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## Ireland's Cultural Revolution







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# EUROPE

MAGAZINE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION



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# Letter From the Editor

"Ireland has shown that, with enough creativity, small cultures don't have to be flattened by global media influences, but can instead take them in, mold them into a distinctive shape, and send them out again around the globe," writes Fintan O'Toole, a columnist with *The Irish Times*, in his article on Ireland's international cultural influence.

Today, Ireland boasts several international cultural successes. Author Roddy Doyle's *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha* is on the bestseller list in the US; *In The Name of The Father* is one of the biggest grossing films across the US; *Dancing at Lughnasa* by Brian Friel has won a Tony Award; U2 continues to be a worldwide smash in music; and Jim Sheridan and Neil Jordan are internationally acclaimed filmmakers.

In addition to our profiles of leading Irish filmmakers, rock stars, writers, novelists, playwrights, and actors, *EUROPE* presents an exclusive interview with the Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds discussing peace talks on Northern Ireland, relations with the US, Ireland's role in an expanding EU, European foreign policy, and unemployment.

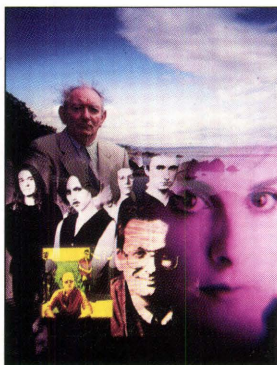
The Prime Minister himself worked in the world of entertainment before turning to politics. Mike Burns, writing from Dublin, presents a profile of Ireland's Prime Minister, who has been affectionately dubbed "The Country and Western Taoiseach."

Joe Carroll, *EUROPE*'s contributing editor in Dublin, looks at 1994 and sees a "year of high hopes for peace in the Northern Ireland conflict and for turning around the record unemployment figures."

Gun control and the threat of violent crime are mentioned by many Americans as their leading concern. *EUROPE*, in a special report, looks at how each of the 12 EU countries handles gun control and gun registration. The statistics on the small amount of gun violence in Europe compared to the US reveal a great deal about the US culture of gun violence. In fact, most of our correspondents found it difficult to write about gun violence in their respective countries because there is little comparison between the number of gun related crimes committed in Europe and in the US.

As Axel Krause, writing from Paris points out, regions are becoming major hubs for business across Europe. He looks at several of the new business regions across Europe. *EUROPE* plans on continuing our profiles of these up and coming business regions in future issues. Peter Gwin details the development of the Silicon Glen, a growing high-tech region in Scotland.

*EUROPE*'s travel destinations this month are Dublin and Munich.



A few of Ireland's cultural revolutionaries, including (clockwise) Enya, Roddy Doyle, U2, The Cranberries, Brian Friel.

Robert J. Guttman  
Editor-in-Chief

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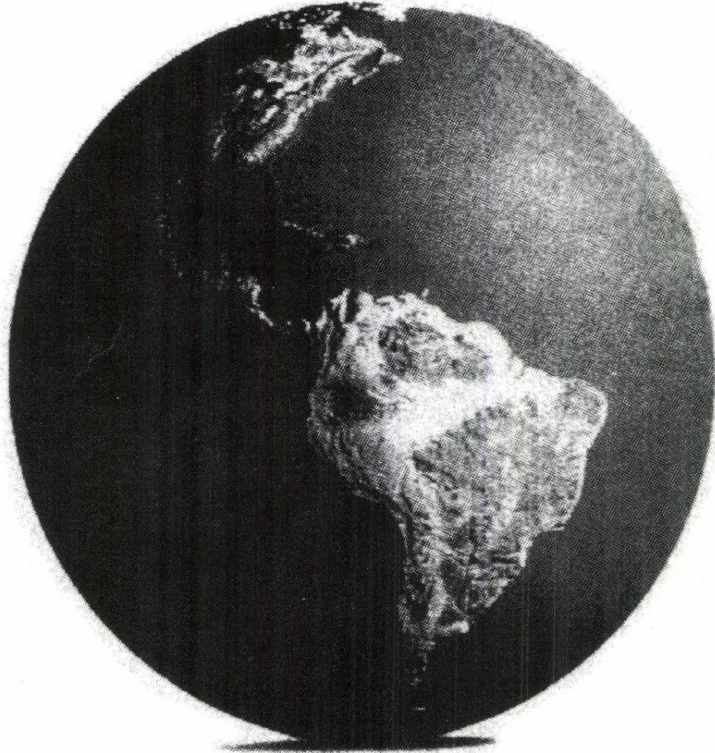
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**A**ccording to the latest estimate, there are now some 10,000 lobbyists in Brussels, 90 percent of them representing corporate interests.

Until four years ago there was virtually nobody representing the man in the street, the average citizen of EU countries.

In an attempt to plug this gap, a number of farsighted people came together in June 1990 to establish the Euro Citizen Action Service. The new lobbying service now represents some 300 citizens' associations, all of them non-profit groups involved in such issues as civil liberties, culture, health, and social welfare. The energetic Director of ECAS, Tony Venables, formerly head of the European Bureau of Consumer Organizations, is clear about his mandate. "We support organi-

## EYE ON THE EU

zations that couldn't afford to have their own representatives here in Brussels," he says.

ECAS has set as one of its priorities to ensure that EU citizens enjoy the full rights which they were promised under the 1992 program to create a single market in Europe. All internal borders were meant to be removed by January 1, 1993. In order to test whether this has actually happened, ECAS set up a telephone hotline in the first week of 1993 and invited people to phone in with comments and complaints.

The 700 phone calls and 300 letters and fax messages

received showed that, while customs checks on goods at internal borders had ceased, there were still widespread controls on travel by individuals. This did not apply to land frontiers (except that between Gibraltar and Spain), but to travelers at airports and harbor passengers who were still being checked systematically, as were many people on train journeys.

The European Commission could have initiated legal proceedings against the member states responsible, as this was a clear breach of Article 8a of the Rome Treaty, as amended by Maastricht. The Commission held its

hand as it had reason to believe that the situation would radically improve within a relatively short period. The airport authorities claimed that they needed another 12 months to make structural changes to passenger exits to separate travelers from within the EU from those traveling from countries outside the EU. The nine member states which had signed the Schengen agreement (all except the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark) committed themselves to ending all controls by July 1, 1993.

