

Politically Motivated Justice

Artem Galushko

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Authoritarian Legacies and Their Role
in Shaping Constitutional Practices
in the Former Soviet Union



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Preface

This book addresses authoritarian legacies of politically motivated justice and its unwritten practices that have re-emerged in the recent trials related to both political (abuse of public office, assembly, etc.) and ordinary criminal charges (corruption, organized crime and others) against prominent opposition leaders in many former Soviet republics. Taking into account that in any country all trials are more or less related to politics, my research differentiates between trials on political issues (political trials that are not necessarily arbitrary) and politicized partisan trials (arbitrary trials against political opponents). The monograph, thus, adopts a broad definition of a political trial, which includes all trials that are related to politicians and political matters such as elections, regime change, activities of parties and other political organizations. The book focuses on a separate group of partisan trials that are politicized (i.e., politically motivated) and which are used by governments to restrain political opposition and dissent.

The topic of politicized criminal justice in the former Soviet Union is of increasing academic and research significance. International reports on massive arbitrary arrests¹ of protestors and opposition leaders in Belarus,² persecutions of political opponents in Russia that could become even more repressive in the context of the

¹As of December 2020, more than 30,000 persons have been detained in Belarus for participating in peaceful rallies since the beginning of the presidential elections campaign in May. *Belarus-Analysen* Nr. 53 vom 21.12.2020, S. 17–20. <https://www.laender-analysen.de/belarus-analysen/53/bericht-des-menschenrechtszentrums-wiasna-human-rights-situation-in-belarus-november-2020/>. Accessed 29 December 2020.

²Step Vaessen (2020) Belarus mass arrests fail to stop protests. Aljazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/09/belarus-mass-arrests-fail-stop-protests-200915140123728.html>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

recent poisoning attempt of the Russian opposition activist Alexei Navalny,³ an 11-year jail sentence for the former President of Kyrgyzstan Almazbek Atambaev,⁴ as well as ongoing criminal proceedings against the former President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko⁵ have raised questions about the possible selective justice and politically motivated nature of these proceedings. A number of human rights organizations and think tanks such as Amnesty International,⁶ Human Rights Watch⁷ and Freedom House⁸ have conducted research and reported on the issue of political prisoners and arbitrary justice in the former communist bloc. Allegations about politically motivated justice in the former USSR have also attracted significant attention in the course of the Trump-Ukraine impeachment inquiry in the USA.⁹ As a recent development, the arrests and detention of government critics in times of the COVID-19 global pandemic have also become a major issue in many countries and regions nowadays, given that detention facilities with poor sanitation can become contagion zones that could expose political opponents, who are arbitrarily deprived of their liberty, to a higher risk of viral transmission.¹⁰ Arbitrary detentions of protestors in Belarus and Russia were still ongoing at the time of the book preparation and publication.

³Deutsche Welle (2020) Angela Merkel says Novichok Poisoning of Russia's Navalny was Attempted Murder. <https://www.dw.com/en/navalny-novichok-germany-russia/a-54794283>. Accessed 22 December 2020. *See also* BBC News (2020) Russia Far East Protest over Governor's Arrest, sec. Europe. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53373132>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

⁴Catherine Putz (2020) 11-Year Sentence for Former Kyrgyz President Atambaev's Role in Early Release of Aziz Batukayev. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/11-year-sentence-for-former-kyrgyz-president-atambayevs-role-in-early-release-of-aziz-batukayev/>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

⁵Peter Dickinson (2020) Atlantic Council. What Could the Prosecution of Petro Poroshenko Mean for Ukrainian Democracy? <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/what-could-the-prosecution-of-petro-poroshenko-mean-for-ukrainian-democracy/>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

⁶Amnesty International (2019) Ukrainian Filmmaker Oleg Sentsov and others Freed in Ukraine/Russia Prisoner Swap. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/09/russiaukraine-filmmaker-oleg-sentsov-and-others-freed-in-prisoner-swap/>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

⁷Human Rights Watch (2020) Russia: Dozens of Journalists Detained for Peaceful Protests. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/07/10/russia-dozens-journalists-detained-peaceful-protests>. Accessed 22 December 2020. *See also* Human Rights Watch (2020) Tajikistan: Intensified Pressure on Dissidents' Families. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/07/09/tajikistan-intensified-pressure-dissidents-families>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

