WINTER 1996

TIME

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

EUROPE 50

REMARKABLE YEARS

A CELEBRATION OF PAST, PRESENT ...AND FUTURE

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THE NEW MEN'S FRAGRANCE

Giovanni Gastel

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TIME

WINTER 1996

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TO OUR READERS

No magazine has introduced itself to a hoped-for audience more dramatically. In June 1944, TIME correspondents waded ashore—and one parachuted in—with the Allied forces that landed in Normandy on D-day to begin the liberation of Europe. But it was the invading army itself that served as the true spearhead: jostling alongside the clothing and rations in countless packs were copies of TIME's "pony" edition, the reduced-size—and thus paper-saving—version of the magazine distributed free to more than a million U.S. servicemen in all theaters of war. Two years later, most of those servicemen had returned home. Not so TIME or its correspondents, who redeployed to cover the peace as Europeans began the monumental task of rebuilding a shattered continent.

The magazine built with them. On July 1, 1946, the first Atlantic Overseas edition of TIME—now full size—was launched, with a portrait of "Cosmoclast" Albert Einstein on the cover. It was a fitting choice for a new era that would know both the excitement and the promise of scientific discovery and the threat of nuclear holocaust.

Looking back over the 50 years that separate that first copy of TIME's Atlantic edition from the special commemorative issue you now hold, it is clear that TIME and Europe were both poised in 1946 for a tumultuous, creative, exhilarating half-century.

It began with a bang. Having warned in the March 5, 1945, issue of a confrontation with Stalin's Russia even before Winston Churchill delivered his famous 1946 Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri, TIME found itself with a ringside seat at the cold war as the Soviet Union blockaded Berlin, communism tightened its grip on Eastern Europe and the West responded with the creation of NATO.

FIRST ATLANTIC EDITION: FITTING CHOICE FOR A NEW ERA

When the wheel came full circle and the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall signaled the end of the cold war, TIME was still on the scene. And during the intervening years, we were on hand to chronicle the events that have made the second half of the 20th century as much of a roller-coaster ride as the first half. We took the measure of the Swinging Sixties, when Europe set the scene for style and music; the Soul-Searching Seventies, when limitless growth suddenly took on limits; and the Egregious Eighties, when stock markets bubbled and burst and the mantra of the moment was materialism. We have covered the birth pangs—and growing pains—of the European Union, the unification of Germany, the emancipation of Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Because history doesn't present itself neatly packaged by the decade, we have organized these pages around major stages in the development of the biggest news story of all, the birth and growth of the idea of European unity. As an accompaniment, we have drawn heavily from TIME's pages, condensing a medley of our coverage from the past. You will also find People items from the period. Some of the leading figures of European politics and culture have offered us reminiscences about the past half-century, and we have a few provocative things to say about the next 50 years too.

With news- and photo-gathering resources few other publications can match, our correspondents, editors and photographers have captured for TIME's readers the remarkable pageant of modern Europe. The overview was written by our award-winning essayist Lance Morrow, and the introductions to each section are the work of distinguished TIME journalists Fred Painton (one of those U.S. servicemen who landed in Europe with a pony edition in his kit bag), Jim Jackson, Bruce Nelan and John Elson. Together they have spent more than 90 years writing about or covering European affairs.

Dozens of other TIME people worked on this issue, and you may recognize a few names: senior international editor George Russell led the project, with the assistance of Jesse Birnbaum. Senior writer Rod Usher and reporter Kate Noble in London coordinated an effort by 10 correspondents to track down and interview our noted participants. Researchers Louisa Ermelino, Adrianne Navon, Jane Furth and Wendy Steavenson culled stories from more than 2,600 issues of TIME and ensured our accuracy. Paula Gillen assembled and edited more than 10,000 images from the Time Inc. Picture Collection and from agencies across the U.S. and Europe. We also sent photographer Katharina Bosse to the site of a memorable 1946 photo of Dresden and reshot the scene as it is today.

The design of this issue was the creation of Walter Bernard and Milton Glaser, whose studio is the most influential in the U.S. Bernard's associate, Jessica Simmons, assisted with the design, a leitmotiv of which is the use of images from TIME covers over the past half-century. Many of these images are now in the possession of the National Portrait Gallery in Washington.

Our aim in creating this issue was to do for the past half-century what an issue of TIME does week by week: tell you about the important events and the interesting people in Europe and the wider world and do it with vivid writing, photos and illustrations. We've also tried to capture some of the energy, excitement and sheer fun that characterized Europe—and TIME—throughout this extraordinary era. TIME was founded on the premise that the world is inherently fascinating and that a deft journalistic touch can make even the most difficult of situations accessible

to the average reader. We haven't forgotten that mission.

As we celebrate this milestone, we're taking up another challenge. Starting about now, most of the pages in TIME that deal with Europe, the Middle East and Africa will be produced entirely in Europe. It will be the first time an international newsmagazine has attempted such a feat. Actually, we are building on the fact that some of these functions are already being handled in the region. TIME has had full-time correspondents in Europe since the 1930s, and the magazine has been printed here since the 1940s. Its European stories have been edited in Europe since I took up my current post in 1993. What's new is that we will have a staff of designers, photo editors, writers, researchers and production experts, based mostly in London, to perform all the tasks that until now have taken place largely in New York City.

The reason for this is obvious: we want the people who produce the stories for your edition of TIME to be as close to the action—and their readers—as possible. Using high-tech links, we will be able to gather stories produced in Europe, Asian stories from our Pacific edition's Hong Kong base, North and South American articles from New York City, and Australian and New Zealand stories from Sydney—all aimed at giving you a magazine that is global yet attuned to our regional readers. We call it having global reach and local touch.

In the coming months, we'll be introducing features in the magazine that allow us to take advantage of this newly decentralized arrangement. We'll also be extending our reach into cyberspace. Regular editions of TIME are now available on the Internet, at *http://time.com*, and we have introduced a separate site on the World Wide Web to mark our new regional focus in the Atlantic market.

For TIME and for Europe, the past half-century has been turbulent, adventurous and rewarding. What reader, surveying the landscape of 1946, could have imagined that the region would look anything like it does today? And what will it look like in another 50 years? Europe will have to deal with the human and environmental consequences of its economic progress. A common European house encompassing East and West has yet to be built. The dream of European unity is increasingly under assault. Europe's competitiveness and prosperity are under threat.

As these challenges are confronted and new ones arise, TIME will be on hand to give its readers the information they need to help understand the present and face the future—just as the magazine has been doing for the past 50 years. When the history of the continent's next half-century is written, our readers won't need to look for it in textbooks: it will be in their mailboxes and on their newsstands, this week and every week.

Chris Redman

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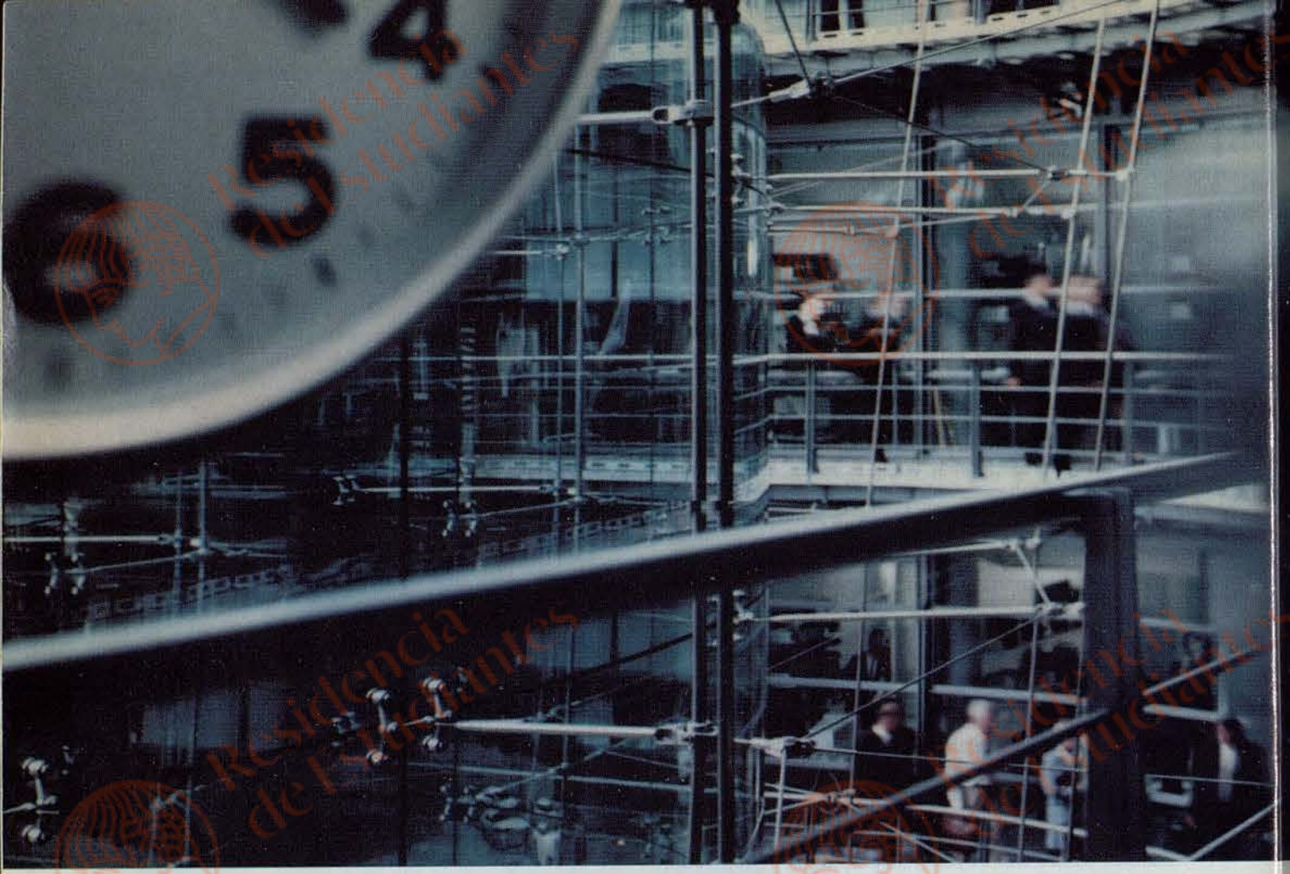

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FIFTY REMARKABLE YEARS

After the forest fire of war, a new Europe has survived scarcity and ideology to rebuild its wealth and civilization upon the issue of survival **by Lance Morrow**

DRESDEN 1946

DRESDEN 1996

Civilizations, as well as forests, may be swept by devastating fires. But sometimes in the aftermath, the very ashes nourish the soil, and gradually a vigorous new growth rises. It is an inspiring but terrible kind of reforestation—historical progress by way of apocalypse. Phoenix industries arise from rubble. Cities recrystallize. The forest obliviously forgives the fire. In 50 years the new order may become so lush that hardly anyone remembers the shock and despair,

the flames and the blackened earth and the evil. The nitrates work a miracle of cultivation. A population that had descended from Bach to barbarism may find its way, sadder but wiser, toward Bach again.

That, anyway, is the hope. And so a society, recovering, may build a memento mori—a tribute to the civilizing influence of memory. In Bonn the tribute takes the form of a three-story museum called the Haus der Geschichte (House of History)—an archaeological inventory through which a younger generation may trace the astonishing process of European death and rebirth over the past 50 years.

The House of History contains a file of memories, from the collapse of the Third Reich at the end of World War II to the dismantling of the Berlin Wall at the end of the cold war and, further on, to German unification and the formation of a European Community. Here are the famous *Trummerfrauen*, the "rubble women," who, brick by brick, street by street, cleared passages through the bombed-out cities of Germany, knocking off the mortar, piling up bricks by the tens of thousands, to be used again to make the new cities.

Here, a blouse knitted from the strings around CARE packages, and cook pots improvised from old Wehrmacht helmets, and water jugs fashioned from the spent shells of German .88-mm cannons. There, a vegetable grater made from a soup can. Shoes sewn from CARE sugar bags, the soles made from Wehrmacht web belts. A note from a bulletin board: CAN SOMEONE TELL US OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF LT. HORST WIENAND, LAST SEEN IN STALINGRAD IN OCTOBER, 1943? And a vintage jeep, one of the thousands that rolled into the Thousand Year Reich, carrying the jaunty American occupiers.

In the summer after the war, there was drought all over Europe, and then came winter. In February 1946, Marion Gräfin Dönhoff rode on a coal car for 2½ days from Hanover to Hamburg, a city that British bombers had reduced almost to powder. "There were sunken ships blocking the Elbe River," she remembers. "*Die Zeit's* building was completely burned out. Hamburg was bad. Berlin, through which I traveled, was even worse ... I was totally black from head to foot. I never believed that I would ever sleep in a white nightgown between linen sheets again."

Dönhoff's journey from the coal car to the present is a sort of model for the course that Germany itself has taken, along with much of Europe. During the entire postwar period, Dönhoff has been a powerful voice for liberalism and democracy in a nation that has groped its way toward both. Today, as editor of *Die Zeit*, the nation's most prestigious weekly newspaper, she is probably the best-known woman in Germany.

Europe in 1945 seemed to be in a state just short of Carthaginian extinction. Now, after a 50-year struggle to transcend its fractious past and bellicose nationalisms, it has come an astonishing distance toward prosperity, democracy, tolerance and even unity, however flawed and quarrelsome.

Self-renewal has always been an American genius; the Americans, with their enormous continent and resources, have historically been able to expand and thereby overleap their own failures. After World War II, Europe, a shambles, was forced to renew and even to reinvent itself. Like Japan, Europe was obliged to replace much of its physical plant and soon emerged with newer, more advanced factories than those of the conquering Americans.

As it approaches the millennium, the Continent is also alive with creative energy and élan. Europe's young have been brought up to a cross-cultural self-confidence and cosmopolitanism—or else, it may be, a new saturation of global mass culture in which they are supranationally at home. In any case, they are not neurotic about the past. One does not detect in them the shadows of Europe's terrible career earlier in the century. That happened, as far as they are concerned, in another universe.

Such, in any case, is true of the West European young. In Eastern Europe the tremendous sense of release and luminosity that came with the collapse of communism and end of the Iron Curtain has given way to the political, economic and cultural turbulence that accompanies such a radical change of direction and such a confusion of freedom. In cities like Prague or Budapest, however, one picks up an almost giddy entrepreneurial exuberance and an electric sense of possibility.

With the atavistic exception of the former Yugoslavia, Europe has for the most part overcome the three factors that brought the Continent low in two world wars: its geographical tribalism, its concomitant aversions of race and blood and its dangerously passive susceptibility to the leadership principle (Hitler, Mussolini, et al.) or to ideology (fascism, Marxism, for example). Today it is a double-exposed photograph in which one glimpses triumph overlaid by anxiety. Viewed over the past half-century, European progress seems a miracle. Assessing the present and looking toward the future, one may sometimes detect ominous shadows on the margins of an otherwise complacent scene.

For example: Europe is burdened with a low birthrate, high unemployment and an aging population. Its peoples seem sometimes to have become too smug, too introverted and (for all their unemployment) too overprivileged for their own good; their leaders' feckless performance in the past few years in the face of the genocide next door in Bosnia is not encouraging. There remain in the European character powerful allergies to foreigners and/or dark skins.

The Scot, the Frenchman, the Italian and the Dane are still some distance from an analogy to four Americans, one from California, say, one from Oklahoma, one from Illinois and one from Maine. Not just regional accents but entire languages separate the Europeans, along with historical-cultural differences deeply rooted in the past. Further, the very boundaries of Europe—unlike those of the U.S.—are ambiguous. Germany is unified now. But where exactly does Europe end as one travels east? Is Russia part of Europe? In what sense? Does even the western part of Russia share a European mind-set?

In America immigrants from elsewhere in the world constructed, so to speak, a new house for themselves. In Europe the

1946

AGE OF CONFRONTATION: A CONTINENT IDEOLOGICALLY SPLIT BY THE IRON CURTAIN

In Eastern Europe the tremendous sense of release and luminosity has given way to the turbulence that accompanies such a confusion of freedom

many tribes are refurbishing many different old houses and trying to reshape them into a new kind of communal edifice. It is a difficult challenge of architecture, carpentry, plumbing, finance, linguistics and human relations. And yet a splendid work—a prosperous, largely peaceful and substantially rehabilitated Europe—has been achieved.

The success of the European journey in the past half-century is partly the result of the bitterness and despair in which the trip began. Perhaps only a Continent so shattered could be compelled by its own colossal failure to remake itself so dramatically.

At the end of the war, cities in Germany and elsewhere had been, many of them, reduced to lunar landscapes, pierced by the Gothic spires that somehow survived. In Dusseldorf 93% of all houses were deemed to be uninhabitable. Famine seemed likely in many parts of the Continent; harvests were down everywhere, livestock decimated.

Rationing became the organizing law of survival. All the basics were scarce: food, shoes, clothing, coal. Communications networks—roads and bridges as well as telephones—had been substantially destroyed. Railroads were at a standstill. The coal industry in the Ruhr had produced 400,000 tons a day before the war; now it managed 25,000. In France industry worked at less than 50% of its prewar levels. From the North Atlantic to the Adriatic to the Baltic, Europe was all but paralyzed and deeply demoralized.

Its descent from world cultural and financial pre-eminence had begun with World War I, which set in motion the historical landslide that crashed to a halt at last in 1945. Before 1914, Europe dominated the world's politics, finances and culture. The colonial powers held vast sections of Africa and Asia under their authority. By 1945, after two world wars, the Continent's self-confidence had collapsed, its foreign empires contracting, its moral capital all but vanished. In almost every sense, Europe was bankrupt.

The historian Walter Laqueur claims that the story of Europe in the postwar years "defies generalization." It is too complex, too contradictory, composed of too many narrative strands. Perhaps, but the threads of individual lives are suggestive:

Bernard Rideau is a French political consultant who was born toward the end of the war. As a baby he loved the sight of uniforms. "I spent considerable time in parks on the laps of uniformed German soldiers," Rideau remembers. "Of course, just a short time later the idea of that uniform filled me and everyone around me with hate, and the idea of ever cooperating with Germany, of ever creating Europe on a partnership with Germany, was totally out of the question. You'd have been called mad or worse even to question it."

Now Rideau says a little wistfully, "Despite where we have been, where we came from, people of my generation do not even appreciate Europe anymore ... People today have gone from thinking Europe was impossible to being bored with it. There is no feeling of being a real European, no pride in being a real European. It's sad." Hell is answered prayers.

Enzo Biagi is 75 now. He fought as a member of a unit of Italian partisans during World War II. He thought then that Italy would never rise again. But by 1946 some hope had begun to stir. Biagi inhabited the postwar Italy of Federico Fellini, making a living by drawing caricatures of American servicemen, and Roberto Rossellini filming *La Cittá Aperta* on a shoestring budget Biagi is now an editorial writer for the Milan daily *Corriere della Sera*. He recalls being sent to London to cover the wedding of Princess Elizabeth in 1947: "I went with a colleague, and we were so poor that our overcoats were actually stitched out of American blankets."

And so from 1947 to the magnificent Italian future: the economic booms of the '50s and '60s; money in the hands of workers; cars, mobility, luxuries; an endlessly bright commercial discretion. There are fewer poor people begging in front of churches, and most of them tend to be foreign.

Yet if the memory of the postwar *Bicycle Thief* years seems black-and-white grainy, the Italian present has a grayness of its own. Investigations of corruption have radically thinned the Italian ruling class. "When you see that we are No. 1 in corruption," Biagi remarks, "what can you hope for?" What values are left?

For all the differences between the United States of America and the presumptively united states of Europe—New World and Old World—they share something of a common dilemma. The U.S. in its formative two centuries ruthlessly demanded that immigrants abandon a certain amount of their cultural distinctiveness in order to meld into the larger American identity. Today the U.S. is fighting passionate culture wars over the nature of that larger national identity and who will define it.

The larger European identity also remains to be defined. Initially, however, it may be formed less by culture wars (the European cultures being indigenous, unlike those in America) than by financial and trade struggles. But as Europe becomes ever more intensely mobile and indiscriminately Continental, the indigenous identities will continue homogenizing.

A version of the tale of Odysseus' old age has him leaving the island of Ithaca for the mainland and, carrying an oar on his shoulder, walking inland for days and weeks until at last a stranger stops him and asks him what the oar is, and what it is for. Odysseus knows then that he has truly left the sea behind and settles there.

The day has not arrived when Europeans will wonder what the oar is—what World War II was, who Hitler was, what Nuremberg was all about—what happened during the great forest fire. But the day will come. Will that effacement of memory be a good thing or a disaster? How vigorous and civilized will the new Europe prove to be?

Those who do not learn from history, someone has said, are condemned to repeat George Santayana's cliché. The task in the postwar years was to integrate the interests of Europe's nations so thoroughly that they would never think to go for one another's throats again—to sublimate the old conflicts of blood and steel into quarrels over comparatively harmless commercial issues, over the trade rules for fruits and cheeses. And to convert the old fascination with charismatic leaders into a mere fan's passion for celebrities. An unheroic reading would declare that Europe has rescued itself from itself by internationalizing and trivializing itself.

It would also be accurate, and more heroic, to say Europe has turned the issue of its survival, so problematic 50 years ago, into rejuvenation of a brilliant kind. ■

1996

AFTER THE WALL: NEW NATIONS, NEW BORDERS AND AN EXPANDING SENSE OF UNITY

Breguet
Depuis 1775

250 Years – A Celebration

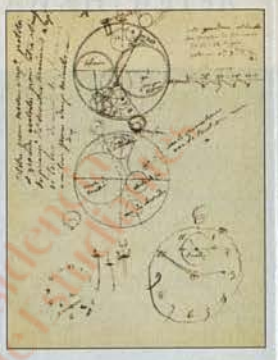
Abraham-Louis Breguet was born in Neuchâtel, Switzerland in 1747, and at the age of 15 apprenticed to the watchmakers trade. In 1775, when he moved to Paris and set up shop on the Quai de l'Horloge, one of his early customers was Queen Marie-Antoinette. She bought his self-winding "perpetual" pocket watch No. 2 in 1782, and later bought at least three other Breguets, the last while she was imprisoned after the French Revolution. Breguet's first true masterpiece, the exquisite open-work pocket watch christened the "Marie-Antoinette" was commissioned for the Queen in 1783 but not finished until several years after her death.

Exiled to his native Switzerland by the Revolution, Abraham-Louis returned to Paris in 1795, and once again began to produce his ever-more-marvelous timepieces. The buyer of a Breguet watch today joins ranks with Napoleon and Josephine, Nicolas II and Alexandra, Queen Victoria, Alfonso XIII of Spain, Arthur Rubinstein and Winston Churchill. Mr Jean J. Jacober, President and Chief Executive Officer of Montres Breguet SA, retells how Ettore Bugatti ordered Breguet watches for the dashboards of his Royales. Among the amazing lineup of clientele included Caroline Bonaparte Murat, the Queen of Naples, for whom a brand new invention was developed in 1810 – the very first wristwatch.

Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, one of the first Breguet customers.

Master of Invention

The wristwatch was only one of Abraham-Louis Breguet's astonishing catalog of inventions and innovations. He conceived the mechanism of the self-winding "perpetual" watch; developed the perpetual date calendar and invented among others, the gong spring for the minute repeater, the Breguet key, the Breguet balance spring, the constant force escapement, the independent seconds hand and the tourbillon, a revolving cage for the balance and escapement which equalizes the effects of gravity.



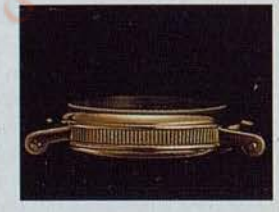
Sketches and notes regarding a repeater movement made by A.-L. Breguet himself

Appointed official Horloger to the Royal French Navy, Breguet promptly came up with the double barrel marine chronometer. And "to astonish the world" as he said in a letter to his son, in 1795 he created the unique Sympathique clock, a table clock with a special holder on the top for a watch, which is automatically time-set and wound when inserted.

This "Leonardo da Vinci of watchmaking" also designed the delicate Breguet numerals, the famous, much-copied Breguet hands with their distinctive cut-out circle and the elegant, deceptively simple Breguet dial. He not only signed and numbered each of his watches and clocks, but registered them in a ledger with the name of the buyer, the date of the sale and an exact description of the timepiece, a practice which still continues today.

Hallmarks of Distinction

A Breguet watch is easily recognized by its flawless elegance – perfectly designed, perfectly proportioned, perfectly finished. Four distinctive features identify every Breguet wristwatch today: the case with its finely fluted side and its rounded lugs; the guilloché dial, finely hand-engraved with a rose-engine lathe; and the celebrated "pomme" hands in blued steel are now known the world over as Breguet hands. Created in 1783 by Abraham-Louis Breguet, they symbolise the distinguished craftsmanship of a Breguet watch.



The Art and Science of Time

Abraham-Louis Breguet left to his heirs those beautifully hand-written ledgers, and his invaluable workshop notebooks filled with detailed drawings and diagrams of his ideas. He also passed down his passion for purity of line and perfection of craftsmanship, a passion shared by the master craftsmen who make Breguet watches today.

Each Breguet is painstakingly hand-crafted, drawing on the expertise first learned more than 200 years ago. The Breguet tradition of pride in workmanship is still as strong today as each small component is shaped, adjusted, polished and inspected, meticulously beveled and turned with the utmost care. Not only each watch, but each part of its movement, is a work of art. And, just as in Abraham-Louis Breguet's day, each watch is individually numbered and added to that privileged list which began in the 18th century.

A balance staff is burnished with a bow, an operation unchanged since Breguet's time.

The Breguet Book

Historian Emmanuel Breguet, seventh-generation descendant of Abraham-Louis, is the curator of the Breguet company archives in Paris. His book, "Breguet: Watchmakers since 1775" will be published in December 1996 by Alain de Gourcuff Editeur. With more than 500 illustrations, the book recounts the history of the company and its founder, and, not incidentally, much of the social and political history of the last 250 years since, as the author points out, "so many of Breguet's clients were important actors on the world stage."

Breguet Today

In the tradition of its founder, Breguet continues to innovate, most recently with the perpetual equation of time wristwatch. Breguet today produces a wide range of models, all expressions of pure Breguet style.

The Classic Collection, directly inspired by the works of Abraham-Louis, it reflects Breguet's unique history and heritage.

Marine watches are the heirs to the nautical timepieces made by Abraham-Louis Breguet for the Royal French Navy.

Continuing the Tradition

Under the guardianship of Mr Jacober, Breguet's watchmakers continue to "delight and astonish the world" with exceptional creations too. In 1997, in honor of Abraham-Louis Breguet's 250th birthday, special commemorative pieces will be created to reflect the Breguet tradition. As Mr Jacober concludes, "Given this exceptional history, it is important to conserve the unique spirit of Breguet. The fundamental style of a Breguet has never changed – that is the great strength of the name. Breguet remains pure."

OUT OF THE ASHES

By Frederick Painton

BRIAN CRONIN FOR TIME

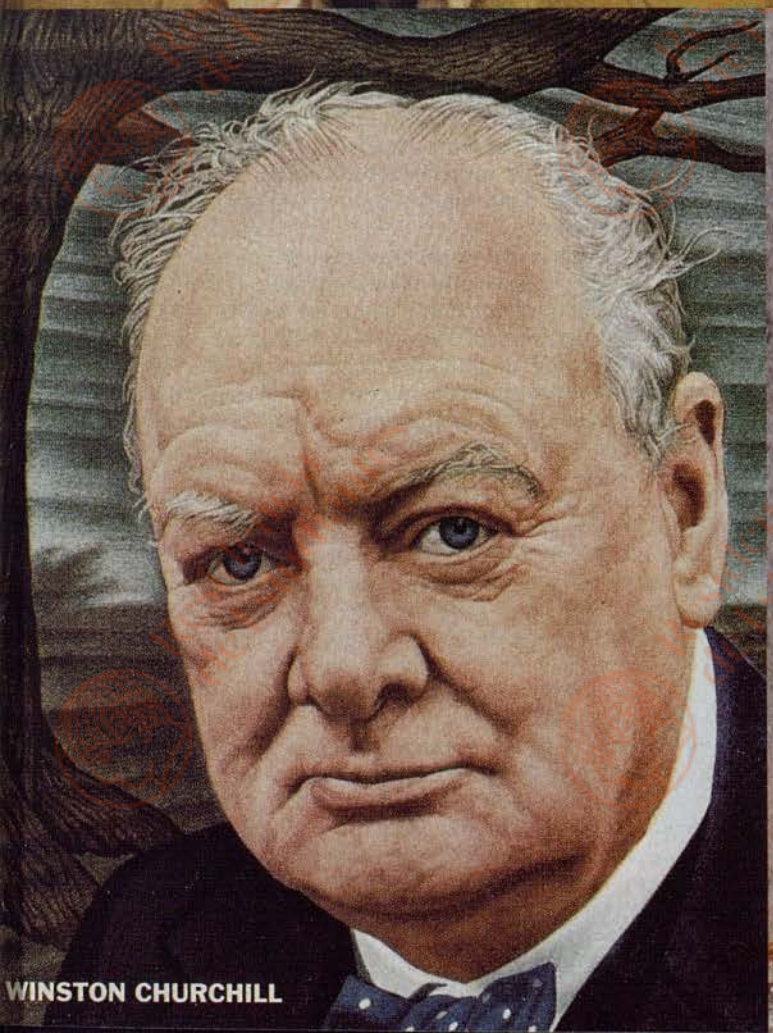
ONLY 21 YEARS AFTER WORLD War I ended, the armies of Europe were unleashed again to finish off the fratricidal rivalries left from the first round of slaughter. This time Europe emerged a political cripple, no longer master of its fate. That role passed to the U.S. and the Soviet Union, whose armies met face-to-face across a divided Germany.

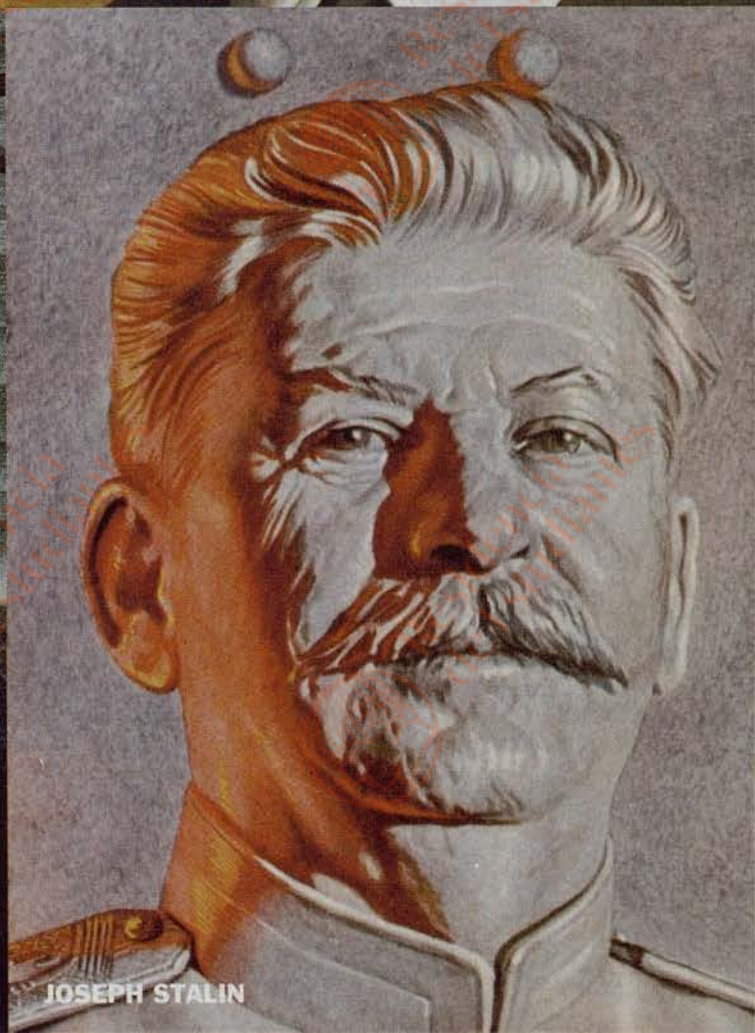
Peace came as a blessing to the Continent that had seemed cursed by history. An overwhelming sense of relief at mere survival rolled across the land. In the six-year struggle to bring down the Nazi empire, an estimated 40 million Europeans lost their lives—in combat, under the bombs that obliterated cities, through Hitler's methodical genocide or simply from hunger, cold and disease. By 1947 the euphoria of victory faded with the slow realization that Europe was close to destitution as a modern civilization.

The year began with the worst winter yet of the century, punishing victors and vanquished alike. The bitter cold froze the Thames and virtually shut down Britain's enfeebled economy. Coal was rationed—45 kilos a week per household—and butter, cheese and bacon allotments were slashed below wartime levels. Italian and French diplomats quarreled over possession of four shiploads of American relief wheat already on the high seas. The hard winter was followed by a blazing summer that produced the best wine vintage in 20 years and the worst food crops in longer than that.


CHARLES DE GAULLE


GEORGE C. MARSHALL


WINSTON CHURCHILL


JOSEPH STALIN

It seems astonishing that the architecture of Europe's postwar order was established in so short a time. The political landscape had been wiped clean

In shattered Germany, government had ceased to exist; one-third of the country had been wrenched away and occupied by the Russians. By April 1947, the daily German ration had fallen to 1,040 calories, one-third less than the minimum considered necessary to sustain life. Workers collapsed at their jobs for lack of food. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cologne had earlier declared that it was not a sin to steal food or coal to get through the winter.

It was one of the U.S.'s illusions at the time that Britain could assume leadership of Europe. In fact, Britain was bled white. The empire was stirring with revolt against colonial rule, and Britain simply lacked the resources to play a big-power role. In a moment of hard truth, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin told the House of Commons, "The day when we ... can declare a policy independently of our allies is gone."

Old pretensions of national grandeur got short shrift from public opinion. Cranky voters in Britain and France turned against their war heroes. Only two months after celebrating victory, the British rejected Winston Churchill. Charles de Gaulle, facing rising opposition in the National Assembly, simply resigned fed up, he said, with the political parties' petty games. In Italy, defeat was blissful liberation. Recalled veteran news broadcaster Ruggero Orlando: "Everything that had been prohibited for 20 years was now allowed—elections, communism, liberalism, free enterprise, everything. You could almost feel it in the air."

The problem was communism. In world capitals all eyes were focused on the fateful electoral showdown in 1948 between Italy's Communist Party, the most powerful one in Western Europe, and Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democrat government. The governing parties won with 48.5% of the vote; the Communists and their allies received 31%. That was the high-water mark of Moscow-directed electoral strength in Western Europe. Even so, an opinion poll taken for TIME by the Elmo Roper organization showed that most Europeans believed the Russians, not the Americans, were winning the cold war.

What had changed most profoundly since the guns fell silent was the way Europeans saw themselves: they were no longer the center of the world. In Paris, Marxist author Jean-Paul Sartre presented a philosophical amalgam called existentialism that seemed tailored for postwar trauma. Sartre argued that the long spiritual progression of Western culture was exhausted: literary culture, along with fashion's haute couture, was about all that France—and, by implication, Europe—could now offer the world. If life was meaningless, Sartre argued, existentialism at least gave people a sense of dignity amid the degradation and absurdity.

In their eagerness to return to what people remembered as normality, few noticed the dimensions of the onrushing economic disaster. Europe was not only incapable of resistance to the Soviets but was also engaged in a desperate ordeal for survival that had nothing to do with the communist threat. The U.S. had already poured more than $10 billion into Europe just to ward off freezing and starvation, but that amount barely sufficed. By 1947 it was clear that aid had to be linked to a long-range plan to make Europe economically self-supporting. Between 1948 and 1952, the U.S., through the Marshall Plan, distributed more than $13 billion to 16 countries. Britain, France and Germany accounted for half the total. Moscow rejected participation.

The Marshall Plan was a bargain at the price; its achievement was nothing less than the salvation of Western Europe's democracies. Two years after the aid began flowing, overall European industrial production had risen 45% higher than in 1947 and 25% higher than in the last prewar year, 1938. Bevin called the plan "a lifeline to sinking men."

Europe's economic pulse revived from a flicker to a beat. American officials demanded economic cooperation: here is the pie, the recipients were told; you must cut it among yourselves. In the process of arguing over how to split the aid, old rivals bared their economic plans and secrets to one another. It was the first small step toward European economic integration.

That act might not have been possible without the timely and inadvertent assistance of Joseph Stalin. It was the Soviet leader's ambition for conquest that persuaded the U.S. Congress to spend whatever was deemed necessary to stop him. And it was fear of Stalin that drove Europeans together for self-protection.

The U.S. was a reluctant superpower. Even as American dollars poured out, Washington made no pledge to defend Europe. Where the Red Army had stopped, sprawled across Eastern and Central Europe, Soviet power reigned and probed westward. Only when a communist insurgency threatened to overthrow the British-backed monarchy in Greece and when Soviet pressure grew on Turkey did the U.S. finally react. On March 12, 1947, Harry Truman announced a program of economic and military aid to both countries. In what became known as the Truman Doctrine, the President said it was henceforth U.S. policy "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation."

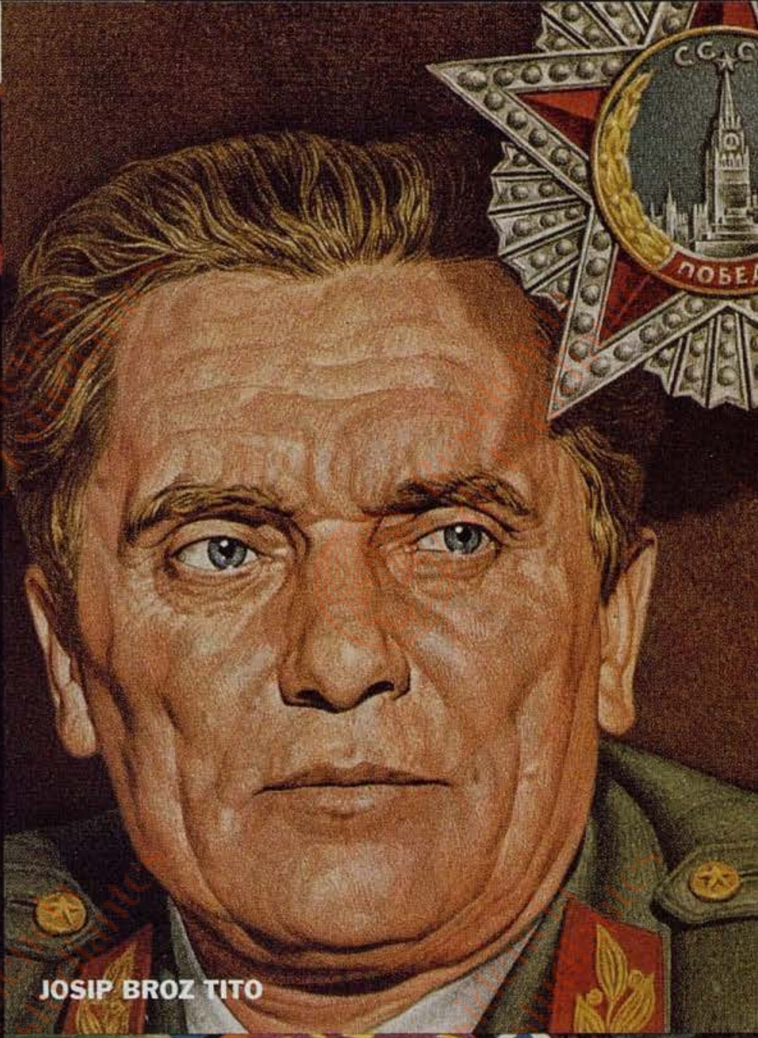
Yet Stalin struck again, this time on June 24, 1948; with scant warning, the Soviets blockaded Berlin. The U.S. mounted an unprecedented airlift of some 500 C-47s, C-54s and other craft that over 11 months flew into Berlin a total of 1.6 million tons of food, clothing, fuel and other necessities, until Stalin relented and reopened the roads.

