

Contents

Foreword	V
Abbreviations	XXII

Chapter 1: Introduction

I. Statement of the Problem	1
II. Object of the Research	2
III. Purpose of the Research	2
IV. Methodology of the Research	3
V. Structure of the Research	3
A. Introduction	3
B. Country reports	3
C. Comparative part	4
D. Conclusion	5

Chapter 2: Germany

I. Historical Development of Terrorism in Germany	6
A. Left-wing terrorism	6
1. Introduction	6
2. Terrorist activities	8
a) First generation of the RAF	8
b) Second and third generations of the RAF	10
c) Dissolution of the RAF	12
d) Activities of other groups	13
B. Right-wing terrorism	14
1. Introduction	14
2. The NSU	17
3. The NPD	19
C. Islamist terrorism	20
1. Islamist terrorism before 9/11	20
2. Islamist terrorism after 9/11	23
D. Analysis of terrorist threat	25
1. Left-wing terrorism	25

2.	Right-wing terrorism	25
3.	Islamist terrorism	26
II.	Anti-Terrorism Legislation in Germany	27
A.	Introduction	27
1.	Before 9/11	27
2.	Post 9/11	29
B.	Anti-terrorism legislation prior to 9/11	31
1.	Adoption of Art. 129a StGB	31
2.	Exclusion of defense lawyers	34
3.	Prohibition of joint defense	35
4.	Exclusion from trial	36
5.	Contact ban	37
6.	Special police units	39
C.	Anti-terrorism legislation shortly after 9/11	40
1.	Abolition of religious privilege clause	40
2.	Adoption of Art. 129b StGB	41
3.	Expansion of powers of security authorities	43
4.	Tightening of immigration law	46
5.	Suppression of terrorist financing	47
a)	Art. 129a StGB	47
b)	Art. 261 StGB	47
c)	Fourth Financial Market Promotion Law (2002)	48
d)	Anti-Money Laundering Law (2002)	49
e)	Supplementary Law on Combating Money Laundering (2008)	50
D.	Further anti-terrorism legislation post 9/11	51
1.	BKA's role in danger prevention (2006)	51
2.	Joint Anti-Terror Database Law (2006)	53
3.	Supplementary Counter-Terrorism Law (2007)	56
4.	Revision of the BKA Law (2008)	59
5.	Criminalization of preparatory acts of terrorism (2009)	62
6.	Extension of anti-terror laws (2011)	64
E.	BVerfG rulings	67
1.	Ruling on surveillance of private premises (2004)	67
2.	Ruling on the Aviation Security Law (2005)	69
3.	Ruling on grid search (2006)	72
4.	Ruling on online search (2008)	75
5.	Ruling on telecommunications data retention (2010)	77
6.	Ruling on the Aviation Security Law (2012)	80
7.	Ruling on the anti-terror database (2013)	83
F.	International cooperation	85
1.	Global cooperation	85

2.	Regional cooperation	85
3.	Bilateral cooperation	89
G.	Summary	91

Chapter 3: China

I.	Historical Development of Terrorism in China	93
A.	Introduction	93
1.	Location of Xinjiang	93
2.	History of Xinjiang	94
3.	Uyghurs in Xinjiang	96
B.	Islamist terrorism	97
1.	East Turkestan Islamic independence movement	97
2.	Terrorism before 9/11	101
3.	Terrorism after 9/11	103
a)	Anti-terror raid in 2007	103
b)	Terrorism against Beijing Olympics 2008	104
c)	“Chinese Autumn of 2008”	106
d)	5 July 2009 Urumqi Rioting	107
e)	Attacks after the 5 July 2009 Urumqi Rioting	110
f)	Recent escalation of terrorist activities	113
C.	Terrorist organizations	115
1.	East Turkestan Islamic Movement	116
2.	Other terrorist organizations	119
a)	East Turkestan Liberation Organization	119
b)	World Uyghur Youth Congress/World Uyghur Congress	120
c)	East Turkestan Information Center	121
D.	Threat analysis	123
1.	China’s concern over terrorism	123
2.	Scepticism about the terrorism threat	124
3.	New trends	126
II.	Anti-Terrorism Legislation in China	128
A.	Introduction	128
B.	Anti-terror legislation before 9/11	130
1.	Soft-hand policies	130
a)	Ethnic autonomy	130
b)	Religious control	132
c)	Population resettlement	133
d)	Cultural assimilation	134
e)	Economic development	135

