# european community

JUNE 1975 NO.187

## the REFERENDUM

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# Britain Says "Yes"

## *Referendum Climaxes Long Love-Hate Relationship With the Continent*

**ALVIN SHUSTER,** *London correspondent for* The New York Times

*The British people "in clear and unmistakable terms" have made their "historic decision" that Britain should remain in the European Community, said Prime Minister Harold Wilson when the votes were counted the day following Britain's first national referendum. Unofficial results showed approximately 68 per cent in favor and 32 per cent opposed. Voter turnout was estimated at 66 per cent, or 26 million of Britain's 40 million registered voters. A background analysis follows.*

Europeans on the Continent have always harbored great admiration for the British. They have admired Britain's institutions, her parliament, police, system of justice, sense of fair play, and way of life. Polls show many on the Continent would pick Britain as the place to live if they had to leave their own countries.

The feelings, however, have not been mutual. The British have long distrusted those across the English Channel. They may rush across in the summer for a taste of sunshine and a change of scenery, but they often return devoid of any great emotion or understanding of those "foreigners." After all, many historians have noted, the British are an insular people with an ingrained superiority complex, justified or not.

In a sense, then, it was not surprising that of all countries in Western Europe, Britain gained the image as the most reluctant partner. She said "no" to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 25 years ago, "no" to the European Economic Community (EEC), changed her mind and joined, and then decided to reopen the whole issue with the referendum.

### INTENSE INTERNATIONAL INTEREST

Referenda have come and gone in many other countries, but few have been watched with such intense interest. At stake was the future course of Western Europe, of its plans for cooperation, its hopes for speaking with one voice in world affairs, its economic and political path in the years ahead. Outside of Britain, there were clear fears that a "no" in the shaky international climate could lead to an unraveling of the position of the West.

A British political analyst, who remained above the intense struggle between the pro's and the anti's in the campaign, summed up the stakes as follows: "The whole concept of Europe would change with a British withdrawal, not to mention the power relationships within the Community. The British have helped provide talent and balance in the sometimes intricate workings of the Market. Germany would be left alone to deal with France. Denmark would reconsider her membership. And other British links—the 50,000 troops in Germany—could well come under review in London with the British out."

In Washington, officials did not hide their hopes that Britain would remain inside Europe. With the involvement in Indochina at an end, Washington would turn more of its attention to Europe, try to mend fences with allies arising from a variety of economic and political differences, including the strains following the 1973 Mideast war, attempt to keep alive the spirit of détente not only with the Soviet Union but also within Western Europe itself.

In short, the rhetoric from Washington called for a new spirit of consultation with Western Europe. And a Britain outside the Community, whatever that might mean in closer Anglo-American relations, would create new problems for the alliance at a time when it had enough. President Gerald R. Ford, in a rare public comment on the British referendum (see page 16) said, "I think Europe is strengthened by Britain's participation. I think our overall Western world economic strength is likewise improved and strengthened by Britain's participation."

From Germany, too, came an intervention in the heated debate raging in Britain. The West German defense minister, George Leber, noted that American support for Europe hinged on whether the allies showed themselves to be true alliance partners. And, in his view, Britain's vote would have a decisive influence on the weight of that European partnership.

The Commonwealth countries, those traditional trading partners of Britain, also joined the chorus. At their conference in Jamaica, they made it clear that they had completed their adjustments to Britain's membership in the Community and stressed that it was now in their interest to try to broaden their access to the Community, with its 250 million people. The Commonwealth producers argued that they would stand to gain more from expanding trade by the Community than returning to the old patterns of trade with London.

Britain, of course, had long felt that she could remain above Europe with the help of Commonwealth partners and a special relationship with the United States. But those were the days when Britain was still a great world power, with an empire and without any burning passions for involvement in Continental structures, apart from defense ties.

Those passions never stirred Britain, even after the decline of the country and the disappearance of the empire. Prime Minister Harold Wilson, for example, said recently that he was "always a Commonwealth man" while James Callaghan, his foreign secretary, was "always an Atlanticist." In the campaign on the Market, however, they both evolved into "European men," and the basic Government document, urging the British people to vote "yes," said that withdrawal would limit British influence in the world and "threaten the political stability of Western Europe." (For further discussion of the Labor Government's "White Paper," see *European Community,* No. 185, page 11.)

Even China was rooting for a "yes" vote because of its growing interest in establishing close links with the Community. But there was no doubt that the Soviet Union would much prefer that Britain pull out in hopes of weakening the whole effort toward Western European unity and, in the long run, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Speeches by anti-Market ministers got most of the play in the Soviet press.

## BREAD AND BUTTER

All this may well have represented the view outside Britain as the British tried to make up their minds. Inside the country, however, the battle was being waged at different levels, with different arguments, with different sentiments. The debate over worldwide repercussions of the decision was muted in the speeches, pamphlets, news conferences, and television broadcasts.

The voters hardly needed their memories jogged on the famous quote in 1962 by Dean Acheson, then US secretary of state, who said that Great Britain had lost an empire but not yet found a role. But if the new role meant Europe, the voters asked, what was the price? It was well and good to talk about British influence in a world of increasing interdependence, but if it meant higher food prices, a loss of sovereignty, a loss of jobs, why not forget it all?

Thus the campaign focused more on "bread and butter" issues than on high-sounding phrases dealing with solidarity, unity, and destiny. "They can talk all they want about why we should play our part in some big Europe," said a young lady in Wales, "but the real question to most of us is whether we will be better or worse off in the pocketbook. The Common Market is not something that holds out any great solutions to our problems. Many of my friends simply feel we would be better off inside than out at this point."

*"No one can have any idea what course, other than chaos, the anti-Marketeers are proposing for Britain," are the words of British Home Secretary Roy Jenkins at a May 29 London news conference.*

The polls reflected this view, providing an overwhelming lead to the pro-Market forces despite the opposition by half the Labor Party in the House of Commons, seven of the 23 ministers in the cabinet, most of the trade unions, and some vocal Conservatives such as Enoch Powell. With the leaders of the three major parties all urging a "yes" vote, the anti's clearly had an uphill struggle no matter the absence of real emotion within Britain for the Community.

In part, this lack of pro-Europe sentiment arose from a widespread belief that Britain had received little in the way of tangible benefits since joining the Community in January 1973. Whatever the reasons, prices in Britain soared in those two and a half years, and there had been no signs, as in other countries, of a downward turn in the rate of inflation. Some EC money had started to flow into Britain to help depressed areas, but this did not capture public imagination.

"Membership has brought about a disastrous deficit in our trade," said Peter Shore, the secretary for trade and one of the anti-Market ministers in the cabinet. "It has brought an invasion of our home market by goods imported from the Continent, an enormous increase in investment by British firms on the other side of the channel. But there is more to it than that. The British feel that the European Common Market is not for them. And yet they hesitate and falter."

The anti's repeatedly struck that theme and threw in fears about an erosion of democracy through the power of the "bureaucrats in Brussels," who, among other things, would prevent Britain from taking decisions vital to her own interests. Socialists opposed saw the Community as a "capitalist club" that would prevent the country from moving ahead toward more socialism.

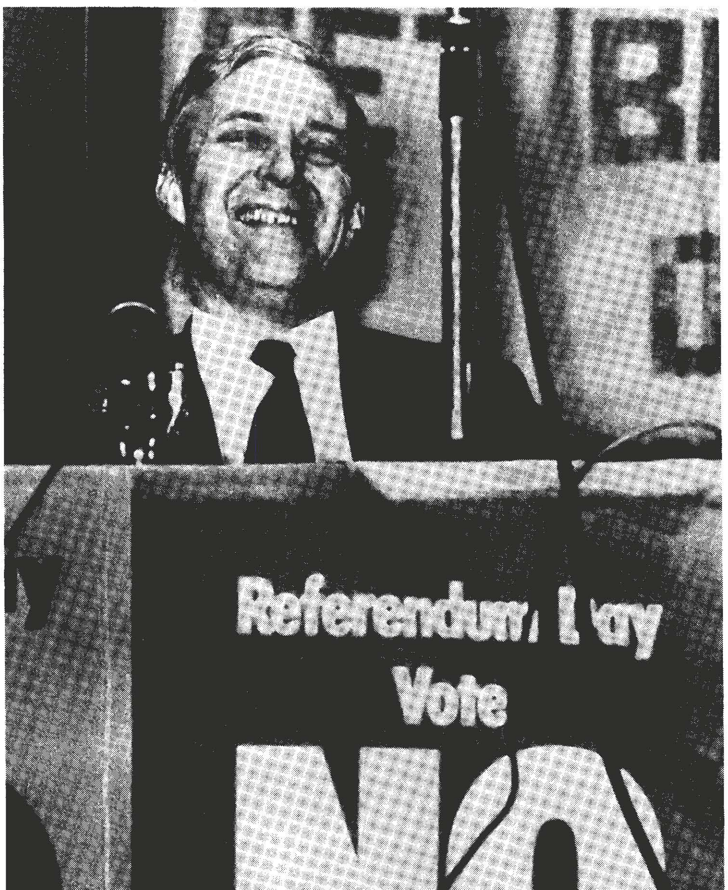
"Outside the Common Market, we should have little more control over our fate than a man on a raft in rough sea," said Roy Jenkins, the home secretary who led the "Britain in Europe" movement. "The outlook for trade, for jobs, for prosperity around the world is grim—and you need real strength and unity to fight recessions, not paper power."

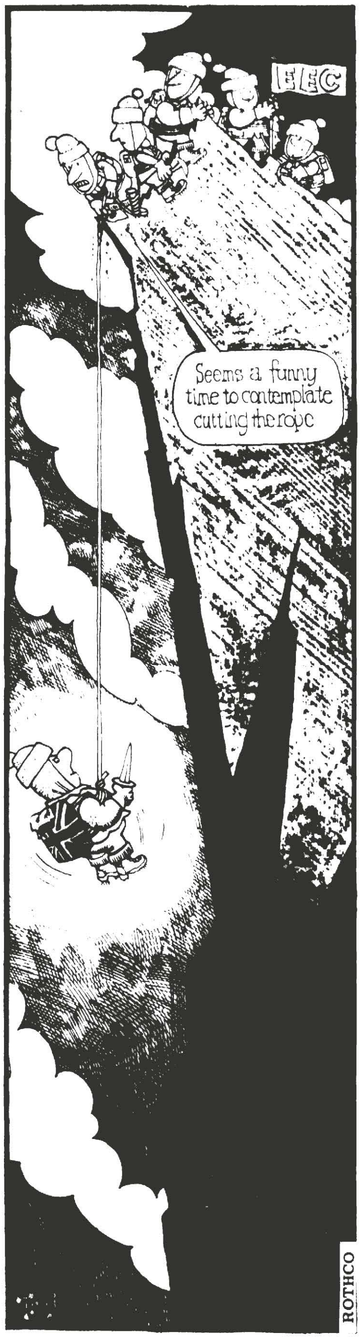
The pro's added some thoughts about the need for access to important export markets, the need to encourage investment in industry by keeping the way clear for an expanding market for British goods. And, they added, Britain, a nation of only 55 million who import half their food and most of their raw materials, would have a disastrous time standing outside the Community.

## STATISTICAL INDIGESTION

All this was accomplished with a flood of statistics that would give the most sophisticated computer a case of indigestion. And from a variety of speakers, on both sides, came claims that tested the credulity of the most gullible. It was no wonder that at the end of the campaign, the British were in total confusion, though telling the pollsters they would still vote to remain inside.

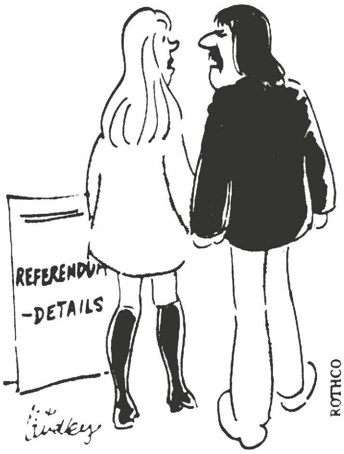
*British Industry Secretary Anthony Wedgwood Benn, at an anti-Market campaign rally in London on May 30, obviously disagrees with his fellow Labor cabinet member, Roy Jenkins.*



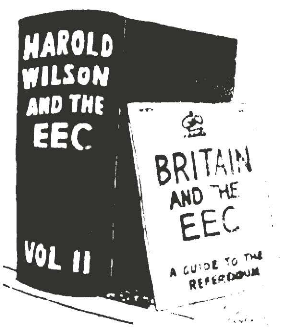



*Trog*, The Observer, *London*.