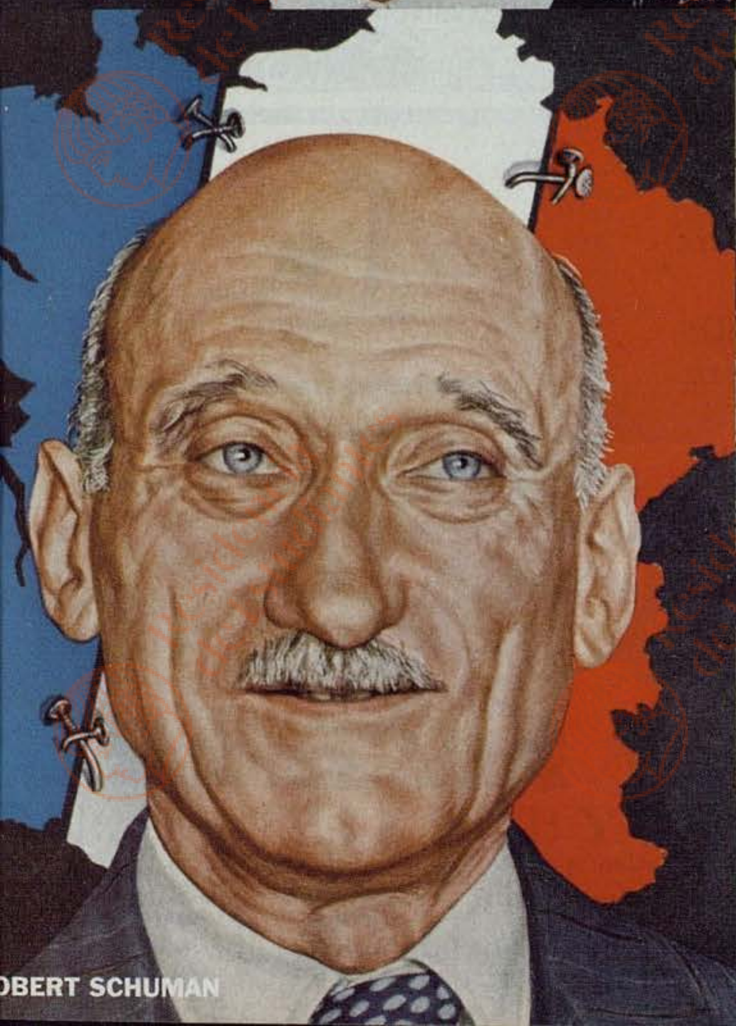
The Berlin crisis institutionalized the cold war. On July 6, 1948, the U.S. entered into discussions with its major allies to establish a military alliance, and on April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed by 12 countries. West Germany joined in 1955. No one expected an immediate Soviet attack, nor were the U.S. and its war-weary European partners ready to invest in a military buildup. NATO essentially amounted to the U.S.'s throwing its nuclear cloak over Western Europe.

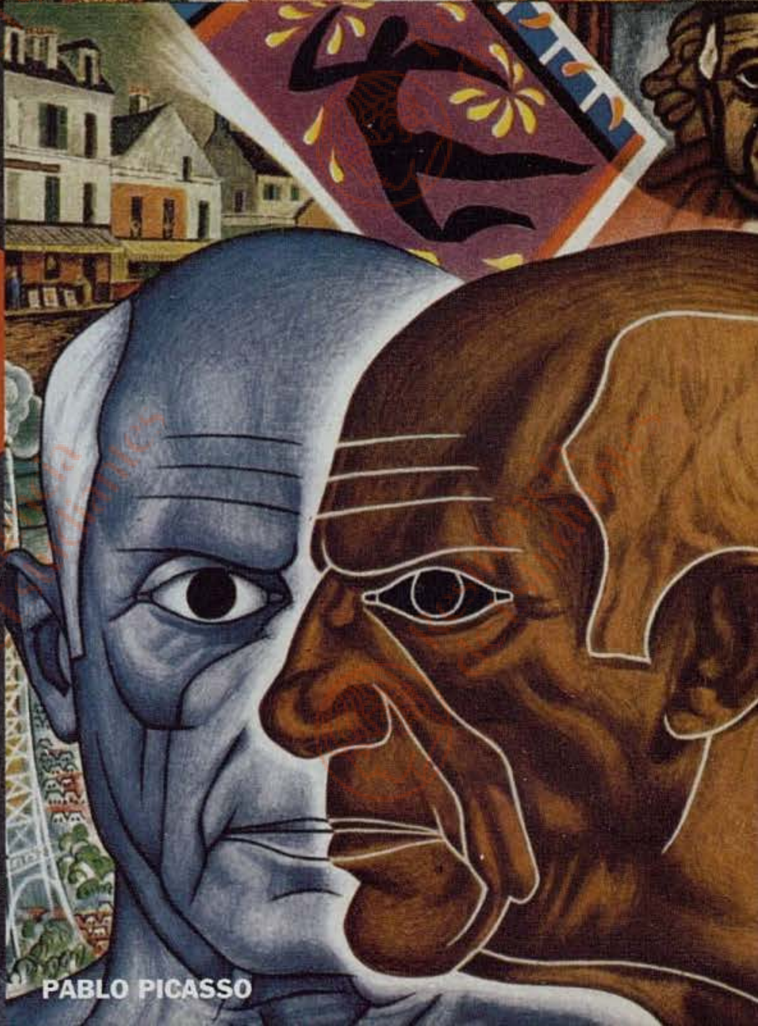
Fifty years later, it seems astonishing that the architecture of Europe's postwar order was established in so short a time. It would be a mistake, however, to give U.S. and European diplomacy a logic and coherence that it never actually possessed. Under exceptional circumstances, an extraordinary generation of leaders merely improvised as they went along. The luck of history was with them. Except for Britain, the political landscape had been wiped clean. In France, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium, Old Guard leaders and their parties were tainted by defeat or collaboration. And in the war's aftermath, none of the old vested interests had yet come back strong enough to block bold reforms.

The U.S. bestrode the world—not, of course, to everyone's satisfaction. Europe's wounded pride did not suffer American hegemony gladly. Still, the Pax Americana inaugurated an era of unprecedented prosperity that fostered the old dream of unity. It lasted 44 years, not so long a run as the Roman Empire, but not a bad one in this ravaged century. ■


LCIDE DE GASPERI

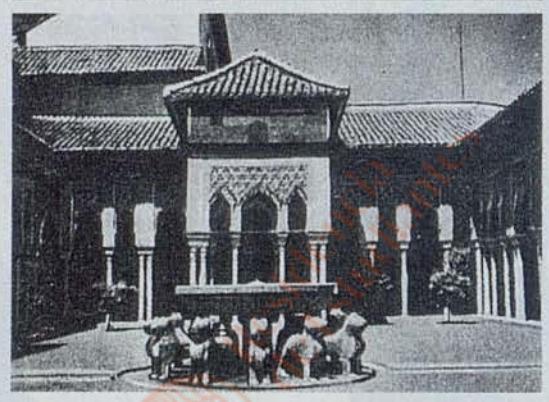

JOSIP BROZ TITO

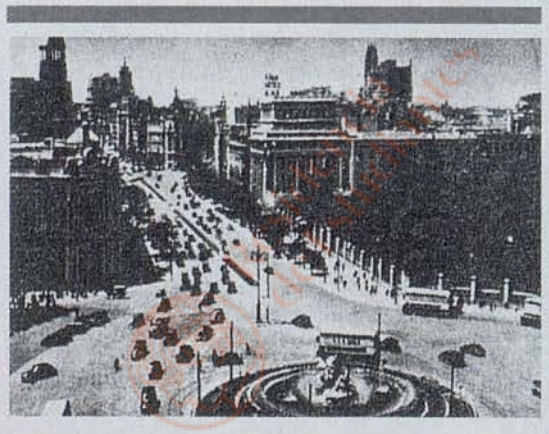

OBERT SCHUMAN


PABLO PICASSO

Come to

joyful Spain





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As originally appeared in TIME Atlantic, December 31, 1951

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ESPAÑA

ARCHIVES 1946–1951

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY: "WE MUST ... SUCCEED"

OPERA'S TEMPLE, RESTORED TO ITS GLORY

MUSIC

RETURN OF THE NATIVE 5/20/46

▶ After Allied bombers got through with Milan's famed La Scala in 1943, all that was left was the stage and four walls. Last week La Scala had been put back together again. Onto its reconstructed podium stepped little white-haired Arturo Toscanini, 79, who had scored some of his greatest triumphs there.

The 110-piece orchestra played as they had not for years. Toscanini had chosen Rossini, Verdi and Puccini, and when he conducted Verdi's *Te Deum*, the audience got to its feet and shouted enthusiastically. Outside, in the public squares, more than 10,000 Milanese heard the music over loudspeakers and stayed to argue about it for most of the night.

CONFERENCES

PLAIN WORDS 1/21/46

▲ The delegates of 51 nations gathered in London last week for the first United Nations Organization General Assembly. With all its faults, U.N.O. had a chance to make the world's ideal of a just and durable peace come true. If it failed, there would be a yet more terrible war. A plain man had plain words for it. Said Britain's Prime Minister, Clement Attlee: "It is for us today, bearing in mind the great sacrifices that have been made, to prove ourselves no less courageous in approaching our great task, no less patient, no less self-sacrificing. We must and will succeed."

BEFORE THE FATEFUL NIGHT, GORING CONSULTING HIS ATTORNEY AT NUREMBERG

THOSE WHO SUFFER MOST

HUNGER

SHATTERED LIVES 4/22/46

◀ Pale half-brother of the Third Horseman of the Apocalypse, malnutrition rode the tide of spring into war-ravaged Europe. The hallmarks of undernourishment were glaringly apparent, not only in dirt-poor Italy. More than 100 million people were hungry. Many of Europe's children will grow to manhood weak and stunted. Rickets will cripple some forever; tuberculosis will make others invalids.

GERMANY

NIGHT WITHOUT DAWN 10/28/46

▲ A sharp wind whispered through shattered walls and broken towers, bringing shivers to everyone in Nuremberg. This was a night watch that had been longed for by millions in death cells in all of Europe's fearful prisons and pens.

In his cell, at about 9 p.m., Hermann Göring was crunching a phial of potassium cyanide. When guards and a chaplain rushed into his cell, he was dying. Soon two guards led Joachim von Ribbentrop from his cell. At 1:11 a.m. he entered the gymnasium and mounted the 13 steps to the gallows. The executioner tightened the noose. A chaplain standing beside him prayed. The assistant executioner pulled the lever, the trap dropped open with a rumbling noise, and Ribbentrop's hooded figure disappeared. The rope was suddenly taut and swung back and forth. Field Marshal General Wilhelm Keitel, in well-pressed uniform and gleaming boots, mounted a second scaffold. Then came Julius Streicher, who looked wild-eyed and yelled, *"Heil Hitler!"*

Thus death, as it must to all men, came to those by whose instrumentality so many thousands had died—more horribly and without a chance for historic histrionics.

A VOTER PONDERS THE CHOICES IN THE FIRST FREE ELECTION

ITALY

AFTER 1,995 YEARS 6/17/46

▲ For the first time since Caesar crossed the Rubicon, in 49 B.C., the Italian peninsula was a republic. In their first free national election in a quarter-century, 24 million men and women decided 5 to 4 against continuing the monarchy. Simultaneously, they took a stand for Western democracy and against the advance of Soviet communism.

Premier Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic Party overwhelmed its leftist rivals, drawing more than 8 million votes, almost double the number given either the communists or the Socialists. De Gasperi would almost certainly be the new government's Prime Minister.

AFTER A SWINDLE, AND A WAR, THE BEETLE EMERGES

COMMERCE

THE PEOPLE'S CAR, AT LAST 1/7/46

▲ Now in production in Bonneberg, in the British zone: Volkswagen, the much ballyhooed, four-seater, rear-engined People's Car, promised but never delivered en masse. A pet project of the late Führer's, the Volkswagen was to sell for 990 marks ($396 prewar). In one of history's big swindles, thousands of workers paid advance installments on them.

WAR CRIMES

SUBJECT: WOMEN 11/24/47

■ Among the neatly filed business correspondence of Hitler's grim Oswiecim concentration camp were some letters from an official of the I.G. Farben chemical trust.

Last week excerpts from these letters were offered in evidence at the Nuremberg war-crimes trial of 23 Farben directors.

The excerpts:

"In contemplation of experiments with a new soporific drug, we would appreciate your procuring for us a number of women ...

"We consider the price of 200 marks excessive. We propose to pay not more than 170 marks a head ... We need approximately 150 ...

"Received the order ... Despite their emaciated condition, they were found satisfactory ...

"The tests were made. All subjects died. We shall contact you shortly on the subject of a new load."

EXISTENTIALIST SARTRE: DOLOROUS NOVEL

OLIVIER'S $2 MILLION PRINCE OF DENMARK

CINEMA

RARE BEAUTY 5/17/48

▲ The royal family rolled up to London's Odeon Theatre last week for the event that had been long awaited: the world premiere of Sir Laurence Olivier's *Hamlet*. Most critics agreed that the film was worth everything that had gone into it: more than $2 million and six months of hard work. Said the *Evening Standard*: "It has moments of rare beauty ... [Olivier] is one of our greatest living actors."

WITHOUT BULLDOZER, BUT WITH BULLDOG

HISTORY

WINSTON AT WORK 5/10/48

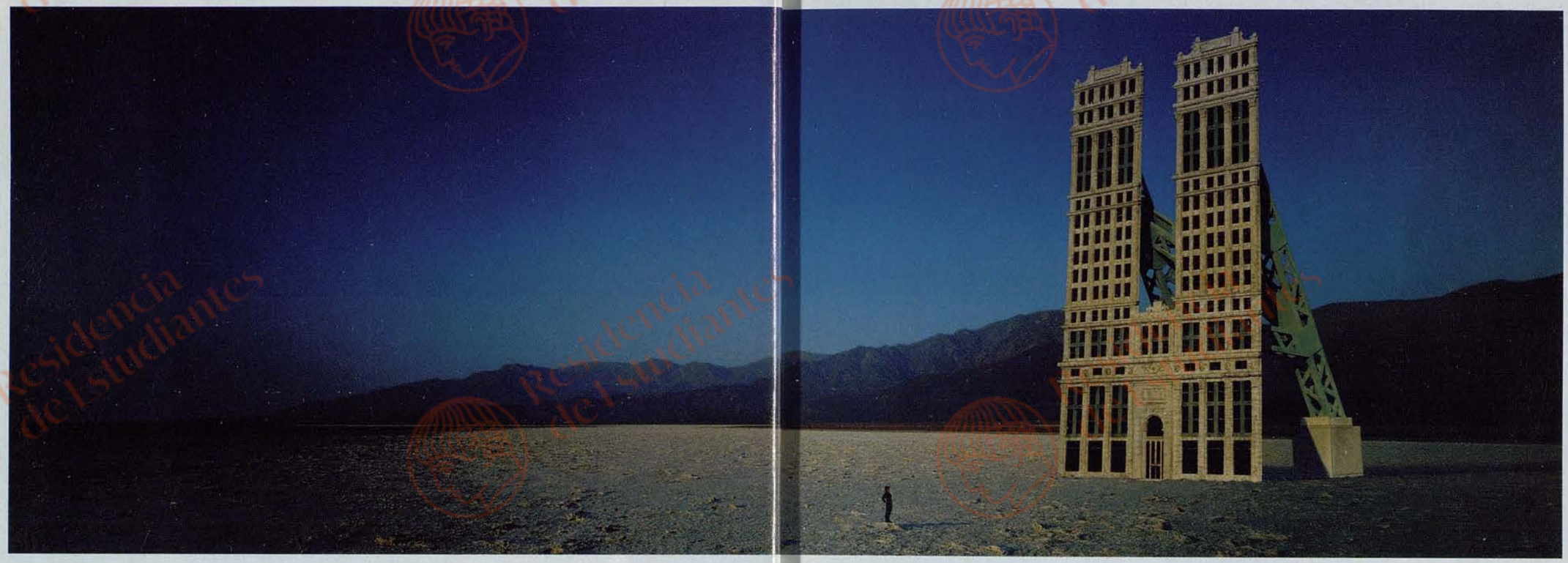
▲ Churchill is writing his memoirs, dictating to relays of secretaries, burnishing phrases right up to publication deadline. Any editorial changes, even in punctuation, must be shown to him for his O.K. "Before I'm finished with a book," he says, "I go through it with a bulldozer."

BOOKS

YAWPINGS ABOUT LIFE 7/21/47

◄ What is existentialism? It is the latest incomprehensible fashion from France. Its leading practitioner is France's stubby (5 ft.), scholarly Jean-Paul Sartre. His *Age of Reason* is a dolorous, idea-clotted novel full of moldy characters and philosophic yawpings about life. It will win its author some critical praise. It is not likely to earn his fashion many wearers.


Champs-Elysées.
La vie est plus belle
quand on l'écrit Soi-même
Champs-Elysées
GUERLAIN
PARIS
(Life is best played without a script)



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SOCIAL CHITCHAT AND BAWDY BALLADS: ALEC GUINNESS DOES A TURN AT BELTING IT OUT IN *THE COCKTAIL PARTY*

THEATER

NEW PLAY IN EDINBURGH 9/5/49

▲ Sitting in Edinburgh's Royal Lyceum Theater last week, Nobel prizewinner T.S. Eliot took notes during rehearsals of his latest play, *The Cocktail Party*. His main problem: "To get a form of verse that would not falsify contemporary speech … I can write verse better than prose."

Set in a London flat and a psychiatrist's office, the play contains social chitchat, a bawdy ballad and a couple of interlocking triangles. But, true to form, devout Anglo-Catholic Eliot underlines his comedy with sober Christian didactic. Said the *Times:* "In lucid, unelusive verse … he presents in the shape of a fashionable West End comedy a story highly ingenious in its construction, witty in its repartee and impregnated with Christian feeling."

By week's end, it seemed a good bet that West End and Broadway audiences would also soon get a chance to laugh at—and puzzle over—*The Cocktail Party*.

FOR BELEAGUERED BERLINERS, THE INCESSANT ROAR OVERHEAD MEANT THAT THE WEST WAS STANDING ITS GROUND

BERLIN

THE SIEGE 7/5–7/12/48

▲ The incessant roar of the planes—that typical and terrible 20th century sound, a voice of cold mechanized anger—filled every ear in the city. It reverberated in the bizarre stone ears of the hollow, broken houses; it throbbed in the weary ears of Berlin's people, who were bitter, afraid, but far from broken; it echoed in the intently listening ear of history. The sound meant one thing: the West was standing its ground and fighting back.

The crucial battle for Berlin was being fought in the hearts and minds of Berliners—but first and foremost in their bellies. The Russians were attempting to starve into submission 2.5 million people in the city's Western sectors. They had stopped all food trains from the Western zones on which Berlin depends for survival; cut the Western sectors' electricity in half; blocked all coal shipments for Berlin industries; cut off all milk supplies from the Soviet zone. They even cut medicine supplies but yielded under an American threat to withhold penicillin. They had been driven to employ a weapon that disgraced them before the civilized world.

The Americans and the British were trying to feed the Berliners by air. At Tempelhof Airport, C-54s and C-47s were landing at the daylight rate of one every three minutes. Scores of 10-ton trucks rolled out to meet them. G.I.s and German workers labored 24 hours a day to unload them.

The U.S. Air Force and the R.A.F. announced they could jointly supply the 2,000 tons a day needed in the Western sectors. The U.S. was even experimenting with the dropping of coal from B-29s. "None of us can accept surrender," declared Ernest Bevin in the House of Commons. In Washington, Secretary of State George Marshall said, "We intend to stay."

CAMUS: NOVELIST OF RESISTANCE

BOOKS

PARABLE 8/16/48

◀ Albert Camus's novel *The Plague* is written in a muted style, the way a sensitive but unliterary doctor might set down his recollections. First published in Paris in 1947, it created a sensation; it was immediately understood as a parable of the French underground. Readers may dispute its occasional statements of murky philosophy, but few can deny that *The Plague* is one of the few genuinely important works of art to come out of Europe since the war's end. It makes most recent American war novels seem tinny and thin.

BUTTERMILK OF HUMAN KINDNESS: MARSHALL PLAN GOODS ARRIVE IN ROTTERDAM

MARSHALL PLAN

SOMETHING NEW 6/30/47

▲ In a speech at the Harvard University commencement on June 5, 1947, Secretary George C. Marshall declared that only a coordinated program of European reconstruction, with U.S. help, would save Europe from the communist advance. Thus was born, however formless in detail, what would become known as the Marshall Plan. To the French, it was the best news since the Allies landed in Normandy. It mattered little that *le plan Marshall* was vague. "Today there is something new in the lives of Frenchmen," breathed President of the Republic Vincent Auriol.

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Charles-Emile Tissot (1830-1910)

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TROUBLEMAKER TITO: REFUSING TO PARLEY WITH THE PARTY

THE EAST BLOC

MEMO 8/23/48

▲*To: Central Committee, Communist Party of Yugoslavia*
From: The Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, Moscow
Subject: The Pretentious Marshal Tito

The Yugoslav leaders have gone a step further in aggravating their crude mistakes of principle … The Yugoslavs are asking for a privileged position … Comrades Tito and Edvard Kardel assure us with words. They will show us with deeds that they will remain true to the Soviet Union … We have no reason to believe these assurances … By refusing to attend the Cominform meeting, they admitted their guilt and cut themselves off from the united socialist people's front.

Five weeks later, the Cominform formally denounced Tito and expelled him from the party.

LOVERS WITH DAISIES (1949-50)

ART

THE WANDERER 4/3/50

◀Until recently only Matisse, Braque and Picasso rated special rooms in Paris' National Museum of Modern Art. Last week Marc Chagall had his own room too, filled with the strange, gravity-defying pictures he has been painting for the past 40 years.

Since 1910, when he left Russia, he has never really settled down. Haunted by bad memories and searching for escape, he found it only in his unearthly, richly colored paintings, more like astral visions than the real world, with ghostly men and women, wandering violins, fish, cows and roosters floating across them like derelict balloons. Chagall, 60, admits his similarity to his floating men. "I'm not fixed anyplace … It will take some time before my soul will be entirely tranquil."

MACLEAN AND BURGESS: VARIED SIGHTINGS BUT NO SOLUTION

CELEBRATING NATO'S UNION

NATO

A SIMPLE DOCUMENT 4/11/49

◀Twelve nations gathered in Washington to sign the North Atlantic Treaty. The greatest network of shortwave stations in history beamed the ceremony in 43 languages to the world. The pact is a simple document, President Harry Truman said. "We hope to create a shield against aggression and the fear of aggression—a bulwark which will permit us to get on with the real business … the business of achieving a fuller and happier life."

Then, in alphabetical order of their countries, the ministers stepped forward to sign. All that remained was ratification by the U.S. Senate and by the parliaments of the six other original sponsors.

COKE LAUNCH ON THE GRAND CANAL: FIZZ LEADS TO FUSS

FOREIGN TRADE

ITALIAN INVASION 8/22/49

▲In Rome the communist-line paper *Il Paese* shrilled against an insidious product that could turn a child's hair white overnight. The dread invader: Coca-Cola.

Five Coke bottling plants were clanking away, several hundred thousand bottles were sold daily, and the communists rightly feared it was another victory for U.S. free enterprise. Complained one Red: "Yesterday, I went into my favorite wine shop and found three people there. All were drinking Coca-Cola. The humiliation!"

BRITAIN

WHERE ARE THEY? 6/25/51

◀The disappearance of British diplomats Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess was still a mystery without a solution. A "well-informed source" said that the pair crossed the Pyrenees from Spain into France last week, traveling under assumed names; tourists said they saw them hurrying into Italy from Switzerland; some amateur sleuths were sure the two had doubled back on their own trail, were back in Britain and hiding. Best guess: the two were either dead or behind the Iron Curtain.

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First Love 10/3/49

An emissary from the isle of Stromboli confided that INGRID BERGMAN had respected and obeyed her husband Dr. Peter Lindstrom, but it was never true love. It was not until chubby, balding director ROBERTO ROSSELLINI met her at the plane in Rome that she "realized it was Roberto, the man, who had inspired her." She had never been in love in her life until she met Rossellini.

ON WITH THE SHAW 8/5/46

As he turned 90, **GEORGE BERNARD SHAW** groused about the procession of literary pilgrims plodding through his Ayot St. Lawrence home. "I don't like this," he howled. "They've come to see the animal just because he's 90." But Shavian wit was up to the occasion. Some birthday shafts:

"All my life affection has been showered on me, and every forward step I took has been taken in spite of it."

"It is sometimes necessary to make people laugh to prevent them from hanging you."

"A lady aged 102, when I asked her what life was like at her age, said, 'Nothing but buttoning and unbuttoning.' Not much to look forward to, is it?"

PHOTOPHOBIA 10/17/49

GRETA GARBO's well-publicized hatred of publicity is no pose. "I feel like a criminal who is hunted," she told a gossip columnist in France. "When photographers come, they draw crowds. I am frightened beyond control. When so many people stare, I feel almost ashamed."

WARDROBE MISTRESS 10/21/46

WALLY WINDSOR was never a queen, but she managed a faint Marie Antoinettish echo while visiting Britain last week. Asked about her wardrobe by a reporter who had just seen three army trucks and two jeeps dump about two tons of baggage, the duchess said, "We hardly brought anything. Things are fantastic in Paris now. No one will be able to buy clothes there any more if they keep putting the prices up." As for entertaining, said she: "I am here in a very unofficial capacity."

SEEN & HEARD

4/28/47

"Life," mused **Grock,** the famed Swiss clown, "is lousy." After 67 years of it, the great grimacer was still in harness at Paris' Cirque d'Hiver. "Most of the old clowns have died," he grumbled, "and no new ones have come up … This generation is no good."

3/31/47

Andrei Y. Vishinsky, the Soviet Vice Foreign Minister, told visiting newsmen the assets a good newspaperman must have: "Strong legs—first to catch the man he wants to interview, and secondly to run away from the man after he has printed it."

11/22/48

Slowing down a little at 74, **Somerset Maugham** saw an end to it: "My days as a professional writer are over. I'm putting up the shutters, shutting up the shop."

7/22/46

Sir Thomas Beecham, explosively opinionated conductor of the London Philharmonic, returned in May from a U.S. tour, calling Hollywood "a universal disaster compared to which Hitler, Himmler and Mussolini were trivial." Then he amended his opinion, allowing as how Hollywood was "the last word in triviality and morbidity."

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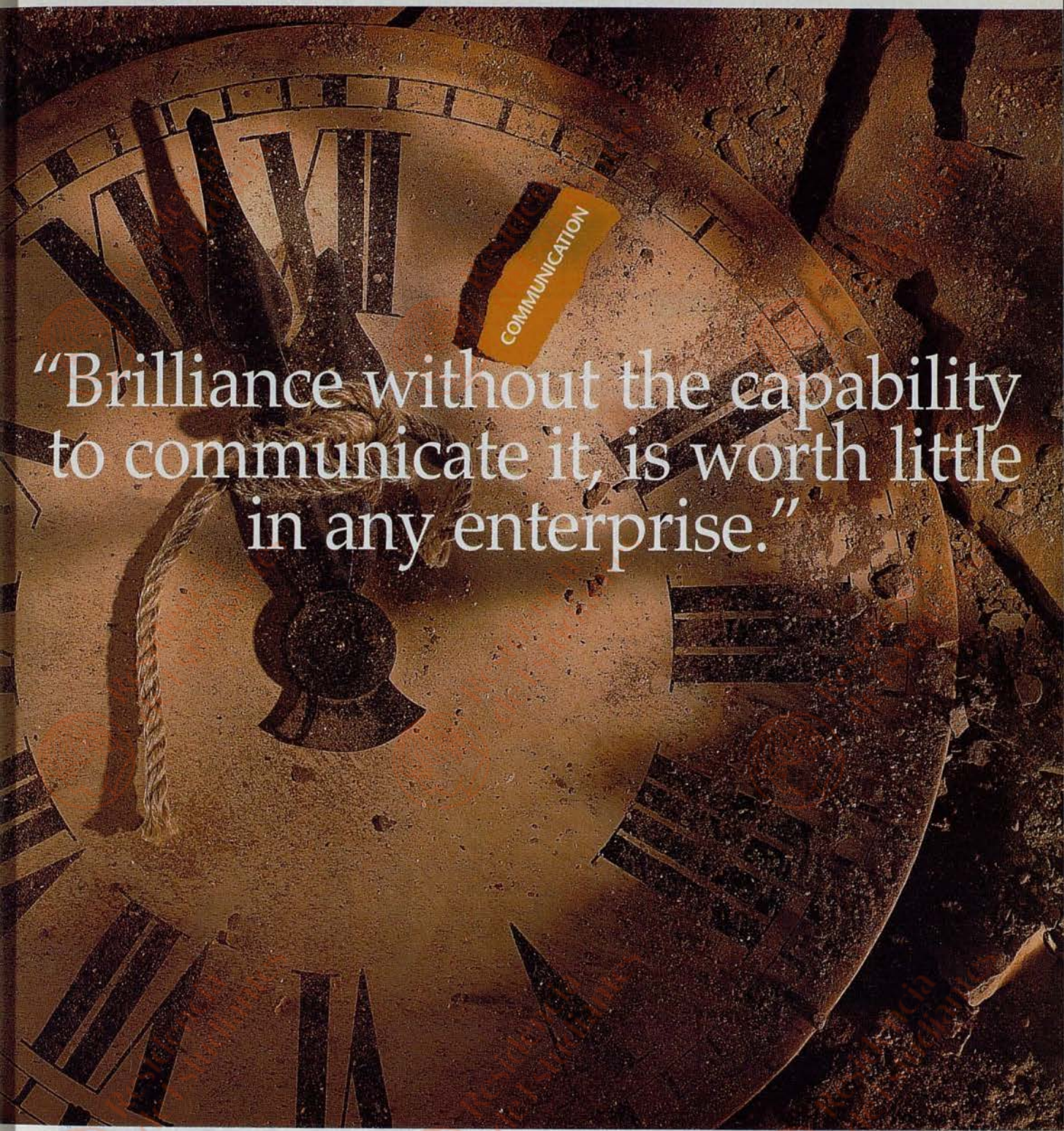

Quote: Thomas Leech, How to Prepare, Stage and Deliver Winning Presentations, (1982).

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As originally appeared in TIME Atlantic, 1950

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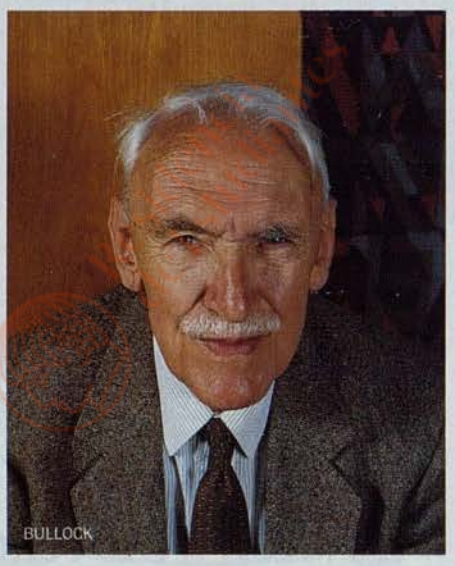
First Person

On the Marshall Plan, the musical tyranny of Stalinism, life in recovering Germany and the founding vision of a new Europe


SCHUMANN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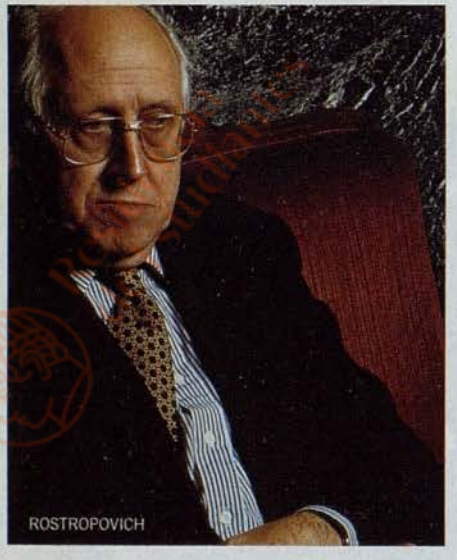
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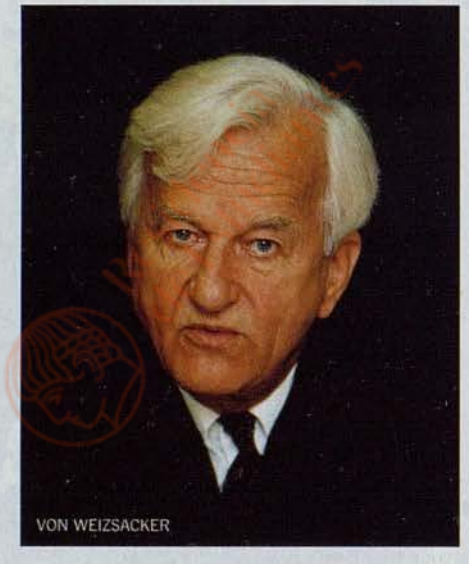
VON WEIZSACKER

ALAN BULLOCK

Author of Hitler: A Study in Tyranny, *Lord Bullock was vice chancellor of Oxford University from 1969 to 1973*

The Marshall Plan speech at Harvard was a remarkable offer of help, but it was made with the proviso that the European states must get their act together if the U.S. were to come to their aid. The British embassy in Washington did not think it was even worth the cable charges to send a copy of Marshall's speech in advance. Fortunately, the BBC correspondent in Washington sent a report, which was heard on the morning news by Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary. Bevin flung the bedclothes off and said, "This is it, and we will do the marshaling of the Europeans."

Bevin was as good as his word, and Britain played a leading part in securing the response from Europe, which Marshall had made a condition. But it soon became clear that economic aid alone would not be enough, that recovery required a guarantee of security. No one, however, believed Truman would be re-elected in 1948, and until this was known, little progress could be made with the idea of a North Atlantic Treaty. The most that Britain's envoy, Sir Oliver Franks, could get out of the State Department was, "We hear you, Mr. Ambassador." Only when the election was settled was the way open to negotiate NATO.

Some critics say the U.S. was motivated at the time by self-interest, taking advantage of the weakness of Europe and Britain to establish its own hegemony. But it was the long-sighted view that Truman and Marshall took of those interests that counted, and the recognition that it was in the U.S.'s interest not to let Europe fall under Soviet domination. The critics retort that we now know there was no real danger from Russia, but that is wisdom after the event. What counted was the fear of Russia, and I saw enough of Europe in those years to know that this was a reality.

What is more, Stalin understood that fear and how to exploit it. Although the Soviet Union had not yet acquired atomic weapons and knew very well that the Americans had, Stalin was prepared to take the risk and pressure the West into withdrawing from Berlin. If the U.S. and Britain had not given a sharper response than Stalin expected, he might have succeeded. When he realized that he had gone too far, he backed down in a characteristic sideways movement. No one who lived through the Berlin blockade and airlift can have any doubt of how real was the fear that we were on the edge of a Third World War. If Europe went on to achieve a remarkable recovery, it was thanks to the resolution of the U.S. and its allies. ■

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Mstislav Rostropovich

Cellist Rostropovich left the U.S.S.R. in 1974 and was music director of Washington's National Symphony Orchestra, 1977-94

The war years were the most difficult time of my life. There was real famine in Moscow. The water froze inside the houses. There was no heat. I didn't have shoes, so I received American boots. They were two sizes too big and made me look like Charlie Chaplin. We ate canned pork rations from the Americans. We were happy and grateful to the Americans. All the people felt this.

During the war, I studied cello and composition at the Moscow Conservatory. Shostakovich was my composition professor. He taught us Mahler and Stravinsky pieces because he knew all these composers. It was kept underground, but in this way we learned all this culture. We were also interested in records. It was rare to get Western recordings, but this way we could perfect our knowledge of the Western repertoire. I listened to Pablo Casals, which was a big change for me. Without hearing Casals, I would never have advanced as I did.

In 1948 the first severe crash occurred in my life when Stalin put out his decree on "formalism." There was a bulletin board in the Moscow Conservatory. They posted the decree, which said Shostakovich's compositions and Prokofiev's were no longer to be played. Then we were told to go to a big meeting. Several Communist professors said, "What a wonderful decree. We were all in error. We thought Shostakovich and Prokofiev had talent. Now we understand that we were blind and deaf." I myself was forced to criticize Shostakovich and say he was a terrible composer. But I knew he and Prokofiev were geniuses, because these idiotic Communists had given me an excellent education.

I remember being in Budapest with a group of artists on March 6, 1953, the day after Stalin died. A ballerina in my group took me aside and said, "I have bad news. Prokofiev died yesterday." Prokofiev was my second God, along with Shostakovich. I cried for several days. My tears blended with everyone else's. They were crying for Stalin, but I had absolutely dry eyes for Stalin.

In 1955-56 they sent three Soviet artists to the U.S. for the first time since the Revolution: Emil Gilels, David Oistrakh and me. Of course, we were watched by our KGB "nannies" to see that we behaved properly. We were a political weapon. We would give interviews saying that we had such a great life, that we were very happy. We would blind people. We knew the truth, but we were afraid to say it even to one another. ■

Maurice Schumann

A close associate of Charles de Gaulle's, Schumann was Foreign Minister of France from 1969 to 1973

On the evening after the liberation of Paris, Aug. 26, 1944, General De Gaulle summoned me to his office in the Rue St. Dominique. When I entered the room, he got up and said, "Look at this map." He pointed to the center of Europe and said, "One day soon, the avant-gardes of the Russians and Americans will meet at this spot. Either they will fight, or they will divide the world into two zones of influence. In both cases, Europe will disappear if we don't achieve our own reconciliation."

De Gaulle's vision was a Europe of states; he did not believe in the idea of supranationality. He had the conviction that there could only be a Europe by mutual agreement of its members and at the initiative of one state.

He had supposed the leader would be England, but since England did not play that role, it was France. Churchill thought the role of the United Kingdom was to be an intermediary between the U.S. and Europe. He saw Britain as insular and separate from Europe. When the Treaty of Rome was concluded, I was at a meeting with Churchill. He applauded the Treaty but never spoke of England's joining it.

De Gaulle's obsession after the war was to re-establish the role of France. He saw no contradiction between French independence and European construction. On the contrary, he played a balancing act, with the aim of reconquering equality for France. He felt that there could be no independence for continental Europe unless France showed the way.

He believed it would take an independent France to propose and lead the building of Europe. And France did lead. One mustn't forget that not only did France take the initiative to propose the Coal and Steel Community in 1950, but that it was France that proposed the Messina conference, which gave birth to the Common Market.

And one cannot forget De Gaulle's invitation to Chancellor Adenauer to come to France, to pass in review a detachment of the French army, to be his guest at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises and, later, the General's decision to go to Germany, to speak in German at the officers' training school.

All that paved the way for the Franco-German Treaty of 1963. So all the important steps were taken at the initiative of France. No one can contest that. That said, initiative is one thing and hegemony is another. At each step along the way, our partners had the right to say no—and in many cases they did say no, or began by saying no. ■

Richard von Weizsacker

A former mayor of West Berlin, Von Weizsäcker was President of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1984 to 1994

After the capitulation in 1945, everyone suffered from hunger and cold, but that didn't matter too much. What we most of all wanted was to broaden our own horizons on what had happened and to rebuild a new Germany. I and my friends studying at Göttingen, not far from the border with the Soviets, kept a knapsack packed in case war broke out. What we couldn't agree on was whether in case of war it would be safer to head west to the Americans or east out of the combat zone.

Two things stand out in my memory: the magnanimous and at the same time wise action of the Marshall Plan, and, secondly, the keen American interest in getting the western part of Germany organized as a state and included in a Western alliance against the Soviets. The thing I least expected in 1945 was that by 1950 the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, would publicly ask for a German military contribution to the alliance.

Naturally, there was an enormous debate in Germany about whether we should rearm. We reluctantly accepted the necessity for rearming, but we didn't want the Bundeswehr simply to be a copy of the old Wehrmacht. We wanted to found a federal republic based on a democratic constitution and included in the West, but we didn't want it to result in the division of Germany. Ultimately it was Stalin's impossible conditions for unity that resulted in the division of our country.

An enormous and decisive factor in our thinking was the Berlin blockade. Berlin was close to our hearts, particularly to me as a dyed-in-the-wool Berliner. But it was extraordinary that Berlin became the symbol of democracy and longing for freedom in the face of Stalin's and, later, Khrushchev's policy of trying to isolate Berlin.

