The Law of the List

UN counterterrorism sanctions and the politics of global security law

Sullivan, G.

Citation for published version (APA):
The Law of the List: 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
**Promotiecommissie:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Promotor:</th>
<th>Prof.dr. Marieke de Goede</th>
<th>Universiteit van Amsterdam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Copromotor:</td>
<td>Prof. dr. Mariana Valverde</td>
<td>University of Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overige Leden:</td>
<td>Prof. dr. Deirdre Curtin</td>
<td>Universiteit van Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prof.dr. Marlies Glasius</td>
<td>Universiteit van Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prof.dr. Rifve Jaffe</td>
<td>Universiteit van Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Julien Jeandesboz</td>
<td>Université Libre de Bruxelles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prof.dr. Kim Lane Schepple</td>
<td>Princeton University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prof.dr. Wouter Werner</td>
<td>Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Acknowledgements** iv  
**Abbreviations** vii  
**List of Cases** viii  
**List of Figures** x  
**List of Interviews** xi

## 1. Introduction: The Law of the List 01

Four Walls of Scholarship 06  
Studying Global Security Law in Motion 10  
Notes on the Method Assemblage 19  
Structure of the Book 29

## 2. Global Listing Technologies and the Politics of Counterterrorism Expertise 33

The List as a Technology 36  
The Technics of Global Counterterrorism and the Politics of Rendering Technical 40  
Threat Emergence and the Global Optic 45  
Interoperability and the Politics of Formatting 65  
What’s in a List? Inscription, Translation and Pre-emptive Security Governance 77

## 3. The List as Multiple Object: A Critical Genealogy of the UN1267 Ombudsperson 80

The Legal List: Asserting Rights and Pursuing Accountability in the Courts 84  
The Humanitarian List: Academic Expertise and the Ethics of Targeted Sanctions 93  
The Living List: the Al-Qaida Monitoring Team as Accountability Reform Advocates 108  
The Compliant List: Global Constitutionalism and the UN Special Rapporteurs 118  
The Credible List: the Security Council P5 Making the Global Exception Durable 127  
The Assembled List: the Ombudsperson as Boundary Object and Figure of Expertise 136  
Multiplicity and Experimentation in Global Exceptional Governance 148

## 4. Complexity in the Courts: Mapping the Spatiotemporal Dynamics of the List 152

Non-synchronous Law and the Use of Intelligence-as-Evidence 155  
Dis-located Law: Taking Listing Decisions Beyond the Vanishing Point of Review 172  
Spatiotemporal Dynamics and Global Legal Assemblage 183

## 5. Conclusions 187

The Law of the List: Key Arguments 187  
Original Contributions of the Study 191  
From Al-Qaida to ISIL: The Global Law of Endless War 200

Bibliography 203  
Summary 233  
Samenvatting 237
Acknowledgements

A book is always a multiplicity. There have been many that have helped this research come to life. I have been privileged to have had two excellent supervisors, both at the cutting-edge of their research fields, whose ideas have helped assemble this text and who have both been ideal mentors. Marieke de Goede has nurtured and developed this project with me from the beginning. It was her innovative work on pre-emptive security that first inspired me to come back to university to undertake this research. Her method of combining empirical analysis with conceptual innovation is energising and has left a lasting impression on how I think and write, for which I am immensely grateful. She has engaged with my work critically and pragmatically and has helped me learn how to publish and teach. And she afforded me time and understanding when I needed it, allowing me to juggle my professional and family lives without crisis. Mariana Valverde has also inspired and shaped this project in countless ways. We first met through our shared love of Peter Goodrich’s book, Languages of Law. Since then she has shown me - both through her work and engagement with my own research - what critical, dynamic and inventive socio-legal research can look like. Her empirically-nuanced body of work on the knowledge practices and spatiotemporal dimensions of legal governance is a continuing source of inspiration and runs through the different chapters of this book. She has been intellectually generous, frank and has helped me to not be too wordy when I didn’t need to be. Both Marieke and Mariana were also merciful with their comments in the final stages, which helped bring the project to completion.

Amir Attaran and Kim Lane Scheppele inspired me, both intellectually and politically, to undertake critical empirical research on global security law. Both supported and encouraged my early research on terrorist blacklisting at a time when it was sorely needed, for which I am grateful. Amir urged me to make whatever I do ‘forensically valuable’ for others seeking to understand and challenge this global regime down the line. Kim was one of the first to grasp the constitutional and political significance of the Security Council’s post-9/11 ‘anti-terrorism campaign’ and has been both friend and intellectual mentor throughout. Without the engagement of friends and colleagues in Amsterdam this project would never been realised. I particularly wish to thank Julien Jeandesboz, Geoff Gordon and Francesco Ragazzi for the innumerable discussions over coffee, lunch and drinks. You made undertaking this research more exciting and far less isolating than it could have otherwise been – my apologies if I talked about my PhD too much. Wouter Werner has been an important interlocutor and collaborator throughout this project, who has always engaged with and supported my research and been a pleasure to work with. Merijn Oudenampsen has been a solid friend who has had my back for years, for which I am immensely grateful and bestow upon thee the honour of ‘paranymph’!