2.	Hard-hand policies	137
a)	Military deployment	137
b)	“Strike hard” campaigns	138
C.	Anti-terror legislation after 9/11	139
1.	Anti-terror Amendment (2001)	139
a)	Intensification of the crackdown on terrorist organizations	140
b)	Criminalization of the financing of terrorism	141
c)	Criminalization of the handling of dangerous substances	142
aa)	Revision of Art. 114 CC	142
bb)	Revision of Art. 115 para. 1 CC	142
cc)	Revision of Art. 125 para. 2 CC	143
dd)	Revision of Art. 127 CC	143
d)	Intensification of the suppression of money laundering	144
e)	Criminalization of fabricating or disseminating false terrorist information	145
2.	Anti-terrorism decision (2011)	145
a)	Definition of terrorism	146
b)	National anti-terrorism authority	146
c)	Terrorist watch lists	146
d)	Asset freezing	146
e)	Implementation regulations	147
3.	Anti-terror revisions to the Criminal Procedure Law (2012)	147
a)	Designating first-instance courts for trying terrorism cases	148
b)	Limiting the access to counsel in terrorism cases	149
c)	Providing special protection for witnesses in terrorism cases	149
d)	Allowing the use of residential surveillance for terrorism cases ...	150
e)	Specifying the limitation on the right to notification in terrorism cases	151
f)	Legalizing the use of technical investigation measures	151
g)	Introducing the procedure for confiscating illegal earnings in terrorism cases	153
4.	Designation of terrorist organizations and individuals	153
a)	First terror list	153
aa)	Background	153
bb)	Criteria	154
cc)	International effects	155
dd)	Debate	156
b)	Second terror list	158
c)	Third terror list	158
5.	Suppression of terrorist financing	159
a)	Institutional changes	159
b)	Membership in the FATF and other bodies	159
c)	Sixth Criminal Code Amendment (2006)	160

d)	Anti-Money Laundering Law (2006)	160
e)	Ancillary AML/CFT regulations (2006 and 2007)	162
f)	Regulation on freezing terrorist assets (2014)	163
D.	International cooperation	164
1.	SCO before 9/11	164
2.	International cooperation after 9/11	165
a)	Global cooperation	165
b)	Regional cooperation	166
c)	Bilateral cooperation	168
3.	Uyghur prisoners at Guantanamo	171
a)	Background	171
b)	Legal confrontation with the US	172
c)	Negotiations with Germany	174
d)	Recent developments	175
E.	Summary	175

Chapter 4: Comparative Analysis of the Anti-Terrorism Legislation in Germany and China

I.	Methodological Considerations	178
II.	Comparative Analysis from the Perspective of Legal Regulations	180
A.	Substantive aspect	180
1.	Definition of terrorism	180
a)	Germany	180
b)	China	181
c)	Comparison	182
2.	Suppression of terrorist organizations	183
a)	Germany	183
b)	China	184
c)	Comparison	184
3.	Suppression of terrorist financing	185
a)	Criminal provisions regarding AML/CFT	185
aa)	Germany	185
bb)	China	186
cc)	Comparison	187
b)	Access to customer data	187
aa)	Germany	187
bb)	China	187
c)	Reporting duties of lawyers	188
aa)	Germany	188
bb)	China	188
d)	FIU mechanism	188

