

University of Georgia
INTL 8270

The Politics of Trade and Security

Time: Thursday 12:45 - 3:35

Place: Psychology 304

Instructor: Joshua Massey

Email: jnmassey@uga.edu

Office Hours: Thursday 4:00 – 5:00 and by appointment

Course Summary

This graduate seminar introduces students to the intersection of strategic trade and national and international security through a detailed examination of U.S. domestic and international strategic trade controls. The thrust of the course is decidedly policy-relevant in nature. The seminar is divided into three sections. Section I provides an overview of U.S. trade policy key trends and terms followed by an introduction to the US export control system and export control reform. Section II provides historical and international perspectives of export controls through an examination of the origins and demise of the Coordinating Committee (CoCom) and then turns to the informal organizations that comprise the Multilateral Export Control Regime and U.S. international export control assistance programs. Finally, Section III is an examination of the contemporary environment. Section III begins by familiarizing students with the U.S. Export Administration Regulations (EAR) through a review of key elements, common terms, and practices outlined in these regulations. It concludes with an analysis of emerging technologies and state threats. Throughout the course students will be challenged to think in terms praxis. The training received in this seminar is designed to prepare students for internships and careers across the export control and broader international policy community including, the U.S. government, international organizations, and private industry. In addition to class discussions and course work, the seminar will include visits from a variety of external speakers with experience working in the field of strategic trade management to offer both policy perspectives and career advice.

Readings

All readings for this course are accessible through the University of Georgia library system or will be provided by the instructor. There is a reasonable reading load for the course. Reading assignments are listed on the syllabus the day they will be discussed in class. Each student is expected to complete the required readings and be prepared to participate actively in discussions.

Course Requirements and Grading Components

Professionalism	20%	Weekly
Export Control Violations Case Study	20%	Weekly
MECR and International Assistance Reports	25%	February 17th
Emerging Issues Presentation and Report	35%	April 14th

Grading Scale

92.00 to 100.00	=A	72.00 to 77.99	=C
90.00 to 91.99	=A-	70.00 to 71.99	=C-
88.00 to 89.99	=B+	68.00 to 69.99	=D+
82.00 to 87.99	=B	62.00 to 67.99	=D
80.00 to 81.99	=B-	60.00 to 61.99	=D-
78.00 to 79.99	=C+	Below 60.00	=F

Professionalism (20%)

A student's professionalism grade is determined by one's class participation, attitude toward and enthusiasm for the topic and assignments, contribution to lectures and discussion, interaction with peers and guest speakers, engagement in group activities, personal conduct and correspondence with instructors and all class members. I expect you to be collegial and respectful during all seminar discussions and group activities. Finally, attendance, punctuality, as well as responsibility are the hallmarks of professionalism. That said, please thoroughly review the Coronavirus information listed below and take responsibility for strictly adhering to the updated guidance for self-isolating, quarantining, and reporting.

Export Control Violations Case Study (20%)

The export control violations case study is an individual project comprising a 1-page executive summary and a 10-minute presentation. For this assignment, each student will present (2) export control violations and penalties case studies selected from the Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS) annual "Don't Let This Happen to You" report (September 2020). The report may be found at the following link: (<https://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/documents/bis-guidance-documents/oe/2527-don-t-let-this-happen-to-you-2?format=html>). These case studies will be presented throughout the semester on designated dates. Students should review the BIS report and come to class on **Week 2, January 20th** prepared to select their case studies and sign-up for a presentation date. The first reports are due **Week 4, February 3rd**. The 1-page executive summary should follow the MIP policy memo format which is located on the course eLC site. Students must provide the instructor with an electronic copy of the report and presentation via email (jnmassey@uga.edu) and deliver a hard copy of the report and presentation to the instructor at the beginning of class on the date of the presentation.

This review of violations and penalties will provide students with real world context and a growing understanding and appreciation for the role that export controls play in international and national security. Through these presentations, students will become increasingly familiar with the various types of violations, the variety of actors involved ranging from state supported espionage, nefarious individuals, to naïve small industry representatives. These case studies will also showcase the variety of ways controlled technology has been accessed illegally from wanton negligence to honest errors committed across private industry and academia. Students will also gain a better appreciation for the level of stakes involved and hence a more-full understanding of why employment opportunities in the field of export controls are rapidly expanding.

