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Drones and Global Order: Implications of Remote Warfare for International Society

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United States found itself in difficult negotiations with nations of varying sizes and strategic value. Some of the case studies outlined in the book cover Great Britain, France, Canada, Portugal, Iceland, and Saudi Arabia. The vignettes provide more than just interesting or valuable foundational knowledge; they also put on full display a range of diplomatic challenges that are instructive and worthy of study.

For example, the pursuit by the United States of an air base in the Azores became a tortuous affair. Portuguese prime minister António de Oliveira Salazar had allowed Great Britain access to the Azores in 1943 only when the British cornered him with a treaty dating back to 1373. After the war, Salazar continued to navigate domestic political concerns that made any arrangement that undermined Portugal's sovereignty anathema to its people. Faced with these difficulties, American diplomats made short-term agreements and relied on ambiguity to keep the Portuguese government appeased.

Instructively, with the heating up of the Cold War in the late 1940s, culminating with the Soviet nuclear test and the outbreak of the Korean War, the diplomatic environment became more favorable to the basing agreements the United States sought. The twin pillars of patient, steady diplomatic engagement and military-to-military relationships based on trust seem to be as fundamental in this realm as blocking and tackling are to football. It is worth reading books such as this one to remind ourselves that this groundwork cannot be whipped up in an emergency.

As I read *Armed Guests*, I recalled a conversation I had with a scholar from India who was studying scenarios

in the Pacific that made me realize how difficult it would be for larger powers to impose their presence on smaller island nations in the event of a conflict. This effort by Schmidt constitutes an important and valuable resource for scholars, strategists, and practitioners to consult when framing their thinking around such challenges.

ROBERT FLYNN



Drones and Global Order: Implications of Remote Warfare for International Society, ed. Paul Lushenko, Srinjoy Bose, and William Maley. Abingdon, U.K.: Routledge, 2022. 269 pages. \$170.

It is surprising that, despite the thousands of gallons of ink spilled to discuss almost every possible ramification of drone warfare, very little of it has been dedicated to examining and explaining how drones and unmanned aerial vehicles impact the global world order. *Drones and Global Order* does an excellent job of filling that void, and it is likely to be among the most highly referenced volumes on the subject by scholars and practitioners for years to come.

The editors identify three waves in the literature concerning drone warfare. The first examined the proliferation of drones and unmanned aerial systems. The second wave focused on measuring these weapon systems' effectiveness. The third wave looked at the ethical, moral, and legal implications associated with drone warfare. Each wave provided important insights, identified challenges, and advanced both an academic and a lay understanding of drone warfare. These efforts, however, left a gap, as they largely overlooked

the greater implications that drone warfare held for the international world order. *Drones and Global Order* closes that gap, essentially initiating a fourth wave of scholarship.

The editors and contributing authors represent an impressive mix of respected, well-established academics; young scholars entering academia; and practitioner-scholars with deep empirical experience. Each of the thirteen chapters is the product of well-documented, rigorous scholarship.

The book is divided into three main segments. The four chapters of part 1 attempt to explain why states resort to drone warfare. Part 2 consists of four chapters that examine how the global order is affected by drone warfare. Part 3 looks at how international society best can govern drone warfare in the future. While lay readers can glean much from this book, its primary audience should be academics and security professionals who are familiar and comfortable with the fields of international relations, international law, ethics, and related disciplines. For example, a reader who lacks a grasp of the realist school of international relations is unlikely to derive full benefit from John Hardy's chapter showing how drone warfare fits within the tenets of realism and what the future consequences of such warfare may be.

Readers will find the first chapter's introduction ("Conceptualizing Global Order in an Era of Remote Warfare") and the conclusion ("The Significance—and Potential—of a Fourth Wave of Drone Warfare Scholarship") to be essential elements of this work. In the former the editors do excellent work in providing a description and understanding of how they define *global order*, in addition to explaining the

book's layout; the road map is highly useful. The conclusion, written by John Blaxland, Lushenko, and Bose, goes beyond merely summarizing the book's previous chapters. In the words of the authors, its purpose is to "draw out further considerations and implications for global order[,] given states' accelerating and ubiquitous use of drone warfare" (p. 245).