Yet the coming into force of Schengen was repeatedly postponed and in March 1994 there is still no assurance of when it will be implemented. Nor has the situation changed for the better at the ports and airports.

Indeed, when ECAS





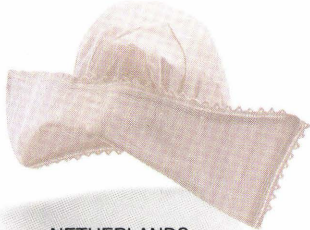
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opened a further hotline in February of this year, it discovered that there had been a marked deterioration by comparison with January 1993. Not only had passport checks not been discontinued, they had been substantially stepped up, so that a person traveling between all 12 member states would have to show his passport at least 36 times and perhaps as many as 48.

The main reason for the multiplicity of passport controls is that airlines and shipping companies have themselves started to demand the right to examine passports in addition to the civil authorities. This is ostensibly because of the liability which has been placed on them not to transport people whom they have reason to believe are illegal immigrants. Yet it is a nonsense that the compa-

nies should conclude that they need to check the passports on internal EU flights and ferry-crossings to avoid this liability. In reality, it should apply only to those

**Not only had passport checks not been discontinued, they had been substantially stepped up, so that a person traveling between all 12 member states would have to show his passport at least 36 times and perhaps as many as 48.**

crossing external EU borders. The ECAS hotline also drew an avalanche of complaints about other ways in which freedom of movement within the EU is being impeded. One is the insistence on visas for non-EU nationals legally residing in a member state for short stays and even transit travel in another EU

country. For example, an Armenian living in Paris must repeatedly apply for a visa to visit his fiancée in Brussels each weekend.

Other callers described

difficulties in trying to transfer residency permits and social security within the EU, as well as the failure to recognize educational and professional qualifications despite EU agreement on mutual recognition. All of this leads ECAS to conclude that the time has come for the Commission to take a tougher line

and insist that EU legislation, adopted by the member states, is properly applied. It has itself urged legal action against the British government for refusing admission to a Dutch citizen who attempted to travel to England carrying his Belgian residence permit.

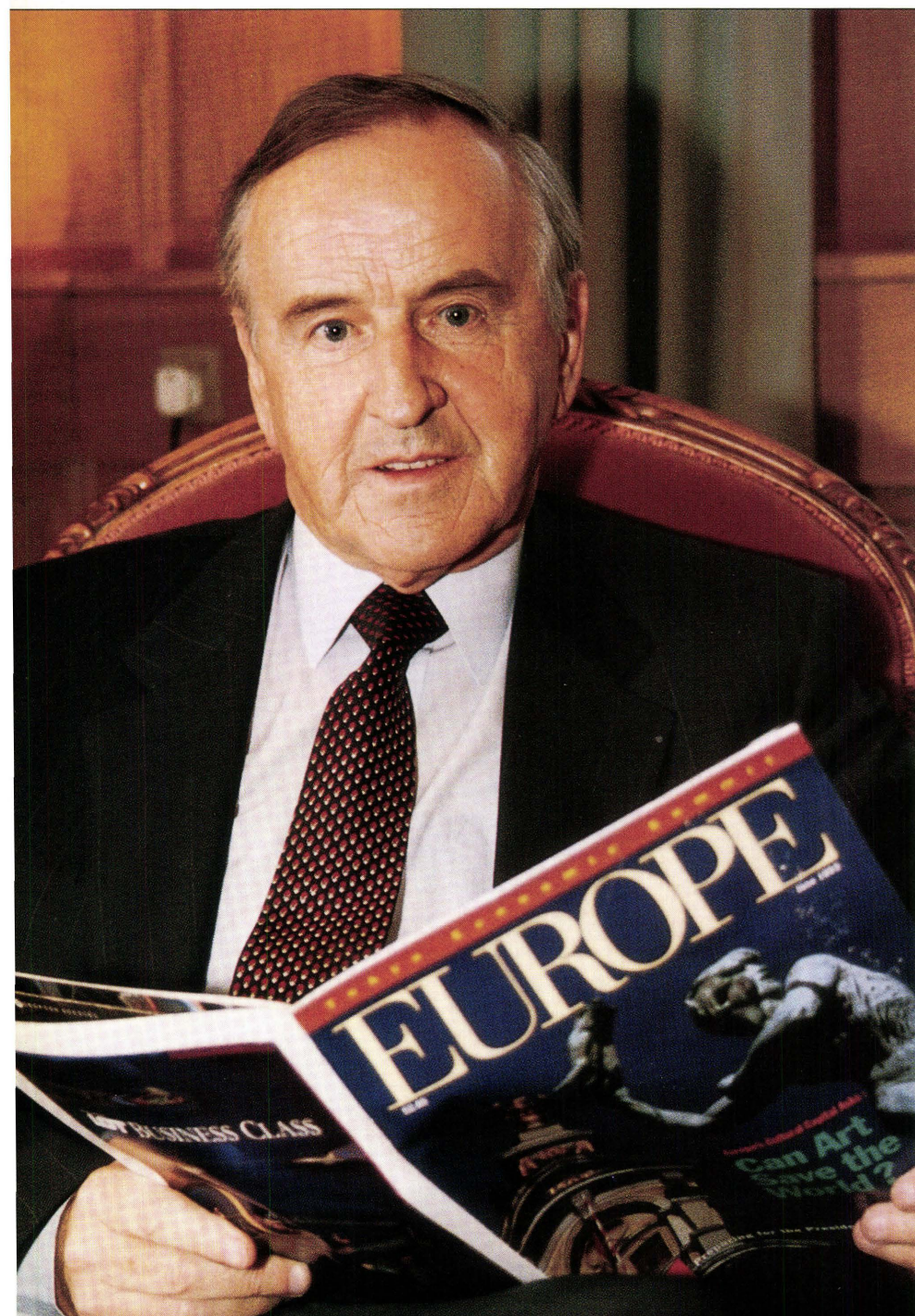
It has also produced a handy guide entitled *Your Rights to Europe: Fifty Questions and Answers* (available from 1 rue Defacqz, 1050 Brussels for \$12). Yet ECAS's own resources are painfully limited. It is now clearly up to the Commission and the member states to live up to their responsibilities. Otherwise the promise of free movement within the European Union will turn out to be a cruel deception for the time being.

