EU SANCTIONS: LAW AND POLICY ISSUES CONCERNING RESTRICTIVE MEASURES

Edited by

Iain Cameron
PREFACE

The present book grew out of a conference I organized in September 2011 at the Faculty of Law of Uppsala University. In addition to the authors, I would like to thank all the participants in this conference for helpful comments, particularly Martin Björklund, Therese Hydén, Nils Jareborg, Agneta Hilding-Quarnström, Per Saland, Magnus Ulväng, Jørn Vestergaard and Andreas von Hirsch. I am grateful to the Faculty of Law for funding the conference.

The Emil Heijnes Foundation generously provided the necessary publication funding. Lastly, I should say that the authors submitted their chapters at different times during the late spring of 2012. In general, they have tried to state the law and practice as it is on 30 June 2012. In a number of cases they have been able to take account of subsequent changes.

Iain Cameron
## CONTENTS

**Preface** .......................................................... v  
**About the Authors** .................................................. xiii  
**Abbreviations** ...................................................... xvii  
**Table of Cases** ..................................................... xix  

### Introduction

Iain Cameron .......................................................... 1  
1. Overview .......................................................... 1  
2. Sanctions under international law ................................ 2  
3. Sanctions under the UN Charter and the development of targeted sanctions .......................................................... 3  
4. Purposes of sanctions and evaluating their effects ................... 5  
5. Development and legal bases of EU sanctions prior to the Lisbon Treaty .......................................................... 8  
6. Personal reflections on the *Kadi/al-Barakaat* case and subsequent developments .......................................................... 12  
7. The EU’s autonomous anti-terrorist sanctions and the PMOI standards of review .......................................................... 20  
8. Composite decision-making, secrecy and the scope of review ......... 22  
9. Criminal Law, criminal procedure and the autonomous anti-terrorist sanctions .......................................................... 26  
10. Compensation .......................................................... 29  
11. Application of the safeguards to regime sanctions ..................... 31  
12. Legal bases for, and coherence of, EU sanctions after the Lisbon Treaty .......................................................... 34  
13. Post-Lisbon Internal Procedures for the adoption of EU sanctions ...... 38  
14. Coherence in sanctions policy ............................................. 39  

### On Assessing Targeted Sanctions Blacklists

Mikael Eriksson .......................................................... 41  
1. Introduction .......................................................... 41  
1.1. Why study sanctions assessment? .................................. 42  
2. Targeted sanctions: an overview ........................................ 43  
2.1. What are targeted sanctions? ....................................... 43
2.2. Twenty years of targeted sanctions practice ........................................... 45
2.3. The classical principle of sanctions ......................................................... 46
2.4. Historic turns in the sanctions literature ............................................... 47
2.5. The interest in sanctions assessment ....................................................... 48
2.6. An alternative reading on the practice of targeted sanctions .......... 50

3. Enduring challenges to sanctions assessments efforts ................... 52
3.1. Intentionality ............................................................................................. 52
3.2. Collective action and free-rider problems ............................................ 53
3.3. Unpredictability ........................................................................................ 54
3.4. The thief-and-police pastime .................................................................... 54
3.5. Erudition ..................................................................................................... 55
3.6. The technical and functionalist approach to social dilemmas .......... 56
3.7. Symbolic and non-symbolic reference objects .................................... 57
3.8. Compartmentalisation and perceptions .................................................. 58
3.9. The before and after conundrum ............................................................... 59
3.10. Liberal goals but illiberal means .............................................................. 60
3.11. Summary .................................................................................................. 61

4. Final reflections ............................................................................................ 62

Developing Multiple EU Personalities: Ten Years of Blacklisting and Mutual Trust

Torbjörn Andersson ................................................................. 65

1. EU and mutual trust ................................................................. 65
2. The EU and blacklisting .......................................................... 68
3. The cases ....................................................................................... 74
   3.1. Internal blacklisting – case law .................................................. 74
   3.1.1. The first PMOI case ............................................................ 74
   3.1.2. The second PMOI case ...................................................... 77
   3.1.3. The third PMOI case .......................................................... 82
   3.2. External Blacklisting ................................................................. 84
   3.2.1. Kadi I – the Court of First Instance ................................ 84
   3.2.2. Kadi I – ECJ ......................................................................... 87
   3.2.3. Kadi II .................................................................................... 89
4. Developing Multiple Personalities? ........................................... 92

