This book is premised on the idea that international law consists of a family of professions in which a great variety of professionals are engaged. This idea is often neglected in scholarly work; it is more common to construe international law as a normative order meant to guide the behaviour of a wide range of actors or as a set of argumentative practices supposed to produce authoritative discourses. This book seeks to demonstrate that looking at international law as a profession provides refreshing insights on the dialectical relationship between international law as a formal and autonomous system (of rules or arguments) and international law as a set of professional practices. The chapters of this book accordingly examine how one’s professional capacity shapes, informs and determines one’s understanding of, and one’s discourse about, international law. They simultaneously examine the extent to which such understanding or discourse about international law conversely impinges on the profession one is exercising.

One of the main drivers for this volume lies in the editors’ belief that important insights may emerge from examining international law through the biases inherent in the different professional roles in which international lawyers engage with international law. Such assumption is itself premised on the idea that international law is ‘a process of continuous interaction, of continuous demand and response, in which the decision-makers of particular nations states unilaterally put forwards claims of the most diverse and conflicting character ... and in which other decision-makers ... weight and appraise these competing claims in terms of the interests of the world community and of the rival claimant, and ultimately accept or reject them’.¹ It seems difficult to deny that legal professionals play essential roles in this process of interaction, as they constantly have to formulate and assess legal claims. It accordingly seems reasonable to

presuppose, as this book does, that international lawyers will be influenced by their particular professional role in a particular context and that, in turn, by exercising that role, they will contribute to, and impact on, the process of interaction and thereby on international law as such. In that sense, this book is built on the assumption of a continuous interaction between individual roles and choices and the social context, of which law is an integral part. Thus stated, it is conspicuous that our approach bears a sociological dimension as we presuppose that the behaviour of, and choices made by legal professionals are influenced by their social context, including their particular professional role.

This introduction starts by offering a brief stocktaking of the existing works of international lawyers that engage with such a self-introspective exercise (Section 1). It continues by providing a snapshot of the various professional capacities in which international lawyers engage with international law (Section 2). Finally, the structure of the book and the way in which its various chapters are articulated with one another are presented (Section 3).

1 International Law As a Profession in the Literature

This section aims at taking a brief stock of the literature dedicated to the various international law professions as well as the discussions on how international law is perceived in specific professional contexts. Two important preliminary remarks are warranted. First, the community of persons practising – albeit in different capacities – international law is immense. This the result of a variety of dynamics, one of them being the expansion of the scope ratione materiae of international law and the fact that most human activities and interests, from human rights to the law of the sea, from international trade to activities in outer space, are subject, to a lesser or greater extent, to some international legal rules or special international regimes. The professionals using these rules and regimes are now aplenty. It even happens that such professionals – especially domestic lawyers or judges, but also civil servants responsible for the

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3 For a recent important contribution, see M. Hirsch, Invitation to the Sociology of International Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).


5 On the various ways in which the notion of ‘community of professionals’ can be conceptualised, see Chapter 1.
implementation of international treaties – practice international law without full awareness of their using international law.

Second, international law is a profession that occurs in the greatest variety of contexts, takes a panoply of forms, and serves a multitude of purposes. Suffice it to consider, as illustrative examples, the involvement of diplomats, civil servants, practitioners and scholars in the preparation of written memorials submitted to international tribunals; the legal advice of military lawyers related to the selection and legality of potential military targets during an armed conflict; the legal assistance given by advisers to governments in dealing with compliance with international obligations; the participation of scholars and experts in the negotiation of international treaties; or the scholarly activities aimed at forming, training and inspiring future generations of lawyers. Whilst all these international law professionals are similarly involved in international law discourses and international legal argumentation, they do so in different ways, using different formal categories and seeking to achieve different agendas.

Against this backdrop, taking stock of the literature on the topic, appears to be rather an arduous exercise. Nonetheless, a quick scan of the literature suffices to realise that international lawyers have barely looked at international law as a professional activity. International law textbooks contain only occasional references to the persons or groups exercising these professions, normally in relation to their input to the development of international rules. Systematic and in-depth research of the question can hardly be found in monographs, collected volumes or scholarly articles either.\(^6\) Leaving aside the publications intended to divulgate professional opportunities in the field of international law,\(^7\) a few studies have however been dedicated to specific professions or particular professional bodies or institutions such as the International Law Commission,\(^8\) the International Law Association,\(^9\) or the Institut de Droit


international. On the whole, the debate over international law as a profession – as far as it has taken place – is rather limited to articles or papers, which are normally rather short and to a certain extent biographical if not anecdotal.