*"Walk ten paces, turn around—and shout." Gurbutt*, The Sunday Telegraph, *London*.




*"I wonder what they'll do about girls who say 'no' when they mean 'yes' . . . ."*
*Audley*, The Sunday Telegraph, *London*.




*Audley*, The Sunday Telegraph, *London*.

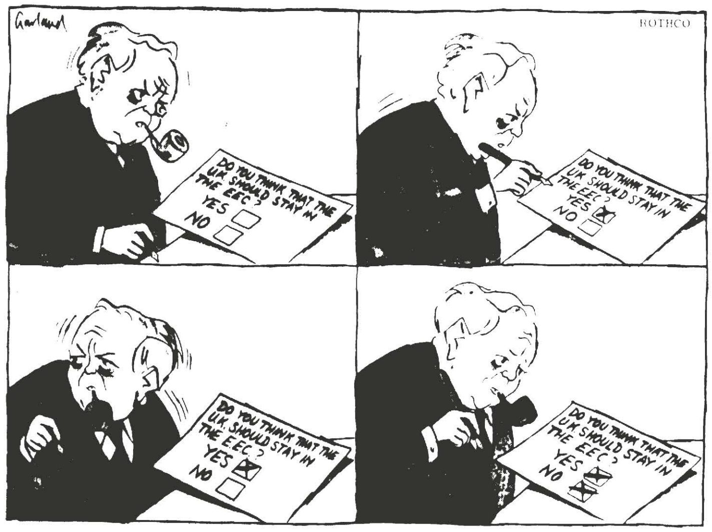

*Jon*, The Daily Mail, *London*.

**'I tell you Wedgie, this weather will go on and on if we stay in the Common Market.'**


*"Now are you convinced?"*
*Behrendt*, Het Parool, *Amsterdam*.

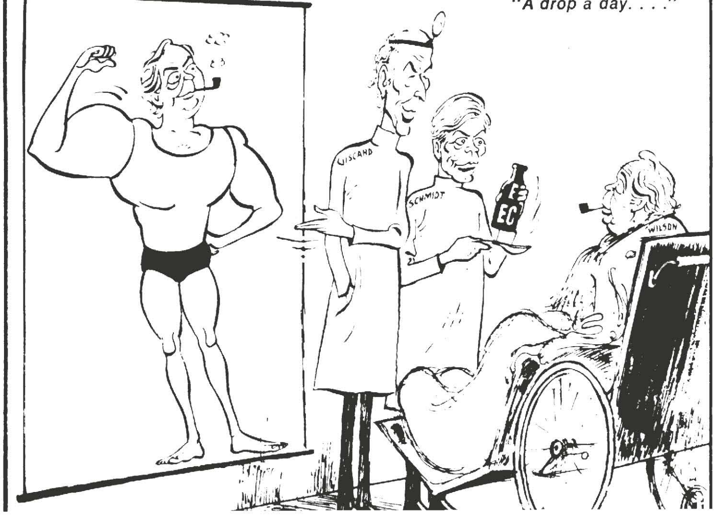
*"Unusual support for Wilson."*


*Jusp*, Wir Bruckenbauer, *Switzerland*.




*Garland*, The Daily Telegraph, *London*.

*"A drop a day. . . ."*



On food, the pro's said prices had risen because of the jump on the world markets; the anti's claimed that, outside Europe, Britain would be able to buy food in the cheaper markets. On jobs, the pro's said the loss of access to Europe would mean higher unemployment; the anti's pointed to the low jobless rate in Norway, which had voted against EC membership.

On social welfare, the pro's said that other partners were paying more in benefits, and membership would provide the incentive to catch up; the anti's countered by saying that once Britain stopped pouring money into Europe she would have more for her own people. On defense, the pro's stressed that a strong Community contributed to a strong defense; the anti's, that the defense of Britain did not depend on the European Community, but on NATO, and the United States would not allow Britain to go under.

And so it went. But a crucial question remained for the British. That focused on the alternatives to EC membership, and there seemed to be three.

One would be to go back to old Commonwealth trading arrangements, but that would be difficult because those countries had other buyers now. A second would be increased trade with the North Atlantic area, including the United States, but those prospects looked slim. A third would be a wider West European free trade area, but that project faltered in the past as the economic power of the Common Market grew stronger.

Of the three alternatives, the anti-Market forces embraced the idea of a wider free trade area as their solution. Outside the Community, they argued, Britain could become active in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and enjoy "free or low-tariff entry into the Common Market without the burden of dear food or the loss of the British people's democratic rights."

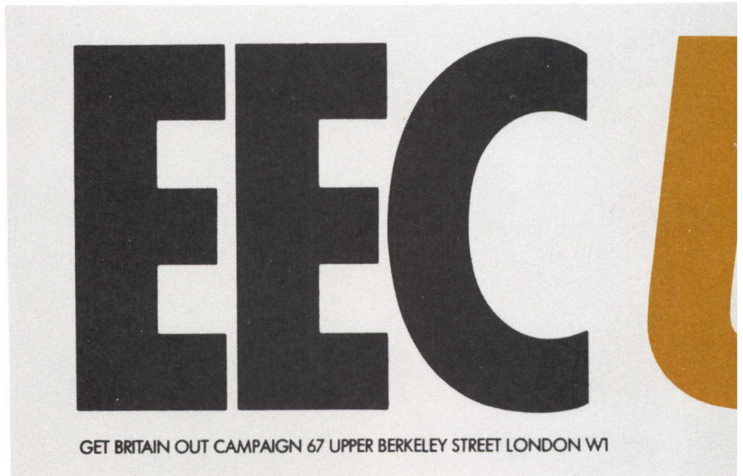
As the pro-Market forces saw it, however, there would be no guarantee that the Community would be willing to grant a major industrial nation like Britain the same free trade arrangements made for smaller countries. The official pro-Market argument said, "It is very doubtful if we could negotiate a free trade agreement with the Community. Even if we could, it would have damaging limitations, and we would have to accept many Community rules without having the say we now have in their making."

For all its solemnity, the campaign produced some oddities. Cabinet ministers openly quarreled with one another, reflecting the deep divisions within the governing Labor Party. Conservative, Liberal, and Labor Party politicians shared platforms. Some of Prime Minister Wilson's most bitter opponents were out helping him win his case with the British people, somewhat as if Tammany Hall had suddenly gone to work for the Republicans.

**END TO ARGUMENT**

In domestic political terms, the struggle over the Market could have some long-lasting effects, particularly on the split Labor Party. But, in broader terms, the British hope they have ended an argument that has raged throughout the country in varying degrees of bitterness for years.

After World War II, it was Winston Churchill who urged Europe to unite and, in a speech in Zurich in 1946, called for "a kind of United States of Europe." He helped create the united European movement but then later made it clear that what he really had




*Anti-Market campaign bumper sticker (above) vividly depicts one view of what EC memb ceremonies at the Palais d'Egmont in Brussels (below). Pictured fourth from right fr Danish Prime Minister and now head of the EC Commission's Washington delegation.*

in mind was a union of nations on the Continent. Britain's refusal to join the ECSC in 1951 was symptomatic of the national mood against moving too close to Europe.

Again, in 1957, when France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg began talks on the Common Market, Britain showed no interest and at one point even withdrew observers from the negotiations leading to the EEC Rome Treaty. Outside, Britain initiated the European Free Trade Association, and Western Europe became divided in two, economically and to some extent politically.

Second thoughts came in London as the new Community grew stronger, with trade multiplying between its members, all of whom stepped up their growth. The EEC "Six" later turned to political discussions of sorts, and the British also became worried about their exclusion and wondered how long they could simply look on from the sidelines while French President Charles de Gaulle dominated the politics of the Community.

In July 1961, Britain announced talks with the Market on terms of entry only to encounter a "non" from President de Gaulle in 1963, who said London was not ready to join. When Britain tried again in 1967, this time under Wilson, de Gaulle used his veto again. But the French president's successor, Georges Pompidou, opened the way for British entry. When the documents were finally signed in January 1972 and the champagne disappeared, then Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath and most of the British people thought that was the end of the affair.

Britain appeared in to stay. But the surprise return to power by Wilson in February 1974, and the ouster of Heath, the man who took Britain into Europe, meant new uncertainty. For the Labor Party was determined to fulfill campaign pledges to "renegotiate" the terms of entry and put the results to the British people.

It was mainly an effort by Wilson to keep his Labor Party together. By stopping short of opposing membership in principle, he managed to satisfy the moderate and right wings of his party. By backing the idea of new talks with the Market and a referendum, he was mollifying the left wing so opposed to the Community.

For a year, much of the work of the Community bogged down as Britain pursued such demands as improved terms on budget payments and changes in the common agricultural policy. With concessions from the Community, Wilson then announced that the "renegotiation objectives have been substantially though not completely achieved." It was enough to clear the way for the national referendum, a device once opposed by Wilson and never before used in British history.

It came against the background of a severe economic crisis, with all indices showing that the British were falling behind their partners. The pound dropped on the world money market, inflation continued, businesses folded, unemployment rose. Wilson said it would all turn out fine, including the referendum, and many of the British managed to maintain the image of themselves that they have so long held.

"I think I see all the reasons for going into Europe," commented one voter in the countryside. "But I think, too, that the main reason why they want us is because we are a rich and prosperous country."

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*ıant for Britain, which signed the Accession Treaty on January 22, 1972, during*
*ı Heath, Britain's Prime Minister at the time. At extreme right is Jens Otto Krag, then*

ATLANTIC FORUM

# US-EC Uranium Relations

## *Energy Crisis Shifts From Oil to Nuclear Fuels*

**WILLIAM M. DROZDIAK,** *American freelance writer based in Brussels*

European Community *regularly presents opinions on US-European relations. The opinions do not necessarily reflect the policies or views of the Commission of the European Communities. Persons interested in contributing to "Atlantic Forum" may submit manuscript proposals to the Editor,* European Community, *Suite 707, 2100 M Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.*

In its Promethean struggle to reduce Western Europe's dependence on Arabian oil through an expanded nuclear energy program, the European Community now faces a new set of worries over energy supply sources. This time the problems stem from renewed concern over the reliability of uranium shipments from the United States, and the troublesome prospect of turning to the Soviet Union for well over half the Community's requirements for enriched uranium by 1977.

The United States took EC Commission officials by surprise when the newly formed US Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC)—which, along with the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), has split up the duties of the defunct Atomic Energy Commission—stopped issuance of export licenses of nuclear equipment and fuels while carrying out a full administrative review of licensing procedures.

That the latest misunderstanding in US-European relations should occur in the nuclear energy sector seems ironic. Until recent years, no Atlantic exchange enjoyed more stable, cohesive ties than American-European cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. From the very beginning of its activities the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) established close links with the US Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).

In November 1958 a cooperation agreement was signed to form the Joint Nuclear Power Program. Under this program, the first three nuclear power stations of the light water type, developed in the United States, were built in the Community through substantial support of the AEC. In exchange for long-term guarantees of enriched uranium supplies to the Community, the AEC received a continuous flow of technical and economic data on the plants' operations.

Later, in June 1960, an additional cooperation agreement was signed, which provided Community reactors with nuclear fuels from the AEC under the same terms and conditions offered to American utilities. From that time until the early Seventies the Euratom Supply Agency concluded 46 contracts with the AEC for the purchase of enrichment services. For 1971 and 1972, when the last enriched uranium requirement pacts were signed, the Community paid $720 million—thereafter, the oil crisis and skyrocketing world demand for uranium would push the price of future deliveries into billions of dollars.