—Dick Leonard



# Albert Reynolds

**HE'S AN UNUSUAL BRAND OF IRISHMAN—a non-drinking, non-smoking, confirmed tea-drinking millionaire, a man who happily admits he came into politics late and by accident after a glittering career in show business and industry. Albert Reynolds, 62, is the Irish Republic's ninth Taoiseach (Prime Minister) and leader of Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny), his country's largest political party.**





**I**t is a far cry from his school days in a small western Ireland village and later as a humble parcels clerk at a railway depot. After that first low-paid job Reynolds (born at Rooskey, County Roscommon, in 1932) made his early money running village dances in tented halls in the 1950s. His method was simple: rent a large tent, bring a big name show band (an Irish phenomenon of the period, combining music, singing, and variety), and watch the money roll in. Later, with his brother Jim, he built and managed one of Ireland's largest dance-hall chains.

He says these were among the happiest days of his life—days (and nights) which brought him large financial reward, the capacity to work long and late hours, and appreciation of the need to be “people conscious”—an important grounding for his future political career.

Country and Western music predominated these shows. So when he became Prime Minister he was affectionately dubbed “the Country and Western Taoiseach.” Albert Reynolds liked the appellation and promptly went on Irish television, complete with cowboy hat, to sing a C&W song (“Put Your Sweet Lips a Little Closer to the Phone”). His former lifestyle has left him with mild diabetes. He said his doctors have told him this can be attributed to his near-addiction during the show business years to sugared soft drinks which, he says, he drank in those days “with abandon.”

From the world of music, Reynolds moved to a variety of other businesses. But his biggest moneymaker was (and is) a pet foods plant in County Longford, exporting to the United Kingdom and other European countries and contributing significantly to his already large fortune.

His elevation to President of the Longford Chamber of Commerce coincided with his new interest: politics. After a brief period as a local councilor he entered national politics in 1977, got

his first Ministry appointment (Communications) two years later and rapidly rose through the ministerial ranks (energy, industry, commerce, and finance) and was seen as a natural successor to the then Taoiseach Charles J. Haughey, a longtime friend.

But when growing party unhappiness with Haughey's leadership led to an early heave against him in November 1991, Finance Minister Reynolds went public immediately and confirmed he would be voting against old pal Haughey in the party ballot. Haughey's response was swift. Reynolds and four other ministers were sacked within hours (another minister fired at the same time was Pdraig Flynn, now an EU Commissioner). And, in the subsequent vote, Reynolds and his followers were routed. Theirs was a putsch too soon, according to political analysts. But Reynolds and his supporters had accurately monitored the still present signs of disillusionment within party ranks. Just three months later, Haughey was forced to resign, and Reynolds moved into the top job.

Four years and two governments later, Reynolds is still Taoiseach heading a coalition government (with the Labor Party) that commands the largest parliamentary majority in Irish political history. Reynolds says he enjoys his job and expects to be there for the foreseeable future. He's a devoted family man, spending almost all his spare hours with his wife Kathleen (now successfully recovering from an operation and treatment for cancer) and their large, traditional Irish family (five daughters, two sons, and grandchildren). Apart from family, his non-political interests range from horse racing and soccer to most areas of arts and culture.

He takes inordinate pride in “hot” Irish cultural successes in theater, music, literature, and movies. He says movies, in particular, are labor intensive and add considerably to Ireland's industrial health. So does he regret he's no longer involved in the showbiz world? “It's a bit too late in life for me to be part of it,” he says with a whimsical smile.

Irish Prime Minister (Taoiseach) Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major signed the “Downing Street Declaration” in London on December 15, 1993, aimed at bringing about peace between Unionists (seeking continuation of the link with the United Kingdom) and Nationalists (seeking a United Ireland) in the religious and political conflict which has bedeviled Northern Ireland for centuries and, more particularly, in the last two decades.

The declaration followed earlier private talks between Sinn Fein (political wing of the IRA) leader Gerry Adams and the Leader of Northern Ireland's Social and Democratic Party, John Hume, and secret talks between the IRA and British government intermediaries.

At his office in Dublin, Prime Minister Albert Reynolds spoke with *EUROPE* contributor Mike Burns about the intergovernmental peace initiative, his views on European enlargement, job creation, the impact of the GATT agreement on the world economy, and his hopes for an end to the recession.

**Those closest to you say they were not surprised at your peace initiative—that you have had a long-time commitment to peace although you haven't always made that commitment public. How did it come about?**

Well, on the first day that I was elected Taoiseach, I set myself two personal objectives...one was to bring about peace in whatever way I could to the island of Ireland and take the gun out of Irish politics and, secondly, to tackle unemployment. I saw the two issues as very much interrelated. In fact, at the very first meeting I had with Prime Minister John Major a few weeks after I took over, we both agreed that we would pursue with singular determination the prospect of bringing peace and turning over a new leaf in



Irish history. At every subsequent meeting we discussed how we could go about it. But then domestic problems arose for the British government, and we had to set aside concentration on the peace effort until that was disposed of, with the result that by June of 1993 we had reached the stage—after many discussions with a number of people in the North of Ireland, including community leaders and others from different walks of life and, of course, John Hume—where [the Irish Government] could send a draft document to the British government. Two officials from each side and a representative from the Northern Ireland Office, then advanced the document. In October John Major and myself met at a European Summit in Brussels, reviewed our respective positions—including a few tricky issues—and with a lot of intensive negotiations and a number of subsequent telephone contacts, we eventually put the declaration together.

**Do you see the declaration as a historic document?**

I do indeed. We have come a long, long way from where we were. Someone said that if this document had been around in 1920–21 (when Ireland was partitioned), Irish history could have taken a different course. Irrespective of whether we do succeed in bringing peace at this stage or not, I think there is no going back to where we were prior to the declaration. We've advanced the whole situation quite significantly, and I think there will be a new starting point the next time, although that is not to say that I have made up my mind that it is not going to succeed. I haven't.

