

## INDEX

- Abakarova v. Russia*, 285  
*Abdulkhanov and Others v. Russia*, 269–70  
*Abuyeva v. Russia*, 284–5  
 acculturation, 21–3  
 activism. *See* judicial activism; social activism  
 administrative regime, Russia as, 127, 129–32  
   judicial efficiency in, 129–30  
   judicial loyalty in, 130–1  
   judicial transparency in, 131–2  
 Agramunt, Pedro, 50  
*Albekov v. Russia*, 268  
*Alekseyev v. Russia*, 327, 331–4  
 Alexander II (Tsar), 177  
   abolition of serfdom under, 177  
   property rights reform under, 296  
 All-Russian Congress of Judges, 148–9  
 Alvarez, Jose, 196  
*Amuyeva and Others v. Russia*, 263–4, 274, 279  
*Ananyev and Others v. Russia*, 207–8, 211  
 anti-gay propaganda laws, in Russia, 332–3, 335–44  
   at federal level, 336–7  
   public arguments for, 337–8  
   at regional level, 335–6  
   RF Supreme Court response to, 338–9  
   Russian CC response to, 339–44  
 Antonov, Mikhail, 390  
 archaism  
   ECtHR and, xxi  
   Russian civilization influenced by, xix–xxi  
   social separation as sign of, xx
- Aristotle, 175, 180  
 ART. *See* assisted reproductive technology  
*Aslakhanova v. Russia*, 287  
 assisted reproductive technology (ART), 79–82  
   in *Korolevy v. Russia*, 82–4  
 Austin, John, 170  
 Austria, Constitutional Court in, 210, 384  
 authoritarian rule  
   human rights under, 156–7  
   Russian civilization influenced by, xvii–xviii  
   Zorkin on, 156–7, 181, 192–3  
 autocracy, in nativist approach, 372–3
- Bakoyannis, Theodora, 216  
 Baltic States, 163  
*Bartik v. Russia*, 105  
 Bastrykin, Alexander, 146–7  
 Belgium, seizure of Russian assets in, 366  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 170  
 Berdiaev, Nikolai, 182  
 Bergbohm, Carl, 170  
 Berman, Harold J., 193–4  
 Bindig, Rudolf, 40–1  
 black letter law, 93–4  
 blackmail state, in Ukraine, 125–6  
 Boillat, Phillipe, 246  
 Bolshevik revolution, 296  
 Bondar, Nikolai, 112, 144  
   on LGBT rights, 349  
 Borgn', Pierre-Yves Le, 216  
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 161, 182–3  
 bourgeois accumulation instinct, xvii

- Bowman v. UK*, 142–3  
 Bowring, Bill, 13, 388  
 Brasseur, Ann, 45–6, 49, 209–10  
 Bratza, Nicolas, 191  
 breach of legal certainty, in supervisory proceedings, 308–9  
 Browder, William, 220  
*Burdov v. Russia*, 204–5, 211  
 burial rites, 274–6  
  
*le capital symbolique*, 161  
 Carothers, Thomas, 361  
 case law, in Strasbourg Court.  
     *See* ECtHR cases; Strasbourg Court  
 Catherine II (Empress), 201  
 Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, 368  
 Chatzivassiliou, Despina, 257  
 Chechnya  
     *Abakarova v. Russia*, 285  
     *Abdulkhanov and Others v. Russia*, 269–70  
     *Abuyeva v. Russia*, 284–5  
     *Albekov v. Russia*, 268  
     *Amuyeva and Others v. Russia*, 263–4, 274, 279  
     *Aslakhanova v. Russia*, 287  
 CoE and, 257–60  
     PACE and, 257–8  
     Russia within, 258–60  
     Russian accession to, 257–8  
     *Esmukhambetov and Others v. Russia*, 269, 277  
     *Finogenov and Others v. Russia*, 270–1  
     *Gakayeva and Others v. Russia*, 264, 278–9  
 human rights issues, in ECtHR cases, 260–87, 289–94  
     admissibility criteria, 262–5  
     burial rites, 274–6  
     evidential issues in, 277–83  
     fact-finding for, 277–83  
     family rights, 274–6  
     investigations into, inadequacy of, 272–4  
     redress for, 283–7  
     right to life, protection of, 265–72  
     use of force abuses in planning operations, 268–72  
*Inderbiyeva v. Russia*, 274, 278  
*Isayeva v. Russia*, 284–5  
*Kadirova and Others v. Russia*, 278  
*Kerimova and Others v. Russia*, 264–5, 268, 272–3  
*Khashiyev & Akayeva v. Russia*, 262  
*Malsagova and Others v. Russia*, 265  
*Maskhadov and Others v. Russia*, 274–6  
*Medov v. Russia*, 266–8  
*Mezhiyeva v. Russia*, 273  
*Petimat Ismailova and Others v. Russia*, 288  
*Sabanchiyeva and Others v. Russia*, 276, 292  
*Sultygov and Others v. Russia*, 288–9  
*Tagayeva and Others v. Russia*, 271  
*Tashukhadzhiyev v. Russia*, 273–4, 280  
*Tovsultanova v. Russia*, 280  
*Tsechoyev v. Russia*, 267–8  
 Chernishova, Olga, 281–3  
 Chicherin, Boris, 156–7, 171, 359  
 Civil Code of 1994, Russia, 297  
 Civil Procedure Code, 62, 100, 132–3  
     challenges to, 102  
 civil society, Russian CC influenced by, 119–22  
 civil unions, as LGBT right, 329  
 civilization. *See also* Russian civilization  
     integral features of, xviii  
     Russian contributions to, xviii  
     social progress and, xviii  
 civilization of law, 164  
 clientelist nondemocratic regimes, 127  
     Russian CC and, 128–9  
 Code of Civil Procedure, 309  
 Code of Commercial Procedure, 309  
 codification, of international law, 158  
 CoE. *See* Council of Europe  
 Cold War, CoE during, 3  
 collective rights, 157, 164  
 Commena, Anna, 375  
 Commissioner for Human Rights, 38–9

