

United States General Accounting Office Report to Congressional Committees

September 1986

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## EXPORT LICENSING

Commerce-Defense Review of Applications to Certain Free World Nations

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## GAO

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National Security and International Affairs Division

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September 16, 1986

The Honorable Jake Garn, Chairman Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs United States Senate

The Honorable Dante B. Fascell, Chairman Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives

As part of our efforts to provide your Committees with information on export administration, this report discusses export licensing at the Departments of Commerce and Defense under the terms of a January 1985 Presidential directive. In response to the expanded role of the Defense Department in export administration, this report describes the bases of Defense's licensing recommendations to the Commerce Department and Commerce's subsequent licensing decisions.

Copies of this report are being sent to the Secretaries of Commerce and Defense and to other interested parties.

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Frank C. Conahan Assistant Comptroller General



## **Executive Summary**

Purpose	Soviet bloc countries acquire militarily significant commercial (i.e., "dual-use") products from other countries. The U.S. government attempts to limit or prevent such access through an export licensing system. The Commerce Department issues export licenses under the authority of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended The Department of Defense also has authority to review some export license applications, but there has been no consensus on the nature and extent of its role. A January 1985 Presidential directive clarified Defense's role by giving it added responsibilities to review applications to selected free world destinations and to make licensing recommendations to the Com- merce Department.
	GAO reviewed export licensing under the terms of the Presidential direc- tive to determine the nature and extent of differences resulting from this joint review. To this end, GAO reviewed how the (1) Defense Depart- ment developed its recommendations and (2) Commerce Department responded to these recommendations with licensing decisions.
Background	The Defense Department is now responsible for evaluating all license applications involving exports in 8 product categories to 15 free world countries.
	Commerce and Defense generally use similar procedures to evaluate license applications. Both evaluate the diversion potential of end users based on information provided by such sources as diplomatic posts over- seas, the U.S. Customs Service, and the intelligence community.
	At the Defense Department, information referred from Commerce is compared electronically with (1) a list of individuals and firms that are considered potential diverters, (2) countries with questionable export control procedures, (3) characteristics which define a product's sophisti- cation, and (4) questionable addresses of the end users, such as a post office box.
Results in Brief	GAO observations and conclusions are based on its evaluation of all license applications (671) referred to the Defense Department during April 1 through 12, 1985. GAO compiled detailed licensing histories of all applications that Defense wanted to deny during this period (60), and its report focuses on these applications.

<b></b>	Executive Summery
	For the period GAO examined, Commerce approved about 65 percent of the license applications that Defense wanted to deny and denied about 1 percent of the licenses that Defense wanted to approve.
	Defense generally based its denial recommendations on general catego- ries of concern rather than on specific adverse information related to individual license applications. Commerce makes licensing decisions principally based on the latter kind of information.
	Defense did not share with Commerce all the information it used to support its recommendations. Defense, however, began supporting its recommendations with more specific information later in 1985.
	The major policy issue dividing Commerce and Defense during the period of the GAO review was the appropriateness of issuing export licenses when the foreign purchasers planned to resell the items to cus- tomers unknown to U.S. licensing authorities. During 1985 and 1986 Commerce and Defense took steps to resolve their differences.
	Commerce and Defense steps to better coordinate efforts through improved sharing of information and resolving policy differences should lead to greater consistency between Defense recommendations and Com- merce licensing actions. A high level of consistency in future reviews will raise the question of whether Defense review of individual free world license applications should be continued in its present form.
Principal Findings	
Defense Licensing Recommendations	Defense recommended approval for 91 percent of the applications it reviewed and recommended denial for 9 percent (60 applications). Defense based 24 of its 60 denial recommendations on concerns about the end users. In 67 percent of these 24 cases, the basis of its concerns was information provided by Dun & Bradstreet. Defense interpreted Dun & Eradstreet's information as adverse because (1) Hong Kong end users did much of their business in the People's Republic of China, (2) some end users did not appear to be in business, (3) the end users' busi- nesses were inconsistent with end use statements in the applications.

nesses were inconsistent with end use statements in the applications, and (4) there was insufficient information about the end users. Defense based another 31 of its 60 denials on concerns about end use. Specifically, Defense officials did not believe that controlled products should be

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	licensed to foreign distributors for re licensing authorities. The resale issue denials. Control over resale was a par Commerce and Defense in 1985 and 1	e figured in 87 percent of these 31 rticularly contentious issue between
Commerce Licensing Decisions	Commerce granted licenses to 79 percentions for which Defense recommendations for which Defense recommended approval were returned to Commerce and 5 applications were percented to Commerce and 5 applications were percented to the text of tex of text of text of text	ded approval and denied licenses to pplications for which Defense rec- o the applicants without action by
	Commerce did not concur in 65 perce denial recommendations.	ent (39 applications) of Defense's
	Commerce officials generally approve review procedures. For those applica to deny, Commerce concurred only w specific information to justify a nega	tions that Defense officials wanted when Defense provided sufficient
Agency Comments and GAO's Evaluation	Commerce agreed with GAO's findings report appears to call into question the West review. Defense stated that which analysis of the license applications, the tive because the period covered was of program. Defense also stated that it of sion. Defense stated that the issue is and Commerce licensing decisions but ness of the reviews.	he justification of Defense's West- ile it does not argue with the GAO's he analysis may not be representa- quite early in the start-up of the does not agree with GAO's conclu- not consistency between Defense
	The license applications GAO examine the start-up phase of its operation. H of Defense requests to Commerce for extent of its subsequent recommenda referred during the first 2 weeks of M ilar to those in April 1985. GAO also for recommendations for November 18-2 as those for the applications GAO revi	owever, GAO found that the extent detailed information and the ations on license applications May, June, and July 1985 were sim- ound the bases of Defense's denial 22, 1985, were essentially the same
	Consistency in licensing actions is not be viewed as incompatible with quali common policies are effectively admi	ty and effectiveness. When
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Defense in reviewing the same export applications under the same criteria for essentially the same goals, the results should be a high level of consistency between Defense's recommendations and Commerce's licensing decisions. If such a high level of consistency is achieved, it will be reasonable to question such a duplicative process and, since Commerce has the broader export licensing responsibilities, the question will likely focus on whether or not to continue Defense's role in its present form.

