

RIGHT v. MIGHT: INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE USE OF FORCE By Louis Henkin, Stanley Hoffmann, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Allan Gerson, William D. Rogers and David J. Scheffer; *Book Review*, by Anthony D'Amato and Detlev F. Vagts, 85 *American Journal of International Law* 201 (1991)

The gods were furious on Mt. Olympus; the topic of debate, "right v. might," had obviously touched raw nerves. Zeus (played by Louis Henkin) hurled thunderbolts at everyone in sight. He charged that any transboundary use of force--with "virtually" no exceptions--was strictly forbidden under the Charter. Cowed into a corner, but gamely resisting, were Medusa (played by Jeane Kirkpatrick) and her sidekick Poseidon (Allan Gerson). The fleetest-of-tongue, Hermes (Stanley Hoffmann), tried to deflect the thunderbolts by inventing an endless stream of quasi-legalistic categories; as usual he spoke them faster than anyone could understand them, but as usual they were found illusory as soon as they were understood. Odysseus (William D. Rogers) slumped in resignation against an old weaver's loom; he had heard it all and seen it all many times, but as usual he declared the proceedings able and illuminating.

One of the loudest thunderbolts came when Zeus, slamming his fist on the nearest concept, declared that the sum total of international legal wisdom on the use of force could be found in one sacred text:

The UN Charter declared purposes and prescribed norms

Peace was more important than progress and more important than justice. The purposes of the United Nations could not in fact be achieved by war. War inflicted the greatest injustice, the most serious violations of human rights, and the most violence to self-determination and to economic and social development. War was inherently unjust. (pp. 38-39)

But Medusa and Poseidon rose to object that the Soviets have violated the Charter:

The Charter does not require that the United States stand idly by while the Soviet Union assists in the suppression of liberties in countries with strong indigenous movements struggling against oppression. (p. 34)

Glaring at them, Zeus thundered that they dare not violate the Charter just to imitate the Soviets:

Rejecting the Charter in effect would reject Nuremberg, undermine our national justification in history, and reestablish Adolf Hitler as no worse than anyone else. (p. 58)

Zeus knew whether in any specific instance the Charter had been "rejected," because he was the keeper of its true meaning:

Like every country, the United States occasionally is disposed to interpret the Charter in accordance with its own interests as it sees them. But an interpretation that does not accord with text, purpose, design, history, and other accepted principles of treaty construction will persuade nobody and will serve no purpose. (p. 59)

Zeus obliged the other gods by revealing the true meaning of the Charter as to any transboundary use of force. He proclaimed every such use, other than self-defense against an armed attack, to be illegal:

At bottom, all suggestions for exceptions to article 2(4) imply that, contrary to the assumptions

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