Multilateral Export Control Regime (MECR) and International Assistance Reports (25%)

The MECR and International Assistance Report is a group project comprising a 3-5 page report and a 15 minute presentation. Students will work in a small group to draft a report on either one of the organizations that comprise the MECR (Wassenaar Arrangement (WA), Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), or Australia Group (AG), or one of the U.S. export control international assistance programs (Department of State's Export Control and Related Border Security Program (EXBS) or the Department of Energy's International Nuclear Export Control Program (INECP). Students should come to class on **Week 3, January 27th** prepared to select their organization. The MECR and International Assistance reports are due **Week 6, February 17th**. The 3-5 page report should follow the MIP policy memo format which is located on the course eLC site. Students must provide the instructor with an electronic copy of the report and presentation via email (jnmassey@uga.edu) and deliver a hard copy of the report and presentation to the instructor at the beginning of class on **Thursday, February 17th**.

The MECR and International Assistance reports are designed to expose students to broader *international* export control efforts. As part of its efforts to inhibit the proliferation of WMD and advanced conventional weapons, the U.S. coordinates export controls with like-minded countries through participation in the four informal organizations that comprise the MECR: WA, NSG, MTCR, and AG. Additionally, the U.S. sponsors programs at the Department of State (ISN / EXBS) and the Department of Energy (INECP) that are geared toward assisting international partners with crafting effective legislation designed to uphold their nonproliferation obligations. Familiarity with the MECR is key to understanding how US domestic export control regulations contribute to a global nonproliferation effort.

Emerging Issues in Export Controls (35%)

The emerging issues in export controls is an individual project comprising an 8-10 page report and a 12 minute presentation. Throughout the course, students will be introduced to a variety of emerging issues that promise to influence and broaden the conduct of current strategic trade practices. This project is an opportunity for each student to select one of those issues of particular interest to them and conduct an in-depth analysis. For example, one's topic may relate to a specific technology, country, industry, or regulation. Additionally, students are encouraged to explore how export controls are related to other areas such as human rights or energy. Students may declare an emerging issues topic at any time throughout the semester, however, the final date to set the subject of one's topic is **Week 12, April 7th**. All emerging issues reports are due **Week 13, April 14th**. The 8-10 page report should follow the MIP policy report format which is located on the course eLC site. Students must provide the instructor with an electronic copy of the report and presentation via email (jnmassey@uga.edu) and deliver a hard copy of the report and presentation to the instructor at the beginning of class on **Thursday, April 14th**.

Administrative Issues

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary. Please contact me during the first week of the term if you have a conflict that will prevent you from attending class or completing an assignment on the scheduled date. Make-up assignments are only offered for university-excused absences.

All academic work must meet the standards contained in the University of Georgia's "Culture of Honesty" (http://www.uga.edu/honesty/ahpd/culture_honesty.htm). You are responsible to inform yourself about those standards before performing any academic work. My policy for academic dishonesty is very simple: Don't plagiarize: If you turn in a written assignment that is (in part) not your own work you will receive a failing grade for the *course*. Disciplinary proceedings to dismiss you from the University may be initiated against you. I will not tolerate academic dishonesty.

The University of Georgia seeks to provide students with disabilities the opportunity to fully participate in educational programs and services. In keeping with this philosophy, it is University policy that students with documented disabilities receive reasonable accommodations through access to classroom information. If you require **special accommodations** because of a university-documented condition, please contact me during the first two weeks of the semester and we can work with the Disability Resource Center in order to achieve a positive outcome.

Coronavirus Information

Face coverings: Face coverings are recommended for all individuals while inside campus facilities.

COVID-19 Symptoms: Students exhibiting COVID-19 symptoms should self-isolate and get tested. You can schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162.

Positive COVID-19 Test: Students that test positive for COVID-19, either through a PCR test, Antigen test, or a home test kit, are required to report through the DawgCheck Test Reporting Survey and follow the provided instructions.

As of December 29, 2021, when an individual receives a positive COVID-19 test:

Everyone, regardless of vaccination status, should:

- Stay home for 5 days.
- If you have no symptoms or your symptoms are resolving after 5 days, you can leave your house and return to class.
- Continue to wear a mask around others for 5 additional days.