- Compensation Act. *See* Law on Compensation
- compliance  
     ECtHR judgments and, 17–18  
     of international human rights law, 15–18
- Conception of Judicial Reform, 133–4
- concession limits, in Russian legal system, 169
- confiscatory measures, in criminal or administrative proceedings, 315–17
- Conflict Resolution Board, 233–4
- conjugal meetings, as right, 78–86  
     in *Dickson v. the United Kingdom*, 81–4  
     in *Khoroshenko v. Russia*, 84–6  
     in *Korolevy v. Russia*, 82–4
- Constant, Benjamin, 164
- Constitution of the Russian Federation (RF Constitution), 3–4  
     ECHR and, 61–4  
     compliance under, 360–1  
     ECtHR cases and, 106–8  
     international law as supreme to national law under, 62, 202  
     as living document, 172  
     Zorkin on, 172
- Constitutional Court, in Russia (Russian CC), 9. *See also* Zorkin, Valery
- All-Russian Congress of Judges in, 148–9
- anti-gay propaganda laws and, 339–44
- black letter law, 93–4
- Civil Procedure Code under, 62, 100, 132–3  
     challenges to, 102
- in clientelist nondemocratic regimes, 128–9
- CoE member states and, 14–15
- courts under, definitions of, 134
- Criminal Procedure Code under, 132–3
- ECHR and, 142, 166–7  
     legal positions on, 64–7
- ECtHR cases and, as influence on, 14–15, 94–111, 138–48, 223–4, 387–90  
     civil society as influence on, 119–22  
     in enforcement of judgments, 96–7  
     integrating of judgments into legal system, 97–106  
     legal incompatibility with, 212–15  
     through literal citations, 98–9  
     perception of provisions and, 99–100  
     reevaluation of, 117–19  
     restriction and limitations of constitutional rights, 104–6  
     RF Constitution and, 106–8  
     Federal Constitutional Law and, 115  
     Federal Law on “Insolvency (Bankruptcy)” and, 101  
     Federal Law “On the Minimum Wage” and, 101  
     international human rights law and, 14–15  
     international law in, 94  
     legal amendments to, 115–16  
     LGBT rights and, 350–1  
     anti-gay propaganda laws, 339–44  
     constitutional defense against, 339–44  
     judges’ responses, 347–51  
     *Mikhaylova v. Russia* case, 66, 86–91  
     presumed consent under, 77–8  
     reform of, 128  
     Russian legal theory in, 167–8  
     Russian public law influenced by, 244–50  
     Strasbourg Court and, 14–15, 94–111, 138–48, 223–4  
     suspension of activities, 128–9  
     *Yukos Oil Company v. Russia* and, 217  
     Zorkin and, 17–18
- Constitutional Courts  
     in Austria, 210, 384  
     in Germany, 210  
     in Italy, 210
- constitutional law, Strasbourg Court influenced by, 234–5

- constitutional regime, Russia as, 125–6, 132–7
  - judicial independence in, 133–4
  - suppression of, 148
- constructivism. *See* social constructivism
- constructivist spiral model of socialization, 200–1
- Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 144
- Council of Europe (CoE), 3–6. *See also* Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
  - CEE countries in, 368
  - during Cold War, 3
  - ECHR and, 26
  - ECtHR and, 11–13, 26
  - enlargement of, arguments against, 257–8
  - establishment of, 3
  - European Commission and, 31–2
  - functions of, 3
  - Law on the Constitutional Court and, 192–3
  - LGBT rights and, 349–50
  - minority protection criteria for, 34
  - PACE, 40–1
    - as methodology source, 26
    - on Russian annexation of Crimea, 48–50
    - Russian involvement in, 45
    - Yukos Oil Company v. Russia* and, 216
  - as political body, 222
  - Russian accession to, xix–xx, 3–5, 59–61, 164–70
    - entry process for, 40–3
    - historical context for, 4–5
    - membership compared to other countries, 43–7
    - opponents of, 146–7
    - political context for, 4–5
    - positive aspects of, 199–200
    - social reform context for, 4
  - Russian Constitutional Court and, 14–15
  - courts, in Russia. *See also* Constitutional Court, in Russia; judges
    - ECHR as influence on, 166–7
    - ECtHR as influence on, 166–7
    - judicial efficiency in, 129–30
    - judicial loyalty and, 130–1
    - judicial transparency in, 131–2
- Coynash, Halya, 209
- Crimea, annexation of, 47–51
  - PACE response to, 48–50
  - sanctions for, 52–4
- Criminal Procedure Code, 132–3
- The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* (Surkov), 364
- cultural capital, 161
- death and damage by bombing, 261
- deaths in custody, 261
- Dedov, Dmitry, 225
- deep socialization, 33
- “deep state,” in Turkey, 125–6
- democracy
  - in Russia, 38–9
  - as state-centered, 229
  - social progress and, as integral feature of, xviii
- Denikin, Anton, 375–6
- Derrida, Jacques, 173
- Desnitsky, Yefimovich, 201
- destruction of property, during anti-terrorism operations, 309–12
- Dickson v. the United Kingdom*, 81–4
- Donald, Alice, 191–2
- dual government regime
  - in Russia, 126–37
  - in US, 125–6
- Dudgeon v. the United Kingdom*, 327–8
- Durkheim, Emile, 153
- Dworkin, Ronald, 185
- Dzehtsiarou, Kanstantin, 215–16
- Eastern Partnership, 44–5, 55
- ECHR. *See* European Convention on Human Rights
- ECJ. *See* European Court of Justice
- economic control rights, for unitary enterprises, 317–19

- ECtHR. *See* European Court of Human Rights
- ECtHR cases. *See also* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender rights
- Abakarova v. Russia*, 285
- Abdulkhanov and Others v. Russia*, 269–70
- Abuyeva v. Russia*, 284–5
- Albekov v. Russia*, 268
- Amuyeva and Others v. Russia*, 263–4, 274, 279
- Ananyev and Others v. Russia*, 207–8, 211
- Aslakhanova v. Russia*, 287
- Burdov v. Russia*, 204–5, 211
- Esmukhambetov and Others v. Russia*, 269, 277
- Finogenov and Others v. Russia*, 270–1
- Gakayeva and Others v. Russia*, 264
- Gusinskiy v. Russia*, 204
- Iliașcu and Others v. Moldova and Russia*, 204
- Inderbiyeva v. Russia*, 274, 278
- Isayeva v. Russia*, 284–5
- Kadirova and Others v. Russia*, 278
- Kerimova and Others v. Russia*, 264–5, 268, 272–3
- Konstantin Markin v. Russia*, 65, 143–4, 206–7, 239–41, 377
- Malsagova and Others v. Russia*, 265
- Maskhadov and Others v. Russia*, 274–6
- Medov v. Russia*, 266–8
- Mezhiyeva v. Russia*, 273
- Mikhaylova v. Russia* case, 66, 86–91
- Mikheyev v. Russia*, 211
- Petimat Ismailova and Others v. Russia*, 288
- for property rights, 302–23
- breach of legal certainty in
- supervisory proceedings in, 308–9
- confiscatory measures, in criminal or administrative proceedings, 315–17
- for destruction of property during anti-terrorism operations, 309–12
- economic control rights for unitary enterprises, 317–19
- enforcement mechanisms and, 304–5
- failure to redeem state debt in, under Soviet bonds, 306–7
- liability for state debts, 317–19
- non-execution of court decisions, 302–6
- Panasenko v. Russia*, 308–9
- revocation of bona fide purchaser's title in, 312–15
- Roman Zakharov v. Russia*, 209
- Sabanchiyeva and Others v. Russia*, 276, 292
- Shamayev and 12 Others v. Russia*, 204
- Shtukaturvov v. Russia*, 144, 205
- Sulygov and Others v. Russia*, 288–9
- Tagayeva and Others v. Russia*, 271
- Tashukhadzhiyev v. Russia*, 273–4, 280
- Tovsultanova v. Russia*, 280
- Tsechoyev v. Russia*, 267–8
- Yukos Oil Company v. Russia*, 139, 215–18, 320–3
- PACE response to, 216
- Russian CC and, 217
- efficiency. *See* judicial efficiency
- Egorova, Aleksandrovna, 70
- Elberte v. Latvia, 75–7
- enforced disappearances, 261
- enforcement, of Russian property rights, 304–5
- equality. *See also* gender equality
- social progress and, as integral feature of, xviii
- Erdoğan, Tayyip, 12
- Esmukhambetov and Others v. Russia*, 269, 277
- EU. *See* European Union
- Eurasianism, 375
- European Commission
- CoE and, 31–2
- on Human Rights, 327