**Were you dismayed at the slow reaction to the declaration by Sinn Fein/IRA?**

No, not really. I've said from the very start that I did not expect a very early or quick decision from the Republican Movement, because I understand the difficulties an organization like that has in consulting its own membership. I did believe it would take a very considerable period of time to have a proper

discussion and debate within the organization itself. I can understand that it would be a historic decision for the Republican Movement, one that would not be taken in a hurry, one that would not be taken lightly. However, I did hope that they would see the declaration itself as moving the whole situation forward—as a clear recognition by the British government of the equal rights of the Nationalist and Unionist communities and that there was now a clear recognition by everyone concerned that Nationalists had legitimate grievances in the past, that this was recognized, and that they could pursue their political objectives in a political

**We already have almost 400 US companies, employing about 20 percent of our working population. They are by far the largest investors in the country.**

and democratic way. Basically, the document was aimed at pointing the Republican Movement and Nationalist Cause in Northern Ireland in a different direction, toward the democratic process. If we could achieve that, the talks process between all the parties and the two governments had a far, far better chance of success under a peace environment. There's been violent, armed conflict for 25 years.

There hasn't been a military victory on either side, and I think it's well recognized on both sides that there will *not* be a military victory. Consequently, I was hoping that with due deliberation on the document, people would begin to say, well, we haven't got very far after 25 years, here's a new approach, here's a new way, and is it worth continuing to have innocent lives taken when we have a way of pursuing our political objectives?

**Apart from the killing and the loss of innocent lives, what is the down-the-road peace dividend for the whole island of Ireland?**

It would be very significant. First of all, just imagine the message and the

image of Ireland that we could send around the world on the television screens, of a new Ireland at peace with itself, rather than of bombs and bullets and people being killed and maimed, of the destruction of streets and property in Belfast or Derry or other places. A peaceful Ireland would project a very strong, positive message in selling Ireland abroad as a tourist location, as an investment location. When I go abroad to the United States or to Australia, I hear people comment on the awful image of our island. Secondly, if we look at a peaceful Ireland with a single market—which follows naturally on the creation of the single market in Europe

in January 1993—there is a huge peace dividend, new opportunities for trade and investment. Studies which I commissioned have shown the tremendous opportunities which could develop for bridge-building and cooperation in economic terms between North and South. It's quite clear that the Northern Ireland domestic economy could

grow in trade terms with the South by double the present level. And the reverse is also true: We could increase *our* sales to the North of Ireland by about 50 percent. And I have no doubt that foreign investment would be very strongly influenced by a peaceful Ireland. Certainly we have had clear messages from the United States, from the European Union through Jacques Delors, that they stand ready to support a peaceful Ireland and are prepared to inject economic activity in the areas which have suffered most, including the areas along the North-South border. There's huge financial support available, around the world, to help bring back normal living conditions to those areas.

Of course, there's no question—even if we had a political settlement—but that British budgetary transfer would have to continue for a long, long time to come because the Irish economy could simply not take on that burden, and I don't think anyone would realistically expect us to do that. If I can summarize: Yes, there is a huge dividend North and South for us all, in every way, not least in the quality of



life. There are people living in some parts of Northern Ireland today who were born into violence, have never seen anything but violence. Imagine what it would be like to restore normal living for those people and the improvement in their quality of life.

**In this "New Ireland" you mention, how important is United States investment?**

United States investment is already huge. We already have almost 400 US companies, employing about 20 percent of our working population. They are by far the largest investors in the country; so we depend very heavily on them. They see Ireland as a very profitable location to service the European market, with an oversupply of highly skilled, highly educated, English speaking young people, and an excellent quality of life. And there are also the old cultural ties, with an estimated 44 million Americans claiming Irish descent over one, two, or three generations. It's an ideal base for them and for European investment—from Germany, from France, from the United Kingdom itself, and from the Nordic countries. We have been very, very successful in bringing in international investment, despite the troubles of the last 25 years. So, if we do so well under those sort of handicaps, how much better we could do in a new Ireland.

**In spite of the successes we mention and like other European countries and elsewhere, unemployment is a massive problem—around the 300,000 mark in a country with a very small population. Can anything be done to tackle unemployment?**

Since I became Taoiseach, I've been trying to get unemployment to the top of the European agenda. It was never there before and it's only in more recent years that the unemployment problem has become a serious problem for all the member states of Europe. At the Birmingham European Summit and subsequently at the Copenhagen Sum-

mit, we finally managed to get it into focus. The Commission and the EU as a whole have responded through the white paper on employment and growth and competitiveness. Certainly it's there at the top of the agenda. We can't solve our unemployment problem on our own. I think everybody recognizes that. We have many factors that contribute to it—the fastest growing population in Europe, more young people coming onto the labor market each year. We have more than a million children at school each year. We're invest-



**In signing the Downing Street Declaration, British Prime Minister John Major (left) and Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds have sought to bring about peace in Northern Ireland.**

ing heavily in their education, in academic and technical areas, and we want to use that asset here at home. We export 70 percent of what we produce, so what happens in the outside world really affects what we can do here ourselves. However, even in bad times throughout the recession, we have managed an average 4 percent growth in GNP over the last four years, which far outstrips any of the other member states, but we're not translating it into the level of job creation that we would expect.

What's happening on the other side is that technology is destroying jobs as fast as we are producing them. Also, we had a very high dependence on farming in the late 1960s, with 37–38 percent of the working population engaged in agriculture. Today, we are down to about 10 percent. That's a huge number of people leaving agriculture every year. However, this year we expect a net increase of about 21,000 new jobs—it's not enough, but it is a reflection of

us getting on the right track.

We are putting a huge effort into local community development, trying to get every new idea off the ground at the local level—a bottom-up approach which we hope will allow long-term unemployed and those who came out of employment late in life, the opportunity to contribute to the development of their own local community. In other words, a community development work force. Thankfully, internationally, things are beginning to improve with the GATT agreement in place, the NAFTA agreement, [and] low interest rates. Things are beginning to settle down; a lot of the ingredients are there for recovery; and we certainly hope to see an economic takeoff starting later this year.

**Do you see the GATT agreement as a path out of the recession?**

It will make a big contribution. It will restore confidence in the world trading system. Because we Irish are free traders...because we depend so much on

exports...we want to see free trade developed, and we'll take our chances in grabbing a share of that trade. There was so much movement toward protectionism that it became very worrying, but now that we have the GATT agreement, it will open up world trade. I also believe it will be one of the factors which will take the world out of recession and get stagnant world economies moving again.

