INDEX

Abbott, Tony, 494 Abubakar, Alhaji Atiku, 398-99 Afghanistan absence of rule of law in, 495 Security Council and constitution-shaping, 163, 165-66 peacekeeping operations, 46 sanctions, 228 use of force, authorization of, 30 Taliban, 42, 153, 222 UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 153 UN constitution-shaping in, 160 US invasion of, 75 Africa. See also specific country, agreement, or body backsliding in, 381 bottom-up analysis of rule of law in, 388-89 coups, impacts on rule of law in, 380-81, 382-83, 389, 390-97 elections in, 389 French neocolonialism and, 397 geopolitical factors in, 396-97 international measures to support rule of law in, 206-8, 209 judicialization of elections in, 381-82, 383, 390, 400, 401-5 overview, xiv, 382-84 regional courts, impact of, 407-9 rule of law in African context, 385-86 socio-legal analysis, 383-84 strategic litigation of rule of law in, 407 successful transfers of power in, 383, 389-90 threats to rule of law in, 380-81, 387

transnational legal ordering (TLO) in, 405-7, 478 transnational rule of law in, 405 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG), 206 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 206-8, 253 African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights elections and, 276 enforcement powers, 206 judicial independence and, 206-7 African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights backlash against, 66-67, 408 Benin, backlash against in, 66-67 Côte d'Ivoire, backlash against in, 66-67 direct effect of international law on domestic law and, 44-45 on emergency decrees, 207 enforcement powers, 206 rule of law generally, 207 Rwanda, backlash against in, 66-67 Tanzania, backlash against in, 66-67 African Peer Review Mechanism, 206 African Union Burkina Faso, suspension of, 159 constitution-shaping and, 159 Constitutive Act of the Union, 206 Guinea, suspension of, 159 interventions by, 30 Mali, suspension of, 159 Peace and Security Council (PSC), 159, 206 peacekeeping operations, 46 Somalia, peacekeeping operations in, 46

Sudan, suspension of, 159 Agenda 2030, 179 Agenda for Democratization, 161 Akinkugbe, Olabisi D., xiv, 470, 474, 478 Albania, absence of movement toward EU accession, 168-69 Albi, Anneli, 169 Alexander II (Russia), 293, 304-5 Al Qaida, 42, 222, 228 American Bar Association, 495 American Bar Foundation, 449 American Civil Liberties Union, 79 American Declaration of Human Rights, 186 Ananda (Thailand), 414 anatomical reform, 481 Andropov, Yuri, 294 Angola Security Council sanctions and, 228 **UNITA**, 228 Annan, Kofi, 35-36, 90, 213, 225, 232-33, 248 Appiah, Kwane Anthony, 80 Arab Spring, 343 Arajarvi, Noora, 92 arbitrary exercise of power backsliding and, 112-13, 114 defined, 17-18 democracy and, 18 ECJ on, 193 ECtHR on, 193 empirical trends in rule of law and, 56-58 goal-oriented approach to rule of law and, 384 human rights and, 18 ICJ on, 18 opportunity to be heard, lack of, 19-20, 320, 416 predictability of exercise of power, lack of, 19, 416 proportionality, lack of, 20, 417 public reasoning, lack of, 20, 416-17 restraint of as function of rule of law, 98-99 rule of law as opposing, 5-6, 7, 16-17, 116-17, 184, 384-85, 388, 473

Security Council and, 214, 229 in Thailand, 411-12, 415 in Turkey, 333 war as, 28 well-tempered power as remedy for, 467, 468-71 wielders of power not subject to law, 18-19, 308, 415-16 Arce, Moisés, 143 Arendt, Hannah, 84 Argentina Constitution, 353-54 IACHR, backlash against, 66 improvement in rule of law in, 131 Arnon Nampa, 419, 421, 424-25, 426, 427, 428 Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, 457 Association Agreement (EU), 316 asymmetric rupture, 279-80, 486-87 Atkinson, David, 304-5, 306, 309 Auriol, Vincent, 212 Austin, John, 475-76 Australia Australia/ANU initiative, 233-40, 480 - 81Australian Research Council, 215, 217, 236 Civil Military Centre, 215 Human Rights Committee and, 36 Security Council and, 215-16 Australian National University, 233–40 Austria/NYU initiative, 233-40, 480 - 81authoritarianism abuse of rule of law in, 387-88, 472, 487 - 88backsliding and, 113, 115, 120, 130, 140, 142-48, 149 in China, 72, 74-75, 78, 454-55 Erdoğan and, 316, 317 in Hungary, 77-78 lawlessness and, 342-43 leadership and participation in international organizations, attempts by authoritarian regimes to increase, 70-71

authoritarianism (cont.) neutralization of international organizations, attempts by authoritarian regimes, 69-70 Orbán and, 51 in Poland, 77-78 Putin and, 78 rogue states (see rogue states) "rule by law" and, 472 in Russia, 78 "thin" rule of law and, 186 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 317-18 violence and, 321-22 Xi and, 78, 455 Azerbaijan, ECtHR and, 318 Bachelet, Michelle, 64, 69 Bachmann, Ingeborg, 3 backsliding in rule of law. See also specific country arbitrary exercise of power and, 112-13, 114 authoritarianism and, 113, 115, 120, 130, 140, 142-48, 149 basic hypothesis, 119, 126-30 cluster analysis of countries, 114, 115, 133-36, 138-42 COVID-19 pandemic and, 131 data collection, 120-22 drivers of, 135-48 ECJ and, 322-23 empirical analysis, 115, 126-32 EU, resistance to backsliding by, 52 European Commission and, 322-23 incremental nature of, 114, 149 indicators, 122-24, 131, 135-36, 138 - 42in Latin America, 381, 482, 484 limited nature of, 114-15, 131 origin of term, 112 outstanding questions, 148 overview, xi, 111, 482 populism and, 115, 120, 142-48, 149 recent backsliding, 51-52 regime change and, 144 resistance to, 52, 488 social impact of, 148-49

solutions to cultural factors, 84-85 economic reform, requirement of, 82 - 84multilevel approach, requirement of, 80-82 overview, 4 weakening of limits to state power and, 114, 119-20, 130, 140, 144 - 48Bai Por, 427-28 Baka, András, 269 Bangalore Principles, 188-89 Bannelier, Karine, 221 Bannon, Steve, 494 Barber, Nicholas, 21 Bazoum, Mohamed, 391-92 Beijing Consensus, 454-55 Belarus absence of rule of law in, 495 backsliding in, 58-59, 130 as illiberal state, 169 Benin, backlash against African Court in, 66-67 Berlin Conference (1884–85), 32 Bernhardt, Rudolf, 301-2 Berra, Yogi, 496 Bhumipol (Thailand), 414, 415, 420 Biden, Joe generally, 4 China and, 82 reengagement by, 80-81 risks of reengagement, 81 "worker-centered trade policy," 82 bilateral investment treaties, 185 Bindig, Rudolf, 304-5, 309 Black's Law Dictionary, 18 Blokker, Niels, 220–21 Boakai, Joseph, 400 Bolivia Constitution, 352-54 hyperpresidential rule, reversal of. 350 Bolsonaro, Jair, 347-48, 356, 378 Bondansky, Daniel, 231 Bongo, Omar, 395 Börzel, Tanja, 34 Bosch, Hieronymus, 303

Bosnia-Herzegovina EU accession, absence of movement toward, 168-69 Security Council authorization of use of force in, 30 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 161 Brandeis, Louis, 19, 20 Brazil backsliding in, 55, 62, 130 challenges to rule of law in, 347-48 Constitution, 352-54 hyperpresidential rule, reversal of, 350, 378 IACHR, backlash against, 66 Breyer, Stephen, 256 Brezhnev, Leonid, 294 British East India Company, 93 **Brookings Institution**, 157 Bugaric, Bojan, 143 Bukele, Nayib, 348, 356 Bulgaria, CoE accession, 299-300, 483-84 Bung Por, 427-28 Burkina Faso African Union, suspension by, 159 coups, impact on rule of law, 382, 389, 394-95 elections in, 395 French neocolonialism and, 394-95 geopolitical factors in, 394-95 improvement in rule of law in, 131 Niger and, 393 overview, 383 Russia and, 394-95 US and, 394-95 Burundi, backlash against ICC in, 67 Bush, George W., 22, 93 Caesar, Winston, 189 Calderón, Felipe, 357, 364, 369 Cambodia backsliding in, 130 Security Council constitutionshaping in, 163

UN constitution-shaping in, 160, 170 Cameroon, judicial independence in, 206–7 Canada, application of international law in domestic courts, 39-40 CAR. See Central African Republic (CAR) Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ), 188-89, 190 Carothers, Thomas, 51, 54 Castañeda, Jorge G., 381 Centellas, Miguel, 115 Central African Republic (CAR) Security Council and constitution-shaping, 163, 164-65, 166 peacekeeping operations, 221 UN constitution-shaping in, 160, 170 Chad, impacts of coup on rule of law, 382 Charlesworth, Hilary, 215, 217 Charter of the United Nations Russian violations of, 288 Security Council authority under, 210, 218 separation of powers, lack of, 227-28 on state sovereignty, 90 transnational law and, 253 on use of force, 30, 176-77 Chávez, Hugo, 66, 260 checklists avoiding, 20, 466, 470, 472, 474, 479-80 Venice Commission Rule of Law Checklist, 157, 194–95, 277 Cheesman, Nick, 72, 385 Chernenko, Konstantin, 294 Chernomyrdin, Viktor, 304 Chesterman, Simon, 14, 21, 215-16, 225-26, 233-34, 235 Chile constituent assembly in, 259 as dual state, 320 IACHR, backlash against, 66 China academic debates regarding law, 433-43, 453-54 activists, prosecution of, 442 Administrative Litigation Law of the People's Republic of China, 434 authoritarianism in, 78