- European consensus
  - on human rights, 167
  - on Strasbourg Court decisions, 249
- European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)
  - CoE and, 26
  - evolution of interpretation of, 248
  - implementation of legal norms, 61–9
    - legislation, 61–4
    - Plenum of RF Supreme Court
      - explanations, 67–9
    - RF Constitution, 61–4
    - Russian CC and, legal positions of, 64–7
  - integration in Russian law, 202
  - invented rights under, 248
  - Kovler on, 202–4
  - regional human rights law and, 16, 18–19
  - RF Constitution and, 61–4
    - compliance under, 360–1
  - RF Supreme Court and, 166–7, 208–12
  - Russian CC and, 142, 166–7
    - legal positions of, 64–7
  - in Russian courts, 69–91
    - Federal Act “On Transplantation of Human Organs and/or Tissues,” 71–8
  - NGO and, 70
    - for organ donations and transplantations, 71–8
    - for right to conjugal meetings, 78–86
    - for right to legal counsel, 86–91
  - Russian courts influenced by, 166–7
  - Russian legal system’s
    - incompatibility with, 212–15
  - Russian ratification of, 3
    - compliance under, 360–1
    - under RF Constitution, 360–1
  - Russian state sovereignty and, 360–1
  - Strasbourg Court and, 234–5
- European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). *See also* ECtHR cases
  - archaism and, xxi
  - authority of, questions about, 10
  - in Chechnya. *See* Chechnya
  - CoE and, 11–13, 26
    - compliance with judgments
      - problems with, 17–18
      - by Russia, 206–8
    - human rights influenced by, 390–4
      - definitions of, 183–4
    - Iliașcu and Others v. Moldova and Russia*, 204, 365
    - international human rights law
      - compliance issues for, 15–18
      - Russian involvement in, 13–15
    - international law and, 13–14
    - jurisdiction of, 18–19
    - Kovler on, 202–4
    - legitimacy of decisions by, 120–1
  - LGBT rights and
    - CoE in conflict with, 349–50
    - evolutionary approach to, 327–31
    - institutional approach to, 326–7
    - legal contributions to, 326–7
    - Russian CC and, 339–44, 347–51
  - proportionality tests and, 167–8
  - RF Supreme Court and, 68–9, 166–7, 208–12
  - Russian CC influenced by, 14–15, 94–106, 108–11, 138–48, 223–4, 387–90
    - civil society as influence on, 119–22
    - in enforcement of judgments, 96–7
    - integrating of judgments into legal system, 97–106
    - legal incompatibility of, 212–15
    - through literal citations, 98–9
    - perception of provisions and, 99–100
    - reevaluation of, 117–19
    - restriction and limitations of
      - constitutional rights, 104–6
    - RF Constitution and, 106–8
  - Russian courts influenced by, 166–7
  - Russian experience with, 6–24, 164–70, 202–12, 394–5
    - compared to other countries, 11–14
    - compliance issues, 15–18
    - Constitutional Court’s role in, 14–15
    - cultural context for, 18–19
    - historical context for, 18–19

- European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). (cont.)  
     in human rights cases, 5–6  
     international human rights law and, 13–15  
     socialization effects of, 19–24  
 Russian legal system and, 94–6  
 civil society as influence on, 119–22  
 incompatibility with, 212–15  
 legislative guidelines and recommendations, 102–3  
 political reactions to ECtHR decisions, 112–15  
 prescriptions to courts, 103–4  
 recognition of unconstitutional legal norms, 101  
 Russian CC and, integrating of judgments into, 97–106  
 socialization theories and, 385–6  
 Strasbourg effect and, 4  
     in Russia, 24  
 Strasbourg law and, 106–8  
 UK and  
     dissatisfaction with, 13  
     prisoner voting rights and, 35, 213–14  
 Zorkin and, 244–50, 365  
 European Court of Justice (ECJ), 229–30  
 European human rights law, 14–15  
 European law, Russian law influenced by, 201  
 European Partnership, 44–5  
 European Union (EU)  
     integration in Eastern Europe, 357–8  
     minority protection criteria, for prospective members, 34  
     Russian norms and values influenced by, 36–40  
 Europeanisation, 28–9. *See also*  
     socialization effects  
     research on, 30–1  
 exceptionalism, of Russian legal system, 151–2, 154–64, 395–9  
 extra-judicial executions, 261  
 family rights, 274–6  
 FARA. *See* Foreign Agents Registration Act  
 Federal Act “On Transplantation of Human Organs and/or Tissues,” 71–8  
 Federal Compensation Act (2009), Russia, 211  
 Federal Constitutional Law (1994), Russia, 115  
     amendments to, 365  
 Federal Law on “Insolvency (Bankruptcy),” 101  
 Federal Law “On the Minimum Wage,” 101  
*Fedotova v. the Russian Federation*, 346  
 filtering processes, of Strasbourg Court, 225–7  
*Finogenov and Others v. Russia*, 270–1  
 first positivism, 162–3, 167–70  
 foreign agents’ law, 355, 357, 368  
 Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) (1938), US, 159–60  
 formal legal orders, 178  
 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 51  
 freedom  
     social progress and, as integral feature of, xviii  
     Zorkin on, 175  
 Fribergh, Erik, 260  
*Gakayeva and Others v. Russia*, 264, 278–9  
 gender equality, 239–41  
 genocide, 374  
 Georgia, Rose Revolution in, 363, 368–9  
 Germany  
     Constitutional Court in, 210  
     Russian legal education influenced by, 162–3  
 Gibb, Nick, 192  
 Gideon, Clarence Earl, 87–8  
*Gideon v. Wainwright*, 87–8  
 Gilligan, Emma, 255  
*Gitonas v. Greece*, 105  
*Gladkov and Anchugov v. Russia*, 139  
*Gladysheva v. Russia*, 313  
 Goodman, Ryan, 21, 195  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 219, 236–7