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#### Abbreviations

- COCOM Coordinating Committee
- DTSA Defense Technology Security Administration
- GAO General Accounting Office
- OEA Office of Export Administration
- OEE Office of Export Enforcement

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## Introduction

	commercial (i.e., "dual-use licensing the export of cor Under the Export Admini- tary of Commerce adminis licenses. However, section dures" for the Secretary of license applications. Defin review responsibilities has the Departments of Comm major role in export licens to export products to the In January 1985, the Press The directive expanded D	controlled the export of militarily significant e") products to the Soviet bloc since 1949 by atrolled products to almost all destinations. stration Act of 1979, as amended. <sup>1</sup> the Secre- sters the control system and issues export 10(g) of the Act also includes "special proce- of Defense to review some kinds of export sing the exact scope and nature of Defense's s been a matter of continuing conflict between herce and Defense. Until recently, Defense's sing involved the review of license applications Soviet bloc and the People's Republic of China. ident issued a directive to resolve this conflict. efense's review to include applications related ries for 15 so-called free world destinations
The Export Control System	dual-use products and tec means to acquire products his goal, the United State national security purpose Administration Act. <sup>2</sup> The tions are to (1) identify te trolled, (2) review and ev enforce export controls. A trols some commercial pro- reasons, most such produ- the United States and 15 of	ded to complicate the Soviet's efforts to obtain hnology by forcing them to use uncertain is that they cannot legally obtain. To achieve es controls the export of dual-use items for is under provisions established by the Export export control system's three principal func- chnologies and products that need to be con- aluate export license applications, and (3) Although the U.S. government unilaterally con- oducts and technologies for national security cts are controlled by the coordinated action of other governments comprising an informal e Coordinating Committee, or more simply
		rols exports of dual-use products with a xporter wishing to sell controlled products
	authority granted by the Act termi on the amendments (p. 62) said that ations] was that of defining the role	s substantially amended in 1985 by Public Law 99464. The iates on September 30, 1989. The Conference Committee Report , "one of the most contentious issues [during congressional deliber- of the Department of Defense in the licensing process," and as a dealing with Defense's role was not arrended in 1985.
		export of goods and technology in order to (1) further U.S. foreign economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials.
		governments (except locland) plus Japan
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	Chapter 1	
	Introduction	
	mission through an ex "individual validated specifically named co fied end use. Another rizes multiple shipme overseas distributors	d, except Canada, must seek the government's per- coport license application. One kind of license, the license," as a general rule authorizes shipments of ntrolled items to a specified end user for a speci- kind of license, the "distribution license," autho- nts of a broad range of controlled products to who, in turn, resell such items to their customers, in 1985, the government approved 102,347 and enses.
The Role of the Defense	Section 10(g) of the A	ct states that the Secretary of Defense is
Department Under the Export Administration Act	"authorized to review an country to which exports ever the Secretary of Def nology will make a signif national security of the L	y proposed export of any goods or technology to any are controlled for national security purposes and, when- ense determines that the export of such goods or tech- icant contribution, which would prove detrimental to the United States, to the military potential of any such country, ident that such export be disapproved."
	are controlled for nat interpretative differe the Defense Departme Act to review export including responsibili sion from such count	not specifically define countries "to which exports ional security purposes," and this omission led to nces between Commerce and Defense. In mid-1981, ent asserted that it had responsibility under the license applications to free world destinations, ty to (1) generally monitor the potential for diver- ties and (2) specifically evaluate the diversion er and assess the validity of an applicant's end-use
	perception of its resp asserted that Defense Soviet bloc destinatio	tment. on the other hand, interpreted Defense's onsibility differently. At that time, Commerce had the authority to review license applications to ns only, and therefore it was not appropriate for diversion potential of end users in free world coun- ensing process.
	temporarily resolved whereby Defense rev applications to most f referred such applica characteristics of the	1985 Presidential directive, these differences were by a September 1981 interagency understanding iewed high-tech::ology, computer-related l.cense free world destinations. Whether or not Commerce tions to Defense depended on specific operating item proposed for export and on whether the end category, such as a government agency.
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	Chapter 1 Istroduction
	Applications also are routinely reviewed by the Departments of State and Energy.
The Presidential Directive	A 1985 Presidential directive expanded the scope of the 1981 under- standing. Added to Defense's review of proposed exports to the Soviet bloc and China were all applications for 8 product categories exported to 15 free world destinations. <sup>4</sup> The specific countries and product groups, but not the number of destinations and product groups, can be altered only by agreement between Commerce and Defense. However, at the time of our review no COCOM destinations were subject to Defense review. The directive also authorized the establishment of a Technology Transfer Steering Group, composed of officials from Commerce, Defense, and the National Security Council, to resolve disputes between Commerce and Defense over licensing recommendations related to the directive. Unresolved disputes can be appealed to the President. Through December 31, 1985, the Steering Group held one meeting. The limited use of this dispute resolution mechanism, however, understates the differences that exist between Commerce and Defense. The directive
	stated that Defense's objections to issuing an export license must be made "with specificity." Commerce and Defense officials have differed over what this phrase means, with the result that Commerce has approved some applications which Defense recommended be denied because, according to Commerce officials, their requests for more speci- ficity were not met by Defense. Commerce made licensing decisions in such cases using its normal processing criteria. Neither Commerce nor Defense referred such applications to the Steering Group for review.
Objectives, Scope, and Methodology	We made this review to determine the nature and extent of differences that have resulted from joint Commerce and Defense reviews of free world license applications. To this end, we reviewed how the (1) Depart- ment of Defense developed its recommendations for the export license applications it reviewed under the terms of the Presidential directive and (2) Department of Commerce responded to these recommendations.
	<sup>4</sup> At the time of our review the countries were Austria, Finland, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Iraq, Lichten- stein, Libya, Malaysia. South Africa, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Syria, and Switzerland. The product groups included computers; software; electronics and semiconductor manufacturing, measuring, and calibrating equipment; micro and integrated circuits; and carbon technology and manufacturing equipment.