The Place of Sanctions in the EU System for Combating the Financing of Terrorism

Maria Bergström ................................................................. 97

1. Introduction ................................................................. 97
2. The EU system for combating the financing of terrorism – an overview ..... 99
2.1. Background ......................................................... 99
2.2. Financial freezing measures ................................. 101
2.3. Anti-money laundering measures ......................... 103
   2.3.1. Money laundering: beginnings ......................... 103
   2.3.2. Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering ........ 104
   2.3.3. Anti-money laundering and the European single market .......... 104
   2.3.4. Revising the FATF recommendations towards fighting organised crime .......... 105
   2.3.5. Revising the FATF recommendations towards combating the financing of terrorism ...... 106
   2.3.6. Reflections on the legal basis ......................... 108
3. Security, securitisation and risk-management .................. 110
   3.1. A chameleon threat? ...................................... 110
   3.2. Security, securitisation and risk-management ............... 111
   3.3. Some reflections on money laundering and securitisation .......... 113
4. The coherence of applying AML tactics in terrorist sanctions ..... 113

How, if at All, do Anti-Terrorist Blacklisting Sanctions Fit into (EU) Criminal Law?
Kimmo Nuotio ............................................................. 117
1. Criminal law beyond the state: introduction .................. 117
2. Blacklisting as criminal law? ................................ 120
4. Blacklisting as a ground for prosecution and conviction? ...... 123
5. The European criminal law, then? .............................. 126

Blacklisting Sanctions and Principles of Criminal Law
Petter Asp ................................................................. 131

EU Blacklisting Sanctions – A Danish Criminal Law Perspective
Thomas Elholm ........................................................... 139
1. Introduction .......................................................... 139
2. Legislation ............................................................. 139
3. The case law .......................................................... 140
   3.2. Case 2: The Hamas case (Copenhagen City Court judgment of 27 March 2007 and High Court judgment of 6 February 2008 – unpublished) .......... 141
   3.3. Case 3: Fighters and Lovers case (U 2009.1453 H) ........... 142
Contents

3.4. Case 4: The internet appeal case (Copenhagen City Court, 15 March 2010) .............................................. 144
3.5. Case 5: 2011 case (Copenhagen City Court, 16 June 2011 – unpublished) .............................................. 145
3.6. Conclusions regarding the case law .............................................. 146
4. Discussion ............................................................................. 147
   4.1. The prosecutorial level .............................................. 147
   4.2. The judicial level .............................................. 148

Procedural Safeguards for Blacklisting Sanctions – A Comparison with the EU Framework Decision on Orders Freezing Property or Evidence
Malin Thunberg Schunke ...................................................... 151

1. Introduction ................................................................. 151
2. The FD on Freezing Orders .............................................. 151
3. The term “freezing” ...................................................... 152
4. Procedural safeguards and legal remedies .............................................. 154
   4.1. The decision to freeze assets .............................................. 154
   4.2. The right to challenge a freezing order .............................................. 156
   4.3. The duration of a freezing measure .............................................. 158
5. Conclusions ................................................................. 158

Sanctions Against Terrorism and Their Impact on Freedom of Expression
Thomas Bull ................................................................. 161

1. Introduction ................................................................. 161
2. Criminalization as a constitutional problem for free speech per se ........ 162
3. Criminalization as a practical issue of institutional competence ........ 168
4. Criminalization as a problem for the media and its constitutional role .............................................. 172
5. Conclusion ................................................................. 175

Decision-Making in the Dark? Autonomous EU Sanctions and National Classification
Christina Eckes ................................................................. 177

1. Introduction ................................................................. 177
2. Adopting autonomous EU sanctions in secret? .............................................. 179
   2.1. Information flow under the adoption procedure .............................................. 179
   2.2. Failure to disclose relevant information .............................................. 183
3. Can secrecy remain a national choice? .............................................. 185
   3.1. Implications of national classification .............................................. 185

Intersentia
3.2. ORCON, authorship rule, or? .......................... 186
3.3. How much secrecy is needed? .......................... 190
4. Secret information in courts: lessons that could be taken from national law .......................... 191
5. Conclusions ........................................... 196

Proscription of Organisations in UK Counter-Terrorism Law
Sofia MARQUES DA SILVA and Cian C. MURPHY .............. 199