As to the denazification process shortly after the war, I had some misgivings. When I drove through the entrance of the building where the trials were being held, there were two American tanks on each side of the road. My friends and I yelled to them, "Leave this business to us!" It was wrong to leave the denazification process to the Allied occupation forces alone, because the Nazis committed crimes not only against Jews and Russians but against Germans as well. The problem was that it was difficult to find German judges qualified morally and politically for the job. But real denazification had to be in the hearts of us, the Germans, and therefore it was our task. ■

THE IDEA OF UNITY

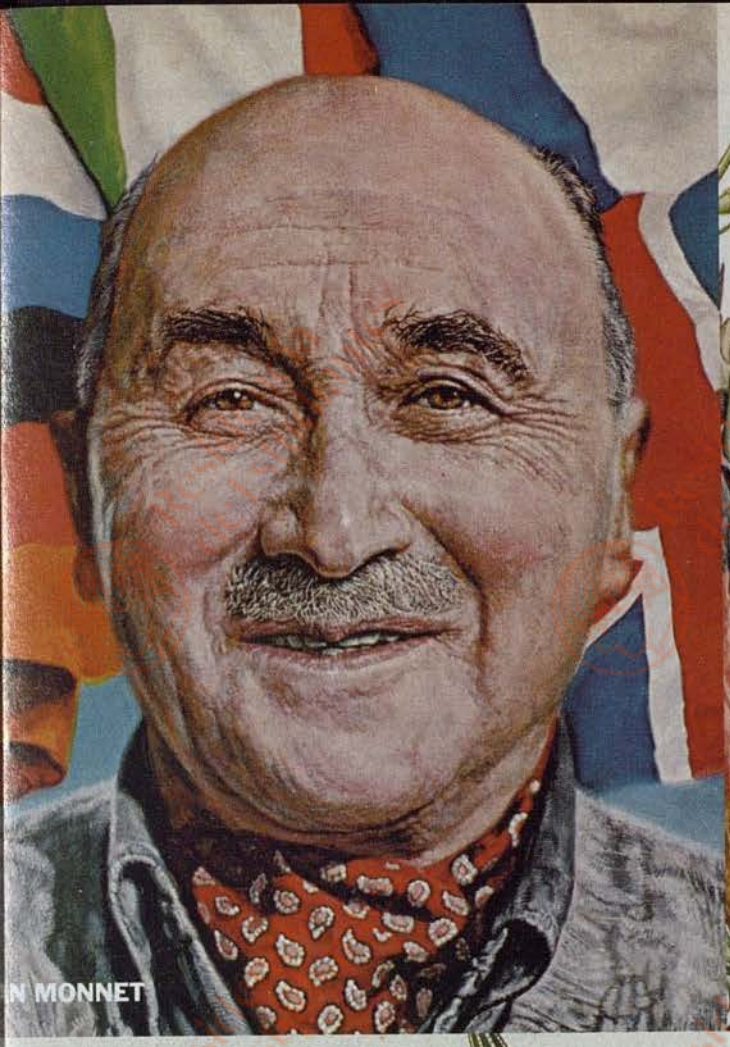
By James O. Jackson

AS EUROPE RECOVERED FROM the ravages of the century's second great war, its leaders searched for a way to make certain that there would not be a third. Most agreed on what to do: Europe must be reorganized in some sort of federation or union that could blunt the national jealousies and assuage the economic hungers that had been the precursors of both wars.

This was not a new idea. The dream of a united Europe was nearly as old as history, and there were times when it came close to reality. At the peak of its power, Rome ruled Europe from the Pyrenees to the Black Forest. But—significantly, in light of later history—the Romans proved unable to conquer the tribes of Germany. Many of them became part of the eastern horde that ultimately sacked the Eternal City and ended its empire.

Charlemagne did not make that mistake. When he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 800, he courted the support of Germanic princes whose descendants succeeded him. But the title outlasted the feudal empire itself, vanishing beneath the might of military dictators who tried to unite Europe with the sword. Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm II and Hitler created immense suffering—but no unity.

The man who ultimately succeeded in starting Europe down the path to true unity was neither feudal Emperor nor military megalomaniac. He was a mustachioed wine distiller from Cognac with the look and manner of a bureaucrat. Few modern Europeans would recognize his



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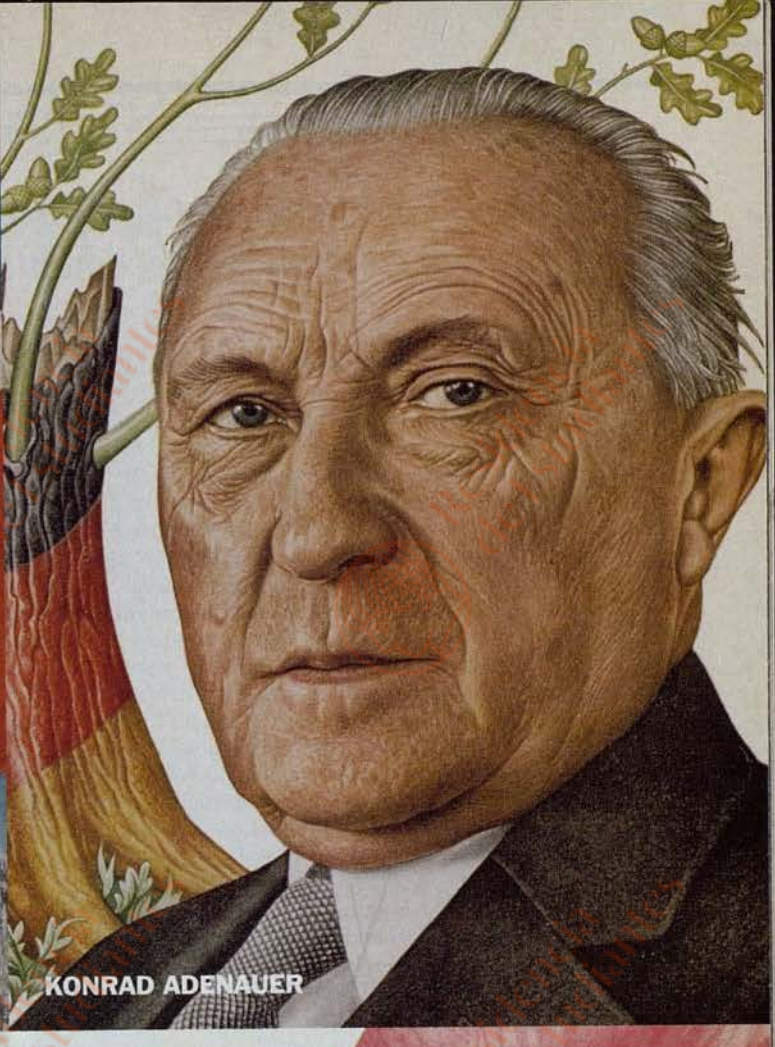
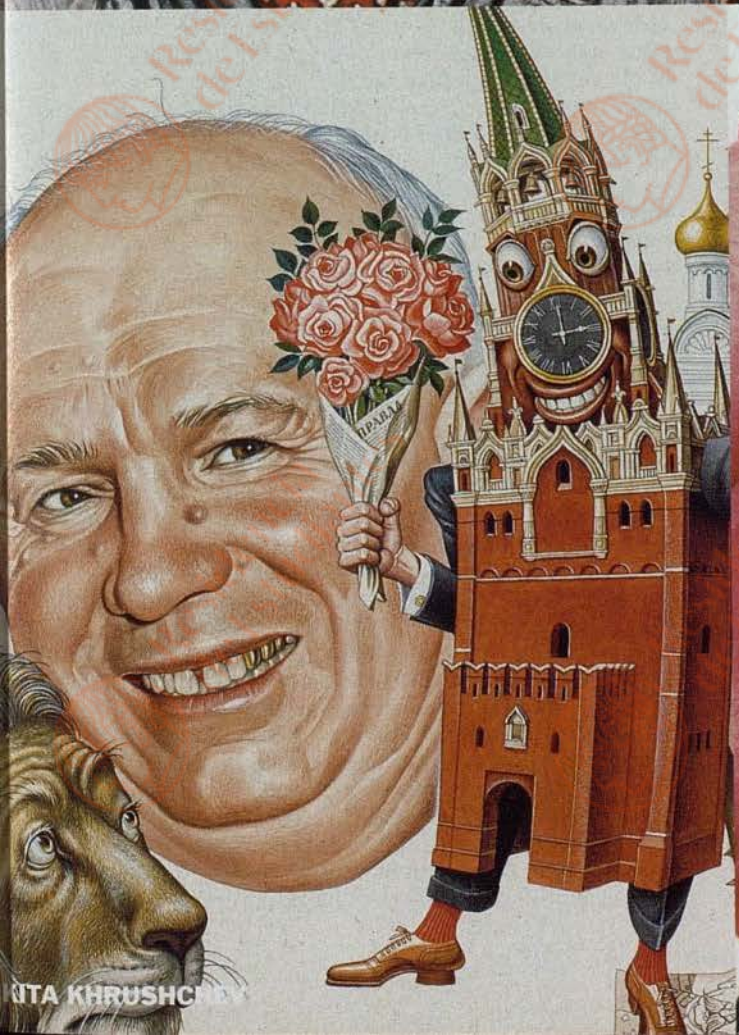


KONRAD ADENAUER



ITA KHRUSHCH

QU EN ELIZABETH II

"Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity."

face amid the grand pantheon of De Gaulle, Macmillan and Adenauer. Yet Jean Monnet is regarded as the father of the European Community because of his inspired idea that the Continent could be made rich and peaceful not with a single grand act of creation but by a slow and steady accumulation of rules, policies, treaties and commissions. "Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan," he wrote in a 1952 memo to French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman. "It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity."

That idea was central to the founding document of modern European unity, the 1950 Schuman Plan, drafted by Monnet and Schuman in close consultation with Konrad Adenauer. It served as the basis for a strategy to build the house of Europe with a bricklayer's dogged, step-by-step patience. "Monnet's first novelty was to avoid grand principles," says his biographer, François Duchêne. "He asked for no authority over anyone." But Monnet was an instinctive consensus builder, a master of administration by committee and a convivial polyglot who accumulated contacts among key policy leaders in Paris, London, Bonn and Washington. With those skills he began the construction of Europe.

The first brick in the building was as unromantic as it was essential: the European Coal and Steel Community. The ECSC was the first of the "communities" that ultimately became the European Economic Community; in its day, in fact, it *was* the European Economic Community. In the Europe of the 1950s, coal and the steel smelted with it were as central to economic prosperity as telecommunications and transportation are today. Many of the points of friction that had led to past wars lay along the great seams of coal and centers of steelmaking, such as the Saar region, where Hitler had first tested European will and found it weak. With the end of the war, coal emerged once again as a point of dangerous contention. "Old King Coal is the economic tyrant of Europe," TIME commented in 1952. "On both sides of the Iron Curtain, he chills the poor, rocks governments, distorts economies and hampers rearmament."

The declared goal of the ECSC was to establish "the basis for broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the foundations for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared." That language had more to do with the prevention of war than with the regulation of coal and steel production—which is just as well, because the ECSC never fully succeeded in subsuming national rivalries to broader community goals. Nevertheless, it established the pattern of "practical achievements" that produced the document that is modern Europe's constitution: the Treaty of Rome.

In keeping with Monnet's piecemeal style, the treaty, signed on March 25, 1957, dealt mainly with mundane agricultural policy for six member nations: France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Though the "Common Agricultural Policy" soon became notorious for its huge costs and subsidy-created "wine lakes," the Rome treaty set forth the principles for a united Europe. The treaty comprises 248 articles, but its essence is known as the Four Freedoms: freedom of movement for goods, people, services and capital. Though less grand than a U.S.-style bill of rights, this simple principle of porous borders suited the Monnet style of gradualism. It created a kind of bureaucratic road map that pointed wary Europeans toward unity but did not shove them—a process that continues to this day.

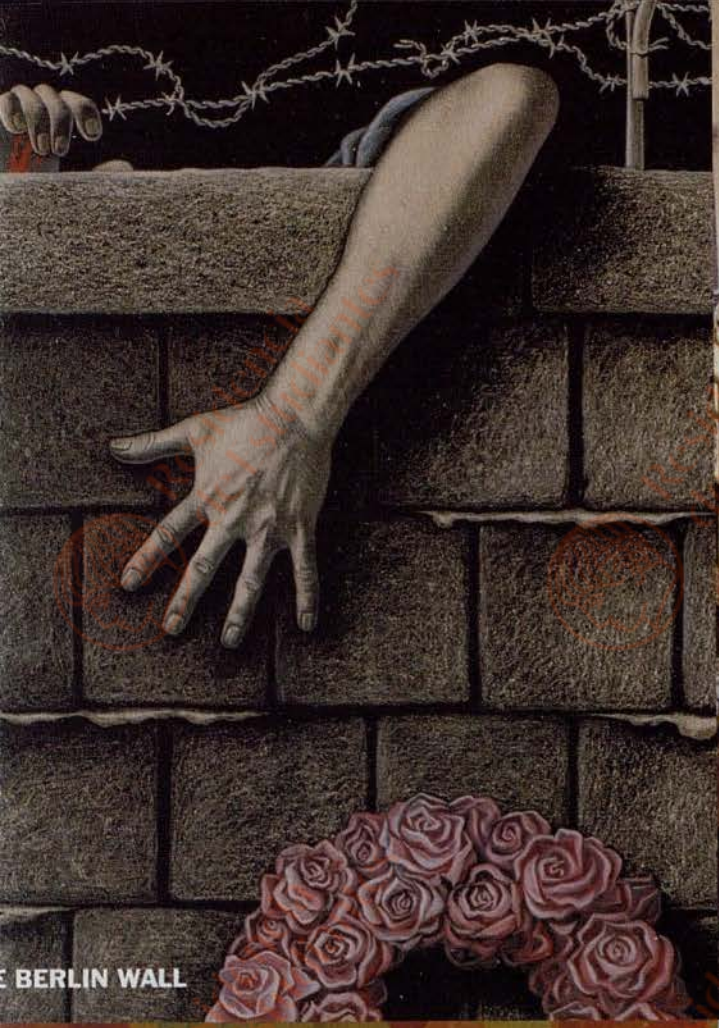
Much of the success of Monnet and his busy, bureaucratic colleagues was due to their very obscurity. Monnet himself never assumed a ministerial portfolio. His loftiest title was president of the high authority of the ECSC, which he held for only three years before resigning in deference to opposition from coal and steel cartels. That modest style made it possible for him to proceed with his bricklaying while the great leaders of the day dealt with the excruciatingly visible tensions and confrontations of the cold war. The likes of Charles de Gaulle, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harold Macmillan fixed their minds upon the Suez crisis, rebellion in Hungary and tank-to-tank face-offs in Berlin.

The solution to that security problem was as grand and comprehensive as the EEC was modest and piecemeal. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was a large organization with an equally large mission, best expressed by Britain's Lord Ismay: to keep the Germans down, the Russians out and the Americans in. In all that it succeeded. West Germany, locked within the U.S.-led NATO structure, lacked the possibility (or the desire, after the disaster of Nazism) for independent military action. Largely because of NATO, the Soviet Union could neither attack Europe, nor—more important—intimidate it. And America, after first demobilizing and withdrawing at the end of World War II, poured back into Europe with a 300,000-member armed force that made it the protector of Europe for nearly half a century. Almost from the beginning that protection included the deployment of nuclear weapons and the eventual creation of a U.S.-controlled "nuclear umbrella" intended to protect NATO members from attack by the far larger forces of the Soviet bloc. NATO's nuclear shield made nobody happy, least of all the French, who began building their own nuclear force and eventually left the military structure of NATO. But under its protection, Europe prospered.

The German *Wirtschaftswunder*, the "economic miracle" was the most remarkable national recovery in the history of Europe's many wars. In the 1950s Germany went from a devastated land of ruined cities and shattered morale to Europe's most powerful economy. Led by the German boom, the EEC became by 1962 the world's largest single trading power, as it soaked up the lion's share of raw materials to feed its burgeoning factories and turned them into products to sell on a world market.

Of the major countries of the Continent, only Britain continued to stagnate in shabby isolation. By the end of the decade, British leaders had begun to realize that their country's economic future lay with Europe, not the crumbling Commonwealth or the European Free Trade Association it founded to compete with the EEC. But by then De Gaulle opposed British entry, and it was not until 1972 that Britain was permitted into the club.

Not only the British recognized the success and permanence of a united Europe. By 1961 the Soviet Union acknowledged it as well, in the only way it knew how: the building of the Berlin Wall to prevent the impoverished citizens of a failed system from pouring en masse across the divide to a thriving one. Although the Wall froze the division of East and West, it also allowed the West Europeans to continue their incremental construction of an open and prospering economy. When the Berlin Wall fell almost three decades later, Jean Monnet had been dead 10 years and was mostly forgotten by the jubilant crowds that battered it to pieces with hammers and chisels. But he was there in spirit, patiently chipping away at Europe's last great barrier to eventual unity. ■



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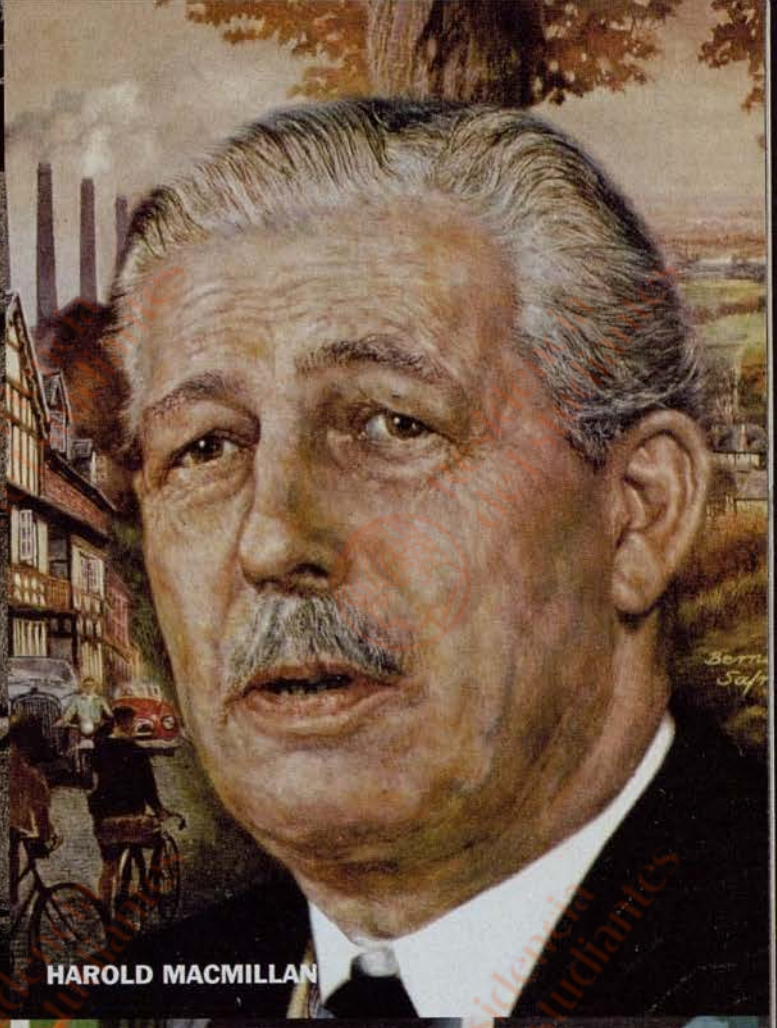

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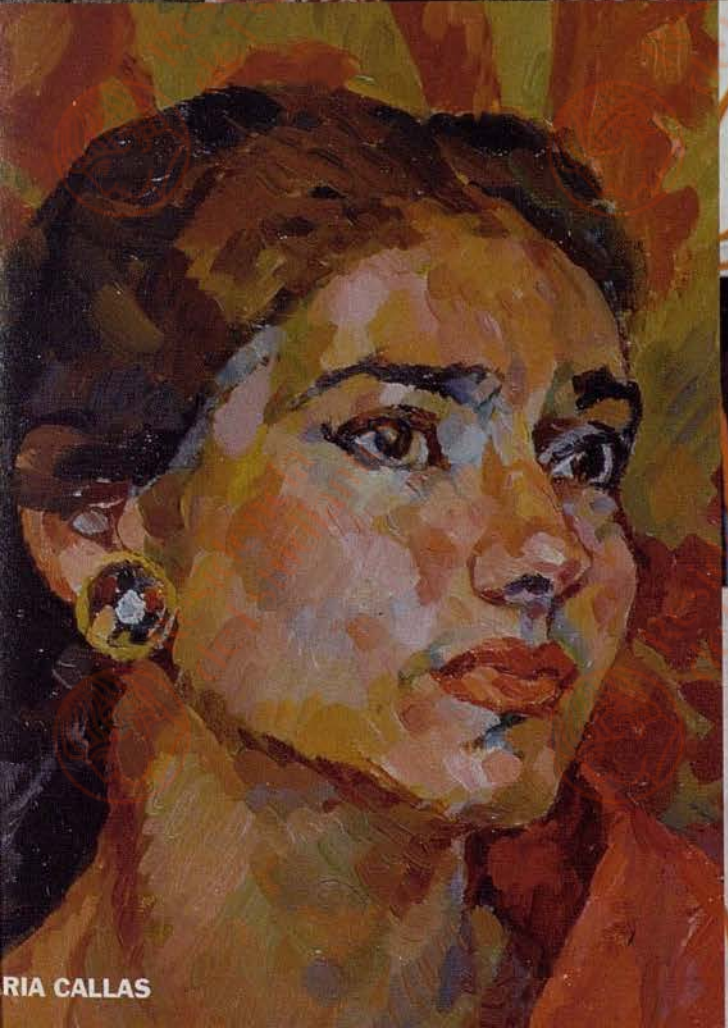

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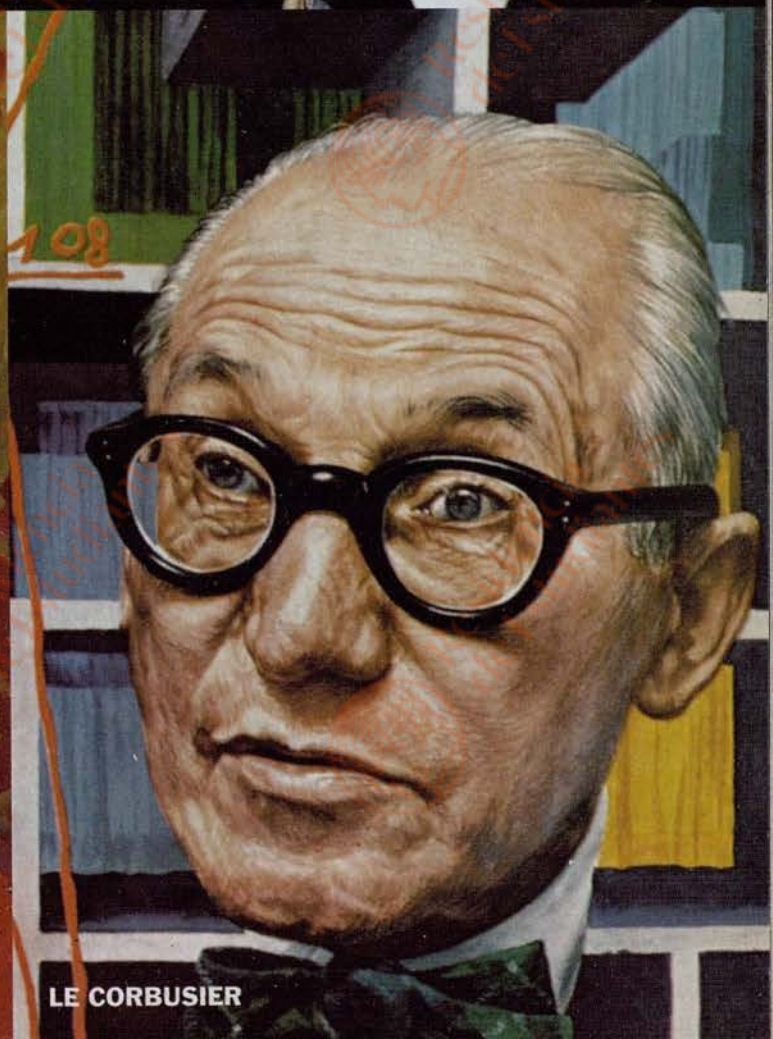

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BRITAIN

THE GREAT QUEUE 2/25/52

▲ During the reign of George VI, Britons learned to queue—tediously and inevitably. Last week they queued for George himself. No one could measure or plot precisely the serpentine columns of human beings that formed along London's streets and across chilly Thames bridges to get a last glimpse of the King's coffin as it lay in medieval Westminster Hall. Londoners felt a strong sense of history and a deep compulsion to share it. "I said to myself, Elsie, you put on your hat, I said, and take a bus and go up there," explained a member of the Great Queue.

CALLAS: VOCAL ACROBAT

DIVAS

SENSATION AT LA SCALA 4/21/52

◀ All Milan has been talking about Maria Meneghini Callas. On her first opening night at La Scala last December, this powerful new singer made a smashing hit in Verdi's *Sicilian Vespers*. Last week she was collecting more bravos for her vocally acrobatic rendering of Constanze in Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio*. Two years ago, La Scala heard her and yawned. Callas thinks she knows why: "I have a funny kind of voice, and often people don't like it the first time they hear it. One has to hear me more and more."

ITALY

COUNTRY ON WHEELS 6/16/52

▼ Not since the Roman chariot have the Italians made a vehicle so peculiarly and proudly their own Throughout the country, Italians ride to work and play on little scooters that do more than 100 miles on a gallon of gas. Whole families ride a scooter. While the father drives and one or two children stand between his seat and the handlebars, the mother sits behind, often with a baby in her lap. "The best way to fight communism in this country, says Enrico Piaggio, head of a business that makes the Vespa, "is to give each worker a scooter, so he will have a stake in the principle of private property." In Piaggio's plant, 60% of the 3,500 workers who once depended on bicycles or their feet for their transportation now own scooters.

IN ROME, BIKES TAKE A BACK SEAT TO SCOOTERS

THE SEXES

ALTERED STATE 4/20/53

▼ A blond with a fair leg and a fetching smile, she seemed to be everywhere. Last week came the revelation that Christine Jorgensen was no girl, only an altered male. Two years ago, when he was 24, Jorgensen, a onetime G.I. named George, heard of a doctor in Denmark who might help him live like the woman he wanted to be. He was treated for a year with female hormones, then operated on to remove "the evidences of masculinity." The Danes have decided never to perform the operation again on a foreigner. Too much excitement.

JORGENSEN, HE AND SHE

BRITAIN

CROWNING GLORY 6/8/53

▶ Five Emperors, a dozen Kings and a score of minor dynasts have vanished in the 20th century, but in an age that tends to reject ritual, the bright gold of the British Crown, set this week on the head of Elizabeth II, remains untarnished. Thousands packed the streets between Buckingham Palace and Westminster Abbey and along the five-mile return route. Chill showers drenched them as they waited, squirming under umbrellas, soggy blankets and newspapers. "Mad, that's what we are," said a woman. "But there are thousands like us."

ELIZABETH II: THE CROWN REMAINS UNTARNISHED

MENDES-FRANCE TAKES HIS OWN MEDICINE

FRANCE

MILK IS FOR CATS 11/22/54

◀ The headline was clear: GOVERNMENT TO ENFORCE REGULATIONS AGAINST ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION. In a nation that ranks No. 1 in both the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic beverages, Premier Pierre Mendès-France's appearance at the recent Radical-Socialist Party congress, drinking a glass of milk and urging all the delegates to do the same, was greeted with roars of laughter. Most Frenchmen will probably continue to believe milk is for cats, water for crops.

FOR GRACE AND HER PRINCE, A FINE BEGINNING

WEST GERMANY

A NEW NATION 5/16/55

▶ "Today ... with deep satisfaction, the federal government can state we are a free and independent state," said Chancellor Konrad Adenauer into the microphone, in a little ceremony outside Bonn's Palais Schaumburg. "We are standing free among the free, allied with former Occupation powers in true partnership." Ten years ago, in an atmosphere almost forgotten, Germany was dismembered, demoralized and devastated. Last week West Germany was dynamically prosperous and once again the world's third largest trading nation. Its restoration to a place of trust in the Western world was primarily the achievement of one man: stern, formidable old Konrad Adenauer.

ADENAUER EMBRACES THE FUTURE

MONACO

MOON OVER MONTE CARLO 4/30/56

▲ This near bankrupt gambling principality was suddenly swelled by an invasion of wildly ill-assorted guests come to view the marriage of the screen-star daughter of an American bricklayer turned millionaire to Monaco's own Serene Highness, Prince Rainier III. Somewhere behind the phantasmagoria of publicity, two human beings were approaching a solemn moment in St. Nicholas Cathedral. Rainier slipped the wedding ring onto Grace Kelly's finger, and the royal yacht bore the happy couple off. For Grace Kelly Grimaldi and her Graustarkian Prince, it was only the beginning.

EAST GERMANY

REVISED VOCABULARY 5/18/53

■ The *Sunday Times* of London reported from Berlin that 178 terms hitherto approved for use against the West by communist speakers in East Germany have now been banned. Among them: *capitalist beasts, imperialist bloodsuckers, terror plutocrats, boogie-woogie gangsters, mass butchers, carrion vultures* and *moneybag hyenas.*

GENERATIONS OF HOPE IN VIENNA

AUSTRIA

FREE AT LAST 5/23/55

◀ All Austria rejoiced. Bells pealed and brass bands blared and thumped, choirs sang the national anthem, and the Vienna woods resounded to waltzes. For the first time in 17 years Austria was free and sovereign.

At 11:30 a.m. one day last week, the foreign ministers of Russia, France, Britain and the U.S. signed their names with gold pens to the Austrian State Treaty, the result of a secret conference. The entire event was probably the most cordial and fruitful session Western negotiators have had with the communists since World War II.

HUNGARY

REVOLUTION! 11/5/56

▶ The magic chemistry of courage, anger and desperation that makes men wager their lives for an ideal fired Hungary into revolution last week. Unarmed, unorganized, unaided from outside, the Hungarian people overthrew a government. They took on the Soviet army. They suffered by the thousands and died by the hundreds. The strength of their passion was enough to give pause to the rulers of great Russia itself. On the sixth day, Premier Imre Nagy announced that the Soviet Union had agreed to withdraw its troops and pledged that his government would embrace "the new democratic forms of self-government."

REBELS BURN PHOTOS OF A HUNGARIAN "BUTCHER," MATYAS RAKOSI

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Opel cars, too, have quite a few lives.

Cars, like cats, can have many lives. Opel cars not only have long lives in the first place, they can be reincarnated over and over again.

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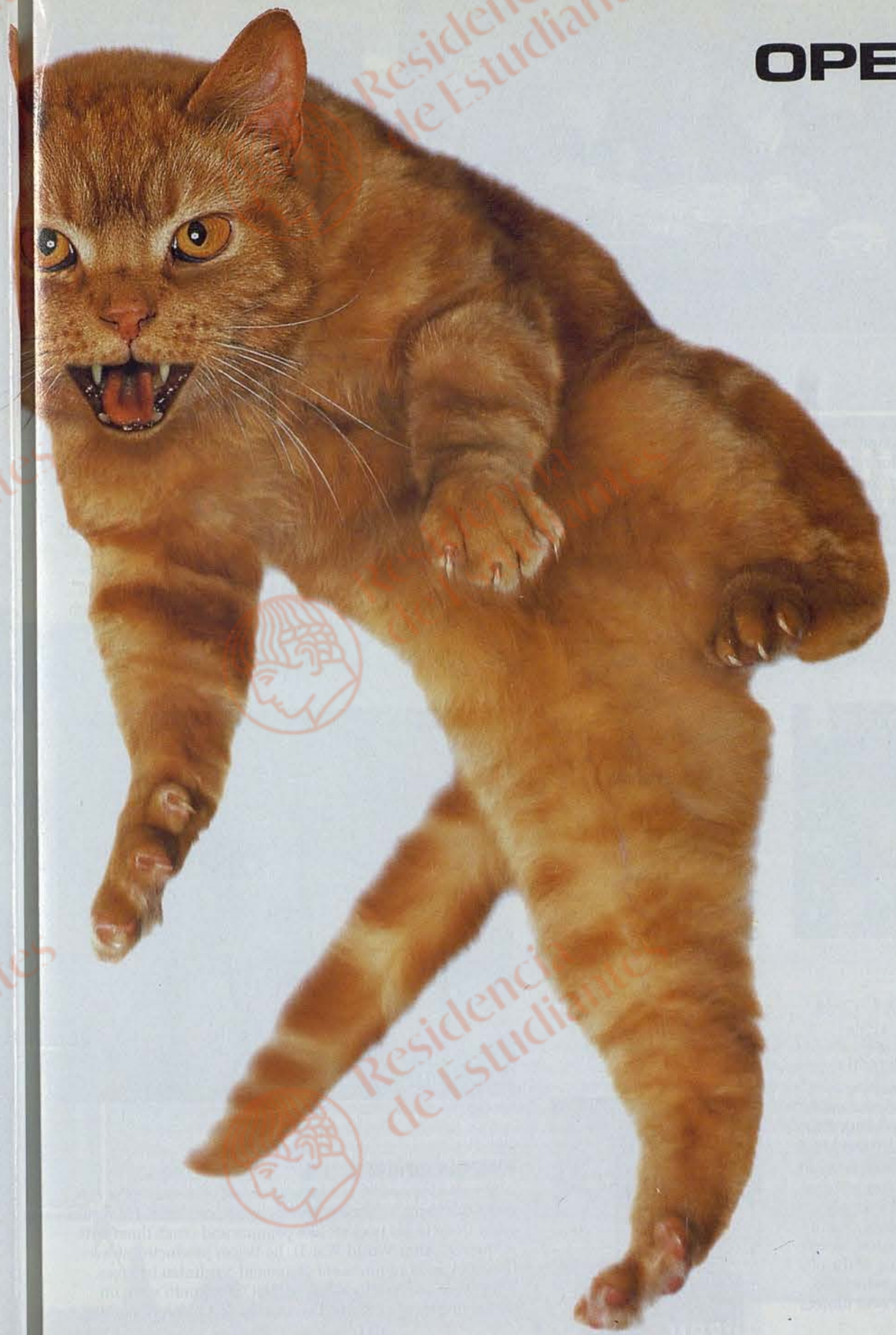
Our long-range goal is to reuse every part of an Opel, except the purr of the engine. That may indeed be a very long way off. But it could be that the beautiful new Opel you drive in 2010 can trace its pedigree to the beautiful new Opel you drive today. Your cat will know.

McCANN-ERICKSON

OPEL



ADENAUER, FAR RIGHT, AND COLLEAGUES ON A MOST IMPORTANT DAY IN HISTORY

THE GENERAL: MAN OF THE MOMENT

COMMON MARKET

THE REUNION 4/8/57

▲ In Rome last week, statesmen of six European nations assembled in a vast, frescoed hall atop Capitoline Hill. Before them on a damask-covered table lay the latest instruments for reunifying Europe—the treaties that would establish the Western European Common Market and the European Atomic Energy Community. Under the first treaty, there will be no tariff walls between the six nations; under the second, the six will enter the nuclear age together in one big cooperative (Euratom) of nuclear research and production.

One by one the statesmen signed—first Belgium's Paul-Henri Spaak, then Christian Pineau of France, Konrad Adenauer of Germany, Antonio Segni of Italy, Joseph Bech of Luxembourg and Joseph Luns of the Netherlands. They were only too aware that the treaties might yet fail to win ratification in one or another of their parliaments, but even that realization could not dim the promise of the moment. "If we succeed," said Spaak, "today will be one of the most important dates in European history."

FRANCE

DE GAULLE TO POWER 6/9/58

▲ "The degradation of the state is rapidly becoming worse," said Charles de Gaulle. "At this moment, when France is offered so many opportunities ... she is faced with disruption and perhaps with civil war. In these conditions I am offered one more opportunity to lead the country back to the salvation of the ... republic." Though the atmosphere was full of alarm, France last week brought De Gaulle to power without one life spent in the process.

PECULIAR GIFTS, DEMONIACAL CREATIVITY

CINEMA

THE OTHER BERGMAN 7/13/59

▲ Ingmar Bergman, 41, no kin to Ingrid, is one of the most peculiarly gifted and demoniacally creative moviemakers of modern times. *Wild Strawberries*, his 18th film, has been widely acclaimed as his masterpiece. It describes a day in the life of a very old, very eminent Swedish physician. Bergman employs the language of dream and symbol with an eerie, sleep-talking sureness: some of the old man's dreams are as believable and profound as any ever filmed.

FRANCE

OUTMODED 3/24/61

▼ The modern world inevitably got around to attacking the most comforting, if not the most beautiful, of Parisian landmarks: the public urinals, or *vespasiennes*, a quaint sight for tourists and a source of endless jokes. Once they were a sign of social progress and masculine democracy; now the Paris municipal council heartlessly ruled that the pissoirs were outmoded. The last one would be razed by 1963.

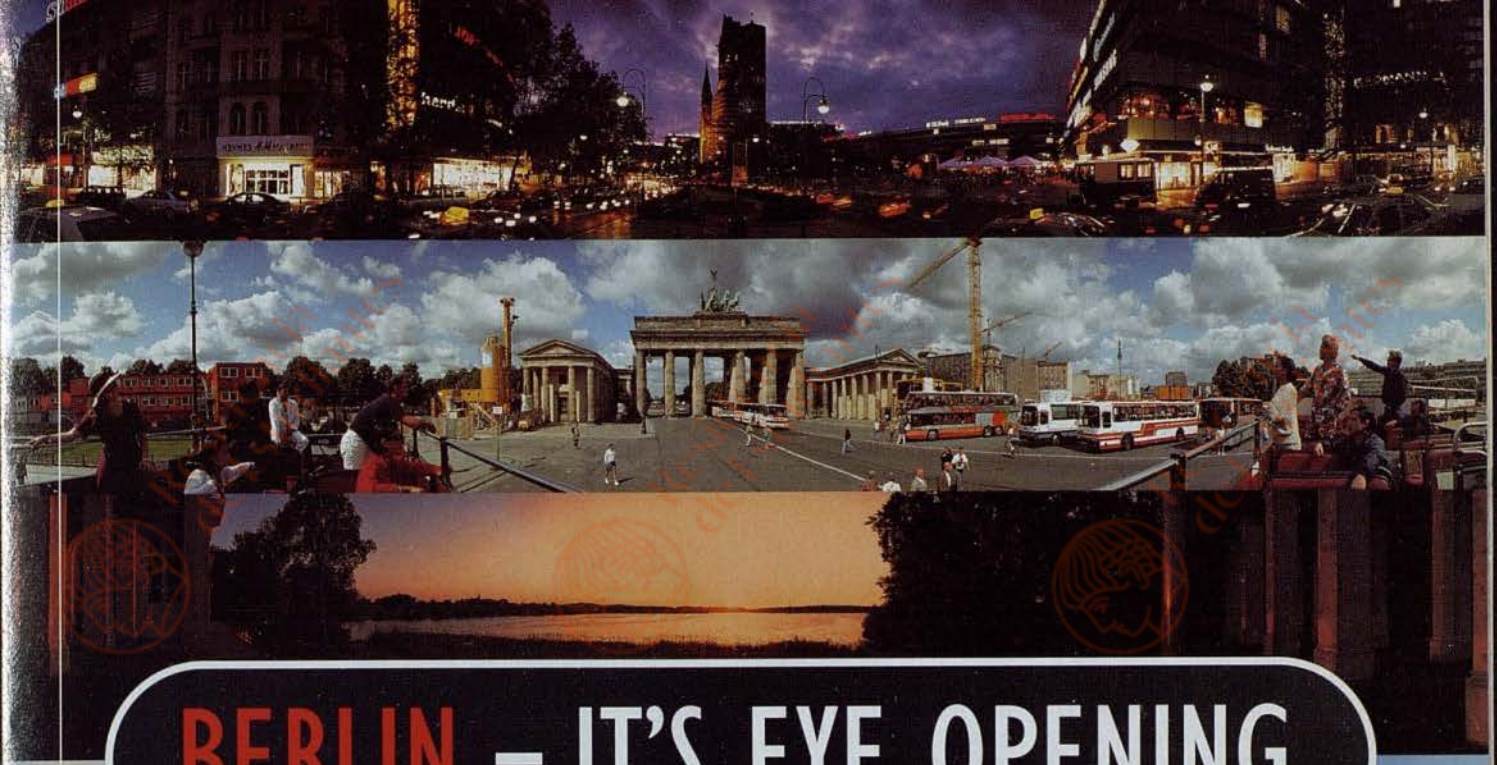
AU REVOIR, SYMBOL OF COMFORT!

