movements have achieved little in advancing the interests of ordinary people. The Philippine state is undoubtedly a source of oppression, exploitation, and political marginalization, but the flipside of any state–citizen relationship is that the state needs to make concessions to its citizens when forcefully pressured by them to do so. Since this dynamic is left out of Umali’s story, we hear little of the successful popular struggles in the Philippines for expanded state-recognized rights of ordinary people, for example the right to land for the landless (under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law of 1988), the indigenous people’s right to claim their ancestral land (under the Indigenous People’s Rights Act of 1997), and an expansion of the right to welfare, even if implementation is still deficient.

Second, his model based on precolonial times is a bit shaky. Umali acknowledges the constant threat of mutual warfare and raiding that existed between communities, but offers no suggestion how an “archipelagic confederation” would be able to maintain peace and secure protection for its inhabitants. Moreover, the type of precolonial communities he refers to is, surprisingly, that of *datu*-headed communities, which were, indeed, quite autonomous but far from egalitarian (marked instead by hierarchy, slavery/bonded labour, and occasional slave raiding). Much closer to his anarchist community ideal are non-violent indigenous hunter-gatherer and shifting cultivator communities, whose current remnants in remote regions of the Philippines are studied by anthropologists – work that Umali hardly uses, even though he claims there is much to learn from the “wisdom” of current indigenous communities.<sup>3</sup>

Third, Umali encourages people to self-organize along lines of shared interests, but implementation seems unproblematic and examples are not discussed. Those interested in actual cases of direct democracy in the Philippines (including challenges and possible solutions) will need to look elsewhere. The vast literature on the bumpy road of cooperatives in the Philippines might be a starter.

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KHALILI, LALEH. *Sinews of War and Trade. Shipping and Capitalism in the Arabian Peninsula*. Verso, London [etc.] 2020. xvi, 352 pp. Ill. Maps. £20.00. (Paper: £11.99; E-book: £20.00.)

Maritime trade is unavoidable in any analysis of the explosion in global flows of commodities over the past centuries. Tracing the history of such trade into the present, however, presents a major difficulty: as logistics spaces have increased in importance, the more invisible

3. See, for example, the work on “anthropology and anarchy” by French anthropologist Charles Macdonald, who lived for a long time in hunter-gatherer communities on the Philippine island of Palawan. Available at: <https://sites.google.com/site/charlesjhmaacdonaldssite/>; last accessed 3 May 2021.

they have become. Urban port districts used to form a vibrant and potentially explosive meeting point of different types of itinerant laborers, merchants, industrialists, and state officials; by contrast, the ports of twenty-first-century capitalism are highly securitized, separated from residential zones by razor-wire fences, no man's lands, and surveillance cameras, and often presided over by entirely different legal codes. Such securitization has made it difficult to situate more recent histories of maritime logistics in the hinterland societies to which they were formerly so richly connected. This is especially the case for the Arabian Peninsula, where a central position in the global flow of fossil fuels has spurred military responses to logistics risk. To overcome the separation between the maritime historiography of the Indian Ocean and the hinterland historiography of the Arabian Peninsula's oil politics, Laleh Khalili's *Sinews of War and Trade* offers both academics and the general public a view behind the razor wire. Describing her project as an "amphibious history", Khalili not only blurs the historiographic boundaries between sea and land, but also between empire and nation state across the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries.

Concretely, this means tracing the power struggles that shaped shipping to and from the Arabian Peninsula. The first chapter shows how shipping routes are not simply the fastest journey between two points, but are durable patterns contingent upon power relations, technological change, pilgrimage practices, and physical infrastructure. Routes find material expression in admiralty charts, fueling stations, canals, and undersea cables. In the age of empire, they formed an information network integrating metropole and colonies. Routes interact with technology in unexpected ways. The wartime closure of the Suez Canal led to the construction of much larger crude oil carriers to sail around the Cape of Good Hope; after the wars had ended, the canal reopened, but the ships were too large to pass through. Most interestingly, Khalili describes how financial instruments and shipping routes mutually constituted one another. In the nineteenth century, empires encouraged the formation of cartels to manage route prices; since the 1970s, freight rates and futures contracts have been compiled into route-specific index funds. Together, cartels and financial markets allocate the maritime resources underpinning the global flow of oil.

In the second, third, and fourth chapters, Khalili delves deeper into the shifting alliances between capitalists and states by detailing the creation of landside infrastructure. Here, she shows the continuities and disruptions from nineteenth-century empire to twenty-first-century capitalism, with imperial extraction networks repurposed and expanded for oil. The Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) and the Saudi state established Dammam as a major oil terminal, Dubai leveraged its relationship to the British Empire to build out a cargo hub, while Aden suffered from a British capital strike during Yemen's struggle for independence. Geopolitics was accompanied by geoengineering. The shallow seas of the Persian Gulf have been dredged, and massive quantities of rough riverbed sand have been shipped from elsewhere to reclaim land. The ports are serviced by road and rail connections into the hinterland, again riven by axes of power. Linking potentially rebellious regions to logistics hubs integrated them into post-colonial states, and never failed to draw the attention of foreign corporations and militaries. Just as the sea was transformed into physical infrastructure to service trade, so harbors were transformed into legal categories. Free ports, arbitration tribunals, flags of convenience, and offshore privatizations allocate logistics rights and rewards. Khalili uses the fascinating case of Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis to show how global power transforms sovereignty. When, in 1958, US military and corporate interests objected to Saudi Arabia granting a monopoly concession to Onassis, an arbitration tribunal in Switzerland ruled that the earlier contract with Aramco had precedence over Saudi sovereignty.