1. Introduction: a parody of law .......................... 199
2. The logic of proscription .......................... 201
3. The process of designation .......................... 203
4. The impact of the proscription system ................. 205
4.1. Prosecution of suspects .......................... 206
4.2. Deterrence and disruption .......................... 207
4.3. Proscription and international diplomacy ............... 208
4.4. Societal impact .......................... 210
5. Systems of review and delisting ......................... 212
5.1. Administrative review .......................... 213
5.2. Proscribed Organisations Appeal Commission & judicial review .......................... 214
5.3. Problems with deproscription .......................... 215
6. Proscription & the post-September 11 landscape ........ 216
7. Reform of systems of review .......................... 218
8. Conclusion: beyond the parody of pre-emption ............ 220

The Implementation of EU Terrorism Blacklisting Sanctions in the Dutch National Legal System
Suus HOPMAN and Michel UITERWAAL ......................... 223

1. Introduction .......................... 223
2. Sanctions in administrative law ......................... 223
  2.2. New system, old style .......................... 224
  2.3. Al-Aqsa .......................... 227
  2.4. New system, new style .......................... 228
  2.5. More recent cases .......................... 229
3. Criminal law ..................................... 231
  3.1. Generally .......................... 231
  3.2. Criminal terrorist organisations .......................... 231
  3.3. Continued activities of a proscribed organisation .......................... 233
Contents

3.4. Offence against the Sanctions Act 1977 .......................... 237
3.5. Tamil Court case .................................................. 238
4. Conclusion ......................................................... 245

Bibliography .......................................................... 247
Index ................................................................. 265
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Torbjörn Andersson
Torbjörn Andersson is Dean of the Law Faculty at Uppsala University. He is Professor of civil and criminal procedural law and formerly Jean Monnet professor of EC law. His research areas are primarily Procedural Law, EU Law and Competition Law, in particular issues relating to the parallel and conflicting enforcement of law.

Petter Asp
Petter Asp is professor of criminal law at Stockholm university, Sweden, and holder of Ragnar and Torsten Söderberg Chair of Legal Science. His research has focused on international aspects of criminal law (EU criminal law, criminal jurisdiction, cooperation in criminal matters etc.) as well as on national criminal law (especially the general part of the criminal law and sentencing). He is a member of the European Criminal Policy Initiative which in late 2009 published a Manifesto on European Criminal Policy and is currently the head of a legislative committee with the task of reforming (parts of) the Swedish legislation on money laundering.

Maria Bergström
Maria Bergström is Associate Professor in European Law at Uppsala University. She was previously research fellow at Stockholm University. She defended her thesis at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence in 2003. Her particular research interests are concerned with competence issues, changing boundaries and the interactive development of national and EU law, particularly within the fields of constitutional, administrative, penal and procedural law. She is currently conducting research on public-private cooperation and the EU functional notion of the state, the related accountability dilemma and anti-money laundering regulation. Her recent publications include "EU Anti-Money Laundering Regulation: Multilevel Cooperation of Public and Private Actors", in Eckes, C., and Konstantinides, T. (eds.) Crime within the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: A European Public Order, CUP, 2011 and Bergström, M., Svedberg Helgesson, K, Möth, U., "A New Role for For-profit Actors? The Case of Anti-Money Laundering and Risk Management", 49 Journal of Common Market Studies 1043–1064 (2011).
Thomas Bull
Thomas Bull is a judge in the Supreme Administrative Court. Prior to this he was Professor of constitutional law at Uppsala University. Amongst his publications are *Regeringsformen – en kommentar* (with Fredrik Sterzel) [the Instrument of Government – a commentary] 2010 and Mötes- och demonstrarionsfriheten. *En statsrättslig studie av mötes- och demonstrarionsfrihetens innehåll och gränser i Sverige, Tyskland och USA: Freedom of Assembly*, a public law study of the content and limits in the freedoms of assembly and demonstration in Sweden, Germany and the USA] 1997.

Iain Cameron
Iain Cameron is Professor in Public International Law at the University of Uppsala. His research interests lie in human rights, international criminal law and civil liberties. He holds an LLD and an LLM in International Law. He has published extensively in the fields of international law and constitutional law, particularly on international criminal law and human rights issues. He has investigated the issue of legal safeguards and targeted sanctions for the Swedish government (2002), the Council of Europe (2006) and the European Parliament (2008). Since 2006 he has been a member of the European Commission on Democracy through Law (Venice Commission).