### "SERIOUS CONCERN"

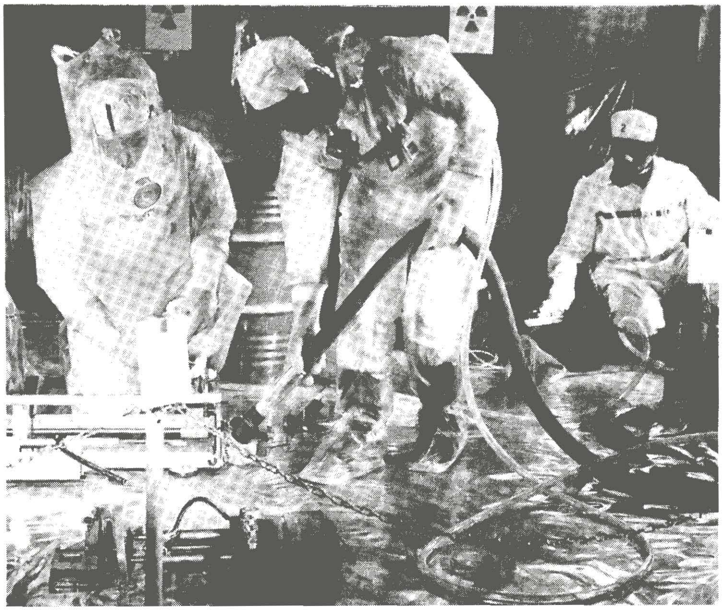
Immediately following the NRC action on export licenses this spring, EC Commission Vice President Henri Simonet, sent an official aide-memoire to the US State Department, complaining of the lack of consultation and noting the Community's "serious concern regarding the security of supply from the United States." Simonet is responsible for EC energy policy, nuclear safeguards, and the Euratom Supply Agency, which, under the Euratom Treaty, has exclusive right to conclude contracts relating to the supply of nuclear ores, source materials, and special fissile materials coming from both inside and outside the Community. Unless uranium deliveries were resumed quickly, Commission officials said, the American decision could seriously hamper the EC nuclear development program in its attempt, supported by the United States, to loosen the grip held by Arab oil exporters over the European energy situation.

American officials claimed that European protests were the result of a misunderstanding. The Americans emphasized that the NRC move was made for "purely internal administrative reasons" and no political malice was intended toward the Europeans. The NRC promised a quick review and said it would take into account the pressing needs of certain European reactors. That response neither fully satisfied the Europeans nor resolved the plight of several nuclear facilities whose stocks were running low.

Soon after announcing that it would give top priority to the most urgent contracts, the NRC approved the export of 1.1 million pounds of natural uranium ore for enrichment in the Soviet Union and eventual use in West German electrical power stations. Licenses were also granted for the delivery of slightly enriched uranium to be used in the Netherlands. However, export licenses for shipments of highly enriched uranium urgently needed for research and development remained in suspense.

To remind the United States of the grave threat posed to Europe's expanded nuclear program if more supplies were not

*Decontamination work for health and safety at the Community's Joint Research Center of Ispra, located close to Lake Maggiore, about 40 miles from Milan.*



*Commission Vice President Henri Simonet, responsible for EC energy policy, addressing a National Press Club luncheon while in Washington on May 15.*

forthcoming soon, Simonet met in Washington on May 15 with NRC, ERDA, and State Department officials. He was again reassured that American export licensing would be fully resumed once the administrative review was completed. Among other things, he was told, the United States simply wanted to ensure physical security in transporting and processing the sensitive materials with the objective to prevent diversion toward non-peaceful uses. An EC official emphasized, "We [the Europeans] have at least as much interest in preventing terrorist theft on our soil as the United States does . . ."

Over the next 10 years, European plans for nuclear energy development, revised dramatically in the wake of the oil crisis, will require vastly increased supplies of nuclear fuels. Energy output from nuclear reactors in the nine EC countries will be 15 times greater than it is today, claim EC experts, as the number of reactors is scheduled to grow from 56 to 217 by 1985.

To meet its expanded uranium supply needs in a world of burgeoning demand for nuclear fuels, the Community, in a February 13 Council of Ministers resolution, has launched an active supply policy with four main objectives:

- economical and secure resources in the Community;
- establishment by European nuclear industries of sufficient capacities to meet a substantial part of EC requirements as well as to operate on the world market;
- research to encourage technological innovation;
- development of cooperation with countries producing natural uranium, to ensure long-term returns on investments made by EC nuclear industries.

The EC decision to diversify its uranium supply sources resulted from the rapid increase throughout the world of nuclear power stations, whose growing needs for enriched uranium have besieged the US Government. More and more nations are turning to nuclear energy, currently the cheapest available substitute for oil, to shore up electricity supplies. Fifteen countries now possess nuclear power stations; the number will double in five years and triple in 10 years.

**WEAPONS OR GARBAGE?**

With the US manufacturing capacity for enriched uranium strained to the limit, American energy officials last year requested approval to implement a recycling process for plutonium—a by-product of uranium processing whose rich atomic properties could increase current US nuclear export capacity by 10 per cent. But plutonium is a highly radioactive, toxic substance extremely difficult to manipulate safely. In addition, the chemical reprocessing technology that extracts the plutonium from spent uranium provides the key in developing atomic weapons.

If the United States decided to go the plutonium recycling route, it would soon be faced with a grave dilemma: Should the United States export reprocessing plants abroad, thereby aiding foreign countries (or even terrorist goups) in the construction of nuclear weapons? Or should the United States insist on reprocessing the world's plutonium by itself and become, in the words of one observer, "the world's biggest garbage dump for atomic waste?" For the time being the question is moot, as widespread public concern and unfavorable opinions from environmental groups and nuclear experts have forced the US Government to cancel any imminent plans to utilize plutonium recycling.

The only other large-scale producer of nuclear fuels capable of meeting Europe's needs is the Soviet Union. Having produced all the enriched nuclear fuel it probably needs, with the world's second largest atomic stockpile after the United States, the Soviet Union appears eager to enrich large quantities of uranium for civil purposes in Western Europe. Most observers feel the Russians can use bigger nuclear fuel contracts as a way to balance their trade with European countries, especially West Germany, which exports far more to the Soviet Union than it imports.

Currently the Community is still 100 per cent dependent on the

United States for highly enriched uranium; while for slightly enriched uranium, the Community relies on the United States for 60 per cent and the Russians for the remaining 40 per cent. These ratios, however, will change rapidly in the next few years. By 1977, the Soviet Union will in all likelihood be providing the Community with nearly 60 per cent of its total enriched uranium supplies. This rather high degree of dependence will continue until the early Eighties, or at least until the two European nuclear consortiums, EURODIF and URENCO, begin large-scale production of enriched uranium once financial and technical obstacles have been overcome.

The Russians maintain huge reserve stocks of uranium and have enrichment plants that, unlike US facilities, are not heavily committed to the delivery of future supplies for domestic or foreign nuclear reactors. While the Americans have demanded 10-year contracts, the Soviet Union is offering spot sales, which could keep the Community amply supplied without cutting into the eventual European productive capacity. And Russian prices are roughly equivalent to, if not cheaper than, those of American suppliers.

After enriching uranium for a French utility in 1971, the Soviet Union opened up its supply capabilities to a broader group of Western countries in 1973. West Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, Belgium—in cooperation with the Euratom Supply Agency—and Sweden, Austria, and Spain have signed long-term supply contracts since then, and bigger deals are expected soon. The crucial aspect of "the Russian connection" lies in the Soviet production specialty—"core" uranium, a vital element in the initial, or activating, phase of nuclear reactors. The greatest level of European dependence on Russian supplies will occur between 1977 and 1981, just when many of the new European reactors are scheduled to begin generating power. Privately, some EC energy officials harbor fears that this tantalizing opportunity to exert political-economic pressure will not escape the attention of Soviet leaders.

## THE REAL MONSTER

With the ominous chance of another Arab oil embargo in case of a new Mideast war, with nagging insecurities about US uranium deliveries affecting European nuclear power plants, and the distinct possibility of future supply dependence on the Soviet Union, the cry is being heard more frequently and strongly in European circles for greater EC self-reliance in energy production. Directors of the Anglo-Dutch-West German consortium URENCO have recently launched an appeal for the accelerated development of European uranium enrichment plants.

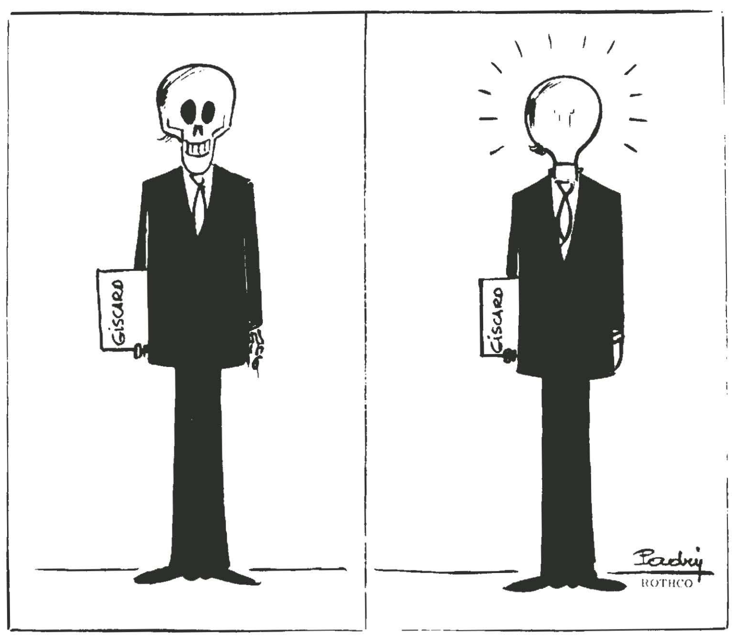
Europeans had been torn between the URENCO centrifugal method of enrichment and the group's competitor—EURODIF (led by France and backed by Italy, Belgium, Spain, and now Iran), which uses the gaseous diffusion system. But following the fourfold increase in oil prices, booming world demand for nuclear fuel supplies and the erosion of the US enriched uranium monopoly have opened up the market and forced both companies to revise their original production plans upward.

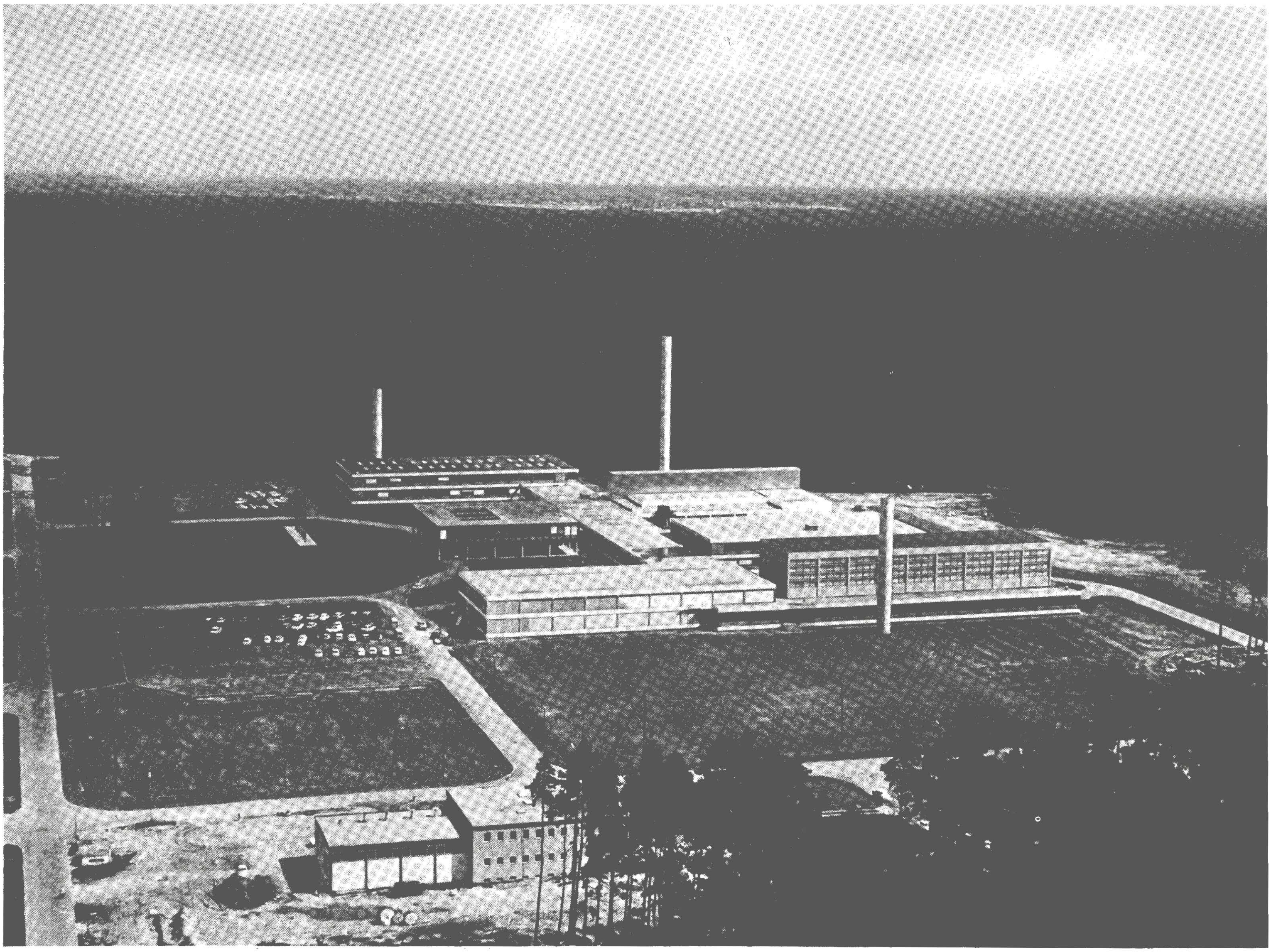
As with most investments in modern technology, however, the big problem is money. A new gaseous diffusion factory, for example, will cost at least $2.5 billion to build, plus another $1 billion to construct thermal power stations to feed the plant's own energy needs. American industry attempts to create private, additional enrichment capacities were stillborn due to the forbidding expense in a time of global recession.