I was invited to a number of events throughout this project that allowed me to present work-in-progress and get a clearer sense of how my research could draw from and speak to current debates. Wouter Werner at VU University Amsterdam coordinated the COST Action IS1003 International Law between Constitutionalisation and Fragmentation. The Role of Law in the post-national constellation, which hosted numerous workshops (in Amsterdam, Malaga, Lund, Copenhagen and Weimar) from 2012 – 2014 that helped shape the contours of this book. I am grateful to Peer Zumbansen and Prabha Kotiswaran for inviting me to participate in the inspiring Transnational Law Summer Institute (TLSI) at Kings College London in 2015 and 2016 and for showing an ongoing interest in my work. Francesca Galli from Maastricht University asked me to a workshop on terrorist listing in Brussels in 2012 that helped influence chapter 4. Deirdre Curtin invited me to a transnational law workshop at the University of Amsterdam in 2013 that forced me to situate my research in relation to postnational legal theory debates. Thanks to Susanne Krasmann and Sven Opitz for organising the Materiality of Law and Global Politics event at the University of Hamburg in 2014 that helped clarify my relation
with Bruno Latour’s work and allowed me to present the early draft findings of chapter 2. Enrica Rigo and Alice Riccardi kindly invited me to Roma Tre University in 2012 and 2014 to present my research on the UN1267 Ombudsperson at different stages of development. Many thanks to Morag Goodwin and Philip Paeiment from Tilburg Law School for having me participate in their innovative Global Law Lab series. Various people have given feedback on draft papers at conferences that ultimately made their way into this book. Thanks to Claudia Aradau, Jens Bartelson, Rocco Bellanova, Christian Bueger, Grainne de Burca, Campbell Munro and Nik Rajkovic for their engagement and helpful suggestions.

This book was completed from the University of Kent amongst wonderful new colleagues and within a stimulating and critical environment. Thanks to Emilie Cloatre and Donatella Alessandrini from the Social Critiques of Law (SOCRIL) research group at Kent Law School for inviting me to present my research in 2014 and showing me that the University of Kent is an ideal place for undertaking cutting-edge socio-legal work. I would especially like to thank my head of school Toni Williams for affording me the space and time to finish this manuscript on the job and Dermot Walsh for pushing me to prioritise completion above all else and to ignore the things that didn’t matter. Kate Wood provided research assistance in the final phase at a critical time, for which I am also very grateful.

This research would not have been possible without all of the interviewees who generously gave their time and shared their knowledge about the listing regime and its politics. I wish I could thank you personally, but I promised anonymity. My hope is that you find that this book resonates with your work in some way and informs your thinking and practice on this issue. Conducting global multi-sited research on a tight budget would have been impossible were it not for friends hosting me in different cities around the world. Special thanks to Sanjay Pinto and Avy Skolnik (in New York), Rafael Navar (Washington DC) and Aaron Chappel (in Brussels) for their hospitality and engagement. This project also relies on classified US Embassy cables bravely leaked by Chelsea Manning - who is currently serving a 35-year sentence at Fort Leavenworth maximum-security military prison in Kansas, USA – and published by Wikileaks. My thanks and solidarity go to them for making this material available for public use, at great personal cost in spite of the severity of the consequences that they could (and do) face.

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

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

International and Regional

Court of Justice of the European Union

Case C-155/79 Australian Mining and Smelting Europe Ltd. v Commission [1982] ECR 1575 (170)
Case T-315/01 Kadi v Council and Commission [2005] ECR II 3649 (90)
Case T-228/02, Organisation des Modjahedines du peuple d’Iran v Council of European Union [2006] ECR II 4665 (160)
Joined Cases C-402 P and 415/05 P Kadi and Al Barakaat v Council and Commission [2008] ECR I 6351 (5, 90, 161)
Case T-85/09, Kadi v Commission [2010] ECR II 5177 (90, 157)
Case C-27-09 P French Republic v PMOI [2011] ECR I 13427, Opinion of AG Sharpston (163)
Joined Cases C-584/10 P, C-593/10 P and C-595/10 P Commission, Council and United Kingdom v Kadi [2013] Nyr (17, 91, 158)
Case T-306/10, Yusef v Commission [2014] Nyr (171)

European Court of Human Rights

A and others v United Kingdom App. No. 3455/05 (ECtHR, 19 February 2009) (166)
Al-Dulimi and Montana Management Inc. v Switzerland App. No. 5809/08 (ECtHR, 26 November 2013) (89, 124)
Al-Khawaja and Tahery v United Kingdom App. Nos. 26766/05 and 22228/06 (ECtHR, 15 December 2011) (156)
Nada v Switzerland Appl. No. 10593/08 (ECtHR, 12 September 2012) (88)