GIACOMETTI WITH SCULPTURES HE DECIDED NOT TO DESTROY

ART

SPACEMAN SUPREME 9/21/59

▲ Alberto Giacometti is a hungry sort of spaceman who eats away the forms he makes, leaving space supreme. He would carry them in his pockets like peanuts and crush them with a squeeze. After World War II, he began producing straw-thin stick men reminiscent of ancient Sardinian bronzes. They were universally admired, but Giacometti went on destroying most of them. This year he has finished nothing.



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AFTER THE MOTORS WERE GONE, THE KINGS REIGNED AGAIN

ITALY

VICTORY IN VENICE 8/18/61

▲The stunt of putting an outboard motor on a gondola provoked outrage as 350 gondoliers went out on strike. An inspiration of gondolier Gino Macropodio in the latest protest against the growing encroachment of motorized craft in Venice, the absurd anachronisms, trumpeting through the muddy canals, finally stirred action as well as municipal nostalgia. Venice authorities agreed to enforce restrictions on motorboats. Victorious, the gondoliers threw out the motors, grabbed their oars and—temporarily, at least—reigned again as kings over the Grand Canal.

SALAZAR: IN A FIX

PORTUGAL

SOOTHING WITH BULLETS 4/28/61

◄On the Lisbon docks long lines of jeeps and trucks waited for the next ship to Africa. At the airfields planes loaded with paratroopers took off and headed south. Dictator Premier António de Oliveira Salazar was marshaling his forces to extirpate the black rebels of Angola, Portugal's richest overseas possession. To Salazar, this is no time for "liberal" thinking. Trouble was already brewing in two other Portuguese African territories—Mozambique, on the Indian Ocean, and Portuguese Guinea, a tiny enclave on the continent's western hump. Salazar also faces unrest at home. A growing number of Portuguese politicians are determined to force the 72-year-old Salazar—Portugal's ruler for 29 years—to reform his policies or retire.

UNDER GUARD, A BRICKLAYER SETS BERLIN'S DIVISION IN STONE

THE WALL

STEADFAST IN BERLIN 12/1/61

▲Surging toward the 100-day-old barrier one combustible night last week, thousands of young West Berliners roared in unison, "The Wall must go!" Set against the doom-crying argument that West Berlin is a good place for youth to get out of, it was a notable show of spirit. When the communists put up the Wall in August, pessimists predicted a mass exodus of students and teachers from West Berlin. In fact, the reverse has happened. This month, the Free University was jammed to overflowing with a record enrollment of 13,000. "Afraid?" says a young professor. "Of course, we're afraid. But this is Berlin, so we simply don't show it."

SUPERAGENT CONNERY

CINEMA

NO, NO, A THOUSAND TIMES NO 10/19/62

◄*Dr. No,* the first attempt to approximate on film the cosmic bravery, stupefying virility and death-proof nonchalance of secret agent James Bond, has opened in London. The dark good looks of Sean Connery do not suggest Fleming's tasteful pagan so much as a used-up gigolo. Bond would never speak with a cigarette dangling from his urbane lips. But his lines are not contra-Bond: "It would be a shame to waste that Dom Pérignon '55 by hitting me with it," says Dr. No. "I prefer '53," retorts Bond. The *Evening Standard* called it "sadism for the family."

JOHN XXIII: ENCOURAGING A MORE UNIFIED CHURCH

THE VATICAN

COUNCIL OF RENEWAL 10/5/62

◄A fortnight hence in the Vatican, 2,600 bishops of the Roman Catholic Church will meet in a gathering so rare that only 20 others like it have been convened in the 20 centuries of Christian history. The purpose of the Second Vatican Council is what Pope John XXIII calls an *aggiornamento*—a modernization. This self-reform will affect the way the church looks to other Christians. The Pope hopes that they will be favorably impressed, and that Catholicism may be pointed toward the far-distant goal of nearly all Christians: their ultimate unity in one church.

NOT ALL GREAT WINE CELLARS
ARE UNDERGROUND.

WINNER OF BUSINESS TRAVELLER MAGAZINE'S BEST WINE IN THE SKY 1996 AWARD. Delta Air Lines

One Stroke of the Brush 5/30/60

"I would not like to drive a racing car unless there was an element of danger involved," says STIRLING MOSS, 30. "When I take a corner perfectly, it's like a painter who has been sweating at a portrait and can't quite capture a smile and then makes it with one stroke of the brush."

Moss's record is his own monument. He has won most of the world's races, many of them several times. It is mostly because of his fascination with danger that he is, by common consent, the world's fastest driver.

DECLINING FIGURE 6/22/62

In her latest movie she wears a few tassels, enough feathers for a sparrow's spring plumage and little else. Even so, **GINA LOLLOBRIGIDA** was shocked when Hollywood's new Wax Museum unveiled a reclining likeness of her in a black slip hiked up between navel and knees. "Please, *Signori*," pleaded La Lollo, "the short slip shows too much Gina."

FROM BOREDOM TO BOUDOIR 9/16/57

The literary event of the week took place in Paris, where *Dans un Mois, Dans un An* (In a Month, In a Year), the third novel in four years by **FRANCOISE** (*Bonjour, Tristesse*) **SAGAN,** 22, appeared, to the tune of a phenomenal first printing of 200,000 copies. Dedicated to publisher Guy Schoeller, mid-fortyish, the man she has announced she will marry, the book proved to be another bedtime story. Its characters hop from boredom to boudoir and back again, and when asked what it all means, the young heroine says not to ask—and quotes *Macbeth:* "It will make us mad."

OUTRUNNING SOUND 9/7/53

At 18,000 ft. above Bretigny airport outside Paris, Mme. **JACQUELINE AURIOL,** 36, spirited daughter-in-law of French President Vincent Auriol, nosed a jet fighter into a near vertical dive and broke the sound barrier at 687.5 m.p.h. to become the world's second woman to outrun sound.

SEEN & HEARD

6/7/54

Britain's acerbic **Kenneth Tynan** is the new drama critic of the *Sunday Observer.* He has an unerring eye for the sorest point, whether it be an actress's weight or her unpleasing hands. After seeing Dame Edith Evans play Shakespeare's Cleopatra, he wrote: "Bereft of fan, lace and sedan chair, Dame Edith is nakedly middle-aged and plain."

8/1/55

On the eve of his 80th birthday, psychiatry's high priest **Carl Jung** explained how he got interested in psychology. When he was 8, his aunt took him to a museum, where he saw some antique sculptures. "You horrible boy," said his aunt, "shut your eyes!" Those figures were naked, recalled Jung. "That was why my aunt could not stand it."

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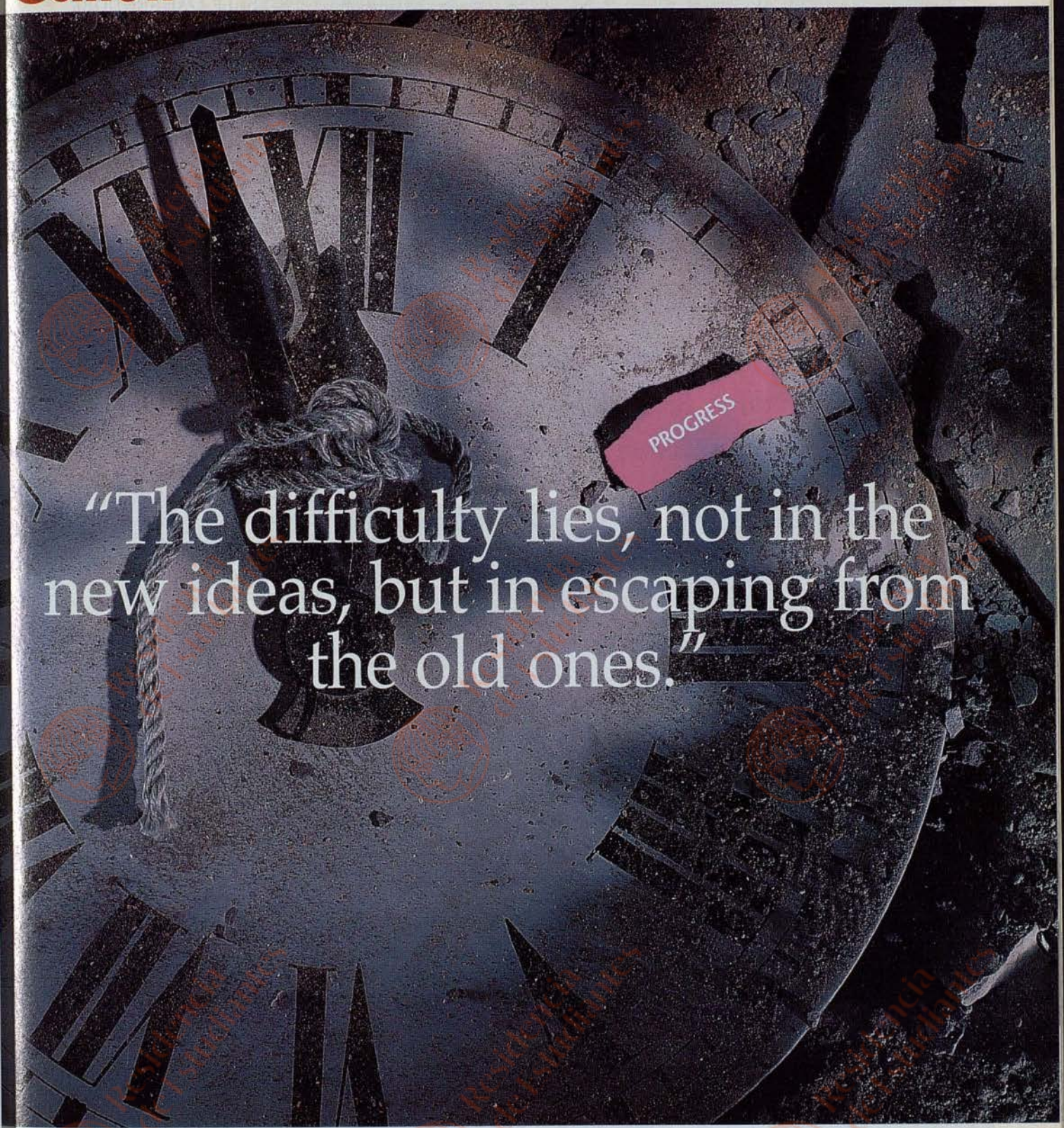

Quote: John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), British economist. (1936).

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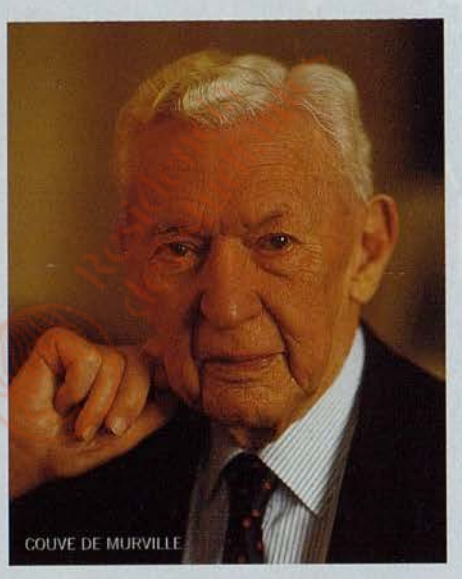
1952–1962

First Person

On Franco-German détente, Italian cinema's golden days, Britain's rebuff in Europe and the French national spirit


DAHRENDORF


COUVE DE MURVILLE


HEATH


LOREN

RALF DAHRENDORF

Former director of the London School of Economics, Lord Dahrendorf is warden of St. Antony's College, Oxford

In the early 1950s Franco-German relations developed in a rapid and rather interesting fashion. One extremely important and often overlooked event was when the French agreed in 1954 to a referendum in the Saarland, which had been separated from the Federal Republic and turned into something of an independent country. France certainly hoped that the Saar would forever remain outside the German state. But Pierre Mendès-France, who was Premier of France at the time, let this referendum happen. The results were entirely unambiguous. They were more than 2 to 1 in favor of becoming a part of Germany. The great question was, How would France react?

France reacted by respecting the will of the people of the Saar. I think this was the critical point in the development of confidence between France and Germany, and the most visible example of the emergence of a new partnership in Europe. But France and Germany had different agendas. Germany, above all, wanted to become a part of the community of nations, and France above all wanted to control Germany's re-emergence. One of the ways for France to do this was through the Coal and Steel Community, which started work in 1952, and came to be the core of what we still know as the European Union.

There were also other different agendas when it came to the European Union. Germany wanted wider markets for industrial products; France wanted support for a painful process of the reduction of agricultural activity. So at several levels there were divergent agendas with convergent results.

France was concerned about American economic power, while Germany was not. France was worried stiff about having lost any share in world domination. And Germany for a period was quite genuinely pro–free trade. Ludwig Erhard, who did for economics what Adenauer did for politics, thought that with America on his side one could fight for free trade.

Initially Erhard was skeptical because he feared that Europe might introduce obstacles in the way of free trade. The speech he made in the German parliament in 1957 during the ratification debate on the Treaty of Rome is quite extraordinary. Nine-tenths of it is a very powerful free-trade argument against the EEC, and then he suddenly ends by saying, "I suppose these days young people need ideals, and here is the new ideal, and who am I to stand in the way of new ideals for young people? And so I too support the Treaty of Rome." ■

CLIPS D'OREILLES OR 18 CARATS ET PERLES DE CULTURE - BOUTIQUES CHANEL JOAILLERIE EXCLUSIVEMENT

The green foliage of St.Petersburg's gardens and parks, the coolness of its rivers and canals and its unique architecture all create a special atmosphere. It is this atmosphere which sets St.Petersburg apart from other cities of the world but at the same time evokes comparisons. Northern Palmyra and Northern Venice are other names by which St.Petersburg is known, as the city spreads over 42 isles, and whose 86 canals and rivers stretch over 360 kilometres. In spring and summer the Neva river becames the main attraction for local fishermen — amateur and professional alike.

One of the ecologically cleanest cities in the world, St.Petersburg is bidding to host the XXVIII Olympiad. Official readings of the purity of its water and air conform, for the most part, with the standards set by the World Health Organisation and the European Community. But St.Petersburg's Olympic project will make these standards even tougher. By the beginning of the 21st century, the program to reduce harmful automobile exhausts will reach its peak. The Western Motorway, mentioned in the previous message, will considerably reduce air pollution in the city centre by carryng much of its traffic. That is one of the reasons why our ecologists support our bid to hold the Olympic Games in the city on the Neva.

The weather in St.Petersburg is especially good at this time of year. According to statistics, rain is rare in July and August. In 1994, the sun shone brightly throughout the Goodwill Games held here from July 23 to August 7 and during 1996 there was no rain during these months. The Baltic sea makes the air somewhat humid and the average daily temperature during the summer months is 20—25 degrees Celsius.

The motto of modern Olympic Games is Sport, Culture, Ecology. The city on the Neva fully meets these requirements.

St.Petersburg 2004

Candidate City for the Games of the XXVIII Olympiad

Sophia Loren

Actress Loren has appeared in more than 80 films, among them Two Women *(1961), for which she won an Academy Award*

They were golden days, the '50s. Vittorio De Sica and Carlo Ponti, my Carlo, were doing a project called *The Gold of Naples.* De Sica said, "I need a Neapolitan girl." Carlo told him, "I know a girl. She's called Sofia Scicolone." I was given the role of the *pizzaiola* [pizza street vendor]. It was 1952. I was 17, and I was completely drunk with happiness.

For us Rome was an enchanting place, a city of trams and Vespas. I felt like this because I was very young, but there were people 40, 50 years old who felt like me too because of what they had gone through during the war. They felt they could afford maybe to start a new life.

De Sica was a sensitive man with great instincts and a great sense of humor. We spoke the same language—almost the way as when you're married a long time and you look at your husband and, with just a glance or a gesture, you know.

Then there was Anna Magnani. When De Sica was planning to film Moravia's new book *Two Women,* he wanted Magnani to play the mother, and I could play the daughter. When De Sica went to see Magnani, she cocked that hip of hers and said, "No, I can't play with Sophia. What are we going to do together on the set? We are going to kill each other!" As De Sica was leaving, she cocked that hip again and threw up her chin with that beautifully free-spirited air we all knew so well. "Hah! Why don't you try to give Sophia the role of the mother?" Well, I did play that role. The mother became younger, and the daughter [played by Eleonora Brown] became a girl of 13. And I never played a role better!

Two Women came out of my memory of the war. The images of some of the horrors, of soldiers raping children and our knowing about it in our little town, were stuck in my mind. The images of my mother, when she used to go in the streets looking for food because we were so hungry, and she stopped people and said, "Give me some of that bread in your hand—something!" The images came pouring out, flowing, flowing, sometimes with just one take, with this full emotion that could not be faked. It was there, and you could not fail to communicate it.

If you see *Two Women,* you don't have to know the whole story. The one scene of the rape in the church destroys you. I can hardly look at it. Each time I see that scene I cry. ■

Edward Heath

A Member of Parliament since 1950, Sir Edward was Prime Minister of Britain from 1970 to 1974

In the summer of 1960, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan got the invitation from Chancellor Adenauer to go to Germany and discuss the possibility of Britain's joining the European Community. At the same time, Italian Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani sent an invitation from Rome to do the same thing. Macmillan and [Foreign Secretary] Sir Alec Douglas-Home went to Germany. I was Lord Privy Seal working with Home on Europe, and so I was sent to Rome. Following that, we really had a reconnaissance of all the members. The reaction was very strong, but it was quite obvious that the French were suspicious of why the British wanted to come in. They wondered whether Britain wanted to build up the Community or find a way of destroying it.

In early 1961 I met De Gaulle when he came privately to Macmillan's house. It was all very pleasant. Harold had quite a small dinner party. De Gaulle talked to me about it all. I told him that we wanted the Community to be a success. But De Gaulle had a belief, which he had from his time over here during the war, that we were closer to the Americans than we were to Europe. He was suspicious of British intentions.

In January 1963 we had three weeks to complete the negotiations. At the end of the first week, I had lunch in Paris with Couve de Murville. He said everything was straight ahead. Later I saw [U.S. Under Secretary of State] George Ball, who had come over from Washington to meet with the French and use any influence he had, if necessary. I told him about our optimistic meeting, and he said he had heard exactly the same thing.

The following Monday I was in Brussels for more negotiations. Just before lunch, one of the civil servants came in and said De Gaulle had held this press conference at which he announced that he was vetoing our application. We were all astonished. The Germans said Adenauer was going to meet De Gaulle before the end of the week. We said, "Get Adenauer to press De Gaulle to reverse his decision." But I very much doubt that Adenauer did, even though he told his people he did. He didn't want to spoil a perfectly good meeting with De Gaulle in which they were celebrating the relationship between their two countries.

People in Britain were very upset at the idea of being vetoed by General De Gaulle. If we had become members then, we would have been able to take part in all the developments that followed. ■

Maurice Couve de Murville

Former ambassador Couve de Murville served as France's Foreign Minister from 1958 to 1968

After the war there was the general feeling that we must not have Continental wars every 20 years, especially between France and Germany. We felt we needed a general agreement among Europeans. That is how the idea came about of creating an organization that would make a new war impossible.

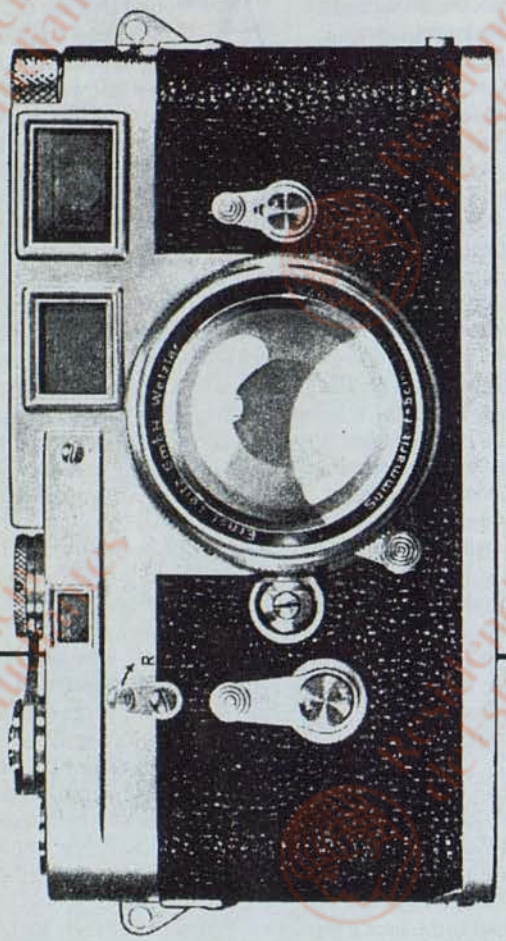
Foreign Minister Robert Schuman considered it indispensable that France and Germany work together. That was the impetus for the Schuman Plan, which was the beginning of European construction. When he returned to power, De Gaulle worked actively to bring about reconciliation with Germany. The Franco-German Treaty of 1963 was the symbolic incarnation of reconciliation and the desire for an entente between France and Germany. I was very much a partisan of this reconciliation.

But it was the cold war that was the defining phenomenon of the epoch. De Gaulle found it absurd. He sought to establish direct relations between France and the U.S.S.R. That led to his trip to Russia in 1966, where he was very well received. That trip changed things. From that point on, Russia had another interlocutor—France—and the others, Germany, Britain, later opened up to Russia to some extent. But by and large the European partners were afraid it would displease the U.S. if they opened direct dialogue with Russia. Anything that raised fears that America would no longer be absolute masters of the situation was frowned on by Washington and most Europeans.

De Gaulle's approach was good for France, because it led to a renewal of our national spirit. The whole question is this: Are all our responsibilities in the international arena going to be based on the U.S., or will the other countries conserve their personal responsibility and have their own policies? The other Europeans were entirely indifferent to this question.

Another big turning point was the independence of Algeria. This was extremely revolutionary. It was accepted by the French, but not easily. If De Gaulle had not been in power, it would not have been accepted in such a short time. Algerian independence also had international implications because it liberated us, giving us a free hand to act elsewhere. If the war had continued, the accord with the Germans would have had less effect. But once the Algerian war ended in 1962, French foreign policy was freer than before. It was not a coincidence that the German treaty was signed one year later, in 1963. ■

LEITZ Leica



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As appeared in TIME Atlantic August 19, 1957

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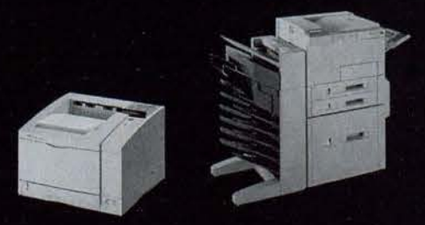

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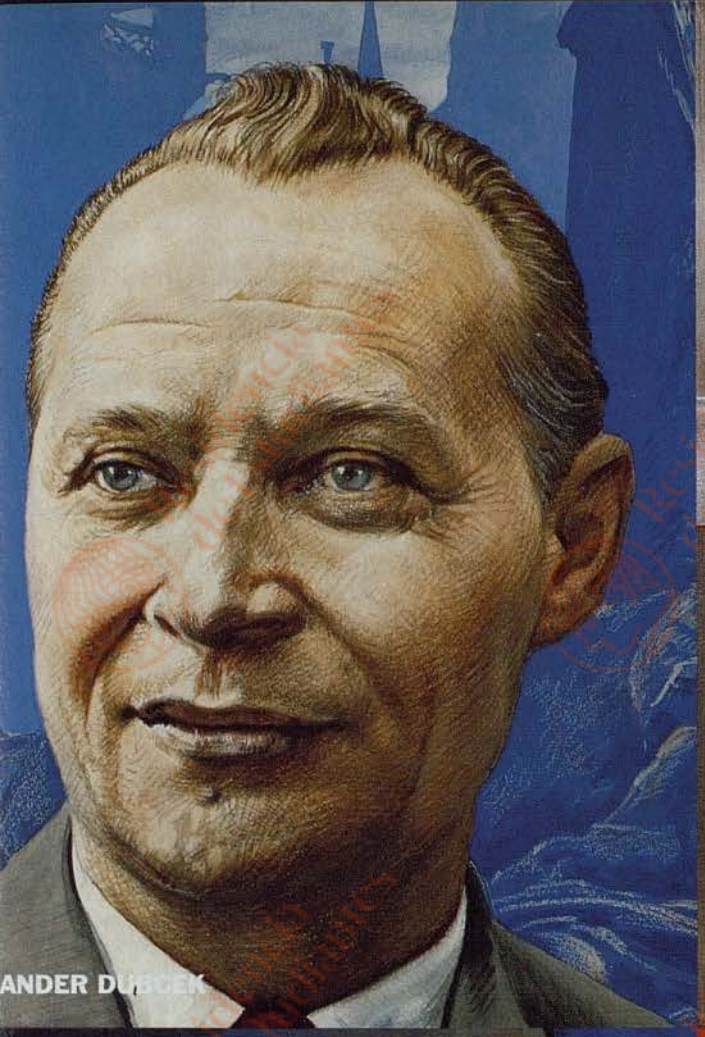
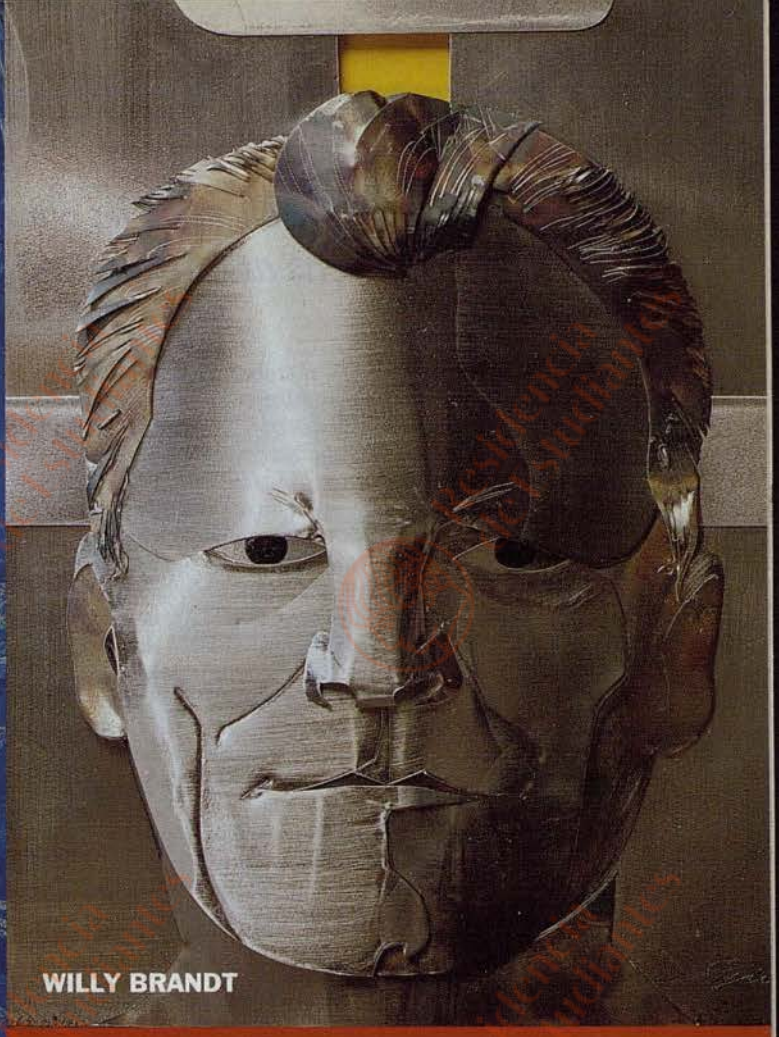
FINDING A MIDDLE WAY

By John Elson

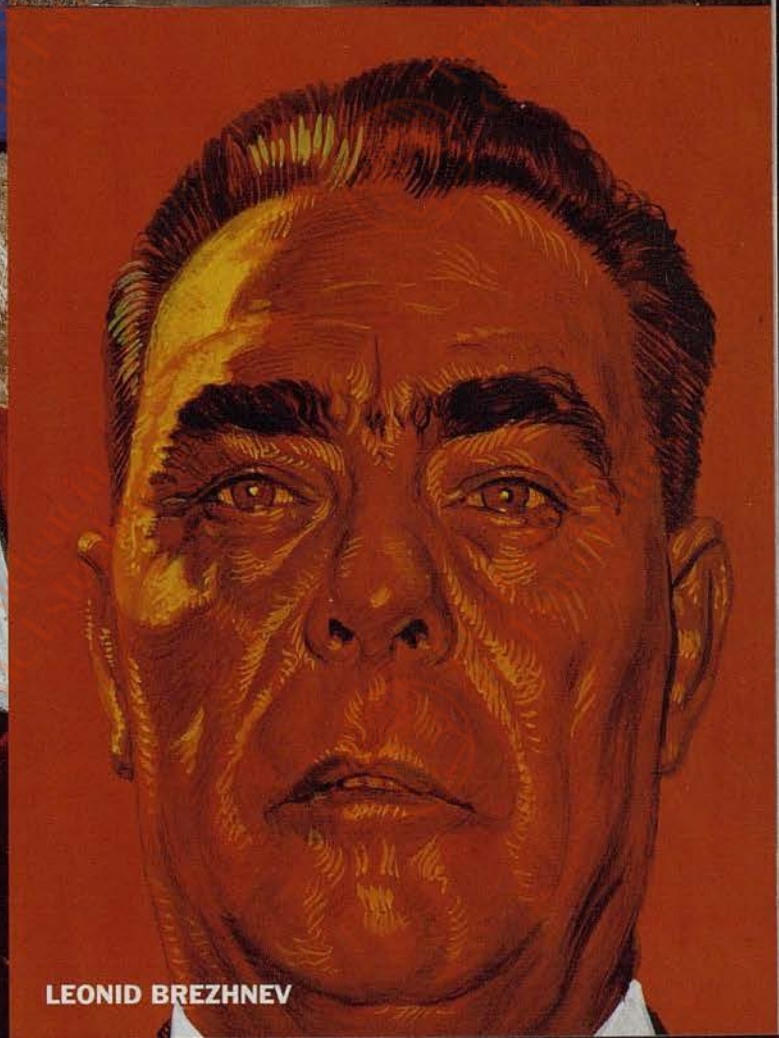
ONE BY ONE, THE VENERABLE political leaders who had guided Western Europe through its early postwar turmoil gave way during the '60s to a new generation. In 1963 West Germany's crusty Konrad Adenauer (der Alte) resigned at the age of 87 after 14 years as Chancellor. That same year, Harold Macmillan, an old reliable blueblood of Britain's Conservative Party, resigned as Prime Minister at 69, officially because of poor health. (A subsidiary factor: the scandal caused by his War Minister, John Profumo, who had lied to Commons about his affair with a call girl.) Death claimed the widely beloved Pope John XXIII, 81, who had opened the Roman Catholic Church to winds of change by summoning the Second Vatican Council. At decade's end even the seemingly indestructible Charles de Gaulle was dead at 79, 18 months after he had resigned as President of France, having weathered a near revolution only to lose a referendum on regional reform.

Until then, De Gaulle had been Western Europe's most formidable—and most unpredictable—political force. At terrible cost and at great personal risk he had extracted France from the morass of the eight-year Algerian civil war in 1962, earning the enmity of colonialist right-wingers. His Europe-focused foreign policy was based on forging a strong alliance with West Germany, the former enemy. De Gaulle was loftily indifferent to former ally Britain, and it was largely at his instigation that the country was denied admission to the European Economic Community in


ANDER DUBCEK


WILLY BRANDT


RLES DE GAULLE


LEONID BREZHNEV

What made the French riots so contagious was the spread of a new, global pop culture that was at once naively idealistic and astoundingly hedonistic

1963 (Britain was accepted as a member 10 years later). Wary about the depth of America's commitment to the defense of Europe, he withdrew France from NATO in 1966 and spent billions of francs to maintain a French nuclear *force de frappe*.

Politically, Europe faced years of troubling uncertainty and continuing cold war jitters. The erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 had reminded the West that Moscow would use whatever means it took to keep the East bloc satellites under key and lock. Proof came in 1968, when the Soviets and their allies invaded Czechoslovakia to oust the reform-minded regime of Alexander Dubcek. A chilling frost ended what had been heralded as the "Prague spring," an experiment in humanized communism.

Yet it was a time of resurgence for the left in Western Europe, in the form of democratic socialist parties. Conservatives feared—unfairly, for the most part—that the socialist successes might lead to a softening of resistance to Moscow's siren calls. A case in point was the *Ostpolitik* of Social Democrat Willy Brandt, the dynamic former mayor of West Berlin who became West Germany's Chancellor in 1969. In fact, the goal of Brandt's opening to the East was not appeasement but the lifting of East-West tensions. Ironically, for all the conservative concerns in the West, *Ostpolitik* was seen in Moscow and other East bloc capitals as a subtle form of Western aggression.

Nonetheless, there were a few promising signs that East-West détente could be made to work. In 1963 Britain, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed the nuclear test-ban treaty. Also that year, emergency hot lines were installed in the White House and the Kremlin, thereby measurably reducing the possibility of an accidental nuclear holocaust. That likelihood was further reduced in 1964 when the Soviet leadership ousted the impulsive, belligerent Nikita Khrushchev in favor of the equally tough-minded but more phlegmatic Leonid Brezhnev. It was during Brezhnev's reign, however, that the Soviets began a massive military buildup that would ultimately lead to the regime's undoing.

The real threats to West European stability in the '60s came not from the East but from within. In November 1967, sociology professors and their students at the University of Nanterre went on strike for a seemingly trivial reason: an end to visiting restrictions at single-sex dormitories. Protests by French students, of course, were hardly new; thousands had rioted in sympathy with their American counterparts who were opposed to the deepening U.S. military involvement in Vietnam; before that, they had protested against the Algerian war. Yet by May 1968, the cause of university reform in France had become a national crusade supported by 10 million striking workers. On a lesser scale, similar riots by the children of Marx and Coca-Cola (as French filmmaker Jean-Luc Godard called them) rocked Italy and West Germany. Not since 1848 had Western Europe been quite so caught up in the spirit of vague, libertarian revolution.

What made the riots so contagious was the unstoppable spread of a new, global pop culture that was at once naively idealistic and astoundingly hedonistic. "Sexual intercourse began/ In nineteen sixty-three," wrote the British poet Philip Larkin. That was the year of the Beatles' first major hit single, *I Want to Hold Your Hand*. London gained a reputation as a city of young swingers, symbolized by blond birds with long, lank hair, tripping down the streets of Chelsea in Mary Quant's pert minis. And it wasn't just London: soon nearly all Europe's youth pulsed to the driving rhythms of rock. Thanks to that problematic new medium, television, a trend in music, fashion, art or literature that began in one nation almost instantly became Europe's common denominator. The generation gap took on new meaning.

Eventually the students went back to class—or most of them did. The '70s, however, produced a far more ominous threat to law and order: terrorist gangs of both right and left, the hard core of the evanescent revolutionary moment. What made them so dangerous was not their numbers but their daring unpredictability. All Europe was shocked when the Red Brigades in 1978 kidnapped and murdered Italy's former Prime Minister Aldo Moro. West Germany's trial of the century involved Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof, whose Red Army Faction had been responsible for a series of murders, bombings and bank robberies. Basque separatists and the I.R.A. carried out sporadic wars of attrition against their Spanish and British "oppressors." Palestinian extremists targeted Israelis and Americans as enemies—most spectacularly at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, where 11 Israeli athletes were held hostage and killed by Black September terrorists.

Conversely, the '60s and early '70s were years of uncommon prosperity for much of Western Europe. Inflation was moderate and unemployment low, except in Britain and Spain. Prosperity spawned a new demographic phenomenon: the so-called guest workers from poor countries like Turkey, Greece and Portugal, who migrated by the millions to France and both Germanys in quest of hard currency. A symbol of Europe's economic and technological assurance was the sleek, needle-nosed British-French supersonic Concorde, which made its first flight in 1976. The U.S. had nothing to match it, nor did the Soviet Union.

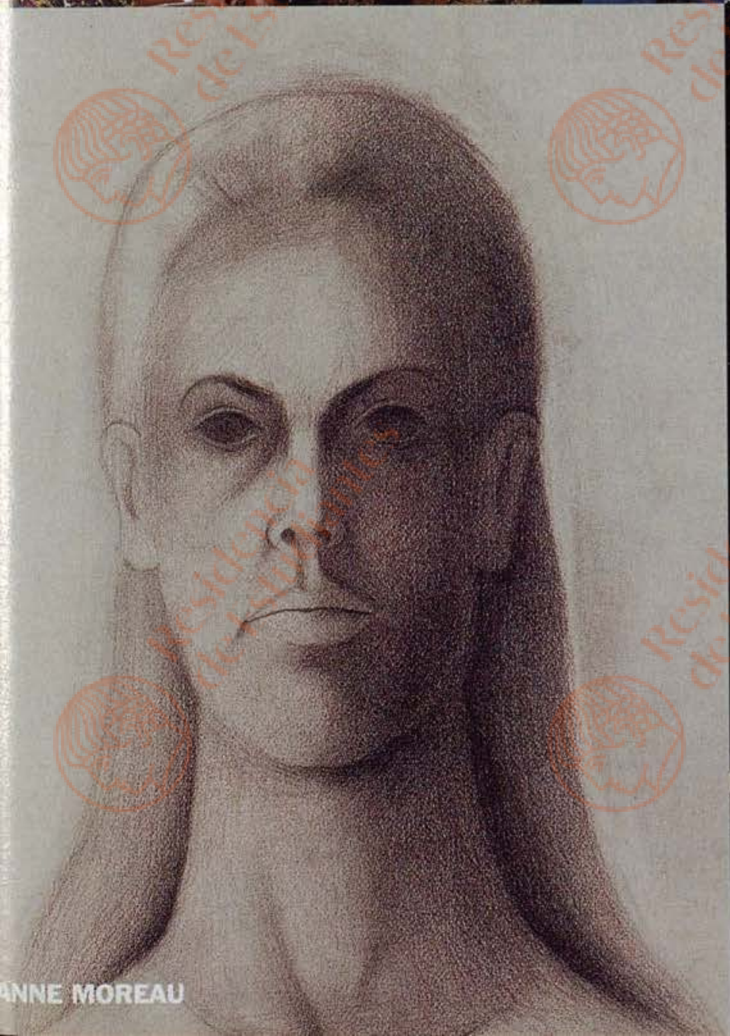
This golden age, as some have called it, came to a shuddering halt after the Middle East war of 1973. The Arab nations imposed an oil embargo on the U.S. and most of Western Europe that resulted in a fourfold increase in crude prices within a year. The cost of other raw materials also rose. Food prices soared, thanks to massive Soviet purchases of Western wheat and corn that pushed up the cost of feed grains. Even after the embargo ended, oil prices continued to rise as OPEC, the producers' cartel, displayed its newfound muscle. Recession and inflation spread worldwide.

The oil crises of the '70s revealed the fragility of Western Europe's economies and created new preoccupations with scarcity. But there were some salutary side effects. Energy conservation took hold, at least for a time, inspired in part by a new political force: the ecology-centered environmental movement known as the Greens.

Despite their fresh vision of old problems, the Greens did not set the agenda for Europe in the '80s. That role was played primarily by two remarkable—and remarkably disparate—leaders. A onetime actor and quarry laborer under the Nazis, Cracow's strong-willed Cardinal Karol Wojtyla was elected Pope John Paul II in October 1978. He was the first non-Italian pontiff in 4½ centuries. The following spring, an Oxford-educated shopkeeper's daughter, the equally strong-willed Margaret Thatcher, became Prime Minister of Britain. She was the first woman to hold that office. In their personalities and their messages, both leaders embodied steadfastness, discipline and an unwavering sense of purpose in redirecting the entities they served and governed. Their dynamic conservatism was oriented to the future, not the past. ■

BEATLES

THE CONCORDE



ANNE MOREAU

POPE PAUL VI

THANKS TO THE FAB FOUR, BRITAIN'S RECOVERY IS GETTING A LOT OF HELP!