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To understand this process, we reviewed all (694) license applications sent to Defense from Commerce during April 1 to 12, 1985. To determine whether our test period was representative of the issues that have been occurring between Commerce and Defense, we reviewed all applications referred to Defense during the first 2 weeks of May, June, and July 1985.

Our detailed analysis focused on the 60 applications which Defense recommended be denied during the April period. To determine the bases of Defense recommendations and Commerce licensing decisions, we collected documents pertaining to these recommendations and decisions and discussed many of them with licensing officials at Commerce and Defense.

We did not assess the administrative efficiency of the export licensing process. For example, we did not evaluate whether one agency makes better use of electronic data processing techniques than another or whether any specific aspects of either agency's license review procedures appeared to be a better way to make determinations.

Our review was performed in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

# Export Administration at the Departments of Commerce and Defense

Reviewing export license applications basically consists of three kinds of technical, or non-policy-oriented, evaluations. Evaluators must determine (1) a specific commercial product's potential military significance,<sup>1</sup> (2) the diversion potential of the end user, and (3) the appropriateness of the product's stated end use on a license application. Applications also are reviewed within the context of foreign and national security policies. Consequently, a proposed export to a legitimate end user for a purely commercial end use can be denied for policy purposes, as was the case with some of the applications we reviewed.

For proposed exports to proscribed destinations (mainly the Soviet bloc and China), the potential military significance of a product is the most relevant evaluation the government makes. Relatively less importance is given to end-use and end-user evaluations. The prudent assumption in such cases is that in proscribed countries the military has unrestricted access to imported products, regardless of whether the stated end user is a civilian and the stated end use is commercial.

For proposed exports to free world destinations, evaluators focus on the potential for diversion to the Soviet bloc by an end user,<sup>2</sup> looking at information about a firm or individual to determine the risk of diversion. An end use evaluation in such cases is an indirect assessment of an end user, because it can involve a comparison between the stated end use and the technical capabilities of the proposed export. For example, if an item is more sophisticated than someone reasonably needs (i.e., the proposed sale of a large computer to a small shopkeeper), there might be reason to suspect the intentions of a seemingly legitimate end user. When the information raises sufficient doubt, Commerce licensing officials will either condition approval, return the application without action usually because it is incomplete in some way, or deny the license application.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Commerce's commodity control list is a listing of product categories, not specific commercial products. Such products are "captured" by a category, and thus considered militarily significant, if they meet certain performance characteristics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Countries covered by the directive, such as Libya, Syria, Iran, and Iraq, are exceptions to this generalization. Exports to them are covered by specific export administration regulations. The military significance of proposed exports to such countries presumably is relevant quite aside from concerns about the potential for diversion from them to the Soviet bloc.

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	Commerce and License Applica Review Process
	Implementation of Presidential Direct

#### Chapter 2 Export Administration at the Departments of Commerce and Defense

nerce and Defense se Application ew Process	Both Defense and Commerce have procedures and personnel for making the three kinds of technical evaluations. Commerce has been primarily responsible for determining the diversion potential of end users and the appropriateness of the end use stated on applications. Commerce tradi- tionally has relied on Defense to assess a product's military significance for some proposed exports to the Soviet bloc and other proscribed desti- nations, because Defense is considered to have more information and resources with which to evaluate the potential military significance of a commercial product. <sup>3</sup>
nentation of ential Directive	To fulfill its new responsibilities under the terms of the directive, Defense has taken steps to enable it to evaluate the diversion potential of an end user, the type of ongoing analysis regularly performed by Commerce. These steps have included purchasing business information on foreign firms, collecting relevant data from other U.S. agencies, developing a list of suspicious end users, and setting up a computerized system to screen licenses.
	Defense has purchased the services of Dun & Bradstreet, a commercial firm which collects and sells economic, financial, and historical informa- tion about businesses all over the world. Commerce also buys this kind of information from Dun & Bradstreet, but on a more limited basis. Defense, just as Commerce has done, also collects end-user related infor- mation from other government agencies.
	Both Commerce's Office of Export Enforcement (OEE) and the Defense Technology Security Administration (DTSA) have developed lists of sus- picious end users. OEE, for example, has a list of about 5,000 names for which it has some enforcement concern. The names come from investi- gations, anonymous sources, the Customs Service, and newspapers. The intelligence community has also provided classified information from which a list of about 900 additional suspicious end users was compiled. DTSA's list is compiled from information in cables from U.S. embassies and offices overseas, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and other U.S. intelligence agencies. DTSA analyzes information from these sources to determine whether it is relevant from the point of view of export con- trols. The results of DTSA's analyses are not shared with Commerce except indirectly as support for a recommendation on a specific license
	<sup>3</sup> The Export Administration Amendments of 1985 authorized establishment of a National Security

<sup>3</sup>The Export Administration Amendments of 1985 authorized establishment of a National Security Control Office at the Department of Defense, and the Defense Technology Security Administration was formed on May 10, 1985.

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application. Similarly, Commerce does not share the information it develops with DTSA.

In response to the directive, Defense has established a procedure to automatically screen the applications it receives from Commerce. Information from all applications covered by the directive's criteria is electronically transmitted from Commerce to Defense. Defense screens it against (1) its list of suspicious or known bad end users, (2) a list of countries that have inadequate export control procedures. (3) a combination of variables which define a product's sophistication and/or value, and (4) a list of addresses to determine whether the end user's address is a post office box. These screens help Defense to identify quickly those applications which should be reviewed in detail for policy and technical reasons. Defense has 7 calcudar days to review applications referred from Commerce; if it determines that certain applications need further review, it has 15 additional working days to review them and any associated documents and make recommendations to Commerce. The time it takes Commerce to assemble the necessary documents and send them to Defense is not counted against this 15-day review period.

As of July 1985, Defense began comparing the end users on all applications it receives against a Dun & Bradstreet library of reports on about 20,000 firms in the countries covered by the directive. If an end user is one of these firms, a report is produced at Defense from Dun & Bradstreet's data base. Previously, Defense officials would decide whether they wanted to request Dun & Bradstreet reports on an application-byapplication basis. Commerce does not have a comparable system for routinely accessing Dun & Bradstreet reports.