aa) Germany	188
bb) China	189
e) FATF Membership	189
aa) Germany	189
bb) China	190
4. Sanctions against fake terrorist attacks	191
a) Criminal provisions	191
aa) Germany	191
bb) China	192
b) Offense catalog	192
aa) Germany	192
bb) China	193
c) Concrete consequence	193
aa) Germany	193
bb) China	193
d) Admission of administrative detention	193
aa) Germany	193
bb) China	194
5. Criminalization of preparatory acts	195
a) Germany	195
b) China	197
c) Comparison	198
B. Procedural aspect	189
1. Restrictions on the right to defense	189
a) Exclusion of defense lawyer	189
aa) Germany	189
bb) China	200
b) Prohibition of joint defense	200
aa) Germany	200
bb) China	200
c) Exclusion from trial	201
aa) Germany	201
bb) China	202
d) Contact ban	202
aa) Germany	202
bb) China	203
2. Expansion of investigating powers	203
a) Expansion of data competences	203
aa) Germany	203
bb) China	204
b) New forms of data competences	204
aa) Germany	204
bb) China	205

c)	Telecommunications data retention	206
aa)	Germany	206
bb)	China	206
d)	General investigating measures	207
aa)	Germany	207
bb)	China	208
e)	German example: Acoustic surveillance of private premises	208
aa)	Substantive preconditions	209
(1)	Offense catalog	209
(2)	Protection of the core area of private life	210
bb)	Procedural guaranties	210
(1)	Judicial oversight	210
(2)	Content of the order	211
(3)	Outside supervision	211
(4)	Content of the reports for outside supervision	212
(5)	Right to notification	212
C.	Other aspects	213
1.	Deployment of the military	213
a)	Role of the military	213
aa)	Germany	213
bb)	China	214
cc)	Comparison	215
b)	Command structure	215
aa)	Germany	215
bb)	China	215
cc)	Comparison	216
c)	Parliamentary oversight	216
aa)	Germany	216
bb)	China	217
d)	Paramilitary police	217
aa)	China	217
bb)	Germany	217
e)	Looking ahead	218
2.	Centralization of police and intelligence competences	219
a)	General regulations	219
aa)	Germany	219
bb)	China	219
cc)	Comparison	219
b)	Centralization of police and intelligence competences	220
aa)	Germany	220
bb)	China	221
cc)	Comparison	222
c)	Separation between police and intelligence competences	222

aa) Germany	222
bb) China	224
cc) Comparison	224
3. Promotion of international cooperation	225
a) Global cooperation	225
b) Regional cooperation	225
c) Bilateral cooperation with the US	226
aa) Germany	226
bb) China	226
cc) Comparison	227
d) Anti-terror approach	227
aa) Germany	227
bb) China	228
cc) Comparison	228
e) Legal assistance	228
aa) Germany	228
bb) China	229
cc) Comparison	230
III. Comparative Analysis from the Perspective of Basic Rights	231
A. Introduction: Protection of basic rights	231
1. Basic rights	231
a) Germany	231
b) China	232
c) Comparison	234
2. Constitutional guaranties of basic rights	234
a) Germany	234
b) China	234
c) Comparison	235
3. Direct applicability of basic rights	235
a) Germany	235
b) China	235
c) Comparison	235
B. Human dignity	236
1. Constitutional status	236
a) Germany	236
b) China	237
c) Comparison	237
2. Protection of human dignity	237
a) Germany	237
b) China	238
c) Comparison	239
C. Right to life	239

1.	Right to life	239
a)	Germany	239
b)	China	240
c)	Comparison	240
2.	Abolition of death penalty	240
a)	Germany	240
b)	China	241
c)	Comparison	242
D.	Right to physical integrity	243
1.	Right to physical integrity	243
a)	Germany	243
b)	China	243
c)	Comparison	243
2.	Prohibition of torture in law	243
a)	Germany	243
b)	China	245
c)	Comparison	245
3.	Torture in practice	245
a)	Germany	245
b)	China	246
c)	Comparison	247
E.	Freedom of the person	247
1.	Inviolability of freedom of the person	247
a)	Germany	247
b)	China	248
c)	Comparison	249
2.	Reservation of judge	249
a)	Germany	249
b)	China	249
c)	Comparison	250
3.	Right to be brought promptly before a judge	250
a)	Germany	250
b)	China	251
c)	Comparison	252
4.	Right to notification	252
a)	Germany	252
b)	China	252
c)	Comparison	253
F.	Right to privacy	254
1.	Right to privacy	254
a)	Germany	254
b)	China	254
c)	Comparison	255

