The law on traffic in dualuse goods – international and US

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Introduction

- US national International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITARs) most visible part of export controls on international traffic in sensitive dual-use technology
- Can only be properly understood in the broader framework of international efforts to limit such traffic



Non-Proliferation Treaty (1)

- 1968/1970; 189 parties
 - Not: only India, Israel, Nkorea, Pakistan, SSudan
- Three pillars
 - 1. Non-proliferation obligation
 - Art. I: 'NWS undertake not to transfer to anyone nuclear weapons, related devices or control over them & not to assist, encourage, or induce any NNWS to produce or acquire such weapons, devices or control'
 - Art. II: 'NNWS undertake not to receive any transfer, produce or otherwise acquire any such devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in these matters'





Non-Proliferation Treaty (2)

- Three pillars ctd.
 - 2. Right to peaceful use of nuclear technology
 - Art. IV(1): 'inalienable right of all states to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes'
 - & Art. V: Obligation of support NNWS by NWS therein
 - 3. Obligation to strive for disarmament (Art. VI)
- Right to withdraw: 3 months (Art. X(1))
 - If extraordinary events jeopardize the supreme interests of state concerned



The non-treaty track

- Onset Cold War after WW II
- → CoCom, 1947
 - Coordinating Ctee. Multilateral Export Controls
 - Trying to assert embargo Western exports
 - Fear of high-key technology ending up in Soviet block
 - 17 states: Australia; Belgium; Canada; Denmark; France; Germany; Greece; Italy; Japan; Luxembourg; Netherlands; Norway; Portugal; Spain; Turkey; UK; USA
 - 'Cooperating states': Austria; Finland; Ireland; New Zealand; Sweden; Switzerland



CoCom

- Voluntary & informal arrangement
 - No mechanism enforcing compliance
- Lists:
 - 1. International Atomic Energy List
 - **International Munitions List**
 - Industrial List (covering dual-use equipment)
 - adding / removing item required unanimity All:
 - Import certificate / delivery verification to monitor export control compliance



The example: Toshiba case

- 1982-1984 Toshiba → USSR:
 - 8 Computer-guided propeller milling machines
 - On the Industrial List
 - Improved ability USSR submarines to evade detection greatly (according to USA)
 - I.e. required additional efforts & costs USA to rebalance
 - → 1987: found in violation of CoCom 'regulations'
 - → 1988: US Congress banned Toshiba imports



CoCom exit

- 1991: End USSR; Cold War fully over
 - CoCom now considered too US-dominated
 - Get Russia on board, don't leave it outside
- → 1994: CoCom ceased to function
 - No immediate successor:
 - Dispute over already-agreed Russo-Iranian deal
 - USA preferred Russia to renege on deal ←→ EU &
 Japan preferred Russia on board of such a regime
 - → Control list embargoed goods retained until Wassenaar Arrangement established 1996



Meanwhile ...

- 1980s: new threats to global security
 - From Cold War to multi-polarization
 - Including spread of WMD & delivery systems
 - → Nuclear Suppliers Group
 - → Australia Group (chemical & biological WMD)
 - → MTCR (1987)
 - ... All following general CoCom approach
 - → Wassenaar Arrangement (1996) really taking up CoCom's mantle



MTCR (1)

- Established 1987 not a treaty either!
 - Original parties: Canada; France; Germany; Italy; Japan; UK; USA
 - To counter unwanted proliferation by maintaining / establishing control over & transparency on transfer to third states of missile equipment, material & related technologies usable for systems capable of delivering WMD

Note: Originally focus only on nuclear weapons; as per 1993 also chemical & biological weapons





MTCR (2)

- Participating countries (34)
 - Argentina; Australia; Austria; Belgium; Bulgaria; Brazil; Canada; Czech Republic; Denmark; Finland; France; Germany; Greece; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Italy; Japan; Luxembourg; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Russia; SAfrica; SKorea; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; Turkey; Ukraine; UK & USA
- Cornerstone: MTCR Guidelines on ...