- governance models. *See* traditional governance models
- Greenhill, Brian, 197–8
- Gusinskiy v. Russia*, 204
- Habermas, Jürgen, 182–3
- Hacke, Christian, 363
- Hart, H. L. A., 185
- Harvest-90 commodity bonds, 306
- Harzl, Benedikt, 390
- Hayek, Friedrich, 178
- Helsinki effect, 4, 24
- Helsinki Final Act of 1975, 4
- Henry, Michèle, 259
- Heri, Corina, 280–1
- Hillebrecht, Courtney, 17
- Hirst v. United Kingdom*, 213–14
- Hobbes, Thomas, 175, 182–3
- human rights. *See also* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender rights
- under authoritarian rule, 156–7
- backlash against, 28
- in Chechnya, in ECtHR cases. *See* Chechnya
- collective rights compared to, 157, 164
- ECtHR as influence on, 390–4
- definitions of, 183–4
- European Commission on Human Rights, 327
- European consensus on, 167
- nativist approach to, 356
- autocracy in, 372–3
- foreign agents' law, 355, 357, 368
- Slavophile movement as influence on, 372–3
- Solzhenytsin and, 370–2
- through traditional governance models, 369–78
- in North Caucasus region, 287–9
- Aslakhanova v. Russia*, 287
- Petimat Ismailova and Others v. Russia*, 288
- Sultygov and Others v. Russia*, 288–9
- PIR scores for, 197–8
- propagandist context for, 356
- ROC doctrine for, 381–2
- Russian government response to, in ECtHR, 5–6
- Russian legal education in conflict with, 162
- Russian state sovereignty compared to, 358–69
- social progress and, as integral feature of, xviii
- spiral model of, 20–1
- Zorkin on, 157
- democratic interpretations of, 179–80
- foundational arguments against, obsolescence of, 185–6
- liberalization of, 175–6
- socialist conception of, 162
- state endorsement of, 169
- human rights change. *See* spiral model of human rights change
- human rights law. *See also* European Convention on Human Rights; European human rights law; international human rights law
- CoE and, obligations to, 59–61
- ECHR and, 16, 18–19
- expansion of, in Russia, 150
- Zorkin on, 156
- Human Rights Watch, 265
- Huntington, Samuel, on Russian civilization, authoritarian rule as influence on, xvii–xviii
- hyperpositivism
- defined, 300–1
- Russian property rights and, 300–1
- Ibragimov, Sayd-Salekh, 266
- Iliașcu and Others v. Moldova and Russia*, 204, 365
- Ilyin, Ivan, 182, 376
- implementation of legal norms, under ECHR, 61–9
- legislation, 61–4
- Plenum of RF Supreme Court
- explanations, 67–9
- RF Constitution, 61–4
- Russian CC and, legal positions of, 64–7



- independent bar, in Russian legal system, 201
- Inderbiyeva v. Russia*, 274, 278
- individual human rights, Zorkin on, 157
- foundational arguments against, obsolescence of, 185–6
- liberalization of, 175–6
- socialist conception of, 162
- state endorsement of, 169
- informal legal orders, 178
- informational wars, 152–3
- International Crisis Group, 289
- international human rights law. *See also* European Convention on Human Rights
- aims of, 60–1
- compliance issues, 15–18
- ECtHR and, 13–14
- in Russia, 13–15
- Western influences on, 23–4
- socialization effects on
- acculturation, 21–3
- ECtHR and, 19–24
- material inducement, 21–2
- persuasion, 21
- in US, 13–14
- international law
- codification of, 158
- ECtHR and, 13–15
- monist approach to, 202
- positivation of, 158–9
- under RF Constitution, 62, 202
- in Russian CC, 94
- Strasbourg Court influenced by, 234–5
- invented rights, under ECHR, 248
- Isayeva v. Russia*, 284–5
- Italy
- Constitutional Court in, 210
- parapolitics in, 125–6
- Ivanov, Anton, 129
- on unfair competition, 155
- Jagland, Thorbjørn, 9–10, 192–3, 213, 398
- Jinks, Derek, 21, 195
- Judd, Frank, 289–90
- judges. *See also* Ivanov, Anton; Mavrin, Sergej; Zorkin, Valery
- legal consciousness of, 153–4
- perception of human rights by, 150–1
- secondment of, in Strasbourg Court, 226–7
- in Strasbourg Court
- dialogue between, 233–5
- Russian, 225
- judicial activism, 249
- judicial efficiency, 129–30
- judicial loyalty, 130–1
- judicial transparency, 131–2
- judiciary, in Russia
- efficiency of, 129–30
- legal consciousness of, 153–4
- loyalty of, 130–1
- transparency of, 131–2
- Zorkin's criticism of, 136
- jury trial, 201
- jus publicum europaeum*, 15
- Kadirova and Others v. Russia*, 278
- Kadyrov, Ramzan, 281–2
- Kalashnikov case*, 235–6
- Kara-Murza, Vladimir, 191–3
- Karamzin, Nikolay, 371–2
- Katyn massacres, 236–9
- Keller, Helen, 280–1
- Kelsen, Hans, 178, 185
- Kerimova and Others v. Russia*, 264–5, 268, 272–3
- Khashiyev & Akayeva v. Russia*, 262
- Khodakov, Aleksandr, 60
- Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 191, 320
- Khokhriakova, Olga, 170–1
- Khomiakov, Aleksei, 182, 372
- Khoroshenko, Andrey, 84–6
- Khoroshenko v. Russia*, 84–6
- Khramraev, Viktor, 192–3
- Kireevsky, Ivan, 182, 372
- Kirill I (Patriarch), 6
- Koh, Harold Hongju, 195
- Konchalovsky, Andrey, xvii
- Kononov, Alexander, 365
- Konstantin Markin v. Russia*, 65, 143–4, 206–7, 239–41, 377