A significant – and traditionally regarded as seminal – contribution was made by Oscar Schachter’s 1977 article, which famously coined the expression ‘the invisible college of international law’ to describe the community of professionals engaged in a ‘common international enterprise’ directed at understanding and developing international law as a unified discipline. This much-discussed article reflects a common feature of the debate on international law as a profession insofar as it was based on a rather reductive distinction and comparison between scholars and ‘government advocates’. It nonetheless admits and welcomes the pénétration pacifique of ideas from one group to the other.

Along similar lines, about ten years later, Sinclair introduced a distinction between a scholar and a practitioner, the latter defined as ‘a lawyer whose initial study of public international law has broadened and deepened by experience over a number of years of practical application, whether as legal adviser to a foreign ministry or to an international organisation, or as consultant, adviser or counsel to his own government or to a foreign government’. This author nonetheless admits that ‘one of the distinctive features of international legal practice is that the dividing line between the practitioner and the teacher is tenuous in the extreme.’

Subsequent studies have focussed on a wide variety of distinct legal professions, or particular dimensions thereof. For instance, we have witnessed studies on the international projection of the activities of law firms,

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13 Ibid.

recently with reference to global economy and the age of digitalisation and occasionally in a global constitutionalism perspective, or on the role and responsibility of legal advisers, or on the teaching of international law.


19 See, in particular: M. Lachs, The Teacher in International Law: Teachings and Teaching, 2nd ed. (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1987); B. Broms, 'International Law in the Law School
The relationship between teaching and practice has also been the subject of discussion by several scholars and in several fora, including the International Law Association. The debate was generated primarily by two opposite perceptions of the teaching of international and its objectives. According to the first view, the very essence of international law is the detachment from national jurisdictions. For the second view, on the contrary, international law should be anchored to the national jurisdiction it is thought in and be primarily functional to the domestic legal practice. This possible tension between allegiance to international law on the one hand and connection to a particular legal and political system is surely of wider relevance to the international legal profession. However, perhaps leaving aside incidental studies on legal advisors and on the role of domestic judges, there has been little sustained study of this duality and possible source of friction.


21 The ILA Committee on teaching international law noted a division of its members on the question ‘whether the teaching of international law was or should, in its broader orientation, be “internationalist” or “municipalist/nationalist” – or perhaps even more focussed, for example feminist. In other words, do teachers teach international law as it will be used by practitioners within their respective jurisdictions, or is it rather a field which is “nationally-unbound”’.

This sketchy account of scholarship seems to show that the attempts to ignite a thoroughly and systematic debate on international law as a profession have so far remained largely unsuccessful. In this context, it seems difficult to contest that there clearly is a want of systematic and in-depth studies of the professions of international law. This book is an attempt to offer insights on international law from a long neglected perspective.

2 The Variety of International Law Professions

This book draws on the great variety of distinct professions that engage with international law. It is thus presupposed here that the immense cohort of professionals that use international law can be segmented along professional roles. In this regard, one may be tempted to espouse an elementary – and somewhat intuitive – typology that distinguishes international lawyers as legal advisors of either governments or international institutions, international lawyers as counsel as part of law firms, international lawyers as judges (whether international or national) or arbitrators, international lawyers as scholars, and international lawyers as teachers. And yet, such a simple typology would be unsatisfactory if one wants to capitalise on the new perspective offered by this volume and the insights it can generate. A more refined framework is needed to capture the diversity of capacities in which international lawyers engage with international law. A few observations must be formulated in this respect.

First, each of the abovementioned professional roles is itself dramatically context-dependent. It is in this sense that it has been argued that ‘experience of legal practice reveals the impressive diversity of contexts in which reference to international law is necessary’. This significance of this context-specificity is further reinforced by functional differentiation and the variety of agendas at work in each profession, which, in turn, may have implications for the responsibilities and self-perception of the professionals concerned.


Second, the abovementioned typology is blurred by the degree to which professionals are, more or less, connected to domestic legal orders and their varying ‘loyalty’. Indeed, in particular for legal advisors and judges, one may sometimes discern a twofold loyalty to their own state and to international law. Such fluctuating loyalties can be exacerbated when the profile of the professionals rendering the advice is not neatly defined and their relationship with a given state is ambiguous.