2.	General right of personality	255
a)	Germany	255
b)	China	256
3.	Inviolability of private premises	256
a)	Germany	256
b)	China	257
c)	Comparison	259
4.	Privacy of communication	259
a)	Germany	259
b)	China	260
c)	Comparison	261
5.	Absolutely protected core area of privacy	261
a)	Germany	261
b)	China	261
6.	Conclusion: Protection of the right to privacy	261
a)	Germany	261
b)	China	262
G.	Right to fair trial	263
1.	Right to fair trial	263
a)	Germany	263
b)	China	264
c)	Comparison	264
2.	Right to silence	264
a)	Germany	264
b)	China	265
c)	Comparison	266
3.	Right to counsel	267
a)	Germany	267
b)	China	267
c)	Comparison	268
4.	Equality of arms	268
a)	Germany	268
aa)	Right to be present	268
bb)	Right to contact the client	269
cc)	Right to inspect files	267
dd)	The right to gather evidence	267
b)	China	267
aa)	Right to be present	270
bb)	Right to contact the client	270
cc)	Right to inspect files	271
dd)	Right to gather evidence	272
ee)	Sword of Damocles	272
c)	Comparison	272

IV. Comparison of General Principles	274
A. Introduction: Rule of law	274
1. Germany	274
2. China	274
3. Comparison	276
B. Supremacy of the constitution	276
1. Germany	276
2. China	277
3. Comparison	279
C. Reservation of law	279
1. Germany	279
2. China	281
3. Comparison	283
D. Certainty of law	284
1. Germany	284
2. China	285
3. Comparison	286
E. Principle of proportionality	286
1. Germany	286
2. China	287
3. Comparison	289
F. Separation of powers	289
1. Separation between political parties and the state	289
a) Germany	289
b) China	290
c) Comparison	292
2. Separation between state powers	292
a) Germany	292
b) China	294
c) Comparison	294
G. Central-local relationship	295
1. Form of government	295
a) Germany	295
b) China	296
c) Comparison	296
2. Central-local relationship	296
a) Germany	296
b) China	297
c) Comparison	298
3. General tendency	299
a) Germany	299
b) China	299
c) Comparison	299

H.	Judicial independence	300
1.	Constitutional status	300
a)	Germany	300
b)	China	301
c)	Comparison	301
2.	Substantive independence	301
a)	Germany	301
b)	China	302
c)	Comparison	303
3.	Personal independence	304
a)	Germany	304
b)	China	304
c)	Comparison	305
I.	Constitutional review	306
1.	Germany	306
2.	China	308
3.	Comparison	309
V.	Comparison of Local Conditions	310
A.	Legal culture	310
1.	Universalism vs. relativism	310
a)	Germany	310
b)	China	310
2.	Origin of basic rights	310
a)	Germany	310
b)	China	310
3.	Rights and duties	311
a)	Germany	311
b)	China	311
4.	Collective and individual interests	311
a)	Germany	311
b)	China	311
B.	Security reality	312
1.	Germany	312
2.	China	312
VI.	Balance between Security and Liberty	314
A.	Relationship between security and liberty	314
1.	Germany	314
2.	China	315
B.	Balance between security and liberty	315
1.	Germany	315
2.	China	315

C. Balancing yardsticks	315
1. Germany	315
2. China	316

Chapter 5: Conclusion

I. Terrorist Threat	318
II. Anti-Terror Legislation	318
III. Underlying Causes	320
IV. Balancing between Security and Liberty	322
V. Answering Questions	323
 Bibliography	 325