Another fear is ultimate overproduction in the enrichment field. Besides the American and Russian capacities that currently dominate the nuclear fuel market, Canada and South Africa are soon expected to intensify the exploitation of their own substantial deposits of uranium ore and could build their own enrichment plants. The addition of new European nuclear enrichment plants, in competition with the entry of other foreign suppliers, could mean declining prices and profits when market outlets are less assured. Overproduction could also come in the development of the new technology of breeder reactors.

The chances of improving the technical process to quicken production appear dim, so the goal of European self-reliance for enriched uranium supplies during the critical period of 1977 to 1981 may only be reached by the costly route of building new factories or expanding the capacity of those now being constructed. Nuclear energy experts claim that only URENCO, in using the centrifuge process of uranium enrichment, can provide sufficient new capacity within the relatively short lead-time of

*"Nuclear energy in France: as seen by the anti's and as seen by the pro's." Padry, Le Herisson, Paris.*





*The European Transuranium Institute, located on the outskirts of Karlsruhe, Germany, is principally concerned with the study of plutonium-containing nuclear fuels, those fuels best suited to fast breeder reactors.*

four years. The gaseous diffusion method would take about six-to-eight years. According to a study conducted by the Exxon Corporation, the centrifuge method is also more economical.

But whatever the European decision to increase short-term production of enriched uranium may be, the days when the United States held a world monopoly in nuclear technology are long gone. The NRC and the US Senate, currently considering an export reorganization bill that would toughen safeguards criteria as a premise for US nuclear exports, appear to be making an honest effort to reduce the threat of nuclear blackmail. Although various experts are divided on the wisdom of export controls, the ease with which plutonium, spilling forth from an increasing number of nuclear power stations around the world, can be applied to atomic weaponry clearly has everyone worried.

"The real monster down the road is nuclear proliferation," a State Department official said recently. "I think it is inevitable that there will be three or four new nuclear powers within the next 10 years." Without the rapid installation of neutral atomic fuel reprocessing plants multinationally owned and subject to public inspection, the race toward uranium may become the most dreadful legacy of the oil crisis.

ATLANTIC FORUM

# The Cheese "War"

## *US-EC Dispute Provides Lessons for Future Trade Relations*

**ADRIAN DICKS,** *Washington correspondent for the London* Financial Times

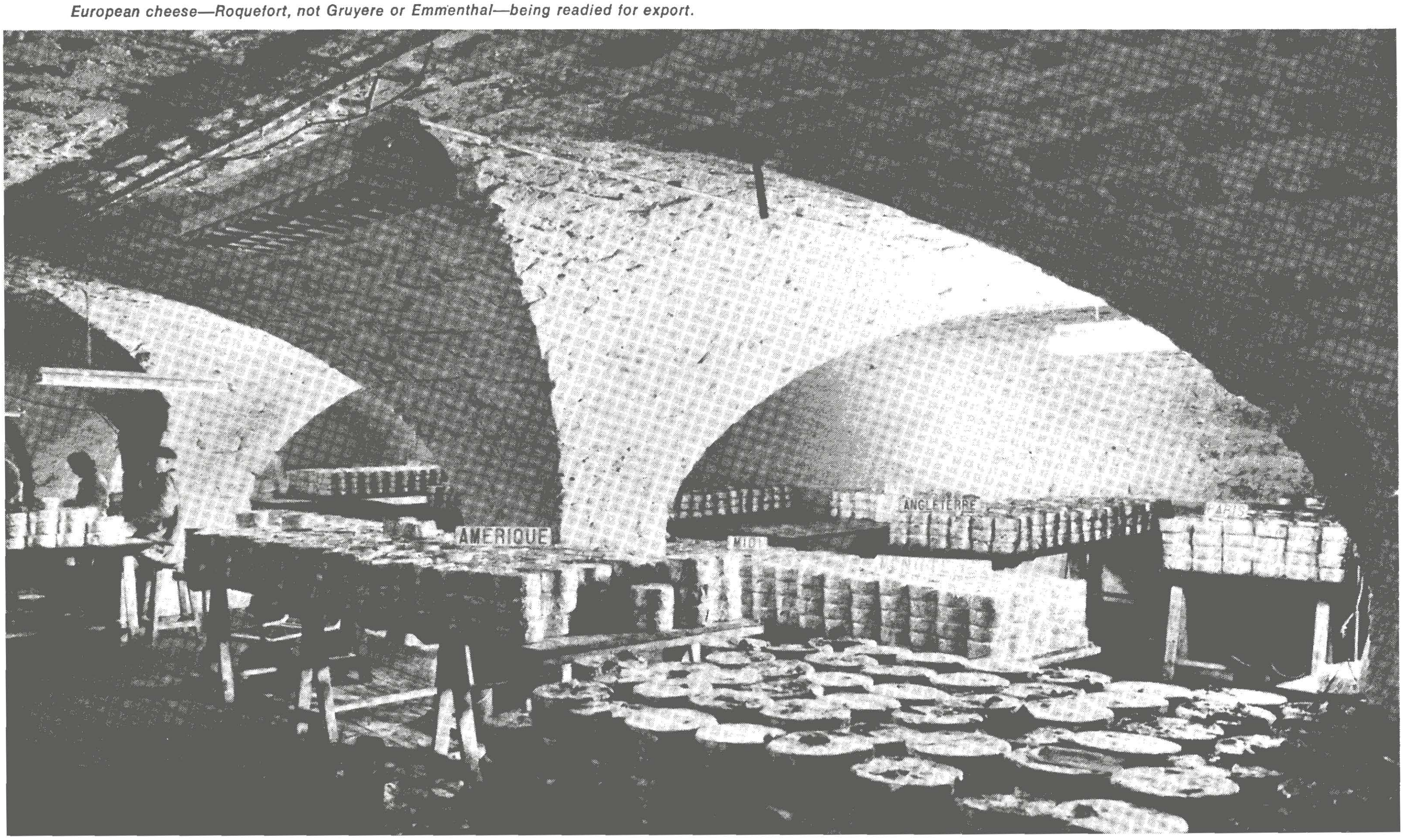
*The European Community, bowing to US Administration requests, temporarily suspended export refunds on two US-bound cheeses April 23. The suspensions—on table Gruyère and Emmenthal—were the last in a complex series requested by the United States following the Commission's February 5 reintroduction of export refunds on certain cheeses destined for US markets. The refunds had earlier been suspended last July after a US complaint that EC export refunds had caused a large loss in US domestic cheese sales. There follows an analysis.*

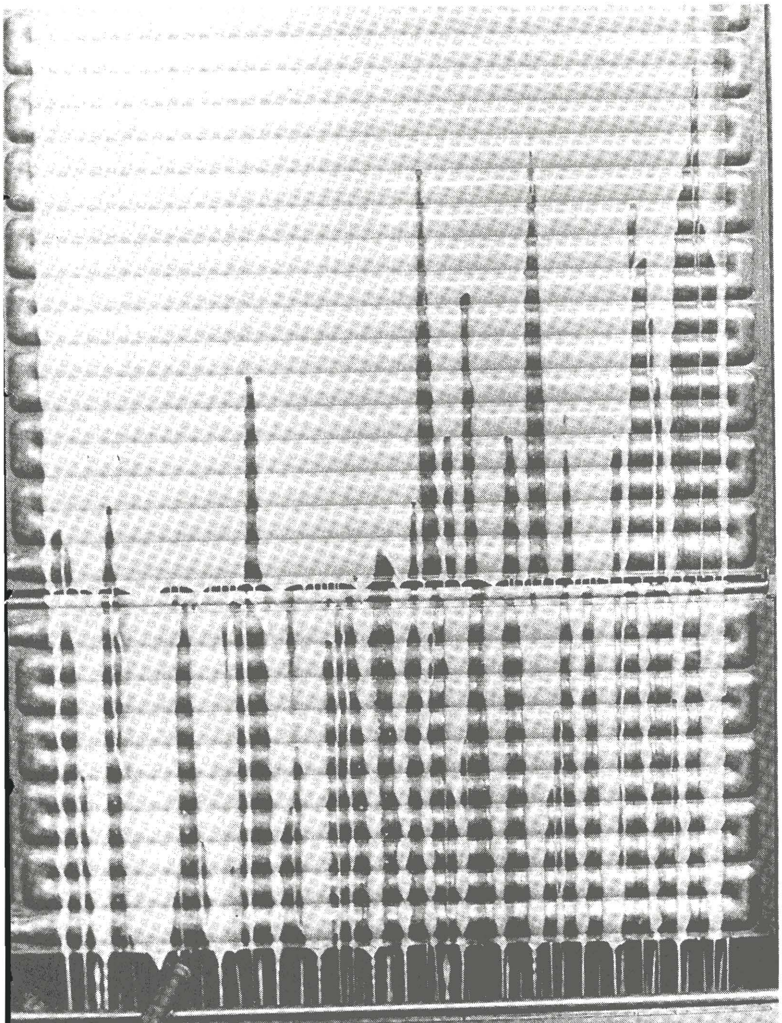
The transatlantic cheese "war" of 1975 is over, without more than a symbolic shot or two being fired. The European Community and the United States, although not actually conceding the points of principle which had appeared briefly to lock them on a collision course, managed to reach an eleventh-hour compromise with which both are seemingly satisfied. The political will was mustered to prevent a somewhat obscure technical dispute from souring relations, and the way is now at least theoretically clear for progress to be made toward more substantial common goals. Among these, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva and the continuing attempts to coordinate oil and other raw materials policies loom most important.

Yet peace on the cheese front was not achieved without considerable diplomatic skill on both sides, and the problems that the long-simmering dispute exposed to public view are serious enough to dictate caution in trying to predict how long the truce will last. The United States has interpreted the final round of EC concessions as the end of the matter, just as it did in the summer of last year when an earlier interim settlement was reached. In fact, the EC Commission's April 23 suspension of its export rebate payments on table grades of Gruyère and Emmenthal was carefully described as a temporary measure. It is certainly unlikely to close the door altogether on further attempts by European cheese producers to have the payments restored.