OEE electronically screens all applications against its lists of potential and known bad end users concurrently with Defense's review and forwards its recommendations to Commerce's licensing office. Commerce's licensing office does not begin policy and technical reviews of applications covered by the directive until it receives Defense's recommendations.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of our test period, Defense was not routinely informed of Commerce's licensing actions on the applications reviewed by Defense. But in January 1986, Commerce began routinely notifying Defense of its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Commerce initially reviews applications for completeness, and returns incomplete applications to applicants without action regardless of Defense's review and recommendations. Such an administrative review is made concurrently with Defense's review. Commerce reorganized export administration during the period of our review.

<u></u>	Chapter 2 Export Administration Commerce and Defense		nte of	₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩₩		
	proposed licensing recommendations	-	hen they we	ere contrary	to Defens	e's
Licensing Decisions at	During April 1 th					-
Commerce and Defense	license application					
Commerce and Derense	mendations and C table 2.1.	ommerce's di	isposition of	application	ns are show	vn in
Table 2.1: Disposition of Defense Recommendations to Approve or Deny						
License Applications				nmerce Licer R	eturned to	
	Defense recommendations	Number of applications	Approved	Denied	applicant without action	Pending action
	1. Approval	611*	482	7	118	
	2. Denial	60	30	3	17	
	Total	671	521	10	135 <sup>b</sup>	
	<sup>a</sup> Defense did not comme meeting what it termed " dums of understandings"	standard free work	conditions or c	on the terms of v		
	<sup>b</sup> Generally applications a way. The returned withou free world app <del>li</del> cations.					
Applications for Which Defense Recommended Approval	Defense recomme cations it reviewe these 611 applica Defense had recom "returned withou found that one im policy reasons on denied on the bass indicated that the national security the basis of unfav	d. Commerce tions. Comme nmended app t action." We volving a Liby the advice of is of pre-exist end user was controlled con orable pre-lice	actually ap rce denied 7 proval, and 7 reviewed th yan end use the State D ting intellige s not a suita mmodities. 7 cense checks	proved 482 7 applicatio 118 other a ne 7 denied r was denie epartment. ence agency ble recipier The other 5 s of the end	, or 79 per ns for whi pplications applications d for forei Another v reports w nt of U.So were deni	cent, of ch s were ns and gn vas hich vrigin ed on
	embassy officials <sup>5</sup> Defense actually receiv directive's criteria and the applications to the appli- tronically to Defense but Defense did not receive of	ed information on terefore were sent cants without action before Defense as	694 applications erroneously by ( on after informat ked for copies of	, but 3 of them v Commerce. Com tion from the ap	merce returne plications was	d 20 other sent elec-

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	Chapter 2 Export Administration at the Departments of Commerce and Defense
	1. An end user denied that it had purchased \$6 million worth of personal computers and related equipment from the applicant. This pre-license check was initiated by a Commerce licensing officer because the country was considered a problem destination and because the end use involved the resale of a large number of items. <sup>6</sup>
	2. An end user did not seem to have an active operation and may not have existed as a legitimate company.
	3. An end user was not known to the business community, and the pro- posed end use apparently would have violated the importing country's import regulations. <sup>6</sup>
	4. An end user apparently intended to sell the item to a customer in the People's Republic of China but would not reveal the customer's name to U.S. authorities.
	5. An end user (distributor) would not provide a list of its customers to U.S. authorities.
Applications for Which Defense Recommended Denial	Defense recommended that Commerce deny 60 applications for the rea- sons shown in table 2.2. Commerce generally disagreed with Defense's denial recommendations and approved 39, or 65 percent, of the 60 appli- cations. Commerce directly denied the applications for only 3 of the 60 applications. The rest were returned to the applicants without action, except for one application which was pending action as of December 31, 1985.
	<sup>6</sup> Defense reviewed the entire application associated with this case.

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#### Chapter 2 Export Administration at the Departments of Commerce and Defense

#### Table 2.2: Disposition of Defense Recommendations to Deny License Applications\*

		Commerce Licensing Actions				
Bases for Defense recommendations	Number of applications	Approved Deni		Returned to applicant without action	Pending action	
1. Suspicious end user (See p. 18)	24	15	1	7	1	
2. End use concerns (See p. 22)	32	22	1	8	1	
3. Foreign policy concerns <sup>b</sup>	5	2	2	1	0	
4. Inadequate information <sup>c</sup>	10	8	0	2	0	
5. Importing country lacks export controls <sup>d</sup>	2	0	0	2	0	
6. Nuclear end use concernse	1	0	0	1	0	
Total	74	47	4	21	2	
Actual number of applications	60	39	3	17	1	

<sup>a</sup>Numbers on table refer to license applications but because Defense sometimes cited more than one reason for its recommendation, there is necessarily some double counting. The magnitude of double counting is reflected in the two sets of column total figures.

<sup>b</sup>Consists of three applications for exports to Libya, and one each for Syria and India. The Libyan applications were reviewed by the State Department, which recommended denial in two cases and approval in one. Export administration regulations stated that licenses for Libyan destinations will "generally be denied for - (i) Items controlled for national security purposes...." The application for India was returned to the applicant without action in order to clarify the end use

<sup>c</sup>Denotes applications which, for example, lacked sufficient information on quantity or technical specifications of product or for which Commerce sent Defense wrong and confusing information about the end use. Defense also recommended denial for one of these applications because of its concerns about the end user.

<sup>d</sup>As a matter of policy, Defense recommended denial of some applications involving end users in Spain and Iraq. Spain is currently a member of COCOM, but at the time of our review, it was not a member

<sup>e</sup>Application was also reviewed by the Department of Energy, based on Energy's review. Commerce asked the applicant for additional end-user and end-use information

#### Evaluating the End User

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Forty percent of Defense recommendations for denial of license applications were based at least in part on its assessment that the end users might illegally divert controlled products. We refer to this category of denial recommendations as based on the assessment that the foreign purchasers are "suspicious end users." As table 2.3 shows, Commerce approved 15, or 63 percent, of the 24 applications in this category that Defense recommended be denied.