What do I do if I have been exposed to COVID-19 (Quarantine guidance)? If you have been exposed* to someone with COVID-19 or to someone with a positive COVID19 test and you are:

- Boosted, or have become fully vaccinated within the last 6 months (Moderna or Pfizer vaccine) or within the last 2 months (J&J vaccine)
 - o You do not need to quarantine at home and may come to class.
 - o You should wear a mask around others for 10 days.
 - o If possible, get tested on day 5.
 - o If you develop symptoms, get tested and isolate at home until test results are received, then proceed in accordance with the test results.
- Unvaccinated, or became fully vaccinated more than 6 months ago (Moderna or Pfizer vaccine) or more than 2 months ago (J&J vaccine) and have not received a booster:

- o You must quarantine at home for 5 days. After that you may return to class but continue to wear a mask around others for 5 additional days.
- o If possible, get tested on day 5.
- o If you develop symptoms, get tested and isolate at home until test results are received, then proceed in accordance with the test results.

*Exposure is defined as being within 6 feet for a cumulative total of 15 minutes or more over a 24- hour period – unmasked. “Masked-to-masked” encounters are not currently considered an exposure; this type of interaction would not warrant quarantine.

You should report the need to quarantine on DawgCheck (<https://dawgcheck.uga.edu/>), and communicate directly with your faculty to coordinate your coursework while in quarantine. If you need additional help, reach out to Student Care and Outreach (sco@uga.edu) for assistance.

Important Dates

January 10 th - 14 th :	Drop Add
March 3 rd :	Midterm
March 7 th – 11 th :	Spring Break
March 24 th :	Withdrawal Deadline
May 3 rd :	Classes End

Course Overview: The syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

Week 1, January 13th

Course Introduction and Overview

Section I: Foundations

Week 2, January 20th

Topic: Trade Policy

Readings:

Darnell, Joshua L. and Joshua N. K. Massey. 2019. “Attracting the Best and Brightest to Strategic Trade Careers.” *Strategic Trade Review*. 5:8, 93-96.

Cimino-Isaacs, Cathleen D. *et al.* February 4, 2021. “U.S. Trade Policy Primer: Frequently Asked Questions” R45148, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov, 1-61.

SIGN-UP: Presentation and Report #1

Week 3, January 27th

Topic: U.S. Export Control System and Reform

Readings:

Mastanduno, Michael. 1988. "Trade as a Strategic Weapon: American and Alliance Export Control Policy in the Early Postwar Period," *International Organization*, 42(1): 121-150.

Ferguson, Ian F. and Paul K. Kerr. January 28, 2020. "The U.S. Export Control System and the Export Control Reform Initiative" R41916, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov, 1-31.

Sun, Menqi. August 31, 2020. "U.S. Increasingly Uses Trade Blacklist for Foreign Policy Goals" *The Wall Street Journal*: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-increasingly-uses-trade-blacklist-for-foreign-policy-goals-11598912568>

Metz, Cade. January 1, 2019. "Curbs on A.I. Exports? Silicon Valley Fears Losing Its Edge" *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/01/technology/artificial-intelligence-export-restrictions.html>.

Nan, Zhong. October 23, 2020. "Efforts to Ensure Export Control Law Implementation" *China Daily*: <https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202010/23/WS5f9232d1a31024ad0ba8078b.html>.

Mozur, Paul, Raymond Zhong and David McCabe. August 29, 2020. "TikTok Deal is Complicated by New Rules From China Over Tech Exports" *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/technology/china-tiktok-export-controls.html>.

SIGN-UP: Presentation and Report #2

Section II: Historical & International Perspectives

Week 4, February 3rd

The Origin and Demise of the Coordinating Committee (COCOM)

Readings:

Henshaw, John H. May 1993. The Origins of CoCom: Lessons for Contemporary Proliferation Control Regimes, Report 7, *The Henry L. Stimson Center*. iii – 37. https://www.stimson.org/wp-content/files/file-attachments/Report7_1.pdf.

Hunt, Cecil. 1983. "Multilateral Cooperation in Export Controls—The Role of CoCom" *University of Toledo Law Review*, 14(4): 1285-1297.

Yasuhara, Yoko. 1991. "The Myth of Free Trade: The Origins of COCOM 1945-1950" *The Japanese Journal of American Studies*, No. 4: 127-148.

Cupitt, Richard T. and Suzette R. Grillo. 1997. COCOM is Dead, Long Live COCOM: Persistence and Change in Multilateral Security Institutions. *British Journal of Political Science*, 27, 361-389.