Although located far from the public eye, the logistics infrastructure Khalili describes is never lifeless. The people who animate it form the subjects of Chapters Five to Seven. She describes the tangled webs of merchant families familiar from the Indian Ocean historiography. Merchant firms relied on contact with technocrats through successive phases of empire, nationalization, and global financialization, spawning corporate forms that blended state and capital. Such networks could be leveraged to suppress labor organizing, as when an Aramco officer thanked the Saudi royal family for an anti-strike law in the 1960s. Despite repression, workers did organize into unions, with varying degrees of politicization, and could derive social power from their position in the logistics chain, either to disrupt it or to connect struggles in different locations. Geographies of worker power intersected with geographies of capital: Khalili shows that companies' recruitment structures follow imperial routes that long predate oil, and are subject to racializing laws and indentured contracts pioneered in the nineteenth century. In the final chapter, she shifts her attention to soldiers and military planners, describing how war generated new logistics formations. For instance, during the succession of Gulf Wars starting with the Iran–Iraq War, missiles manufactured in Western Europe and the United States were directed at oil tankers, spurring the further securitization and militarization of trade routes. US and British military bases dot the shores of the peninsula, creating profitable circuits for such military–logistics conglomerates as DHL.

Like the logistics systems it describes, the book sets out distributed narrative nodules that lack a clear center. As Khalili writes in the introduction, she wanted the book “to tell stories” without synthesizing them into a more general argument. She makes use of a varied and innovative methodology to assemble these stories. Her work in newspaper archives and court records is combined with hands-on experience on a freight ship and interviews with workers. This blend of ethnography, oral history, and workers' inquiry gave her a sense of the concrete labor practices that go into otherwise abstract logistics networks, and infuses her narratives with humanity. She has an acute eye for the injuries, inequalities, and resiliencies in the labor undergirding global trade.

Her decentralized distribution of stories depicts the contingent entanglements of logistics, war, labor, and law in a highly readable way, but they leave the reader to evaluate the broader connections and implications. What conclusions can we draw about the geographic transformations driven by such a dizzying array of conflicts? One theme that runs through the book is extraction: Khalili's provocative use of “accumulation by dispossession” to describe land reclamation for harbor projects, as well as her discussion of how suboceanic resources are claimed in international law, raises interesting questions about the importance of territorial dispossession not just for capital accumulation but also for facilitating trade. Another theme is the co-production of states and global trade networks, but Khalili does not explicitly engage with the extensive literature linking oil extraction and militarized state-formation on the Arabian Peninsula, leaving the reader to decide which of the conflicts she describes was the most decisive. What was the relative importance of imperial competition as compared to resistance from below in the creation of militarized states? How have logistics workers shaped the political geography of the peninsula? A more specific example that could be thought about systematically is Khalili's argument about shipping cartels and freight prices, echoing concerns in the economic historiography of “globalization”. What was the effect of cartelization relative to changing turnover times under technological, managerial, and financial pressures? How have empire and capital interacted to create certain types of markets, and what have the effects been on the allocation of trade resources?

To link up Khalili's various themes and narratives, it might be useful to think about the dynamics and interrelations of various types of capitalism: merchant; industrial; imperial;

neoliberal; extractive; and war capitalism. Khalili avoids typologizing, but her book could provide an opportunity to reassess these categories from the ground up. By focusing on the continuities and disruptions of space, the book shows that war capitalism continued to suffuse industrial capitalism, and that merchant capitalism remained an important force throughout. It stands as an important reminder, accessible to readers beyond academia, of how the legacy of empire is materialized in the logistics landscapes of twenty-first-century capitalism.

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SCHMIDT, ARIADNE. *Prosecuting Women. A Comparative Perspective on Crime and Gender before the Dutch Criminal Courts, c.1600–1810.* [Crime and City in History, Vol. 4.] Brill, Leiden 2020. 285 pp. Ill. € 105.00; \$126.00. (E-book: € 105.00; \$126.00.)

When I received Ariadne Schmidt's *Prosecuting Women* to review, I genuinely wondered how innovative this study would be. Given that, in recent years, the research team "Crime and Gender, 1600–1900: A comparative perspective" at Leiden University, to which the author was also affiliated, had already published several fascinating monographs and articles on female criminality in the early modern Dutch Republic, I expected a sort of synthesis of past research. And yet, *Prosecuting Women* is more than a simple resumé, since Schmidt looks at crime and gender in the early modern Low Countries from an explicitly comparative point of view. By taking into account the different socio-economic contexts, demographic backgrounds, and judicial norms of a number of cities, she aims to examine whether a stereotypical female criminal can be observed throughout the highly urbanized Republic, or whether patterns of female criminality in the Republic were influenced by local contexts and the type of town in which the crime took place.

Such a comparative approach has proven to be very fruitful in Marion Pluskota's study of early modern prostitution in Nantes and Bristol.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, Schmidt limits the scope of her research by not opting for a transnational comparison but instead restricting herself to an analysis of the Republic itself. On the other hand, she expands her scope by not limiting herself to one type of criminality (instead, focusing on all types of criminality prosecuted by the criminal courts) and by comparing several types of city with one another. For this reason, Schmidt selected two port cities, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and two industrial cities, Leiden and Gouda. To counterbalance the all-too exclusive focus on cities in Holland in research on the history of criminality, she also included some localities in "peripheral areas", such as the rural region of Waterland, the garrison city of Zwolle, and two jurisdictions in the south: the bailiwick of Heusden, Breda, and the Barony of Breda. Such a comparison could nuance the general claim that the high level of participation of women in

1. Marion Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Ports* (London, 2016).