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#### Chapter 2 Export Administration at the Departments of **Commerce and Defense**

			Commerce L	icensing Actions	
Bases for recommendation	Number of applications	Approved	Denied	Returned to applicant without action	Pending action
1. Dun & Bradstreet's information only*	16	8	1	6	1
2. Information from Customs Service	7	6	0	1	0
3. Information from Intelligence agencies	1	1	0	0	0
Total	24	15	1	7	1

\*That is, information sold by Dun & Bracktreet which Defense interpreted as adverse. Dun & Bradstreet does not make recommendations on the suitability of end users for export control purposes

As shown in table 2.3, Defense interpreted information provided by Dun & Bradstreet as indicating suspicious end users on 16 applications. Commerce approved 8 of these applications. We discussed the bases of these decisions with Commerce's licensing officials, who said that Commerce generally approved the applications because they appeared to describe routine transactions. The commodities, for example, were relatively unsophisticated; the volume and dollar amounts of the proposed exports were relatively low; the end users were not identified by OEE as suspicious; and Defense's denial recommendations were thought to be too general to be useful. However, Commerce's licensing decisions were made without knowledge of some potentially relevant information. As discussed below, Defense generally did not share with Commerce all the information it used in support of its denial recommendation. For the 16 Dun & Bradstreet related cases, Defense interpreted Dun & Bradstreet's information as "adverse" for the following reasons.

1. In 9 cases, end users did much of their business in the People's Republic of China. Defense, however, supported its r ecommendations to Commerce only with the notation "inadequate [or "insufficient"] end use information." Commerce did not consider such a notation sufficient to sustain Defense's denial recommendations and, in the absence of any related information that it considered adverse, approved 4 of these 9 applications. It returned 5 to applicants without action, 4 of which involved the same end user. OEE had recommended that these 4 applications be denied, but the applicant withdrew the applications before a licensing decision could be made. The remaining application was returned because it did not contain all of the required documentation.

2. In 4 cases, end users did not appear to exist at the address given on the application and in 3 of these cases, the end user also did not appear いたので、

to be registered as a business in the country of destination. Defense told Commerce that lack of an address was the basis of its denial recommendation in only one of the 4 cases. Commerce approved 2, denied one, and returned one to the applicant without action. In one approved case (see app. I), Commerce granted a license prematurely because Defense told Commerce that the end user did not appear to exist but Commerce did not attempt to verify this information. In the other approval case, Defense aid not tell Commerce that the end user did not exist, only that there was "insufficient end user information" and "inconsistent product information," which meant that the information on the Hong Kong import certificate<sup>7</sup> was not the same as the information on the license application. The end user in this case was not on OEE's list of suspicious end users. Commerce's licensing office had a copy of the import certificate, but Defense did not send it a copy of the Dun & Bradstreet report on the end user. The application that Commerce denied is discussed on page 21. Commerce returned one application without action when U.S. authorities in Hong Kong did a pre-license check and reported that they were unable to find any information on the end user. The pre-license check was made in response to Defense's notation in support of its denial recommendation, i.e., "pre-license check on end user."

3. In 2 cases, end users' business activities were not consistent with the end use statements on the applications. Defense supported its recommendations only with the notations (1) "inadequate information on ultimate end user" and (2) "Consignee does not sell computers." Commerce approved the first application, and the second was still pending as of December 31, 1985. In the case Commerce approved, Defense's internal memorandum stated that the end user was an importer and not a manufacturer. The application's end-use statement, however, said that the importer, a manufacturer, was an affiliate of the end-user's (importer's) firm. Following Defense's recommendation, OEE made a pre-license check of the end user at the request of the Commerce licensing officer in charge of the case. The pre-license check report stated that a U.S. counsular official found no derogatory information about the end user and was of the opinion that the end user intended to use the product in the country of destination. The application was approved on the basis of the pre-license check.

<sup>7</sup>Import certificates are issued by the importing government at the request of the importer, who sends a copy to the exporter who must submit it to the exporting government (i.e., U.S.) with the export license application.

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4. In one case, Defense believed that there was insufficient information about the end user and supported its denial recommendation with the notation "relatively little information on end use. Cost of commodities is half of company's worth. High Technology." Commerce approved the application with the condition that distribution or resale of the products (integrated circuits) was permitted only in the country of destination.

Defense also recommended that 8 other applications be denied because the end users were the subjects of Customs Service investigations (7 applications) or because of information provided by one or more intelligence agencies (1 application). Commerce had adverse information about two of these end users, accounting for 5 of the 8 applications, but believed that it was not sufficient to warrant denial actions. (See apps. III and IV for licensing histories involving both end users.) Commerce approved 2 of the remaining 3 applications and returned one to the applicant without action because the product's description was in a foreign language. Commerce approved the 2 applications without the benefit of the specific information Defense had. Defense neither told Commerce that the end users were under investigation by the Customs Service nor conveyed any information about the investigations themselves. For one of these 2 applications, Defense justified its denial recommendation only by the notation, "lack of specificity on end user." Defense's recommendation in the case returned without action was based on its suspicion that the end user was diverting controlled products to the Soviet Union. Defense, however, did not share the basis of its suspicion with Commerce.

Until July 1985, Commerce officials did not seek information directly from the Customs Service about the investigations that Defense was using as the basis of denial recommendations. Commerce officials believed that Defense, as the agency making licensing recommendations to Commerce, was responsible for supporting such recommendations with specific information about any Customs Service information it used. In July 1985, Defense began providing Commerce with Customs investigatory case numbers. Commerce, in turn, began requesting information about such investigations from Customs, such as the degree of Customs enforcement concern. Additionally, a list of all Customs investigations is provided monthly to OEE and it inspects the list for export control-related cases. As a result of this inspection, a number of names have been added to OEE's list of suspicious end users.

