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the frequent references to 'federalism or regionalism' in this chapter are confusing. Even allowing for the caveats which the author enters, in my view he overstates the status and role of the Cabinet; in Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi the President has frequently acted without its concurrence on important issues. In saying that 'Ghana perhaps came nearest to a one-party state founded upon the choice of the electorate' (p. 215), he presents a lawyer's argument based upon form—the holding of a referendum—and not reality. The lawyer is again to the forefront in his concluding chapter, in which he commends the Commonwealth African constitutions for blending what is good in the constitutional systems of Britain and America; but he takes no account of the extra-constitutional restraints on centralised power imposed by strong interest groups in these two countries. Since power, in principle, may be unlimited, there is some circularity in his key argument that the real enemy is 'not power itself, but insufficient restraint upon power' (p. 435).

A number of the author's statements are stimulatingly provocative. On the one hand, he maintains that social inequality, 'like alien economic domination ... is a product of colonialism' (p. 373). On the other hand, he is critical of a land allocation policy which is based on a 'doctrinal adherence to the principle of social justice' rather than on ability to develop the land (p. 376), and in a reference to Tanzania's leadership code, he holds that 'it is both morally and economically indefensible to prevent him [a leader] from investing his legitimate savings in house property or in company shares' (p. 382). Such statements are open to challenge. He may be surer, though no less contentious, ground when he writes: 'What seems to emerge from the socialist reforms in Tanzania is that a bill of rights cannot co-exist with a thorough-going socialist programme of development such as is now being pursued there' (p. 383).

Perhaps inevitably in so large a book, a few inaccuracies have crept in—Bokassa was not overthrown in 1972 (p. 107) and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was given a legal monopoly of power in mainland Tanzania in 1965, not 1964 (p. 221). A few names are mis-spelt (Baba, p. 335; Madjitey, p. 336; Akim, p. 344) and something has clearly gone wrong with the penultimate sentence on p. 161. Nevertheless, this is a good, thoughtful and well-written book. It will serve as a valuable source of reference for anyone interested in the many constitutional and political questions raised by the emergence in Africa of what a former Zambian Minister once called the 'Divine Right of Presidents'.

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WILLIAM TORDOFF


Professor Slonim has written a masterly book on the immensely complicated subject of South West Africa and the United Nations. While the book is realistically rooted in its historical and political context, and is worldly in the best sense of the term, it is essentially a study of the place of law in the conflict for South West Africa. Above all, it is an analysis of the part that has been played over the years by the International Court of Justice.
It is no easy matter to take the majority and minority opinions of
the four Advisory Opinions and two Judgments of the Court, along with
all the pleadings and submissions, and interweave them with the details
of action and discussion in a myriad of UN bodies over a quarter of a
century. But Professor Slonim has brilliantly succeeded in telling the tale
of United Nations action on South West Africa at one level while providing
a most sophisticated legal study on another level.

Each Opinion and Judgment is fairly recounted and subjected, through
an examination of majority and significant dissenting views, to scholarly
scrutiny. The writings of other scholars on these cases are taken into
account. Indeed, one of the most valuable aspects of the book is the com-
prehensive quality of the secondary source material. Running through his
case-by-case analysis is a secondary stratum of analysis, directed at certain
key legal issues that are essential to a proper understanding of the problem.
Thus there are useful comments on automatic succession, res judicata,
propro motu, the existence of a 'dispute', and the meaning of an interna-
tional norm of non-discrimination, among other issues.

It is particularly refreshing, in the context of this emotion-charged topic,
to see the disparate views so accurately recounted and given their due defer-
cence and proper weight. Although on balance sympathetic to that element
within the Court which has been conservative in its handling of the South
West Africa question, Professor Slonim concedes that, disclaimers notwith-
standing, the 1966 Judgment was in effect a reversal of the 1962 Judgment.
But he also fairly notes that, among the liberal judges, Judge Tanaka
(unlike Judge Jessup) did not feel that such a reversal was precluded by
the dictates of res judicata. He can see that the motivating factor underlying
the 1966 Judgment was as much one of 'public policy' as it was in the
1962 Judgment—this time, the separation of judicial from political con-
siderations. At the same time, as his concluding chapter makes clear, he
thinks this objective is correctly pursued. He notes that differing judicial
philosophies cannot provide all the answers—there still remain, for example,
thé problems of reconciling the majority view in the Expenses Case with
the views taken by the same judges when they were in a minority in 1962
in the South West Africa Cases. This reviewer finds wholly unpersuasive
the suggestion (taken from Professor Leo Gross) that the necessary recon-
ciliation is to be found in acceptance of the different functions of the Court
in its advisory and contentious capacity.

Professor Slonim's book is not for those who want to have their own
views on South West Africa reinforced. It is a book for those who seek
a full understanding of this immensely difficult problem. The treatment of
the 1971 Namibia Opinion is necessarily somewhat cursory. But generally
it is an extremely useful study, which will be valued as much by serious
scholars who disagree with the author in some of his conclusions as by
those who support him. Along with John Dugard's The South West Africa
Dispute: Documents and Scholarly Writings on the Controversy Between
South Africa and the United Nations \(^1\)—another fine and scholarly study,
which comes down just on the other side of the fence—it will be an essential
part of every international lawyer's library.