Office Hours: Virtual, in person if needed
Mondays 3:00 to 4:00 and by appointment
e-mail: lshelley@gmu.edu (I respond quickly)

Course Description:

This class examines the transformation of illicit trade. It examines how the new technology, communications, and globalization fuel the exponential growth of dangerous forms of illegal trade—the markets for narcotics and child pornography online, the escalation of sex trafficking through web advertisements, and the sale of endangered species for which revenues total in the hundreds of millions of dollars. The illicit economy exacerbates many of the world’s destabilizing phenomena: the perpetuation of conflicts, the proliferation of arms and weapons of mass destruction, and environmental degradation and extinction. Corruption is absolutely key to the functioning of illicit trade. The class explores illicit trade in tangible goods—drugs, human beings, arms, wildlife and timber, fish, antiquities, and ubiquitous counterfeits—and contrasts this with the damaging trade in cyberspace, where intangible commodities cost consumers and organizations billions as they lose identities, bank accounts, access to computer data, and intellectual property. It also examines the individuals behind this trade and the policies and legislation needed to address it.

Text:
There will be one required text. All other readings will be available on blackboard or through links.

Louise Shelley: Dark Commerce: How a New Illicit Economy is Threatening our Future (Princeton University Press)

Learning Outcomes:

1) To understand the complexity of illicit trade and the diverse strategies used to address it
2) Improve analytical and presentation skills
3) Improve research and writing skills
4) Development of ability to integrate materials from many different disciplines

Course Requirements:

To achieve these objectives the course requirements are as follows:

Reading

*Weekly Reading:* A significant amount of reading is required for the course. Students who fall behind will have a difficult time catching up. Students are expected to do the assigned reading in advance of the class. The class will presume knowledge of the readings assigned for that week.

The readings will be available on Blackboard under “Course Content” if they are not available through links provided in the syllabus.

*Current Events:* Please read the newspapers regularly to keep up with recent developments on illicit trade. **Each week 2-3 students will report briefly on recent illicit trade developments in the press during the past week.** A discussion will follow where all students are welcome to share any recent articles they find interesting. Students will sign up for a specific week to present via Blackboard after the first class meeting.

*Discussion Board:* **There will be a discussion board question posted on Blackboard that you are to answer in 250 to 500 words, and then briefly comment on a classmate’s post.** On weeks when there is a recommended webinar, you may watch the webinar and write a 250 to 500 word discussion of that instead (do not use the short vice videos for the discussion posts). **Discussion board posts are due on Sundays at 11:59pm.** (Example: Week 2 discussion board posts will be due on Sunday, August 29th at 11:59pm). You will be expected to do 7 discussion posts in total (it would be best if you alternated with some starting on week 2 and others on week 3).

Attendance

Students will be expected to attend the whole class. Attendance will be taken. Your grade will be reduced for unexplained and unexcused absences. Please inform us if you will be absent from a class.

Weekly classes will be held via Zoom. Meeting links will be provided on Blackboard. All
of our synchronous meetings in this class will be recorded. Recordings will be stored on Blackboard and will only be accessible to students taking this course during this semester.

**Grading**

**Class attendance and Participation (30%):** Each student is expected to attend each class period and contribute to discussions during the class. The student should notify the Professor and the TA of any absences in advance. Students will be expected to do 7 discussion board postings and comment on one of their classmates each time they do a discussion post.

**Mid-Term Exam (25%):** There will be a MID-TERM EXAM ON November 8th. It will combine short identifications and long essays. The exam will draw on the readings, class lectures, and discussions. This is worth 25% of the final grade.

**Class Presentation: Class Project (20%):**
The class presentations coincide with the material for the course. Three or four people will work in groups to analyze their topic. You will do a group presentation on a notable case of illicit trade for which there is extensive documentation. You will lead a discussion of this actual case and **prepare a PowerPoint for presentation to the class.** Each group member should **submit 2 double spaced pages** on their subtopic. This concise analysis should accompany the PowerPoint that makes the topic understandable to those who are not experts in illicit trade. You will choose a case and small group by Week 3 by signing up via Blackboard (directions on how to sign up will be shared in class and via email). Cases and subjects are suggested in the syllabus but there is a possibility of substitution and addition. The class presentations should include information on the extent of trade, the supply chains for this trade and the participants. They will start on Week 5.

**Term Paper (25%):** Each student will complete a **TERM PAPER DUE December 13th.** The paper should be 15 -20 pages, standard reference format. It should be submitted electronically.

The topic will be chosen after consultation with the instructor. Early in the semester a short outline and proposed bibliography should be submitted. The paper can use insights that are obtained from the oral presentation. It should discuss a topic related to illicit trade and should develop a bibliography of diverse sources. Examples of suitable topics are: illicit trade in antiquities, illicit wildlife, counterfeit goods, human trafficking in a particular region, and illicit trade in online marketplaces or the dark web. You can choose to focus on a particular area of illicit activity, a region of the world where this trade goes or a strategy or set of strategies that can be used to address the problem. An accepted system of referencing should be used such as the Chicago Manual of Style, [https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html](https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html).
Plagiarism:
Plagiarism is representing or submitting someone else's language or ideas as your own. Plagiarism is strictly prohibited by the University and will lead to disciplinary action. You must write your own papers. Identify, with quotation marks and footnotes, direct quotations from others. Identify, with footnotes or attribution in the text of your writing, ideas of others that you have paraphrased.