At a purely practical level, some experienced American officials feel the agreement, negotiated in New York between EC Commission Vice President Christopher Soames and Frederick Dent, the Ford Administration's new trade representative, may be hard to enforce. It calls for US customs inspectors to distinguish between table and industrial grades of the two cheeses. Even assuming the inspectors are gourmets to a man, there will still remain the problem of preventing American importers from bringing cheese into the country ostensibly for further processing but then selling it directly to the consumer market. It will be surprising if the American dairy industry, whose lawsuit against

*European cheese—Roquefort, not Gruyere or Emmenthal—being readied for export.*





*Cooling the cream in a European cheese factory.*

the US Treasury brought the whole issue to a head, does not voice some such complaint in the years ahead.

## PROP TO ECONOMIC ORDER

For the moment the American dairy industry is well satisfied, and it has reason to be. It has given a virtuoso display of how to get things done in Washington, and in the process has provided the first test of the workings of the new Trade Act. The Treasury has, for the first time, used its waiver powers under the act to avoid imposing countervailing duties on EC cheese exports, but on terms that the industry and its friends in the Congress were able, in effect, to decide for themselves. For President Ford, in exchange for the support of Senators Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) and Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) in passing the Trade Act last autumn, had promised to take a tough line with the Community over export subsidies and, as it turned out, left it to them to decide how tough.

The Trade Act, of course, though seen on Capitol Hill more in terms of the dispute over Soviet emigration policies, was conceived by then President Richard M. Nixon as one of the main props of a new international economic order, following his own decision in August 1971 to bring the tottering old order down.

While the United States and its partners have proved unable to make much progress on new international monetary rules (the other main prop of Nixon's grand design), the long and exceptionally stormy Congressional passage of the Trade Act did mark a milestone of great importance. It gave the President power to negotiate the removal of tariff and nontariff barriers to trade. It was also a much-needed political restatement of US willingness to remain within, and to strengthen, that vast and sometimes nebulous web of continuing international negotiations, the existence of which in itself helps restrain headstrong action by governments. Thus, during the cheese dispute, both sides could point to the fact that the Geneva round had begun, albeit haltingly, and could agree that nothing ought to be allowed to torpedo it.

What the Trade Act also did, however, was to give the President a mandate to negotiate that is closely subject to Congressional oversight. The main way in which this has been expressed lies in the field of nontariff barriers, forming the largest and most difficult part of the Geneva agenda. Here, the act obliges the Administration to seek the approval of both houses of the Congress before any agreement can be concluded, and there are few illusions on either side of the Atlantic that the process would be an easy one. Clearly much must depend on how both the Administration and the Congress interpret their powers and responsibilities in the trade area. What guidance should America's partners draw for the future from the cheese dispute, the first concrete test of the new machinery set up by the Trade Act?

## CASE STUDY FOR FUTURE

So far, Europeans have tended to take a pessimistic view of the case, pointing to the precedent it sets for the consideration of other pending countervailing duty investigations by the US Treasury, among which the most important to the Community are float glass, steel, and canned hams. European officials have been discouraged by the way the Administration bowed to pressure at home, making little or no effort to stand up for the Community's interests when Mondale, Nelson, and their allies decided to redeem the political promises Ford had made to them in letters during the Senate's debate on the Trade Act and in a campaign speech at Sioux City last October.

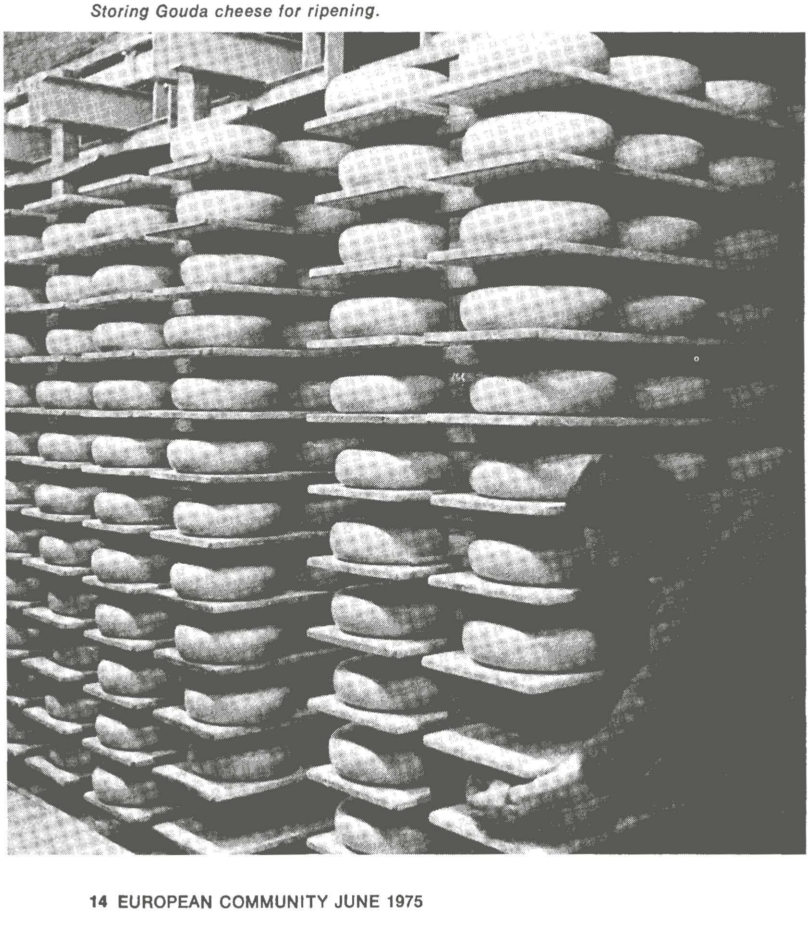
In addition, the Commission has disputed the claim that European cheese exports, which at 53,000 tons in 1973 made up only 5 per cent of total US consumption, contributed in any serious degree to the US producers' difficulties. Only half of the total benefited from the subsidies in any case. Equally important in accounting for the American dairy industry's woes, it is argued by Commission experts, has been the Administration's own approach, both encouraging domestic production and twice raising import quotas last year. Indeed, Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz now concedes that the second of these quota increases "did cause some interference with the domestic market."

Against all this it must be said that Europeans have been slow to appreciate the delicacy of the Administration's position. Like the Community itself, the United States can perhaps be charged with failing to see until the last minute the political importance of the cheese dispute. White House officials could be heard, during the hectic exchange of messages with

Brussels, cursing the fact that "this whole business was left in the hands of the enforcement types." Once it was referred to the highest levels in the State Department and the White House, however, there could be no mistaking the fact that its diplomatic overtones were taken very seriously indeed.

But Administration officials do not share the concern felt in Europe that the cheese dispute will be the thin end of a protectionist wedge. Deputy Treasury Secretary Stephen Gardner referred tactfully to the "special commitments" involved on the American side, and seemed thereby to be trying to reassure the Community that no damaging precedent had been set. Privately, Treasury officials have long felt that the case offered a poor occasion on which to take a stand against pressure from Congress, both because of President Ford's own position and because the facts were not such as to produce anything but an adverse finding. The Commission may have disputed the economic results of its restitution payments, but it could hardly contest the fact that they were being made and that they constituted a clear infringement of the countervailing duty law. There was little realistic hope, therefore, that US officials, however sympathetic to free trade, would stick their necks out to prevent the law from taking its course.

*Storing Gouda cheese for ripening.*



## ISOLATIONISM VERSUS ATLANTICISM

Far more complex issues are at stake in the steel and float glass cases. The first will constitute a definitive test of the Community's policy of value-added tax rebates to exporters, while the second will call into question its system of regional incentives to industry. The lines are blurred on both issues in terms of the 1897 countervailing law and of the 1974 Trade Act. And in both cases the Treasury will be able to exercise its waiver of countervailing duties—should preliminary findings go against the Community—on the grounds which the Trade Act specifically provides, that reasonable prospects exist for resolving the issue in multilateral negotiations, and that precipitate action by the United States would jeopardize the outcome.

It would be unrealistic at this stage to predict the outcome of either the float glass or the steel case; the precedents are few and too dissimilar to give any certain guidance. Much is also likely to depend on how effectively the US domestic lobbies in each industry mobilize their political resources, and on the state of the economy later this year. Yet there is no reason to think that the deep commitment many American officials (in the Treasury, the White House, the State Department, and elsewhere) feel towards future trade liberalization has weakened.

The debate is in full swing over whether or not America is veering towards isolationism and protectionism in reaction to its humiliating setback in Southeast Asia and to its still deeply painful economic recession at home. Whatever the truth of that, President Ford appears determined to establish himself as an Atlanticist, and powerful voices are not lacking to back him up.

The focus must now pass, however, to the Geneva talks as the real test of how the Administration intends to approach economic relations with the United States' major allies. By mid-May progress remained blocked on a procedural issue that conceals a point of primary importance—the question of how agricultural products are to be discussed. The United States, facing the likelihood of bumper crops this year and a possible decline of 20 per cent in its agricultural export earnings, is keen to see farm problems discussed at the same time as tariffs and non-tariff barriers. The European Community wants to confine them to the Geneva negotiations' agricultural committee, calculating no doubt that the United States has little to offer in return for easier access to markets for its farm products, other than the always uncertain assurance that it won't resort again to export embargoes without prior consultation.

The cheese war offers little guidance to how such wide questions as these, where negotiators must try to see their way clearly to the end of the Seventies, are going finally to be resolved. It does, however, serve to remind both Europeans and Americans that, given the willpower at the politica level differences can be settled reasonably and amicably. The lesson may seem obvious, but it never does anyone any harm to learn it again.

# Willy Brandt On Record

### *Former Chancellor Reaffirms "European" Faith*

Willy Brandt visited Washington March 26-27, where he met with President Gerald R. Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and spoke at the National Press Club. While in the United States, he also spoke at Vanderbilt University (see *European Community*, No. 186, page 20.) During his visit, *European Community* put some questions to Germany's former Chancellor and present Social Democratic leader.

**Economically Germany is the strongest EC member. Yet politically it is often criticized as being more reactive than initiative. Do you see Germany ever playing the role of the political leader in European integration?**

**Brandt:** *There is no doubt that the Federal Republic is economically one of the strong members of the European Community, but the criticism that my country plays too little a part in the Community's political activities does not hold water. Over the years the Federal Republic of Germany has time after time come up with prosopals of its own for reinforcing economic integration and promoting political union. It does not, however, seek to play a leading role, which in any case would not be in keeping with the spirit of a Community of equal partners.*

**As one of the architects of détente through your *Ostpolitik*, how do you see détente today? Is it still a valid policy? For that matter, some critics say détente has brought few, if any, positive and tangible results.**

**Brandt:** *I have repeatedly emphasized that the process of détente in Europe will be a long drawn-out business and not always easy. Up to now efforts to achieve détente have, after all, brought several realistic and positive results. Without a climate of détente the treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, and the German Democratic Republic, as well as the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, would not have been possible. This is also true for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic and the other countries of Eastern Europe. And it applies above all to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Those who like myself see the difficult process of détente without illusions must conclude that it has been possible to achieve respectable results in safeguarding peace and intensifying relations in the economic and cultural fields.*

**In recent years the either/or perception of either "a European Europe" or "an Atlantic Europe" has gained currency. Do you see the two—a strong, united, independent Europe and strong, good relations with the United States—as indeed mutually exclusive?**

**Brandt:** *As far as I am concerned, there have never been such alternatives. It is necessary to have a union of states in Europe that identify themselves with the Community or are linked with it in one way or another, and to have at the same time a developing relationship between the United States and such a Europe on the basis of partnership.*

**In your talk at the National Press Club, you said there are no problems today between the United States and Europe. Is that really true?**

**Brandt:** *Yes, unlike the past, that is the case today. This does not rule out the possibility of differences of opinion occurring again, for our interests will not always be completely identical.*

**The international order—economic and otherwise—that's given most of us relative prosperity and positive expectations since World War II now seems to be falling apart. At the same time—that is, at the time we most need it—there seems to be a dearth of leadership. Do you—as one of the few leaders in recent history that commanded worldwide respect—have any explanation?**

**Brandt:** *No one can deny that the present system of world economic relations is not functioning as well as it used to. The task we all now have to accomplish is to place relations between industrial countries and the raw material-exporting countries and other countries of the "Third World" on a new level. None of these three groupings can dictate to the others. Confrontation in this sphere, be it potential or actual, must be replaced by more cooperation, for this is the only way the legitimate interests of all nations can be respected.*

**What do you see as the future of Europe, the West, indeed the whole world? Does it have a future? Is the notion of progress —and the infinite perfectibility of man—bankrupt?**

**Brandt:** *I am no futurologist, but I am convinced that it will depend on whether, in the face of the present extremely serious problems, we take a defeatist attitude or try soberly and pragmatically to stand up to the challenges in all spheres and find solutions.*

# President Ford Visits Brussels

President Gerald R. Ford and former Prime Minister Edward Heath swapped audiences May 23 but said essentially the same thing—"keep Britain in." Also voicing an opinion on continued British membership in the European Community was Evel Knievel, the American stunt man who, according to *The Times* of London, prior to his attempted motorcycle jump over 13 London buses "astonished some of the audience, who had paid up to 2.50 pounds for a ticket, by urging them to vote to stay in the EC."