Presentation: Violations and Penalties #1 - #4

Week 5, February 10th

Topic: Post-COCOM Export Controls and Enforcement

Readings:

Beck, Michael. 2000. "Reforming the Multilateral Export Control Regimes" *The Nonproliferation Review*, Summer, 91-103. <https://www.nonproliferation.org/wp-content/uploads/npr/72beck.pdf>.

Hibbs, Mark. 2017. "A More Geopoliticized Nuclear Suppliers Group?" *Strategic Trade Review*, 3(5): 5-24.

Viski, Andrea. 2017. "United States and European Union Strategic Trade Assistance: A Comparative Analysis," *Strategic Trade Review*, 3(5): 93-110.

Review (Inspectional Reading):

Strategic Trade Control Enforcement (STCE): Implementation Guide, World Customs Organization (WCO), 1-37.

Presentation: Violations and Penalties Presentation #5 - #8

Week 6, February 17th

Topic: Multilateral Export Control Regime and U.S. Assistance Programs

DUE: Presentation and Report #2

Section III: Contemporary Environment

Week 7, February 24th

Topic: U.S. Export Administration Regulation (EAR) Fundamentals I

Readings:

O'Sullivan, Timothy. 2017. "New Approaches to Tailoring Control Lists for National Implementation," *Strategic Trade Review*, 3(5): 71-92.

Pryor, Crystal D. 2018. "Beyond Economics and Security: Strategic Export Control Practices in Advanced Countries" *Strategic Trade Review*, 4(6): 45-70.

Strumpf, Dan. September 28, 2020. "US Sets Export Controls on China's Top Chip Maker" *The Wall Street Journal*: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-sets-export-controls-on-chinas-top-chip-maker-11601118353>.

Review:

EAR Part(s): TBD

Terms and key concepts:

EAR Organization

Order of Review

Jurisdiction v. Classification

ECCN / CCL (USML)

600 series / 500 series / EAR 99 (catch-all)

De minimus calculations

Foreign Direct Product Rule

End-to-End Encryption

Deemed Exports / Re-exports

Presentation: Violations and Penalties Presentation #9 - #12

Week 8, March 3rd

Topic: U.S. Export Administration Regulation (EAR) Fundamentals II and the Special Case of Academia

Readings:

Starks, Brian and Christopher Tucker. 2017. "Export Control Compliance and American Academia," *Strategic Trade Review*, 3(4): 69-79.

Charatsis, Christos. 2017. "Dual Use Research and Trade Controls: Opportunities and Controversies," *Strategic Trade Review*, 3(4): 47-68.

Barry, Ellen. January 28, 2020. "US Accuses Harvard Scientist of Concealing Chinese Funding" *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/28/us/charles-lieber-harvard.html>.

Viswanatha, Aruna and Kate O'Keeffe. January 30, 2020. "China's Funding of US Researchers Raises Red Flags" *The Wall Street Journal*: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-funding-of-u-s-researchers-raises-red-flags-11580428915>.

Viswanatha, Aruna and Melissa Korn. October 20, 2020. "Top Universities Took Billions in Unreported Foreign Funds, U.S. Finds" *The Wall Street Journal*: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/top-universities-took-billions-in-unreported-foreign-funds-u-s-finds-11603226953>.

Review:

EAR Part(s): TBD

Country Control List

End / Use – End / User

Country Groups

Hong Kong

Entity List

Huawei

Presentation: Violations and Penalties Presentation #13 - #16

Week 9, March 17th

Guest Speaker: TBD

Week 10, March 24th

Topic: Emerging Technologies

Readings:

Brockmann, Kolja. 2018. "Drafting, Implementing, and Complying with Export Controls: The Challenge Presented by Emerging Technologies," *Strategic Trade Review*, 4(6): 5-37.

Suri, Nitish. 2020. "Emerging Technologies and the Challenges of Controlling Intangible Technology Exports," *Strategic Trade Review*, 6(9): 137-159.

Hoehn, John R. and Kelley M. Saylor. June 4, 2021. "National Security Implications of Fifth Generation (5G) Mobile Technologies" IF11251, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Goldstein, Matthew et al. December 14, 2018. "How a National Security Investigation of Huawei Set Off an International Incident" *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/14/business/huawei-meng-hsbc-canada.html>.