Weekly Schedule:

Week 1, August 23 - Introduction to the Course

What is illicit trade? Is it the same as illegal trade? Why is illicit trade now defined as a national security issue? How has it grown? How do we know that it has grown? Why does it have pernicious consequences that exceed its share of the global economy? Why is illicit trade a different problem from that of transnational organized crime? How large a problem is it today?

- Watch: How do illicit traders work? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IUEx8XnVii4 (Vice video)

Week 2, August 30 - The Transformation of Illicit Trade

How has illicit trade changed from ancient times to the present? What functions has illicit trade served for states and individual perpetrators? What has caused the dramatic change of illicit trade in recent years? Why is it a problem of central concern?

Readings:

Required:
1) *Dark Commerce*— Introduction and Chapter One, pp. 1-36

Recommended:
Week 3, September 13 - The Making of Modern Illicit Trade: From 1800 to the End of the Cold War

**Please sign up for case study presentations by Week 3**

Presentation from Kimberly MacVaugh, Policy and Government Librarian: https://library.gmu.edu/faculty/kimberly-macvaugh#

Why did the drug trade and the sale of humans become significant elements of illicit trade only in this period? How did the violent wars and revolutions of the 20th century contribute to the growth of illicit trade? How did the industrial revolution contribute to different and new forms of illicit trade?

Readings:

Required:
1) *Dark Commerce*: Chapter 2, pp. 37-60
4) The National Archives contains numerous trial records and ship records of illicitly transported slaves to the United States; see “The Slave Trade,” National Archives, https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/slave-trade.html (see for example Sherman, Isaac v. Charming Sally, Schooner, 1803). We will look at some of these cases together.

Recommended:

Week 4, September 20 - The Development of Illicit Trade in the Post-Cold War Era

**Please hand in outlines for term paper**

Why is illicit trade fundamentally different in the last few decades than previously in history? How has resource scarcity changed the products of illicit trade? How and why have there been regional shifts in illicit trade? How has the new technology transformed illicit trade? To what extent is the state behind the illicit trade in the cyber world?

Readings:

Required:
1) *Dark Commerce*: How Did We Get Here? Drivers of the Post–Cold War Expansion, Chapter 3, pp. 61-86
2) OECD, *Illicit Trade: Converging Criminal Networks* (Executive Summary and Chapter 1: Convergence of Criminal Networks), pp. 13-35 (blackboard)

**Recommended:**

**Week 5, September 27 - Illicit Trade and National Security and Conflict (WMD, Arms Trade and other Commodities that Threaten Security)**

**START CLASS PRESENTATIONS**

More than the international arms trade threatens national and regional security as illicit trade funds and prolongs conflict. Financing for insurgencies and terrorism comes from a diverse range of commodities such as wildlife, coltan, gold and other precious metals and, of course, narcotics. When did illicit trade come to be seen as a national and international security problem and how does this affect the response?

**Readings:**

**Required:**

**Case Study Presentation: Victor Bout case (traditional weapons):**
Case Study Presentation: Iranian procurement network (for nuclear program):
https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0096340213485948

Week 6, October 4 - Illicit Trade and Sustainability

Guest Speaker: Michele Kuruc, Vice President for Ocean Policy, World Wildlife Fund, https://www.worldwildlife.org/experts/michele-kuruc

Increasingly, the world’s natural resources have become subjects of illicit trade. This includes fish, timber, and water. The disposal of waste, particularly hazardous and e-waste threatens the sustainability of the planet. Illegal timber trade, in particular, contributes to climate change as does deforestation for agriculture.

Readings:
Required:
1) Dark Commerce: chapter 4, pp. 87-111
5) Illicit Harvest, Complicit Goods - https://www.forest-trends.org/publications/illicit-harvest-complicit-goods/ (just read this page for this class)
6) Organized Crime in the Fisheries Sector oceanpanel.org
Recommended:
Video: Vice on illicit wildlife trade
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31AOa426Qi0

Week 7, October 12 (Class Held on Tuesday) - Illicit Trade in the Cyberworld

Guest Speaker: Dr. Layla Hashemi, bio at: https://traccc.gmu.edu/about-traccc/personnel/post-doctoral/

Increasingly illicit trade is being carried out in cyberspace by means of both the world wide web, the dark net and social media. This trade is proceeding in a variety of both tangible and virtual products such as malware, ransomware and botnets.

Readings:

Required:

Recommended:

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Case Study Presentation: Trade in intangible products: Evil Corp and Ransomware

- https://krebsonsecurity.com/2019/12/inside-evil-corp-a-100m-cybercrime-menace/;

Week 8, October 18 - The Business of Illicit Trade

Illicit trade is a global business that often intersects with the licit economy. It is key to follow the money. One of the challenges that illicit traders face is disposing of their profits, known as the problem of money laundering. Trade-based money laundering is one of the key means by which illicit money is moved.