POP MUSIC

THE BEATLE BUSINESS 10/2/64

▲ Teenagers are not the only ones swooning over the Beatles. Businessmen are also getting giddy. Britain's Electric & Musical Industries, licenser for the Beatles' disks, announced that for its last fiscal year, sales rose 12%, to $265 million. London's *Daily Mail* estimates that the lads have earned so much abroad—perhaps as high as $56 million last year—that they have also helped Britain's shaky balance of payments.

WEST GERMANY

SPA SPREE 8/16/63

▼ "Are the stairs growing steeper?" ask newspaper advertisements. The answer is not to take the elevator but to take the cure at Bavaria's Bad Tölz spa, which, like other West German watering places, is in the pink of condition, thanks to a booming health cult that in 1963 will lure 3.5 million patients to spas offering cures for virtually every ailment known to medicine, and a few known only to Germans.

GETTING IN THE PINK AT THE SPA

SOVIET UNION

KREMLIN REVOLT 10/23/64

◀ One day last week, as Nikita Khrushchev was receiving a visitor, a messenger burst in. Nikita excused himself, then disappeared into the dusk of a typically Byzantine-communist blackout. Three days later, shortly after midnight, TASS announced that Khrushchev had been "released" from all his duties. His successors: Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin. Meanwhile, Nikita himself was out of sight, his whereabouts unknown.

BRITAIN

REQUIEM FOR WINNIE 2/5/65

▶ Dawn broke cold and gray. Calm in its majesty, the Palace of Westminster emerged from the mist. Far downstream, the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral was faintly etched against the wintry sky. Between them gathered a million people to capture the scene in memory. Via Telstar and television, millions the world over watched the obsequies of Winston Churchill, who was, beyond doubt or animosity, one of the greatest men that Britain—and the West—had ever produced.

There was a time when a great state occasion was one of the few events that brought spectacle into most people's lives. Today, in an age of relentless distractions, pageantry competes for attention, and in this sense it is diminished. But it is also more affecting than ever when, as in Churchill's case, it goes so plainly beyond show and becomes an expression of the continuity between a nation's past and a people's heart. There is a feeling that in an era of computers, experts and government by consensus, the Churchillian kind of leadership may never again assert itself. It is the paradox of the unique man that he does not insist on his own uniqueness—only on the uniqueness of the continuing and self-renewing human spirit.

CONTINENTAL BETE NOIR: BEATNIKS TAKE UP RESIDENCE IN AVIGNON

EUROPE

A NEW AFFLICTION 8/3/66

▲ Western Europe has lately been afflicted with a phenomenon familiar to the U.S.: the beatnik. The European variety is often armed with a tin cup and either a guitar or colored chalk to wrest pennies for wine and smokes from sidewalk patrons. The French police have tried shooing them out of Paris, and West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard cannot abide them either. "So long as I govern, I shall do everything to destroy this pest!" Erhard thundered in a recent speech.


BOW STREET MAGISTRATES COURT AND POLICE OFFICE

AFTER A BRIEF SPRING, CZECHS FACE A NEW SOVIET WINTER

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SPRING TURNS TO WINTER 8/30/68

▲ It had been a lilting summer day. Then, just before midnight, telephones began to jangle in Prague. Russian planes were flying ominously low. At 1:10 a.m., Radio Prague confirmed the worst: "Yesterday, on Aug. 20 ... troops of the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic People's Republic and the Bulgarian People's Republic crossed the frontiers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic."

Striking with stunning speed and surprise, some 200,000 soldiers punched across the Czechoslovak border to snuff out the eight-month-old experiment by Alexander Dubcek's regime in humanizing communism. By morning the entire country lay in the vise of Soviet power.

THE OLYMPICS

MURDER IN MUNICH 9/18/72

EVIL MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

► In a world that thought itself accustomed to horror, it was yet another notch on the ever rising scale of grotesqueries. The murders in Munich last week—preceded by 20 hours of high drama and precipitated by a horrendously bungled police shoot-out—gripped most of the world in attentive thrall. The Arab terrorist group Black September made its move at 4:20 a.m. as the sprawling Olympic Village lay quiet and sleeping in the predawn darkness.

The guerrilla operation had evidently been planned to create maximum outrage. It succeeded, probably beyond its planners' wildest dreams. By invading the Olympic Village and seizing nine Israeli athletes as hostages and killing two others, eight young Palestinians managed to expose every weakness in the forces of law and in the helpless governments involved in the crisis.

TRAFFIC SNARLS CAUSE ENDANGERED LIAISONS

FRANCE

PARIS IN LOVE 11/11/66

◄ "In Paris, no one makes love in the evening anymore; everyone is too tired." So sighs a character in Françoise Sagan's latest novel, *La Chamade*, and so to a breathless world was revealed the latest innovation in French amatory technique. In the days of Maupassant, the affluent Frenchman could not do without his *cinq à sept*—the 5-to-7 p.m. liaison with his paramour. Then he dashed home for a 7:30 dinner with his wife. All of that, as La Sagan sadly reports, has changed.

Paris traffic jams make it virtually impossible for the suburban Frenchman to have his *cinq à sept* and get home in time to dine with his family. As a result, French philanderers grab a quick sandwich and dash off to see the mistress from 2 to 4.

MERCILESS, DEMONIAC SATIRE IN THE FUTURE IMPERFECT

CINEMA

TIME OF THE DROOGS 12/20/71

◄ The milk-plus at the Korova, according to Alex, "sharpens you up and makes you ready for a bit of the old ultraviolence." After a glass or two, Alex and his droogs have made up their rassoodocks what to do for entertainment. The language may be a bit strange, the setting slightly unfamiliar, but Alex (Malcolm McDowell) is immediately recognizable. He is a true child of the near future, a freak of violence. *A Clockwork Orange*, based on the Anthony Burgess novel, is a merciless, demoniac satire in the future imperfect. Director Stanley Kubrick makes the whole thing chillingly and often hilariously believable.

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BASF

REBELLION AND ANARCHY IN PARIS: FROM PENT-UP FRUSTRATIONS, A SPONTANEOUS SPARK OF NATIONAL TEMPER

FRANCE

DAYS OF RAGE 5/24/68

▲ The spirit of revolution, whose modern roots were struck in France nearly two centuries ago, reappeared with a vengeance last week and shook the Fifth Republic of Charles de Gaulle. It began with rebellious students, but it spread with ominous speed through the ranks of France's workers, creating a tempestuous alliance that has often had explosive consequences in the past. The convulsion was part carnival, part anarchist spree, increasingly spurred on by communists—but, more than anything, it was a spontaneous spark of national temper, a response to the pent-up suppressions and frustrations created by 10 years of orderly Gaullism.

Rebellious students, struggling only two weeks ago to prepare for the exams that would determine their place in French society, bent their energies to completely paralyzing France's universities. Inspired by the students' example and glad of the chance to vent their own grievances, striking workers seized scores of factories in an epidemic of wildcat work stoppages. Students overturned and burned cars, uprooted paving stones and fiercely battled police for control of the streets.

The government at first used stern measures, sending thousands of police in waves to storm the barricades and beat the students to the ground with rubber truncheons. Then, alarmed by the growing toll of injuries, the government withdrew its police and in effect ceded the field to the students. By that time, much of France had rallied to the students' side—and the spread of revolt began in earnest.

I.R.A. IN ULSTER: THE MODERATES ARE RADICALIZED

NORTHERN IRELAND

BLOODY SUNDAY 2/14/72

▲ Jan. 30, 1972, has been inscribed in the terrible, dark memory of the Irish people as "Bloody Sunday."

On that bright, wintry afternoon, a march in the Catholic ghetto of Londonderry called the Bogside suddenly turned into a brief but violent battle between the marchers and British troops. It left 13 people dead in one of the bloodiest disasters since the "troubles" between Ulster's Protestant majority and Catholic minority began almost four years ago.

Bloody Sunday has radicalized many of the Ulster moderates who until then had hoped for a rational political solution. One of those affected was Gerald Fitt, who told the Commons the following week that "until last Sunday, I regarded myself as a man of moderation.

"I tell the Home Secretary that the marches will continue. They will continue next weekend in Newry and then the following week, and the week after that ... The British army is no longer acceptable in Belfast, Derry or anywhere else in Northern Ireland."

FACE TO FACE: BRANDT VISITS STOPH IN A VICTORY FOR *OSTPOLITIK*

BOOKS

WHO'S THE MOLE? 6/24/74

■ The subject at hand is not who put the overalls in Mrs. Murphy's existential chowder but who is the mole in Mr. Control's Circus. Control, as John le Carré followers know, is the director of British Intelligence. The Circus is his sad collection of far-flung agents, now for the most part disabused, old cold warriors who stay numb in order to survive. *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* is Le Carré's first Circus act since a 1972 foray into straight fiction. It is a splendid assemblage of the virtues displayed in previous Le Carré thrillers.

BRANDO AND SCHNEIDER TANGLE

CINEMA

SHOCKER 1/22/73

▲ Bernardo Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris*, with Maria Schneider and Marlon Brando, tells a stark story of sex as be-all and end-all. Frontal nudity, four-letter words, masturbation, even sodomy—Bertolucci dwells uncompromisingly on them all with a moralist's savagery, an artist's finesse.

SUPERSONIC, PERFORCE TO SOMEWHAT ROMANTIC DESTINATIONS

AVIATION

NEW DAWN 1/26/76

▲ This week at Paris and London airports, dancing attendance on two airplanes, was a swirl of government officials, VIPs, photographers and stars of stage, screen, radio and bedroom. The event was unquestionably historic. In a gallant display of optimism, two new supersonic Concordes were simultaneously going to leap into the air to inaugurate commercial flights to, perforce, somewhat romantic destinations. The British Airways plane would go to Bahrain in 3 hr. 10 min., while the Air France twin would head for Rio de Janeiro via Dakar in 6 hr. 45 min.

WEST GERMANY

BRANDT GOES EAST 3/23/70

◄ A special train will speed eastward from Bonn this week on what could prove to be the most historic journey in postwar German history. When West German Chancellor Willy Brandt arrives in the ancient city of Erfurt, he will be greeted by Willi Stoph, the Premier of the German Democratic Republic. For the first time since the two rival states were founded in 1949, the heads of government of the two Germanys will meet face to face. It is unlikely that a single meeting will produce a sensational breakthrough in relations, but the mere fact that the Erfurt summit is being held represents a victory for Brandt's *Ostpolitik*.

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THE NEW FINERY, ENCRUSTED FROM HEAD TO FOOT

FASHION

THE NEW NEW LOOK 8/9/76

▲ Not since 1789 had the word revolution been bandied about so freely in Paris as it was last week. Storming the barricades of conventional fashion was designer Yves Saint Laurent, 40, whose latest haute couture collection could alter the way women will dress in the next decade. The 800 or so journalists, store buyers and private clients invited to the lavish showing were awestruck. Some were even reduced to tears as Saint Laurent's models demonstrated what many predicted would be the new New Look: narrow waist, calf-length bouffant skirt for daytime and huge, all-enveloping coat.

The mannequins were laden with vast, tiered skirts of taffeta, mousseline, velvet, satin and faille in coruscating combinations of colors. They were turbaned, feathered, booted, shawled, cinched, tasseled and encrusted from head to foot in braid, beads, rickrack and passementerie. The so-called Fantasy Look, which seemed more suitable for grand opera than for real life, was a mélange of styles derived from the Russian, Gypsy, Cossack, Moroccan, Indian and Victorian.

"Formidable!" gasped admirers. "It will change the future of fashion!" declared a consultant. Still, some U.S. designers were saying that actually it was hopelessly out of date for Americans. "The collection," observed Ralph Lauren, "has no relationship to what's happening to women today."

PORTUGAL

SOARES' 500 DAYS 12/19/77

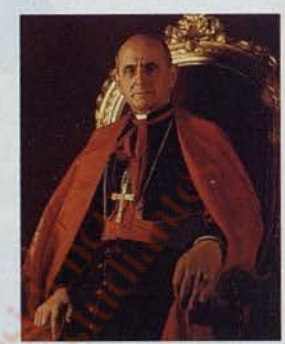
▼ After 17 months in office, Portugal's first democratic government in a half-century went down in defeat last week. On a vote of confidence, Premier Mário Soares' Socialist government lost, 159 to 100, to the combined forces of the Communists on the left and the Social Democrats and Center Social Democrats on the right. Despite the difficulties, however, Soares could tick off some notable achievements for his 500 days. He restored good relations with NATO, won approval in Europe for Portugal's application to join the European Community and immeasurably boosted Lisbon's prestige in the West, the East bloc and the Third World. At home the Assembly had passed his agrarian-reform law, providing compensation for the nationalization of industries and a new civil code granting equal rights to women. In any case, Soares is confident that he will be back in power sooner or later. "Within a few weeks or months, when it is seen that another solution does not work," he said, "the Socialists will be called upon again."

SOARES: OUT BUT NOT DOWN

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

MEN ONLY 2/7/77

► Now that many Protestant churches accept women as ministers, expectations have been aroused that the Roman Catholic Church might abandon its tradition of an exclusively male priesthood. Pope Paul VI chilled those hopes in 1975, declaring that such a change would not be "in accordance with God's plan for his church." Last week the Vatican stated that no matter what others may do, the Catholic Church "does not consider herself authorized to admit women to priestly ordination."



PAUL VI: NOT IN GOD'S PLAN

DEATH OF THE STATESMAN WHO BELIEVED IN FINDING COMMON CAUSE

ITALY

THE ASSASSINATION OF MORO 5/22/78

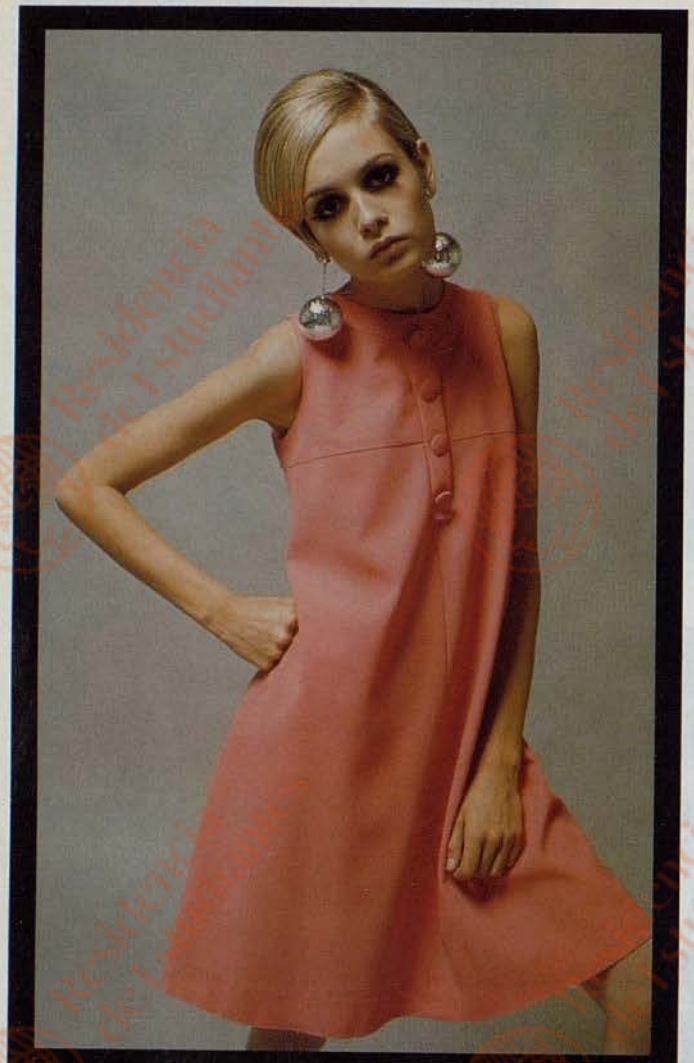
▲ Two months after he had been kidnapped and his five bodyguards slain, Aldo Moro, 61, president of the Christian Democratic Party and Italy's most eminent statesman, was assassinated by the Red Brigades, his body left in the back of a stolen car parked in the historic center of Rome. In murdering a man dedicated to the principle that people who differ could find common cause, Moro's assassins had neither divided nor conquered but united the nation in a new determination to preserve that vision.

Cartier

3 gold rings
Yellow, white and rose gold intertwined.

Photo M. FEINBERG

150 YEARS OF HISTORY AND ROMANCE



A Very Healthy Dowsing Rod 7/7/67

Poor scrawny, rich TWIGGY. Last week Professor Rupprecht Bernbeck, a Hamburg orthopedist, viewed with alarm the 17-year-old Cockney dowsing rod, opining that "practically everything is wrong with her—she has a humpback, exaggerated curvature of the spine and a hanging abdomen." Whereupon an indignant Nell Hornby, Twiggy's mother, spoke up: "Rubbish. You'll not find any girl as healthy as my daughter."

A TRIFLE BUBBLY 1/11/63

Nary another New Year's Eve blast in Rome could boast so satiny a sommelier. Beautifully intent and just a trifle bubbly, **SOPHIA LOREN,** 28, uncorked 1963 by filling the goblets of such whoopee-minded friends as actors David Niven, Peter Sellers and partygiver Vittorio De Sica. Then it was the twist until 2 a.m., when Sophia and husband-in-spirit **CARLO PONTI,** 49, called it a night. "I'm an early sleeper," said Sophia, "and it is already too late for me."

ROYAL ROCKERS 1/8/65

'Tis the winter of our discothèque, and with a pair of teenagers like **PRINCE CHARLES,** 16, and **PRINCESS ANNE,** 14, Mum and Dad might have known what to expect. To celebrate the holidays, the royal rockers rolled back the red carpet in the drawing room of Windsor Castle and asked 120 chums over for dinner. Main course was the frug, played for Their Highnesses by a disk jockey.

FINE EMBROIDERY 11/13/78

"I feel like a fish in water," says actress turned director **JEANNE MOREAU** about her second stint behind the camera. The new film, *Adolescence,* deals with a young girl and her grandmother, played by **SIMONE SIGNORET.** "I was seduced by Moreau's persistence," says an admiring Signoret. As for Moreau, she regards directing as a step up. Says she: "It is as if a woman who is used to darning goes into fine embroidery."

SEEN & HEARD

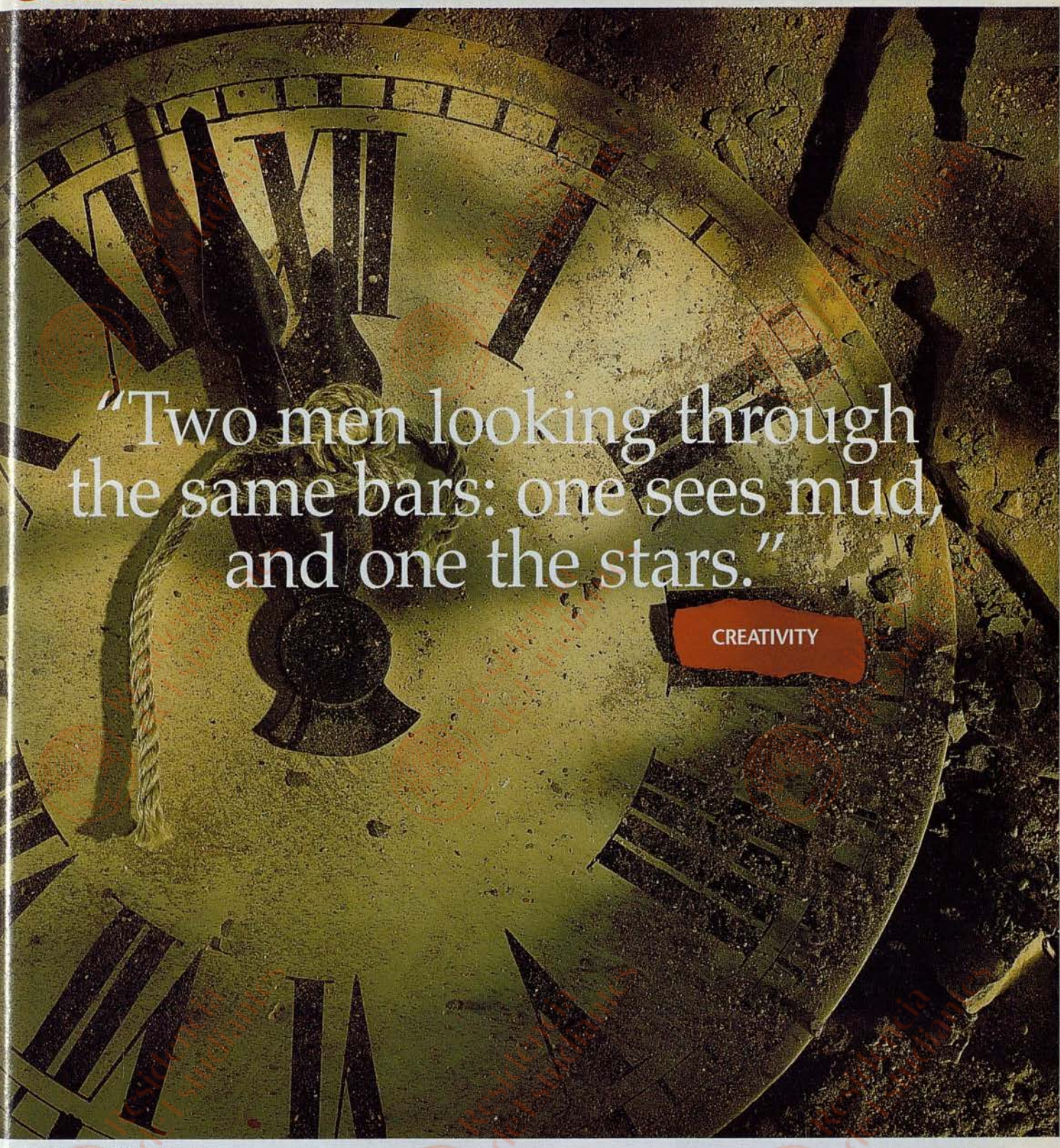
11/20/72

To **Brigitte Bardot,** now a hardly senescent 38, being old will be "the day I can no longer have the man I'd like." After describing herself to *Vogue* as "the most important sex symbol of all time," Bardot added, "Time will destroy me one day, as it destroys everything. No one else will ever be Bardot. I am the only Bardot, and my species is unique."

12/12/77

In Rome, after seeing Federico Fellini's *Casanova,* Russian poet **Yevgeny Yevtushenko,** 44, told a reporter, "I am a woman chaser, and Fellini made me understand how hateful it is to touch a woman you don't love. From the moment I saw that film, it was as though I had been sick. I couldn't sleep with a girl... for four days."

Canon



Quote: Frederick Langbridge (1849—1923).

CREATED BY FREDERICK LANGBRIDGE, STIMULATED BY THE MIND'S EYE, CAPTURED BY CANON'S CAMERAS AND CAMCORDERS.

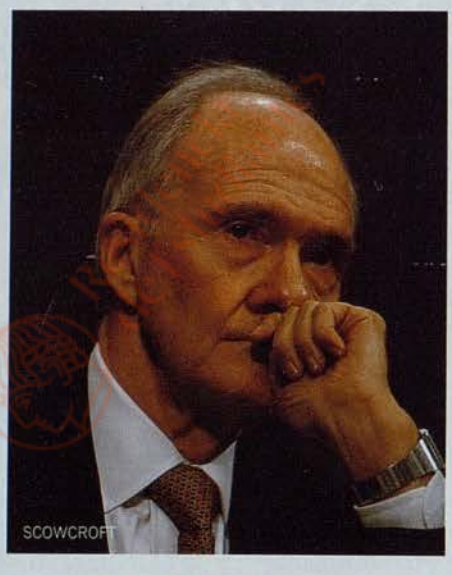
Canon understands the desire to take high quality images and has responded with a range of new products. They include cameras and camcorders with optical image stabilization and digital cameras.

1963–1978

First Person

On German unification, French leadership, U.S.-Soviet relations and the significance of rock music


GISCARD D'ESTAING


SCOWCROFT


SCHMIDT


BOWIE

Helmut Schmidt

After serving as Finance and Defense Ministers, Schmidt was Chancellor of West Germany from 1974 to 1982

Of all the members of the German political class, I was one of the first to start contacts with the communist leadership in the middle '60s in what came to be known as détente. There may not have been clear-cut concepts underlying the *Ostpolitik* that followed, except that my friends and I were convinced that it was necessary for the Germans as a nation to build up friendly, neighborly relations with, most specifically, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

In the '70s Brezhnev was at the peak of his political clout and, though he didn't show this publicly, obviously feared another war. My conversations with him made it clear that Brezhnev's views were not shared by others. Once, after Andrei Gromyko had harangued for many minutes, I said half jokingly to Brezhnev, "See, that's the Russian way." Brezhnev replied, "Gromyko isn't Russian; he's Belorussian." At that point Gromyko stiffened and said, "The Belorussians are the best Russians." Everybody laughed; but there was something to that.

Nobody in Bonn at that time thought there would be unification in this century. Our initial goal was to achieve reconciliation and better relations with our communist neighbors. German-French relations were absolutely vital to me. Before I was 30 I had met Jean Monnet, and later I became a member of the so-called Monnet Committee, where I first met my very close friend Giscard. And under the guidance of Monnet I had learned early that it was necessary for Europe and particularly for us Germans to achieve a very close and reliable relationship with the French.

The French went further than one could have expected so shortly after the war. They offered us reconciliation. This process resulted from the Schuman Plan, the Treaty of Rome, the European Union and the landmark Elysée treaty between De Gaulle and Adenauer. In this regard I was on Adenauer's side from the beginning, although otherwise I didn't like the man. It was absolutely vital that any successors to Adenauer had to pursue his policies vis-à-vis France and his policy on integration of Europe. When I became Chancellor in 1974 it was without doubt that I would follow these same policies. About the same time Giscard became President of France, and we entered into a period of very close cooperation that, by the way, some people in America and in Europe didn't like too much. I never saw it as a choice between Paris or Washington. ■

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Austria

Monkey on your back #41: How to choose the hardware when you've already chosen Windows NT®.

YOUNG & RUBICAM

intel inside
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WHATEVER IT TAKES℠

VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING

Formerly Finance Minister, Giscard was President of France from 1974 to 1981

Until 1963, we were still living with the fear of a Soviet invasion, and the whole political vocabulary suggested we could wake up one morning occupied by hordes of Soviets. In reality, French public opinion had the idea that such a thing could no longer happen, so the nation's fears shifted to something different: the threat of nuclear war. We felt that in a Soviet-American war of mutual destruction, we Europeans would be the first victims.

During this time, France adopted an independent stance. De Gaulle's idea was to get out from under America's tutelage. For the French public, however, the idea was that since the great danger was nuclear, we had to protect ourselves. Which explains the public support for the French deterrent during this period. This also explains the difference between French and German conduct. Helmut Schmidt often told me, "You, the leader of a nuclear power, can't realize the psychology of a country that knows it has no nuclear arms and is totally dependent on others for its protection."

This was also the period when the European Community came closest to realizing federalism. In 1979, to advance that prospect, we adopted a two-stage plan that would have led to a single currency by 1982 or 1983. We were very close to the goal. But I was defeated in 1981, and Schmidt left power in 1982, which put an end to the monetary part of the project. What is interesting is that we almost succeeded. It was a huge missed opportunity.

There was also a shift in France's international role during this time. De Gaulle's idea was that France must reaffirm its place in the world, and to do that, it had to show that it could annoy the others. My idea was different. First, we had to acknowledge that we were only a middle-size power, but we had a high degree of freedom. My idea was that we should be a country of initiative, contributing by our propositions to a more harmonious world.

So I took initiatives. Immediately after my election in 1974, I called for a North-South meeting between the industrialized countries and the oil-producing countries to try to find some common ground. Then, in the same spirit, I came up with the idea for the G-7 summits, to discuss problems that confronted the whole industrialized world. In each case, it was France launching an idea, proposing a formula that permitted us to find avant-garde solutions in a nonconfrontational way. ■

BRENT SCOWCROFT

As National Security Adviser, Scowcroft counseled U.S. Presidents Gerald Ford and George Bush

Détente was a tactical success, but it had a strategic downside for which we paid fairly heavily. It was not a fundamental change in the East-West relationship but rather a kind of understanding that we ought to live together to minimize the chances of something going wrong. We were having trouble maintaining defense expenditures, and, strangely enough, détente enabled us to keep ahead of the Soviet Union strategically. But psychologically, détente finally persuaded the American people that the threat had receded. This led to further defense cuts in the 1970s, which Vietnam and Watergate accentuated.

By the end of the decade the Soviets had decided the correlation of forces was moving irrevocably in their direction. They concluded that the U.S. had had it, that America was weak and in decline. The Soviets started a wave of movements around the world that culminated in Afghanistan. It took Ronald Reagan and a massive increase in U.S. defense expenditures to turn things around.

Like détente, *Ostpolitik* had a good side and a downside. The goal was an improved relationship between the two Germanys. While it was a step forward at the time because it fitted into détente, *Ostpolitik* also caused problems when German unification began. The Social Democratic Party, which initiated *Ostpolitik*, was actually trying to slow down German unification in the late 1980s.

Détente and *Ostpolitik* assumed the existence of two systems—East and West—and both were steps toward co-existence. Nixon's opening to China made an enormous contribution to détente. By going to China, Nixon transformed the Chinese into the darlings of American foreign policy. That gave us additional leverage against the Russians. Because they were scared to death of U.S.-Chinese cooperation, the Russians were prepared to pay a price in cooperating with us on détente. But because of Vietnam and Watergate, Nixon couldn't do more. Détente allowed him to hold on, but he couldn't turn things around. It wasn't until Reagan came in and hit the Russians between the eyes with a two-by-four that we were able to do that. Reagan said, "No, we can't live side by side." By that time the Soviet leadership was ossified, and the Soviet economy was in deep trouble. The Soviets had to make a more realistic appraisal of their forces. So there is a kind of overall coherence to this period. ■

DAVID BOWIE

Rock star Bowie first made his mark on the charts with Changes *in 1972, and has recorded 30 albums*

My musical generation succeeded that of the Rolling Stones and the Beatles. We thought we had a new perspective on what rock could do. I was never much taken with the hippie credo of the '60s, but artistically there was a collage effect, a kitchen sink of mixed media that was devastating on the sensibilities. We took from the '60s the idea that we really didn't need some of the old values anymore.

This shift led to the pluralistic decade of the '70s: the beginning of real experimentation, perceptually, musically, socially, culturally, artistically. We were coming to the discovery that we didn't have to live by absolutes; we didn't need one God, one religion, one political system, one sexual orientation. That was the sea we were adventurers upon. I've always thought of the '70s as being the start of the 21st century.

An outcome we can see already is that the singular voice, the authority figure or star or icon, is no longer needed. Punk was making that point in the mid-'70s. Today there is a more tribal interest, which you see perfectly in the dance raves that draw 40,000 to 50,000 young people around Europe. The parameters are set by the bands' music, but the entertainment and feeling of the whole event is from the audience. At concerts in the '70s, people would relate to me, watching singly from their own spaces. Now I'm playing to an audience that has a kind of nerve center within itself.

In 1969 my single *Space Oddity* was saying, "I'm opting out; I don't want any part of this; it's your problem; I'm going to create my own world." The isolationism I was feeling then is not part of youth culture today. I think the new community, as I call them, are very, very together. There's not this "we can try for the moon" feeling; young people know getting along with the guy next to you is accomplishment enough.

I lived in Berlin off and on from 1976 to 1979. I remember going back to do a concert beside the Wall in 1987. There was an unseen audience on the other side that was quite as large. They were very vocal, disregarding the guards. You felt something was afoot, although one never dreamed it was going to be so dramatic.

I'm an incorrigible European. I think it's the future, and the rules are somewhere in the wreckage of what we have now. We've yet to discover them, especially morally and spiritually. I don't believe in a fin de siècle with everything crashing down. The challenge is to create a new set of values that are not élitist. ■

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XII
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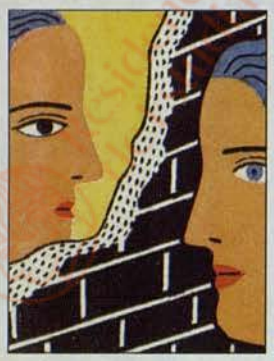
XI
III
29
SWISS

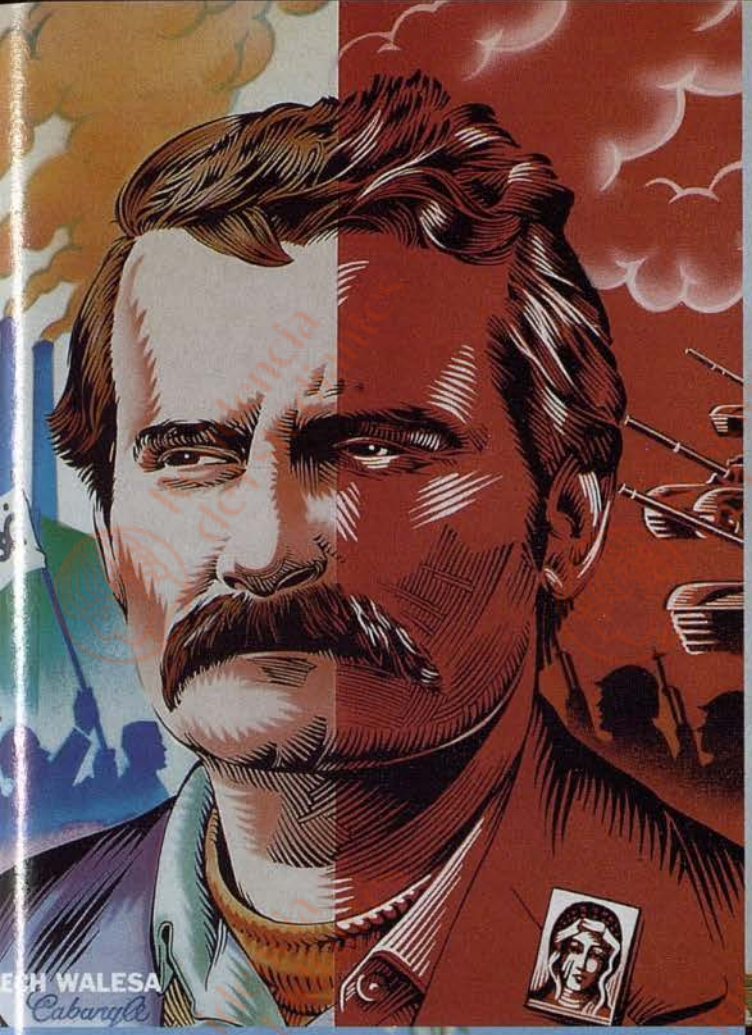
THE WALLS COME DOWN

By Bruce W. Nelan

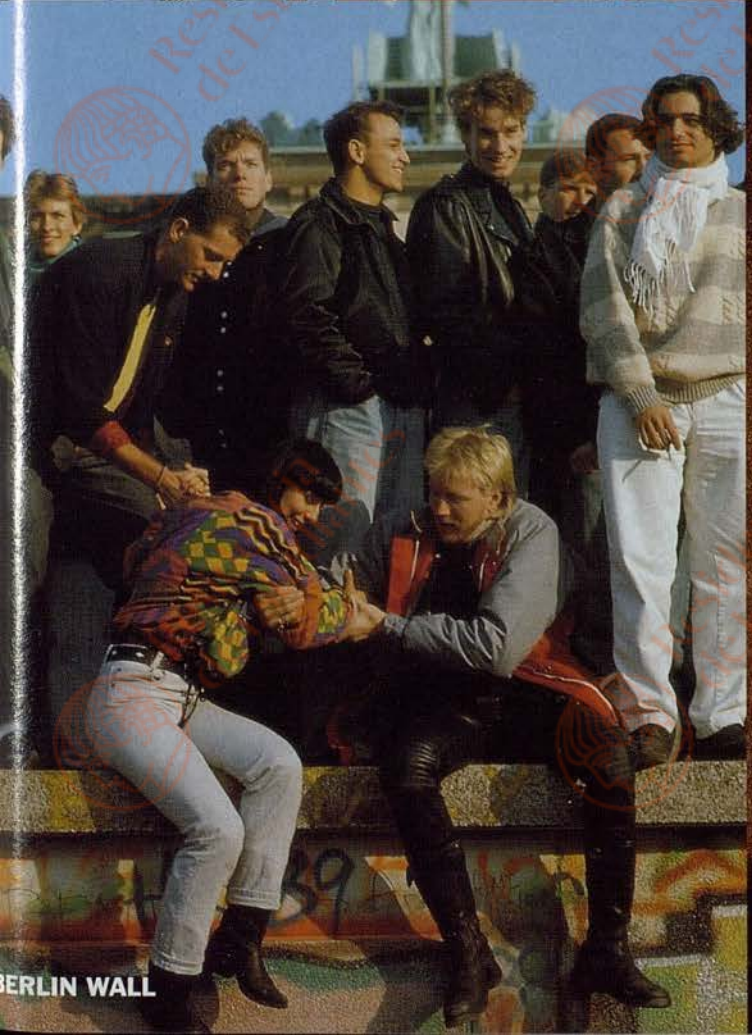


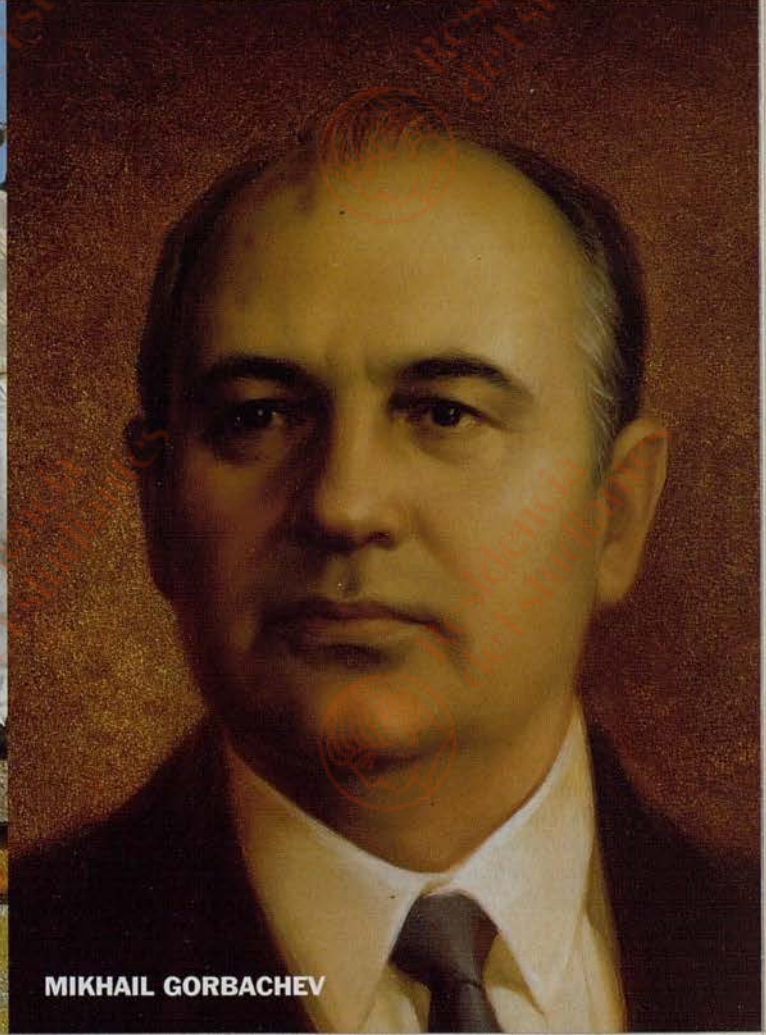
EUROPEANS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE Iron Curtain began the decade of the '80s feeling sorry for themselves. Suffering from oil-price shock, stagflation and political inertia, East and West alike were hoping for signs of an upturn. Worried about the demise of détente that followed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, they desperately sought assurances that the nations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact could find ways to coexist without blundering into war. A small dose of bolstering would have sufficed to cheer up Europe. What it got instead was a rebirth, a historic, epoch-ending transformation that almost exhausted the supply of superlatives in every language of the Continent.

