

Contents

1	The Judicial Role and the Rule of Law	1
	Introduction	1
	Overview of the Book	8
	References	11

Part I The War of Law

2	State Repression and the Rule of Law	15
	Rule of Law and Wicked Rulers	15
	The Ideal of the Rule of Law	15
	Departures from the Ideal	17
	Transition from Rule of Law to Tyranny	19
	Oppression in Legal Forms: Is It Really Law?	22
	Inside and Outside of Law	31
	References	33
3	Repression of the Judiciary	35
	The Need for Legitimacy	35
	Judicial Independence	39
	Purge of the Judiciary and Court Packing	45
	Limits to Jurisdiction and Special Courts	47
	Persuasion and Conditioning of Legal Minds	50
	References	51
4	Judicial Acceptance of Oppression	53
	Acceptance of the Legality of Authoritarian Regimes	53
	Acceptance of Oppressive Aims and Policies	59
	Nazi Anti-semitism	60
	Extension Beyond Race	68
	South African Courts and Apartheid	70
	Agreement with Oppressive Measures in Liberal Societies	74

Protection of Vital State Interests	74
Eugenics	77
Disproportionate Punishment	78
The Courts and Legal Repression	86
References	88
5 The Opposition	91
“The Flame of Law Never Quite Extinguished”	91
Issues of Legality	93
Restrictive Interpretation	97
Opposition in the Twilight of Authoritarianism	108
Resistance and Legal Method	110
References	111
 Part II Holding Judges Responsible for Injustice	
6 The Argument for Criminal Liability	115
Introduction	115
Methodological Considerations	116
The Counterarguments	117
Judges as Culprits	118
References	122
7 The Condition of Illegality Under International Law	125
The Legal Basis for the Allied War Crimes Tribunals	125
The US Military Tribunal Justice Case	126
The Acquittal of Nazi Judges	130
References	133
8 The Condition of Illegality and Failed Usurpations	135
Judges and Revolution	135
Judges Under Foreign Occupation	136
References	141
9 The Condition of Illegality in Transitional Settings	143
The German Post-Nazism Restoration	143
The Judges of the GDR	148
References	150
10 Judges in Special Courts	151
Authoritarian Regimes and Special Courts	151
The US Military Tribunal and Special Courts	152
The View on Special Courts in Post-Nazi Germany	154
Should Taking Office in a Special Court Be Criminal?	156
References	157

11 Justification of Judicial Oppression 159

 Criminal Intent 160

 The Eilifsen Case 160

 Ignorance of Law 161

 Duress 166

 Discussion 168

 References 169

12 A Special Immunity for Judges? 171

 Obligations and Orders 171

 Immunity and the Role of the Judge 173

 Judicial Independence and Immunity 177

 Division of Power 185

 References 187

13 Holding Judges Responsible 189

 A Fixed Core of Justice 189

 Why Are Not Judges Punished? 191

 The Hurdle of Retroactivity 193

 Does the Responsibility Go Far Enough? 198

 References 201

Part III The Moral Side of Judging

14 The Positivism Thesis 205

 The Reasons for Judicial Complicity 205

 Radbruch and the Discussion on Nazi Germany 208

 References 213

15 What Positivism? 215

 Undefined Positivism 215

 Positivism as Separation of Law and Morality 218

 Positivism as Formalism 220

 Alternatives to Positivism 221

 References 224

16 Alternative Approaches to Legal Interpretation 227

 The Plain Fact Approach to Legal Interpretation 227

 The Dissonance Theory of Robert M. Cover 231

 References 236

17 Beyond Legal Theory as Explanation 237

 Do Legal Theories Influence Judicial Action? 237

 Psychological Factors 239

 Institutional Factors 243

 Entrapment and Erasure of Moral Identity 247

 References 251

18 The Lesser Evil 253

 Administrating the Holocaust 253

 Exemptions from the Rule of Law 256

 The Lesser Evil Defence 259

 Is Resignation the Only Viable Alternative? 267

 A Realistic Calculus 270

 Avoiding the Slippery Slope 271

 References 272

19 Judges for Justice 275

 Coming Out from Behind the Law 275

 Constitutional Provisions Against Acceptance of Authoritarianism? 276

 International Standards 280

 The Politics of Legal Methodology 283

 Resistance for the Rule of Law 292

 References 300