What I am running into, Mr. Ambassador, is criticism of the failure to implement that policy. And it may be that for a few people who export those specialty items that you referred to that this will be helpful. But looking at the agricultural community as a whole, and especially the exporters of grain, feed grains, and wheat, and the exporters of what we normally consider meat, I don't see any meaningful concessions. I recognize that there is this food aid angle, but I don't look upon that as a concession in the lowering of trade barriers. And of course there is no access that may necessarily accompany that. We just take our chances with other exporting countries that 1 million tons of food aid that might open up the market in the EEC will be available to our suppliers, but there is no guarantee that our farmers are going to get that. There is no guarantee that our 9 million tons a year of grain shipments to the EEC will continue.

Now, this is the kind of criticism I receive. And I have just laid it out on the table for you to comment on. Because I certainly don't want to have my own criticism misdirected. And I want to be responsive to the critics. So I would appreciate your comment on that.

Mr. ROTH. Senator, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity, because I think your questions are very fair ones.

Let me say that I think the criticism that I have seen distorts the issues somewhat. Because, one, the critics are talking about our trade with only one of our agricultural markets; namely, the European Community.

Senator MILLER. But they are talking about it, Mr. Ambassador, in the light of the publicly expressed policy that any trade agreement will have to include meaningful concessions by the European Community with respect to their agricultural trade barriers.

Mr. ROTH. I am aware of this.

Secondly, when they say we did not get anything substantial from the European Community, they are talking about those areas—and poultry is one of the best examples—where the variable levy exists, where the common agricultural policy has come into being. We would like to have seen the EEC change their basic policy. There was absolutely no opportunity to do this. They would not. They had six countries that came together over a period of years and put together a policy which may in the future be changed, because it is too expensive over the years, but it could not be changed in the Kennedy Round. They made us some offers based on variable levies, say, in some of the fruit areas, where we presently have bindings of tariff reductions. We turned those offers down, because we said, as long as you have a variable levy these offers are meaningless, and rather than accept a bad offer we will keep our bindings.

But in spite of this—and this comes back to the first part of your question—we got offers of value from the Community, not just in variety meats, but in tobacco, dried vegetables, citrus, fruits and nuts, tallow——

Senator MILLER. What did you get on tallow, may I ask?

Mr. ROTH. I think that was a 50-percent reduction.