MTCR (3)

"Sensitive Missile-Relevant Transfers"

- Set of common export policy guidelines applied to common list of controlled items: MTCR Equipment, Software & Technology Annex
- Decisions on guidelines & contents Annex taken by consensus & partner states regularly exchange information on export licensing issues
- Incl. rocket & other delivery systems, related equipment, material & technology
 - Threshold: 300 km + 500 kg payload capability



Wassenaar Arrangement (1)

- Established 1996 not a treaty either!
 - To promote transparency & greater
 responsibility in transfers of conventional arms
 & dual-use goods & technologies
- Parties seek to ensure transfers do not enhance destabilizing capabilities
 - Decision 'transfer' / 'no transfer' remains national decision – ref. national policies & laws
 - Secretariat & meetings in Vienna



Wassenaar Arrangement (2)

- Participating countries (41)
 - Argentina; Australia; Austria; Belgium;
 Bulgaria; Canada; Croatia; Czech Republic;
 Denmark; Estonia; Finland; France; Germany;
 Greece; Hungary; Ireland; Italy; Japan; Latvia;
 Lithuania; Luxembourg; Malta; Mexico;
 Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland;
 Portugal; Romania; Russia; Slovakia; Slovenia;
 SAfrica; SKorea; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland;
 Turkey; Ukraine; UK & USA



Wassenaar Arrangement (3)

Agreement to:

- Maintain national export controls on listed items
 - So: implementation via national law & regulation
- Report transfers & denials specified controlled items to destinations outside Arrangement
- Exchange information sensitive dual-use goods & technologies
- Develop & use Best Practices, Guidelines & Elements



Wassenaar Arrangement (4)

1. Munitions List & reporting 'obligations'

- Small arms, light weapons & ammunition
 - ◆ Incl. Man Portable Air Defence Systems
- Tanks & other military armed vehicles
 - ◆ Incl. large calibre artillery systems
- 'Combat vessels' (surface & submarine)
- Armoured & protective equipment
- Aircraft, helicopters, UAVs, engines & related equipment incl. missiles / missile systems





Wassenaar Arrangement (5)

2. List Dual-Use Goods & Technologies

- Nine categories:
 - Advanced materials; Material processing;
 Electronics; Computers; Telecommunications & information security; Sensors & lasers;
 Navigation & avionics; Marine; Propulsion
- Annex I: Sensitive items
 - States suggested to refuse transfers outside
- Annex II: Very sensitive items
 - States strongly suggested to refuse such transfers



USA, space & security

Note: some efforts to address some of the security issues in national space laws

- NAS Act; Commercial Space Launch Act; Communications Act; Commercial Space Act; Land Remote Sensing Acts
- More importantly: national version of export control regime (post-Cold War!)
 - International Traffic in Arms Regulations et alia



US export controls (1)

- Relevant for commercial space
 - Hinders export of satellite (technology)
- 1st focus on launch sector
 - Arms Export Control Act (1976) referred to United States Munitions List (USML)
 - 'Munitions' = broadly interpreted
 - Subject to jurisdiction Department of State
 - ITARs drafted to control export of systems & all related technology



US export controls (2)

- Concurrent (competing) approach ...
 - Export Administration Act (1979) referred to Commerce Control List (CCL)
 - Subject to jurisdiction Department of Commerce
 - Export Administration Regulations (EARs) drafted to control export of systems & all related technology
- → Constant 'tug-of-war' on satellites
 - Before 1992: DoS; 1992-1996: gradually to DoC;1998-2009 DoS; new decision: back to DoC



ITAR General Approach

- Baseline authority & scope
 - President (read Department of State with concurrence Department of Defense) designates 'defense articles' & 'defense services' → USML
 - Article / service = defense article / service if:
 - Specifically designed, developed, configured, adapted, or modified for a military application & does not have predominant civil applications OR –
 - Specifically designed etc. for a military application & with significant military or intelligence applicability such that control is considered necessary



ITAR Definitions (1)

- 'Defense article' incl. 'technical data'
- 'Technical data'
 - Incl. info required for design, development, production, manufacture, assembly, operation, repair, testing, maintenance or modification of defense articles; incl. blueprints, drawings, photographs, plans, instructions (incl. oral information ...!) & documentation
 - Incl. software directly related to defense articles



ITAR Definitions (2)

'Defense service'

- Furnishing of assistance (incl. training) to foreign persons in design, development, engineering, manufacture, production, assembly, testing, repair, maintenance, modification, operation, demilitarization, destruction, processing or use of defense articles
- Furnishing to foreign persons of any controlled technical data



ITAR Definitions (3)