⁸Zselyke Csaky (2020) Freedom House Report. Nations in Transit 2020. Section 'Justice in the Service of Politics. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2020/dropping-democratic-facade#Justice>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

⁹See the Trump-Ukraine Impeachment Inquiry Report of the US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Pursuant to H. Res. 660, December 2019. https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/20191203_-_full_report__hpsci_impeachment_inquiry.pdf. Accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁰The UN News (2020) Political Prisoners should be among First Released in Pandemic Response, Says UN Rights Chief. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/04/1061002>. Accessed 22 December 2020. *See also* Front Line Defenders (2020) COVID-19—Attacks on HRDs in a Time of Pandemic. <https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/campaign/covid-19-attacks-hrds-time-pandemic>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

The book begins with the origins of communist politicized justice from the early Soviet ‘agitation trials’ and the subsequent Moscow show trials replicated in the communist satellite countries until the late Soviet trials against dissidents. Based on this analysis, I identify main types of politicized trials and their core unwritten practices during Communism. The book demonstrates the pervasive and subversive character of such practices, which even three decades after the fall of Communism can lead to the split of a legal system into two parallel orders of formal and informal rules in the post-Soviet states that disrespect the rule of law. Therefore, the core message of the book is that the communist practices of politicized justice have survived the collapse of the USSR and can still be exposed in the recent trials against opposition in the transitional former Soviet republics. The legal assessment of authoritarian traditions of politicized justice is very timely. In various former Soviet republics, ruling elites weaponized politicized justice against their critics who are facing violations of their constitutional rights in proceedings that look similar to Stalinist show trials against ‘people’s enemies.’

With regard to the limitations of my research, it deals only with proceedings initiated by national authorities against political parties, acting or former politicians. Although it is reported that journalists, business actors and human rights activists from NGOs also often become the target of politically motivated justice in the former Soviet Union, limitation of the present research scope only to politicians and political parties allows examining in more detail the so-called hidden political agenda usually alleged by prosecuted opposition politicians. Cases selected in the post-Soviet states are related to prominent politicians, because it helps test the hypothesis that trials against politicians in authoritarian and transitional-hybrid regimes of the former Soviet Union stem from a parallel system of justice and its unwritten practices used by post-Soviet elites to remove formidable political opponents.

The book is aimed at legal practitioners such as transnational human rights activists, prosecutors and judges, as well as historians, rule-of-law experts, post-graduates and university professors that teach courses on post-Soviet politics and comparative legal institutions. Potential readers can gain from the book information, which is useful in assessing the interdisciplinary phenomenon of politically motivated criminal justice in transitional and authoritarian post-Soviet republics. Namely, the book will provide a comprehensive account of the historical origins of Soviet arbitrary criminal justice, its informal unwritten practices that survived the fall of Communism and which have manifested themselves in the recent trials against political opposition in the post-Soviet states. Most importantly, the book offers a list of criteria that can equip those interested in the subject with the knowledge how to assess future allegations about politically motivated justice at various stages of criminal proceedings.

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to make my work better. During my research stays in Germany, Sweden, Hungary and Myanmar, I have met people whose kind support and attention mean a lot to me. While the very existence of communist crimes and legacies is often denied or trivialized, until now, this book is an endeavor to commemorate victims of totalitarian regimes and to denounce all attempts at the reconstruction and glorification of such regimes nowadays.

Introduction

Despite introducing new democratic constitutions and constitutional courts shortly after the fall of Communism, many former Soviet republics still display authoritarian practices of arbitrary persecution against political opposition. The *puzzle* to address in this context is the absence of similar practices of politicized justice in established democracies that have also experienced a communist or another totalitarian regime in the past. This book focuses on the communist legacy of unwritten conventionalities that cause systemic legal deficiencies incompatible with the rule of law in Europe. The main premise of my research is that the transitional post-Soviet states have failed to introduce legal reforms necessary to dismantle unwritten communist practices of politically motivated justice whose supra-constitutional standing now makes it impossible to guarantee successful democratic transformations in these countries.

