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CONGRESSMEN VISIT EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

A delegation of members of the US House of Representatives returns May 13 from a 12-day "study mission" of the European Community. The third in a series of parliamentary exchanges between the US Congress and the European Parliament, the mission was co-chaired by Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D-NY), chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe, and Rep. Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn.), chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. Prior to their May 2 departure, Rep. Rosenthal stressed the importance of Congress taking "a leading role in redefining US-European relations," and Rep. Fraser called the evolution of the European Community "one of the most important events of this century."

In Brussels May 3-6, the delegation met with EC Commission President Francois-Xavier Ortoli, Commission Vice President Christopher Soames, Commission Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp, Commissioner Finn Olav Gunderlach, and Commissioner Petrus Josephus Lardinois. The delegation then traveled to Strasbourg, France, for a plenary session of the European Parliament. There the Congressmen and European Parliament members discussed such topics as the upcoming world trade talks, international monetary reform, the respective agricultural policies of the United States and the Community, security issues, and "the role of political parties and parliaments in political control and decision-making." On May 9, the Congressmen divided into two groups for trips to two EC capital cities -- Paris and Rome.

The other Foreign Affairs Committee members scheduled to participate in the exchange were: Rep. John Buchanan (R-Ala.); Rep. J. Herbert Burke (R-Fla.); Rep. L. H. Fountain (D-NC); Rep. Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen ((R-NJ), ranking minority member of the Europe Subcommittee; Rep. Tennyson Guyer (R-Ohio); Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.); Rep. Ogden R. Reid (D-NY); Rep. Lester L. Wolff (D-NY), and Rep. Gus Yatron (D-Pa.).

Other Congressmen scheduled to take part in the study mission were: Rep. Phillip Burton (D-Calif.), of the Education and Labor Committee and chairman of the Territorial and Insular Affairs Subcommittee of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee; Rep. Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.), of the Ways and Means Committee; Rep. John Melcher (D-Mont.), of the Agriculture and Interior and Insular Affairs Committees; Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.), of the Appropriations Committee, and Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.), of the Banking and Currency, Government Operations, and Joint Economic Committees.

The first EC-US parliamentary exchange took place in January 1972 when US Congressmen traveled to Luxembourg, site of the European Parliament's Secretariat. In May 1972, a European Parliament delegation traveled to Washington.

SOAMES ON THE FUTURE ON US-EC RELATIONS

Closing the discussion between US Congressmen and European Parliament members on US-European ties, EC Commission Vice President Christopher Soames, who is responsible for EC external relations, addressed the Luxembourg meeting on the future of Europe's links with America. Excerpts from the May 8 speech follow:

"Your timing could hardly have been more opportune for a wideranging and thorough debate on the development of this historic relationship -- which is and will remain of primordial importance to both sides -- in that it has provided the opportunity for the European Parliament to contribute to that constructive dialogue for which the Heads of State and Government called in Paris last October when they charted the course before us.

"[French] President [Georges] Pompidou, at the time, seemed to me to express most admirably that spirit in which we should now approach our dealing with the United States, when he said: 'Our links with this great country, the world's foremost economic power, with which eight of our countries are united within the Atlantic Alliance, are so close that it would be absurd to conceive of a Europe constructed in opposition to it. But the very closeness of these links requires that Europe affirm its individual personality with regard to the United States. Western Europe, liberated from armies, thanks to the essential contribution of American soldiers, reconstructed with American aid, having looked for its security in alliance with America, having hitherto accepted American currency as the main element of its monetary reserves, must not and cannot sever its links with the United States. But neither must it refrain from affirming its existence as a new reality.'

"This keynote which was struck at the Summit has been taken up by President [Richard M.] Nixon as an invitation to begin that constructive reappraisal on which we are now, together, engaged. We have recently had two salient contributions to our dialogue from the other side of the Atlantic -- one from President Nixon, in last week's Foreign Policy Report, the other from his advisor Dr. [Henry A.] Kissinger in his speech the week before....

"No doubt it is inevitable, when the United States has had to concentrate on events in the Pacific area for so long, that the first comprehensive policy statements on Atlantic relations should be analyzed carefully -- perhaps too cautiously, perhaps too subtly. Some critics may feel that too much was being handed down on tablets from the mountain; others on the contrary may want more specific details here and now, but what matters at this stage is the overall tone, the strategy, the global approach to this relationship. We in the Commission welcome that the dialogue is engaged at the highest level.