China (cont.) Belt and Road Initiative, 68, 70 Biden and, 82 Chinese Communist Party (CCP) authority over judiciary, 435, 444-45 on international law, 445 Marxist-Leninist view of law, 445 norm entrepreneurship and, 456 reformers in, 434 Soviet Union and, 432-33 supremacy regarding law, 440-41 Chinese contexts of rule of law, 431-32 Chinese exceptionalism, 455 civil society organizations in, 64, 69, 448 - 49"comprehensive rule of law" in, 440 - 42COVID-19 pandemic in, 442 Cultural Revolution, 433, 434, 445 as dual state, 13, 320 economic determinism in, 444, 453 elites, contestation between, 433 engagement with US, 81-82 factors influencing shifts in rule of law in, 52 Great Financial Crisis (2008) and, 437 Hong Kong, suppressive measures in, 71, 429, 495 Human Rights Council and, 69 illiberalism in, 73 international commercial arbitration and, 449-50 Iraq War, effect of rise of China on, 75 Judges Law of the People's Republic of China, 435 lack of criticism in, 484 leadership and participation in international organizations, attempts at, 70-71 legal instrumentalism in, 444, 451-53 linearity of institutional change in, 444 maritime areas, claims over, ix-x

masses, interests of, 431 neo-authoritarianism in, 454-55 neutralization of international organizations, attempts at, 69-70 Niger and, 392 norm entrepreneurship and, 456 outside world, interactions with, 443-44, 445-46, 448 overview, xiv-xv, 444-45 Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) and, ix-x, 67, 450 Philippines, territorial dispute with, 450 private law in, 16 promotion of rule of law in, 434-35 property law in, 436-37 Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Arrest and Detention, 433 repression of internal dissent in, 71 rise of as authoritarian regime, 72, 74 - 75Russia and, 81 Security Council peacekeeping operations and, 69 Sinicized Marxism, 454, 455 socialist market economy in, 434 "socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics," 440, 495 South China Sea Arbitration, 450 on sovereign equality, 92-93 Soviet model, 432-33 territorial disputes and, 450 "Three Supremes" Doctrine, 437 Tibetans, suppression of, 71 trade war with US, 31 transnational legal ordering (TLO) in, 447 transnational rule of law, impact on actors and, 449-51, 457 civil society organizations and, 448-49 debates regarding, 446 dominant normative framework, adoption of, 447-48 exposure to outside world, variation in, 448

firms and, 448 fundamental norms and, 451-57 growing engagement with outside world and, 445-46 interests and, 447 international commercial arbitration and, 449-50 international organizations and, 450-51, 457 marginal effect on, 454, 455-57 state-centered analysis, drawbacks of, 447 territorial disputes and, 450 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 447 Trump and, 82 "turn against law" in, 437-40 UN special rapporteurs and, 69 US and, 80-81, 442 Uyghurs, suppression of, 71, 93, 94, 321 WTO and, 74, 156, 167-68, 434, 446 Christakis, Théodore, 221 civil society organizations in China, 64, 69, 448-49 empirical trends in rule of law and, 63.64 in Israel, 64 López Obrador's attempts to weaken, 358-59, 377 Mexico, attempts to weaken, 358-59, 377 in Russia, 64 climate change Human Rights Committee and, 36 minimalist perspective on rule of law and, 32 Paris Agreement, 77, 80, 231 threat from, 32, 75 Closa, Carlos, 485 cluster analysis of countries, 114, 115, 133-36, 138-42 Conde, Alpha, 395-96 Cold War absence of transnational rule of law during, 491-92 post-Cold War expansion in rule of law, 50-51

Security Council during, 212-13, 228 Colombia Constitution, 353–54 hyperpresidential rule, reversal of, 350, 378 IACHR, backlash against, 66 judicial review in, 351 state of exception in, 352 colonialism, 10-11 Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) African Commission compared, 206 - 7constitution-shaping and, 158-59 elections and, 277 emergency decrees and, 277-78 Hungary and, 275-76 judicial independence and, 203 Poland and, 275-76 rogue states and, 275-76 Rule of Law Checklist, 157, 194-95, 277 rule of law generally, 37, 194-96 "soft law" and, 198 Turkey and, 332–33, 336, 339 Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), 231 Compaoré, Blaise, 394 conceptualization of rule of law arbitrary exercise of power, as opposing (see arbitrary exercise of power) checklists (see checklists) colonialism and, 10-11 continuum of legality, 320 critical theory and, 10-11 defining rule of law, 16, 117, 318-19 democracy, relation to, 9-10, 17 dual state and, 12-13 formalism, avoiding (see formalism, avoiding) freedom, relation to, 7-8 functionalist approach, 319 fundamental rights, relation to, 15-16 goal-oriented approach (see goaloriented approach to rule of law) human rights, relation to, 17, 320

conceptualization of rule of law (cont.) imperialism and, 10-11 as institutionalized practice, 6-7, 21, 385 manifest functions of, 7 market-oriented policies and, 16 meta-principle of rule of law, 224 moral approach, 319 multiple levels, 322 overview, 4 phenomenological conception of, 26 as principle and practice, 223-24 "rule by law" compared, 11-12, 118, 338-40, 472 as social order, 408 as societal equilibrium, 118-19 substance of law, relation to, 8-9 teleological view (see goal-oriented approach to rule of law) "thick" rule of law (see "thick" rule of law) "thin" rule of law (see "thin" rule of law) conditionality mechanism, 155, 197, 204-6, 267-68 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 295 Congo, Democratic Republic of (DRC) domination by powerful states, 32 elections in, 398 Security Council peacekeeping operations in, 221 separation of powers in, 206-7 constituent assemblies, 258-60 constitutionalism, populism as challenge to, 347 "constitutionalism of fusion," 351 constitution-shaping. See also specific country adoption of constitutions without external assistance compared, 171 African Union and, 159 conditionalities, 156-59 Council of Europe and, 169 critiques of, 171-74 economic development, lack of, 174 elections and, 163-64, 166

EU and, 168-69 Europe, success of in, 168-70 fragility of institutions, problem of, 171 Global South, success of in, 170 IMF and, 157-58, 172-73 inclusiveness in, 164-65 international financial institutions (IFIs) and, 157-58, 167-68, 172-73, 178-79 local rule-of-law cultures and, 173, 177 - 78membership conditions, 155-56 neoliberalism, criticism regarding, 172 - 73OAS and, 159 overview, xi, 153-54 as peacemaking, 160-62 perceived lack of control and, 181 Security Council and, 163-67 "social" rule of law and, 178-80 state sovereignty, respecting, 174-77 strategies for, 181 substance of constitution and, 165 - 66Ukraine War, effect of, 181 UN and, 160, 162-63, 170 Venice Commission and, 158–59 World Bank and, 157-58, 172-73 WTO and, 167-68 conventionality control, 188 Convention of the Law of the Sea, 450 Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention), 333 Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes, 45 Correa, Rafael, 260, 356, 378 corruption empirical trends in rule of law and, 53 Inter-American Commission on Corruption, 157 Costa Rica, Constitution, 352-54 Côte d'Ivoire African Court, backlash against, 66 - 67

UN constitution-shaping in, 160 Council of Europe (CoE). See also specific country generally, 32 accession to, 261, 297-98 Committee of Ministers, 268-69, 297, 345-46 Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights, 299, 303, 305, 307, 315 Committee on Political Affairs, 299, 305, 306, 307 Committee on Relations with European Non-Member Countries, 299 constitution-shaping and, 169 Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention), 333 ECHR, incorporation into national law (see European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)) European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) (see Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission)) EU versus, 295 former Soviet bloc states, accession of, 298, 299-300 Gorbachev and, 284-86, 294-96 membership conditions, 155, 156, 483 Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), 270, 284-85, 297-98, 306 Putin and, 308-9 Russia and (see Russia) suspension of members, 264 Venice Commission (see Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission)) Yeltsin and, 304 Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), 37, 116-17

Couso, Javier, 352-53 COVID-19 pandemic backsliding and, 131 in China, 442 conditionality mechanism and, 204, 205 Hungary, COVID-19 pandemic relief in, 205 Poland, COVID-19 pandemic relief in, 204, 205 populism and, 76 Crawford, James, 35, 47-48, 94 critical theory, 10-11 Croatia, EU accession, 168-69 Cuba Constitution, 352-53 Marxism and, 353 revolution in, 353 "culture of conduct," 290, 292-93, 474-75 Cyprus EU accession, 325-26 UN Good Offices Mediation Team, 217 Czech Republic CoE accession, 299-300 EU constitution-shaping in, 169 Danube Institute, 494 Daranee Charnchoengsilpakul, 417-18 decline in rule of law. See backsliding in rule of law Dedov, Dmitry, 284 de Gaulle, Charles, 292 Demirtaş, Selahattin, 330, 335-37 democracy arbitrary exercise of power and, 18 asymmetric rupture and, 279-80, 486-87 defined, 380 empirical trends in rule of law and, 59-62 liberal democracy, 60 polyarchy, 59-60 populism as challenge to, 347 rule of law, relation to, 9-10, 17, 112, 185, 255, 320, 344, 385

"third wave" of democratization, 491

democracy (cont.) violating domestic law to restore, 279-81, 282, 486-87, 488-89 Democracy Cluster Classification Index, 115 "democratic careening," 262-63 democratic peace theory, 29-30 Deng Xiaoping, 433, 434, 446, 451 Denmark, backlash against ECtHR in, 66 Dewey, John, 7 Dicey, Alfred Venn, 21, 102, 464-65, 478 direct effect of international law on domestic law assessment of international organizations, 48-49 complementarity, 45-46 overview, 27 regional courts and, 44-45, 47 dispute resolution ECtHR, as goal of, 32 EU and, 32 ICJ, as goal of, 30-31 ITLOS, as goal of, 30-31 minimalist perspective on rule of law, 30-32 PCA, as goal of, 30-31 WTO, as goal of, 31 Dominican Republic IACHR, withdrawal from, 66 IACtHR, backlash against, 66 DRC. See Congo, Democratic Republic of (DRC) dual states, 12-13, 320-21 Duombouya, Mamady, 395 Durkheim, Emile, 474 Duterte, Rodrigo, 76, 428-29 Dworkin, Ronald, 15 East African Court of Justice (EACJ), 208 East Timor. See Timor Leste ECHR. See European Convention on