**The European family as it exists seems to have had great difficulty in speaking with one voice over the breakup and subsequent events in the former Yugoslavia. Do you think the new, enlarged Europe will suffer from similar problems?**

It is a problem, and 1996 will be very interesting in our approach to future development and how we can put things together. Economic union is one thing; political union is quite different. There are people who say one can't work without the other. The problem is



that countries are slow to give up their independence in foreign policy, and this has reflected itself in the former Yugoslavia situation. Different countries had different views as to what the foreign policy approach to it should be. The EU has been shown to be weak. There's no point in saying otherwise. There have been differing views while, at the same time, the outside world has looked on and seen the EU looking inwardly in regard to that problem and being somewhat very reluctant to tackle it. We all know it's a complex problem, but at the end of the day I've always believed—like our own problem in Ireland—it's around the table it must be solved. You're not going to solve it by killing more and more people. Unfortunately, there is the historical background of the Balkans to consider.

I don't know how we will get the EU's foreign policy into one voice. That's not going to be easy. Everyone thought our problems were over when the Berlin Wall came down and when the Soviet Union began to break up, but now it's becoming obvious to everyone that the problems of the past, which were not visible by suppression or otherwise, are becoming very visible today. They've got to be faced up to. If we are not seen to find some resolution to the former Yugoslavia conflict, we will lose a lot of our importance in the world and our influence on such events. I hope that the EU can aid a successful conclusion in the former Yugoslavia, otherwise I feel it will be a serious setback to the foreign policy of the European Union.

**Do you think the credibility of the EU's foreign policy has been severely damaged?**

I think it has. There can be no question about it. In the eyes of the world, we have been seen to be unable to come to grips with what is essentially a European problem.

**Historically, Ireland has been neutral. In a United Ireland situation, or with some new arrangement between North and South and Britain, would Ireland remain neutral?**

This debate will have to start very soon because we have to define our position by 1996. While it is true that, in a divided or partitioned Ireland up to now, many people were of the view that it was kept that way by successive British gov-

ernments because of the strategic position of Northern Ireland. But John Major and the present British government have made it clear, in the December declaration for peace, that they don't have any ongoing strategic interest in staying in Ireland and that their priority is to enable people to sit down and work out an agreement and that the British government will enable it to happen, will legislate for it, whatever agreement that is and whatever the new Ireland or the agreed Ireland is that we all want to see in the future. So I think that issue has been settled and taken off the table. No longer can anybody say that it is an issue in the whole future of neutrality as far as Ireland is concerned. Successive [Prime Ministers] in this country have made it clear that in an overall European defense area that Ireland would look at it. We have to start that debate, but I have made it clear to the Irish people that, before there is any change in our policy, they will have their opportunity to voice their decision on it in an open referendum.

**Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams received a lot of media interest during his visit to the United States in January. How do you regard Gerry Adams, both as the leader of Sinn Fein and as a person?**

I've never met him. I only know what I read or hear or have been told about [him]. People tell me that he wants to see Ireland at peace with itself. He made that clear in some of his statements in the United States, that he wants this generation of Republicans to take the gun out of Irish politics, and of course, we all welcome that. He did get a lot of media publicity in the United States, but I suppose someone who was banned from going there for 20 years must have made people curious. I suppose that's what the media is about, satisfying peoples' curiosity. It certainly did it in relation to his visit. But having said that, I don't think there would be any real support for him after the visit if, at the end of the day, Sinn Fein and the IRA don't back the peace declaration. That's my assessment of his visit, as to where it's taken the situation. That has been made very clear to me from many of the politicians in the United States who backed his application for a visa. That's the view they take. President Clinton quite clearly takes the same view, and many

others [do] as well.

An area that was traditionally supportive of Sinn Fein, in certain segments of the US population, will turn their back on him if they lose this historic opportunity. Because that's the way it's seen. I think it's unique the amount of support that has been given to the peace declaration by all sides. I don't think that Sinn Fein and the IRA will have all that much support left if they turn their backs on this. Let's hope they don't. Having said that, I would respect the time they need to bring people along with them. We don't need another split in the Republican Movement in Ireland. We had one in the 1970s, and we've had 25 years of violence since. We don't want to face another 25 years of that. So if it took a little extra time to do it, and Gerry Adams would hopefully be able to take them with him...I believe the internal debate is very intense, but I have no reason to believe it will go the wrong way...the pessimistic way...at this stage. But I do know it will take a lot of persuasion by a lot of people, and it's said that Gerry Adams is trying to persuade people to look at it differently....I hope he succeeds.

**Finally, on an unrelated subject, why is Ireland currently so "hot" in terms of culture—in music, in films, in literature?**

This capacity we had for filmmaking and other cultural developments was latent in Ireland for too long. It has been awakened in recent years. Success brings success, and we have had some notable successes, particularly with films. We are now beginning to see our skills, our innovative capacity in that area, flourishing. I've always believed that there were a lot of jobs in films and filmmaking because it's labor intensive. As Minister for Finance I introduced incentives for filmmaking in Ireland and for trying to keep a lot of the profits in this country. This has since been improved on and developed. We do have that creative, artistic background. We always had it, but it's only coming to the fore in recent times....

While it is cultural and artistic, it's also a good economic activity as well. It can earn good money abroad and can leave a lot of jobs here at home. ☺

*Mike Burns, a writer and former correspondent for RTE Irish television, is based in Dublin.*





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**Peace demonstrators in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Peace would also benefit the Republic of Ireland, which has spent huge sums on security measures.**



By Joe Carroll



# High

# Hopes

FOR PEACE AND FOR  
CREATING EMPLOYMENT

**For Ireland, 1994 is a year of high hopes for peace in the Northern Ireland conflict and for turning around record unemployment figures. Failure on both fronts would, of course, be all the more disappointing as never before have such determined efforts been made to tackle these daunting problems.**

On a lighter note, the qualification by the national soccer team for the World Cup to be held in the United States this summer has raised hopes of at least an equal performance to that in 1990 in Italy when Ireland reached the quarter finals. Thousands of fans are planning the trip, and friendly pressure is being applied on the US administration to ensure that visas will be provided in time.