- Korolev, Nikolay, 78–86  
 Koroleva, Veronika, 78–86  
*Korolevy v. Russia*, 82–4  
 Kovalev, Nikolai, 52–3  
 Kovler, Anatolij, 8, 69–70, 108, 113–14, 130–1, 143–4  
   on ECHR participation, 202–4  
   on ECtHR jurisdiction, 202–4  
   as Strasbourg Court judge, 225  
 Kuzmina, Luydmila, 170–1
- Land Code of 2001, Russia, 297  
 Lavrov, Sergei, 50, 366  
 Law on Amendments to Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation regarding the Regulation of the Activities of Non-Profit Organizations Performing the Functions of a Foreign Agent, 355, 357, 368  
 Law on Compensation (2010), Russia, 206, 305  
 Law on Counteraction to Terrorism (2006), Russia, 311  
 Law on Enterprises on Business Activity (1990), in Russia, 296–7  
 Law on International Treaties (1995 Law), Russian Federation, 63  
 Law on Land Reform (1990), Russia, 296–7  
 Law on Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises (1991), Russia, 296–7  
 Law on Property (1990), Russia, 296–7  
 Law on the Constitutional Court  
   amendments to, 190–3  
   CoE response to, 192–3  
   deployment of, 190  
   media responses to, 191–2  
   Putin approval of, 190  
 lawyers, secondment of, 226–7  
 Leach, Philip, 191–2  
 Lebedev, Viacheslav, 132–3  
 legal counsel, as fundamental right, 86–91  
 legal education, in Russia  
   German influences on, 162–3  
   human rights and, 162  
   Western influences on, 155
- legal orders, 178  
 legal positivism, 169. *See also* first positivism  
 legal socialization  
   academic development of, as concept, 193–5  
   early applications of, 193–4  
   NGOs and, 199–200  
   Russia and, 193–201  
   social constructivism and, 193–5  
 legal theory. *See also* Soviet legal theory  
   postmodernism and, 173, 180  
 Leontiev, R. N., 181  
 Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) rights. *See also* anti-gay propaganda laws  
*Alekseyev v. Russia*, 327, 331–4  
   to civil unions, 329  
   constitutional defense against, 345–50  
     through Russian CC, 339–44  
*Dudgeon v. the United Kingdom*, 327–8  
 ECtHR and  
   CoE in conflict with, 349–50  
   evolutionary approach to, 327–31  
   legal contributions to, 326–7  
   Russian CC and, 339–44, 347–51  
*Fedotova v. the Russian Federation*, 346  
*Modinos v. Cyprus*, 328  
*Norris v. Ireland*, 328  
*Novruk and Others v. Russia*, 334  
*Oliari and Others v. Italy*, 392  
   in Russia, 331–50, 391–2  
     federal laws against, 336–7  
     judicial activism and, 331–5  
     regional laws against, 335–6  
     social activism in support of, 331  
   Russian CC and, 350–1  
     anti-gay propaganda laws, 339–44  
     constitutional defense against, 339–44  
     judges' responses, 347–51  
*Salgueiro de Silva Mouta* case, 329  
*Schalk and Kopf v. Austria*, 330  
*S.L. v. Austria*, 328  
*Smith and Grady v. United Kingdom*, 328

- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) rights. (cont.)  
*Vallianatos v. Greece*, 329  
 Zorkin on, 347–8
- Leuprecht, Peter, 257–8
- Leviathan*, 380
- Levine, Felice J., 193–4
- Lewis, Anthony, 87–8
- LGBT rights. *See* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender rights
- liberalism. *See* protective liberalism
- Loginov, Igor, 74
- loyalty. *See* judicial loyalty
- Luchin, Viktor, 128
- Lukyanov, Anatoliy, 219
- Lukyanova, Yelena, 219  
 debate with Zorkin, 189, 220–1
- Magnitsky, Sergei, 220
- Magomadov, Mahmut, 281–2
- Malfliet, Katlijn, 5
- Mälksoo, Lauri, 257
- Malsagova and Others v. Russia*, 265
- Mańko, Rafał, 300
- Margolina, Sonja, 375
- Marochkin, Sergey, 387
- Martens, Fedor Fedorovich, 19
- Marty, Dick, 283–4
- Marxism-Leninism, 170–1
- Maskhadov, Aslan, 274–6
- Maskhadov and Others v. Russia*, 274–6
- Massias, Jean-Pierre, 257–8
- material inducement, 21–2
- Mavrin, Sergej, 112–13, 145, 210–11
- McAuley, Mary, 383–4
- McNamara, Michael, 289–90
- Medov, Adam, 266–8
- Medov v. Russia*, 266–8
- Medvedev, Dmitry, 112, 145
- Mezhiyeva v. Russia*, 273
- Mikhailova, Valentina, 86–91
- Mikhaylova v. Russia*, 66, 86–91, 243–4
- Mikheyev v. Russia*, 211
- Modinos v. Cyprus*, 328
- monism, international law and, 202
- Montesquieu, Charles L., 167–8
- Morshchakova, Tamara, 132–3
- Moskalkova, Tatyana, 332
- Muižnieks, Nils, 192
- Naryshkin, Sergei, 50
- national identity, 177, 180
- nativist approach, to human rights, 356  
 autocracy in, 372–3  
 foreign agents' law, 355, 357, 368  
 ROC role in, 379–82  
 Slavophile movement as influence on, 372–3  
 Solzhenitsyn and, 370–2  
 through traditional governance models, 369–78  
 victimhood arguments in, 373–4
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- NGOs. *See* nongovernmental organizations
- 1995 Law. *See* Law on International Treaties
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)  
 legal socialization and, 199–200  
 Russian court cases and, 70  
 SUTYAJNIK, 70–1  
 Zorkin on, 179–80
- Norris v. Ireland*, 328
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), expansion of, 357–8
- North Caucasus region, human rights violations of, 287–9  
*Aslakhanova v. Russia*, 287  
*Petimat Ismailova and Others v. Russia*, 288  
*Sulygov and Others v. Russia*, 288–9
- Novikov case*, 316–17
- Novruk and Others v. Russia*, 334
- Oliari and Others v. Italy*, 392
- “On the Essence of Conscience of Law” (Ilyin), 376
- Open Russia*, 191
- Orange Revolution, 363, 368–9
- organ donations and transplants, under ECHR, 71–8

