

University of Georgia
INTL 8270

The Politics of Trade and Security

Time: Monday 12:40 - 3:40

Place: Candler Hall 214

Instructor: Walt Sansot

Email: walt.sansot@uga.edu

Office Hours: Monday 11:00 – 12:00 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 will explore three aspects of strategic trade.

- 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.
- 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.
- An examination of the contemporary environment. Students will become familiar 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 14th
Emerging Issues Presentation and Report	35%	April 11th

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 3, January 22nd** prepared to select their case studies and sign-up for a presentation date. The first reports are due **Week 4, January 29th**. 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 (walt.sansot@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 22nd** prepared to select their organization. The MECR and International Assistance reports are due **Week 6, February 12th**. 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 (walt.sansot@uga.edu) and deliver a hard copy of the report and presentation to the instructor at the beginning of class on **Monday, February 12th**.

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 15 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 14, April 1st**. All emerging issues reports are due **Week 15, April 8th**. 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 (walt.sansot@uga.edu) and deliver a hard copy of the report and presentation to the instructor at the beginning of class on **Monday, April 8th**.

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.

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 8th

Course Introduction and Overview

Week 2, January 15th

No Class

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.

Week 3, January 22nd

Topic: Multilateral Export Control Regimes

SIGN-UP: Presentation and Report #1

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

Week 4, January 29th

Topic: US Export Control Regulations

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. Grillot. 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 5th

Topic: EU Export Regulations

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 12^h

Topic: US Export Licensing Process

DUE: Presentation and Report #2

Week 7, February 19th

Topic: Determining Commodity Jurisdiction

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>.

Presentation: Violations and Penalties Presentation #9 - #12

Week 8, February 26th

Topic: Export Risk Assessments

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>.

Presentation: Violations and Penalties Presentation #13 - #15

Week 9, March 4th

No Class – Spring Break

Week 10, March 11th

Topic: Export Risk Assessments

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 18th

Topic: Export Risk Assessments

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, March 25th

Topic: Performing Export License Assessments and Evaluations

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 1st

Topic: Performing Export License Assessments and Evaluations

Week 14, April 8th

Topic: Performing Export License Assessments and Evaluations

Week 15, April 15th

Presentation and Report #3: Emerging Issues in Strategic Trade

Week 16, April 22nd

Presentation and Report #3: Emerging Issues in Strategic Trade

Week 17, April 29th

Semester Overview