The ending of political violence by the IRA would bring the most immediate benefits to Northern Ireland where the people and the economy have suffered so much over the past 25 years. But there would also be enormous benefits in the Republic where much needed funds are diverted to security measures. The restoration of normal conditions in the border areas would mean a welcome increase in tourism and the extension of a network of cross-border cooperation in economic and cultural sectors. A recent study estimates the annual cost of the Northern conflict to the Republic because of extra security and losses in tourism at almost \$200 million. In Northern Ireland the figure is almost \$500 million.

The blueprint for peace which was agreed between the Irish and British political leaders, Albert Reynolds and John Major, at the end of last year, is intended primarily to persuade the IRA to end what it calls the "armed struggle" against the British presence in Northern Ireland. The joint declaration, signed at Downing Street last December, is the most far-reaching attempt yet by the two governments to reconcile the Nationalist aspirations for a united Ireland and the determination of Unionists in Northern Ireland not to be separated from Britain against



There was scarcely a dry eye at Rosie O'Grady's several weeks ago as scores of Irish pubgoers watched the Irish national rugby team lose a cliffhanger to a heavily favored Welsh squad in the Five Nations rugby union tournament.

Certainly, the post-game mood was somber across the Irish Republic, but the pervasive disappointment in Rosie's was noteworthy nonetheless, since the popular pub is located in the heart of Moscow on Znamenka Ulitisa, quite a way from Dublin's Lansdowne Road rugby ground.

The jointly held Irish-Russian watering hole has been one of the most popular bars in Moscow since its debut a year ago, serving up more than 5,000 pints of Guinness stout and some 2,000 pints of Kilkenny Irish ale each week.

While Rosie's has begun to attract an increasingly large Russian crowd—although Western prices, or about \$4.50 for a pint of Guinness, are out of reach for most Muscovites—expatriates comprise the bulk of the pub's traffic. And present on most nights are members of Moscow's surprisingly large Irish population.

Moscow based Irish officials place the size of the Irish community of at least 200 but note that such estimates are based upon voluntary registration at the embassy. But Tierney and Associates, an Irish construction firm involved in half a dozen projects in Moscow, has alone employed more than 100 expatriates in the Russian capital periodically throughout the past several months, indicating that the official estimates grossly understate the extent of Irish presence here.

The Irish embassy could not provide an industry breakdown of Irish business in Moscow, but Richard Fallon, the mission's second secretary, estimated the number of companies at just under 25, some operating under Irish license and others in joint ventures with Russian partners.

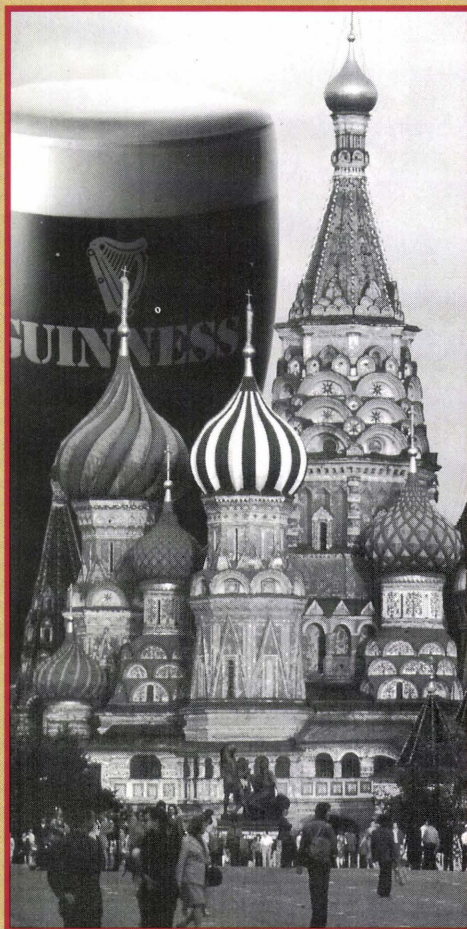
But the largest portion of Irish expatriates work some 15 kilometers outside of Moscow, operating the duty-free shop at Sheremetyevo airport, Fallon said.

The Irish airport authority Aer Rianta, an innovator of airport duty-free operations, manages the duty-free stores at Moscow's main international airport and at St. Petersburg in addition to airport shops in Bahrain, Kuwait, and Karachi and has planned projects on either side of the Channel tunnel, an Aer Rianta official said.

Aer Rianta opened the world's first duty-free shop at Shannon airport in 1945, relying mostly on the patronage of homeward-bound Allied soldiers, the official said. Aeroflot, the Russian flagship carrier, began transiting Shannon on its eastward flights shortly after, using the western Ireland airport for technical and refueling services.

But the Irish-Russian connection did not flourish until the oil crisis hit Europe and the Americas in the mid-1970s. Aer Rianta constructed fuel storage facilities specifically for Aeroflot so that the Russian government could export its cut-rate jet fuel to Aeroflot aircraft in Ireland to

## Irish Expatriates in Moscow



avoid paying premium prices for Middle East oil products.

"Aer Rianta built a fuel farm, and Russia tankered in aviation fuel...rather than buying it on the open market," the official said, adding that the Irish company later assisted the Russian government in marketing its jet fuel to third parties.

From peddling Russian fuel to Western buyers, Aer Rianta's connection with the Russian government has blossomed to the point where an Aer Rianta subsidiary, Aer Rianta International, helps run the most successful retail operation in Moscow, the Arbat Irish House on the Novy Arbat, one of Moscow's main thoroughfares.

The Irish House, which opened its doors in July 1991, was one of the first Western style establishments in Russia—providing European and American clothing and food products to expatriates and well-to-do Russians. The Irish House is also home to The Shamrock Pub, Moscow's first European style watering hole and still a favorite haunt of Irish expatriates.

"We were the first to do this type of enterprise under one roof," says Edmond Forrest, General Manager of The Arbat Irish House & Bar.

Some 30 mostly Irish expatriates are members of the Irish House's nearly 400 strong employee list, with the expatriates skewed toward upper-level management, Forrest said. However, Aer Rianta and its Russian partner ultimately aim to replace expatriates with Russian managers, he added.

"Ideally we would like the venture to be managed and driven by Russians—that's part of our objective and strategy," he said, noting that the establishment employed more than 60 expatriates at the outset.