Third, professionals frequently change roles or even occupy multiple roles at the same time. It is noteworthy that, in this respect, all combinations seem possible: advisor/judge, judge/arbitrator, judge/counsel, advisor/scholar and so on. A classic example of such oscillation is the interruption of an academic career to serve as a judge in an international tribunal or as a legal adviser in an international organisation or for a government. In certain areas, oscillations have become frantic and taken more and more often the form of a revolving door through which professionals continuously switch their hats. The phenomenon is not exempt from risks, as it has become evident in the field of investment law, where the frequency and rapidity of switching role – from arbitrator to counsel to legal expert – have raised many eyebrows and stimulate a reflection on whether these roles need to be better distinguished. At any rate, these oscillations entail that one should be very careful in making hard and fast distinctions between professional roles. In other words, such oscillations of roles further diminish the descriptive value of the abovementioned taxonomy. Understanding how these multiple roles not only co-exist, interact and swap under the veil of in a single professional activity is one of the main aims of the present study.

Fourth, a mechanical distinction between professions does not account for the intense dialogue between the various professions. Professionals having different functions and roles related to international law are nowadays regularly called on to collaborate with and talk to each other. The proceedings before international tribunals offer an obvious example. Teams composed of different professionals (including diplomats, scholars and practitioners) contribute to the preparation of the written documents submitted to the tribunal and to the presentation of the legal arguments during the pleadings. In both the written and the oral phases they interact with the opposed team(s) and with the tribunal as a whole and its judges. Other legal arena where legal arguments are discussed, shared and criticised – such as the International Law
Commission, the *Institut de Droit international* and the International Law Association – ensure cross-fertilisation of the perceptions and understandings of international law that come with each profession. The same holds for academic institutions that are enticed to build bridges with practitioners and generate so-called ‘impact’.

Fifth, the abovementioned taxonomy fails to reflect the extent to which these various professions compete with each other. Even if those professionals, as has been highlighted in the previous paragraphs, take advantage of numerous opportunities for dialogue and collaboration, they unavoidably enter in competition both on a daily basis, in order to push forward their arguments, their views and their perceptions of international law (and of the world).²⁵

All-in-all, while acknowledging the segmenting of international law as a professional activity along professional roles – something which Part III of this volume does, this book remains premised on the necessity to account for the complex dynamics at work behind the various professional capacities in which professionals engage with international law – as is discussed in Parts I and II. It is the aim of the following section to further spell out the structure of this volume.

### 3 Structure of This Book

Approaching international law as a profession rather than something ‘out there’ ready to be interpreted and applied to problems of world politics, this book sheds light on the complex relation between one’s profession and one’s understanding of international law through a threeteried structure. This structure distinguishes theoretical studies on the very idea of a profession (Part I), conceptual and theoretical inquiries into theories that inform the practice of international law and the relation between practice and theory (Part II), and more specific investigations in some concrete professional capacities in which international lawyers engage with international law (Part III). Taken together, these three parts reveal all sorts of new facets of the theory and practice of

international law, some of which are further spelled out in the conclusions. Each of these three parts is presented here.

Part I, entitled *Thinking of International Law as a Professional Practice*, includes chapters that discuss how international law is constructed as a distinct professional activity. This part offers general theoretical reflections on international law qua professional activity. This part starts with Chapter 1 by Jean d’Aspremont, which explores the variety of ways in which the professionalisation of international law can be construed. It submits that the rise of international law as a professional activity can be understood as a process of autonomisation, scientification, communification, pluralisation, and socialisation. Each of these understandings of the professionalisation of international law calls for some diligent use of multidisciplinary tools.

It continues with Martti Koskenniemi’s ‘Between Commitment and Cynicism’ (Chapter 2). While the volume aims to provide new insights to the study of international law as a profession, this classic text is reproduced as it provides essential background for our enquiry and for the chapters that follow. The chapter’s main claim that it is part of the ‘psychological reality’ of being an international lawyer to be caught in a dialectic between commitment and cynicism is relevant to an appreciation of many of the chapters that follow. The chapter is fundamental for the present volume because of the often-cited proposition that international law is what international lawyers do and how they think. This perspective collapses the distinction between practice and theory – a theme that is common to many chapters in this volume.

In Chapter 3, Richard Collins and Alexandra Bohm argue that attempts by international lawyers to use international law for particular ends (this would seem to cover all international legal professional activity) places a burden on international lawyers to uphold the relative autonomy of international legal practice. The persuasiveness of any legal argument would depend upon maintaining the idea of international law as a formal system according to which answers to legal questions can be derived from certain sources and principles whose validity depends on the internal logic of the system itself; and professionals would have a responsibility to maintain that idea. This claim thus articulates a unifying – though by no means uncontested – defining feature of legal professionals that cuts across various legal roles.