- PACE. *See* Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
- Panasenko v. Russia*, 308–9
- parapolitics, 125–6
- parental leave, in military, 240–1. *See also* *Konstantin Markin v. Russia*
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), 40–1
- as methodology source, 26
- on Russian annexation of Crimea, 48–50
- Russian involvement in, 45
- Yukos Oil Company v. Russia* and, 216
- Parmentier, Stephan, 5
- Parrott, Lindsay, 200–1
- Pasquier, Liliane Maury, 216
- Personal Integrity Rights (PIR) scores, 197–8
- persuasion, 21
- Peter the Great (Tsar), xix
- Petimat Ismailova and Others v. Russia*, 288
- Petrova v. Latvia*, 75–7
- pilot judgments, 248–9
- PIR. *See* Personal Integrity Rights scores
- Plato, 175, 180
- Popper, Karl, 175
- positivation, of international law, 158–9
- positivism. *See* first positivism; legal positivism
- postmodernism, 173, 180
- The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (Risse and Sikkink), 194–5
- presumed consent, 77–8
- prisoner voting rights, in UK, 35, 213–14
- private property
- under Alexander II, 296
- after Bolshevik revolution, 296
- state's rights to property as superior to, 299–300
- progress. *See* scientific and technological progress; social progress
- prohibition on punishing an individual twice for same offence, 241–3
- Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in Russia* (Saari), 198–9
- propaganda, 152–3
- propagandist approach, to human rights, 356. *See also* anti-gay propaganda laws
- property rights, in Russia. *See also* private property
- under Civil Code of 1994, 297
- under Code of Civil Procedure, 309
- under Code of Commercial Procedure, 309
- economic reform as influence on, 393–4
- ECtHR cases, 302–23
- breach of legal certainty in supervisory proceedings in, 308–9
- confiscatory measures, in criminal or administrative proceedings, 315–17
- for destruction of property during anti-terrorism operations, 309–12
- economic control rights for unitary enterprises, 317–19
- enforcement mechanisms and, 304–5
- failure to redeem state debt in, under Soviet bonds, 306–7
- liability for state debts, 317–19
- non-execution of court decisions, 302–6
- Panasenko v. Russia*, 308–9
- revocation of bona fide purchaser's title in, 312–15
- historical development of, 295–301
- hyperpositivism and, 300–1
- under Land Code of 2001, 297
- legal reforms of, 296–7
- as legal transplant, 323
- for material assets, 298–9
- private property as subordinate to, 299–300
- reforms under Alexander II, 296

- property rights, in Russia. (cont.)  
     Socialist legal tradition for, 295–301, 323–5  
     ultra-formalism and, 300–1  
 proportionality tests, 167–8  
 protective liberalism, 171  
 public order, in Russia, 229  
*Pure Theory of Law* (Kelsen), 178  
 Pushkarskaya, Anna, 192–3, 210–11  
 Pushkov, Alexei, 52–3  
 Putin, Vladimir, 129, 132, 135, 182, 359, 365, 375–6. *See also* nativist approach, to human rights  
     Law on the Constitutional Court approved by, 190  
     ROC and, 380
- Raimondi, Guido, 135, 147, 214, 217  
 red lines of sovereignty, 169  
 revocation of bona fide purchase, 312–15  
     *Gladysheva v. Russia*, 313  
 revocation of bona fide purchaser's title, 312–15  
 RF Constitution. *See* Constitution of the Russian Federation  
 RF Supreme Court. *See* Supreme Court of Russian Federation  
 right to fair trial, 243–4  
 right to life, protection of, 265–72  
 Risse, Thomas, 20–1  
     on legal socialization, 194–5  
 ROC. *See* Russian Orthodox Church  
*Roman Zakharov v. Russia*, 209  
 Ropp, Stephen C., 20–1  
 Rose Revolution, 363, 368–9  
 Rosenberg, Alfred, 174  
 Roter, Petra, 388  
 RSFSR Constitution. *See* Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic Constitution  
 RUDN. *See* Russian Peoples Friendship University  
 rule of law  
     in Russia, 219  
     as state-centered, 229  
     social progress and, as integral feature of, xviii
- Russell-Johnston, Lord, 259  
 Russia. *See also* anti-gay propaganda laws; Constitutional Court; property rights; Russian legal system  
     as administrative regime, 127, 129–32  
     judicial efficiency in, 129–30  
     judicial loyalty in, 130–1  
     judicial transparency in, 131–2  
     annexation of Crimea, 47–51  
     PACE response to, 48–50  
     sanctions for, 52–4  
     as clientelist nondemocratic regime, 127  
     judicial transparency in, 132  
     Russian CC and, 128–9  
     Code of Civil Procedure in, 309  
     Code of Commercial Procedure in, 309  
     CoE and, accession to, xix–xx, 3–5, 59–61, 164–70  
     entry process, 40–3  
     historical context for, 4–5  
     membership compared to other countries, 43–7  
     opponents of, 146–7  
     political context for, 4–5  
     positive aspects of, 199–200  
     social reform context for, 4  
     Committee of Ministers and, participation in, 45  
     Conception of Judicial Reform in, 133–4  
     as constitutional regime, 125–7, 132–7  
     judicial independence in, 133–4  
     suppression of, 148  
     democratization process in, 38  
     as state-centered, 229  
     domestic reforms in, 36–40  
     dual government regime in, 126–37  
     as dual state, 126–37  
     in Eastern Partnership, 44–5, 55  
     ECHR ratified by, 3  
     compliance of, 360–1  
     under RF Constitution, 360–1  
     economic reforms in, property rights influenced by, 393–4

- ECtHR and, experience with, 6–24,  
 164–70, 202–12, 394–5  
 compared to other countries, 11–14  
 compliance with judgments, 15–18,  
 206–8  
 cultural context for, 18–19  
 historical context for, 18–19  
 in human rights cases, 5–6  
 international human rights law  
 and, 13–15  
 Russian Constitutional Court's  
 role in, 14–15  
 socialization effects of, 19–24  
 ECtHR judgments in, 94–6  
 EU integration in Eastern Europe,  
 357–8  
 European norms and values in,  
 36–40  
 Federal Compensation Act, 211  
 Federal Constitutional Law, 115  
 amendments to, 365  
 financial contributions to Strasbourg  
 Court, 224–7  
 human rights backlash in, 28  
 international human rights law in,  
 13–14  
 Western influences on, 23–4  
 judiciary in  
 efficiency of, 129–30  
 legal consciousness of, 153–4  
 loyalty of, 130–1  
 transparency of, 131–2  
 Zorkin's criticism of, 136  
 in *jus publicum europaeum*, 15  
 Law on Compensation, 206, 305  
 Law on Counteraction to Terrorism,  
 311  
 Law on Enterprises on Business  
 Activity, 296–7  
 Law on Land Reform, 296–7  
 Law on Privatization of State and  
 Municipal Enterprises, 296–7  
 Law on Property, 296–7  
 legal education in  
 German influences on, 162–3  
 human rights and, 162  
 Western influences on, 155  
 LGBT rights in, 331–50, 391–2  
 federal laws against, 336–7  
 judicial activism and, 331–5  
 regional laws against, 335–6  
 social activism in support of,  
 331  
 NATO expansion and, 357–8  
 in PACE, 45  
 public order in, 229  
 rule of law in, 219  
 as state-centered, 229  
 shock therapy policy in, 297, 302–3,  
 369  
 spiral model of socialization in,  
 198–9  
 state sovereignty in  
 ECHR compliance and, 360–1  
 ECtHR judgments and, 362–8  
 human rights compared to,  
 358–69  
 Zorkin on, 361–2  
 Strasbourg Court influenced by,  
 225–7  
 through filtering processes,  
 225–7  
 through financial contributions,  
 225  
 judges, 225  
 through secondment of lawyers  
 and judges, 226–7  
 sources of influence, 228–35  
 Strasbourg effect in, 24  
 Suppression of Terrorism Act, 275,  
 310  
 in UN Human Rights Council, 357  
 White Movement in, 375  
 Russian CC. *See* Constitutional Court  
 Russian civilization  
 archaism as influence on, xix–xxi  
 bourgeois accumulation instinct and,  
 xvii  
 Huntington on role of authoritarian  
 rule in, xvii–xviii  
 Konchalovsky on role of culture in,  
 xvii  
 traditionalism and, xix  
 Western influences on, xvii, xix