In a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) interview, as preface to his May 28-30 Brussels visit, President Ford was asked, "How vital do you think is Britain's participation in Europe?" He replied: "I think it is very important. I don't believe I should get involved in how the vote is going to turn out on June 5, but I think Europe is strengthened by Britain's participation. I think our overall Western world economic strength is likewise improved and strengthened by Britain's participation."

Heath, in an address before the National Press Club in Washington, told his American listeners, concerned about the seemingly continuous bad economic news coming out of their mother country, that he "put his money on Britain's future"—provided it stays in the Common Market. A decisive "yes" in the referendum, he said, would "open up a new and noble chapter of our history." From Washington Heath flew to Salt Lake City for a centennial speech at Westminister College and then immediately returned to Britain to continue his referendum campaign appearances. Praising the United States for its "great understanding" and "extraordinary generosity" toward Europe, the Conservative Party elder statesman said, "I hope this US policy continues."

The traditional US policy of support for Europe will continue, according to President Ford, who in the BBC interview said, "I give full support to the Common Market, the European Community efforts in trying to resolve some of the difficult economic problems. Under this Administration, under my time as President, we will work together, I hope, and there have been some recent illustrations where we have been able to resolve some very sticky problems in the field of agriculture in a very constructive way. I think this will be our attitude, and I have some good evidence, I think, by recent developments that will be the attitude of the Community."

Asked whether he was apprehensive about European rivalry in the broadest sense, President Ford replied: "I am not apprehensive because I think America is strong, and we have the will, and we have got the technical capability. I think we can compete with any segment of the globe, and I happen to think that competition is good. I don't like to discount it, but I think competition is beneficial to everybody."

The 50-minute BBC interview, hosted by BBC correspondent Robin MacNeil, was broadcast live by satellite to 19 countries in Europe. Such a broadcast was the first of its time, according to MacNeil. The other correspondents, all Washington based, were: Henry Brandon, of the London *Sunday Times;* Adalabert de Segonzac, of *France-Soir;* Jan Reifenberg, of the *Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung;* Marino de Medici, of *Il Tempo*.

Although President Ford's Brussels visit was focused mostly on North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) topics, the President and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger met with EC Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli and Commission Vice President Christopher Soames on May 30. Coincident with the President's visit, the regular, biannual EC-US consultations were also taking place in Brussels. Charles Robinson, US undersecretary of state for economic affairs and US delegation leader to the recent preparatory talks in Paris about a world energy conference, headed the American group at the consultation session.

*Outside the US Embassy in Brussels on May 30 (left to right): Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Commission Vice President Christopher Soames, Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli, and President Gerald R. Ford.*

# Community News

## US-EC Relations

### GATT Progress Discussed in Brussels

Frederick B. Dent, chief US trade negotiator at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva, met May 22 in Brussels with EC Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli and Vice President Christopher Soames for a general review of GATT issues.

Dent said that he "was pleased to have this opportunity to talk with Commission officials" about the current status of the multilateral trade talks, which had made little progress since they began several months ago. Despite the slow start, Dent said that "working groups from various negotiating teams have been making thorough studies of the issues" in the hope of finding compromises to break the current impasse.

"We both feel the need to pick up the pace and momentum of the negotiations, so that constructive achievements will be realized," continued Dent. Soames added, "There is no news on when the talks could be completed." When asked if they expected any substantial progress before the US elections in the fall of 1976, both Soames and Dent replied that their talks "concerned current problems and not the mapping out of timescapes."

### Simonet Talks Energy in Washington

A "game between states," EC Commission Vice President Henri Simonet called oil market operations, in an address before the National Press Club in Washington, May 15.

Simonet, responsible for EC energy policy, urged oil producing and consuming nations to "decide whether or not they want to avoid confrontation." He noted a lack of solidarity on all sides, especially among the industrialized nations.

Simonet cited the "politicizing of the whole dialogue" as the main problem in producer-consumer talks and said that the solution to a number of basic energy-linked problems can be "sought only through cooperation." Simonet was in Washington for talks with U.S. officials concerning uranium supplies for Europe (see page 8).

### US-EC Economic Talks Held in Washington

US and EC measures for economic resurgence were discussed in May 16 meetings between EC Council President in Office Richie Ryan, Irish finance minister; Commission Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp, responsible for economic and monetary matters; US Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, and other high-level US officials.

The EC Council of Ministers on April 21 said it hoped the meetings would be the precursor of future Community concertation and consultation relationships with major economic powers regarding the world economic outlook and national policies. (The Council also discussed the economic situation in the Community, in particular the recent British budget, and the financial and economic repercussions of the energy crisis.)

An EC participant described the Washington meetings as "an informational exchange on the state of the world economy and the respective economic recovery programs of Europe and the United States. Such meetings are psychologically good."

While in Washington, Ryan and Haferkamp also met with Johannes Witteveen, managing director of the International Monetary Fund.

### US House Resolution to Honor Monnet

Three Congressmen introduced a House Concurrent Resolution on May 22 honoring Jean Monnet, one of the founders of the European Community. Monnet, 86, recently announced his retirement from the Action Committee for a United States of Europe, which he founded 20 years ago (see *European Community* No. 186, page 3).

Introducing the measure were Congressmen Paul Findley (R-Ill.), Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn.), and Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D-NY). The three, all members of the House Subcommittee on International Relations, have been active participants in parliamentary exchanges with the European Community.

"Jean Monnet's realistic idealism produced results in uniting Europe. On the occasion of his retirement, Americans, as well as Europeans, should recall that a strong, united Europe is the best guarantee of good transatlantic relations," Representative Rosenthal said in introducing the resolution.

### Talks Continue on Export Credits

Representatives of the United States, Japan, and the EC member states met in Brussels May 12-13 to discuss a gentlemen's agreement limiting the terms of export credits. The aim of the proposed agreement is to set minimum interest rates and maximum durations for publicly supported export credits.

"There is now a common view on minimum down payments and maximum local cost financing," said an EC Commission spokesman after the meeting, but added that differences remain about the minimum rates of interest to be charged and about the extent of appropriate consultation procedure.

Further bilateral contacts were proposed to narrow the outstanding differences, in the hope that a firm agreement can be reached in the near future, the Commission spokesman concluded.

## External Relations

### China Diplomatic and Trade Links Set

The People's Republic of China intends to establish formal diplomatic relations with the European Community and to appoint an ambassador to the Commission in Brussels, Commission Vice President Christopher Soames announced after his May visit to

Peking.

Soames, responsible for EC external affairs, also said that China would negotiate a trade agreement with the Community, China's most important trading partner after Japan, after both had exchanged diplomatic missions. The suggested model for such an agreement was transmitted to Peking late last autumn in anticipation of the Commission's assumption on January 1, 1975, of responsibility for EC members' trade with state-trading countries.

China is only the second country in the Communist world, after Yugoslavia, to take these steps. Commenting on the potential for relations between the Community and China, Soames stressed several basic aspirations common to both: a desire for peace, to be masters in their own houses, and for a world in which there should be sufficient for all.

"Our two peoples," Soames said, "have different philosophies and for various reasons—economic, historical, and geographical—our relationships with the rest of the world are different. But China and the European Community have much to gain from the closer and more confident relationship which now opens up before us—both of us a people of yesterday, a people of tomorrow."

# Israel, Community Sign Trade Accord

Israel is the first country to sign an agreement within the framework of the Community's evolving Mediterranean policy.

The agreement, signed in Brussels on May 11, will cut Community tariffs on Israeli industrial products by 60 per cent July 1 and eliminate them by 1977, and will substantially reduce tariffs on Israeli agricultural exports. Under the agreement, Israel will gradually abolish its customs duties on Community imports by 1989.

The agreement was signed by Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon and Irish Foreign Minister Garret Fitzgerald, president in office of the EC Council of Ministers.

The Community accounts for half of Israel's imports—which totaled $2 billion in 1974—and 40 per cent of its exports—worth $700 million in the same year.

Meanwhile, EC negotiations with the three Maghreb countries of North Africa—Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria—which have been going on for over a year, continued with meetings with Tunisia and Morocco on March 28-29 and with Algeria on April 16-17. The two sides are trying to reach agreement on association pacts which would give the Maghreb countries preferential access to Community markets as part of the EC Mediterranean policy.

The main stumbling block has been the amount of preference these countries should receive for their agricultural produce, and the EC foreign and farm ministers are currently looking into ways of improving the Community's offer without prejudicing the interests of Italian and French farmers growing similar products.

In this context, the Commission in April proposed a common organization of the new potato market, leading to free intra-Community trade in new potatoes and providing for regulated imports from outside. Other sticky problems are regulation of trade in tinned fruit and in vegetables and compensation for Italian loss of outlets on the French market if Algerian wine imports are increased.

# Thaw Continues in EC-Greece Relations

The Community's association agreement with Greece was extended to Britain, Denmark, and Ireland, following the April 28 signing in Brussels of an additional protocol to the EC-Greece Association Agreement.

The protocol will come into force after ratification by the national legislatures. Both parties also signed an interim agreement permitting the three new EC members to apply the same customs reductions to Greece as they apply to their fellow member states, to come into effect July 1 before ratification procedures are completed. At the same time, Greece will begin reducing its duties toward the EC "Three."

The additional protocol took more than two years to be signed, because at the time the new member states joined the Community the EC-Greece Association was "frozen" following the 1967 junta. Only last year, after Greece's return to democracy, did EC-Greece relations begin normalization.

The additional protocol also includes a provision for harmonization of agricultural policies. An EC-Greece Association Council, which met the same day, discussed the need for harmonization in the wine, fruit, and vegetable sectors. Also discussed was the possible conclusion of a second financial protocol to give Greece access to loans from the European Investment Bank, like those granted under the protocol attached to the Association Agreement when it was first concluded.

Discussion of these and other future developments in the Community's relationship with Greece was the focal point of EC Commission President Francois-Xavier Ortoli's May 7-8 trip to Greece. Ortoli met with Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis and Coordination and Planning Minister Panayotis Papaligouras, who expressed Greece's desire for integrating with Europe.

# Iran Relations Discussed by Soames

The shape of a future EC-Iran cooperation agreement was discussed during Commission Vice President Christopher Soames' May 13-14 visit to Teheran. Soames is responsible for external relations.

Soames, traveling at the invitation of the Iranian Government, met with Prime Minister Amin Abbas Hoveyda, Minister for Economic Affairs and Finance Hushang Ansari, and Minister of State Abdul Majid Majidi, head of Iran's Plan and Budget Organization.

The meetings prepared the way for exploratory talks in Brussels at a later date on a possible cooperation agreement.

# Group Will Study EC-ASEAN Links

The continuing dialogue between the European Community and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was furthered by a May 7 exchange of letters setting up a joint Commission-ASEAN study group.

The study group is designed to facilitate information exchanges, consultation, and cooperation on common problems. The study group will meet twice a year but more often if necessary.

The ASEAN member countries are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.

## Community-Yugoslavia Relations

Economic relations between the European Community and Yugoslavia were examined in an April 28 Brussels meeting between Commission Vice President Christopher Soames and Janko Smole, member of Yugoslavia's Federal Executive Council.