United Nations Human Rights Committee


National

Canada

Abdelrazik v Canada (Minister of Foreign Affairs) 2009 F.C. 580 (5, 85)

Germany

Oberlandesgericht (OLG), OLG Hamburg, Decision of 14 June 2005, reprinted in (2005) 58 Neue Juristische Wochenzeitschrift 2326 (143)
Solange I (29 May 1974) BVerfGE 37 (7)
Solange II (22 October 1986) BVerfGE 73 (7)

Switzerland

Youssef Mustapha Nada v SECO, Staatssekretariat fur Wirtschaft (Schweizer Bundesgericht) (14 November 2007), 1A.45/2007/daa (88)

United Kingdom

R v Goldstein [1983] 1 WLR 151 (120)
R v Secretary of State for the Home Department, Ex p Simms [2000] 2 AC 115 (87)
Secretary of State for the Home Department v Rehman [2001] UKHL 47 (163, 169)
A and others v Secretary of State for the Home Department (No 2) [2005] UKHL 71 (143, 144, 148, 171)
HM Treasury v Ahmed and Others [2010] UKSC 2 (3, 86)
Youssef v Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs [2016] UKSC 3 (128)
Bank Mellat v HM Treasury [2013] UKSC 38 (169)

United States

Hamdan v Rumsfeld, 548 US 577 (143)
## List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Excerpt from the UN1267 Al-Qaida Sanctions List</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Social Network Map of Al-Qaida according to the UN1267 list entries</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Narrative Summary of Reasons, showing ‘associations’ with other listed individuals.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>‘Equilibrium of Possibilities’ diagram provided by Monitoring Team member in interview, June 2014</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>The ‘Staircase to Terrorism’ model used by the Belgian government’s Community Policing Preventing Radicalisation and Terrorism initiative</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Interpol-United Nations Special Notice (Public Version), 2006. Reproduced in UN Doc. S/2006/154 (10 March 2006) 29.</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Abousfian Abdelrazik at a press conference in Montreal, 15 June 2011</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Participants in Watson Institute workshop on UN Sanctions Reform Brown University, 16 - 17 July 2004.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Kimberly Prost, UN1267 Ombudsperson 2010 - 2015</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Interviews

Primary Interviews

Interview A  Interview with former member of the 1267 Monitoring Team
New York, November 2012

Interview B  Interview with current member of the 1267 Monitoring Team
New York, June 2014

Interview C  Interview with former member of the UN1267 Sanctions Committee
New York, June 2014

Interview D  Interview with former member of the UN 1267 Monitoring Team
October 2013 (Location omitted to preserve anonymity)

Interview E  Interview with International Civil Aviation Organization official
Montreal (via Skype), March 2014

Interview F  Interview with former member of the 1267 Monitoring Team
New York (via Skype), June 2014

Interview G  Interview with Watson Institute scholar
Toronto, March 2014

Interview H  Interview with former UN Secretariat official
New York, June 2014

Interview I  Interview with former member of the Monitoring Team
New York (via Skype), August 2014

Interview J  Interview with former UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) Director
London, April 2013

Interview K  Interview with the former UN 1267 Ombudsperson, Kimberly Prost
New York, November 2012

Interview L  Interview with the former UN 1267 Ombudsperson, Kimberly Prost
New York, June 2014

Interview M  Interview with member of European Commission Legal Service
Brussels, November 2012

Interview N  Interview with member of the European General Court
Luxembourg, March 2013

Interview O  Interview with member of the European External Action Service (EEAS)
Brussels, March 2013

Interview P  Interview with member of European Court of Justice
Luxembourg, March 2013

Interview Q  Interview with member of Council of the European Union
Brussels, March 2013
Interview with a member of the Commission Legal Service
Brussels, October 2013

Additional Interviews

Interview with member of the German Mission to the UN
New York, November 2012

Interview with member of the Swiss Mission to the UN
New York, November 2012

Interview with two members of the UK Mission to the UN
New York, November 2012

Interview with member of the US Mission to the UN
New York, November 2012

Interview with lawyer representing targeted individuals
London, March 2013

Interview with former member of the UK Sanctions Unit
London, April 2013

Interview with member of the UK FCO Sanctions Team
London, April 2013

Interview with lawyer representing targeted individuals
London, May 2013

Interview with lawyer representing targeted entities
Washington DC, June 2014

Interview with member of the German Mission to the UN
New York, June 2014

Interview with member of the US Mission to the UN
New York, June 2014

Interview with expert from INTERPOL
New York (via Skype), September 2014

Interview with expert from International Air Transport Association (IATA)
Montreal (via Skype) October 2014