Christina Eckes
Christina Eckes is associate professor in EU law at the University of Amsterdam and senior researcher at the Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance (ACELG). In 2012/2013, she is Emile Noël Fellow-in-Residence at New York University. Her current research project Outside-In: Tracing the Imprint of the European Union’s External Actions on Its Constitutional Landscape is funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). She has widely published on EU external relations and EU counter-terrorist sanctions, including a monograph entitled EU Counter-Terrorist Policies and Fundamental Rights – The Case of Individual Sanctions (Oxford University Press, 2009).

Thomas Elholm
Thomas Elholm is Professor of Criminal Law, University of Southern Denmark, Department of Law. He holds an LLM and a PhD in law from the University of Copenhagen. Since 2011 he is Chief Editor of the Scandinavian Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.

Mikael Eriksson
Dr. Mikael Eriksson is a researcher at the Swedish Defence Research Agency. Before joining the agency he obtained his PhD at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy. He has also been involved in different research project
Suus Hopman
Suus Hopman is currently working as a LLD candidate at Uppsala University. Until recently she was a member of both the Dutch and Swedish bar associations. She worked as an attorney at Böhler Advocaten in Amsterdam; in that capacity she participated in EU-level and national criminal law procedures concerning blacklisting.

Sofia Marques da Silva
Sofia Marques da Silva is a doctoral researcher at King’s College London. She graduated from the University of Durham LL.B and holds LL.M Degrees from Universidade Católica Portuguesa de Lisboa and King’s College London. She has worked as a research assistant and is now a research fellow at the Centre of European Law at King’s College London. Sofia’s research interests are EU Security and Defence, Counter-Terrorism and EU Constitutional and Criminal law.

Cian Murphy
Dr Cian Murphy is Lecturer in Law at King’s College London. Dr Murphy’s first monograph, EU Counter-Terrorism Law: Pre-emption & the Rule of Law was published in 2012 by Hart Publishing. He is also the co-editor of the forthcoming EU Security & Justice Law: After Lisbon & Stockholm (2013 Hart Publishing). Dr Murphy’s current research examines the effect of transnationalisation in counter-terrorism on constitutional principles across the world. In Spring 2013 he will be a Fulbright-Schumann Research Scholar at the Center on National Security & the Law at Georgetown University, Washington DC.

Kimmo Nuotio
Kimmo Nuotio is Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Helsinki and dean of the Faculty of Law. He is also the vice-director of the Centre of Excellence in Foundations of European Law and Polity funded by the Academy of Finland (2008–2013) and the director of the national doctoral programme in law “Law in a Changing World” coordinated by the University of Helsinki. He has broad research interests including the Theoretical Foundations of Penal Liability, Modernization of Criminal Law, Nordic, European, and International Criminal Law, Transnational law, the Risk Society / Welfare State, Political Philosophy and Law, Legal Integration in Europe and Researcher Skills and...
About the Authors


Malin Thunberg Schunke
Malin Thunberg Schunke is an Associate Professor in Criminal Law at the University of Uppsala. She holds an LLD in Criminal Law (Uppsala University) and an LLM in Criminology and Criminal Justice (King’s College, London). Her research interests lie in national and international criminal law particularly EU judicial cooperation in criminal matters and human rights. She has been an Apprentice Judge at Stockholm City Court and has been working several years as an Assistant Prosecutor at the Prosecuting Office Stockholm. Her more recent publications include, “En kodifiering av tillräckliga rättssäkerhetsgarantier för misstänkta och tilltalade – Krav för ett fortsatt samarbete i brottmål inom EU?” in Festskrift till Suzanne Wennberg, Norstedts 2009, and International Criminal Law from a Swedish Perspective, Intersentia 2011 (joint author).

Michel Uiterwaal
Michel Uiterwaal is Advisor on Extractives, Human Rights and Conflict at IKV Pax Christi, Utrecht, The Netherlands. Until recently, he was an attorney at Böhler Advocaten in Amsterdam; in that capacity he has participated in several national and EU-level procedures concerning blacklisting.
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Appeal Cases (United Kingdom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AML</td>
<td>Anti-Money Laundering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCBS</td>
<td>Basel Committee on Banking Supervision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDD</td>
<td>Customer Due Diligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFI</td>
<td>Court of First Instance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFSP</td>
<td>Common Foreign and Security Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFT</td>
<td>Combating Financing of Terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJEU</td>
<td>Court of Justice of the European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPRI</td>
<td>Conflict and Peace Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUP</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAW</td>
<td>European Arrest Warrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECHR</td>
<td>European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECJ</td>
<td>European Court of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECR</td>
<td>European Court Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECtHR</td>
<td>European Court of Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed.</td>
<td>Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATF</td>
<td>Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIUs</td>
<td>Financial Intelligence Units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICLQ</td>
<td>International and Comparative Law Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>International Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Money Laundering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLR</td>
<td>Modern Law Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJIL</td>
<td>Nordic Journal of International Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFAC</td>
<td>Office of Foreign Assets Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OJ</td>
<td>Official Journal of the European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OUP</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para.</td>
<td>Paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEPs</td>
<td>Politically Exposed Persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