Human Rights (ECHR) ECJ. See European Court of Justice (ECJ) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Community Court of Justice, 207-8 creation of, 207-8 interventions by, 30 Niger and, 393 ECtHR. See European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) Ecuador Constitution, 353-54 Council of Social Accountability and Participation, 378 hyperpresidential rule, reversal of, 350, 378 in regional organizations, 261 Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 64,77 Egypt, backsliding in, 55 elections. See also specific country in Africa, 389 African Commission and, 276 constitution-shaping and, 163-64, 166 ECHR and, 276-77 EU and, 276-77 judicialization of, 381-82, 383, 390, 400, 401-5 Orbán and, 263-64 process versus outcome, 400-1 rule of law, relation to, 386-87 Treaty on European Union (TEU) and, 276 Venice Commission and, 277 El Salvador backsliding in, 130 challenges to rule of law in, 348 emergency decrees, 207 empirical trends in rule of law arbitrary exercise of power and, 56 - 58backsliding, 115, 126-32 challenges in measurement, 52-54 civil society organizations and, 63, 64 corruption and, 53 democracy and, 59-62 economic focus, shifts in, 75 ECtHR, backlash against, 65-66

enmeshment of national and international law, 72-79 external factors, 72 "gradual autocratization," 51 importance of studying, 86 indexes for measuring rule of law, 52 - 53internal factors, 72 international courts, backlash against, 65-67 international trends, 64-72 judicial independence and, 63 leadership and participation in international organizations, attempts by authoritarian regimes to increase, 70-71 media independence and, 63-64 national trends, 54-64 neutralization of international organizations, attempts by authoritarian regimes, 69-70 nonbinding instruments, increased use of, 67-68 overview, 4, 49 parallel shifts at national and international levels, 49-50 populism, rise of, 76-77 post-Cold War expansion in, 50-51 recent backsliding in, 51-52 resistance to backsliding in, 52 "rule-of-law revival," 51 "soft law," increased use of, 67-68 "end of history," 492-93 environmental, social and governance (ESG) practices, 42 Equator Principles, 42 Erdoğan, Recvep Tayyip generally, xiii attempted coup against, 327, 331-32, 344 authoritarianism and, 316, 317 consolidation of power, 327, 332-33 constitutional immunity and, 329 - 30election of, 324 failures of ECtHR regarding, 345-46 HDP, suppression of, 335-36 judicial independence and, 326-27

lawlessness and, 343-44 move away from rule of law, 343-44 one-party rule and, 344 Orbán compared, 344 populism and, 76 rule-of-law reforms by, 325 erga omnes obligations, rogue states and, 262, 271-74, 280 Estonia CoE accession, 299-300 EU constitution-shaping in, 169 E10 Influence Project, 217-18, 237-38 Europe. See also specific country, agreement, or body constitution-shaping, success of, 168-70 illiberalism in, 73 European Arrest Warrant, 201 European Coal and Steel Community, 32 European Commission backsliding and, 322-23 defining rule of law, 195 infringement actions brought by, 197-98, 200-2, 272 judicial independence and, 200-2 Justice Scoreboard, 198 Rule of Law Framework, 198, 204 rule of law generally, 116-17, 195-96 Rule of Law Report, 198 "soft law" and, 198 European Community accession to, 155 infringement actions, 197-99 rule of law in, 192 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) CoE, ratification required for membership, 156 elections and, 276-77 erga omnes obligations and, 271-72, 274 former Soviet bloc states, accession of, 50 Hungary and, 263 incorporation into national law, 38 Poland and, 263 rule of law in, 65, 190, 195-96

(ECHR) (cont.) Russia and (see Russia) supererogatory compliance and, 276 - 77transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 210-11 Turkey, ratification by, 316 European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) on arbitrary exercise of power, 193 backlash against, 322-23 binding nature of decisions, 265, 268-69 Denmark, backlash against in, 66 direct effect of international law on domestic law and, 44-45 dispute resolution as goal of, 32 empirical trends in rule of law, 65-66 Erdoğan, failures regarding, 345-46 erga omnes obligations and, 271-72 Hungary, ECtHR cases, 269, 270, 273 indirect effects of rulings, 39 judicial independence and, 194, 203 jurisdiction of, 271 lack of enforcement power, 192 legality principle in, 193 Poland, ECtHR cases, 264-65, 269-70, 273-74 Putin, backlash against by, 65 resilience of, 80 rule of law in, 65, 195-96 Russia and (see Russia) Switzerland, backlash against in, 66 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 191, 210-11 Turkey and (see Turkey) UK, backlash against in, 66 unheard cases, 323, 337-42 European Court of Justice (ECJ) on arbitrary exercise of power, 193 backsliding and, 322-23 erga omnes obligations and, 271-72 Hungary, ECJ cases, 265, 266-67, 270 judicial independence and, 193-94, 197, 199-202 legality principle in, 192-93 Poland, ECJ cases, 264-66, 270

Portuguese Judges case, 199–200, 202 - 3right of sovereigns to redress in, 106 - 7rule of law generally, 192 supranational rule of law in, 192 terrorism and, 42-43, 185, 229 European Union. See also specific country accession to, 261 Charter of Fundamental Rights (CFR), 37, 267-68, 271 Common Provisions Regulation, 267, 272 conditionality mechanism, 155, 197, 204-6, 267-68 Conditionality Regulation, 267 constitution-shaping and, 168-69 Copenhagen criteria, 37, 155, 261, 325 Council of Europe versus, 295 Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), 37, 116-17 dispute resolution and, 32 elections and, 276-77 erga omnes obligations and, 271-72, 274 former Soviet bloc states, accession of, 50 freezing of funds of member states, 267 - 68incentives for accession, 50 Joint Transatlantic Agenda, 80-81 national constitutions versus, 202-3, 209 Orbán and, 485 overview, xii-xiii peacekeeping operations, 46 promotion of rule of law and, 463 Recovery and Resilience Regulation, 267, 272 resistance to backsliding by, 52 rule of law generally, 495 supererogatory compliance and, 276 - 77TEU (see Treaty on European Union (TEU)) transnational law and, 253

transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 109, 191-92 "exit doors," 352-53 Fallon, Richard, 97 Farrall, Jeremy generally, xii Australia/ANU initiative and, 215, 233-34, 237-38 on avoiding formalism, 470 on extrapolation from domestic law, 477 on peacekeeping operations, 492 on recency of transnational rule of law, 489–90 on rule of law, 236 Security Council and, 213, 216-18, 225, 248, 480-81, 490 Financial Action Task Force, 211 financial assistance, rule of law as condition for, 462 Finland, NATO and, 344 Foner, Eric, 12-13 Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 70 Ford, Lisa, 11 Ford Foundation, 449 formalism, avoiding, 13, 116, 344-45, 385, 386, 466, 470, 479-80 former Soviet bloc states CoE accession, 298, 299-300 ECHR accession, 50 EU accession, 50 proposed human rights organization, 307 WTO accession, 50 Fraenkel, Ernst, 3, 12 France backsliding in, 140 constitutional transition in, 292 variations in rule of law in, 131 freedom, relation to rule of law, 7-8 Freedom House, 52-53, 58-60, 63, 111, 257 Fukuyama, Francis, 492-93 Fuller, Lon, 14, 19, 21, 53 functions of rule of law

arbitrary exercise of power, restraint of. 98–99 economic development, 98-99 freedom and dignity, 98-99 horizontal functions, 99 institutional function, 98-99 manifest functions, 7 security and trust, 98-99 vertical functions, 99 fundamental rights, relation to rule of law, 15-16 Gabon, impacts of coup on rule of law, 382, 383, 389, 395 Gambia, impacts of coup on rule of law, 382 Gargarella, Roberto, 351 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 40-41 General Assembly (of UN) Countering the Use of Information and Communications Technologies for Criminal Purposes, 71 Declaration on Principles of International Law (1970), 104 Declaration on the Rule of Law at the National and International Levels (2012), 92, 102-4, 107, 489-90 Guidance Note on the UN Approach to Rule of Law Assistance (2008), 153-54, 162, 163Guidance Note to Constitution-Making Processes (2009), 162-63, 176 Rule of Law and Transnational Justice (2004), 177 Security Council and, 227-28 geopolitics, transnational rule of law and. See also specific country in Africa, 396-97 Cold War, absence of transnational rule of law during, 491-92 "end of history" and, 492-93 fall of communism and, 491, 492 overview, 463, 489

geopolitics rule of law (cont.) persistence of transnational rule of law and, 495-96 potential decline of transnational rule of law and, 493-94 "third wave" of democratization and, 491 Georgia, Russian annexation of territory in, 288 Germany Constitution, 258-59 economic blocs and, 31 EU and, 32 international human rights law, incorporation of, 38 Nazi Germany as dual state, 12, 320 Solange jurisprudence, 47 Gessen, Masha, 429 Ginsburg, Tom generally, xi-xii on attempts by authoritarian regimes to neutralize international organizations, 69 on backsliding in EU, 483 on CoE, 317 defining democracy, 380 on democracy, 345 on enmeshment of national and international law, 476 on indicators, 52-53, 55 on regional TLOs, 482 on state sovereignty, 485 on threat from authoritarianism, 322 on transnational legal ordering (TLO), 484 Global Compact on Migration, 77, 80 globalization, 82 Global Reporting Initiative, 42 goal-oriented approach to rule of law anatomical approach distinguished, 466-67 arbitrary exercise of power and, 384 formalism, avoiding, 344-45 forward and backward reasoning, 7 overview, 5-6, 319, 463 possibility of, 479 Gorbachev, Mikhail generally, xiii, 315

on "Common European Home," 284-86, 306 Council of Europe and, 284-86, 294-96 glasnost' and, 285 as head of Soviet Union, 284 perestroika and, 285 pragmatism of, 285 rule of law, attempts to introduce, 290-92, 293-94 Russian abandonment of vision of. 289 Gordon, Robert, 10 Grattet, Ryken, 6 Great Financial Crisis (2008), 75, 437 Guatemala Constitution, 352-53 Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, 42 Guinea African Union, suspension by, 159 impacts of coup on rule of law, 382, 389, 395-96 overview, 383 presidential term limits in, 395-96 Guinea-Bissau impacts of coup on rule of law, 382 Security Council constitutionshaping in, 164-65 UN constitution-shaping in, 160 Gusinksy, Vladimir, 313 Guyana, judicial independence in, 188 Haberkorn, Tyrell, xiv Habermas, Jürgen, 9-10, 15, 20 Haiti, Security Council and constitution-shaping, 164-65 peacekeeping operations, 46, 219 use of force, authorization of, 30 Halliday, Terence generally, xii on avoiding formalism, 470 on extrapolation from domestic law, 477 on multiple levels of rule of law, 322 on peacekeeping operations, 492 on recency of transnational rule of law, 489-90