- 'Defense service' ctd.
 - Military training of foreign units & forces, regular & irregular, incl. formal or informal instruction of foreign persons or by correspondence courses, technical, educational, or information publications & media of all kinds, training aid, orientation, training exercise & military advice
- 'Public domain' exception
 - Information which is published & generally accessible or available to the public



ITAR Definitions (4)

'Export'

- Sending or taking defense article outside USA in any manner, except by mere travel by person whose personal knowledge includes technical data OR –
- Transferring registration, control or ownership to a foreign person of any aircraft, vessel, or satellite on the USML – OR –
- Disclosing (incl. orally or visually) or transferring defense article to embassy etc. in USA – OR –



ITAR Definitions (5)

- 'Export' ctd.
 - Disclosing (incl. orally or visually) or transferring technical data to a foreign person – OR –
 - Performing defense service on behalf of, or for the benefit of, a foreign person
 - Launch vehicle or payload in principle not 'export' for these purposes, but controls may still apply for certain limited purposes
- Requires license



The USML (1)

Categories

- ➤ I Firearms, close assault weapons & combat shotguns
- II Guns and armament
- III Ammunition / ordnance
- ► IV Launch vehicles, guided missiles, ballistic missiles, rockets, torpedoes, bombs & mines
- V Explosives & energetic materials, propellants, incendiary agents and their constituents



The USML (2)

- Categories ctd.
 - VI Vessels of war & special naval equipment
 - VII Tanks & military vehicles
 - VIII Aircraft & associated equipment
 - IX Military training equipment & training
 - X Protective personnel equipment & shelters
 - XI Military electronics
 - XII Fire control, range finder, optical &



The USML (3)

- Categories ctd.
 - XIII Auxiliary military equipment
 - XIV Toxicological agents, incl. chemical & biological agents & associated equipment
 - XV Spacecraft systems & associated
 - XVI Nuclear weapons, design & testing related items
 - XVII Classified articles, technical data & defense services not otherwise enumerated



The USML (4)

- Categories ctd.
 - XVIII Directed energy weapons
 - XIX Momentarily not filled
 - XX Submersible vessels, oceanographic & associated equipment
 - XXI Miscellaneous articles
 - Any article so far not on USML with substantial military applicability & specifically designed, developed, configured, adapted, or modified for military purposes
 - Technical data & defense services directly related to such an article



Category IV

Includes

- Rockets (incl. meteorological & other sounding rockets) & launch vehicles
- Apparatus, devices, & materials for handling, control, activation, monitoring, detection, protection of any of the above
- Ablative materials fabricated or semi-fabricated from advanced composites
- Specifically designed or modified parts etc., or technical data related to the above



Category XV (1)

Includes

- Spacecraft, incl. communications satellites, remote sensing satellites, scientific satellites, research satellites, navigation satellites, experimental & multi-mission satellites
- Ground control stations for telemetry, tracking & control of spacecraft or satellites, or employing any of the cryptographic items of Cat. XIII
- GPS receiving equipment specifically designed, modified or configured for military use or with certain (enumerated) quality characteristics



Category XV (2)

- Includes ctd.
 - Radiation-hardened microelectronic circuits that meet or exceed a number of (enumerated) quality characteristics
 - All specifically designed or modified systems or subsystems, components, parts, accessories, attachments & associated equipment for any articles in Cat. XV, incl. satellite fuel, ground support equipment, test equipment, payload adapter or interface hardware, replacement parts & solid propellant orbit transfer engines



Exceptions

- Knowledge commonly taught in schools / colleges or already legitimately in public domain
- Armaments Cooperative Projects between USA & foreign states
- Canada, UK & Australia broader exceptions
- Technology used for the ISS



Recent development

- 1999 Strom Thurmond Act
 - ➤ Took discretion on Ch. XV items away from President → new law necessary for relaxation
- 2012 proposal for 2013 fiscal year
 - Allows President to remove commercial satellites and components from USML & allows him to decide which satellite technologies are the most important to protect
 - Still restricts export & transfer of technology to PRC, Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Sudan & Syria



Concluding remarks

- Complicated interplay between int'l 'law' security-sensitive export, US nat'l space law & US nat'l export regime
 - In particular as long as US components / technology indispensable for space systems
- May ultimately harm int'l security, & even US national security interests!
 - Lack of competitiveness US commercial industry& lack of involvement outside developments!