The goal of my research is to provide a theoretical framework for comparing trials against politicians in such established democracies as Germany and Austria with those in transitional states such as Ukraine and Belarus. The key component of my comparative research is to identify unwritten extra-legal practices that are incompatible with the ‘common European heritage of the Rule of Law’¹¹ and may cause democratic backsliding in the former Soviet republics. The ultimate goal of this analysis is to reveal the roles performed by ‘political trials’ in the so-called countries in transition and established democracies. In order to achieve this goal, I develop my own concept of ‘*Twofold Constitutionalism*,’ which explains the communist legacy of politicized show trials. With this novel theoretical framework at hand, my research develops criteria to evaluate ‘politically motivated trials’ and give recommendations on measures that should be taken to prevent the phenomenon of politicized justice in transitional post-Soviet countries.

The *novelty of this research* manifests itself in the analysis of political justice from a comparative legal perspective. Existing previous research was limited to individual cases and missed identifying common characteristics of political trials in the former communist bloc. The European Court of Human Rights has already reviewed

¹¹See the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), opened for signature 4 November 1950 (entered into force 3 September 1953) (the Preamble). <http://www.hri.org/docs/ECHR50.html>. Accessed 22 August 2020.

applications concerning politicized justice in the former USSR.¹² Because the issue remains on the democratization agenda of the post-communist states, my research will offer criteria to be used by the policy community to evaluate future allegations about political persecutions. In order to address the issue of politically motivated justice, I seek to answer the following *research question*: What is the role of political trials in the context of transitioning from state repression to the rule of law? A series of case studies help test my *hypothesis* that, as opposed to established democracies where trials against politicians usually lead to constitutional dialogue and reconciliation, trials against politicians in transitional former communist countries reveal a parallel system of justice whose largely unwritten rules, conventionalities, judicial and prosecutorial practices are inherited from the communist times and now hinder a successful post-communist transition.

In my research, I use several *key definitions* while exploring the phenomenon of politicized justice in the former Soviet Union. In particular, I use Ron Christenson's definition of politically motivated justice, whose goal is 'not only legal but also political in a direct sense...[, because] the law was being used merely as an alibi.'¹³ In this context, my research differentiates between a 'political trial' and a 'politically motivated/politicized/arbitrary trial'. On the one hand, 'political trial' is a trial, which is related to issues of politics and not necessarily arbitrary by its nature ('something is called political if it is thought to relate in a particularly intensive way to the interests of the community.').¹⁴ An example of such trial proceedings related to politics would be criminal trials (trials within the rule of law) of heads of states and government for acts of states, trials against former dictators and perpetrators of state-induced crimes. On the other hand, 'politically motivated/politicized (arbitrary) trial' would be 'a regime's attempt to incriminate its foe's public behavior with a view to evicting him from the political scene'.¹⁵ Politicized trials are 'used...to denote prosecutions brought against political opponents in general for the purpose of eliminating them.'¹⁶ In its turn, the Soviet show trial, which has been studied in this book, 'is a propaganda arm of political terror...[, whose] aim is to personalize an abstract political enemy, to place it in the dock in flesh and blood and, with the aid of a perverted system of justice, to transform abstract political-ideological differences into easily intelligible common crimes. It both incites the masses against the evil embodied by the defendants and

¹²In particular, ECtHR (the European Court of Human Rights), *Ilgar Mammadov v Azerbaijan*, 22 May 2014, Case No. 15172/13; ECtHR, *Tymoshenko v Ukraine*, 30 April 2013, Case No. 49872/11; ECtHR, *Lutsenko v Ukraine*, 3 July 2012, Case No. 6492/11; ECtHR, *Khodorkovskiy v Russia*, 31 May 2011, Case No. 5829/04 and ECtHR, *Gusinskiy v Russia*, 19 May 2004, Case No.70276/01.

¹³See Christenson R. (1999) *Political Trials: Gordian Knots in the Law*, revised, expanded, subsequent edn. Routledge, New Brunswick, NJ, p. xiii.

¹⁴Kirchheimer O. (1968) *Political Justice: The Use of Legal Procedure for Political Ends*, new edn. Princeton University Press, p. 25.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁶Laughland J. (2008) *A History of Political Trials: From Charles I to Saddam Hussein*, new edn. Peter Lang Oxford, Oxford, p. 17.

frightens them away from supporting any potential opposition.¹⁷ Soviet type show trials covered in this research can be characterized by construed facts, wide publicity, invented facts, theatricality and judgments prepared in advance.