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	OEE, however, does not make licensing recommendations based solely on whether a party to an export transaction is under Customs investiga- tion. The level of enforcement concern is important to OEE. An OEE offi- cial told us that, typically, when Defense's recommendations based on Customs information were discussed with Customs officials, Customs expressed no significant enforcement concern.
	Commerce denied only one of the 24 applications that Defense wanted to deny, because of a suspicious end user. In this case, Dun & Bradstreet's report said that the end user did not exist at the address given on the application and was not registered as a business in Hong Kong. Defense, however, did not convey this information to Commerce with its recom- mendation. Rather, it based its recommendation on what it called "inad- equate end use information." The end user, in fact, already was on OEE's list of suspicious end users. OEE requested a pre-license check of the end user by U.S. authorities in Hong Kong, which confirmed that it was an unsuitable recipient of U.Sorigin, national security controlled, commodities.
Evaluating the End Use: the Resale Issue	Concern over end use was used to support 31, or 52 percent, of Defense's 60 recommendations for denials, as shown in table 2.4. The basis for denying 27 of these 31 applications was resale by end users to customers unknown to U.S. licensing authorities in certain "problem" countries. Under export administration regulations, end users may import controlled products for resale within the country of destination unless specifically prohibited from doing so by Commerce. Commerce can, but generally does not, request the identity of the actual end user when products are exported for resale under the authority of individual validated licenses.

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#### Table 2.4: Disposition of Defense Recommendations to Deny License Applications Based on Concerns About End Use\*

		C	ommerce Lic	ensing Actions	
Bases of Defense recommendation	Number of applications	Approved	Denied	Returned to applicant without action	Pending action
1. Products to be resold in country of destination	27	19	1	6	1
2. Products to be re-exported from country of destination	3	2	0	1	0
3. Other <sup>b</sup>	2	1	0	1	Ô
Total	32	22	1	8	1
Number of actual applications	31	21	1	8	1

\*\*Numbers on table refer to license applications, but because Defense sometimes cited more than one reason for its recommendation there is necessarily some double counting. The magnitude of double counting is reflected in the two sets of column total figures. Defense recommended denial for one application that Commerce approved because end use was both for resale and re-export, and it is thus double counted.

<sup>b</sup>One end-use statement was transmitted incompletely from Commerce, and one such statement was not on the application as required.

Defense, however, does not believe that a distributor should be treated the same as an actual end user when granting an individual validated license. This position was clearly stated in an October 25, 1985, letter from Defense's Deputy Under Secretary for Trade Security Policy to his Commerce Department counterpart. The problem, as he saw it, which exists when the actual end users were not identified, was explained and he wrote that:

"Until we begin to receive more explicit information from exporters that the products are going to an identifiable actual end user for a specific purpose, Defense will recommend denial for applications of this nature for these [two] destinations."

His concern over "for resale" as the end use was re-emphasized in a hearing 2 weeks later before the Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade, House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Defense has continued to recommend that such applications be denied. For example, of the 38 applications that Defense recommended be denied during the November 18 to 22, 1985 period, 31 involved resale to unidentified end users.

Commerce in most circumstances believes that it cannot deny a license application solely on the grounds that the end user intends to resell an item within the country of destination to customers who are unknown to U.S. licensing authorities. Before May 1985, Commerce's export licensing procedures required the identification of ultimate end users if Chapter 2 Export Administration at the Departments of Commerce and Defense

an item proposed for export was an "advanced computer." However, Commerce officials issued additional instructions to their licensing staff in May 1985 to restrict approval of some applications where the end use was for resale to unknown customers. The staff was directed not to approve applications involving products in four commodity categories thought to be of special interest to the Soviet Union and other countries and defined by certain operating characteristics. Licensing personnel also were directed to (1) return such applications to the applicants without action and request information about the distributors' customers or (2) approve the applications but require the distributors (end users) to seek the permission of the U.S. government to resell the previously licensed items. In this latter situation, Commerce approves a license application but withholds approval of the end use (i.e., resale). The end user is permitted to receive an item but not to dispose of it without U.S. government approval, and such permission may be contingent on the applicant identifying the end user's customers.

Commerce did not use these kinds of restrictions on any of the 19 approved applications that Defense recommended be denied because the end use was for resale. Commerce, however, returned one other such application without action because the quantity shown on the license application was different from the quantity on the import certificate. Commerce asked the applicant to resolve the discrepancy and to identify the end user's customers. Also, as discussed on page 16, Commerce denied two applications approved by Defense because the end user would not divulge the names of its customers as part of a pre-licensing check.

In January 1986, a joint Commerce-Defense task force began to discuss the resale issue. By March 1986, the agencies had agreed in principle that identification of distributors' customers would be required for especially sensitive products before export license applications could be approved. For other, less-sensitive products, distributors would be required to maintain special records of their transactions. For the least sensitive products, distributors would be able to resell items without identifying their customers or keeping special records. Pursuant to this agreement, Defense is determining how each commodity control category should be divided among the three different groupings.

Conclusions

Commerce and Defense were divided in their assessments of the diversion potential of specific end users, mainly due to disagreement on a number of general issues related to the appropriateness of exporting to

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<u></u>	certain kinds of end users under certain of these was the resale issue. Steps towa been taken with the agreement in princi categories for control purposes for items has resulted in the precedent which mak shared responsibility of the Commerce a	rd resolving this issue have ple to designate three different s shipped to distributors; this kes writing licensing guidelines a
	On occasion, Commerce officials also int information differently than did Defense example, did not believe that it should d because the Customs Service or some offi- end user, without considering the serious cerns. Defense, on the other hand, recom- solely on the basis of such investigations officials recommended denial of some ap Hong Kong regularly did a substantial p tomers in the People's Republic of China believe that they should deny application	e officials. Commerce, for leny an application solely her agency was investigating an isness of any investigatory con- umended denial of applications s. As another example, Defense oplications because end users in art of their business with cus- h. Commerce officials did not
	In some cases, licensing decisions were r available because Defense was not shari information it used to support its recom Bradstreet reports and information about tions. Also, Commerce was not always d These kinds of information-sharing pro- resolved by the end of 1985, and Comme information from Defense.	ing with Commerce all of the mendations, including its Dun & ut Customs Service investiga- eveloping this information. olems, however, were largely
	The actions taken by Commerce and Def through improved sharing of informatio differences raised over the past year she between Defense's licensing recommend actions. A high level of consistency in fu- tion of whether Defense review of indiv- tions should be continued in its present :	in and resolution of the policy ould lead to greater consistency ations and Commerce's licensing iture reviews will raise the ques- idual free world license applica-
Agency Comments and Our Evaluation	Defense questioned the representativene in part because a team to process license assembled in April 1985. Defense furthe August 15, 1985 that the "Free World T tion to really begin tightening up on the observations on licensing are generally v	e applications had yet to be er noted that it was not until eam was in place and in a posi- process." We believe that our
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1985 period. In addition to the April test period, we made verification checks in May, June, and July. Generally, Defense requests for detailed information from Commerce and its recommendations to Commerce during these three periods were similar to those for April. For example, during the April period, Defense requested detailed information on about 28 percent of the applications it reviewed, and the average request rate for the following three 2-week periods was 35 percent. During the April period, Defense recommended that about 9 percent of the applications it reviewed be denied and, for the following three periods, recommended denial for about 7 percent.

