## Contents

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

### Part I The War of Law

#### 2 State Repression and the Rule of Law
- 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
- 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
- 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

12 A Special Immunity for Judges?

13 Holding Judges Responsible

Part III The Moral Side of Judging

14 The Positivism Thesis

15 What Positivism?

16 Alternative Approaches to Legal Interpretation

17 Beyond Legal Theory as Explanation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The Lesser Evil</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administrating the Holocaust</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exemptions from the Rule of Law</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Lesser Evil Defence</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is Resignation the Only Viable Alternative?</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Realistic Calculus</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avoiding the Slippery Slope</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>References</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Judges for Justice</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coming Out from Behind the Law</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constitutional Provisions Against Authoritarianism?</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Standards</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Politics of Legal Methodology</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resistance for the Rule of Law</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>References</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Judges Against Justice
On Judges When the Rule of Law is Under Attack
Graver, H.P.
2015, X, 301 p., Hardcover
ISBN: 978-3-662-44292-0