"We share the Americans' feeling that the very successes of our policies in the past -- the reduction of tension, the very real prosperity, and the emergent economic and commercial muscle of our Economic Community -- have created their own problems. These problems must be frankly faced: for if they were allowed to fester, they could damage the very foundations on which we build. America's position in the world, too, has not stood still, and other changes in the kaleidoscope of world relations have also contributed to the need to reappraise our relationship. For what is the Community relationship with the United States? It cannot simply be an extension or a projection of the Franco-American, the Anglo-American, the German-American or any other national relationship with the United States in the past. The European Community must evolve its own identity, it must find its own place in the world and develop its own relationships in its own interests with others both great and small.

"It was after all not merely the desire to become richer, or to prevent future civil wars, that inspired the creation of this Community. It was far more than that. It was so that Europe in an age of bigness could rise to the responsibilities of greatness. Therefore, to redefine our relations with the rest of the world, to clarify our contribution to it, is one of the essential challenges to which Europe has to rise.

"But as a Community we are, I fear, hobbled so far -- and will be, while there are vital areas of policy on which, for instance, America and Russia can each act as a unit, with Europe still lacking the capacity to speak, to decide, and to act as a single whole. In trade, in monetary relations, in the crucial field of energy supplies, in various other aspects of economic life, we recognize that Europe is already destined to act as one and is succeeding in doing so in varying degrees. We have our firm plans for developing this further, and nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of that. Do not let us underestimate the effort that has been required to achieve this, or its value for Europe, or its importance in world terms, for these are the very subjects which are the top priorities on the international agenda.

"But we must acknowledge that for matters which come under the generic heading of foreign policy we can as yet boast but little European cohesion. Let there be no doubt abroad that this is among the main objectives of that European union at which Member Governments pledged themselves to arrive by 1980. The hard fact is that the Community's influence in the world will be directly related to our success here. We cannot expect to be considered a single political force unless and until we are ready to act as one. Nor will we achieve that relationship of equals to which Europe as a whole rightly aspires and which it has in its power to achieve. It must therefore surely be our constant endeavor to widen the areas in which Europe as such can engage in a dialogue with its partners and reduce those in which Member States each have to react with individual and often disparate responses.

"The lack, as yet, of common policies in important fields is a handicap to Europe. It is also seen as such by our American friends, who regard the various aspects of our overall relationship as integral parts of an interconnected whole. I think it is well understood, even in the United States, that trade, money, energy supplies, foreign policy, and defense are all simultaneously vital factors that enter into our overall relationship. It would be a poor relationship indeed that existed in only one dimension. We in the Commission have long argued that the trade negotiations can only succeed if we bear in mind at the same time that they form part of this great complex relationship in which many other wider political considerations are equally involved, and that these negotiations, technical though they may be, are of prime political importance and will require positive overall political control.

"On the other hand, it would be mistaken to argue because these problems are interrelated, that they should therefore all be lumped into one big basket and dealt with together in a single negotiation, that all issues, regardless of their intrinsic time scales, have to be tied up by a single deadline, that every solution for any one must be conditional on solutions for them all, and that the difficulties in any one should block progress in the others. Certainly all these problems call for overall political direction and management. But to force into a single forum all the diverse questions we confront, far from simplifying their solution, could complicate and exacerbate them.

"I must also say here that I would regard it as a misunderstanding if our American friends thought that the Community was increasingly stressing its regional interests. This does not seem to me an adequate description of the situation. We are establishing in Europe a continental market without tariffs which the United States already has. Beyond the borders of Western Europe the Community of 'Six' contributed notably to the expansion of world trade. It was the existence of the European Community that made possible the success of the Kennedy Round [of negotiations within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]. The Community was the first to introduce and implement a generalized preference plan to encourage the exports of the developing world. Let there be no doubt that the enlarged Community, representing as it does such a large proportion of world trade and world monetary reserves, has even greater worldwide responsibilities and intends to live up to them.

"It is in this perspective that we should now turn to what we can do together in the future. President Nixon's visit in the autumn will provide a most welcome opportunity for meetings at the highest level, where our interrelated problems can be treated in political perspective and our ways of approaching them coordinated. That is the sort of overarching political control which is so essential in the face of the many and abrupt changes which have played on our relationship.

"How often has it been said that our common interests are so much greater than the differences that divide us. In the new situation of today, this is being questioned by some on both sides of the Atlantic. But the cardinal objectives which we share are surely as numerous and important today as ever they were. Let me suggest a few which are perhaps worth considering.

"We are determined each to uphold our common democratic political tradition: that our public actions must serve -- not transient regimes, racialist prejudice, or abstract doctrines of ideology -- but living families of men, women, and children, with individual human rights and with a rich diversity of cultural traditions.