The end of the cold war came as a surprise. One reason was that the West was accustomed to viewing the U.S.S.R. almost exclusively through a military prism. Weaponry was overwhelmingly the subject of East-West discussions, and officials on both sides tended to believe the relationship was healthy if they were making progress on arms control. By that criterion, which in the end contributed only a footnote to history, things were not going well in 1980. Even though Presidents Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev had sealed the SALT II agreement with a kiss in Vienna, it was dead a few months later, the victim of the invasion of Afghanistan and a suspicious U.S. Senate. Just as worrisome, the Soviets were going ahead with deployment of a new generation of big, three-headed missiles, the SS-20s, targeted on Western Europe.


ECH WALESA


MARGARET THATCHER


BERLIN WALL


MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

In the surge toward freedom, Poland took 10 years, Hungary 10 months, East Germany 10 weeks, Czechoslovakia 10 days and Romania 10 hours

To the West, it looked like a significant strategic shift, and NATO adopted what became known as the "two-track decision." The alliance would offer not to deploy any additional missiles if the Warsaw Pact would eliminate the SS-20s, but in the meantime NATO would proceed with its own modernization: 572 new intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

All across Europe, hundreds of thousands of communists, peace activists, church leaders, students and nervous citizens poured into urban avenues and parks to protest NATO's (not the Soviets') missile deployment. And while most of the world was watching the peace-loving throngs, something new was happening in Poland. It did not seem new at first because the Poles were forever going on strike. But this time the workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk formed a union that would actually represent the workers' interests against the state's. When the Polish government offered to negotiate, it gave de facto recognition to the right to strike. The result was the creation of Solidarity, the first labor organization inside the Soviet bloc to challenge head on the communists' claim to represent the proletariat.

As Solidarity grew and threatened the stability of the Polish regime, Moscow faced a dilemma: Would it use its troops as it had in Hungary and Czechoslovakia? We know from recently opened archives that the Soviets were prepared to intervene, but only as a last resort. They much preferred to let the Polish communists handle the crisis themselves, knowing that an invading Soviet army would face opposition from the entire nation and might not even be able to end the strikes. Brezhnev & Co. decided against using force and settled for installing General Wojciech Jaruzelski and martial law. The decision would echo in Eastern Europe.

Soon thereafter, Moscow underwent a series of leadership changes that saw the dying out of the hard-line, undereducated Marxist-Leninist generation. Brezhnev, who had been ailing for years (and who had sometimes embarrassed his country by eating state dinners with a spoon), died in November 1982. His successor, Yuri Andropov, died in February 1984, and Andropov's successor, Konstantin Chernenko, expired a year after that.

Then came the man everyone had been waiting for: Mikhail Gorbachev, 54, an intelligent, energetic, apparently reasonable politician, of whom the "Iron Lady," Margaret Thatcher, had said, "We can do business together." Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party, fully aware that the state of his country's economy was horrendous: outputs were falling, and there was no longer any way to increase inputs. Gorbachev thought at first that he could reinvigorate the society. He soon concluded that the system could not recover without *perestroika*, or restructuring. To take the pressure off the economy, he would have to cut back on military spending. To rejuvenate industry, he needed Western technology and investment, and to get those, he had to take the hostility out of the East-West relationship.

The end result of this "new thinking" about foreign relations was to set the communist regimes of Eastern Europe adrift, under instructions to figure out what reforms might make them palatable to their own citizens. At a Warsaw Pact meeting in the summer of 1989, Gorbachev put it bluntly, "Each people determines the future of its own country. There must be no interference from outside." The meaning was clear to the satraps of Eastern Europe: they should expect no support from the Soviet army if they tried to use force on dissenters at home. Some scrambled to reform, and some resisted, but they were all doomed. Communism was always an alien growth in that part of the world, a Russian occupation enforced by Soviet bayonets.

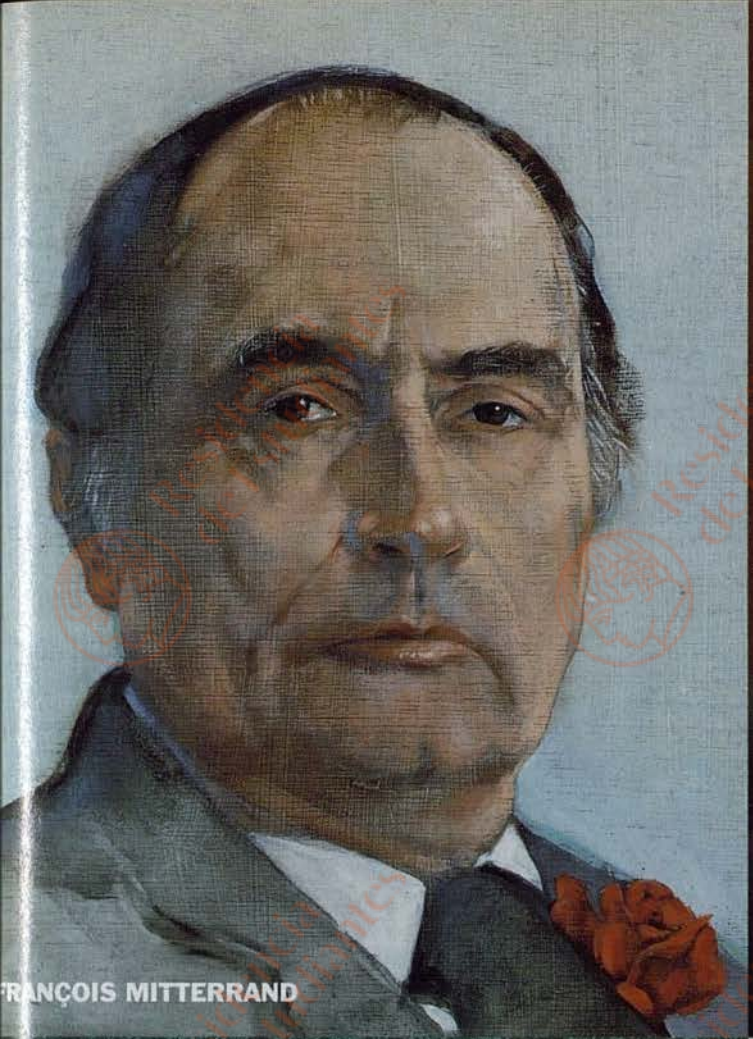
As the reality of Gorbachev's message dawned, Poland took the lead. Solidarity became a political party, then won a parliamentary election, then—at Jaruzelski's request—put one of its strategists, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, into the premiership. Soon Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was President of Poland. Meanwhile, Hungary took down its barbed-wire barriers to the West, literally dismantling a sector of the Iron Curtain, and thousands of East German vacationers swarmed through. Demonstrators in East German cities toppled Erich Honecker and his regime, and on Nov. 9, 1989, they dismantled, almost stone by stone, the starkest symbol of communism's impotence: the Berlin Wall.

A similar bloodless onslaught, which Czech leader Vaclav Havel called the "velvet revolution," felled the communists in Prague and then in Sofia. In all the East bloc, only the December 1989 uprising that ended Nicolae Ceausescu's reign in Romania touched off bloodshed, and both the ousted dictator and his wife were executed. Still, the contemporary epigram had it about right: in the surge toward freedom, Poland took 10 years, Hungary 10 months, East Germany 10 weeks, Czechoslovakia 10 days and Romania 10 hours.

Gorbachev the liberator was not a success at home. The Soviet economy drifted further into decline, strikes erupted, and—most threatening of all—the constituent republics of the union began declaring their "sovereignty." Even so, Gorbachev plunged ahead with his version of reform and in February 1990 directed an overhaul of the Soviet constitution that eliminated Article 6, the provision that gave the Communist Party a monopoly on political power. That action marked the end of the cold war. A banner unfurled outside the Kremlin wall carried the reproach and the admission: 72 YEARS ON THE ROAD TO NOWHERE.

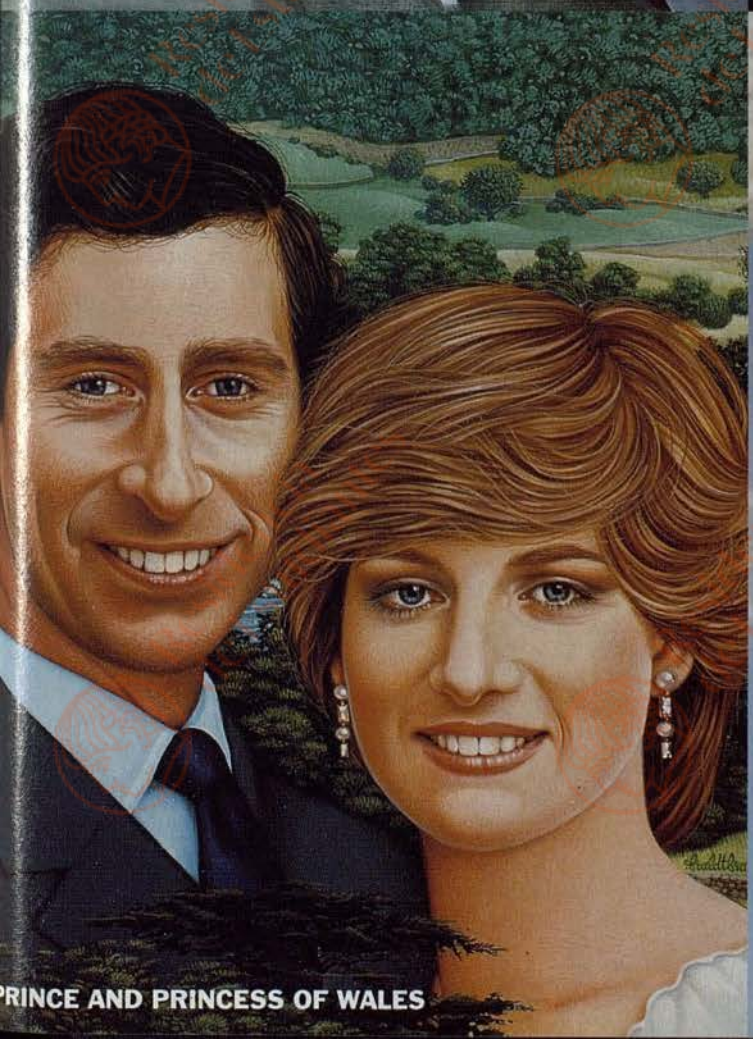
By now Gorbachev was no longer in control of the forces he had unleashed. His own position and the continued existence of the Soviet Union were both in peril. A new leader, an alternative to Gorbachev, had appeared in Moscow. Boris Yeltsin, Gorbachev's sworn enemy, had been elected President of the Russian Republic, the largest region of the U.S.S.R. Yeltsin denounced Gorbachev as indecisive and accused him of "continuous compromise and half measures." He seemed about to snatch Russia from under Gorbachev's nose. A Soviet Union without Russia was not only inconceivable; it was impossible.

As another decade began, the next stage of revolution—secession—was already shaking the Soviet Union. In the neighbor states to the west, dizzying celebrations of freedom were giving way to a sober realization of how painful the road to a market economy was going to be. But Western Europe, jubilantly reassured, burst into a round of what an official rightly called Europhoria. With the end of the cold war, and with returning prosperity, came the political will to move forward with economic integration and the old dream of unifying the Continent. Britain physically joined Europe at the end of 1990 when, after three years of digging, French and British workers broke through to link their two sections of the tunnel under the English Channel. The 12 members of the European Community pledged to join in creating one market, the world's largest, by Dec. 31, 1992. Europe's next transformation would be from Community to Union. ■

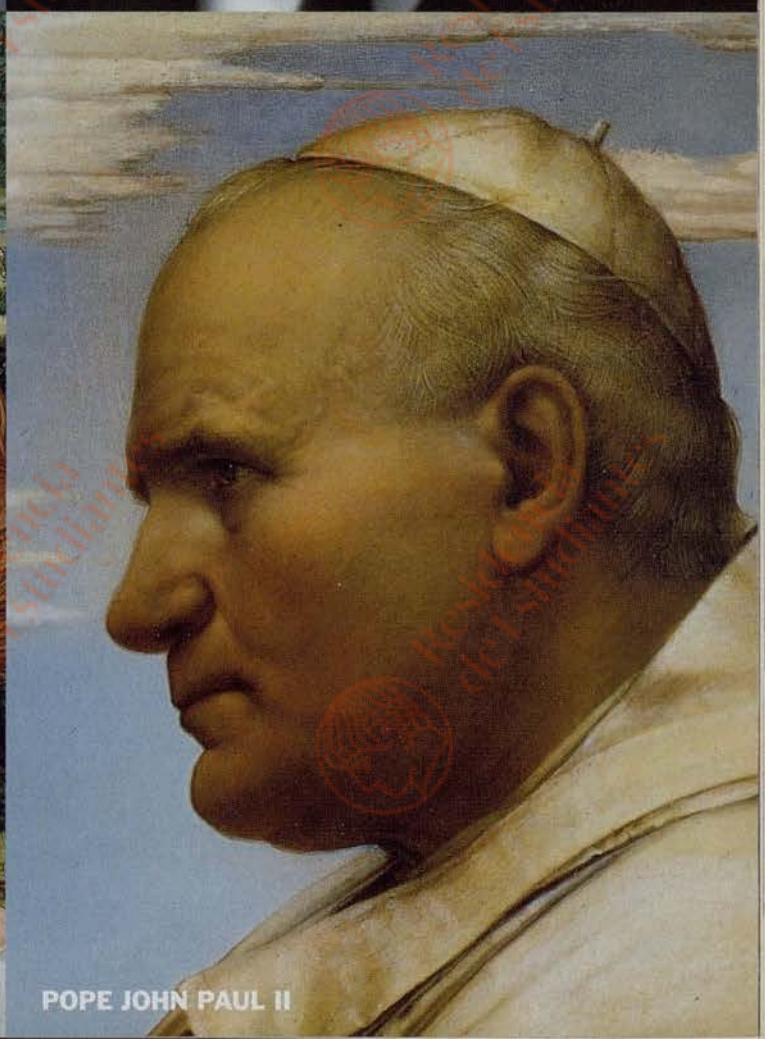


RANÇOIS MITTERRAND

KURT WALDHEIM



RINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES



POPE JOHN PAUL II

ARCHIVES 1979–1990

CHARLES AND DI DURING THE BALCONY SCENE: A GOOD DAY FOR LIP-READERS

BRITAIN

LIP SERVICE 8/10/81

▲ On a rare day of sun, England came alight last week in celebration. Nearly a billion people the world over watched the full panoply of the British monarchy and discovered a grand but homey occasion: a family affair, laid on for love—the many-splendored marriage of Lady Diana Spencer and Prince Charles. What was most impressive was the pervasive feeling not only of true joy but of real union. Until last week's historic smooch on the palace balcony, no one could recall anyone in the royal family kissing on cue. Lip readers watching on TV reported this completely unverifiable exchange. He: "They are trying to get us to kiss." She: "I tried to ask you." He: "Well, how about it?" She: "Why ever not?"

RUBIK COLOR-CODES DEMENTIA

HUNGARY

HORROR, CUBED 3/23/81

▲ Rubik's Cube, named for its inventor Erno Rubik, is also called the Hungarian Horror, since it can induce temporary dementia. It is a brightly colored cube, the faces of which must be aligned to make a solid color—one face red, one yellow and so on. The aim is to scramble the colors and then manipulate them back the way they were. The number of potential color patterns: well over 43,252,003,274,489,856.

SPAIN

THE COUP THAT FAILED 3/19/81

▼ Last week frustration with democratic rule burst forth in a stab at the heart of government. For 18 hours Spain's parliament and Cabinet were held hostage in the chamber of the Cortes' Congress of Deputies by 200 armed men. The leader of the coup attempt, Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina, was no isolated madman. Within days of the bloodless collapse of the putsch, evidence emerged that Tejero had plotted with other officers, including three generals. Only the courage of King Juan Carlos and his commitment to democracy prevented Spain from plunging back into an authoritarian past that had ended with the death of Franco.

TRICORNED COUPSTER TEJERO

BUSINESS

LLOYD'S TAKES A BATH 7/16/79

▼ For Lloyd's of London, risk has always meant opportunity. But risks keep rising, and each year the amounts that Lloyd's underwriters pay out on litigious losses, from oil-tanker disasters to Mafia-set arson jobs, keep swelling. The most expensive jolt to date involves the labyrinthine world of computer leasing, a honey-tongued Texas hustler, the biggest and most prestigious U.S. banks and IBM. As a result of many forces, the Lloyd's insurance group faces the biggest loss in its 291-year history—up to $225 million.

The 57 syndicates and 17 insurance companies involved with Lloyd's all share the loss, and Lloyd's odds-makers are ruefully philosophical about their mishap. Says underwriter Murray Lawrence: "If we didn't have losses, we wouldn't be in business."

LLOYD'S FLOOR: BIG LOSSES HAPPEN

POLAND

THE BIRTH OF SOLIDARITY 9/1/80

▶ "If Marx were alive to see it, he would not believe his eyes." So said a Polish émigré in London last week. A strike by 16,000 employees of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk had spread to about 400 factories and enterprises along the northern seacoast and affected key industrial centers in the south. By week's end an estimated 150,000 workers had walked off the job, and there were rumors that Warsaw would be hit by a general strike.

Labor unrest started eight weeks ago with a series of scattered strikes protesting a sudden rise in meat prices. But the strikers are now also insisting on free labor unions, the abolition of censorship and freedom for all political prisoners. The Lenin shipyard's committee had accepted a $50-a-month pay raise and agreed to return to work. But the decision was overturned by the rank and file, who refused to "betray the other strikers." In an abrupt about-face, Solidarity strike leader Lech Walesa, 37, told shipyard workers, "We must fight alongside them until the end."

WALESA TO STRIKERS: FIGHT UNTIL THE END

GREEN LEADER KELLY: DESPITE MARCHING, FEELINGS OF FUTILITY

WEST GERMANY

A MESSAGE FROM THE STREETS 10/31/83

▲ On Saturday a million West Germans had been expected to mass in Bonn, Hamburg, Stuttgart and West Berlin in an act of political dissent. At most, 700,000 showed up. In London, Vienna, Stockholm, Rome, Paris, Dublin, Helsinki, Brussels and Madrid, as well as in dozens of towns throughout the U.S. and Canada, the worldwide peace movement stretched its legs over the weekend. But the major offensive was in West Germany, which will receive cruise missiles and Pershing IIs. Despite the sizable nationwide showing in Germany, there was a lack of passion. Petra Kelly, a prominent member of the Green Party, noted a sense of frustration, "a feeling that resistance is futile."

ECO: A MONASTIC WHODUNIT

BOOKS

MEDIEVAL MURDERS 6/13/83

◀ Umberto Eco's first novel, *The Name of the Rose*, is a Sherlock Holmesian fantasy in a medieval setting. By far the most successful of Eco's writings, the book won the two top literary awards in Italy, the Premio Strega and the Premio Viareggio, and has sold 500,000 copies there since 1980. The novel is not only an entertaining narrative of a murder investigation in a monastery in 1327. It is also a chronicle of the 14th century's religious wars, a history of monastic orders and a compendium of heretical movements.

NORTHERN IRELAND

GUNMAN'S END 5/18/81

THE I.R.A. BURIES SANDS, A SELF-CREATED MARTYR

► At Andersonstown Road in the heart of a Catholic section, the cortege stopped, and Irish Republican Army men fired into the air three volleys of honor and mourning. The remains of terrorist and hunger striker Robert (Bobby) Sands, 27, were little more than a husk after a 66-day prison fast. He had failed to force the British government to grant political status to imprisoned I.R.A. members. But he had managed to fan passions—and street violence—to levels unseen in the North in nearly a decade.

HISTORY FAILED TO REWRITE ITSELF

WEST GERMANY

SOME COUP; SOME DIARIES 5/16/83

▲ The presses of the newsmagazine *Stern* rolled on one day last week with the first installment of the newly discovered "Hitler diaries." Next day *Stern's* great coup was blitzed. The Interior Ministry announced that "the documents did not come from Hitler's hand but were produced in the postwar period." Henri Nannen, *Stern's* publisher, admitted, "We have some reason to be ashamed."

ART

A NEW GLIMPSE 12/24/84

► There, beneath five centuries of grime from smoky candles, incense, glue and assorted retouchings, he found color—fresh, radiant, vivid color. It was, says Gianluigi Colalucci, director of the Vatican Museum's Painting Restoration Laboratory, "like opening a window on another world."

After four years of painstaking work, the first stage of cleaning the Sistine Chapel has been finished, revealing a dazzling Michelangelo who, contrary to his traditional depiction as a shadowy, tenebrous painter, was a bold and brilliant colorist.

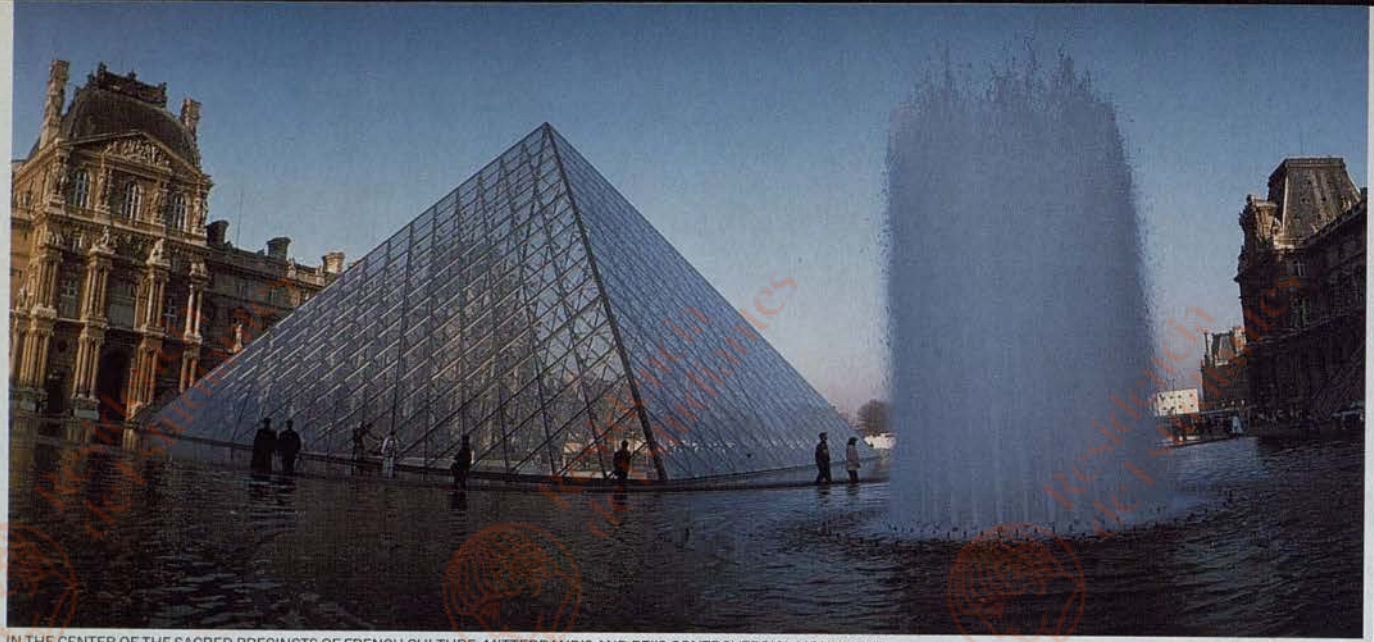
MICHELANGELO'S TRUE COLORS?

BRITAIN

THATCHER TRIUMPHANT 6/20/83

◀ In the most impressive sweep by any British party since 1945, Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives won 397 seats in the new 650-member Parliament, giving the Prime Minister a thumping majority. Thatcher becomes the first Conservative Prime Minister in this century to be elected to a second term. The grocer's daughter, whose arrival at Downing Street in 1979 was considered by many to be a fluke, was virtually untutored in the art of governing. But in four years she earned the nickname "Iron Lady," a gritty leader who seemed to relish a good scrap. Her personality, in a sense, became government policy.

THE IRON LADY WAS NO FLUKE



IN THE CENTER OF THE SACRED PRECINCTS OF FRENCH CULTURE, MITTERRAND'S AND PEI'S CONTROVERSIAL MONUMENT

ARCHITECTURE

PYRAMID IN PARIS 2/27/84

▲Causing a furor in Paris is a plan by U.S. architect I.M. Pei to build a 66-ft.-high glass pyramid smack in the center of one of the sacred precincts of French culture: the courtyard of the venerable Louvre Museum. President François Mitterrand selected the 66-year-old Chinese-born architect for the job, and last week, despite the outcry over the glass pyramid, he officially approved Pei's plan.

The Louvre is an imposing palace but, notwithstanding its fabulous art collection, an impossible museum. Some 90% of its space is crammed with exhibits of paintings and sculptures. The traffic flow of the 3.7 million people who trek through the Louvre every year is chaotic.

Pei concluded that a thorough revamping of the museum was possible without changing any of the existing architecture. The key: the creation of space underground, an extensive, 750,000-sq.-ft. level including a grand entrance hall, shops, restaurants, audiovisual theaters, storage space and parking area.

BOURSICOT AND DECEIVER SHI

FRANCE

TRULY BLIND LOVE 5/19/86

▲Bernard Boursicot, 42, a onetime accountant at the French embassy in Peking, and his paramour, Shi Peipu, 48, were given six-year prison sentences for espionage by a Paris court last week. The judges could not fathom Boursicot's claim that for 19 years he believed his lover was a woman. In fact, Shi Peipu, a Chinese spy, is a man.

SOVIET UNION

CRITIQUE 11/23/87

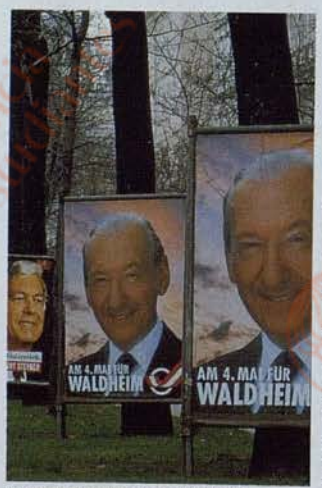
■After listening to withering denunciations of his performance as head of the Moscow Communist Party, starting with a personal attack by his mentor, Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin was clearly stunned. "I have heard ... things such as I have never heard in my ... life," he said when it was his turn to speak. Yeltsin issued a self-criticism that echoed nothing so much as the Stalin-era show trials of the 1930s. "One of my most characteristic personal traits, ambition, has manifested itself lately," he said. "I am very guilty ... before the Politburo and certainly before Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev."

SOVIET UNION

DEADLY MELTDOWN 5/12/86

▼At 9 p.m. Monday, a newscaster on Moscow television read a four-sentence statement from the Council of Ministers. The terse, almost grudging announcement said in full: "An accident has taken place at the Chernobyl power station, and one of the reactors was damaged. Measures are being taken to eliminate the consequences of the accident. Those affected by it are being given assistance. A government commission is being set up."

GUARD NEAR CHERNOBYL: "AN ACCIDENT HAS TAKEN PLACE ..."



A COUPLE OF WALDHEIM'S FACES

AUSTRIA

PAINED VICTORY 6/23/86

◄Austrians were eager to be done with divisive questions about Kurt Waldheim's Nazi past. It was soon apparent, however, that the analgesic effects of the decisive election would not be enough to cure Austria's headache. The day after the ballots were cast giving Waldheim a 53.9%-to-46.1% victory over Kurt Steyrer, Chancellor Fred Sinowatz resigned. Soon three more Socialist ministers quit their posts. The sharpest protest came from the Israelis, who recalled their ambassador from Austria for an indefinite period.

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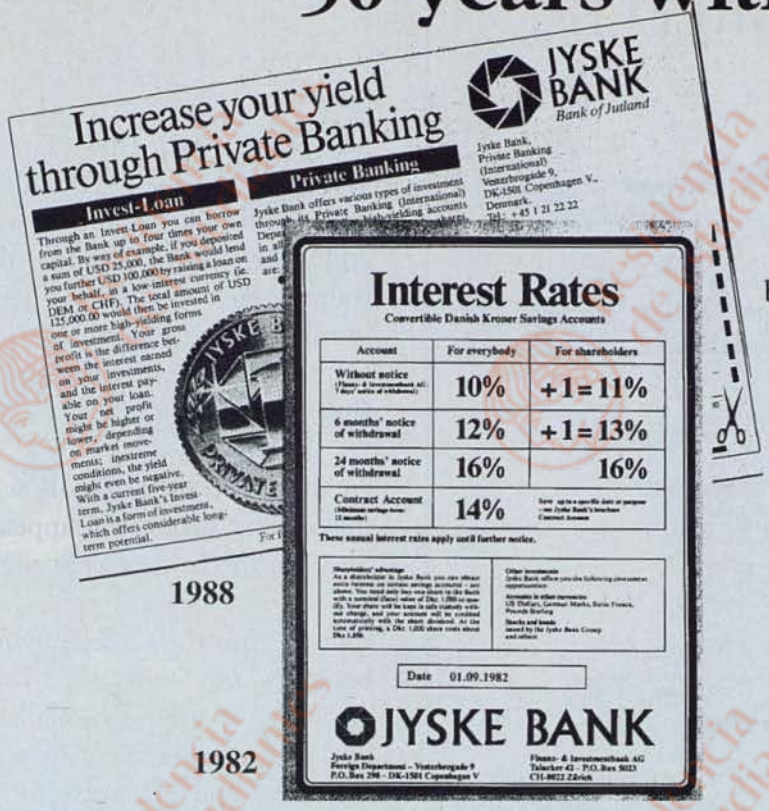

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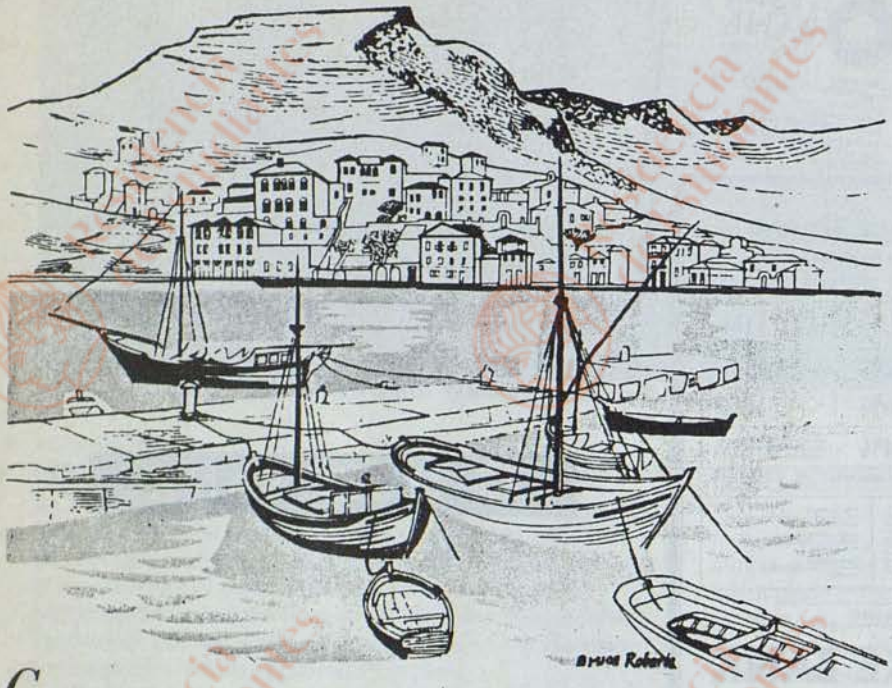

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Looking back on everything, you will realise that the best moments could have happened nowhere but in Greece. Nowhere in all the world.

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GREEK TOURIST BOARD

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All along, the Greek tourist message has been pertinent, timely, sincere and effective.

In its successful promotional activities over the years the Greek National Tourist Organisation has always had TIME's cordial cooperation.

Happy 50th European Anniversary TIME.

GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANISATION

As originally appeared in TIME Atlantic, June 4, 1951

Greece

IMAGINE, A FEW MILES AWAY, IN CHALKIDIKI, YOU CAN SWIM ALL DAY AND GAMBLE ALL NIGHT.

MEANWHILE, here's another story

From the town of Salonica - cultural capital of Europe '97 - to the sandy beaches of Chalkidiki, Greece reveals a different story at every turn. Feel the never-ending presence of a glorious civilisation against the backdrop of spectacular scenery and you'll realise you've embarked on a never-ending vacation.
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Hellas

A never-ending story.

BENEATH THE SEA: NO BRITON IS AN ISLAND, NOR IS BRITAIN

THE CHUNNEL

BREAKTHROUGH 11/12/90

▲ Last week Britain ceased to be an island. On Oct. 30, a French team in the service tunnel 40 m. below the bed of the Channel waited for a thin, steel probe, drilled through from the British side, to pierce the wall of the chalk marl in front of them. The British crew sent a blast of compressed air through the hole, blowing out the last crumbs of marl. "From that moment on," said a worker, "we could feel the air from the other side circulating."

CEAUSESCU WEEPS

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU'S END 1/1/90

◀ The overthrow of President Nicolae Ceausescu's paranoid dictatorship last week seemed to take 10 hours. On Thursday night the megalomaniacal leader and his wife Elena were in Bucharest; next morning they were gone. They had fled after the army refused to shoot demonstrators. Loyalist forces staged a fierce comeback, however, plunging the country into civil war. In the confusion, Ceausescu and his wife vanished, but by week's end they were captured.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A MOMENT IN HISTORY 5/29/89

▼ Vaclav Havel, his country's leading dissident, was freed last week, halfway through his eight-month prison term in connection with demonstrations in Wenceslas Square on Jan. 16. Havel was finishing an interview with TIME when the bell rang. Someone murmured, "Dubcek."

"I had to come," he said.

Alexander Dubcek, 67, the hero of the 1968 Prague Spring, was reserved as he and Havel sat down together on a couch. The two patron saints of lost Czechoslovak causes did not know each other. "I was expecting every miracle today except that I would meet you," said the excited writer. The aging politician spoke of Havel's plays, none of which have been staged in Czechoslovakia since 1968. The author gathered a stack of smuggled editions published abroad by Czech émigré groups. "Let me sign them for you," Havel said. "I will sign them in green ink, because green is the color of hope, and I am an optimist."

FREE CZECHS: DUBCEK, HAVEL

MILOSEVIC FOLLOWERS IN KOSOVO

THE BALKANS

"SLOBO! SLOBO! SLOBO!" 7/10/89

▲ In Kosovo Polje (Field of the Blackbirds) in Southern Yugoslavia, where in 1389 a Turkish army defeated the Christian Serbs and ushered in five centuries of Muslim domination of the Balkans, 250,000 people gathered on a huge, sloping field. A chant welled up: "Slobo! Slobo! Slobo!" It swelled to a roar as Slobodan Milosevic, 48, president of the Serbian republic, strode onto the podium. "Serbia has restored its statehood and ... integrity!" he told the cheering crowd.

Last March Milosevic pushed through changes that strengthened Serbian control over Kosovo, where 1.7 million ethnic Albanians outnumber Serbs nearly 10 to 1.

AT THE WALL: TRAPDOORS FLEW OPEN, REGIMES VANISHED

THE COLD WAR

FINIS 1/1/90

◀ The 1980s came to an end in what seemed like a magic act, performed on a world historical stage. Trapdoors flew open, and whole regimes vanished. The shell of an old world cracked, and something new, alive, exploded into the air in a flurry of white wings.

The transformation had a giddy, hallucinatory quality, its surprises tumbling out night after night. The wall that divided Berlin and sealed an international order crumbled into souvenirs. The cold war was peacefully deconstructing before the world's eyes.

After the years of numb changelessness, the communist world has come alive with an energy and turmoil that have taken on a bracing, potentially anarchic life of their own. Not even Romania was immune. The magician who set loose these forces is a career party functionary, a charismatic politician and an impresario of calculated disorder named Mikhail Gorbachev.

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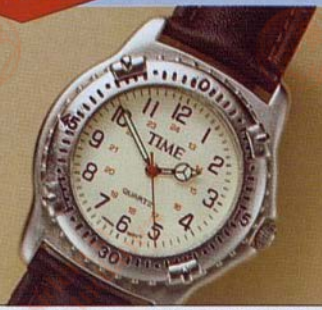

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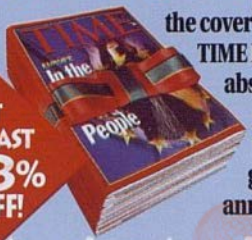

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The Spanish Sinatra 4/11/83

Take a good look at the face. Roll the name over your tongue. JULIO IGLESIAS. Better get used to it because the "Spanish Sinatra" is about to become as familiar in the U.S. as he is just about everywhere else on the planet. Over the past 15 years, Iglesias, 39, has reportedly sold some 70 million albums.

TEMPORARY DOUBLE KNOT 1/9/84

In the eyes of the Vatican, which is still considering her annulment request, she remains married to French playboy Philippe Junot. But that did not stop Monaco's **PRINCESS CAROLINE,** 26, from tying the knot last week with **STEFANO CASIRAGHI,** 23, son of a wealthy Italian businessman.

ELEVATED EYEBROWS 6/6/88

Not since Czar Nicholas wed Alexandra in 1894 have Russians encountered a ruler's wife with such presence, such personality, such promise as a subject of mild jokes and elevated eyebrows as **RAISA GORBACHEV.**

She is the first Soviet First Lady to use an American Express card and, as a member of the board of the Culture Fund, the first since Lenin's spouse to hold a prominent public position. In London she canceled a visit to the tomb of Karl Marx for a chance to see the crown jewels. She owns four fur coats and wore three of them in one day in Washington.

A BOUNDLESS MIND 2/8/88

In the motorized wheelchair, boyish face dimly illuminated by a glowing computer screen attached to the left armrest, is **STEPHEN WILLIAM HAWKING,** 46 (shown with his wife Jane), one of the world's greatest theoretical physicists. Since his early 20s, he has suffered from Lou Gehrig's disease, which has robbed him of virtually all movement.

Despite his condition, Hawking has an intellect that is free to roam. And roam it does. Hawking has conceived startling new theories about black holes and the tumultuous events that immediately followed the Big Bang, from which the universe sprang. More recently, he has unsettled both physicists and theologians by suggesting that the universe has no boundaries, was not created and will not be destroyed.

S E E N & H E A R D

2/6/84

Gérard Depardieu finds it difficult at times to explain how much of his success has been showered on someone seemingly possessed of such slight star potential. "I don't know where to begin with this poor face," he says with a smile. "The only part that I really like is its childlike quality. Particularly my eyes. People see me as this big brute, a big French lover. I'm more interesting, more intelligent than they know. And that is what makes me sexy."

10/29/90

The card from Buckingham Palace had two choices: "I can kneel" and "I cannot kneel." And for those who can kneel but not get up again? After being made Britain's newest knight last week, **Peter Ustinov,** 69, reported that there's "a handy rail to assist knights of a certain age." Ustinov has been touring the world with his one-man show. Following the traditional sword tapping, Queen Elizabeth observed, "We hear you are as active as ever."

Canon

Quote: Thomas Fuller, Gnomologia, (1732).

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All new Canon products and production processes are more ecologically responsible. This includes toner cartridge recycling centres and the elimination of harmful CFCs.

The Oceans, a heritage for the world.

In the 15th Century the Portuguese sailed all over the world. In 1998, the whole world will make the return voyage and sail back to Portugal.

In 1498 the Portuguese were world pioneers in bringing a century-old dream to fruition – a dream involving the pure sciences, technology, finance, planning, politics and the sheer ability to get things done. In opening up the sea route to India, the navigator Vasco da Gama achieved the greatest objective of Portugal's 15th-century epic struggle.

In 1998, five hundred years after that great voyage, Portugal is once more at the centre of the world's attention, concentrating people and political will on "The Oceans – A Heritage for the Future" – the theme of the last World Exposition of the 20th century. The Lisbon World Exposition – EXPO '98 – which is intended to be a great celebration of the Oceans, will also mark the first meeting of formerly distant worlds by means of the sea. The event will run from 22 May to 30 September 1998 in Lisbon, Portugal's capital since the 12th century. This Atlantic city, nowadays the economic centre of a region with around 3 million inhabitants, was one of the most important commercial ports in the whole of Europe, when it was the point of departure for fleets seeking to conquer the seas. This is a cosmopolitan city, which is open to the world and has always been able to integrate all races, cultures and customs.