Readings:
Required:
1) Dark Commerce, Chapter 5, 111-148
3) Moises Naím, Illicit, chapter 7, The Money Washers, 131-56 (blackboard)

5) Watch this short video: “The Different Ways Money Laundering Works” [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h40LEsnrete](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h40LEsnrete)

**Recommended:**

6) **Video:** Debra LaPrevotte, [https://www.worldwildlife.org/pages/tnrc-video-following-the-money-in-illicit-wildlife-trade](https://www.worldwildlife.org/pages/tnrc-video-following-the-money-in-illicit-wildlife-trade) Ms. La Prevotte is a GMU grad.

About this podcast: This TNRC event hosted by TraCCC featured Senior Investigator at The Sentry and former FBI Special Agent Debra LaPrevotte. LaPrevotte draws on wildlife trafficking cases and her own experience investigating illicit financial flows and corruption to suggest ways that the anti-money laundering techniques used to fight drug traffickers and other organized crime could strengthen efforts to counter illegal wildlife trade.

**Case Study Presentation: The Troika Laundromat**


**Week 9, October 25, Destroyers of Human Life**

The individuals involved in the illicit drug trade, human trafficking and the sale of harmful medicines, counterfeit PPE and food are more than just organized criminals. A diverse variety of individuals direct and facilitate such activity including a variety of non-state actors, government officials, professionals, and members of the business community.

**Readings:**

**Required:**

1) *Dark Commerce*, Chapter 6, 149-177


Recommended:
5) Video: Vice on Counterfeits: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lWhUu5x-tgE

Case Study Presentation: Illicit Migrant Flows  (Reports on 2 different regions—into Europe, Latin America or Africa)

Week 10, November 1- Destroyers of the Planet

Guest Speaker: Arthur Blundell (https://naturalcapitaladvisors.com/what-we-do/) , Co-author of Illegal Harvest

Increasingly illicit traders are targeting the limited resources of the planet for profit. They are also causing harm to the planet by trading in goods that are harmful to soil, sea and land.

Readings:
Required:
1) Dark Commerce, Chapter 7, 178-204


**Recommended online tools:**


**Case Study Presentation: Lumber Liquidators**

**Week 11, November 8 - Mid Term Exam**

**Week 12, November 15- Illicit Trade, Financial Flows and Human Rights,**

Human rights are undermined by the violence and human exploitation linked to illicit trade. Moreover, the illicit financial flows that accompany illicit trade deprive states of revenues and undermine the capacity of states to meet goals for sustainable development.

**Readings:**
**Required:**
2) Labor Trafficking


3) Illicit Financial Flows  

Case Study Presentation: Labor Trafficking in the United States (how does it occur, failure to act and policy failures)  

Weeks 13 (November 22) and 14 (November 29) - What to do about it? Policy on Illicit Trade

David Luna guest speaker on November 29th. See his bio here: https://traccc.gmu.edu/about-traccc/personnel/fellows/david-luna/

What can be done to effectively combat illicit trade when states are weak and much illicit activity increasingly occurs outside of state control? What is the role of governments and civil society in addressing the problem of illicit trade? What kinds of regulations and measures are needed to address illicit trade in cyber space?

1) Dark Commerce, Chapter 8 and Conclusion, 205-50
6) Sanctions to Combat Illicit Trade, OFAC sanctions, https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Pages/default.aspx

Final Work Due December 13 7:15pm

Plagiarism: University standard policies on plagiarism apply.

SPP Plagiarism Policy:
The profession of scholarship and the intellectual life of a university as well as the field of public policy inquiry depend fundamentally on a foundation of trust. Thus any act of plagiarism strikes at the heart of the meaning of the university and the purpose of the School of Public Policy. It constitutes a serious breach of professional ethics and it is unacceptable.

Plagiarism is the use of another’s words or ideas presented as one’s own. It includes, among other things, the use of specific words, ideas, or frameworks that are the product of another’s work. Honesty and thoroughness in citing sources is essential to professional accountability and personal responsibility. Appropriate citation is necessary so that arguments, evidence, and claims can be critically examined.

Plagiarism is wrong because of the injustice it does to the person whose ideas are stolen. But it is also wrong because it constitutes lying to one’s professional colleagues. From a prudential perspective, it is shortsighted and self-defeating, and it can ruin a professional career. The faculty of the School of Public Policy takes plagiarism seriously and has adopted a zero tolerance policy. Any plagiarized assignment will receive an automatic grade of “F.” This may lead to failure for the course, resulting in dismissal from the University. This dismissal will be noted on the student’s transcript. For foreign students who are on a university-sponsored visa (e.g. F-1, J-1 or J-2), dismissal also results in the revocation of their visa.

To help enforce the SPP policy on plagiarism, all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit student’s work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. The SPP policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace it or substitute for it.

**Important Student Information:**

If you are a student with a disability and you need academic accommodations, please see me and contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) at 993-2474. All academic accommodations must be arranged through the DRC.