"We share a common resolve to make the world as safe as it can be made against injustice, violence, and aggression. That will be a never-ending task. Each of us will benefit from the efforts of the rest. Each therefore must play a fair and honorable part, each sharing the risks, the costs, and the burdens.

"We must together continue to seek out ways of living peaceably and cooperating where we can with those whose collective aspirations differ from our own. The management and coordination of diplomacy in a period of detente will in many ways prove more exacting and more delicate a task than when dangers loomed large. We must approach it with at least as much cool reason, at least as great an effort of mutual comprehension within our alliances as we devoted and must continue to devote to the search for common strategic responses.

"We acknowledge together our joint responsibilities towards the poorest parts of the world. In our actions on money and on trade, by outflows of capital, and by technical assistance, we are resolved to help them reach levels where they can more effectively help themselves to realize their full potential. We see this both as a political and as a human obligation, and there are certain areas of the world for which, for historic, human, and geographical reasons, each of us can make our special contribution.

"We have to gear the forthcoming multilateral trade negotiations to the double aim of further liberalizing trade between developed nations and at the same time opening up wider trading opportunities for the developing countries. In promoting a more open trading order in the world, we want to work for the benefit of the consumers, in defense against inflation, to secure soundly based improvement in living standards and employment opportunities -- the material bases of human life and human dignity.

"We recognize that, both in our own interests and to achieve a better equilibrium between the developed and the developing world, we need to build a sounder monetary order. It must serve to expand world trade in goods and services. It must allow productive international flows of capital to the areas of greatest need and greatest productivity. Yet it must also be capable of warding off or absorbing those disruptive strains to which any monetary system is likely to be increasingly subjected in the future.

"We recognize that rising populations and rising living standards will put increasing demands on the world's natural resources -- particularly of energy -- and on the recuperative powers of our natural environment. Growth may have no absolute limits, but we recognize its sharply rising difficulties and its explosive inherent imbalances. They will require joint action between resource consumers and resource suppliers, between those controlling the sources of pollution and those whose quality of life is threatened, both within and across national frontiers and continental shores.

"These seem to me to be the kind of broad objectives that must not be lost sight of in our dialogue. It is against this background that the specific problems between us will have to be tackled. Some may see the need for new institutions. Others may wish to draw inspiration from some new common document. However that may be and whatever may be decided by those in authority, what we most need now are real practical efforts together in vital and far-reaching domains.

"So we welcome President Nixon's intention to visit Europe before the end of the year to meet both with our Member States and with our Community as such. The Commission within its own fields of responsibility will in the months ahead do all it can to press on with this dialogue.

"We welcome the American President's recognition that the free world now moves from American predominance to more mature and balanced partnerships including both the European Community and Japan.

"We welcome his reaffirmation that 'shaping a peaceful world requires first of all an America that stays strong, an America that stays committed.' We profoundly believe that it requires, equally, a European Community that is strong, that is coherent, and that is committed to the aspirations which we share."

CONCERN OVER GROWING PROTECTIONISM

Concerned over "increasing disturbances and protectionist tendencies in international monetary and commercial relations," the European Community's Permanent Working Committee of Chambers of Commerce and Industry offers, in a recent position paper, guidelines for EC policy in the upcoming world trade talks. These guidelines include:

- The negotiations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) should be conducted in the spirit of cooperation urged by the European "Summit" (in Paris last October) toward the liberalization of world trade.
- Where liberalization causes difficulties for certain industries, the traditional solution of protectionism should be replaced by structural or regional solutions.

- Division of the world into closed economic blocs must be avoided. The Community should in the long run transform its present preferential policy toward some developing countries into a generalized preference policy for all developing countries.
- The negotiations should be conducted on the basis of global reciprocity in dismantling not only tariffs but also nontariff barriers.
- Reciprocity requires the inclusion of agriculture in negotiations because worldwide agricultural protectionism aggravates international commercial disturbances. The Community should not, however, jeopardize the objectives of its common agricultural policy.

The Committee also made the following recommendations concerning particular problems posed by the upcoming world trade talks:

- The Community should support a generalized reduction of tariff duties and, in the case of disparities, should seek lowered duties through sectorial harmonization.
- Nontariff barriers should not constitute an instrument of commercial policy. Negotiations to eliminate them should be preceded by "a general standstill" and should conclude with the adoption of "a code of good conduct." Abuses of this code would be subject to arbitration by the GATT.
- Efforts to reform the GATT safeguard clause should not alter its substance. Self-limitation and orderly-marketing agreements tend to bring about the "cartelization" of international commerce.
- Use of commercial policy to deal with balance of payments difficulties should be allowed only exceptionally and only within GATT control.
- The Community should seek the development of a truly constructive dialogue within the GATT.

