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BOOKS NOTED

WORD POLITICS: VERBAL STRATEGY AMONG THE SUPERPOWERS. By Thomas M. Franck & Edward Weisband. New York: Oxford University Press (1971). Pp. xiii, 176. \$5.95. When a State attempts to explain its conduct to the world, it engages in "verbal strategy," rationalizing its behavior in terms that will advance its own interests. Professors Franck and Weisband focus their analysis on the verbal behavior of the two superpowers, Russia and the United States. This analysis consists of a comparison of previous United States' verbalizations to the Soviet Union's justification of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. When the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, its rhetoric employed the rationale of earlier United States' foreign policy statements seeking to justify the intervention in Latin American and Caribbean affairs. The Soviets labeled their action in Czechoslovakia a regional peace keeping operation, as did the United States in its earlier Latin American interventions. The verbal strategy used by the United States to justify its actions was shown to be extremely shortsighted, exemplifying the singular lack of attention devoted to this critical aspect of foreign policy.

Moving from this analysis of United States and Soviet verbal strategy, the authors recommend that a carefully conceived verbal strategy can be utilized as a strategy of deterrence. Stress is placed on the importance of a commitment to a course of action which will establish a proscriptive norm to be applied uniformly by both superpowers. The authors point out that strategically planned verbal behavior in foreign policy is the key to creating an international system where territorial inviolability is respected and national individuality is accepted within the regional spheres of both superpowers. This new perspective on foreign policy is of particular value to the student of Soviet and American foreign policy. The long-range strategic implications of verbal rhetoric will require more advanced study, both on a theoretical basis and in their application. The foundation for such future study appears to have been established by the authors. (CPS)

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE LAW OF THE SEA. By William E. Butler. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press (1971). Pp. xiii, 245. \$12.00. Dr. Butler's work represents a systematic study of the origins and development of Russian and Soviet maritime law. In analyzing the Soviet approach to the international law of the sea, he discusses the Soviet views of territorial waters, internal sea waters, closed seas, the continental shelf, the deep seabed, and the high seas. The author suggests that the contemporary Soviet approach reflects in large part the attitudes, status, documents, and experiences of historical Russia.

The historical Russian approach to the law of the high seas and coastal jurisdiction at sea centered on coastal defense and the protection of economic resources. From the October Revolution of 1917 until 1948, the customary international law of the sea was accepted generally by the Soviets, even though custom theoretically was not the Marxist approach to international law. From 1948 to 1960, however, the U.S.S.R. began to enforce its 12 mile fishing zone and insist in international forums that there was no maximum limit for coastal jurisdiction at sea. With regard to the high seas, the principle of freedom of the seas was redefined in a manner more favorable to Soviet interests. Each of these theories was a substantive departure from customary international law and from previous Soviet attitudes.

Since the U.S.S.R. had not yet built a substantial merchant, fishing, or naval fleet, the departure from international law doctrines of the prewar period reflected the U.S.S.R. xenophobic thought of encirclement and its national security. In the 1960's, however, there was a transition in Soviet maritime law as the Soviet Union recognized the implications of its newly attained status of major maritime power. The growth of the Soviet fishing fleet and navy encouraged expansionistic attitudes towards the sea, bringing the U.S.S.R. out of its protective, security-oriented maritime jurisprudence shell. As a result, the Soviet Union is showing a far greater interest in freedom of navigation on the high seas.

The value of Dr. Butler's work is that it relates the Soviet Union's attitude towards the sea to its maritime capabilities and interests, thereby giving the reader insights into the goal oriented Soviet approach to international law. The book states the current Soviet position on the rights, duties, and prohibitions of those who use the seas and is well footnoted with an extensive bibliography to aid the student of Soviet maritime policy. (MJL)

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