Among various categories of politically motivated trials, my research focuses only on a separate group of *politicized partisan trials* that are used by governments against political opposition. Furthermore, the book provides analysis of the Soviet legacy of *show trials* that were the most vivid example of politicized partisan trials during the Soviet times. This, in turn, is closely related to the *limitations of my research*. This book, in particular, focuses only on criminal cases initiated by national authorities of the selected Western European countries and former Soviet republics against political parties, acting or former politicians in 2010–2015 when political opposition both in Belarus and Ukraine claimed it became a victim of politically motivated justice. Although it is reported that human rights activists from national NGOs also often become target of politically motivated justice in the former Soviet Union,¹⁸ limitation of the present research scope only to politicians and political parties allows examining in more detail the so-called ‘hidden [political] agenda’¹⁹ often alleged by prosecuted opposition politicians. Thus, this research covers ‘political cases’ that took place in 2010–2015 in the selected jurisdictions. Cases selected in the former Soviet Union are related to popular politicians, because it helps test the hypothesis that trials against politicians in the former Soviet Union are qualitatively different from those conducted in Western Europe due to a parallel system of justice and its unwritten practices that are used by post-Soviet ruling elites to remove formidable, popular political opponents.

Chapter 1 of the book provides an overview of the current state of research in the field, the explanation of my research methodology as well as relevant terminology, key features and the classification of political trials in general. The aim of the first chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for comparing trials against politicians in Western Europe with those in the former USSR. Several steps are taken to outline the framework of my research. *First*, the chapter refers to scholars who have already analyzed the phenomenon of political justice in various countries. *Second*, based on the already existing theories offered by these authors I give my own definition of a political trial to describe differences that exist between political trials in Western Europe and in the former Soviet Union. *Third*, this chapter offers the research methodology I intend to use in order to analyze recent political cases in the selected former Soviet republics and countries of Western Europe. The goal of this

¹⁷Hodos G. (1987) *Show Trials: Stalinist Purges in Eastern Europe, 1948–1954*, 1st edn. Praeger, New York, p. xiii.

¹⁸See Human Rights House Network (2014) Strengthening of repression against non-governmental and political activists in Azerbaijan. <https://humanrightshouse.org/articles/strengthening-of-repression-against-non-governmental-and-political-activists-in-azerbaijan/>. Accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁹See the ECtHR, the final judgment in the case ‘*Khodorkovskiy v. Russia*’, 31 May 2011, Case No. 5829/04, p. 64, para 255. [http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx#{%22appno%22:\[%225829/04%22\],\[%22itemid%22:\[%22001-104983%22\]}](http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx#{%22appno%22:[%225829/04%22],[%22itemid%22:[%22001-104983%22]). Accessed 22 December 2020.

analysis is to reveal roles performed by political trials in the so-called countries in transition and established Western democracies.

Chapter 2 presents detailed analysis of communist show trials, their categorization and the Soviet legacy of ‘*Twofold Constitutionalism*.’ This chapter offers a critical assessment of the Soviet system of criminal justice and its trials. My analysis of these trials is made in chronological order—from most representative early Soviet ‘show trials’ against ‘people’s enemies’ to a regional ‘model show trial’ in communist Hungary and persecution of political dissidents in the late Soviet period of ‘Brezhnev’s Stagnation’ and ‘Perestroika.’ One of the aims of this chapter is to demonstrate that the Soviet system of political justice became an unwritten constitution of the USSR. To achieve this aim, the chapter provides two outcomes. *First*, it makes a categorization of the above-mentioned political trials with a special emphasis on victims of politically motivated justice and goals pursued by these trials. *Second*, the chapter analyzes major legal features that were peculiar to political justice during the communist regime. Categorization of political trials under Communism and their features helps me scrutinize my hypothesis that, unlike in Western European states, trials against politicians in selected former Soviet republics can reveal a split into a nominal written Constitution and its informal unwritten counterpart.

Chapter 3 proceeds with the description of facts, procedural history and reasoning behind judgments in selected cases as well as their legal analysis in the framework of the relevant case law by the European Court of Human Rights. The chapter provides an analysis of two cases from each of the four jurisdictions within my research (Ukraine, Belarus, Germany and Austria). Cases from Belarus are analyzed by using the legal approach of the European Court of Human Rights as if the country joined the European Convention on Human Rights. This concluding part of the book demonstrates the difference between the roles performed by political trials in transitional former Soviet republics and in Western European democracies as well as offers legal criteria to evaluate future allegations about politically motivated justice.

