

## Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>page ix</i>
<b>1 Neoformalism and the Turn to History in International Law</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Turning to History	1
1.2 The Hermeneutic of Suspicion and the History of International Law	5
1.3 The Politics of Making International Law	9
1.4 Overview of the Argument	12
<b>2 Situating the Turn to History in International Law</b>	<b>18</b>
2.1 International Law at the End of History	19
2.1.1 US Hegemony and the Transformation of International Law	19
2.1.2 The Turn to History as a Critical Response to US Expansionism	30
2.2 The Turn to History and the War on Terror	36
2.2.1 Liberal Internationalism Must Be Defended	36
2.2.2 The End of the Affair: The Turn to History and the American Project	40
2.3 Historicising the Crises	44
2.3.1 International Law and the Triple Crisis	44
2.3.2 The Turn to History in a Time of Crisis	47
2.4 The Rise of China and the End of the Revolution	56
2.5 From Law to History	68
<b>3 History and the Turn to the International</b>	<b>70</b>
3.1 Turning to the International	71
3.2 History as Completion and Correction	75

3.3	The Empiricist Rules of the Historical Game	81
3.4	Challenging Empiricist Historiography	86
3.5	Interpretation and the Cambridge School	93
3.6	The Past as Law or History?	99
<b>4</b>	<b>History's Lawyers</b>	<b>105</b>
4.1	The Figure of the Lawyer in Contextualist History	105
4.2	Herbert Butterfield and the Lawyer as Whig Constitutionalist	112
4.2.1	Butterfield's England and the Challenge to Constitutional History	112
4.2.2	The Competing Legacies of FW Maitland	115
4.2.3	Butterfield and the Whig Historian as 'God and Judge'	119
4.2.4	Christian Realism and the 'Truth of History'	122
4.3	JGA Pocock and the English Common Lawyer	127
4.3.1	Pocock and the Cambridge School	127
4.3.2	Pocock and 'the Common-Law Mind'	131
4.4	Quentin Skinner and the Scholastic Lawyer	135
4.4.1	Skinner, Revolution, and the Turn to Method	135
4.4.2	Skinner's Lawyers: Scholastics, Humanists, and the 'Genuinely Historical Spirit'	144
4.4.3	Skinner, Panofsky, and the Myth of the Italian Renaissance	149
4.4.4	The 'Triumphant Methodology' of the Cambridge School	156
4.5	Ian Hunter and the Lawyer as Metaphysician	157
4.5.1	Hunter and International Law as Factional Politics	157
4.5.2	Hunter on Contextualist Historians and Their 'Scholastic Enemies'	165
4.5.3	The Politics of Contextualist Method	169
4.6	Contextualist Method as the End of Legal History?	172
<b>5</b>	<b>The Past in the Practice of International Law</b>	<b>178</b>
5.1	International Law Scholars between the Academy and the Legal Profession	185
5.1.1	The Invisible College as a Form of Life	185
5.1.2	Legal Education as Training	189
5.2	The Plural Roles of International Lawyers: Beyond the Judge and the Historian	194
5.2.1	The Judge and the Historian	194

*Contents*

vii

5.2.2	Standpoint, Role, and the Nature of International Legal Argument	197
5.2.3	Judging and the Legacies of Colonialism and Fascism	201
5.3	All Realists Now: International Law after Metaphysics	206
5.3.1	Contextualist History and the International Lawyer as Metaphysician	206
5.3.2	Realism and American Anti-formalism in International Law	208
5.3.3	European Anti-metaphysical Approaches to International Law	212
5.3.4	Decolonisation and the Challenge to European Metaphysics	215
5.4	The Past in the Making of International Law	217
5.4.1	'Finding' the Facts	218
5.4.2	Arguing about Past Precedents	223
5.4.3	Debating the Nature and Interpretation of Treaties	226
5.4.4	Custom and the Interpretation of Past Practice	235
5.4.5	Transmitting Legal Concepts and Fictions	243
5.4.6	Teleology: From Technique to Ideology	245
5.5	The Realist Challenge and the Making of International Legal Argument	249
<b>6</b>	<b>The History of What?</b>	<b>253</b>
6.1	How Historians Make Law Too	253
6.2	British Colonial Networks as the Origins of International Law	257
6.3	US Internationalism and the Real History of Human Rights	262
6.4	Ordoliberalism and the Intellectual History of International Economic Law	265
6.5	Historians and the International Legal Field	283
<b>7</b>	<b>Why Study the Past of International Law? History as Politics</b>	<b>285</b>
7.1	Legal Argument as Making Not Finding	287
7.2	History of International Law as Neoformalism	294
7.2.1	Neoformalism in a Post-Realist Field	294
7.2.2	Fact Laundering through History: Ordoliberalism as the Truth of the WTO	296
7.2.3	Method Laundering through History: From Carl Schmitt to Reinhart Koselleck	299

7.3 Method as Politics: How We Study the Past Depends on Why We Study the Past	310
7.3.1 The Hermeneutic of Suspicion and the Global Rule of Lawyers	310
7.3.2 Politics All the Way Down	315
<i>Bibliography</i>	321
<i>Index</i>	373