We also examined the basis of Defense's denial recommendations for November 18 to 22, 1985. We found that most of the applications denied during this period were denied for essentially the same reason as the applications we reviewed in April. The basis of Defense's denial recommendations did not materially change between April and December 1985, when we stopped collecting data. It should be noted that applications initially reviewed by Defense in April were sometimes not decided upon by Commerce until June or later. Indeed, five of the applications we reviewed were still pending licensing decisions as of December 31, 1985.

Commerce agreed with our findings and observed that the evidence in the report appears to call into question the justification of Defense's review of license applications to free-world destinations. Commerce added that, based on this evidence, our conclusions on Defense's role "should be stated more explicitly." However we do not believe that issue can be more directly addressed until there is a high level of consistency between Defense's recommendations and Commerce's licensing actions.

Defense disagreed with our conclusion concerning consistency in licensing, stating that the "issue is not consistency but rather the quality and effectiveness of the review." Defense claimed that "substantial value has been added to the overall licensing process through Defense review of Free World cases."

We do not believe that "consistency" and "effectiveness" are mutually exclusive concepts, and we do not contend that Defense has not made a contribution to the current licensing process. The focus of our conclusion is on the future licensing process and its evolution toward a high level of consistency between Defense's recommendations and Commerce's decisions. If attained, it will be reasonable to question such a duplicative process and, since the broader responsibilities in the export licensing

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process are Commerce's, the question will likely focus on whether or not to continue Defense's role in its present form. This question, of course, would not extend to Defense's role in continuing to assess the military significance of exports.

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## Licensing History of Application to Export Computers to an Asian Country

March 29: Application received in Commerce's Office of Export Admin-1985 istration (OEA).<sup>1</sup> The value of the equipment was more than \$1 million for resale in the country. The end user was not on lists of suspicious or bad end users, so OEE did not review the application. April 1: Information from the application was sent electronically to Defense and evaluated against its various "screens." April 9: A copy of the license application was sent to Defense at its request. Defense requested information on the end user from Dun & Bradstreet on April 15. April 15: Dun & Bradstreet reported that the end user did not exist at the address it was given. The address on the license application was the same as that on the import certificate issued by the country's government,<sup>2</sup> suggesting that the U.S. license applicant had not erred in recording the end user's address. April 29: Defense notified OEA that it recommended that the application be denied on the grounds of inadequate end-use information and the fact that the end user appeared to be non-existent. Defense did not send OEA a copy of the Dun & Bradstreet report or explain why resale within the country constituted an inadequate end use under export administration regulations. May 30: OEA issued the export license. OEA officials did not believe that Defense had supported its recommendation with specific information as required, in their view, by the Presidential directive. Subsequently the intelligence community developed adverse information about the end user but, as of December 1, 1985, it had not permitted Commerce to place this name on OEE's list of suspicious end users. <sup>1</sup>Now called the Office of Export Licensing. <sup>2</sup>Import certificates are issued by the importing government at the request of the importer, who sends a copy to the exporter, who must submit it to the exporting government (i.e., U.S.) with the export

<sup>&</sup>quot;Import certificates are issued by the importing government at the request of the importer, who sends a copy to the exporter, who must submit it to the exporting government (i.e., U.S.) with the export license application. In this case, the importer declared that the computer systems were for resale in the country. The Asian country's government notified the importer on the certificate that the goods were for use in the country, that diversion en route to the country was prohibited, and that re-export was prohibited unless authorized by the country's government.

1985

## Licensing History of Application to Export Computers to an Asian Country

April 9: Application received in OEA. The value of the equipment was less than \$500,000, for resale in the country only. The end user was not then on OEE's list of suspicious or bad end users, although currently it is on the list.

April 11: Information from the application was sent electronically to Defense and evaluated against its various "screens."

April 17: A copy of the license application was sent to Defense at its request. Defense also requested and received financial and other business-related information from Dun & Bradstreet. The Dun & Bradstreet report said that the firm purchases computer parts from abroad and reexports about 70 percent of them to the People's Republic of China.

May 8: Defense notified OEA that it recommended the application be denied because of inadequate end use information. Presumably, the basis of Defense's concern was the end user's business relationship with the People's Republic of China. Defense did not send OEA a copy of the Dun & Bradstreet report or indicate the specific source and/or nature of its concern other than the phrase "inadequate end use information."

May 23: OEA issued the export license with a condition requiring the license holder to provide OEA with a document verifying delivery of each shipment made against the license. OEA officials issued the license because they did not believe that Defense had supported its recommendation with specific information as required, in their view, by the Presidential directive.

#### Appendix III

## Licensing History of Application to Export Integrated Circuits to a European Country

1985

April 9: Application received in OEA. The value of the equipment was less than \$50,000, for resale to two specific firms (ultimate end users) in the country. The specified end user was not on OEE's list of suspicious or bad end users, but one of the two ultimate end users was on this list.

April 10: Information from the application was sent electronically to Defense and evaluated against its various "screens."

April 17: A copy of the license application was sent to Defense at its request. Defense also requested and received financial and other business-related information on the end user from Dun & Bradstreet during April. In an internal memorandum, Defense officials stated that the applicant was under investigation by the Customs Service and that one of the ultimate end users allegedly was involved in diversions.

May 8: Defense notified OEA that it recommended the application be denied on the grounds that the applicant was under investigation. Defense did not provide any additional information.

April - May: OEE requested a pre-licensing check on the suspicious ultimate end user, and the results indicated that it was a suitable recipient of U.S.-origin controlled products.

