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Armed Guests: Territorial Sovereignty and Foreign Military Basing

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efforts against those of the Japanese, but ultimately they were imprisoned or they withdrew—waiting to fight another day.

The book concludes with two remarkable rescue stories. First, because *Marblehead's* keel had been damaged beyond the capabilities of repair facilities in theater, Admiral Thomas C. Hart ordered the ship to return to America. Owing to Japanese dominance throughout the Pacific, the battered *Marblehead* sailed west to return home, putting in to British ports in Sri Lanka and South Africa before crossing the Atlantic to Brazil and up the coast of North America to the Brooklyn Navy Yard—a thirteen-thousand-mile trip. The second escape story is no less dramatic, recounting the determined and persistent efforts of USN physician Dr. Corydon M. Wassell, who delivered from Java and the collapsing situation in Indonesia to safety in Australia the *Marblehead* and *Houston* patients he had been treating.

Escape from Java is masterfully written. What stood out for this reviewer is the author's clear understanding of the geography, history, and geopolitical conditions that shaped the early days of the war. He uses maps to help the reader see where actions took place. While other histories, such as the late James D. Hornfischer's *Ship of Ghosts* (2006), have recounted the Navy's efforts in Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula, the present volume is as clear and unencumbered an account as one might desire. I also appreciate how the author depicts the splendid morale, determination, and resilience of the sea warriors who were faced with impossible odds against their survival. Several members of *Marblehead's* crew received the Navy Cross for their actions fighting the enemy, repairing their ship,

and safely navigating its return through treacherous waters to America. Yet it is the unassuming yet persistent Dr. Wassell who provides the finest model of resilience. *Marblehead's* executive officer stated, "No matter what new or unforeseen difficulties would arise, Commander Wassell always seemed to have something in reserve" (p. 244). The doctor's story was so encouraging that President Franklin D. Roosevelt included it in his "fireside chat" with the nation on 28 April 1942. It also was made into a book, then a 1944 movie by the popular American filmmaker Cecil B. DeMille. *The Story of Dr. Wassell*, starring Gary Cooper, premiered in New York City on 6 June 1944—the same day that Allied forces landed in France.

Wardrooms and chiefs' messes would enjoy reading and discussing this book, as it holds both historical and contemporary significance. Sailors need exposure to their heroic Navy forebears who overcame great adversities in the early days of the Pacific War. Given the importance of the Seventh Fleet in today's context, this book also provides an excellent overview of the nations of Southeast Asia and Oceania, with insight into their geopolitical histories, resources, and cultures.

SCOTT CAUBLE



Armed Guests: Territorial Sovereignty and Foreign Military Basing, by Sebastian Schmidt. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2020. 270 pages. \$82.

Armed Guests by Sebastian Schmidt may have a revelatory feel for military and government practitioners and planners who too often have traveled and deployed abroad without asking

themselves, “How did the United States come to have a presence here?” That certainly was the case when I read this valuable and insightful work.

Even if the reader is not a political scientist or international-relations scholar, Schmidt’s pragmatist approach (explained in chapter 2) seems commonsensical from a practitioner’s perspective. It highlights the concept of *sovereignty* as resting on historically grounded sets of shared habits, and it shows how sovereignty is “fundamentally relational” (p. 24). This means that the concept of sovereignty can be disrupted and reconstituted through the actions and interactions of state actors as they operationalize it—which carries an important lesson about laying the foundations of interstate relations via long-term diplomatic engagement.

Schmidt covers the development of sovereign basing in the years immediately following the Second World War, focusing on particular instances when the United States negotiated with sovereign states for access and a military presence to further its security interests. By design, Schmidt steers clear of cases where the presence of foreign forces had existed previously in former colonial holdings, as well as those in which a wartime occupation force evolved into a long-term military deployment. For the United States, this disqualified the cases of Germany and Japan, among others.

The benefit of such an approach is the usefulness of Schmidt’s chosen case studies for the modern practitioner. Over the last few decades, American policy makers have seen that U.S. access is not assured. The failure to attain rights for American forces to use Turkey as an entry and staging area during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM is just

one example. It is difficult to imagine a future scenario in a strategically important place in the Pacific or in Europe in which the United States would have a free hand anywhere that it does not enjoy a basing relationship already.

Schmidt uses chapter 3 to analyze the concept of sovereignty as it existed before World War Two. He outlines the close linkage between the disposition of military forces and territorial authority. Colonization and annexation were accepted and common practices, but the concepts of military occupation and territorial sovereignty were not static. After the First World War, a new practice emerged: “post-surrender occupation, which entailed the long-term occupation of a defeated power’s territory by victorious forces after a final settlement, but without the transfer of sovereignty to the victors” (p. 54). Despite this, prior to the Second World War the presence of military force still was associated with territorial control, and—as a matter of both habit and worldview—hosting a peacetime foreign military was not compatible with sovereign independence.

The Second World War brought dramatic changes. By necessity, foreign troops were introduced not only into primary zones of conflict but to logistics hubs, listening stations, staging areas, and the like. With the advent of airpower and international industrial warfare, the character of warfare changed, becoming faster and more global. The Leased Bases Agreement of 1941 laid the foundation for the first long-term peacetime presence of troops on the territory of another allied power, albeit in the colonial domains of Great Britain.

In the years immediately following that war, however, sensitivities to hosting foreign militaries emerged. The

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