Although the Irish are most closely involved in the day-to-day running of the Irish House, the operation is actually a jointly funded operation between Aer Rianta and the state-owned Moscow Construction Committee in a 50-50 partnership called Sitco. While the Irish House is Sitco's flagship venture, the partnership operates six other retail ventures throughout the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Sitco's newest project is the construction of a new shopping center next-door to the Arbat Irish House, Richard Fallon said, noting that the Western style arcade will contain boutiques, a cafe, and "other welcome sights."

Slated to open over the next several months, the facility will open on schedule thanks to the efficient work of construction workers imported from Ireland, Edmond Forrest said.

Irish workers, while much more expensive than their Russian counterparts, are more familiar with Sitco's many foreign construction materials and "are able to keep to a schedule," Forrest noted.

While expatriate workers cost more than Russians, Sitco "will save [money] if we can bring it in on schedule," he added. ☐

Laurie Laird is EUROPE's Moscow correspondent.



their wishes.

The Irish government for its part fully supports the guarantee that there will be no change in the constitutional position of Northern Ireland unless there is a majority there in favor. The British government accepts the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-determination and declares its readiness to implement any agreement on the future of Ireland which is first agreed among the Irish people themselves, including a united Ireland.

The declaration is meant to convince the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Fein, that the only way to achieve the united Ireland of their dreams is by persuading the Unionist population in the North, by peaceful means, that this would be in their interest. While this necessarily long-term process is going on, the Nationalist, largely Catholic population in the North would be allowed to express their sense of identity, their "Irishness," as fully as possible.

If the declaration proves acceptable to the IRA and to Sinn Fein so that the violence ends, then they can be brought into the political talks on the future of internal government in Northern Ireland and on relations between North and South and between Dublin and London.

The successful negotiation of the joint declaration was seen as very much a personal triumph for Prime Minister Reynolds aided by John Hume, the leader of the northern Nationalist Party, the SDLP, who helped prepare the ground through his own talks with the leader of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams.

Yet only a year before, Reynolds, after a disastrous election for his Fianna Fail party, seemed destined to be ousted from government after less than a year as Taoiseach. By forming a coalition, however, with the smaller Labor Party headed by Dick Spring, Reynolds and Fianna Fail secured an overwhelming parliamentary majority to rule for the next five years.

There was an urgent need for a strong, stable government as it ran straight into a currency crisis which forced a 10 percent devaluation of the Irish pound. In addition, unemployment was climbing steadily toward 300,000 or almost 20 percent of the labor force and emigration was draining away young talent.

The new coalition or "partnership"

government put together the most ambitious program yet seen for reforms in economic, social, administrative, and legal areas. At the top of the list was the search for peace in Northern Ireland and job creation. Now a year later the first fruits are beginning to show, and the former political foes, Reynolds and Spring, have proved that they can work harmoniously together.

The economic fundamentals have seldom been better. Ireland's outlook for 1994 presented in the budget is for economic growth of between 4 and 5 percent; accelerated exports; significant recovery in investment reflecting lower interest rates; consumer spending up by 4 percent; continued moderate inflation of less than 3 percent; a further strong surplus on the current account of the balance of payments; Exchange borrowing of under 3 percent; and a moderate reduction in the debt/GNP ratio which is still too high at around 100 percent.

The jobs target is disappointingly modest. With unemployment above 290,000, the net fall predicted for 1994 is only 5,000 although it is hoped to create about 25,000 new jobs. The problem is the increasing number of young people coming on the jobs market as a result of the "baby boom" of the 1970s, a trend which will last until the end of the century.

The government's approach to job creation is a combination of tax breaks to employers, cheap loans to small businesses with the help of EU funds, community employment schemes, and extended training programs. Critics say this approach is too limited and that bolder steps should have been taken in tax reform to provide more incentive for employers to take on extra workers and for those drawing unemployment benefits to seek work. Social benefits for unemployed people with three or more children can in some cases yield a higher net income than an average job.

One area of tax reform which created an outcry was an increase in the residential property tax with the aim of diverting investment away from housing into more productive sectors. The increase was seen as unfairly targeting Dublin middle class homes and as inspired by the Labor element in government. The strong negative reaction forced the government to re-examine "anomalies" where they occur.

Another area where the reform program has run into trouble is the promised referendum to end the constitutional ban on divorce to be held next October or November. A previous referendum in 1986 was heavily defeated. While the Catholic Church's opposition to divorce was expected, the main reason for the defeat then was a fear by farmers and by women that their existing property rights would be undermined.

This time the government was determined to prepare for the divorce referendum by a series of new laws to deal with the property aspects, but the Irish Supreme Court has recently struck down a bill which would have made husband and wife joint owners of the family home. The compulsion element was judged as incompatible with the freedom guaranteed to families in the constitution. The striking down of the bill has been hailed by the anti-divorce lobby as a serious setback for the plan to end Ireland's claim as the only country in the EU not to have divorce.

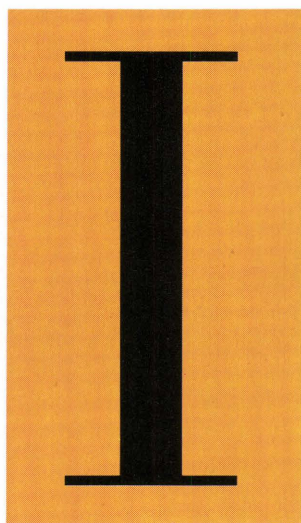
The government is already preparing for Ireland's presidency of the EU in the second half of 1996 when the planned intergovernmental conference should lay down the steps toward full political union, a move that has serious implications for Ireland's traditional military neutrality. A government white paper under Foreign Minister Dick Spring is being drafted to set out all the options on foreign policy—the first time in the country's history that this has been done.