My research argues that the phenomenon of politically motivated justice is interconnected with the ongoing crisis of constitutionalism in transitional post-Soviet states. The crisis is demonstrated by several *relevant constitutional law theories*. For instance, Alexei Trochev developed a theory of ‘*Non-Linear Development*’ to explain the ups and downs of the post-Soviet constitutionalism.²⁰ Trochev analyzes several inconsistencies in the development of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation. In particular, the Court loses and regains its authority in circles. While judges of the Court are empowered within the formal Russian judicial hierarchy, there is also a simultaneous weakening of democratic institutions in Russia. Finally, officials from the executive and judicial branches simply refuse to enforce some decisions of the Court and continue applying norms that have been already recognized as unconstitutional. Trochev explains that the above-mentioned inconsistencies are the result of constantly changing political priorities that influence the system of justice,

²⁰Trochev A (2011) *Judging Russia: The Role of the Constitutional Court in Russian Politics 1990–2006*, reissue edn. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

the low legal awareness of the general population and enormous socio-political transformations that took place after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Andrey Medushevsky offered another theory of ‘*Nominal Constitutionalism*,’ which is also relevant for my research on the Soviet legacy of declaratory laws. Medushevsky rightly observes that constitutional rights and freedoms mostly remained unenforceable in practice during the Soviet times. Soviet constitutions, thus, played only a nominal role when the Communist Party used them to hide numerous human rights violations and present a fake image of the Soviet Union as a country where rights and freedoms were respected. Medushevsky concludes that the nominal status of the Soviet constitutions was exposed by the Soviet dissident movement, whose demonstrative implementation (Russian: *v yavochnom poriadke*) of declaratory constitutional norms was prosecuted as a crime or a social deviation.²¹ This politicized justice against all dissenting voices continued until the very collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Another relevant theory of ‘*Failing Constitutionalism*’ and ‘*Constitutionalization of Politics*’ was offered by Armen Mazmanyán, who studied the Soviet legacy of legal nihilism, political legalism and embedded formalism. Mazmanyán warns us that the process of the post-Soviet democratization might be compromised ‘through undemocratic and unconstitutional channels.’²² The Soviet legacy manifests itself in various constitutional deficiencies such as the defective design of constitutional courts, irresponsible political leadership and formalistic approach to law viewed by the post-Soviet ruling elites merely as an instrument to secure their political interests. Taking into account that these deficiencies became part of the local legal culture in many former Soviet republics, Mazmanyán effectively argues that it is possible to get rid of the Soviet legal culture by focusing more on constitutional concepts and principles rather than on formal rules and procedures. The post-Soviet judiciary could play a decisive role in this regard if it goes beyond the text of written constitutions and promotes constitutional principles instead.

My research offers a separate theory, which can explain the phenomena of ‘nominal constitutionalism,’ ‘sham constitutions,’ ‘failing constitutionalism,’ ‘non-linear development’ of constitutional courts and ‘constitutions without constitutionalism’ in criminal justice of transitional post-Soviet states. Although there is much more to constitutionalism than criminal law, I believe that a specific focus on politicized criminal justice can help reveal the absence of the rule of law in relation to such key values of any constitutional democracy as freedom of political speech and opinion, independent and professional judiciary, principle of legality or no punishment without law, right to counsel, presumption of innocence and the equality of all before the law. My theory of ‘*Twofold Constitutionalism*’ emphasizes the duality of

²¹ Andrei Medushevsky (2011) Stalinizm kak model. Obozreniye izdatelskogo proekta ROSSPEN. Istoriya stalinizma, *Vestnik Evropy*, no. 30. <https://magazines.gorky.media/vestnik/2011/30/stalinizm-kak-model-obozrenie-izdatelskogo-proekta-rosspen-istoriya-stalinizma.html>. Accessed 24 December 2020.

²² Mazmanyán A (2012) Failing constitutionalism: From political legalism to defective empowerment. *Global Constitutionalism*, 1(2), pp. 313–333. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045381711000128>, p. 313.

the Soviet legal system rooted in the traditional division of Russian law into formal law usually borrowed from abroad and informal mostly unwritten common law. I will use the previous research on the Soviet system of criminal justice to show that the Soviet constitutions were twofold. The first written and official part of the Soviet constitutions played only a nominal role by legitimizing the communist regime in the Soviet Union and abroad. The second informal and mostly unwritten part included customary law and other conventionalities of political justice that were superior to all written laws.