Security Council and, 217, 480-81 "soft law" and, 6 on transnational legal ordering (TLO), 24, 26, 184, 405-6 hate crimes, 6 Hayek, Friedrich A., 19, 43, 83, 97, 102 Helfer, Laurence, 39 Helsinki Accords, 286 Helsinki Final Act, 295 Henri-Damiba, Paul, 394 Heritage Foundation, 52-53 Hobbes, Thomas, 119 Hobsbawm, Eric, 491-92 horizontal benefits of rule of law for sovereigns analogy of states to individuals, 105 - 6coercive penetration of sovereignty disfavored, 91-92 courts, right of sovereigns to redress in, 106-7 criticism of sovereignty, 91 domestic rule of law analogy, 100-2 dual nature of national governments and, 100-2 nested dualism of states and individuals and, 89-95 1970 General Assembly Declaration and, 104 overview, x-xi, 88-89 purpose of noninterference principle, 90-91 skepticism of Western motives, 93-94 sovereign equality and, 92-93 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 108-10 treaties and, 106 2012 General Assembly Declaration and, 92, 102-4, 107 Waldron's argument against, x-xi, 87, 89, 95, 96, 99-100 horizontal functions of rule of law, 99 Hull, Cordell, 31 humanitarian intervention, 33-34 human rights. See also specific agreement or body arbitrary exercise of power and, 18

former Soviet bloc states, proposed human rights organization, 307 Latin America, international human rights law in, 39 national human rights institutions, 36 rule of law, relation to, 17, 320 in Russia, 301-3 Human Rights Committee Australia and, 36 climate change and, 36 individual claims before, 36 Human Rights Council backlash against, 77 neutralization, attempts by authoritarian regimes, 69 reports to, 36 Humphreys, Stephen, 479 Huneeus, Alexandra, 188 Hungary abuse of rule of law in, 485 authoritarianism in, 77-78 backsliding in, 55, 58-59, 62, 130, 196 CoE accession, 263, 299-300 Constitution, 259 constitution-shaping in, 157, 169 COVID-19 pandemic relief in, 205 directly applicable laws, enforcement of, 265-70 as dual state, 263-64 ECHR and, 263 ECJ cases, 265, 266-67, 270 ECtHR cases, 269, 270, 273 elections in, 263-64, 275 emergency decrees in, 272, 277-78 in EU, 263 EU constitution-shaping in, 169 Fidesz Party, 272 freezing of funds by EU, 267-68 as hybrid regime, 263-64 as illiberal state, 190, 484 infringement actions against, 197-98, 201, 272 judicial independence in, 37, 63, 197-98, 201, 269, 272-73 Kúria (Supreme Court), 269

Hungary (cont.) laws limiting EU authority over, 272-73 membership conditions, impact of, 267-68 opposition in, 280-81 PACE and, 270 populism in, 76 proposals to remedy backsliding in, 257-58, 260 resistance to backsliding in, 52, 483 - 84state sovereignty and, 485 "super milestones," 273 surveillance in, 274 Ukraine War and, 205 Venice Commission and, 275-76 Hurd, Ian, 22, 108 Hussein, Saddam, 93 hyperpresidential rule in Latin America, 350, 378 IACHR. See Inter-American Commission on Human Rights IACtHR. See Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) Iancu, Alexandra, 172, 173-74 Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), 391 ICC. See International Criminal Court (ICC) ICCPR. See International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) ICJ. See International Court of Justice (ICJ) illiberalism Belarus as illiberal state, 169 in China, 73 in Europe, 73 Hungary as illiberal state, 190, 484 Poland as illiberal state, 190 of populism, 494–95 in Russia, 73 Serbia as illiberal state, 169 Ukraine as illiberal state, 169 in US, 72

512

IMF. See International Monetary Fund (IMF) immigration, 84 imperialism, 10-11 India backsliding in, 140 ICSID and, 67 media independence in, 63-64 indirect effect of international law on domestic law application of international law in domestic courts, 39-40 individual claims, 36 international organizations and, 40 - 41multinational companies and, 43-44 national constitutions, rule of law incorporated into, 35-36, 50 national human rights institutions, 36 nonstate entities and, 42 overview, 27, 34 private actors and, 43-44 regional organizations and, 37-38 reporting, 36-37 Indonesia, ICSID and, 67 Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, 80 - 81Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), 70 infringement actions, 197-99, 272 institutionalized practice, rule of law as, 6-7, 21, 385 Inter-American Commission on Corruption, 157 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 186-88 Inter-American Convention on Human Rights (IACHR) Argentina, backlash against in, 66 backlash against, 66 Brazil, backlash against in, 66 Chile, backlash against in, 66 Colombia, backlash against in, 66 conventionality control and, 188 Dominican Republic, withdrawal of, 66 judicial protection and, 187

obligation to appear and, 189-90 overview, 186-88 Paraguay, backlash against in, 66 political participation and, 187 transnational law and, 253 Trinidad and Tobago, withdrawal of. 66 Venezuela, withdrawal of, 66 withdrawals from, 66 Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) backlash against, 66 creation of, 186-88 direct effect of international law on domestic law and, 44-45 Dominican Republic, backlash against in, 66 enhanced role of, 354-56 indirect effects of rulings, 39 Mexico and, 371, 374, 375-76 resilience of, 80 rule of law in, 190 Trinidad and Tobago, backlash against in, 66, 189-90 Venezuela, backlash against in, 66 Inter-American Democratic Charter, 159, 186-88 Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, 77 International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), 67 International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), 70 international commercial arbitration, 449 - 50International Commission of Jurists, 184 - 85International Court of Justice (ICJ) on arbitrary exercise of power, 18 dispute resolution as goal of, 30-31 right of sovereigns to redress in, 106 Security Council and, 227-28 on state sovereignty, 90 Ukraine War and, 88 international courts. See also specific court backlash against, 65-67 proliferation of, 50

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) individual claims under, 36 rule of law in, 35 International Covenant on Economic, Cultural and Social Rights (ICESCR), 35 International Criminal Court (ICC) backlash against, 66, 67, 77 Burundi, backlash against in, 67 direct effect of international law on domestic law and, 45 Office of the Prosecutor, 45 Philippines, backlash against in, 67 Rome Statue, 211 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 210-11 US and, 72, 77 International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol), 70-71 International Electrotechnical Committee (IEC), 70 international financial institutions (IFIs), 157-58, 167-68, 172-73, 178 - 79international investment arbitration, 31-32, 185 international law application in domestic courts, 39 - 40direct effect of international law on domestic law (see direct effect of international law on domestic law) importance to rule of law, 86 indirect effect of international law on domestic law (see indirect effect of international law on domestic law) nested dualism of states and individuals in, 89-95 as recursive process, 25 role in transnational rule of law, 22 - 24rule of law, relation to, 407-8 skepticism regarding existence of, 21-22, 476 socio-legal theory of, 23-24

International Law Commission, 67-68 international measures to support rule of law in Africa, 206-8, 209 in Europe (see specific topic) in Latin America, 186-88, 189-90, 209 overview, xi-xii, 182-84, 208-9 International Monetary Fund (IMF) constitution-shaping and, 157-58, 172 - 73promotion of rule of law and, 463 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 109 international organizations. See also specific organization assessment of, 48-49 constitution-shaping (see constitution-shaping) importance to rule of law, 86 indirect effect of international law on domestic law and, 40-41 leadership and participation in, attempts by authoritarian regimes to increase, 70-71 national rule of law and, 185 neutralization of, attempts by authoritarian regimes, 69-70 supranational rule of law and, 185 International Standardization Organization (ISO), 70 International Telecommunications Union (ITU), 70, 71 International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) dispute resolution as goal of, 30-31 right of sovereigns to redress in, 106 investor-state arbitration, 67 Iran, nuclear deal with, 77 Iraq Iraq War (see Iraq War) Kuwait, invasion of, 232 right to benefits of rule of law, 106 Security Council and peacekeeping operations, 46 sanctions, 228 use of force, authorization of, 30, 221

Iraq War as breach of rule of law, 106 in context of Western abuses of international law, 94 false justifications for, 94 reappraisal of military force and, 232 rise of China, effect on, 75 Islamic conceptions of rule of law, 13 Israel, civil society organizations in, 64 Issofou, Mohamadou, 391-92 Istanbul Convention, 333 ITLOS. See International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) iusnaturalism, 352 Japan backsliding in, 62 Constitution, 258-59 economic blocs and, 31 media independence in, 63-64 Joint Transatlantic Agenda, 80-81 judicial independence. See also specific country African Commission and, 206-7 ECJ and, 200-2, 193-94, 197, 199-200 ECtHR and, 194, 203 empirical trends in rule of law and, 63 European Commission and, 199-202 infringement actions involving, 197-99, 200-2 local rule-of-law cultures and, 173 Orbán and, 197 TEU and, 199-203 transnational rule of law and, 200 Venice Commission and, 203 Kaczyński, Jarosław, 485 Kahn, Jeffrey, xiii, 482, 483 Kahraman, Fritz, 12-13, 321 Kant, Immanuel, 90, 105, 109 Kara-Murza, Vladimir, 314 Kazakhstan backsliding in, 114 improvement in rule of law in, 131 Keleman, R. Daniel, 487