As part of that tradition, EXPO '98 intends to attract the peoples of the whole world to become involved in global reflection on the future of the Oceans. The exposition will thus lead countries to reflect on the theme, creating a forum for the exchange of information and experiences, aimed at ensuring the success of the international community's efforts to define a new policy for the Oceans.

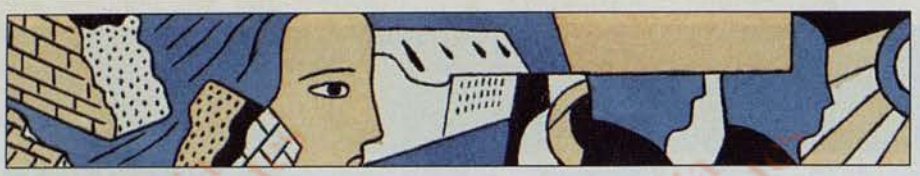
The objectives underlying this project include exchanging information considered relevant to measures related to the management of our common heritage – the Oceans. In essence, these are: – to bring together existing knowledge on the Oceans; – to assess the current outcome of experiences gained with the use of the Oceans; – to underline the interdependence between the Oceans and the atmosphere; – to assess the available potential of the Oceans; – to encourage the countries concerned about the Oceans to join forces; – to contribute to the success of the international community's efforts to redefine new policies for the Oceans.

The Exposition will approach the theme from various different perspectives – science, entertainment, arts and ecology – and the theme itself will be the factor which unifies the organisers and participating countries' pavilions. This way, the Oceans will be present throughout EXPO '98. If you are hoping to find new technologies, shows, arts and culture, or just a good time, 1998 is the year to come to Lisbon – to EXPO '98.

What you can expect to see at EXPO '98

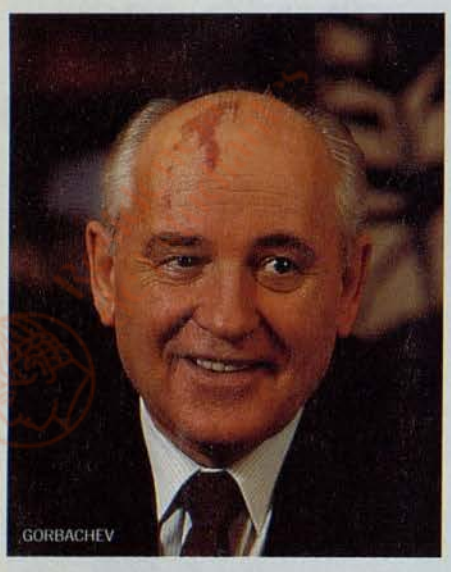
Located in eastern Lisbon, EXPO '98 stretches 2 kilometres along the northern bank of the river Tagus, only a few minutes from the city centre. The theme will be treated from various perspectives in 5 Thematic Pavilions: the Ocean Pavilion, the Portuguese National Pavilion, the Knowledge of the Seas Pavilion, the Pavilion of the Future and the Utopia Pavilion. More than 120 participating countries will be represented in individual modules located in two international areas. In addition to the Thematic Pavilions, visitors to EXPO '98 will be able to see a number of daily events (Boat Show, Daytime Parade and Night-time Multimedia Show), together with a wide range of performances throughout the Exposition Ground (Jules Verne Auditorium, Open Air Amphitheatre, Video-Stadium and various stages). Besides all these events, a wide range of support facilities such as restaurants, shops and other services will be available for visitors, who are expected to make a total of 15 million visits.

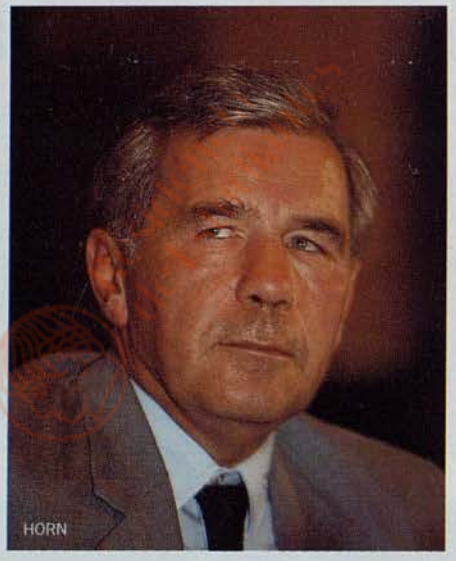
1979–1990



First Person

On Poland's Solidarity movement, Soviet perestroika, *the end of the Iron Curtain and changing roles for Irish women*


GORBACHEV


HORN


JARUZELSKI


ROBINSON

Wojciech Jaruzelski

Premier of Poland from 1981 to 1989, General Jaruzelski served as President from 1989 to 1990

To my mind, the most important event of the '80s was the creation of the Polish Roundtable in February 1989 [which led to a coalition government with the ruling communists and the Solidarity trade-union movement led by Lech Walesa]. It was significant for three reasons. First, it lifted a huge burden from my shoulders. Second, it created a situation in which the sharp confrontation between political forces ceased to exist; that was particularly important considering the fact that our national temperament had often led to bloodshed. Finally, Poland's peaceful transition from totalitarian rule set an example for other countries in the region and opened the way for political change in the East bloc. I, of course, give full credit to the role of Mikhail Gorbachev, my great friend to this day. He himself used to say our Polish reforms were a great laboratory for *perestroika*.

Originally, I thought that even after reform we would be a socialist country with a strong private sector. But the further we went, the more I understood that this was not realistic. As we approached the Roundtable, I knew it was necessary to drop the doctrine of dominant state ownership and control of the economy in order to make it clear that we were ready to share political power. There was very strong opposition in my own camp, but as President and commander in chief of the army and the security forces, I was able to ensure that the transition occurred in a peaceful and flexible way.

Why wasn't it possible to achieve reform sooner? Everything must mature in its own time: grain, fruit, humans, as well as societies and even politicians. In 1981 the government was marching too slowly and Solidarity too fast. We were heading for a catastrophe. Just as the Prague spring of 1968 was ahead of its time, the Polish autumn of 1981 went beyond the historical realities of that period. We were severely limited by the Warsaw Pact.

When I imposed martial law in December 1981, it was everyone's fault because we failed to understand one another—and no one's fault because it was not the proper time. I made many mistakes and today would do many things differently. But my errors were more tactical than strategic. It took time for De Klerk to reach an understanding with Mandela, Arafat with Rabin. In 1981 the time was not yet right for Walesa and Jaruzelski to come to terms. ■

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

From 1985 to 1991, Gorbachev was General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

This has been a cruel and bloody century, but also a time of enormous breakthroughs and discoveries, marked by attempts of very different kinds to change the fundamental nature of our civilization. You could almost say that things were finally reaching the denouement in a play that had been performed down the centuries. We had come to a point where everything could have ended in a catastrophe.

When I became the leader of the Soviet Union, I was firmly persuaded that the model of society the communists had forced on our country was not working. I had illusions that I could improve this model, a notion that had ended in failure for Khrushchev, Kosygin and Andropov before me, but I soon saw that this system put up resistance to any kind of change. Society was suffocating from a lack of freedom, deprived of any social energy. All this convinced me that the system needed to be changed—and then this idea led to the broader concept that change was needed not just in our country but also in international affairs. This is how those concepts, *perestroika* and the new way of thinking, were born. I said then that we were living in one contradictory but essentially integrated world in which we were all dependent on one another.

The understanding was also growing on the other side of the Iron Curtain. So when the question comes up now about who won and lost the cold war, I dismiss this as the thinking of small-minded politicians. We were thinking in terms of a new way of seeing the world—and this got a response. Perhaps it was fated or God ordained it so, but it came from the most unusual combination of people—leaders like Ronald Reagan, who I had been told was almost as right-wing as you could get; Margaret Thatcher, who was also firm in her own convictions; and François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl, who all answered the call of the times.

Our bipolar world has given way to multiple regional centers of power. In those East European countries where the collapse of totalitarian regimes was applauded in the West, we now have "post–Warsaw Pact" parties in power formed on the basis of the old Communist parties. But our Russian party has not even gone halfway on the path of renewal. We have to see things as they really are and stand firmly for the principle that everything must be done to help democracy take root. Only this can save us. ■

GYULA HORN

A onetime Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs Minister of Hungary, Horn is now the Prime Minister

The dismantling of the Iron Curtain was started [in early 1989] as part of Hungary's development toward an independent foreign policy. But we came in for very tough criticism from Moscow and its allies. So it was decided to have a sort of fence-cutting ceremony, together with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, to demonstrate to the world that we were not going to stop, that we were going to dismantle the Iron Curtain and that we were creating an irreversible situation. Actually, they couldn't do anything against it. Later, when we began letting out East German refugees, we followed the same principle. Only two other people knew about that besides me—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Minister of the Interior Istvan Horvath—and there was coordination with the West Germans and the Austrians.

Moscow would have had two means of preventing it. One was military intervention, and in fact, the Romanian and the Czechoslovak leadership demanded it. The second was the threat of economic retaliation. But neither of these things happened. Under Brezhnev things would have been very different. Having a Gorbachev in Moscow was very important for all of this.

I did not expect subsequent events to happen so quickly. Even at the time of the demolition of the Berlin Wall, analysts were saying it could lead to a kind of confederation or a close partnership, but not unification. Of course, the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany recognized the historic chance for unification. Without people like Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, maybe unification would not have taken place so quickly, or perhaps not at all. They played a historic role—just like Gorbachev.

I am proud of the role I played in 1989, when I was Minister of Foreign Affairs. But it is also important to assume responsibility for the past, and I never conceal the fact that I was a communist. By a long process, I turned from a communist into a European left-wing politician. There are many like me who gradually became convinced that the [communist] system was antidemocratic, against achievement and performance. Today we don't deal with who has what sort of past, or religion or ideology. Neither do we feel nostalgic for the paternalistic regime of Janos Kadar. We are wiping away the last remnants of Kadarism and putting an end to the patronizing role of the state. ■

MARY ROBINSON

In 1990 Robinson, a member of the Labour Party, was elected the first woman President of Ireland

During the debate in 1972 over the referendum to join the European Union, serious arguments were put forward against Ireland's joining. People questioned whether we were going to lose or dilute the independence and sovereignty we had struggled so long for. I happened to be in favor of joining, but I was convinced that if we joined, we had to retain our sense of Irishness. In fact, joining gradually made a deep and positive impact on our Irishness. Ireland welcomed the chance to express its European connection. We were reclaiming our place in Europe.

We ceased to define ourselves almost exclusively in terms of our relationship with Britain. It allowed us a more confident modern sense of ourselves, and we embraced wholeheartedly the idea of being one of a number of European countries that included Britain.

This was a new experience. Irish ministers met their British counterparts in a European context along with their French and German colleagues. People got to know one another, and that helped them address the difficult issue of violence in Northern Ireland. It created the kind of climate that led to the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985.

Being a part of the European Community enabled us to compare Irish social norms and statistics with those of other countries. I saw that particularly in the progress toward equal pay, equality of opportunity and social security for women. The women's movement in Ireland, which had begun in the '70s, was largely made up of journalists, lawyers like me and woman civil servants looking for equal pay. It intimidated quite a lot of married women in Ireland whose main focus was on their family and children. They felt, "This isn't for me; I'm just a housewife."

In the late '80s and into the '90s the women's movement began looking at the priorities of women in a more rounded way. It included women whose focus may be on their husbands and children but who may be doing volunteer work. At the same time women began taking part more actively in both the public and private sectors. When I was first elected to the Senate in 1969, there were only five women there. Now the proportion is about 13%. I had a sense that the world would be greatly improved when women were there in sufficient numbers to really influence the structures and the way of doing things. ■

FORGING UNION AND BEYOND

By James O. Jackson

THE MOOD IN THE WEST AT THE beginning of the 1990s was so optimistic that the period was defined by a single provocative phrase: "The end of history." Historian Francis Fukuyama, at the time deputy director of the U.S. State Department's policy-planning staff, first used the line in an obscure 1989 essay, then expanded upon it in a book, *The End of History and the Last Man*. Fukuyama argued that the forces of freedom had triumphed over Marxism with its legacy of war, revolution and totalitarian oppression. The result, he warned, could be an era so devoid of conflict and challenge as to be deadening. As TIME's Strobe Talbott (later U.S. Deputy Secretary of State) described Fukuyama's thesis in a 1992 essay: "Mankind is entering a state of grace and risking terminal boredom."

Europe certainly seemed to enter the '90s in a state of grace. It was a decade that began with the final failure of communism, dissolution of the Soviet Union, withdrawal of armies, destruction of nuclear weaponry, opening of borders and unparalleled prosperity.

Optimism was in the air, a confidence in the future not felt for a half-century. In Central Europe closed societies burst open with the promise of market economies and democratic government. The signing of the Maastricht Treaty created the prospect of a common European currency before the turn of the century. The World Wide Web—created by a British scientist working in a European laboratory in Switzerland—offered the promise of a bur-

RIS YELTSIN

EUROCURRENCY TROUBLE

TKO MLADIC

SILVIO BERLUSCONI

For all its setbacks and disasters, European history at the end of the century has been less dangerous than it was at its wretched midpoint 50 years ago

geoning information age free from the blight of borders, suspicion and censorship.

The end of history, it appeared, was a lovely time to be alive.

Then, suddenly and perhaps predictably, history returned, and with much the same violence and vindictiveness that have made the previous decades of the 20th century so dismally memorable. Iraq launched an attack on Kuwait. It brought a massive response from the U.S.-led coalition that annihilated the Iraqi army in a lightning war. Yugoslavia came apart in an orgy of civil strife and "ethnic cleansing" that revived memories of Nazi genocide during World War II. Europe and its institutions—NATO, the European Union, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—stood paralyzed amid slaughter.

For a few perilous days in August 1991, it seemed that the same might happen in the Soviet Union. A junta put Mikhail Gorbachev under house arrest and announced a state of emergency. Defenders of democracy, led by Boris Yeltsin, barricaded themselves inside Moscow's White House, and the coup collapsed. The Soviet Union followed. Soon after, the Central Committee of the Communist Party itself disbanded. Result: freedom for the inmates of the Soviet prison of nations. Mapmakers struggled to redraw borders, and the U.N. made way for 17 new members.

Freedom did not necessarily bring peace. In the Caucasus, Georgia dissolved into civil war while Armenia and Azerbaijan fought over contested territory. Russia itself—a vast multi-ethnic federation stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific—seemed headed for further disintegration. Regions rebelled, some peacefully and some violently. Most violent was the republic of Chechnya, whose unilateral declaration of independence Moscow ultimately resisted in a bloody war that would have no victor.

For many in Eastern Europe, war was only one bitter consequence of newly won freedom. Market reforms shuttered unproductive factories and even whole industries, creating widespread unemployment and sometimes runaway inflation. Health and welfare systems collapsed: in 1994 the typical Russian male could look forward to an average life-span of only 57 years, the worst prognosis in the industrialized world.

Faced with such catastrophes, both public and personal, citizens began using their new voting right to turn back to the past. Communist parties popped up once again, with liberal-sounding new names but many of the same old faces. In 1995 Poles ousted the mercurial Lech Walesa from the presidency, replacing him with ex-communist Aleksander Kwasniewski. Former communists won high office in Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Slovakia and Hungary. Even in eastern Germany, prospering from unification, a renamed former Communist Party won seats in parliament. In Russia only a timely alliance between Yeltsin and popular ex-general Alexander Lebed helped defeat a revived Communist Party and its candidate, Gennadi Zyuganov, in last summer's presidential election.

While history clearly did not end in Eastern Europe, it sometimes appeared to have come to a standstill in the West. The Maastricht formula for a European Union proved to be a paper dream. The Danes initially voted against ratification, and Britain threatened to do the same, forcing virtual renegotiation of the treaty. A French referendum produced a narrow *petit oui* of only 51.05% in favor of the treaty, and there was little more enthusiasm elsewhere.

By the end of 1992, Big Europe looked very much like the same Old Europe. When Yugoslavia broke apart in 1991, so did the idea of a common E.U. defense and foreign policy. Germany plunged ahead with diplomatic recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, while the rest of Europe dithered. When full-scale war broke out in Bosnia, the European response was three years of feckless diplomacy, resulting ultimately in a plan engineered by Britain's Lord Owen that would have divided Bosnia into a messy myriad of Swiss-like cantons.

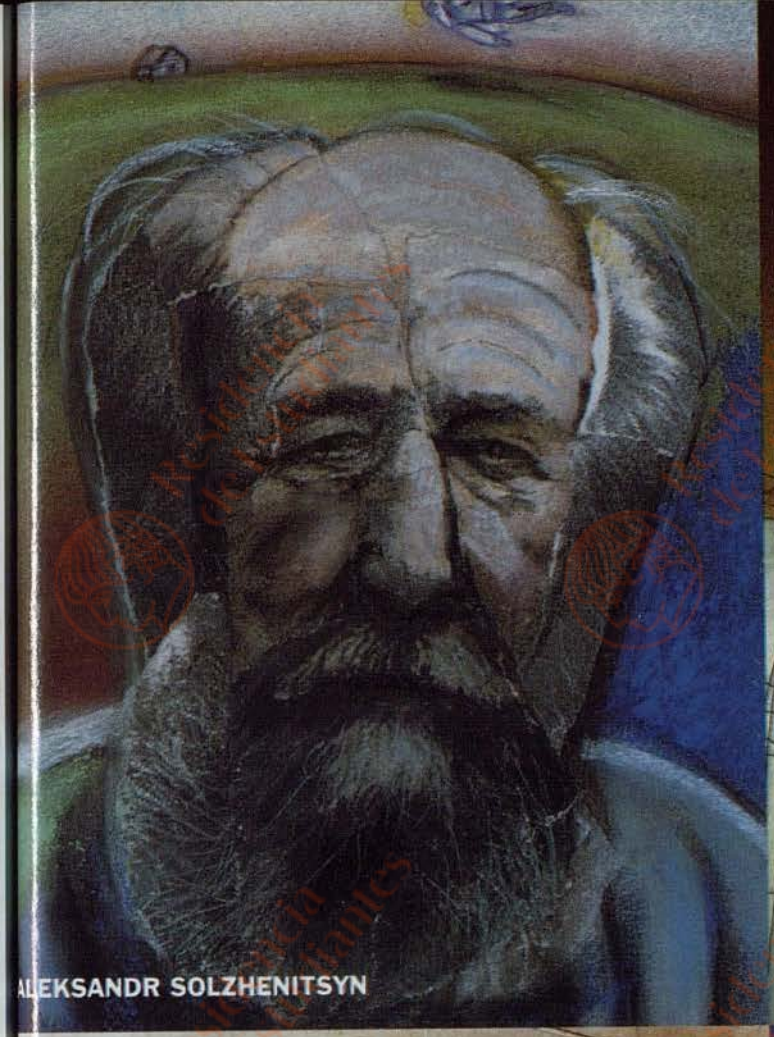
By 1995 the conflict had become intolerable. The siege of Sarajevo had become the longest in the century's history. Some 700,000 refugees had fled to Western Europe and North America. Worse, more than 200,000 people had died, a high percentage of them civilians, amid growing evidence of war crimes ranging from systematic rape to mass executions. Finally, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke tackled the problem of peace with threats and inducements that brought the warring parties together in Dayton, Ohio, to hammer out an agreement that finally stopped the fighting. Europe's role was embarrassingly marginal.

Yet somehow the Continent manages to move ahead. For all its failures, the E.U. remains the world's most attractive economic club. Austria, Sweden and Finland have rushed to join, and others, including most of the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, have put their names on a long waiting list. The Dayton Agreement has proved that NATO can become an effective peacemaker in regional conflicts. France has rejoined the military portion of the alliance after almost 30 years, and nearly all the former Soviet-bloc countries are clamoring for membership. Even a suspicious Russia has acceded to the alliance's "Partnership for Peace" arrangement and has cooperated with NATO in implementing the Dayton accords.

But peace is far more than the absence of war, and civilization more than the pronouncements of parliaments. It is art, music, cuisine and fashion, all the qualities that transform the monotony of existence into the joy of living. In those qualities, the Europe of the coming millennium is richer, both materially and spiritually, than ever in its history. When hemlines rise or hairlines fall in New York City and Tokyo, the reason can be found in the artistry of the great Parisian houses of haute couture. The hundreds of publicly financed orchestras, operas and ballet troupes of Europe constitute the main repository of the Western world's legacy of great music and dance.

It is a wealth, moreover, that is shared by the vast majority of the population. Despite its costly excesses, the European approach to social welfare has given most of the Continent's people levels of health care, education and pension rights that are the envy of the world—while preserving the market forces that make the difference between a welfare state and a police state. The new Europe is the excitement of Berlin rebuilding; the thrill of a high-speed train streaking beneath the English Channel; the new businesses and investments that are bringing style and sparkle to Moscow, Budapest and Warsaw; the growing web of computer connections that are drawing all together.

As Fukuyama would now be the first to agree, history did not end with the '90s; terminal boredom has not set in. For all its setbacks, European history at the end of the century has been less dangerous than it was at its wretched midpoint 50 years ago. The Continent is as lively, inspiring and unpredictable as ever—and is sure to remain so. ■



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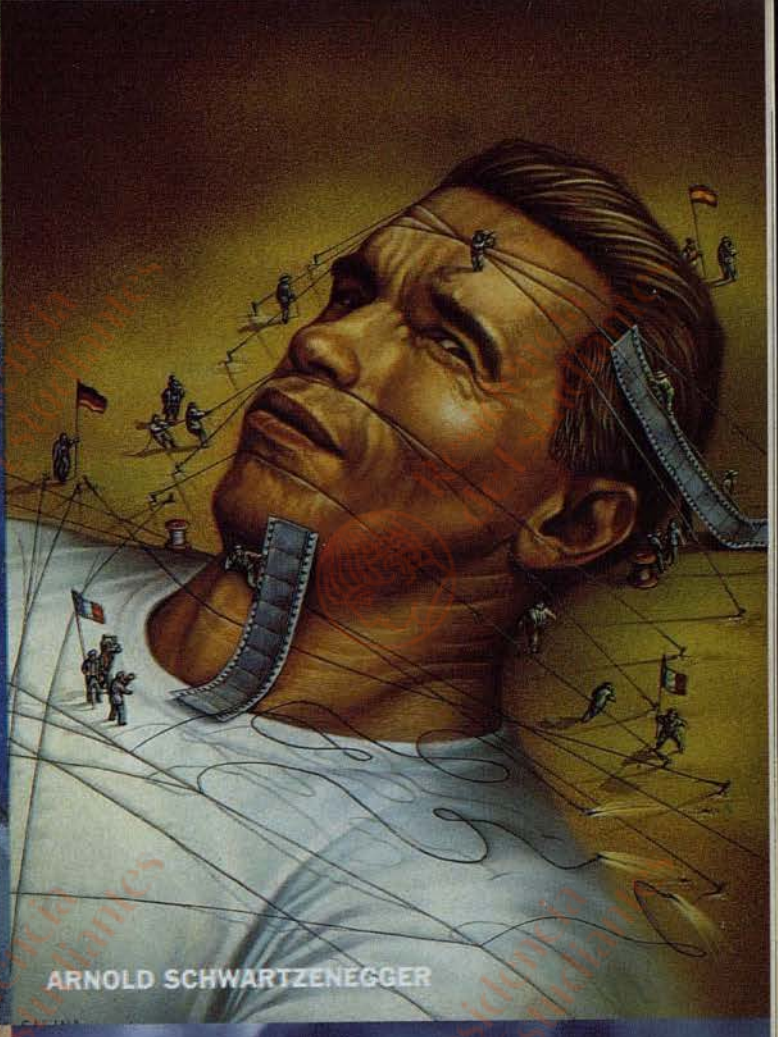
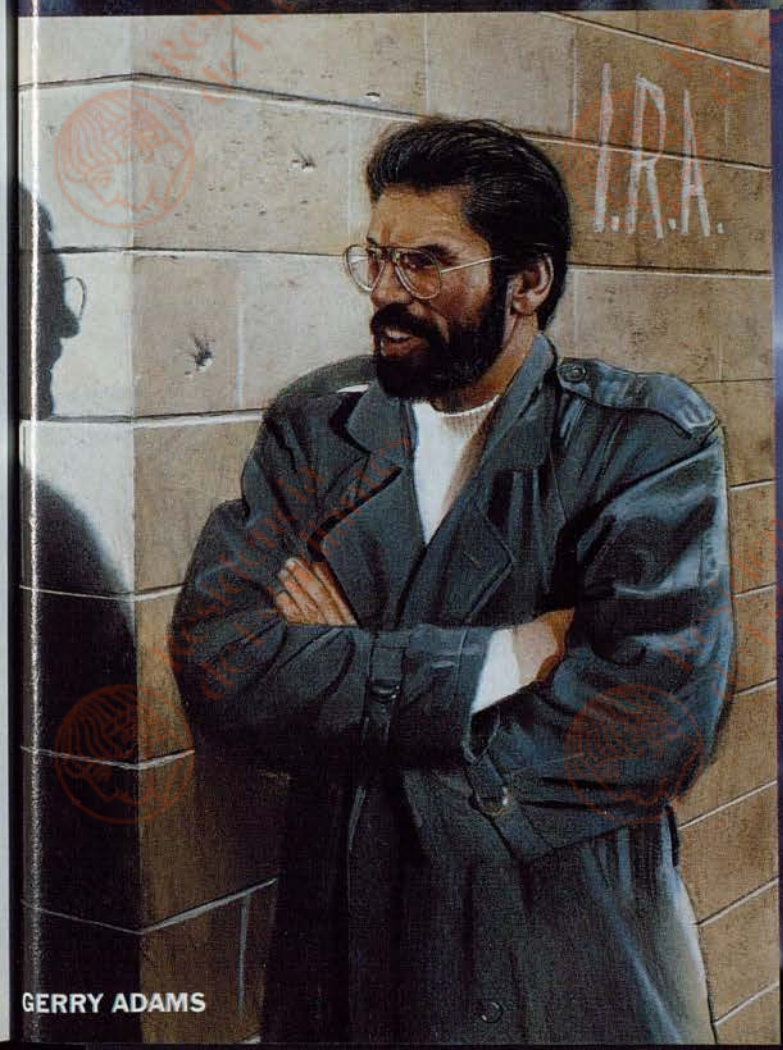


ARNOLD SCHWARTZENEGGER



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REBELS ON GUARD AT THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING IN VILNIUS

SOVIET UNION

THE EDGE OF DARKNESS 2/4/91

▲ New concrete walls seal off the narrow cobblestone streets leading to the Latvian parliament in Riga's Old Town. Four barricades block access to the small square in front of the building. Milling around bonfires near the parliament's entrance, carrying AK-47 assault rifles, are militiamen loyal to the republic's separatist government. At other bonfires in nearby Cathedral Square, hundreds of Latvians stand vigil through the night.

Early last week, without warning, a squad of thuggish special forces from the Soviet Interior Ministry, known as black berets, attacked the Latvian Interior Ministry. The assault came only seven days after army paratroops had seized Lithuania's television center in Vilnius, killing 15 unarmed demonstrators. In spite of it all, the democratically elected Baltic governments refuse to compromise on their demands for independence. A lopsided stalemate is setting in. Says Egidijus Bickauskas, Lithuania's chief representative in Moscow: "We will not back down on our declaration of independence."

RUSSIA

REVOLUTION 9/2/91

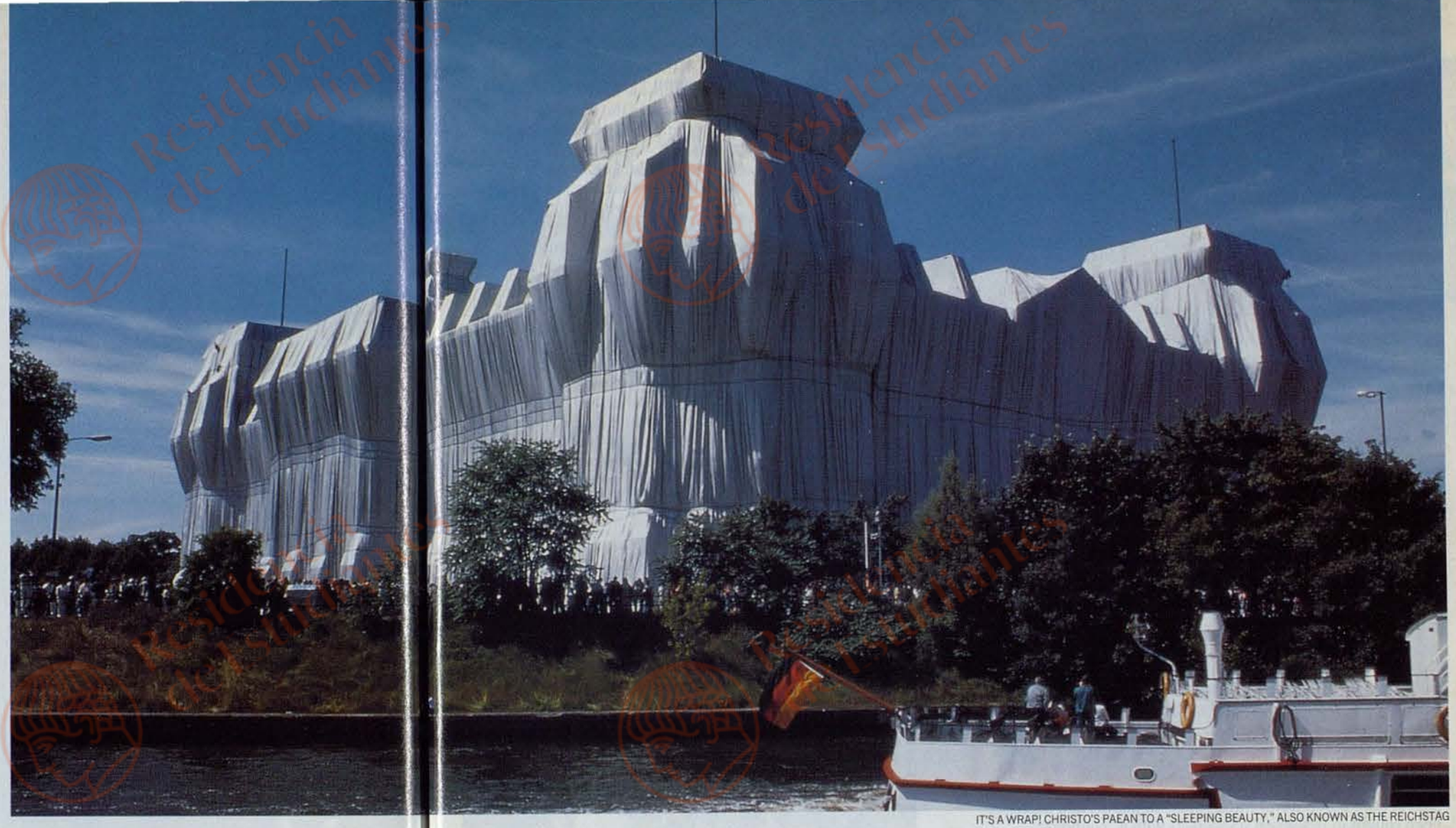
◀ Men with faces the color of a sidewalk talked about a "state of emergency." They rolled in tanks and told stolid lies. The world imagined another totalitarian dusk, cold war again, and probably Soviet civil war as well. If Gorbachev was under arrest, who had possession of the nuclear codes?

At 6 a.m. on Monday, TASS reported falsely that Gorbachev was ill and had yielded his powers temporarily. An hour later TASS announced that a State committee would rule for six months. Political parties were suspended and protest demonstrations banned.

At 12:30 p.m. Monday, Boris Yeltsin clambered atop an armored truck outside the White House to denounce the coup as illegal. At 5 p.m. the conspirators called a press conference. Far from coming across as a take-charge group, they appeared nervous and half apologetic. By Wednesday Yeltsin announced that some of the conspirators were running to Vnukovo Airport to get out of town. Gorbachev did not get back to Moscow until 2:15 a.m. Thursday. Stepping off the plane, he looked haggard and drawn, rather like the released hostage that he was. In theory, at least, he was back in full command.

The three days that shook the world were over.

GORBACHEV AND WIFE RAISA RETURN TO MOSCOW AND CHAOS



IT'S A WRAP! CHRISTO'S PAEAN TO A "SLEEPING BEAUTY," ALSO KNOWN AS THE REICHSTAG

ART

TIE IT UP, TIE IT DOWN 2/1/93

▲ Symbol of a unified Germany past and present, Berlin's century-old Reichstag is a "sleeping beauty" for Christo. Since 1972 the Bulgarian-born artist has worked on a project for the parliament building called—what else?—*Wrapped Reichstag.* Bundestag president Rita Sussmuth calls the idea "bold but worthwhile." Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other German politicos are opposed, grumbling that the last thing the Reichstag needs is the "attention of the cultural jet set." Christo's $7 million shrouding scheme calls for 200 rock climbers to lash thousands of square meters of glistening silver nylon onto the building with rope. The ideal light in Berlin, he explains, occurs in late August or early September. Time is short. Christo will have to run for cover.

THE BALKANS

FLASH OF WAR 9/30/91

▼ After three months of skirmishing, hapless Yugoslavia erupted in the first full-scale war in Europe since 1945. The fighting between federal forces and breakaway Croatia gave the world a stark reminder of the region's capacity for violence. The Serb-dominated Yugoslav military threw itself into the conflict with a will. Federal gunboats boomed off the Croatian coast as warplanes and artillery opened fire on targets across the secessionist republic. Federal tanks and 155-mm howitzers from Belgrade assaulted Croatia's eastern wing, and Stipe Mesic, the country's nominal President and a Croatian, urged federal soldiers to desert and "join the people."

Slobodan Milosevic, Serbia's crypto-communist President, has usurped federal authority in championing the resistance of Serbs in Croatia. He might have met his match, though, in Franjo Tudjman, Croatia's nationalist President, who vowed to "fight and defend our homeland."

Along with Slovenia, its sister western Yugoslav republic, Croatia on June 25 declared independence from the polyglot state cobbled together by wartime communist resistance leader Josip Broz Tito. Ancient enemies, Croatians and Serbs had dangerous scores to settle. One-eighth of Croatia's 4.75 million people are Serbs, and super-Serb Milosevic has offered them a cause.

FEDERAL SHELLFIRE ASSAULTS SEACOAST CITY OF DUBROVNIK

DI AND CHARLES, VISITING SOUTH KOREA, BETRAY A ROYAL STRAIN

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

CONFUSION 11/15/93

■ Two years in the drafting, two more contentious years in the ratifying, the Maastricht Treaty finally came into effect last week, signaling the start of a new era for—well, precisely what? The European Community or, as the document calls it, the European Union?

The lawyers are offering a response, in a manner of speaking: in matters relating to the original Treaty of Rome, go with European Community (as successor to yesteryear's Common Market and European Economic Community), but when it comes to common foreign policy and security policy, it's Union.

Foreign ministers of the 12-nation whatchamacallit should rule this week. In the meantime, the *C* word was being used by most journalists and the Commission of the European Communities. Yes, plural. Don't ask.

1991–1995

ROYALTY

UNHAPPILY EVER AFTER 12/21/92

▲ Princess Diana broke the news to her sons at Highgrove, the hated country house she visited for the last time to remove her possessions. Prince Charles sought out the boys at school to reassure them. Then, last Wednesday, Prime Minister John Major announced the split in the House of Commons.

Exactly what did the separation accomplish? "Their Royal Highnesses," the Palace intoned, "would like to stress ... that this decision is amicable. There have been no third parties involved, on either side." Well, fine, but the pair have scarcely been able to look at each other, never mind speak, in public, and each has been caught in indiscreet phonefests with a "confidant."

Care of the children will be shared, but Diana gets a reported $1.55 million a year, a staff that is her own, the Kensington Palace apartments, continuance of her status as a senior member of the royal family and a life free from Charles' glower.

GERRY ADAMS, LEADER OF SINN FEIN, GATHERS CEASE-FIRE HARVEST

MASTERPIECES THAT MAKE EXPERTS WEEP

ARCHAEOLOGY

GREAT ART IN A DARK CAVE 1/30/95

◄ In southeastern France last December, Jean-Marie Chauvet and two fellow spelunkers wriggled through a tunnel into a complex of large caves. In the pale glow of their head lamps, they saw two red lines on a cavern wall. They had discovered an archaeological trove that may rival even the fabled drawings on the cave walls at Lascaux in France and Altamira in Spain.

Returning later with better lighting, they came upon exquisite, intricately detailed wall paintings and engravings of animals, and numerous images of human hands. "I thought we were dreaming," says Chauvet. "We were all covered with goose pimples."

The art was in pristine condition, apparently undisturbed for as long as 20,000 years. Says Jean Clottes, an expert on prehistoric rock art: "I remember standing in front of the paintings and being profoundly moved by the artistry. Tears were running down my cheeks. I was witnessing one of the world's great masterpieces."

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE THRILL OF HOPE 9/12/94

▲ In announcing "a complete cessation of military operation," the Irish Republican Army apparently undertook to turn legitimate and pursue its goals peacefully.

With 3,168 killed and more than 36,000 wounded in Northern Ireland's political violence since 1969, this brutalized society could hardly expect the momentum of vengeance to shift gears sharply either way as the result of a single proposal. Among the general populace of Unionists, mutterings in the pubs last week unmistakably reflected no joy in the prospect that the I.R.A. may soon have an accredited say about Ulster's future. Dark talk about a secret agenda, a "sellout" by London, was widespread.

A lingering question hovered over just how far the armed brotherhood had really gone. Previous I.R.A. cease-fires, notably in 1972 and 1975, seemed promising at the time but collapsed after only a few weeks or months.

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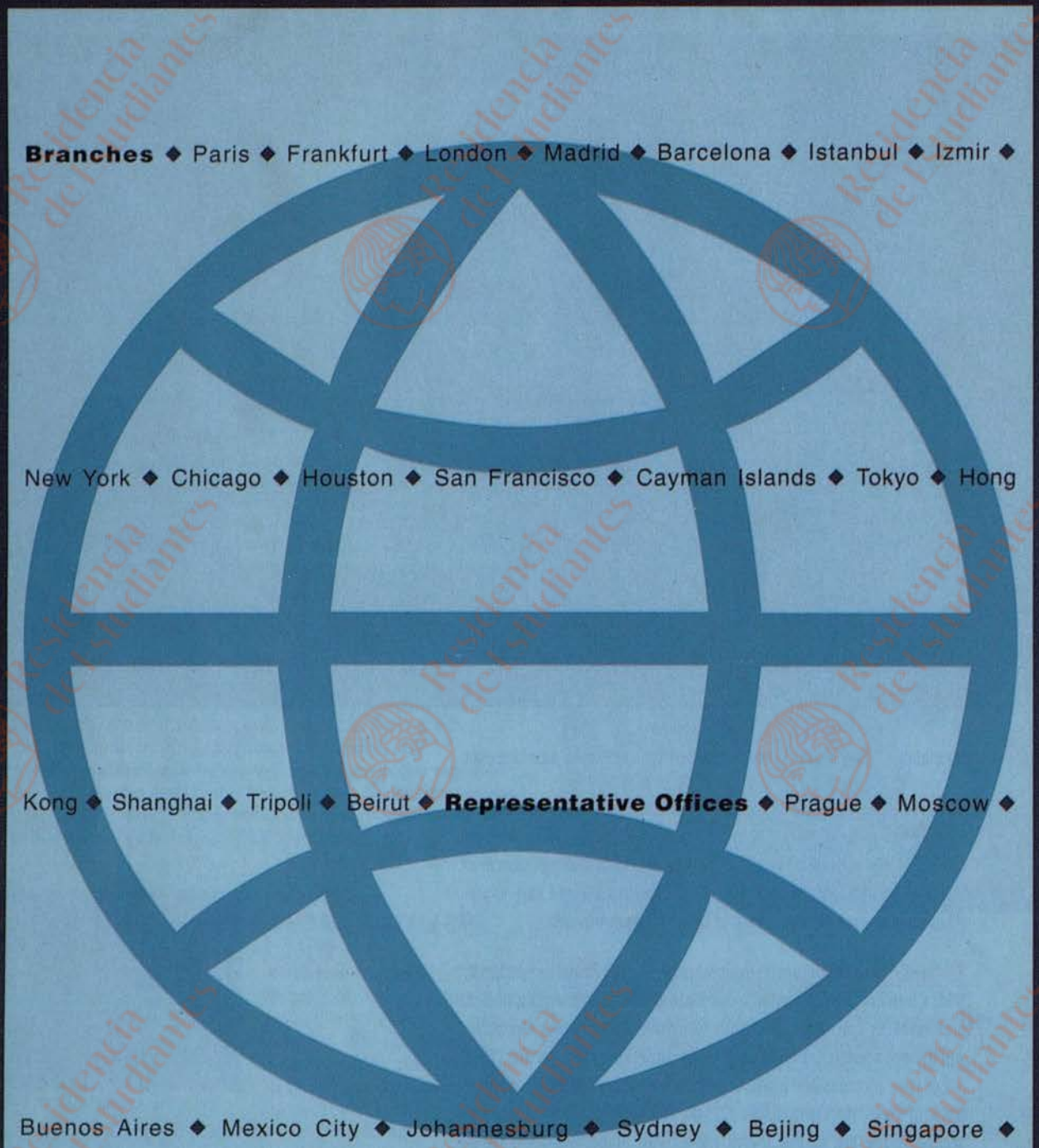

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THE BENEDICTINES' HOT ALBUM COVER

MUSIC

REALLY GOLDEN OLDIES 1/31/94

▲ The Benedictine Brothers of Santo Domingo de Silos have moved to the top of Spain's pop charts with a two-volume CD of Gregorian chants that has sold 260,000 copies and elbowed aside several famous names. The 36 brothers live in a small monastery in northwestern Spain, and all except the aged or infirm sing the chants seven times a day, as they and their predecessors have done since the 9th century.

