

## CONTENTS

*Acknowledgments* page xi

*Abbreviations* xii

Introduction 1

1 Placing Illiberal Democracy: Caesarism, Totalitarian  
Democracy, and Unfinished Constitutionalism 18

1.1 Introduction 18

1.2 “Illiberal Democracy” Is an Appropriate  
Term 23

1.3 Caesarism and Plebiscitarian Leader  
Democracy 27

1.4 Illiberal Mass Democracy and Its Totalitarian  
Potential 31

1.5 Illiberalism in Constitutional Democracies and Its  
Unfolding 37

1.6 Authoritarian Predispositions 49

2 The Emergence of the Illiberal State 56

2.1 Introduction 56

2.2 Constitution-Making and Preconstitutional  
Changes 62

2.2.1 Venezuela 62

2.2.2 Hungary 64

2.2.3 Turkey 65

2.3 Constitutional (Apex) Courts First to Go, the Rest  
of the Judiciary to Follow 66

2.3.1	Constitutional Courts	66
2.3.2	The Ordinary Judiciary	75
2.4	Other Institutional Changes	81
2.4.1	Changes in Personnel	81
2.4.2	Broadcasting and the Press	84
2.4.3	Independent Agencies	90
3.	Creating Dependence	92
3.1	Introduction	92
3.2	Neopatrimonial Patronage	93
3.3	Reducing Autonomy	105
4.	They, the People	112
4.1	Introduction	112
4.2	The People and Its Sovereignty	114
4.2.1	Meanings of People	114
4.2.2	People's Authority and Legitimacy	117
4.2.3	Popular Sovereignty	119
4.3	The Use of the People in Victorious Populism	123
4.3.1	People's Unity: Homogeneity	124
4.3.2	Unity Is Identitarian	131
4.3.3	The (Relative) Majority as People: The Rule of the Part as a Whole	137
4.3.4	The Democratic Legitimacy of Populist Popular Sovereignty	140
4.3.5	The People of the Leader and Total (Unbound) Popular Sovereignty	143
4.4	Populism as Democracy?	150
5	Constitutional Structure	153
5.1	Introduction	153
5.2	The Spirit of Constitutionalism and Its Absence	155
5.2.1	Constitutional Background Assumptions	155
5.2.2	Illiberalism as a Consequence of Identity Politics	160

5.3	Majoritarianism, Anti-institutionalism, and Instrumentalism	170
5.3.1	How Populism in Power Tries to Solve the Problem of Democracy	170
5.3.2	Instrumentalism	172
5.4	From Separation of Powers to Executive Domination	175
5.4.1	Constitutional Courts	183
5.4.2	Parliament without Deliberation	185
5.4.3	Electoral Law	191
5.4.4	Referendum	194
6	The Fate of Human Rights	198
6.1	Introduction	198
6.2	Diminishing International Respect (Authority) of Human Rights	200
6.3	The Many Sources of Delegation	204
6.4	Substantive Changes in Human Rights and Ensuing Difficulties	207
6.4.1	From Vulnerability to Security	208
6.4.2	The Cult of the Local	213
6.5	Inflation, Overreach, Abuse	214
6.5.1	Inflation and Overextension	214
6.5.2	“Human Rightism”	216
6.6	Direct Attacks	217
6.7	Fundamental Rights and Illiberalism	218
7	Profiting from the Rule of Law	237
7.1	The Ambiguity of the Rule of Law	237
7.1.1	What Is the Rule of Law Good For?	240
7.1.2	What Is the Rule of Law?	243
7.1.3	How Far Does the Rule of Law Go?	246
7.2	Populist Antilegalism	247
7.2.1	The Early Fervor	251

7.2.2	Duality and Ambiguities in Caesar's Legal System	252
7.2.3	Material (Substantive) vs. Formal Justice	258
7.3	Fundamental Precepts of the Rule of Law, and Their (Ab)use in Illiberal Democracies	260
7.3.1	Generality of the Law and Ad Hominem Laws, and Interpretations Favoring the Powers That Be	261
7.3.2	Honesty and the Application of the Law	265
7.3.3	Selective Impunity: The Principles of <i>Nullum Crimen</i> , <i>Nulla Poena</i> and Nonretroactivity	268
7.3.4	How (If at all) Does the Illiberal Regime Fit into the Rule of Law Paradigm?	272
8	Cheating: The Legal Secret of Illiberal Democracy	279
8.1	The Moral and Cognitive Problem of Cheating	279
8.1.1	Defining Cheating	280
8.1.2	The Meaning of Cheating in Law	283
8.2	Abuse as a Constant of (Constitutional) Law: Limiting Techniques	291
8.2.1	Objective Difficulty of Identification	294
8.3	Cheating in Illiberal Democracy	300
8.3.1	Techniques of Legal Cheating	302
8.3.2	Cheating as a System	321
8.4	The Consequences of Cheating	323
	<i>Index</i>	328