In Chapter 4, Anne Orford explores one particular dimension of the professionalisation of international law: the role of shifting ideals of science in shaping the work of professional legal scholars in different
times and places. The chapter demonstrates that the commitment to scientific values has been a strong unifying element in the development of the profession of legal scholars. The implications of such a commitment vary widely, as scholars have understood it as requiring different forms of conduct, different means of producing knowledge, and different relations to the state. While specifically focussed on scholars, the inquiry highlights the diversity within the profession and is surely of wider relevance.

Part II focuses on *The Practice of International Law and Its Theories* and revisits the common distinction between theory and practice in international law. The chapters included in this part of the volume come to question whether practising lawyers unavoidably work on the basis of theoretical assumptions, while theorising itself constitutes a social practice. They also look into whether theorising international law has become a specialised field, with its own modes of inquiry and legal reasoning, hierarchies, traditions, journals, etc.

In Chapter 5, Anne Peters argues that in the present time of ‘ruptures’, there is the possibility and the need and for a creative international legal scholarship. She argues that it is the job of international scholars, as professionals, to develop ideas which may have the power of transforming international relations. She defends scholarship against five types of challenges: the charges of epistemic nationalism, ideology, of unscholarliness, irrelevance and doctrinalism.

In Chapter 6, Gleider Hernandez examines the role of international legal academics as ‘grammarians’. He argues that by employing the language of international law, they identify points of coherence and prescribe order, and do so at least in part out of a desire to be seen as relevant within a wider professional community of international lawyers. At the same time, the very act of doing so is constitutive of international law itself.

In Chapter 7, Akbar Rasulov explores the concept and role of heterodoxy in international legal scholarship. After first developing a general concept of critique as a pattern of academic practices, essentially grounded in set of specific social roles, the chapter explores the conditions that define the likelihood of failure and success for disciplinary heterodoxies in modern international law. It thus seeks to identify sets of factors that have determine the relevance and impact of ‘critical’ or ‘heterodox’ schools of thought, in particular focussing on new approaches to international law.
In Chapter 8, Jochen von Bernstorff argues that international legal scholarship needs to be a distinctive academic discourse that helps us to understand the doctrinal structure, role, and societal effects of the language of international law. This ideal of international legal scholarship needs to keep a ‘reflexive distance’ vis-à-vis practice and current international political and legal trends. Legal scholarship without this reflexive distance would constantly reproduce and strengthen existing politico-legal structures.

John Haskell, in Chapter 9, attempts to map the historical choices available to international legal scholars in relation to a particular lens, that of the ‘subject’. It makes the argument that the literature unsurprisingly tends to turn to a mediated comfort with methodological approaches that are eclectic and inter-disciplinary and to concentrate debates in terms of the proper scale of description and most useful sources. The practice of history writing in international law becomes a performance of demonstrating competency through sensitive balancing and deployment of the seemingly infinite material and perspectives that are increasingly only a google search away.

The second part ends with a study of Samantha Besson (Chapter 10) in which she explores at a more conceptual and theoretical level, the connection between international legal theory and practice. The chapter critiques what it calls ‘artificial divides’ between the theory and the practice of international law. It argues that theory of international law should reflect the normativity of the practice of international law. In other words, international law is seen as a normative practice, and the theory of international law is best developed as a legal theory of that practice – in this sense it indeed is fruitless to create a sharp opposition between theory and practice.

Part III is dedicated to The Practice of International Law and Its Professional Capacities and focuses on certain key professional capacities in which international lawyers engage with international law. The chapters in this part of the volume examine and reflect upon the impact of certain professional contexts in which international law is practised on how one can speak about and think of international law. In Chapter 11, Tanja Aalberts and Ingo Venzke argue that international law should be conceptualised as an argumentative practice. In this conceptualisation, practice would be constitutive of the autonomy of international law, and at the same time allow us to understand how law is political. The chapter frames this argument in the context of the discussion on inter-disciplinary research between international law and
international relations, and argues that by seeing international in terms of practice, we can recognise the politics that is inherent in any legal practice.

In Chapter 12, Sara Dezalay, with the contribution of Yves Dezalay, zeroes in on the trend in which there seems to be convergence between public justice (as practices before the ICJ) and private justice as practices in commercial arbitration. The chapter underlines the interconnectedness between these two poles of international justice. It argues that this convergence follows a pull of the market of commercial and investment arbitration that is transforming the structure of international justice. At the same time, attacks against the legitimacy of the ICSID as a key player in investment arbitration led to a practice that leaned on the authority of agents of public justice. It argues that the revival of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, as a site for both public and private justice, points to the displacement of the centre of gravity of the field of international justice as a whole.