May 25: OFE told OFA that it did not have any concerns with the application.

June 21: OEA issued the export license with a condition that the integrated circuits can be resold only in the country. An OEE official said that he interprets the intelligence information about the suspicious ultimate end user differently than Defense officials. However, because of concern about this firm, OEE subsequently asked the country's government to conduct a post-shipment check on the ultimate end user. As of December 1, 1985, the result of this check was pending. Since June 1985, OEE has been deferring action on all applications involving the suspicious ultimate end user until it receives the results of the post-shipment check.

## Licensing History of Application to Export Computers and Related Equipment to a European Country

1985

April 10: Application received in OEA. The value of the equipment was less than \$200,000, for resale in the country. The end user was on OEE's list of suspicious or bad end users.

April 11: Information from the application was sent electronically to Defense and evaluated against its various "screens."

April 22: A copy of the license application was sent to Defense at its request. Defense requested information on the end user from Dun & Bradstreet and the Customs Service at approximately this time. Defense received financial and other business-related information from Dun & Bradstreet and did not interpret any of it as adverse. The Customs Service, however, said that it was investigating the end user.

May 14: Defense notified OEA that it recommended that the application be denied on the grounds that the "end user is suspect." Defense did not tell Commerce anything further about the basis of its recommendation. According to an OEE official, the end user had been on its list of suspicious end users for some time, but in his opinion the derogatory information about the end user was not conclusive. Furthermore, pre-license checks in February and April 1985 did not reveal any derogatory information. Commerce has not made any post-shipment checks of this firm because the products exported to it are not considered especially militarily significant by OEE officials.

May 21: OEE told OEA that it did not have any concerns with the application.

June 20: OEA issued the export license.

### Appendix V comments From the Department of Commerce Note: GAO comments supplementing those in the report text appear at the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE CONFIDENTIAL end of this appendix. The Assistant Secretary for Administration Washington, D.C. 20230 JUL 03 1986 Mr. J. Dexter Peach Director, Resources, Community, and Economic Development Division United States General Accounting Office Washington, D.C. 20548 Dear Mr. Peach: This is in reply to GAO's letter of May 16, 1986, requesting comments on the draft report entitled "Export Licensing: Commerce-Defense Review of Applications to Certain Free-World Nations." We have reviewed the enclosed comments of the Under Secretary for International Trade and believe they are responsive to the metters discussed in the report. Sincerely, Kay Bulow Assistant Secretary for Administration Enclosure UNCLASSIFIED WHEN CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE IS REMOVED

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Appendix V Comments From the Department of Commerce

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the General Accounting Office (GAO) draft report, "Export Licensing: Commerce-Defense Review of Applications to Certain Free World Nations." (U) We agree with GAO findings that (1) approaches to resale continue to divide Commerce and the Department of Defense (DOD), (2) Commerce places a different emphasis on the relevancy of continuing investigations (i.e., Commerce argues that one must consider the seriousness of the investigatory concerns), and (3) DOD must share all relevant information and submit its recommendations to Commerce	CONFIDENTIAL		UNITED STATES DEPARTMEN The Under Secretary for Inter Weelington, D.C. 2023C	
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See comment 2.	
See comment 3.	Enclosed are several additional points of clarification. I hope you find our comments useful. (U)
	Sincerely,
	Bruce Smart
	Mr. J. Dexter Peach Director for Resources, Community and Economic Development Division U.S. General Accounting Office Washington, D.C. 20548
	Enclosure
	-CONFIDENTIAL

	The following are GAO's comments on the Department of Commerce's letter dated June 30, 1986.
GAO Comments	1. Information classified by the Department of Commerce has been deleted.
	2. Information classified by the Department of Commerce has been deleted.
	3. These points, some of which were classified, have been addressed in the report, where appropriate.

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#### Appendix VI

## **Comments From the Department of Defense**

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-2000 1 JUL 1986 In reply refer to: I-10852Á/86 Mr. Frank C. Conahan Director, National Security and International Affairs Division U.S. General Accounting Office 441 G Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20548 Dear Mr. Conahan: This is the Department of Defense (DoD) response to the General Accounting Office (GAO) draft report entitled, "EXPORT LICENSING: Commerce-Defense Review of Applications to Certain Free World Nations," dated May 16, 1986 (GAO code 483418/OSD case 7018). On January 4, 1985, the President approved the coordinated review of export license applications by the Departments of Defense and Commerce for eight Commodity Control List categories to fifteen Free World destinations. Defense began receiving its first cases for review electronically from Commerce under this agreement on February 15, 1985. The Defense Automated Case Review Systems (DACRS) had been designed and developed as a prototype to receive, review, store, and process cases transmitted electronically from the Commerce Licensing Automated Retrieval System (LARS). Thus, the initial review of cases would serve to test the DACRS system. Defense had just begun its Presidentially directed review of Free World cases when the GAO performed its review of cases. At that time the GAO was advised by Defense officials that the study was premature and would not be representative because (1) the administrative and technical filters of the DACRS system were still being set, (2) the feasibility of a commercial data base was under review, and (3) a team to process these cases had not yet been fully assembled. Existing personnel assigned to other duties were handling processing in the interim, keeping track of cases and assuring that Defense was adhering to the strict deadlines mandated by the Presidential Directive. Also, Defense was just beginning to analyze its findings and the major issues that were emerging.

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GAO/NSIAD-86-169 Export Controls

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GAC DRAFT REPORT - DATED MAY 16, 1986 (GAO CODE 483418) OSD CASE 7018 "EXPORT LICENSING: COMMERCE-DEFENSE REVIEW OF APPLICATIONS TO CERTAIN FREE WORLD NATIONS" DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE COMMENTS 
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DOD RESPONSE: PARTIALLY CONCUR. The DOD disagrees with t
statement concerning the lack of Steering Group meetings
lack of meetings by the Technology Transfer Steering G attributable to a variety of factors other than differences
the two departments. Defense approached its new response
for review of applications to certain Free World nations
opportunity to strengthen and improve the licensing proce
has sought to establish a good working relationship with Commerce counterparts. It has been educating itself on the
and analyzing major issues and differences to evaluate t

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