Soames and Smole reviewed the proposals made at the February meeting of the EC-Yugoslavia Joint Committee concerning cooperation in the fields of industry, agriculture, scientific research, finance, migrant workers, and joint action in third countries, within the framework of the existing commercial agreement between the Community and Yugoslavia.

A ministerial-level meeting of the Joint Committee was scheduled for Brussels this July on the extension and diversification of EC-Yugoslav economic relations.

## Community Nears Accord With Mexico

Mexico and the European Community are moving toward the conclusion of an economic and commercial cooperation agreement, following the completion of the first round of negotiations in Brussels on April 29-30. The Mexican delegation was headed by Undersecretary for Industry and Commerce Eliseo Mendoza Berrueto, and the Community delegation by Manfred Caspari, deputy director-general for external relations.

The proposed agreement would promote the development and diversification of trade through economic and commercial cooperation between Mexico and the Community. The next round of negotiations was scheduled for June 9-10 to examine a draft text of the main elements of the negotiations. The opening of negotiations follows the April visit of Christopher Soames to Mexico.

Currently the Community has links with three Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay—through trade agreements. The proposed agreement with Mexico would be the first to try to establish a framework for cooperation.

## Improving "Third World" Relations

The burning world issue of relations between the developed and developing countries and their divergent attitudes to energy and raw materials were a major preoccupation of EC foreign ministers when they met May 5.

The Council's discussion was in the nature of an interim assessment of an EC approach in the light of the adjournment without results of the Paris preparatory meeting for a conference of oil producers and consumers. Also discussed were the proposals for raw material agreements recently put forward to the Commonwealth by the United Kingdom.

The foreign ministers reached a compromise formula for resumption of negotiations with Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria and signature of an agreement with Israel. The formula takes due account both of the agricultural concessions offered to these countries and the need to compensate EC farmers for any negative effects of increased Community imports of products such as citrus fruits and tomatoes. The successful compromise led to signature of a trade agreement with Israel on May 11 (see page 18).

## Hillery Begins Commonwealth Dialogue

To strengthen Community ties with British Commonwealth nations, EC Commission Vice President Patrick J. Hillery paid an official visit to Canada on May 20-23. Hillery is responsible for EC social policy.

Meeting with Canadian ministers and officials in Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal, Hillery discussed social questions of common interest and, in this context, the workings of the Canadian federal system and its relationship to provincial administrations.

## Council Discusses Links With Portugal

The Community's trade-and-aid relations with Portugal will be intensified, following agreement by the EC foreign ministers meeting in Dublin May 26.

Portugal and the Community are currently linked by a free trade agreement, in force since January 1973, but reopened negotiations to enlarge the scope of the agreement on June 11. The negotiations embraced conditions for improved trade opportunities, financial aid, industrial cooperation, and better benefits for Portuguese migrant workers in the nine Community countries.

Irish Foreign Minister Garret Fitzgerald, president in office of the EC Council of Ministers, was scheduled to travel to Lisbon in June to discuss conditions for an upcoming meeting between Community and Portuguese ministers.

# Food and Development Aid

## Lome Convention Signatures Complete

Guinea-Bissau became the last of the currently eligible nations to sign the Lomé Convention, on May 16 in Brussels. Forty-six African, Caribbean, and Pacific developing countries have signed the Community's February 28 trade-and-aid accord.

The convention must now be ratified by the signatory countries, in conformity with their respective constitutional rules. Nigeria was the first to do so, on March 21.

## Second Installment in Emergency Fund

Seventeen developing countries will receive $100 million in EC aid, following the European Parliament's approval of the Community's supplementary budget funding the second installment of the "Cheysson fund."

The fund, named after the EC Commissioner responsible for development aid, Claude Cheysson, provides financial aid to developing countries hardest hit by rising oil and raw materials prices. Earlier the Community allocated $150 million, and individual EC member states have contributed $250 million—for a total EC pledge of $500 million.

Of the $100 million allocation in April, $33 million will go into a special United Nations fund and $67 million will be divided and sent directly to the needy countries.

Beneficiaries of this second installment of fund aid are: India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Ghana, Cameroon, the Voltaic Republic, Kenya, Mali, Niger, Ethiopia, Honduras, Senegal, Central African Republic, and Chad.

# Harmonization

## European Company Statute Proposed

"A contribution of considerable political importance to the building of a common European foundation for economic development," was how EC Commissioner Finn Olav Gundelach described the revised proposal for a European company statute sent to the Council of Ministers in the first week of May. Gundelach, whose remark came at a May 5 Brussels news conference, is responsible for internal markets.

If adopted this piece of EC legislation would allow companies to operate throughout the Community as one economic entity, ignoring national borders. But conforming to the law would be optional; the firms would choose whether or not to use the statute as a means of simplifying legal paper work.

The requirements to be filled before a company could register as "European" would include agreeing to a wide measure of worker participation in management decision-making, in working councils, and through collective bargaining. It is in this area that most of the changes in the original draft of June 30, 1970, have occurred, following the advice of the European Parliament and extensive consultation with industrial organizations, labor unions, governments, political parties, and independent experts. This part of the law would also be optional; workers would elect whether to participate in "codetermination."

At present European firms are not able to conduct business throughout the Community in a uniform way due to different member state incorporation laws. Companies thus have to contend with what the Commission feels are serious, legal, practical, and psychological difficulties if they wish to engage in certain cross-frontier operations.

## More EC Cosmetic Safeguards Proposed

A proposal first made in October 1972 laying down Community-wide criteria on cosmetics standards was updated in April by the EC Commission with suggestions for more stringent standards.

Initially the Commission proposed drawing up a list of products which would not be allowed as cosmetic ingredients. Thus new products coming onto the market after adoption of the directive would be permitted for use until they were proved harmful. The Commission now believes that the directive should set down permitted ingredients so that new products would have to receive authorization before they could be used.

Both the European Parliament and the Community's Economic and Social Committee had urged the Commission to use the second method, which is known as a "positive list."

# Economy

## Commission Hears Steel Producer Woes

European steel producers have taken their concern over the steadily worsening market situation for steel, both in and outside the Community, to Altiero Spinelli, the EC Commissioner responsible for industrial affairs.

The Commission, in its capacity as High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), has sweeping powers to control prices and production in the event of manifest crisis in the steel industry. The Commission does not feel, however, that the time is ripe to invoke these powers yet—despite a 33 per cent drop in orders so far this year, a 50 per cent drop in export prices, and capacity utilization of only 40-50 per cent.

Raw steel production dropped 18.3 per cent in the original EC "Six" from March 1974 to March 1975. Germany saw the greatest drop in production—25.6 per cent—and Italy the least—3.4 per cent. The corresponding decline for the EC "Nine" was lower—13.3 per cent.

The Commission does recognize that the situation is serious and intends to step up its statistic-gathering and bring out industry forecasts more frequently in order to be equipped to intervene effectively if the situation threatens to get out of hand.

In the meantime, a British project for the development of coke ovens and related installations will receive financial aid from the Community. The $9.2 million ECSC loan to the British Steel Corporation, announced May 6, brings total Community financial aid to the British Steel Corporation since 1973 to $226.3 million, including $7.4 million in grants.

## Labor, Employer Representatives Meet

Delegates representing both labor unions and employers in EC member states met jointly with the EC Commission for the first time, in Brussels May 22.

Both sides expressed hope for a speedy economic recovery in Europe and stressed that national economic policies must be coordinated at Community level for renewed and stable economic activity.

During their Commission meetings, labor and employer representatives conferred with Commission Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp, responsible for economic and financial affairs.

## EC Coal Industry Is Alive and Well

European coal production, once a dying industry, seems now alive and well in the aftermath of the oil crisis. Although the coal industry will never reach its former heights, the steady decline of recent years has been halted and in some cases reversed.

In the first quarter of 1975, EC production reached 68,787,000 tons—a 33.9 per cent increase over the previous year. A large part of this increase is attributable, however, to the 79.2 per cent increase in British production, which in this period of 1974 was hurt by a long miners' strike.

Britain, with a production of 34,471,000 tons in the first quarter, is the Community's biggest coal producer, followed by Germany, with 25,953,000 tons (a 1.4 per cent drop over the previous year); France, with 6,286,000 tons (an increase of 6.3 per cent); Belgium, with 2,060,000 tons (a 7.4 per cent fall). In both years Irish production was stable at 17,000 tons.

## Consumers Have Mixed Economic Views

European consumers feel that the economic situation in Europe has deteriorated since the last quarter of 1974 but demonstrate a gradual growth in confidence in economic developments.

These were among the conclusions drawn from results of the Commission's ninth European consumer survey of 40,000 representative households in all EC member states except Luxembourg.

In general, consumers were increasingly optimistic about employment prospects, prices, and personal finances. Consumers complained that prices had risen too rapidly last year but were conscious of the first results of inflation-curbing measures.

Most Community consumers are trying harder to save but planned to buy more cars and other consumer durables than reported in last year's survey.

# Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

## France To Rejoin Monetary "Snake"

The EC Council of Ministers, meeting in Brussels on May 20, heard French Finance Minister Jean-Pierre Foucade announce that the French franc would officially return to the European monetary "snake" by late June or early July.

The snake is the system by which five EC countries—Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—limit the fluctuations between their currencies to a maximum deviation of 2.25 per cent above and below their respective exchange rates. The French franc dropped out of the snake on January 19, 1974, in the wake of the monetary instability caused by oil price increases.

Although he insisted that France "was not posing conditions for its eventual return" to the snake, Foucade said that certain "technical arrangements" would have to be made by the governors of the central banks when they met in Basel in early June. These technical points include:

- adjusting the intervention methods of the central banks when a currency may be forced to leave the snake;
- altering the conditions of debt settlements resulting from the intervention;
- fixing a "Community level" for the dollar, thereby establishing a common link between the dollar and the EC currencies.

This last point elicited some skeptical comments by the finance ministers of nations with the snake's stronger currencies. Germany's Hans Apel, after stating that resolving the first two technical conditions would present no problems, said that if France was seeking a fixed exchange relationship between the dollar and the European currencies, Germany would refuse to agree.

Italian Finance Minister Emilio Colombo said that an eventual return to the snake is still Italy's goal. British Finance Minister Denis Healey did not mention his country's intention concerning the snake but pointed out that any fixing of a Community level with the dollar should not be made without full discussion of the matter with the United States.

A working group, composed of the governors of the central banks and headed by the German Bundesbank's Karl Klasen, were to study the three technical points raised by France and report to the Council of Finance Ministers before its next session, scheduled for June 16 in Luxembourg.

In the meantime, Switzerland has been discussing with the Community the possibilities of joining the EC snake. Austria, Norway, and Sweden are also associated with the snake, on a bilateral basis.

## EMU Failures Cited by Marjolin Study

The Community is no nearer to economic and monetary union (EMU) now than it was five years ago, according to a May report by the EC Commission's study group on EMU in 1980.

The study group, headed by former EC Commission Vice President Robert Marjolin, ascribed the failure to:

- the international monetary crises of the last few years compounded by the financial crisis following the Arab oil embargo;
- lack of political will by governments;
- insufficient understanding of EMU goals.

Despite certain technical advances, such as better cooperation among central banks, the group concluded there has even been some backsliding away from EMU. The increasing, instead of decreasing, discordance and divergence of national policies threaten not only economic and monetary union but other EC achievements as well, particularly the common agricultural policy, which depends on a certain measure of monetary uniformity to be workable, and the liberalization of capital movements.

The study group's recommendations for remedies include:

- encouragement of productive investment and private saving;
- a more ambitious regional policy;
- more active participation of social partners in framing EC policies;
- a Community system of internal and external monetary policies;
- greater financial solidarity of member states;
- more use of a European unit of account determined in relation to a basket of European currencies.

# Social Policy

## EC Social Fund To Fight Recession

Greater use of the EC Social Fund to finance retraining for workers hit by the recession and in industries in need of restructuring (such as auto, chemical, and textiles) has been proposed by the EC Commission.