It is rare for any edited volume to maintain a high level of excellence across a sizable number of chapters penned by a diverse array of authors, but *Drones and Global Order* is such an exception. Although each chapter stands convincingly on its own while contributing to the greater whole, those by Lushenko ("A Blended Interpretation of Drone Warfare"—pp. 79–97), Maley ("Drone Warfare and the Management of Violence"—pp. 173–88), and Michael P. Kreuzer ("The Context and Prospects of Regulating Drones in Conflict"—pp. 209–226) are among the best. Arturo Jimenez-Bacardi's chapter 8 ("Drone Warfare and International Humanitarian Law: The U.S., the I.C.R.C., and the Contest over the Global Legal Order"—pp. 156–72) and Robert Underwood's chapter 12 ("Suleimani's Choice: The Narrow Permissions and Wider Considerations of Remote Warfare") also deserve individual mention.

If there is a drawback to this book, it is the price. Of course, this has nothing to do with the caliber of the authors or the quality of the work. Still, \$170 for a single book is not pocket change. Libraries, research institutions, and others able to afford purchasing it should do so; for others, less-expensive electronic versions are available.

Drones and drone warfare sit at a nexus of vital security, diplomatic, ethical, and

policy issues. Those issues, already complicated, rapidly will become even more complicated, thorny, and demanding. Decision makers will need to understand them. Lushenko and company have provided the means to do so.

RICHARD NORTON



A Great and Rising Nation: Naval Exploration and Global Empire in the Early US Republic, by Michael A. Verney. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2022. 320 pages. \$35.

The United States of the early nineteenth century had its hands full developing stable commerce and establishing a lasting government under the new constitution; it rarely is thought of as having been an imperialist power. Even so, there were a few at the time who felt that the United States should exert influence beyond the nation's borders. In particular, through naval exploration the nation could open new trade markets, contribute to scientific knowledge, and raise American cultural credibility with foreign powers. Michael A. Verney, assistant professor of history at Drury University, in Springfield, Missouri, contends that while some in the early 1800s viewed naval exploration as an unwarranted expenditure that invited governmental overreach, by the late 1850s it had become a popular expression of early American imperialism. Verney's *A Great and Rising Nation* describes this evolution of naval exploration in the antebellum United States; while initially the United States merely was emulating European exploration, "that European spark had to be kept alive and nourished in a U.S. context" (p. 6).

Easily the most interesting aspect of Verney's work is his presentation of

episodes of American naval exploration as different dimensions of imperial power. The first was commercial exploitation; it was not until the mission of pure research was superseded by a focus on improving navigation in the Pacific Ocean that the U.S. Exploring Expedition, or "ExEx," of 1838–42 received broad government support. The charts that the ExEx produced meticulously noted the location of scores of Pacific islands and reefs, which allowed American whalers to exploit more hunting grounds in the region safely. After the U.S. Navy was eclipsed by Army successes during the Mexican War, the service conducted a survey of the river Jordan and Dead Sea to draw notice to itself; some also considered that these efforts might provide scientific proof of biblical events, thereby solidifying America's place as "God's empire." In the 1850s, multiple expeditions to the Amazon and Río de la Plata broached the possibility of expanding U.S. agriculture (and transplanting the enslaved labor necessary to cultivate it) to South America. By that time, conservative elements in slaveholding states had come to see some benefits of naval exploration; moving portions of the increasingly unwieldy enslaved population to colonies in Brazil might provide a necessary "safety valve for our Southern States" (p. 147). Finally, American efforts to rescue from the Arctic any survivors of Great Britain's Franklin expedition in the second half of the 1840s demonstrated to European eyes that the United States possessed the morals and generosity of a great nation.

In addition to describing the progress and specific events of each expedition, Verney vividly relates each one to the sweeping social, political, and economic changes that characterized the antebellum United States. His biographical