The position paper noted that the liberalization of world trade "will only be possible based on a satisfactorily functioning world monetary system." Negotiations to reform the international monetary system should be conducted "in conjunction but separately" from the GATT negotiations, the Committee said.

US ASTRONOMERS TO FILM ECLIPSE FROM CONCORDE

Two American scientists will use the Anglo-French Concorde as a supersonic laboratory to follow the eclipse of the sun across the Sahara Desert next month. Concorde is the European Community's candidate for leadership in the competitive long-haul airliner market.

Astronomers D. H. Liebenberg and M. M. Hoffman from the Los Alamos laboratory of the University of California will join British and French scientists in flying in the "umbra" or shadow of the moon.

Since the Concorde's normal cruising speed -- Mach 2.05, or just over twice the speed of sound -- is faster than that of the earth -- which at its fattest, fastest position (near the Equator) lumbers along at a mere 1,000 m.p.h. -- the Concorde will "zigzag" across the stratosphere. This will enable the same "moment" of the eclipse to be photographed and spectographed more than once.

The flight of Concorde 001 -- the first prototype and the oldest of the four Concordes now flying -- will start from Las Palmas in the Canary Islands on June 30, shortly before the eclipse, and climb into the stratosphere. It will join the eclipse at 10:45. The stratosphere flight path will place the aircraft and its equipment above the infra-red absorption layer of the atmosphere and thus ensure a clearer view of solar emissions than that seen by ground instruments.

Using special observation windows installed in 001 at Toulouse, France, the American astronomers will employ high resolution, low signal spectography to study the solar corona through to the chromosphere.

Physical characteristics of the corona which interest Dr. Liebenberg and Dr. Hoffman include its temperature gradient, its ionic population, its "excitation mechanism," and the duration of the corona's heat waves.

The spinoff from the 80-minute Concorde study of the eclipse -- which will end when the plane lands at Fort-Lamy, the capital of Chad, will be a partial test of an element of Einstein's theory of relativity. This is the hypothesis that light rays are bent by gravitational force. The Concorde scientists hope to see small stars normally outshone by the sun and to measure the "bend," if any, in their glow.

By making the eclipse last unnaturally long in one place -the Concorde's cabin -- it will also be possible to study the effects of "photochemical deprivation" in the stratosphere. Photochemical effects include photosynthesis, which makes plants green.

More general tests scheduled for the flight relate to the origins of the solar system, the shape of the moon, and the phenomenon of "solar wind."

The Concorde's ability to fly the 1900-mile route faster than the earth itself will permit the longest ever study of the eclipse. In the past 50 years, science has totaled only 129 minutes of eclipse observation, in brief glimpses, and none of it from the stratosphere.

The European teams with the American instruments came from London and Aberdeen Universities and the Paris Observatory. Funding for the flight comes from France's Scientific Research and Technology General Delegation and Britain's Science Research Council.

The teams will coordinate their findings with desert-based ground teams from the United States, Canada, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. The US ground teams are from Kitt Peak Natural Observatory in Tucson, Arizona, and Harvard Observatory. The Canadian ground team is from York University, Toronto. The US and Canadian group will launch an Aerobee rocket from a point in Mauritania near Rwadibu (formerly Port-Etienne). The recoverable rocket's instruments will test characteristics of the solar atmosphere.

EC DIALOGUE WITH JAPAN AND CANADA

EC Commission Vice President Christopher Soames is expected to visit Japan this autumn as part of "constructive discussions...continuously undertaken concerning the major issues of common interest to both sides." Announcement of the projected trip of the EC Commission member responsible for external relations was contained in a joint Japanese-EC communique at the conclusion of Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira's May 4 visit to Brussels. The communique also said that the Japanese Government wished to invite Commission President Francois-Xavier Ortoli to Japan "at an early convenient date." The meeting in Brussels included discussions on the upcoming world trade talks and international monetary and energy problems.

Also on May 4, Canadian Minister of Industry, Trade, and Commerce Alastair W. Gillespie met in Brussels with President Ortoli, Vice President Soames, Commissioner Petrus Josephus Lardinois, and Commissioner Altiero Spinelli. Part of the regular, informal contacts between the Commission and the Canadian Government, the discussions focused on the upcoming world trade talks.

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