- Russian Federation. *See also* Russia  
 foreign agents' law, 355, 357, 368  
 Law on Amendments to Legislative  
 Acts of the Russian Federation  
 regarding the Regulation of the  
 Activities of Non-Profit  
 Organizations Performing the  
 Functions of a Foreign Agent,  
 355, 357, 368  
 Law on International Treaties, 63  
 RF Constitution, 3–4  
 ECHR and, 61–4  
 international law as supreme to  
 national law under, 62, 202  
 Supreme Court of, 67–9, 166–7  
 Russian language, Strasbourg Court  
 influenced by, 230–1  
 Russian legal education. *See* legal  
 education  
 Russian legal system. *See also* property  
 rights  
 authoritarianism in, 156–7  
 cultural capital and, 161  
 ECHR integration into, 202  
 ECtHR and, 94–6  
 civil society as influence on,  
 119–22  
 incompatibility with, 212–15  
 legislative guidelines and  
 recommendations, 102–3  
 political reactions to decisions,  
 112–15  
 prescriptions to courts, 103–4  
 recognition of unconstitutional  
 legal norms, 101  
 Russian CC and, integrating of  
 judgments into, 97–106  
 European law as influence on, 201  
 exceptionalism of, 151–2, 154–64,  
 395–9  
 first positivism in, 162–3, 167–70,  
 185  
 foreign legal developments as  
 influence on, 157–8  
 as heterogeneous, 152  
 incompatibility with ECHR, 212–15  
 independent bar as part of, 201  
 jury trial and, 201  
 legal positivism and, 169  
 limits of concession in, 169  
 modernization of, 156, 170–1  
 private property in  
 under Alexander II, 296  
 after Bolshevik revolution, 296  
 state's rights to property as  
 superior to, 299–300  
 shared values in, 169–70  
 Socialist tradition for, 295–301,  
 323–5  
 Soviet legal theory and, 162  
 Strasbourg Court as influence on,  
 123  
 Venice Commission and, 212–15  
 Western legal scholarship as  
 influence on, 159–60  
 Zorkin's response to, 170–3  
 Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), 6  
 human rights doctrine of, 381–2  
 nativist ideology within, 379–82  
 Putin and, 380  
 Russian Peoples Friendship University  
 (RUDN), 334–5  
 Russian Soviet Federative Socialist  
 Republic (RSFSR) Constitution,  
 61  
 Russophobia, 53, 55  
 Saari, Sinikukka, 198–9  
*Sabanchiyeva and Others v. Russia*, 276,  
 292  
 Sablina, Alina, 71–8, 81  
 Sablina, Elena, 75  
*Salgueiro de Silva Mouta* case, 329  
*Schalk and Kopf v. Austria*, 330  
 Schennach, Stefan, 46–9  
 Schmitt, Carl, 366  
 scientific and technological progress,  
 xviii  
 secondment of lawyers and judges,  
 226–7  
 seizure of Russian assets, in Belgium,  
 366  
*Sejdić and Finci v. Bosnia and  
 Herzegovina*, 213–14  
 serfdom, abolition of, 177  
*Shamayev and 12 Others v. Russia*, 204



- shock therapy policy, 297, 302–3, 369
- Shor, Eran, 196
- Shtukaturv v. Russia*, 144, 205
- Sikkink, Kathryn, 20–1
  - on legal socialization, 194–5
- S.L. v. Austria*, 328
- Slavophile movement, 372–3
- Smith, Adam, 201
- Smith and Grady v. United Kingdom*, 328
- social activism, for LGBT rights, 331
- social constructivism, 193–5
- social progress, objective assessments of, xviii
- Socialist legal tradition, 295–301, 323–5
- socialization, as theoretical concept
  - ECtHR and, 385–6
  - legal
    - academic development of, as concept, 193–5
    - early applications of, 193–4
    - NGOs and, 199–200
    - Russia and, 193–201
    - social constructivism and, 193–5
  - relevance of, 387–90
  - spiral model of, 189, 194–5
    - challenges for, 196–7
    - constructivist, 200–1
    - in Russia, 198–9
- socialization effects
  - as asymmetric process, 33–4
  - conceptual development of, 197–8
  - deep, 33
  - international context for, 19–24
  - on international human rights law
    - acculturation, 21–3
    - ECtHR and, 19–24
    - material inducement, 21–2
    - persuasion, 21
  - research on, 30–1
    - evaluation of, 32–3
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 370–2
- sovereign will, 186
- sovereignty. *See* state sovereignty
- Soviet bonds, 306–7
  - Harvest-90 commodity bonds, 306
- Soviet legal theory, 162
  - first positivism in, 162–3, 167–70, 185
  - Vyshinski's dogmatization of, 162–3
- spiral model of human rights change, 20–1
- spiral model of socialization, 189, 194–5
  - challenges for, 196–7
  - constructivist, 200–1
  - in Russia, 198–9
- spontaneous social orders, 178
- state debt
  - failure to redeem, 306–7
  - liability for, 317–19
- state sovereignty
  - in Russia
    - ECHR compliance and, 360–1
    - ECtHR judgments and, 362–8
    - human rights compared to, 358–69
    - Zorkin on, 361–2
  - Schmitt on, 366
- Stepanov, Sergey, 94
- Strasbourg Court. *See also* ECtHR
  - cases; European Court of Human Rights
  - case law in, 235–44
    - for gender equality, 239–41
    - for parental leave in military, 240–1
    - for prison conditions, 235–6
    - for prohibition of punishing an individual twice for same offence, 241–3
    - for right to fair trial, 243–4
    - for transparency as human rights precondition, 236–9
- Conflict Resolution Board, 233–4
- constitutional law influenced by, 234–5
- drafting of rules, 231
- ECHR and, 234–5
- erga omnes* effect of, 242–3
- European consensus on, 249
- financial contributions to, 225
  - as source of influence, 228–30
- international law as influence on, 234–5

