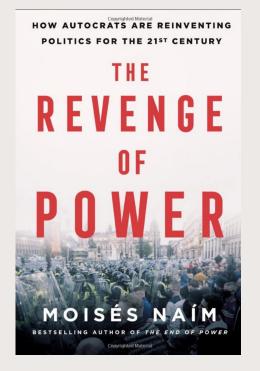
José Ignacio Hernández G. Fellow, Growth Lab-CID-Harvard Kennedy School December 2022



DEMOCRACIES USED TO DIE IN A MILITARY COUPS



BUT DEMOCRACIES CAN ALSO DIE IN THE HANDS OF THE CONSTITUTIONS



MODERN DICTATORS' PLAYBOOK, AS MASTER OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

- Populist rhetoric ("us v. them")
- Constitutional formalities (emergency decrees, exceptional powers, constitutional courts)
- Authoritarian measures (concentration of power, accountability decimation, human rights violations)
- Non-intervention principle



TUNISIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITARIAN POPULISM

- Populist rhetoric: protect the people from a corrupted system and the 2014 Constitution's "locks"
- Through "constitutional" emergency decrees, President Saied exerted absolute power and promoted a constituent process that didn't follow the 2014 Constitution procedure
- Beyond the layers of constitutionality, the measures adopted are authoritarian (African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights)

HOW TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY?

Strasbourg, 27 May 2022	CDL-PI(2022)026
Opinion no. 1085/2022	Or.Fr.
EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR DEMOCRACY THROUGH LAW (VENICE COMMISSION)	
TUNISIA	
URGENT OPINION	
ON	
THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK ON THE REFERENDUM AND ELECTIONS ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, AND IN PARTICULAR ON THE DECREE-LAW N°22 OF 21 APRIL 2022 AMENDING AND COMPLETING THE ORGANIC LAW ON THE INDEPENDENT HIGH AUTHORITY FOR ELECTIONS (ISIE)	
Issued on 27 May 2022 pursuant to Article 14a of the Venice Commission's Rules of Procedure	
on the basis of comments by	
Mr Cesare PINELLI (Substitute Member, Italy) Mr Jean-Claude SCHOLSEM (Substitute Member, Belgium) Mr François SENERS (Substitute Member, France)	
Opinion co-funded by the European Union	

Looking beyond constitutional formalities

- > The 2014 Constitution is still in force
- Register and denounce human rights abuses: accountability towards the international community
- > Who are the people? Art. 3, 2014 Constitution
- Only free and fair elections provide legitimacy