Segments of the population particularly hard hit by the recession —such as women, young people, and people living in regions with particularly serious unemployment problems—would also be given special attention. Other targets for extra help under the new proposals are training programs to provide labor for up-and-coming industries such as nuclear energy and oil exploration. At the same time the Commission has suggested ways in which coordination between member states' employment services might be improved.

In the meantime, existing EC training programs received a boost of 91.7 million units of account (UA) April 24 with announcement of the first allocations for this year from the Social Fund. (One UA equals one 1970 dollar). The money will subsidize retraining for workers leaving agriculture and the textiles industry, migrant workers, the handicapped, and any workers in the Community's poorer regions affected by technical progress or structural problems.

The major beneficiary of the first fundings are Italy, which receives UA 56.1 million; Britain, with UA 14.5 million; France, with UA 11.5 million. Ireland will receive UA 4.4 million; Belgium, UA 4.3 million; Germany, UA 700,000; the Netherlands, UA 50,000.

## Women Need More Social Fund Aid

The European Social Fund is not doing enough for women in the employment field, the Commission agreed in answer to a written question from female members of the European Parliament on May 5.

Women make up a larger part of the Community's total work force than they do in operations employing both men and women, and the Social Fund does little to rectify this imbalance, the Commission noted.

The Commission is trying to inform public and private institutions about the availability of Social Fund aid to improve female employment but has to count on member countries to relay this information to local agencies that could use the funds.

# Agriculture

## EC Commission Relaxes Ban on Beef

A partial opening of EC frontiers to beef was decided by the EC Commission April 23—a move which was strongly condemned by some EC agriculture ministers on April 28-29, but one which the Commission declined to reverse.

EC borders had been closed to all imports of beef except for production coming from African developing countries or entering under a small General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) quota since July 19, 1974. The move had been precipitated by a growing beef "mountain"—high quantities of beef in cold storage because they could not obtain a viable price for producers on the open market (see *European Community* No. 181, pages 6-8).

Now the Commission feels the situation has stabilized sufficiently to authorize imports of 50,000 tons in a four-month period starting June 1. These imports will be allowed providing an equivalent quantity has first been exported by the Community. Also, 67,500 head of young cattle for fattening may be imported this summer.

Later in the summer the Commission will consider relaxing the import controls still further. In a normal year the Community imports between 600,000-900,000 tons of beef.

## Community Finance for Hill Farmers

In a measure designed both to protect the environment and help farmers working in areas difficult to farm, EC agriculture ministers agreed April 28 that one-quarter of the cost of providing aid for hill farmers and those in disadvantaged regions should be borne by the EC budget.

The Commission feels that these areas—which represent about one-quarter of the land being farmed in the Community, support 1 million farmers, but are often less fertile and more difficult to farm because of altitude, gradient, and climate—should not be abandoned. Even though they will never be efficient farms in the ordinary sense of the word, their existence is essential to the upkeep of the natural environment.

Hill farmers will thus be able to qualify for annual grants as compensation for natural handicaps and for subsidies for farm improvements. Over a three-year period about 340 million units of account (UA) are expected to be spent by the Commission and member states in this way. (One UA equals one 1970 dollar.)

## Help For European Fishing Industry

Short-term relief for the European fishing industry was agreed to by EC farm ministers April 29.

The fishing market has been afflicted by soaring costs, low prices, and in some instances a glut of imports. France has already been allowed to apply a ban on certain types of imports, and all member states are entitled to give subsidies for higher fuel costs up to 50 per cent of the amount of the increase. The Commission recently extended this authorization to the end of the year.

The EC agricultural ministers adopted what amounts to minimum import prices for frozen fish, giving European fishermen protection from cut-price imports. The Council also agreed that the Community will subsidize temporary storage of some fish in an attempt to stabilize market conditions.

# Environment

## Commission to Protect Migrant Birds

Within two years the EC Commission will draft a directive to protect migrant birds if member states have not in the meantime ratified two existing conventions on protection of birds and conservation of their habitat.

The Commission's concern with migrant bird protection was recently reinforced by the results of a study made at its request by Professor Bernhard Grzimek's

Frankfurter Zoologische Gesellschaft showing that, of 408 species of wild birds in the Community, 58 are in danger of extinction. These include herons, storks, vultures, ospreys, and certain warblers, and 225 species are steadily on the decrease.

## Directive for Clean Swimming Water

European Community citizens may enjoy safer swimming conditions, thanks to the EC Commission.

On May 13 the European Parliament gave support to a Commission-proposed directive concerning pollution of sea and fresh water used for swimming. The directive now goes to the Council of Ministers for approval.

The directive would prohibit swimming in natural waters where pollution exceeded limits set by the directive. The purity of water in swimming pools would be regulated by local authorities.

## EC Commission Acts on Lead Pollution

Community citizens would be protected against unsafe levels of lead in the environment if the Council acts on two proposals for directives submitted by the Commission in April.

The directives would set biological and air quality standards for member states to protect their people from the effects of environmental pollution outside the place of work. The directives would set minimum acceptable levels for the presence of lead in the blood and lungs and specific procedures for monitoring pollution levels.

Currently more than 1 million tons of lead a year are used throughout the Community in fuel additives, electrical batteries, paints, varnishes, enamels, plastics, ceramics, printing, pipes, and certain insecticides—all of which may have noxious effects. Previously the Commission proposed restrictions specifically on the amount of lead (and cadmium) in tableware and the amount of lead in gasoline.

# Science and Technology

## New European Space Agency Takes Off

All the EC countries except Luxembourg joined with four other European countries—Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland—on April 15 to create a European Space Agency (ESA).

The new agency replaces and combines the functions of two 13-year old bodies, the European Space Research Organization (ESRO) and the European Launcher Development Organization (ELDO). The new agency plans to integrate and rationalize European space programs and the space supply industry.

The two main programs which the ESA will take over from the earlier organizations are the European rocket project Ariane and the European participation in the US Spacelab project. (For further discussion of European space efforts, see *European Community* No. 180, page 19-21.)

# Community Calendar

**MAY**

**4-10** Commission Vice President Christopher Soames, responsible for EC external relations, visits the People's Republic of China (see page 17).

**5** Commissioner Finn Olav Gundelach, responsible for internal markets, gives Brussels news conference on proposed European company law (see page 20).

**5** Council of Foreign Ministers meets in Brussels to discuss relations with developing countries (see page 19).

**7** Exchange of letters sets up joint study group between Commission and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (see page 18).

**7-8** Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli visits Greece (see page 18).

**9** Twenty-fifth anniversary of the Schuman Plan is celebrated (see *European Community*, No. 186, pages 3-11).

**11** EC-Israel trade accord signed in Brussels (see page 18).

**12-16** European Parliament holds plenary session in Strasbourg, France.

**12-13** Representatives of the United States, Japan, and the Community meet in Brussels to discuss "gentlemen's agreement" on export credits (see page 17).

**13-14** Commission Vice President Christopher Soames, responsible for EC external relations, visits Iran (see page 18).

**15** Commission Vice President Henri Simonet, responsible for EC energy policy, visits Washington (see pages 8 and 17).

**16** Commission Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp, responsible for EC economic and monetary affairs, and Irish Finance Minister Richie Ryan, president in office of the EC Council of Ministers, visit Washington (see page 17).

**16** Guinea-Bissau becomes the forty-sixth developing country to sign the Lomé Convention (see page 19).

**20-23** Commission Vice President Patrick J. Hillery, responsible for EC social policy, visits Canada (see page 19).

**20** Council of Finance Ministers, meeting in Brussels, hears French intention to return to the EC monetary "snake" (see page 21).

**22** European labor and employer representatives meet with the Commission in Brussels (see page 20).

**22** Frederick B. Dent, chief US trade negotiator, visits Brussels (see page 17).

**22** Three congressmen introduce a House Concurrent Resolution honoring Jean Monnet (see page 17).

**26** Council of Foreign Ministers, meeting in Dublin, discusses EC relations with Portugal (see page 19).

**26-27** Council of Agriculture Ministers meets in Brussels.

**29-30** Regular, biannual EC-US consultations are held in Brussels (see page 16).

**30** President Gerald R. Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger meet with Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli and Commission Vice President Christopher Soames in Brussels.

**JUNE**

**3** Council of Foreign Ministers meets in Luxembourg.

**5** Commission Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp, responsible for EC economic and financial affairs, visits Saudi Arabia.

**9-10** EC-Mexico commercial cooperation negotiations continue in Brussels (see page 19).

**11** EC-Portugal trade-and-aid negotiations held in Brussels (see page 19).

**16** Council of Finance Ministers meets in Luxembourg.

**16-20** European Parliament holds plenary session in Luxembourg.

**23-24** Council of Agriculture Ministers meets in Luxembourg.

**24** Council of Foreign Ministers meets in Luxembourg.

# Publications Available

*Publications listed may be obtained from the European Community Information Service, Suite 707, 2100 M Street, NW, Washington DC 20037. Persons in the New York area can order copies from the European Community Information Service, 277 Park Avenue, New York City 10017.*

**FOURTH REPORT ON COMPETITION POLICY.** Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, April 1975, 142 pages ..... $3.60
*Reviews the developments in the Community's antitrust, state aid, and state monopolies policies during 1974. Also discusses the development of concentration in industry. Lists Commission decisions and Court rulings on the application of Articles 85 and 86 of the EEC Treaty and Articles 65 and 66 of the ECSC Treaty.*

**REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION IN THE COMMUNITY IN 1974.** Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, March 1975, 280 pages ............... $3.60
*Outlines the activities of the Commission in social affairs and discusses the situation in employment, vocational training, industrial relations, wages, working conditions, housing, social services, social security, and industrial safety and medicine.*

***COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS A COMMUNITY POLICY ON A WORLD SCALE.*** *Bulletin of the European Communities Offprint No. 7/8, 1974,* Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1974, 12 pages ................... free
*Summary of the Community's policy on non-associated developing countries since 1972. Annexed are the texts of nine resolutions and the recommendation (on geographical allocation of aid) adopted by the Council.*

**NATIONAL ACCOUNTS AGGREGATES 1960-1973.** Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1974, 89 pages ........................ $1.50
*Aggregate data, total and per capita, for the nine member countries, the United States, and Japan in both units of account and national currencies at current and 1970 prices.*

**ADOPTION BY THE COUNCIL OF A PRELIMINARY PROGRAM FOR A CONSUMER PROTECTION AND INFORMATION POLICY.** Information Memo No. 19/75, April 1975, 5 pages .................. free
*Outline of the resolution adopted by the Council on April 15, 1975. Details the approach of the Community to consumer problems and areas of future activity. Lists actions to date.*

**THE SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NEW EUROPEAN SOCIAL FUND.** Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1974, 79 pages ........................ $3.00
*Survey on the 1973 activities of the Fund. Covers general activities, financial and budgetary aspects, operations funded, and proposals for improvement. Annexes include a list of applications examined and texts of regulations adopted in 1973.*

**NATIONAL ACCOUNTS YEARBOOK 1973.** Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1975, 337 pages..$4.00
*Gives detailed data in national currencies for each of the nine member states for the years 1970 to 1972 and principal aggregates for 1960 to 1972 at current and 1970 prices. Presents, for the first time, the national accounts drawn up according to the European System of Integrated Economic Accounts.*

**FOREIGN TRADE: ANALYTICAL TABLES (NIMEXE) 1973.** Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1975, Volumes A-L ............... $46.00
*1973 Community import and export statistics by origin and destination, volume and value, according to tariff position. Volumes can be purchased as a set or individually at the prices listed below:*

Vol. A—Agricultural Products ........ $6.00
Vol. B—Mineral Products...$3.00
Vol. C—Chemical Products $6.00
Vol. D—Artificial Materials, Plastics, Leather..$5.00
Vol. E—Wood, Cork, Paper $4.00
Vol. F—Textiles, Footwear..$6.00
Vol. G—Stone, Plaster, Ceramics, Glass...$4.00
Vol. H—Iron, Steel ....... $5.00
Vol. I—Other Base Metals..$5.00
Vol. J—Machinery, Appliances ...... $6.00
Vol. K—Transport Equipment ...... $3.00
Vol. L—Optical, Precision Instruments ..... $5.00

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