

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE LAW OF THE SEA. By *William E. Butler*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971. xiii, 245 pp. \$12.00.

With his characteristic thoroughness Dr. William E. Butler of the University of London has written an exhaustive monograph, treating every aspect of tsarist and Soviet attitudes toward the law of the sea, beginning with the traditional problem of what is the High Sea and progressing to what should be done in the future in view of the newly discovered accessibility of the resources of the deep sea bed. Good maps illuminate a text replete with quotations and citations. The volume is a model of what scholars can do to determine Soviet legal and political attitudes through use of doctrinal materials and state practice.

Butler concludes that tsarist positions were supported both by Soviet authors and Soviet state practice until about 1945. Then, during intensification of the cold war, emphasis was placed upon maximum protection of Soviet territory. After 1960 another shift occurred as the Soviet Union emerged as a major naval power. Today emphasis is upon a law which would give its fishing fleets and navy the widest possible access to the waters of the world.

Butler finds no Marxist-Leninist ideology inspiring the various positions taken. Pragmatism rules supreme. Perhaps this is because it is hard to find a relation between ideology and the sea. Still, there may be one exception when use of the sea can contribute to or hamper efforts to expand the Marxist-oriented world or to protect the outlying members of the Marxist family. The Cuban blockade of 1962 suggests the problem. Butler notes that the Soviet leadership entered the conflict with blockading warships of the United States without an announced official position. One author had previously suggested that to attempt to pass through a blockade was illegal. After the Cuban incident another author declared a blockade of this character "aggression." The theoretical issue was not resolved when Soviet ships withdrew without legal argument under President Kennedy's pressures. The Cuban incident stands as a new triumph of practicality over ideologically sound but untenable positions.

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RUSSIAN SEA POWER. By *David Fairhall*. Boston: Gambit, 1971 [London: André Deutsch, entitled *Russia Looks to the Sea*]. 287 pp. \$10.00.

Written by the *Manchester Guardian's* defense analyst, who is quite familiar with both Western and Soviet sources, this book provides more than adequate information and perspective to a layman interested in the problems posed by the dramatic expansion of Soviet sea power. Fairhall's major thesis is that the Soviet Union, with its centralized planning, is better equipped than any other nation to coordinate its efforts in oceanographic research, merchant marine and fishing operations, and other activities supporting its naval power.

Many Western experts would probably disagree with Fairhall's evaluation of the actual military threat posed by the rapidly growing Soviet navy, which he sees only as a very long-term proposition. But he realistically dismisses Soviet claims that the expansion of their navy is fully a part of their overall defensive strategy to deter "imperialist aggressors." Aside from asserting its global interests by "showing the flag" in all the oceans, the Soviet Union is obviously impressed by