Reluctant celebrities, the monks are less than happy about their sudden fame. "We are monks, not rock stars," reads their statement to a clamoring press. "The situation is starting to get out of hand."

FRANCE

FLEURS-DE-LIES 4/3/95

▶ *The accused:* I lied in good faith. *The judge:* You could have that phrase studied in a philosophy textbook.

Bernard Tapie, former Minister of Urban Development, big businessman and big mouth, is no stranger to courtrooms. Last year he was fined $200,000 for overstating the value of his companies on the Bourse. Then came a government demand for $13.3 million in evaded taxes—and a lawsuit from Crédit Lyonnais for the repayment of a $240 million loan. Most likely of all to topple Tapie were charges that involved his beloved football. The case has more ingredients than a bouillabaisse, but the crucial counts were that Tapie conspired to bribe rival footballers to throw a match and that he interfered with witnesses during investigations into those bribes.

TAPIE: MORE INGREDIENTS THAN A BOUILLABAISSE

SINGAPORE POLICE WELCOME LEESON

BANKING

BETTING WRONG AT BARINGS 7/31/95

◀ Nick Leeson, the supposed master trader at the Singapore office of the great London-based Barings Bank, skipped town, leaving his colleagues holding a very big—and empty—bag. Leeson had been hiding losses of $1.24 billion, more than the capital of the bank. Barings' rules forbade Leeson to bet the bank's money in the volatile futures market without carefully hedging the position against large losses. But Leeson bought enormous amounts of unprotected futures, hoping they would turn a fancy profit. He bet wrong, was nabbed in Frankfurt—and will stand trial in Singapore for fraud.

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*Courtesy of the TIME Collection, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Remains to Be Seen 3/29/93

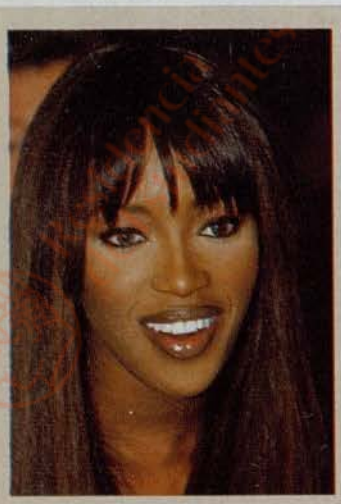
EMMA THOMPSON seems almost too healthy to be a celebrity. Ask her why she makes movies, and she roars back, "Filthy lucre!" Says James Ivory, Thompson's director in *Howards End* and in the forthcoming *Remains of the Day:* "Emma is sane. That's a wonderful thing. She also has intelligence, tremendous acting talent and terrific style." Her *Howards End* performance is a compact master class in screen subtlety. Margaret, everyone's vivacious, sensible big sister, escorts the story from the familial drollery of the early scenes—Jane Austen in London—to the muted tragedy of class prejudice at the core of E.M. Forster's 1910 novel. Just now she is writing a screenplay of Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*. The main character, Elinor, seems just right for her: "possessed of a strength of understanding, and coolness of judgment."

WALTZ IN THREE-PERSON TIME 2/7/94

A President, his wife, his mistress. Familiar? Austria's **THOMAS KLESTIL,** 61, is caught in the eternal triangle between wife **EDITH** and aide **MARGOT LOFFLER,** 39. After 37 years of marriage, Frau Klestil moved out of the presidential residence and, amid pressure on Klestil to straighten out his private life, Löffler requested assignment abroad. Says Klestil: "There is nothing ... more difficult to bear than the loss of a family." Not to mention losing a mistress at the same time.

ICELANDIC COOL 8/2/93

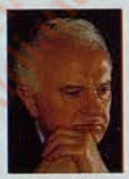
Name the countries that have produced a pop-music star. Does Iceland spring to mind? Probably not, but maybe it's time it did. **BJORK,** 27, former lead singer of the idiosyncratic Icelandic rock group the Sugarcubes, is on her own with a bouncy solo album called *Debut.* In the second week of release, it shot to No. 6 on British charts. This is the first one "that has my songs on it," she says, "the music I hear in my mind." With her dark hair and tip-tilted eyes, young Björk was nicknamed "China Girl" by school chums. But her looks, she says, are absolutely Icelandic as can be. Cool.



PURRS APLENTY 10/4/93

Not long after **NAOMI CAMPBELL,** 23—whose tantrums are hardly kittenish—switched modeling agencies in the U.S. from Elite to Ford, pleased purrs from the latter were almost audible. There was nothing so pleasing, however, from Elite owner Johnny Casablancas, who says the supermodel "needs a slap." She's "a mercenary," he told the tabloid New York *Post,* a "spoiled, selfish brat."

S E E N & H E A R D



12/7/92

Eduard Shevardnadze, 64, new chairman of the Georgian parliament, has done more than get a haircut and a couple of new suits. The one-time professed atheist told an interviewer that he has been baptized in a Georgian Orthodox church. "I have [a picture of the Virgin Mary] in my office now," said he, "though there was a time when I had Stalin's portrait on the wall."

2/1/93

On the day last week when he turned 73, **Federico Fellini** learned that he will receive an honorary Academy Award in March. "I've always had fun making movies," says the director of such Oscar winners as *La Strada* and *8½.* He half-promised to attend the ceremonies, saying, "All this fuss ... is waking me from the torpor afflicting moviemaking in Italy right now."

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Quote: Lord Tennyson (1809-92), English poet.

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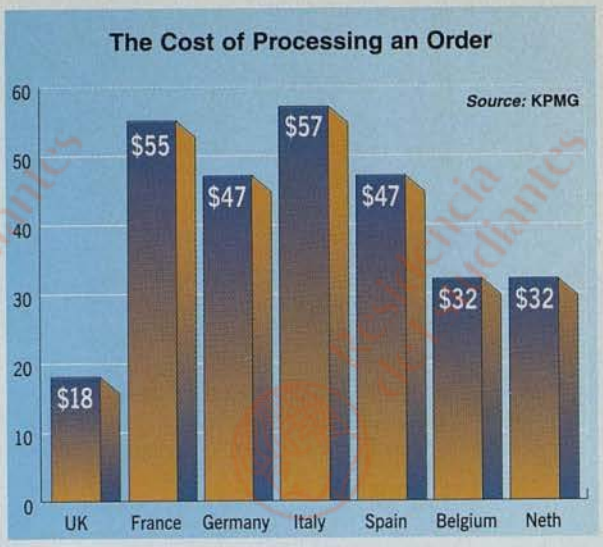

The push to improve corporate efficiency is forcing companies to look long and hard at their cost base. Payment cards may not at first seem the most obvious way of shaving costs and increasing efficiency, but recent studies on high transaction costs have given industry in general serious food for thought. The undoubted success of payment cards in the consumer market heralds an opportunity for companies if they embrace the plastic future.

Throughout Europe, companies are spending an annual $218 billion on travel and entertainment (T&E) and $340 billion on low value business purchases – totalling more than twice the GDP of Switzerland in 1993*.

But companies are incurring costs in the process. Pan-European studies by Coopers & Lybrand and KPMG have produced some interesting findings:

- *A typical travel advance will cost companies $27*
- *The average cost of processing a purchase order for items ranging from staples to computer hardware has been calculated at up to $57*

To control costs, many companies employ staff specifically to manage T&E or purchasing expenditure. In conjunction with their travel agents they have developed specific travel policies and are using payment cards to regulate and deliver cost savings.

A Visa International survey showed that 64% of companies in Europe have now implemented a travel policy.

To manage their expenditure, many companies are looking to their bankers to provide corporate cards. Those that already have, currently enjoy the assurance of worldwide acceptance, employee benefits, emergency travel services and effective management information.

The real benefits of management information come not only from regulating employees' spending, but from giving companies the power to negotiate discounts with suppliers – be it airlines, car rental companies, hotel chains or suppliers of raw materials. And from the knowledge that enables them to define a T&E policy that really suits their employees.

Issuing an employee with a company card does not increase misuse of company money – rather, it can reduce it. Statements of all cardholder spend are available to the company and the technology employed means that individual spend limits can be set for every cardholder.

Contact your bank for details on how payment cards can cut company costs. Choose Visa and make your business life easier.

THE FUTURE

As the Internet threatens to explode into every aspect of life, more and more companies will be using it to buy goods and services. To ensure the security of payments made electronically Visa has launched a pan-European electronic commerce initiative using encryption technology.

Additionally, Visa is currently creating an environment which will support the chip card – a plastic payment card containing a microprocessor which will allow the storage and processing of data received from the outside world.

What if the added capacity on this type of card meant that employees could carry all sorts of other data such as passport or frequent flyer membership details? What if details of the individual account balances were accessible, ensuring that travellers could make sure they had sufficient credit to buy the next ticket home? What if, in the future, information as detailed as train and flight timetables could be carried on a card?

Visa is at the forefront of the technological developments that could bring this to companies. Today 480 million people use Visa for their own personal use – more and more are realising that it can be as effective in their business life now and increasingly so in the future.

*Source: World Development Report, 1995.

▶ Choose peace of mind.

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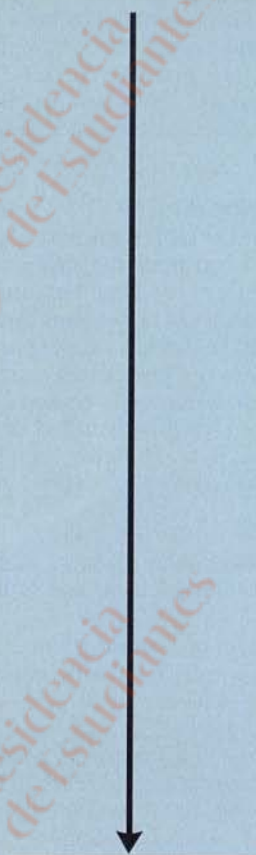

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Euroculture?

British theatrical and opera director JONATHAN MILLER *assesses the dangers of future cultural homogeneity and argues for a "decent society"*

Do you think Europe is managing to hold on to its diversity, and is that a good thing?

Europe holds on to its diversity in some respects and loses it in others. Some of the respects in which it has failed to hold on to its diversity are regrettable. But there are a lot of exotic differences, which is one of the reasons why we travel. When I first took my holidays in France as a young man in the late '40s, I could recognize French children by their *tabliers d'enfant* as they came out of school and the funny, particular sort of satchels that they wore on their backs. Now when I see children coming out of schools in Florence, they look like children coming out of schools in Akron, Ohio.

Surely deeper differences remain?

Italian families have preserved a form of affiliation that is different from the forms of the British and the French and Germans. They have different ways of feeling—for example, the attitude toward whom you can invite home is totally different in Germany. I would never be invited to the homes of people I work with in Italy and France, whereas here in England there is a great deal of inviting people home if you are colleagues. There are all sorts of micro-environments that seem to hang on to their identity over much longer periods of time. So I think you have to observe many different structures to see which ones outlast these decades and which ones seem to collapse every five years.

Even so, do you think Europe is losing one of its most precious assets, its connection with its past?

One of the most interesting things that have happened since the Second World War is that the past has been ruptured forever. Dante felt himself to be continuous with the literature of his antecedents in a way that no modern writer does today. Europe threw up those great artists—Dante and Shakespeare, for example—over the course of about 400 or 500 years because Europe was a European community, which some naive observers think was inaugurated since the Second World War. The cultural giants were deeply European cosmopolitan figures. They saw themselves as being continuous with, and companions of, Virgil and Ovid. Shakespeare may have known little Latin and less Greek, but he felt himself to be a colleague and a contemporary in some way of Virgil's and Ovid's and Homer's.

Japanese consumer products are triumphant in the West. Is Europe in danger of cultural complacency and self-indulgence?

We talk about being dominated by certain aspects of Japanese technology, but I don't notice a large number of British musicians learning the Japanese musical repertoire. The Japanese have totally dominated our techniques for recording and transmitting music and so forth, but what they're also doing is learning how to play Mozart and learning to play it a lot better than a lot of us can play it. It isn't that they are dumb and can't invent Mozart. They are smart, because they can invent sophisticated technology. It's a very complicated form of reciprocity.

The millennium is almost upon us. Do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the future?

I'm more pessimistic than I might otherwise have been. I see the outbreak of ethnic and racist violence in all sorts of volatile and unexpected and volcanic episodes, terrorism and just simply much more aggressive interactions between people in the streets. The streets are now filled with people who are on the edge of hitting one another in a way that I never felt before, even in London. I suppose road rage is the sort of curiously glib, journalistic phrase for it. Escalator rage is just as prevalent. I've seen it four or five times in the past 10 days. I've heard people shout violently and threaten each other on escalators when they simply collide with suitcases.

What should Europe be doing about it?

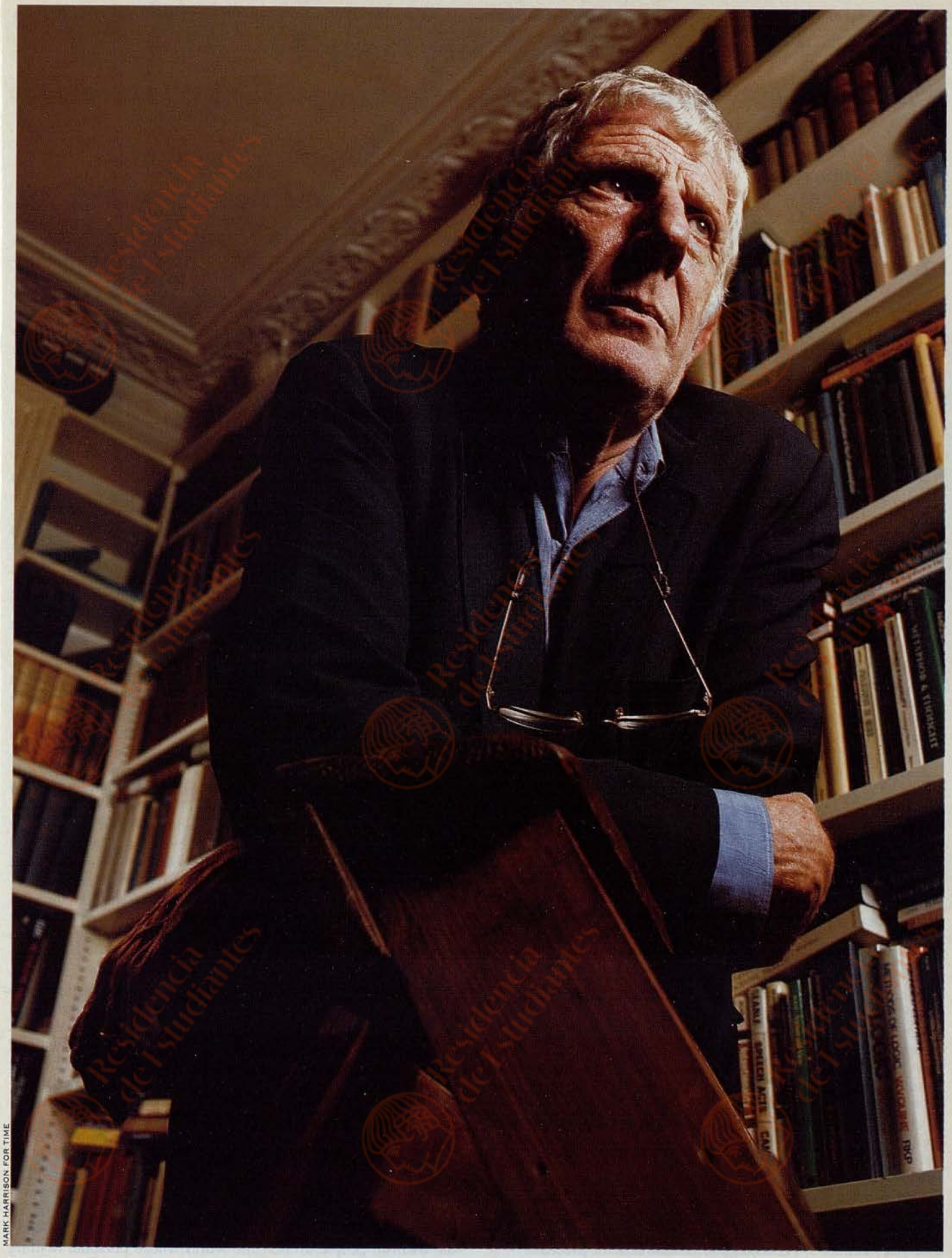
We've obviously got to tinker with some sort of moral commitment—let's not call it ideological—to the idea of fairness, for example, or just, to use the term of a friend of mine, a decent society. And there may be all sorts of disputes about what might count as a decent society. A decent society is one in which a large number of people are not humiliated, and what we want to do is not to engineer large-scale changes but, with the changes that we can put in hand without too much bloodshed, guarantee that people will not be unfairly humiliated by social arrangements. You want to make sure that secular modernism is efficient and humane.

Is Europe better placed than most societies to do this because it retains more of its civic institutions and is becoming more aware of their value?

We have done it, as it were, by historic accident. We happen to have extremely elaborately and organically grown civic institutions built around the great invention of the European city, for which there is no real counterpart in America. Yet I feel that already one sees the structure of European cities undergoing a curious deterioration. We have lost that sense of minutely structured neighborhood organic living, but it has lasted longer in Europe than in America because it's been here longer.

So what are Europe's prospects?

I have a very clear view of our situation here on earth, which seems to me to be that we are like that great Géricault picture *The Raft of the Medusa*—that we are on this huge piece of floating wreckage. It's not going to sink, but we have the choice of cooperating with one another with the scarce resources on this piece of floating wreckage or of eating one another. ■



MARK HARRISON FOR TIME

The spread of the World Wide Web raises questions: Will Europe survive the

By Tim Berners-Lee

Europe And the Info Age

WHEN I DESIGNED A GLOBAL HYPERTEXT SYSTEM AND decided to call it World Wide Web, I was pretty much a European—an Englishman living at times in France, at times in Switzerland, while working at CERN, the physics lab that straddles the Franco-Swiss border at Geneva. CERN is a great meeting place of bright, excited people from many countries, an intellectual and cultural melting pot beyond compare. Therefore I already belonged to a number of different overlapping communities. I was a member of the international community of high-energy physics and also of the global community of the strange, informal, tolerant and predominantly technical people who sent news articles and electronic mail over the linked computer systems known as the Internet. Neither of these communities was related to geographical borders. Since then, the spread of the Web has left many people asking whether in a few years the geographical boundaries of entities like Europe will be irrelevant, and if they are, what will be left. Will Europe survive the information age? Will it become an informational annex of the U.S.?

This leads to some fundamental questions as to what it will be like to exist on this earth when we all have access to the network. Predictions range from the horrible to the idyllic, and sometimes the difference between the two is a matter of point of view.

The Web has rushed through the U.S. in a way that it cannot through Europe. The heat of excitement about the content already on the Web fuels the pouring of greater and greater resources into providing more content, more facilities, better organization and cataloging. There is a vicious circle, in that the more interesting content there is on the Web, the more incentive for readers to get connected; similarly, the more people browsing, the more incentive there is for people to put public content onto the Web. In the U.S. this happens very quickly, as each morsel of information is available to anyone throughout that largely common-language, common-currency bloc that is (in oversimplification) the U.S. There is an incredible economy of scale.

Tim Berners-Lee created the World Wide Web to facilitate communication with fellow physicists. He now works with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to standardize the process.

Europe, however, has firebreaks between its cultures: disparate languages, history, institutions, even long-nurtured antagonisms. The explosion of servers and readers exists, but it has moved more slowly. If you publish something on the Web on the local breeding grounds of the gerbil, you will attract gerbil fanciers only of your own language. If you start a discussion on the delights of Real Ale, the wine drinkers farther south won't contribute to your audience. Add to this the historical facts that the Internet was invented in the U.S. and that in European states telecommunications monopolies have manacled the development of communications, and it is not surprising that Europe seems to be a few years behind the U.S.

Perhaps there are things that European states can do to make things happen faster. The entrepreneurial public should learn that in the Web age, if you wait for government seed funding for a project, you will probably be too late. If it is a good idea, just do it. But there are still things governments can help with. Telecommunications monopolies cannot fall too soon. For the future, governments should not rest on their laurels but should strongly fund pure research, especially in multicultural labs such as CERN. For the present, the transatlantic public Internet is overloaded: access is slow to unusable. For Europe to hang together in cyberspace, it must have good international links within and to the U.S. If market forces are not paying for this, it is up to governments to step in and fix it. Once they do, usage will soar.

This raises the specter of U.S. informational domination. Yes, a lot of people in Europe usually browse the U.S., as that is where most of the content is. To be frightened by this would be to give up and imagine that once Europe has caught on to the Web, it will have nothing to say for itself, nothing to create, no culture to celebrate. If you think that, stop reading, stop thinking.

In Europe we have a challenge to communicate more between cultures. The great thing, of course, is that if one does go to the effort of bridging the gaps, the rewards are so much greater. The Web removes the geographical impediment to mixing—but will the cultural barriers survive? Will we end up with a global mono-culture or a mix of cyberspace meeting places of unlimited variety? To answer these questions, we have to imagine a European household of the future. Let's suppose we end up with screens everywhere. We have a big screen in the living room, a small one on a bracket on the kitchen wall, and pocket-size ones that, like ball-point pens, are always available, no matter how many you lose. Each provides a window onto the Web.

In your Dutch home the kitchen screen's preset buttons may be set to your favorite info places: the weather map, the school parent's reminder page, an oldies video station and the family's E-mailboxes. One is set to the Website of an Italian town twinned with yours, where you are learning language and art from your Net friend Antonia.

Ready for a change of culture, you link through to Italy while filling the dishwasher. Meanwhile, in comes your eldest son. He has just reached the age of digital choice. Your rights to select sites suitable for his viewing have ended, and he flourishes his newly won Netcard with studied carelessness as he punches a password into the living-room screen. It now glows with his personal choice of gruesome entertainment. A face floats across the screen: the search machine has shown him a random selection of the 643,768 people around the world whose personal reading

information age? Will it become an informational annex of the U.S.?

profile is identical to his own. Pretty cool number, he smirks.

For your son the Web is the gateway not to diversity but to conformity. To be on the top of the normal curve, a kid his age has to surf the Web carefully, always sticking to the popular output of the big media companies. It takes a certain sensibility—a cybersense of hipness—to select only the places that he can guess the majority of his teen group will be choosing at the same time. He knows that though he might live in a small town in the Netherlands, he is right in the center of the main trend; he feels the strength of being exactly in tune with all his seen and unseen colleagues. And he knows he wears the same sort of clothes and eats exactly what they do.

As a parent, you feel uneasy about his conforming to the norms not of the village but of the global village. You discuss it by video over the dishes. Antonia is concerned too, though she has a refreshingly different attitude. Her carefree optimism balances your own tendency to worry, just as the clear Tuscan sky behind her puts the steadily falling Dutch rain into perspective. You wonder how people remained sane before the Internet.

But such crystal-ball gazing is not wise now. Not only are things changing, but the pace of change is changing as well. Seriously. Before the Internet, it took only a few days to have new software shipped and installed on a computer. With the Web as it currently exists, it takes only a click of the computer mouse. With the development of automatic-download software and "agent" programs roaming the Net all by themselves, your computer in the future may change most of its software without your even asking. But the essential question of whether the Net will heighten or crush Europe's diversity of culture still remains.

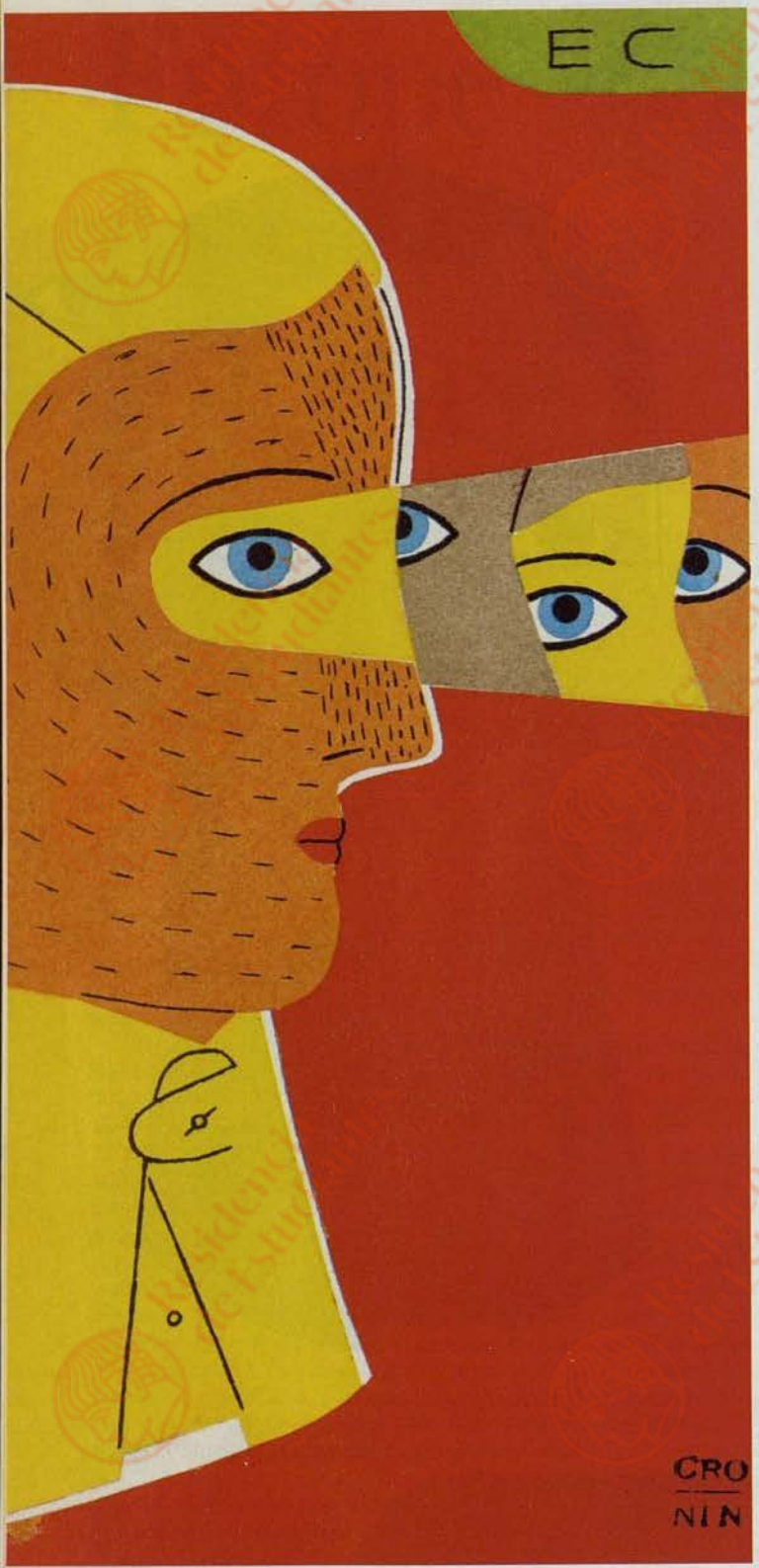
European countries had been studying the pros and cons of sharing or protecting their culture for a long time before the Web came along. We have lost the use of Cornish, but French is being preserved by law. It is reasonable for European governments to be worried. Our society's structure has been based mostly on geographic boundaries, and its stability determined by geographic constraints, such as the time it takes to mobilize troops or ride to the capital with a warning of impending invasion. That may be gone, but my observation of early Internet culture was that though geography free, it ended up dividing into smaller enclaves of personal specific interest.

THE SAME SEEMS TO BE TRUE OF THE WEB. WHY SO? ON THE Web, unlike with TV and junk mail, what you see is really up to you. People complain that there is so much "junk" out there, but they are just referring to the things that others like but they don't. If you don't like your browser's preset starting places, turn them off or change them. Instead, collect sites you approve of, your "bookmarks" in cyberspace.

Increasingly, you will be able to put your own material on the Web. So write your own hypertext, if you think you can do better. Make links only to things you respect. We are, and Europe will be, the choices we make. If you want the Web to be European, or rich in early choral music, make it so. Remember, no one else will be forced to read your work. But you will have done your part to preserve and state what you think is important. Let diversity thrive. When the great richness of peoples that is Europe is brought into contact with itself through the Web, the result should be tolerance, progress and a whole lot of fun. ■

BRIAN CRONIN FOR TIME

Europe still has the means to become the premier economic power of the 21st



By Jacques Attali

For a New Political Order

CONVENTIONAL PREDICTIONS LEAD US TO FEAR THAT Europe, like other dominant civilizations from Egypt to the Roman Empire, has entered a period of decline—a decline that, at least from a statistical point of view, seems unstoppable. Europe now has, compared with its main competitors, the lowest birthrate (with the exception of Japan), the highest unemployment rate, the oldest population, the highest social expenditures, the lowest industrial-growth rate, the weakest industrial research in key sectors of information technology, the fewest new patents. Even its renowned financial markets are heading toward fragility. And though its share of the worldwide GNP remains high—above 20%—this too will drop rapidly in the future.

Thus everything is shaping up for 21st century Europe to become little more than a "Venetian Continent," visited by millions of Asians and Americans, inhabited by tourist guides, museum caretakers and hotelkeepers. In the big global bazaar, the place occupied by European companies, products, ideas, literature, music and cinema will soon be taken over by objects, services, sounds, noises, words and images from elsewhere.

This worst-case scenario—which will come true if market forces alone dictate the outcome—can be described in these terms: 20-odd European countries will be assembled into a single European Union, a unified economic space in which a dozen or so of these states will share a new common currency, the euro. This large market, entirely open to outside investment, will have no common budgetary, fiscal or social policy. It will be under the domination of the Continent's premier industrial power, Germany, which will turn the euro into a kind of supermark. Lacking financial resources of its own, this monetary union will probably not create social mechanisms capable of compensating for the devastating effects on employment caused by productivity differences between regions.

This could lead the richest regions—such as Piedmont, Catalonia and Flanders—to refuse joint liability for their less fortunate neighbors and to decide to talk directly with European Commu-

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century. This requires creation of a vision of Europe 50 years down the road

nity authorities in Brussels and Frankfurt. Faced with a rapidly growing membership, the Union will no longer be able to remain a decision-making center with a coherent economic and security policy or a credible defense. Lacking a strong common will, moreover, most of the European Union countries will be unable to reduce their tax burdens. They will cease to be competitive because of high labor costs, which will move various activities toward Africa and Asia and thereby increase European unemployment. According to this scenario, only Germany will be able to get by, if it manages to maintain its social consensus, its banking resources and its lead in certain key sectors. Even then, Germany will be held back by the recessionary climate surrounding it.

At the same time, all European countries will raise military spending because of a double threat. To the east, there will be a Russia in turmoil, financially drained and gradually fragmented into more or less autonomous provinces, several of which have nuclear armies run by one or more local generals. To the south, there will be a Maghreb tested by a radical Islam, where millions of desperate inhabitants will be tempted to cross the Mediterranean, thus multiplying the risks of all kinds of destabilization. In sum, if the countries of Europe remain divided, the most probable outcome is that the market will impose a destructive every-man-for-himself approach that will make Europe, at best, a Venetian continent and, at worst, a Buenos Aires continent, which means decay with dictators.

Yet Europe still has the means to become the premier economic power of the 21st century. To do this, it will need to realize that the marketplace alone will not assure its future. What would have happened to North America if, in the 19th century, economic laws were the only ones dictating the social order? It would have become a land of anarchy and dictatorships. To build the U.S., there needed to be a political will, a view of the future and institutions that adequately reflected the aspirations of its people. In the same way, Europe will be doomed to be a Venetian continent unless it imitates the Founding Fathers of the U.S. This requires creation of a vision of Europe 50 years down the road and the judging of all actions according to how they contribute to this vision. In setting its agenda, Europe must:

Establish political institutions to complete the common currency. Europe must create a treasury ministry, a supreme court and a senate to represent its member countries. And with these institutions it must launch, with the help of the private sector, a massive, 20-year program to install a network of communications infrastructure connected to the Internet. Once that is done, European tourism, the No. 1 industry of the 21st century, will be a strength and not a sign of decline.

Integrate Turkey and Russia into the Union. Turkey's entry would send the message that the modernization of Islam is rewarded and underscore the fact that Europe is no longer a Christian club. That would assure all the Muslims in the world that they have a viable future. The admission of Russia is necessary because it would be stupid to slam Europe's door in the face of a country whose rich resources, especially natural gas, may not be far in value from those of the Persian Gulf.

Create a common market with the countries of North Africa and Central Asia. Europe should use the North American Free Trade Agreement as a model to improve the standard of living in the poor countries on the Mediterranean periphery. The aim would be self-interest: to prevent poor immigrants who flock to Europe from destabilizing the Continent by creating jobs for them at home.

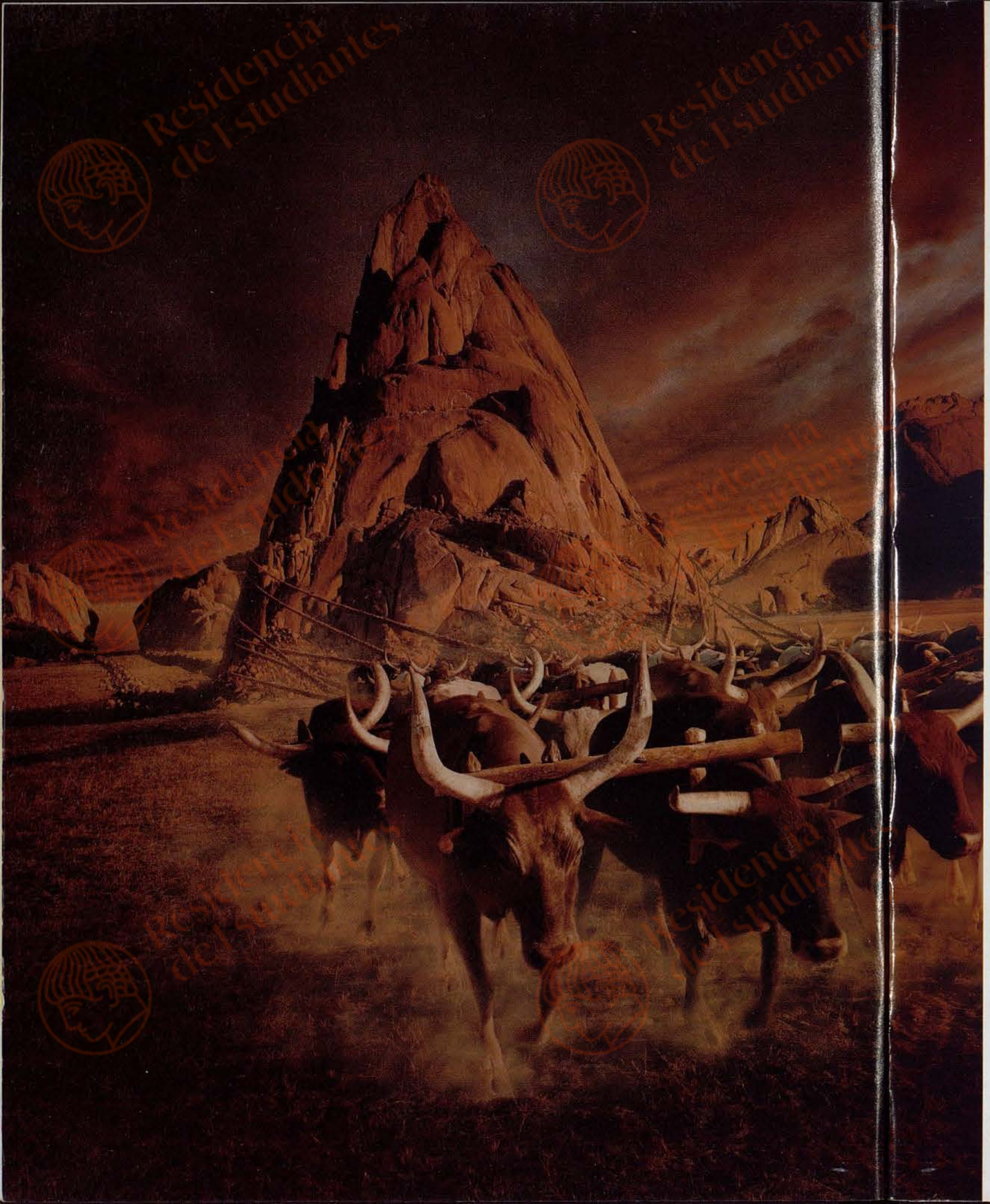
Reshaped along these lines into a continental union, Europe could play a new role. Its GNP would be indisputably the world's highest. It would have an original development plan to propose: while the U.S. has successfully promoted efficiency and democracy and Asia has favored efficiency and solidarity, Europe could hope to reconcile efficiency with both democracy and solidarity. It would profit fully from new technologies that will not require large investments and will thus allow the late arrivals, especially in the Far East, to become competitive without major resources.

Would a strong Europe be in the interest of the U.S.? Some feel that America's best interests lie in a weak and divided Europe that will not compete for the leadership of the planet. In my view, this is a flawed analysis. A weak Europe would saddle U.S. taxpayers with the financial burden of ensuring world security, defending the environment and fighting against economic crimes. Furthermore, the U.S. could again find itself in a situation where, for the third time, it may have to defend liberty from threats rooted in economic depression.

OTHERS ARGUE THAT AMERICA'S BEST INTERESTS LIE in creating a strong Europe, then swallowing it up into a common entity. They explain that in 50 years, Europe's and North America's population will represent about 10% of the world's inhabitants and that the predominantly white nations should unite in defense of their social systems and their prosperity. According to this view, we must abandon the idea of an autonomous utopia based on a European political federation. Instead, it is said, we must build a viable Atlantic community, giving NATO an economic dimension and uniting all the original European countries and the U.S. against the other giants of the future. But America is not limited to a European future. Its immediate aim is to foster integration with the southern hemisphere of the New World.

It is my belief that America's real interest is in the further elaboration of a powerful European Union, which would take more responsibility for dealing with the problems of Russia and Islam. The U.S. could thus share with Europe and Asia the burden of overseeing the world's affairs. The euro—placed on an equal footing with the dollar in terms of its economic clout and with an Asian equivalent currency—would share the task of integrating a significant part of the planet into the world economy. The three continents together would then have the means to set up the real agenda of the 21st century: communications and information networks, the battle against the criminal economy, the reduction of atmospheric pollution, and promotion of freedom and culture through a diversity of languages and ideas.

What is needed for this to happen may be political vision, like that which engendered the original European Community: real European statesmen, capable of engendering dreams, replacing the current generation of politicians overly concerned with their images, limited to balancing great interests and serving as public entertainers or virtual museum caretakers. In short, a renewed United States of Europe awaits the appearance of its Jeffersons, Washingtons and Hamiltons. ■



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