Kelsen, Hans, 255

Kenya, judicialization of elections in, 401 - 2Khasbulatov, Ruslan, 287, 301 Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 313 Korean War Security Council authorization of use of force in, 46-47, 220-21 Soviet abstention and, 220-21 Kosovo EU accession, absence of movement toward, 168-69 NATO/EU peacekeeping operations in, 46 Security Council, 219 Kozyrev, Andrei, 286-87 Krygier, Martin on arbitrary exercise of power, 18, 184, 333, 345 goal-oriented approach to rule of law, 319 on lack of clarity in rule of law, 240 on purpose of rule of law, 98 on rule of law as prevailing value, 226 on social goals and practices, 5 on telos of rule of law, 96-97 transnational perspective on rule of law, xv Krylenko, Nikolai, 293 Kudryatsev, Vladimir, 290-91 Kuhelj, Alenka, 143 Kumm, Mattias, 10 Kurban, Dilek, xiii, 482-83 Kuwait, Iraqi invasion of, 232 Kwankwaso, Rabiu Musa, 398-99 Lacey, Nicola, 21 La Forest, Gérard, 39-40 Lalumière, Catherine, 286, 295-96 Lam, Esther, 167-68 Lánczi, András, 255 Lander, Jennifer, 477-78 Latin America. See also specific country, agreement, or body ambivalence toward constitutionalism in, 352-53 backsliding in, 381, 482, 484 bills of rights in, 355 challenges to rule of law in, 349

use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009460286.016

compromised state of constitutionalism in, 352 "constitutionalism of fusion," 351 early constitutions, 351 executive branches, changes in, 354 "exit doors," 352-53 expansion in rule of law in, 355–56 free-market ideology in, 353 hyperpresidential rule in, 350, 378 international human rights law in, 39 international measures to support rule of law in, 186-88, 189-90, 209 iusnaturalism, 352 judicial review in, 351-52 Judiciary Councils, 354 last-wave constitutions in, 350, 353-55 legislative branches, changes in, 354 Marxism and, 353 overview, xiii-xiv, 350-51 presidential powers, expansion of, 356-57 remaining challenges in, 356 resilience of rule of law in, 79 "third wave" of democratization in, 491 Latvia, EU constitution-shaping in, 169 Lavrov, Sergei, 289-90 Law, David, 51-52 "law and development," 184-85 lawfare, 22 "law talk," 22 League of Nations mandate system, 32 - 33"legal black holes," 20 legality principle, 22-23, 192-93 legally ordered communities, 97-98, 467-68, 469 Leopold (Belgium), 32 Le Pen, Marine, 52, 494 Leuprecht, Peter, 298, 306, 308 Leventhal, Harold, 256 Levitzky, Steven, 113 Li, Ji, xiv-xv, 13, 429 liberal democracy, 60 Liberia elections in, 387, 398, 400-1

Liberia (cont.) nonjudicialization of elections in, 400 Security Council sanctions and, 228 successful transfer of power in, 383, 387, 389-90, 398, 400 - 1UN Mission in Liberia, 217 Libya Security Council and constitution-shaping, 163, 164-66 use of force, authorization of, 33, 222 - 23UN constitution-shaping in, 160 Lied, Harold, 295 Lithuania CoE accession, 299-300 EU constitution-shaping in, 169 Litvinenko, Alexander, 314 Llewellyn, Karl N., 7 local rule-of-law cultures, 173, 177-78 López Obrador, Andrés Manuel abandonment of left-wing ideals by, 348-49, 358 antipathy toward rule of law, 362, 376 checks and balances, attempts to weaken, 377 civil society organizations, attempts to weaken, 358-59, 377 criticism of INE, 364-65 election of, 358 independent agencies, attempts to weaken, 377 initial reform plans for INE, 364-65 judicial barriers to, 377-78 judiciary, attempts to weaken, 377 legislature, attempts to weaken, 377 militarization of society generally, 377 - 78National Guard and, 370-71 "Plan B" for INE, 366-69 pluralism, disdain for, 358-59 populism and, 358 public expenditures and, 361 social programs, cutbacks in, 359-60 transfer programs and, 360-61

Lukin, Alexander, 294 Lula da Silva, Luis Inácio, 378 Madagascar, elections in, 398 Madison, James, 119 Malawi, judicialization of elections in, 401 - 2Mali African Union, suspension by, 159 impacts of coup on rule of law, 382 Niger and, 393 Security Council constitutionshaping in, 165-66 Malinowski, Bronisław, 479-80 manifest functions of rule of law, 7 manipulation of rule of law, 255-56 Mao Zedong, 433, 440, 444 Marcos, Ferdinand, 428-29 Marcos, Ferdinand "Bongbong," 76, 428 - 29Markert, Thomas, 158 market-oriented policies, 16 Marshall, John, 39 Marxism China, Marxist-Leninist view of law in, 445 Cuba and, 353 Latin America and, 353 Sinicized Marxism, 454, 455 Soviet Union, Marxist-Leninist view of law in, 293 McCann, Michael, 12-13, 321 media independence empirical trends in rule of law and, 63 - 64in India, 63-64 in Japan, 63-64 Medvedev, Dmitri, 313 Meierhenrich, Jens, 21, 26, 320 Meloni, Giorgia, 52, 494 Mercan, Zeynep, 339 meta-principle of rule of law, 224 Mexico Acuerdo Militarista (Militarist Decree), 373-74, 375 amparo writ, 351 army, 372-74

automatic pretrial imprisonment in, 370 - 71backsliding in, 362-63 challenges to rule of law in, 348-49 civil society organizations, attempts to weaken, 358-59, 377 Constitution, 353-54 "dirty war," 369 elections in reforms, 363-64 reliability of, 357 rigged nature of early elections in favor of PRI, 363 General Law of the Public Security System, 370, 372 health care in, 359-60 IACtHR and, 371, 374, 375-76 independent agencies, attempts to weaken, 377 Instituto de Salud para el Bienestar (INSABI), 359-60 Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE), 363 Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) constitutional protection of, 377 controversias, 367-68 creation of, 363-64 duties of, 364 initial reform plans, 365-66 overview, 350, 362 "Plan B," 366-69 presidential recall and, 365 Supreme Court invalidation of "Plan B," 368–69 Interior Security Act, 369-70 judiciary, attempts to weaken, 377 Law on the National Guard, 370, 371-72, 374-75 Law on the National Registry of Detentions, 370, 372 legislature, attempts to weaken, 377 marines, 373 Mexicana de Aviación, 373 militarization of society generally, 350, 362, 377-78 MORENA Party, 358, 364, 366-67, 375, 377 National Commission of Human Rights, 374

National Guard Amendment Decree, 371 army, authority of, 373-74 challenges to, 371 creation of, 370-71 opposition to, 371 Supreme Court and, 375 transfer to military command, 374 - 75National Law on the Use of Force, 370, 372 national ombudsperson, 377-78 national registries, 372 National Research Council, 359 National System of Public Security Information, 372 overview, xiv Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), 358, 363 presidential recall, 365 preventive imprisonment in, 375-76 public expenditures in, 361 regional human rights regimes and, 378-79 remaining challenges in, 357-58 resilience of rule of law in, 79 Seguro Popular, 359-60 social programs, cutbacks in, 359-60 strength of political rights in, 357 Supreme Court Acuerdo Militarista (Militarist Decree) and, 375 National Guard and, 375 "Plan B," invalidation of, 368-69 preventive imprisonment and, 375-76 transfer programs in, 360-61 violence in, 357 "war against drugs," 369-70, 357 micro-TLOs, 233-42 "militant rule of law," 489 minimalist perspective on rule of law climate change and, 32 democratic peace theory and, 29-30 dispute resolution as goal of, 30-32 domination by powerful states and, 32-34

minimalist perspective (cont.) humanitarian intervention and, 33 - 34overview, 27 peace as goal of, 28-30 responsibility to protect (R2P) and, 33 - 34Modi, Narendra, 63-64, 76 Moldova, improvement in rule of law in, 131 Mongolia, transnational legal ordering (TLO) in, 478 Montenegro, absence of movement toward EU accession, 168-69 Montesquieu, 5, 109, 471 Montoya, Ana María, xi, 76-77, 482 Morales, Evo, 356 Moreno, Lenin, 378 Morocco, variations in rule of law in, 131 Moustafa, Tamir, 12 Mozambique, Security Council and, 219 Mugabe, Robert, 67 Mühlemann, Ernst, 305, 306, 315 Mukum Mbkau, John, 387 multinational companies, indirect effect of international law on domestic law and, 43-44 Mutua, Makau, 13, 396, 401 Myanmar absence of rule of law in, 495 attacks on rule of law in, 428-29 Nardin, Terry, 15-16, 94, 105, 319 national constitutions EU versus, 202-3, 209 rule of law incorporated into, 35-36, 50 Universal Declaration of Human Rights incorporated into, 35 national human rights institutions, 36 national rule of law defined, 184 international organizations and, 185 international rule of law versus, 186 overview, 475-76

rogue states, ineffectiveness in bringing about change in, 279 as rule of law "writ small," 252 NATO. See North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Nattaporn Toprayoon, 422-26 Navalnyy, Alexei, 314 Nemtsov, Boris, 314 New York University Institute for International Law and Justice, 233 - 40Nicaragua, backsliding in, 130 Nicholas II (Russia), 293 Niger backsliding in, 58-59 Burkina Faso and, 393 China and, 392 economic factors in, 392 ECOWAS and, 393 elections in, 391 French neocolonialism and, 392-93 geopolitical factors in, 392-93 impacts of coup on rule of law, 382, 389, 391-94 Mali and, 393 overview, 383 Russia and, 392–93 transfer of power in, 391-92 uranium mining in, 392 US and, 393 Nigeria absence of military leaders from ballot, 399 All Progressive Congress (APC), 398-99, 403 elections in, 398-99 election technology in, 399 judicialization of elections in danger of legitimizing authoritarianism, 404-5 high-profile elections, 402-4, 405 legitimacy, effect on, 401, 402-4, 405 Liberia compared, 400 overview, 383, 390 social media and, 403, 404 Labour Party (LP), 398-99, 403