This introduction sets out the main elements of my theoretical framework, which is further developed in the chapters. The concept of '*Twofold Constitutionalism*' developed in this book addresses the puzzle of dualistic constitutions in transitional post-Soviet states. The split of a legal system into two parallel legal orders of formal and informal norms raises the question about the role played by formal written constitutions and informal practices in such countries. Is it possible to expose 'imitated democracies' by studying 'political trials'? By answering this question in Chaps. 1–3 of this book, it seeks to analyze constitutional mechanics in the times of post-communist transition from a dictatorship to the rule of law.

Given the above-mentioned considerations, this introductory section presents two *preliminary outcomes* of my research. The first outcome is the concept of '*Twofold Constitutionalism*,' which offers a novel argument that the communist extra-legal practices, described in detail in Chaps. 1–3, attained in the Soviet Union a constitutional rank, because they could prevail over the formal (nominal) written constitutions. This created two co-existing legal orders of informal and formal norms when the former could replace the latter any moment depending on political expediency, the interpretation by various state agencies and systemic changes that 'justified' political interventions in the legal system. The supremacy of the informal legal order was revealed in politicized trials against actual or potential opponents of the communist regime that were persecuted regardless of their actual guilt or innocence.

The second preliminary outcome of this book is that the informal order of politically motivated justice was so entrenched that it survived the fall of Communism and manifested itself in politicized trials against opposition in transitional former Soviet republics. It has several significant repercussions. *First*, if the extra-legal practices of politicized justice have a constitutional rank in the transitional post-Soviet states, it means that the supreme written law of these countries can be easily rendered null and void for political considerations. This affects not only victims of politicized justice, but also ordinary citizens whose constitutional rights and freedoms can be routinely disregarded, as they remain only on paper. *Second*, although many authoritarian post-Soviet governments declared that they observed the rule of law by adopting new democratic constitutions and establishing constitutional courts, the theory of '*Twofold Constitutionalism*' exposes the false nature of these 'new democracies' and questions the legitimacy of political regimes in these countries. In this context, 'political trials' appear to be an ultimate test to check whether a country has the genuine rather than the declaratory rule of law. Chapter 1 seeks to explain how written (formal) norms interact with unwritten (informal) practices and under which conditions the latter can prevail over the former. Most significantly, that chapter also

presents my own theoretical framework to assess the complex phenomenon of politically motivated justice and identify differences between political trials in transitional post-Soviet states and established Western democracies.

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Abbreviations

ÁVH	Communist State Protection Authority of Hungary (Hungarian: <i>Államvédelmi Hatóság</i>)
BVerfGE	Constitutional Court of the German Federal Republic (German: <i>Bundesverfassungsgericht</i>)
CDU	Christian Democratic Union (German: <i>Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands</i>)
CHEKA (Bolshevik Security Service)	All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Russian: <i>Vserossiyskaya Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya</i>)
CoE	Council of Europe
Cominform	Communist Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
CPT	European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
ENEMO	European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations
EU	European Union
FPÖ	Freedom Party of Austria (German: <i>Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs</i>)
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (German: <i>Bundesrepublik Deutschland, BRD</i>)
GDR/DDR	German Democratic Republic, (German: <i>Deutsche Demokratische Republik</i>)
GG	Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany (German: <i>Grundgesetz</i>)

GULAG	Principle Administration of Camps (Russian: <i>Glavnoye Upravleniye Lagerey</i>)
KPD	Communist Party of Germany (German: <i>Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands</i>)
NEP	New Economic Policy
NKVD	People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, the successor of OGPU (Russian: <i>Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del</i>)
NPD	National Democratic Party (German: <i>Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>)
NYT	New York Times
OG	Supreme Court of Austria (German: <i>Oberster Gerichtshof</i>)
OGPU	Joint State Political Directorate under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (Russian: <i>Obyedinyonnoye gosudarstvennoye politicheskoye upravleniye pri Sovnarkome SSSR</i>)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
ÖVP	People's Party of Austria (German: <i>Österreichische Volkspartei</i>)
Politburo	Political Bureau (Russian: <i>Политбюро</i>)
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SRD	Socialist Reich Party of Germany (German: <i>Sozialistische Reichspartei Deutschlands</i>)
Venice Commission	European Commission for Democracy through Law
WJP	World Justice Project