Moving more specifically to the practice of adjudication, in Chapter 13, James Crawford explores why there is no international law bar, focussing on the development of international advocacy and its regulation over the past century. It argues that it is in particular the fact that international courts and tribunals differ in many respects, which explains why there is no bar and why the establishment of a unified international law bar might not be desirable. The chapter also explores various initiates that could provide useful guidance as to the standards of conduct expected of advocates, but argues that these standards should be interpreted, defined and enforced in specific contexts, rather than applies across the board.

Chapter 14 focuses on the role of ‘in-house’ legal advisers in foreign ministries or their functional equivalent. Matthew Windsor critiques dominant approaches to the study of legal advisors, which rely strongly on insider accounts, and seeks to explain the benefit of sociological analysis. The chapter also emphasises the role of structural influences on the role of the legal advisor. It argues that by relying on the ‘culture of formalism’ the adviser can counter instrumentalism and vitiate bureaucratic structural determination in favour of adherence to international law norms. The argument is made that the international lawyer should justify their preferences by reference to standards that are independent from their particular positions or interest.

In Chapter 15, Rene Urueña explores the role of international lawyers when they act in domestic settings, for instance before domestic courts or
other domestic institutions. The chapter explores the paradoxical experience of domestic lawyers that, while they are part of an international legal consciousness that is marked by the experience of pluralism, they operate in a domestic environment that reflects a project of legal hierarchy and the ambition of certainty. It explores various ways to negotiate this paradoxical professional experience, eventually focussing on one such strategy: by deploying international law domestically as expert knowledge, domestic lawyers can acknowledge the professional experience of pluralism and, at the same time, use international law to influence the behaviour of domestic actors.

Finally, in Chapter 16, Pierre d’Argent enquires about the relationship between international law and the professionals in charge of its teaching. It explains that most teachers of international law are also scholars of the discipline. It distinguished three perspectives on the role: teaching as a duty, a question or a privilege. The chapter then explains that historically teachers also have been the persons to practice international law. However, the professionalisation of international law entails at the same time an increased relevance but also a real loss of influence and power within the field, as international law is increasingly practised by those who are not scholars and teachers. However, the chapter argues that this new situation should be seen by teachers of international law as an opportunity to reconsider their professional responsibilities, which can lead to a renewed relationship between theory and practice.

The lessons to be learnt from this rich series of studies are aplenty. When taken together, however, two overarching questions seem to permeate international lawyers’ reflections on international law as a profession. They are further discussed in Wouter Werner’s conclusions at the end of this volume. First, it seems that looking at international as a profession cannot be estranged from the question of the constitutive role of legal professionals and that of their practices. Such a constitutive role is often obfuscated by the internal point of view which is adopted by a great majority of international lawyers. It is the merits of the chapters of this volume to invite international lawyers not to hide behind the veil of the internal point of view (Bohm and Collins) and to confront the constitutive role of the community of professionals they form (Hernandez, d’Aspremont). In doing so, these chapters raise the challenge of the turn to history (Orford, Haskell), sociology (Dezalay) and, more generally, the challenge of multidisciplinarity (d’Aspremont, Aalberts and Venzke) which seems to be called for when confronted with the constitutive role of practices.
Second, all chapters of this volume grapple with the question of the autonomy of international law, not as an independent and self-standing regime, but as a set of practices, each of which rests on some (meta-)theoretical choices (Besson, von Bernstorff), scientific and non-scientific ideals (Orford, von Bernstorff), institutional constraints (Crawford, d’Aspremont), patterns of academic practices (Rasulov), structures of arguments (Aalberts and Venzke), narratives and histories (Haskell), experiences (Uruena), hierarchies (d’Aspremont) duties and privileges (D’Argent), competing loyalties (Windsor, Uruena), market dynamics (Dezalay), etc. Such autonomy, be it that of international law, of the discipline, or of its modes or argumentation, is often a source of anxiety (Koskenniemi, Aalberts and Venzke) and seems to condemn international lawyers to be caretakers of the coherence of their practices (Bohm and Collins). The chapters of these volumes offer us insights as to understand such practices (Besson, von Bernstorff), their histories (Haskell) and the challenges (Peters) they confront international lawyers with.

While not exhausting the questions of the constitutive role of the professionals and the idea of the autonomy of international law, this rich collection of studies provides international lawyers with a wide range of new analytical and critical tools to continue to think about what it means to be engaged in the practice of international law.