New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP), 398 - 99People's Democratic Party (PDP), 398-99, 403 successful transfer of power in, 383, 389-90, 398-99 third parties in, 399 variations in rule of law in, 131 Nixon, Richard, 18 nonbinding instruments, increased use of, 67-68 nonstate entities, indirect effect of international law on domestic law and, 42 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 67 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) backlash against, 77 Finland and, 344 Kosovo, NATO/EU peacekeeping operations in, 46 Libya, intervention in, 33 membership conditions, 155 peacekeeping operations, 46 Sweden and, 344 US and, 77 North Macedonia, absence of movement toward EU accession, 168-69 "North Star" effect, 282 Oakeshott, Michael, 7 OAS. See Organization of American States (OAS) Obama, Barack, 81 Obio, Peter, 398-99 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 36 Ondimba, Ali Bongo, 395, 397 Open Skies Treaty, 77 Opium War, 93 Orbán, Viktor generally, 255, 494 abuse of rule of law by, 487, 488 authoritarian aims of, 51 consolidation of power by, 257-58, 272

elections and, 263-64 Erdoğan compared, 344 EU and, 485 judicial independence and, 197 populism and, 76 Ukraine War and, 485 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 274-75, 277 promotion of rule of law and, 463 Organization of African Unity, 206 Organization of American States (OAS). See also specific agreement or body constitution-shaping and, 159 rule of law generally, 186 overstatement of rule of law, 462 Palau, UN trusteeship system and, 32-33 Palombella, Gianluigi, 15 Panupong Jadnok, 421, 424–25, 426, 427, 428 Panusaya Sitthijirawattanakul, 419–20, 421, 424-25, 426, 427, 428 Paraguay Constitution, 353-54 IACHR, backlash against, 66 Paris Agreement, 77, 80, 231 Paris Principles, 36 Parit Chiwarak, 420-21, 427 Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), 270, 284-85, 297-98, 306 Pavel, Carmen, 91 Pavin Chachavalpongpun, 414 PCA. See Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) peacekeeping operations. See also specific country African Union, 46 emergence of, 492 EU, 46 expansion of Security Council powers, 219 as external focus of Security Council, 223

peacekeeping operations (cont.) NATO, 46 Rule-of-law challenges, 221 Security Council generally, 46 Pech, Laurent, 112, 487 Pegasus software, 273-74 Peña Nieto, Enrique, 369-70 Peng Zhen, 434 Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) backlash against, 67 China and, ix-x, 67, 450 dispute resolution as goal of, 30-31 Permanent Court of International Justice, 31 Perón, Juan Domingo, 349, 352-53 Perú Constitution, 353–54 variations in rule of law in, 131 Peters, Anne, xi, 482, 485-86, 495 Petro, Gustavo, 378 Pettit, Philipp, 17-18 phenomenological conception of rule of law, 26 Philippines attacks on rule of law in, 428-29 backsliding in, 55, 62, 130 China, territorial dispute with, 450 ICC, backlash against, 67 South China Sea Arbitration, 450 variations in rule of law in, 131 Pita Limjaroenrat, 428 Plato, 18 Poland abuse of rule of law in, 485 authoritarianism in, 77-78 backsliding in, 55, 58-59, 62, 130, 196 CoE accession, 263, 299-300 Constitution, 202 Constitutional Tribunal, 200, 202, 270, 281 constitution-shaping in, 157 COVID-19 pandemic relief in, 204, 205 directly applicable laws, enforcement of, 265-70 Disciplinary Chamber of Supreme Court, 266, 270

ECHR and, 263 ECJ cases, 264-66, 270 ECtHR cases, 264-65, 269-70, 273 - 74elections in, 264-65, 275, 484 in EU, 263 EU constitution-shaping in, 169 Extraordinary Chamber of Supreme Court, 270 freezing of funds by EU, 267-68 as illiberal state, 190 infringement actions against, 198, 199-203 judicial independence in, 37, 63, 199-203, 264-65, 266, 269-70, 273 Law and Justice Party (PiS), 264-65, 281 membership conditions, impact of, 267 - 68National Judicial Council, 266, 270 opposition, electoral success of, 281 - 82PACE and, 270 resistance to backsliding in, 52, 483-84 state sovereignty and, 485 surveillance in, 273-74 Ukraine War and, 205 Venice Commission and, 275–76 Polanyi, Karl, 83 polyarchy, 59-60 Ponce, Alejandro, xi, 76-77, 482 populism backsliding and, 115, 120, 142-48, 149 as challenge to rule of law, 347 constitutionalism, as challenge to, 347 COVID-19 pandemic and, 76 democracy, as challenge to, 347 Erdoğan and, 76 in Hungary, 76 hypocritical attitude toward rule of law, 494 illiberalism of, 494-95 immigration and, 84 López Obrador and, 358

Orbán and, 76 rise of, 76-77 Trump and, 76, 77 well-tempered power and, 488 Portugal backsliding in, 140 ECJ Portuguese Judges case, 199-200, 202 - 3Postema, Gerald, 6, 29 "postnational liberal international order," 34 Pou Giménez, Francisa, xiii-xiv, 79, 482, 484 power arbitrary exercise of power (see arbitrary exercise of power) concepts of, 5 law as vehicle for exercise and communication of, 468 rule of law, relation to, 469 well-tempered power (see welltempered power) Prayuth Chan-ocha, 410, 418 pressure on rule of law, 461-62 private actors, indirect effect of international law on domestic law and, 43-44 Project on International Courts and Tribunals, 50 Prost, Kimberly, 229 Pufendorf, Samuel, 89 Putin, Vladimir generally, xiii, 313, 315, 429 abandonment of legal reforms, 289 authoritarianism and, 78 Council of Europe and, 308-9 ECtHR, backlash against by, 65 humanitarian intervention, invasion of Ukraine portrayed as, 33-34 justifications for Ukraine War, 87-88 repudiation of treaties by, 289-90 Second Chechen War and, 309 traditional values, invasion of Ukraine viewed as supporting, 78

Rajah, Jothie, 12, 26, 231, 406 Ratner, Steven, 28–29

Raz, Joseph, 14, 19, 102, 472-73 Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, 457 regional courts. See also specific court Africa, impact in, 407-9 backlash against, 209 direct effect of international law on domestic law and, 44-45, 47 overview, 183 as "trustee courts," 44-45 regional organizations. See also specific organization backlash against, 209 Ecuador in, 261 indirect effect of international law on domestic law and, 37-38 overview, 183 peace as goal of, 30 Russia in, 261 Turkey in, 261 Venezuela in, 261 Reporters Without Borders, 63 responsibility to protect (R2P), 33-34, 222-23 Review of African Political Economy, 393 Ristei Gugiu, Mihaiela, 115 Roch Kaboré, March, 394 Rodrik, Dani, 83 rogue states abuse of rule of law by, 487-88 asymmetric rupture and, 279-80, 486 - 87directly applicable laws, enforcement of, 262, 265-70, 280 erga omnes obligations and, 262, 271-74, 280 membership conditions, impact of, 260, 261-62, 267-68 national rule of law, ineffectiveness of in bringing about change, 279 supererogatory compliance and, 262, 274 - 78Transition 2.0 and, 259, 260-63 transnational rule of law, use of to restore democracy, 256-57, 278-79 Venice Commission and, 275-76

rogue states (cont.) violating domestic law to restore democracy in, 279-81, 282, 486-87, 488-89 Romania, CoE accession, 299-300, 483 - 84Rosen, Laurence, 13 Rotterdam Rules, 211 Rudden, Bernard, 292 Ruggie, John, 79 "rule by law," 11-12, 118, 338-40, 472 rule of law. See specific topic Russia. See also Soviet Union absence of rule of law in, 495 annexation of Ukrainian territory by, 88 assassinations committed by, 314 authoritarianism in, 78 Burkina Faso and, 394-95 China and, 81 civil society organizations in, 64 Constitutional Court, 65, 301, 314 constitutional crisis in, 301 Council of Europe and accession to, 307-8 early engagement with, 286-87, 290, 296-97, 303-6 "eminent lawyers" report, 299, 301 - 3expulsion from, xiii, 65, 78, 169, 264, 287-88, 290 failures of, 482 overview, 314-15 reluctance to admit, 298-99 revisionist account of, 289-90 "therapeutic admission," 298, 299, 306, 307, 482, 483 Crimea, annexation of, 288 Criminal Procedure Code, 304-5 ECHR and backlash against, 288-89 expulsion from, 65, 78, 287-88 incompatibility of criminal code with, 302 promise to accede to, 304 ratification of, 287, 309 violations of, 309-13 ECtHR and

backlash against, 65 cases against Russia in, 309-13 challenges to authority of, 314 consent to jurisdiction, 309 failures of, 318, 483 opposition to reforms in, 288-89 elections in, 306 factors influencing shifts in rule of law in, 52 First Chechen War, 303, 305 Georgia, annexation of territory in, 288 Gorbachev, abandonment of vision of, 289 human rights in, 301-3 as illiberal state, 73, 169 lack of criticism in, 484 leadership and participation in international organizations, attempts at, 71 neutralization of international organizations, attempts at, 69 Niger and, 392–93 overview, xiii in regional organizations, 261 Second Chechen War, 309 separation of powers in, 304-5 on sovereign equality, 92-93 as successor to Soviet obligations, 286 Ukraine War (see Ukraine War) UN Charter, violations of, 288 US and, 80-81 Rutskoi, Alexander, 301 Rwanda, backlash against African Court in, 66-67 Ryan, Alan, 217 Rybkin, Ivan, 304 Saeed, Kais, 207 Sajó, András, 489 Salgado Macedonio, Félix, 364-65 sanctions. See also specific country bodies of experts, 228 expansion of Security Council powers, 220 as external focus of Security Council, 223

monitoring bodies, 228 rule-of-law challenges, 222 Sanctions Committees, 228 Security Council generally, 42, 46 Working Group on General Issues of Sanctions, 228 Sandholtz, Wayne on abuse of rule of law, 289 on arbitrary exercise of power, 112-13, 117, 184, 214, 229, 308, 333, 345, 384-85, 411-12, 415, 467, 468 on avoiding formalism, 385, 386, 470 on backlash against rule of law, 495 on backsliding, 482 conception of rule of law, 350-51 on "culture of conduct," 290, 474-75 on democracy, 112 on democracy and rule of law, 344 on democratic participation, 241 on enmeshment of national and international law, 317-18, 476 on goal-oriented approach to rule of law, 344-45, 384, 466 on indicators, 63, 114, 122, 123 on institutionalized practice, 385 on international law, 252, 407-8 on lack of opportunity to be heard, 320, 416 meta-principle of rule of law and, 224 on metrics for measuring rule of law, 386 on multiple levels of rule of law, 322 on recursive nature of international law, 25 on rule of law as principle and practice, 223-24 on social order, 408 on transnational legal ordering (TLO), 287, 388, 406-7 on "virtuous transnational cycle," 240 - 41Sankara, Thomas, 394 Santos, Juan Manuel, 378 São Tomé and Príncipe, impacts of coup on rule of law, 382 Sato, Yuko, 143 Scalia, Antonin, 256

Scheppele, Kim Lane generally, xii-xiii on abuse of rule of law by rogue states, 487, 488 on authoritarianism, 322 on backsliding, 112 on international courts, 38 on rule of law "writ large," 253, 486 - 87on rule of law "writ small," 252, 475 on Security Council, 211-12, 216, 225 - 26terrorism and, 47 on violating domestic law to restore democracy, 488-89 Schmitt, Carl, 11, 19, 255 Schoppe, Christoph, xi-xii, 476, 482, 483, 484, 485 Security Council. See also specific country arbitrary exercise of power and, 214, 229 Australia/ANU initiative, 233-40, 480 - 81Austria/NYU initiative, 233-40, 480 - 81bodies of experts, 228 during Cold War, 212-13, 228 constitution-shaping and, 163-67 discourse regarding rule of law, 224 - 26emergence of rule of law in, 213, 232 - 33, 490empirical data, 216-18 external formulation of rule of law, 223, 224, 225-26, 227, 230 formal powers to promote rule of law, 218 General Assembly and, 227-28 as "hard case" relating to rule of law, 213 - 14ICJ and, 227-28 internal formulation of rule of law, 223, 224, 225, 226-27, 228-29 interventions authorized by, 30, 33 meetings on rule of law, 242-48 micro-TLOs and, 233-42 monitoring bodies, 228