Chiao, Benjamin. December 3, 2020. "Huawei Case Shows True Colors of US, Canada" *China Daily*: <https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202012/03/WS5fc8222ba31024ad0ba996d7.html>

Fidler, Stephen and Max Colchester. July 14, 2020. "U.K. to Ban Huawei from Its 5G Networks Amid China-U.S. Tensions. *The Wall Street Journal*: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-k-makes-u-turn-on-huawei-after-u-s-pressure-11594727179#:~:text=The%20U.K.%20decision%20will%20make,Huawei%20gear%20from%205G%20networks>.

Lin, Liza, Stu Woo and Lingling Wei. July 20, 2020. "China May Retaliate Against Nokia and Ericsson if EU Countries Move to Ban Huawei" *The Wall Street Journal*: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-may-retaliate-against-nokia-and-ericsson-if-eu-countries-move-to-ban-huawei-11595250557>.

Saylor, Kelley M. December 21, 2021. "Defense Primer: Emerging Technologies" *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Review (Inspectional Reading)

Saylor, Kelley M. November 10, 2021. "Emerging Military Technologies: Background and Issues for Congress" R46458, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-31.

Presentation: Violations and Penalties Presentation #17 - #20

Week 11, March 31st

Topic: Trade Relations- China

Readings:

Sutter, Karen M. and Michael D. Sutherland. January 5, 2021. "China's 14th Five-Year Plan: A First Look" IF11684, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Sutter, Karen M. August 11, 2020. "'Made in China 2025' Industrial Policies: Issues for Congress" IF10964, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Lawrence, Susan V. et al. March 3, 2021. U.S.-China Relations, IF10119, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Sutter, Karen M. February 16, 2021. "U.S.-China Trade Relations" IF11284, *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Ferguson, Ian F. and Karen M. Sutter. January 15, 2021. "U.S. Export Control Reforms and China: Issues for Congress," *Congressional Research Service*, IF11627, crsreports.gov. 1-2.

Ferek, Katy Stech. April 27, 2020. "Commerce Department Tightens Rules on Exports to China" *The Wall Street Journal*: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/commerce-department-tightens-rules-on-exports-to-china-11588016185>

Swanson, Ana. June 29, 2020. "U.S. Halts High-Tech Exports to Hong Kong Over Security Concerns." *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/29/business/economy/us-halts-high-tech-exports-hong-kong.html>.

Swanson, Ana. December 31, 2020. "U.S. Companies Face China Tariffs as Exclusions Expire" *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/31/business/economy/china-tariffs-exclusions-expire.html>.

Week 12, April 7th

Topic: Trade Relations – Russia, Iran, and North Korea

Readings:

Salisbury, Daniel. 2017. "Tomcat and Mouse: Iranian Illicit Procurement of U.S. Legacy Military Technologies, 1979-2016," *Strategic Trade Review*, 3(5): 25-46.

Russia

Rennack, Dianne E. and Cory Welt. September 1, 2021. "U.S. Sanctions on Russia: An Overview" *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Iran

Kerr, Paul K. March 1, 2021. "Iran's Nuclear Program and U.N. Sanctions Reimposition" *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Katzman, Kenneth. October 16, 2020. "U.N. Ban on Iran Arms Transfers and Sanctions Snapback" *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

McCall, Stephen M. January 9, 2020. "Iran's Ballistic Missile and Space Launch Programs" *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Fassihi, Farnaz and Steven Lee Myers. November 30, 2020. "Defying U.S., China and Iran Near Trade and Military Partnership" *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/11/world/asia/china-iran-trade-military-deal.html>.

North Korea

Nikitin, Mary Beth D. December 13, 2021. "North Korea's Nuclear Weapons and Missile Programs" *Congressional Research Service*, crsreports.congress.gov. 1-2.

Sang-Hun, Choe. Jan 5, 2021. "North Korea Party Congress Opens with Kim Jong-un Admitting Failures" *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/05/world/asia/north-korea-kim-jong-un-party-congress.html>.

SIGN-UP: Presentation and Report #3

Week 13, April 14th

Presentation and Report #3: Emerging Issues in Strategic Trade

Week 14, April 21st

Presentation and Report #3: Emerging Issues in Strategic Trade

Week 15, April 28th
Semester Overview