- Strasbourg Court. (cont.)  
   judges in  
     dialogue between, 233–5  
     Russian, 225  
   judicial leaders and, changing  
     attitudes of, 244–50  
   *Kalashnikov* case, 235–6  
   Katyn massacres case, 236–9  
   *Konstantin Markin v. Russia*, 65,  
     143–4, 206–7, 239–41, 377  
   margin of appreciation by member  
     states, 248–9  
   *Mikhaylova v. Russia*, 66, 86–91,  
     243–4  
   pilot judgments, 248–9  
   political leaders and, changing  
     attitudes of, 244–50  
   positive obligations of members, 248  
   prescriptions to courts on retrial,  
     103–4  
   registry of, 231–3  
   Russian CC influenced by, 14–15,  
     94–111, 223–4  
     civil society as influence on,  
       119–22  
   in enforcement of judgments,  
     96–7  
   integrating of judgments into legal  
     system, 97–106  
   literal citations of cases and, 98–9  
   perception of provisions and,  
     99–100  
   reevaluation of, 117–19  
   restriction and limitations of  
     constitutional rights, 104–6  
   RF Constitution and, 106–8  
   Russian influence on, 9–10, 225–7  
     through filtering processes, 225–7  
     through financial contributions,  
       225, 228–30  
     judges, 225  
     through secondment of lawyers  
       and judges, 226–7  
     sources of, 228–35  
   Russian language as influence on,  
     230–1  
   Russian legal system and, 123  
     territorial application of, expansion  
       of, 248  
     *Zolotuhkin* case, 242–3  
     Zorkin on, 223–4, 249  
   Strasbourg effect, 4  
     in Russia, 24  
   Sudre, Frédéric, 258  
   Sukhanov, Evgeniy, 295  
   *Sulygov and Others v. Russia*, 288–9  
   Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh, 199–200  
   Suppression of Terrorism Act (1998),  
     Russia, 275, 310  
   Supreme Court of Russian Federation  
     (RF Supreme Court), 67–9  
     anti-gay propaganda laws and,  
       339–44  
     ECHR and, 166–7, 208–12  
     ECtHR and, 68–9, 166–7, 208–12  
   Surkov, Vladimir, 363–4  
   sustainable development, social  
     progress and, as integral feature  
       of, xviii  
   SUTYAJNIK (NGO), 70–1  
   Sweden, parapolitics in, 125–6  
   *Tagayeva and Others v. Russia*, 271  
   Tapp, June Louin, 193–4  
   *Tashukhadzhiyev v. Russia*, 273–4,  
     280  
   Timofeyev, Maxim, 215–16, 292  
   Tiutchev, Fyodor, xvii, 182  
   Tolstoy, Leo, 12  
   Torshin, Alexander, 145  
   torture of detainees, 261  
   Toumanov, Vladimir, 225  
   *Tovsultanova v. Russia*, 280  
   traditional governance models, 369–78  
   traditionalism, Russian civilization and,  
     xix  
   transparency  
     judicial, 131–2  
     as precondition for human rights,  
       236–9  
   trials  
     by jury, 201  
     right to fair trial, 243–4  
   Trochev, Alexei, 397–8

- Tsechoyev, Suleyman, 267–8  
*Tsechoyev v. Russia*, 267–8  
 Turkey, “deep state” in, 125–6
- UK. *See* United Kingdom
- Ukraine  
   blackmail state in, 125–6  
   Orange Revolution in, 363, 368–9  
 ultra-formalism, 300–1  
 UN Human Rights Council, 357  
 unfair competition, Russian courts and, 155  
 unitary enterprises. *See* economic control rights  
 United Kingdom (UK), ECtHR and dissatisfaction with, 13  
   prisoner voting rights cases, 35, 213–14  
 United States (US)  
   dual government regime in, 125–6  
   FARA, 159–60  
   human rights law in, 13–14  
 use of force abuses, 268–72
- Vaipan, Grigoriy, 215–16  
 Vajić, Nina, 281–3  
*Vallianatos v. Greece*, 329  
 Venice Commission, 116, 120  
   Russian legal system and, 212–15  
 victimhood arguments, 373–4  
 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 67–8, 210  
 Vyshinski, Andrei, 162–3, 170  
   on state-centered positivism, 169
- Walters, Bob, 48–9  
 Western culture  
   international human rights law in Russia influenced by, 23–4  
   Russian civilization influenced by, xvii, xix  
   Russian legal education influenced by, 155  
   Zorkin on, 151
- Western legal scholarship, Russian legal system influenced by, 159–60  
 Westernizers. *See* *zapadniki*  
 White Movement, 375  
 Wildhaber, Luzius, 130–1  
 will of the people, 162–3
- Yukos Oil Company v. Russia*, 139, 215–18, 320–3, 364–5  
   PACE response to, 216  
   Russian CC and, 217
- zapadniki* (Westernizers), 358–9  
 Zasulich, Vera, 201  
*Zolotuhkin* case, 242–3  
 Zorkin, Valery, 17–18, 112, 128, 131, 135, 144, 192–3, 390  
   authoritarianism and, 156–7, 181, 192–3  
   on collective rights, 157, 164  
   criticism of Russian judiciary, 136  
   debate with Lukyanova, 189, 220–1  
   on democratic interpretations of human rights, 179–80  
   on duties of lawyers, 179  
   on ECHR, 244–50  
   on ECtHR rulings, 244–50, 365  
   on foreign legal developments, 157–8  
   on freedom, 175  
   on globalization of legal systems, 173  
   on human rights law, 156  
   on individual human rights, 157  
     democratic interpretations of, 179–80  
     foundational arguments against, obsolescence of, 185–6  
     liberalization of, 175–6  
     socialist conception of, 162  
     state endorsement of, 169  
   on judicial activism, 249  
   legal philosophy of, 173–86  
     holism of, 184–5  
     sovereign will in, 186  
   on LGBT rights, 347–8, 350–1  
   on NGOs, 179–80  
   philosophical influences on, 182–3

Zorkin, Valery (cont.)	on Russian state sovereignty, 361–2
on postmodernism, 173, 180	on Strasbourg Court, Russian involvement in, 223–4, 249
on RF Constitution, 172	on unfair competition, 155
on Russian legal exceptionalism, 154–64	on Western culture, 151
on Russian legal system, Western influences on, 170–3	Zvyagintsev, Andrey, 380
on Russian national identity, 177, 180	Zyuganov, Gennady, 374
	on genocide, 374