INDEX

Security Council (cont.) Office of the Ombudsperson, 42–43, 47-48, 222, 228-29, 238, 239 - 40overview, xii, 212 peace as goal of, 30 peacekeeping operations (see peacekeeping operations) power of, 109 procedure and rules regarding rule of law, 224, 226-27 reform efforts, 80 reluctance to apply rule of law to itself, 211-12 Resolution 1373, 47 sanctions (see sanctions) sanctions committees, 228 scholarly focus on, 214-16 structures regarding rule of law, 224, 227 - 30terrorism and, 42-43, 47, 185, 216, 229 transnational law and, 253 transnational legal ordering (TLO), in context of, 210-11 UN Charter, authority under, 210, 218 use of force, authorization of (see use of force, authorization of) veto power, 33-34 well-tempered power and, 480 Working Group on General Issues of Sanctions, 228 Selznick, Philip, 15, 20 Sen, Amartya, 7-8 separation of powers African Charter and, 206-7 Austria/NYU initiative and, 236, 241, 481 in DRC, 206-7 local rule-of-law cultures and, 173 in rule of law, 19 in Russia, 304-5 UN Charter, lack of in, 227-28 in US, 19 September 11 terrorist attacks, 42, 47, 232 Serbia as illiberal state, 169

Shaffer, Gregory on abuse of rule of law, 289 on arbitrary exercise of power, 112-13, 117, 184, 214, 229, 308, 333, 345, 384-85, 411-12, 415, 467, 468 on avoiding formalism, 385, 386, 470 on backlash against rule of law, 495 on backsliding, 482 conception of rule of law, 350-51 on "culture of conduct," 290, 474-75 on democracy, 112 on democracy and rule of law, 344 on democratic participation, 241 on enmeshment of national and international law, 317-18, 476 on goal-oriented approach to rule of law, 344-45, 384, 466 on indicators, 114, 122, 123 on institutionalized practice, 385 on international law, 252, 407-8 on lack of opportunity to be heard, 320, 416 meta-principle of rule of law and, 224 on metrics for measuring rule of law, 386 on multiple levels of rule of law, 322 on rule of law as principle and practice, 223-24 on social order, 408 "soft law" and, 6 on transnational legal ordering (TLO), 24, 26, 184, 287, 388, 405 - 7on US-China relations, 81-82 on "virtuous transnational cycle," 240 - 41Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 71 Sharlet, Robert, 292 Shklar, Judith, 5, 465 Shumeyko, Vladimir, 304 Sierra Leone elections in, 398 Security Council and peacekeeping operations, 46 sanctions, 228 Sikkink, Kathryn, 51

Singapore as dual state, 12 Singapore Mediation Convention, 450 Slater, Dan, 263 Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 105 Slovakia, CoE accession, 299-300, 483 - 84Slovenia CoE accession, 483-84 EU constitution-shaping in, 169 Smith, Adam, 82 Smith, Ian, 220 "social" rule of law, 178-80 societal constitutionalism, 479-80 societal equilibrium, 118-19 socio-legal analysis, 383-84 "soft law" generally, 81 European Commission and, 198 increased use of, 67-68 Venice Commission and, 198 Solange jurisprudence, 47 solutions to backsliding cultural factors, 84-85 economic reform, requirement of, 82 - 84multilevel approach, requirement of, 80 - 82overview, 4 Somalia African Union peacekeeping operations in, 46 Security Council and constitution-shaping, 164, 165-66 use of force, authorization of, 30 Somchai Preechasilapakun, 413 South Africa Constitution, 259 as dual state, 320 ICSID and, 67 Security Council sanctions against, 46, 220 variations in rule of law in, 131 South African Development Community, 67 South China Sea Arbitration, 450 Southern Rhodesia, Security Council sanctions against, 46, 220 South Korea, backsliding in, 55, 62, 140

South Sudan Security Council constitutionshaping in, 163, 164-66 UN constitution-shaping in, 170 UN role in creation of, 160 sovereign equality, 92-93 Soviet Union. See also former Soviet bloc states; Russia China and, 432–33 collapse of, 24, 46, 232 Constitution, 291-92 Council of Europe and, 284, 294-96 elections in, 286 glasnost', 285 Gorbachev as head of, 284 Korean War, Soviet abstention and, 220 - 21lack of rule of law in, 292-93 Marxist-Leninist view of law in, 293 perestroika, 285 Russia as successor to Soviet obligations, 286 Sripati, Vijayashri, 172-73, 176 state sovereignty constitution-shaping respecting, 174 - 77Hungary and, 485 ICJ on, 90 Poland and, 485 UN Charter on, 90 Stone Sweet, Alec, 32, 44-45 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, 289 - 90Stuchka, Pyotr, 293 substance of law, relation to rule of law, 8-9 Sudan African Union, suspension by, 159 impacts of coup on rule of law, 382 Security Council sanctions and, 228 supranational rule of law defined, 184 in ECJ, 192 international organizations and, 185 overview, 208-9 surveillance in Hungary, 274

surveillance (cont.) in Poland, 273-74 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), 179-80 Sweden, NATO and, 344 Switzerland, backlash against ECtHR in. 66 Taliban, 42, 153, 222 Tamanaha, Brian generally, x-xi on avoiding checklists, 474 defining rule of law, 6 on development of rule of law, 473 functionalist approach to rule of law, 319 on horizontal benefits of rule of law for sovereigns (see horizontal benefits of rule of law for sovereigns) on legality principle, 22-23 on legally ordered communities, 467-68, 469 on manifest functions of rule of law, 7 on state sovereignty, 485 on support for rule of law, 463 on well-tempered power, 469 Tamntawan Tuatulanon, 427 Tandja, Mamadou, 392 Tanzania African Court, backlash against, 66-67 rule of law in, 207 Tecmed arbitration, 43-44 teleological view of rule of law. See goal-oriented approach to rule of law telos of rule of law, 96-97 terrorism due process and, 42-43, 185 ECJ and, 42-43, 185, 229 rule of law and, 42-43 Security Council and, 42-43, 47, 185, 216, 229 September 11 terrorist attacks, 42, 47, 232

tension between suppression and due process and proportionality, 73, 229 US and, 72 "war on terror," 46, 75 TEU. See Treaty on European Union (TEU) Teubner, Gunther, 479-80 Thailand arbitrary exercise of power in, 411-12, 415 Article 49 of Constitution, proceedings under, 422-26 Article 112 of Criminal Code arrest of dissidents under, 421-22, 427 - 28challenges to, 417-18, 428 increase in prosecutions under, 414 - 15opportunity to be heard, lack of, 416 overview, 410, 412 predictability of exercise of power, lack of, 416 proportionality, lack of, 417 public reasoning, lack of, 416-17 wielders of power not subject to law, 415-16 "attitude adjustment" in, 414 backlash against of rule of law in, 411, 412, 420-26 Campaign Committee for the Amendment of Article 112 (CCAA112), 417 challenges facing, 429-30 Constitution (1997), 413 Constitution (2017), 415-16, 418 Constitutional Court, 422, 424-26, 428 coups in, 412-14 demands of protest movement, 418 - 20elections in, 410, 428, 429-30 Move Forward Party, 410, 428 National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), 410, 413–15, 417-18, 422, 428 overview, xiv

People's Party, 412 protest movement in, 410, 412, 418 - 20royalist nature of law, 413 "rule of coups" in, 413 "shattering the ceiling," 420 Shattering the Palace, 427 Thai Lawyers for Human Rights (TLHR), 415, 417-18 treason in, 426 United Front of Thammasat and Demonstration (UFTD), 419-21, 422-23 violence against dissidents in, 415 working toward rule of law in, 412, 427 - 28Thaksin Shinawatra, 413-14 "thick" rule of law, 13-14, 15-16, 116, 252, 472 "thin" rule of law, 13-15, 116, 186, 252, 472 "third wave" of democratization, 491 Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL), 22, 172 Thompson, E.P., 186 Thongchai Winichakul, 413 Timor Leste Security Council and constitution-shaping, 163, 165-66 peacekeeping operations, 46, 219 use of force, authorization of, 221 UN role in creation of, 160 Tinubu, Bola Ahmed, 398-99, 403 TLO. See transnational legal ordering (TLO) Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, 81 Transition 1.0, 261 Transition 2.0, 259, 260-63 transnational law EU and, 253 IACHR and, 253 Security Council and, 253 UN Charter and, 253 WTO and, 253 transnational legal ordering (TLO) actor mismatch and, 235

in Africa, 405-7, 478 authoritarian states and, 317-18 in China, 447 commerce and, 109 conceptual aspects of, 231 ECHR and, 210-11 ECtHR and, 191, 210-11 EU and, 109, 191-92 expansion in rule of law and, 50 horizontal benefits of rule of law for sovereigns and, 108-10 ICC and, 210-11 IMF and, 109 legally ordered communities, 97-98 micro-TLOs, 233-42 in Mongolia, 478 overview, 24-26, 230 presenting problem, 231-32, 233-34 recursive cycles, 234-35, 343-44 regional TLOs, 482 Security Council in context of, 210-11 tensions in, 484 transnational rule of law and, 24-26, 182, 184-85 in Turkey, 343-44 UN and, 109 World Bank and, 109 WTO and, 109 transnational rule of law in Africa, 405 defined, 252 direct effect of international law on domestic law (see direct effect of international law on domestic law) domestic analogies, 476-77 empirical trends (see empirical trends in rule of law) extrapolation from domestic law, 477, 480 "growing" versus "grafting," 496-97 indirect effect of international law on domestic law (see indirect effect of international law on domestic law) judicial independence and, 200 "law talk" and, 22

