The Law of the List

UN counterterrorism sanctions and the politics of global security law

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Gavin Sullivan

UN Counterterrorism Sanctions and the Politics of Global Security Law

Gavin Sullivan
THE LAW OF THE LIST: UN COUNTERTERRORISM SANCTIONS
AND THE POLITICS OF GLOBAL SECURITY LAW

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor

aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam

op gezag van de Rector Magnificus

prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex

ten overstaan van een door het College

voor Promoties ingestelde commissie,

in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel

op dinsdag 21 maart 2017, te 12:00 uur

door Gavin Sullivan

geboren te Sydney, Australië
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                     Prof.dr. Kim Lane Scheppele      Princeton University
                     Prof.dr. Wouter Werner           Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Faculteit der Maatschappij- en Gedragswetenschappen
## The Law of the List: UN Counterterrorism Sanctions and the Politics of Global Security Law

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- Notes on the Method Assemblage
- Structure of the Book

#### Studying Global Security Law in Motion
- Notes on the Method Assemblage
- Structure of the Book

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This project began in 2011 two months before the birth of my first daughter, Nova, and at the end of 2014 my second daughter, Aelle, was born. Writing a PhD with two little children is a challenge. But it is with deep love and gratitude that I thank both my extraordinary kids for being with me throughout this project. They certainly made it harder at times by stealing my sleep, time and attention. But they bring joy and unbridled enthusiasm and with them I experience the world differently each day. And for that I am immensely grateful. When Nova told me a character in one of her made-up stories was called ‘Ever’ after ‘your book, because it goes on for ever’, I knew it was time to end it and submit. I want to also acknowledge the contribution of my parents, Rhonda and Peter Sullivan, who have always supported and encouraged me in what I want to do, however uncertain it may seem at the time. My sister, Tracey Sullivan, also helped along the way - including by transcribing some of my interviews! And without the affective labour of my mother-in-law, Guadalupe Alzaga, this project would have never finished. Thank you for nurturing my kids when this project demanded more of my time. My deepest thanks go to my partner and accomplice, Valery Alzaga, for her unwavering support, love of learning and belief in the importance of what I’m doing. During this project we have crossed three countries, had two kids, changed careers and cut through innumerable problems together with creativity, verve and grace. She critically engaged with and helped shape the ideas of this book in countless ways and reminded me of its underlying politics, when I had forgotten.
# Abbreviations

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<td>AG</td>
<td>Advocate General</td>
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<td>ANT</td>
<td>Actor-Network Theory</td>
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<td>API</td>
<td>Advanced Passenger Information</td>
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<td>AVSEC</td>
<td>Aviation Security Plan of Action</td>
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<td>CSIS</td>
<td>Canadian Security Intelligence Service</td>
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<td>CTC</td>
<td>Counter Terrorism Committee</td>
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<td>ECJ</td>
<td>European Court of Justice</td>
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<td>ECHR</td>
<td>European Court of Human Rights</td>
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<td>EGC</td>
<td>European General Court</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>EUI</td>
<td>European University Institute</td>
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<td>FOIA</td>
<td>Freedom of Information Act</td>
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<td>FTF</td>
<td>Foreign Terrorist Fighter</td>
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<td>GAL</td>
<td>Global Administrative Law</td>
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<td>GDS</td>
<td>Global Distribution Systems</td>
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<td>HRC</td>
<td>Human Rights Committee</td>
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<td>IATA</td>
<td>International Air Transport Association</td>
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<td>ICAO</td>
<td>International Civil Aviation Organisation</td>
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<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Convention on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<td>IO</td>
<td>International Organisation</td>
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<td>IR</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>OFAC</td>
<td>Office of Foreign Assets Control</td>
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<td>PNR</td>
<td>Passenger Name Record</td>
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<tr>
<td>R2P</td>
<td>Responsibility to Protect</td>
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<tr>
<td>SARPS</td>
<td>Standards and Recommended Practices</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCAD</td>
<td>Security Council Affairs Division</td>
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<td>SCR</td>
<td>Security Council Resolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIAC</td>
<td>UK Special Immigration Appeals Commission</td>
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<td>STS</td>
<td>Science and Technology Studies</td>
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<td>TPN</td>
<td>Transnational Policy Network</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>USAP</td>
<td>Universal Security Audit Programme</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisation</td>
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