PMOI  People’s Mujahedeen of Iran
TEU   Treaty on European Union
TFEU  Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TFTP  Terrorism Finance Tracking Programme
UK    United Kingdom
UN    United Nations
UNSC  UN Security Council
UNTS  United Nations Treaty Series
v.    Versus
Vol.   Volume
TABLE OF CASES

EU COURTS

COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE/TRIBUNAL

Case T-228/02 People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran v Council (OMPI/PMOI I) [2006] ECR II-4665.
Case T-256/07 People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran v Council (OMPI/PMOI II) [2008] ECR II-3019.
Case T-284/08 People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran v Council (OMPI/PMOI III) [2008] ECR II-3487.

ECJ/CJEU

Case C-266/05 P Sison v Council [2007] ECR I-1233.
Table of Cases

Case C-64/05 P Sweden v Commission [2007] ECR I-11389.
Joined Cases C-120/06 P and C-121/06 P Fabbrica italiana accumulatori motocarri Montecchio SpA (FIHAMM), and Fabbrica italiana accumulatori motocarri Montecchio Technologies LLC v Council and Commission [2008] ECR I-6513.
Case C-548/09 P Bank Melli Iran v Council, 16 November 2011, Grand Chamber, nyr.
Case C-27/09 French Republic v People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), Council and Commission, 21 December 2011, Grand Chamber, nyr.
Case C-360/10 SABAM v Netlog, 16 February 2012 (nyr).
Case C-376/10 Pye Phylo Tay Za v Council, 13 March 2012, Grand Chamber, nyr.

ECtHR

Comingersoll S.A. v Portugal, No. 35382/97, 6 April 2000.
Segi and Others and Gestoras Pro-Amnistía and Others v 15 States of the EU, Nos 6422/02 and 9916/02, 23 May 2002.
Sürmeli v Germany, No. 75529/01, 31 October 2005.
Segerstedt-Wiberg and Others v Sweden, No. 62332/00, 6 June 2006.
Burden and Burden v UK, No. 13378/05, 12 December 2006.
Leroy v France No. 36109/03, 2 October 2008.
A and Others v UK, No. 3455/05, 19 February 2009.
Gül and Others v Turkey, No. 4870/02, 8 June 2010.
Sanoma Uitgevers v Netherlands, No. 38224/03, 14 September 2010.
Kılıç and Eren v Turkey, No. 43807/07, 29 November 2011.
Vejdeland and Others v Sweden, No. 1813/07, 9 February 2012.
Nada v Switzerland, No. 10593/08, 12 September 2012.
UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE


NATIONAL COURTS

DENMARK

U 2007.1831 H
Copenhagen City Court, judgment of 27 March 2007, unpublished.
High Court, judgment of 6 February 2008, unpublished.
U 2009.1453 H
Copenhagen City Court, judgment of 15 March 2010, unpublished.

THE NETHERLANDS

Rechtbank ’s-Gravenhage 13–5–2003, KG 03/514, LJN AF8506.
Rechtbank ’s-Gravenhage 3–6-2003, KG 03/514, LJN AF9389.
Gerechtshof ’s-Gravenhage 8–11–2010, 200.076.673/01, LJN BO3682.
Hoge Raad 28–10–2011, nr. 10/05147, LJN BQ9880.

SWEDEN

Hovrätten över Skåne och Blekinge (Court of Appeal), case no. B 685–09, decided 9 November 2009, unpublished.

UK

Secretary of State for the Home Department v Rehman [2001] UKHL 47.
Table of Cases

A (FC) and others (FC) (Appellants) v Secretary of State for the Home Department (Respondent), [2004] UKHL 56.
Secretary of State for the Home Department v Lord Alton of Liverpool & Others [2008] EWCA Civ 443.
Al Rawi v the Security Service [2011] UKSC 34.

USA

Bethel School District No. 403 v Fraser, 478 U.S. 675 (1986).