transnational rule of law (cont.) minimalist perspective on rule of law (see minimalist perspective on rule of law) as moving beyond national focus, 252-55, 282-83 multiple levels of, 476 "North Star" effect, 282 overview, xv, 4 recency of, 489-91 rise of, 463 rogue states, use in to restore democracy, 256-57, 278-79 role of international law in, 22-24 socio-legal theory of, 23-24 time, relevance of, 496 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 24-26, 182, 184-85 Trans-Pacific Partnership, 77, 81 Traoré, Ibrahim, 394 Treaty for Establishment of the East African Community, 207 Treaty on European Union (TEU) accession criteria, 155 backsliding, response to, 197 elections and, 276 erga omnes obligations and, 272 infringement actions under, 197-99, 200 - 2judicial independence and, 199-203 rule of law in, 37, 190, 196, 204-5 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 289-90 Treaty on the Carriage of Goods by Sea (Rotterdam Rules), 211 Trechsel, Stefan, 302-3 Trindade, Antonio Cançado, 189-90 Trinidad and Tobago corporal punishment in, 189-90 IACHR, withdrawal from, 66 IACtHR, backlash against, 66, 189-90 Trump, Donald "America First" policies, 72, 77 Bolsonaro compared, 348 China and, 82 populism and, 76, 77

resistance to policies, 79 withdrawal from treaties by, x, 77 WTO and, 31 "trustee courts," 44-45 Trusteeship Council, 172 Tsighe Taye, Mihreteab, 382 Tunisia, emergency decrees in, 207 Turkey arbitrary exercise of power in, 333 backsliding in, 55, 58-59, 62, 130 constitutional complaint mechanism, 338-40, 345 Constitutional Court (AYM), 326, 330, 331, 338-40, 341-42, 345 constitutional immunity in, 329-31 Council of Europe and, 316, 317, 345 curfews in, 328-29, 343-44 Democratic People's Party (DEHAP), 325, 333-34 ECHR, ratification of, 316 ECtHR and adverse judgments in, 317 arbitrary exercise of power and, 345 challenges to authority of, 326, 337-38 on disenfranchisement of minorities, 335-37 dual role of, 333 electoral threshold and, 333-35, 344 failures of, 345-46, 482-83 inaccessibility of, 317 inadmissible cases, 323, 326, 337 - 38overview, xiii, 318, 323-24 positive judgments in, 316 unheard cases, 337-42 electoral threshold in, 324-25, 333-35, 344 emergency rule in, 331-32 EU and, 316, 317, 325-26, 343, 345 failure to sanction, 316, 317 Fethullah Gülen movement, 327, 331, 343 High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK), 326-27

Istanbul Convention, withdrawal from, 333 judicial independence in, 326-27 Justice and Development Party (AKP), 316, 324, 326-27, 332, 334 Kurds, military attacks on, 341-42, 343-44 lawlessness in, 341-42, 343-44 move away from rule of law, 343-44 Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), 329, 332 one-man rule, move toward, 332-33 one-party rule in, 344 overview, xiii Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), 328, 329-31, 332, 335-36, 343 PKK, war with, 328 in regional organizations, 261 "rule by law" in, 338-40 rule of law reforms in, 325 snap elections in, 328, 329 State of Emergency Inquiry Commission, 339-40 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 343-44 Ukraine War and, 343 Venice Commission and, 332-33, 336, 339 Ukraine

annexation of territory by Russia, 88 as illiberal state, 169 right to benefits of rule of law, 102, 106 Ukraine War (see Ukraine War) Ukraine War generally, ix, xiii as breach of rule of law, 102, 106 constitution-shaping, effect on, 181 General Assembly and, 88 humanitarian intervention, invasion portrayed as, 33-34 Hungary and, 205 ICJ and, 88 justifications for, 87-88, 93 Orbán and, 485 Poland and, 205

Putin's justifications for, 87-88 traditional values, invasion viewed as supporting, 78 Turkey and, 343 war crimes in, 94 UNESCO. See Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) United Kingdom Brexit, 52, 73 Brighton Conference, 66 ECtHR, backlash against in, 66 Human Rights Act, 38, 66 international human rights law, incorporation of, 38 variations in rule of law in, 131 United Nations. See also specific agreement or body Charter (see Charter of the United Nations) constitution-shaping and, 160, 162-63, 170 consultants on rule of law, 41 defining rule of law, 117 General Assembly (see General Assembly (of UN)) Paris Principles, 36 peace as goal of, 30 peacemaking, constitution-shaping as, 160-62 phenomenological conception of rule of law and, 26 promotion of rule of law and, 463 on rule of law, 16 rule of law generally, 495 Security Council (see Security Council) South Sudan, role in creation of, 160 Timor Leste, role in creation of, 160 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 109 trusteeship system, 32-33 Ukraine War and, 88 United States Afghanistan, invasion of, 75 backsliding in, 58-59, 62, 148, 381 Burkina Faso and, 394-95 China and, 80-81, 442

United States (cont.) courts, right of sovereigns to redress in, 107 as dual state, 12-13 engagement with China, 81-82 factors influencing shifts in rule of law in, 52 Guantanamo Bay detainees, 20, 93 Human Rights Council and, 72, 77,80 ICC and, 72, 77 ICSID and, 67 illiberalism in, 72 Indo-Pacific Economic Framework and, 80-81 Iran, nuclear deal with, 77 Iraq War (see Iraq War) Joint Transatlantic Agenda, 80-81 Libya, intervention in, 33 minorities in, 10 "Muslim ban," 79 NATO and, 77 Niger and, 393 Paris Agreement and, 77, 80 resilience of rule of law in, 79 as revisionist power, 72-73 Russia and, 80-81 separation of powers in, 19 September 11 terrorist attacks, 42, 47, 232 terrorism and, 72 trade war with China, 31 UNESCO and, 77, 80 variations in rule of law in, 131 "war on terror," 46, 75 WHO and, 77 withdrawal from treaties by, x, 77 WTO and, x, 31, 40-41, 67, 77 Universal Declaration of Human Rights generally, 286 national constitutions, rule of law incorporated into, 35 rule of law in, 34-35 University of New South Wales, 237 University of Queensland, 237 Uprimny, Rodrigo, 355 Uribe, Álvaro, 378 Uruguay, Constitution, 352-53

use of force, authorization of. See also specific country expansion of Security Council powers, 220-21 as external focus of Security Council, 223 responsibility to protect (R2P), 33-34, 222-23 rule-of-law challenges, 222-23 Security Council generally, 46-47 UN Charter on, 30, 176-77 use of term "rule of law," 464-66 USSR. See Soviet Union Uzbekistan, improvement in rule of law in, 131 Vajiralongkorn (Thailand), 414, 415, 420 Vallelersundi, Loyola de Palacio, 296 Van Aken, Anne, 45 Vargas, Getulio, 349, 352-53 Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), 58-60, 111, 121, 257 Vattel, Emer de, 89-90 Venezuela backsliding in, 55, 130 Constitution, 353-54 IACHR, withdrawal from, 66 IACtHR, backlash against, 66 judicial review in, 351 lack of criticism in, 484 in regional organizations, 261 Venice Commission. See Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) Versteeg, Mila, 52-53, 55 vertical functions of rule of law, 99 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 77 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (VCLT), 176-77 Voeten, Eric, 39 Volpe, Valentina, 180 V-Party, 143

Wald, Patricia M., 256 Waldron, Jeremy generally, 102

on analogy of states to individuals, 105 - 6on contestation, 19 on discursive quality of rule of law, 15 on domestic rule of law, 100-2 on general norms, 14 horizontal benefits of rule of law for sovereigns, argument against, x-xi, 87, 89, 95, 96, 99-100 inconsistency with international law, 102 on purpose of rule of law, 97, 98 on rule of law as "solution concept," 466 - 67on states with legal rights but not protection of rule of law, 107 Wanchalearm Satsaksit, 418 "war on terror," 46, 75 Watts, Arthur, 92, 104, 105-6 Weah, George, 400 well-tempered power arbitrary exercise of power, as remedy for, 467, 468-71 "culture of conduct" and, 474-75 how to achieve, 474 limiting versus modifying power, 471 - 72populism and, 488 requirements for, 462 Security Council and, 480 as telos of rule of law, 473-74 Wichai (Thai dissident), 415, 417-18 Williams, Bernard, 28 Woolcock, Michael, 496-97 World Bank applications for project financing, 176 constitution-shaping and, 157-58, 172 - 73consultants on rule of law, 41 Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes, 45 country policy and institutional assessments (CPIA), 157-58 defining rule of law, 16 on good governance, 179

indexes for measuring rule of law, 52 - 53phenomenological conception of rule of law and, 26 power of, 109 promotion of rule of law and, 463 rule of law generally, 495 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 109 World Health Organization (WHO), 77 World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), 70 World Justice Project data collection, 121-22 defining rule of law, 117 indicators, 122-23 phenomenological conception of rule of law and, 26 Rule of Law Index, 52-54, 55-58, 113-14, 118, 120, 124-26, 131 - 32transnational rule of law and, 184-85 World Summit Outcome (2005), 104, 179 World Trade Organization (WTO) backlash against, 67, 77 China and, 74, 156, 167-68, 434, 446 constitution-shaping and, 167-68 dispute resolution as goal of, 31 former Soviet bloc states, accession of, 50 membership conditions, 156 right of sovereigns to redress in, 106 rule of law and, 40-41 transnational law and, 253 transnational legal ordering (TLO) and, 109 Trump and, 31 US and, x, 31, 40-41, 67, 77 WTO. See World Trade Organization (WTO) Xi Jinping generally, xiv-xv

abuse of rule of law by, 321 authoritarianism and, 78, 455 on "comprehensive rule of law," 440-42 Xi Jinping (cont.) legal reform and, 444–45 on rise of East and decline of West, 493

Yeltsin, Boris generally, xiii, 286, 315 constitutional crisis and, 301 Council of Europe and, 304 First Chechen War and, 303 legal reforms of, 289 reelection of, 306 resignation of, 308–9 Yemen Security Council constitutionshaping in, 163, 164–65 UN constitution-shaping in, 160 Yingluck Shinawatra, 417 Yugoslavia, civil wars in, 232 Yukos Oil Company, 313 Yüksekdağ, Figen, 330, 337

Zaldívar, Arturo, 368 Ziblatt, Daniel, 113 Zimbabwe elections in, 398 improvement in rule of law in, 131 South African Development Community, backlash against, 67 Zorkin, Valery, 301 Zürn, Michael, 34