A three year "Program for Competitiveness and Work" setting out economic targets and wage increases in the private and public sectors has been agreed between the government, the employer and farmer organizations and the labor unions. It is based on the National Development Plan, which is the blueprint for development until the end of the century, taking into account the massive injection of EU funds for that period. So there is no shortage of plans and blueprints for the way forward. But if they do not produce peace and more jobs, they will be just so much more paper. ☹

*Joe Carroll is EUROPE's Dublin correspondent and a reporter for The Irish Times.*



# Ireland's Cultural

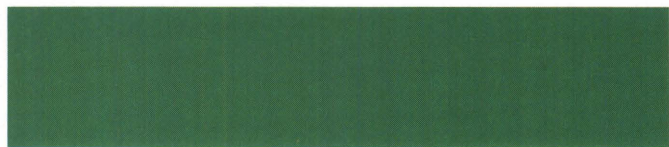


In the last two years, the most prestigious fiction prize in Europe, the Booker Prize, has been won by an Irish writer, Roddy Doyle. The major English-language poetry prize, the T.S. Eliot Award, has been won by an Irish poet, Ciaran Carson. The Oscars in Hollywood have had a heavy Irish presence with directors Jim Sheridan and Neil Jordan, and actors like Liam Neeson, Richard Harris, Brenda Fricker, and Daniel Day-Lewis. Irish rock bands like U2 and The Cranberries make the upper reaches of the US charts. The Tony Award for the best new play on Broadway has been won by an Irish play, Brian Friel's *Dancing at Lughnasa*. There is a widespread belief that the next

English-language writer to win the Nobel Prize for Literature will be the Irish poet, Seamus Heaney. At the end of the 20th century, just as at its beginning, an island with a population a good deal smaller than that of New York is again having an international cultural influence out of proportion to its size.

In one sense, there is nothing especially remarkable about this. From the 18th century onward, when English started to replace Irish as the main literary language of Ireland, Irish writers have been hugely influential on the world stage. English-language theater is hard to imagine without George Farguhar, Oliver Goldsmith, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, John Millington Synge, Sean O'Casey, and Samuel Beckett. Modern poetry just wouldn't be the same without William Butler Yeats or the modern novel without James Joyce.

But in another sense, drawing attention to this continuity of achievement is a bit misleading. For the point about the success of Irish artists now is that it has been achieved, not as the natural outcome of a long tradition, but by writers who have had to cope with very radical changes in the country they live in. The fact that they do live in Ireland—unlike virtually all the writers mentioned in the preceding paragraph—is itself a mark of how much things have changed. Ireland doesn't just produce influential cultural figures anymore, it also keeps them.



Ireland's

Cultural Influences

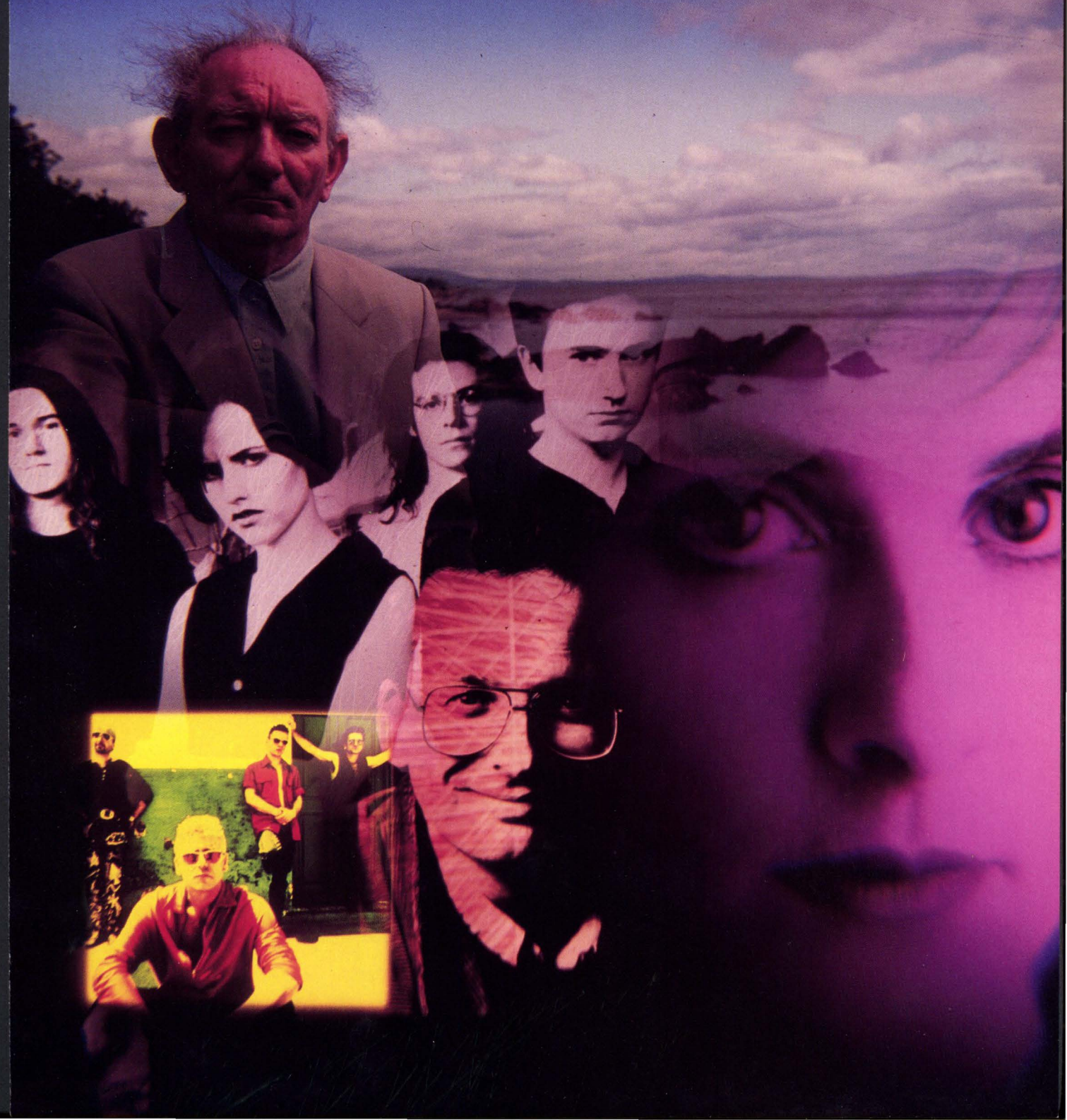
Loom Large on

Global Stage

By Fintan O'Toole



# Revolution





...the influences of the movies and rock and roll on Irish culture, far from having the swamping effect that many feared, have been positive.

This is more than just a biographical fact. That Roddy Doyle, Neil Jordan, Jim Sheridan, Seamus Heaney, and the members of U2 live in Dublin; that Ciaran Carson is in Belfast; Brian Friel in rural Donegal; the celebrated novelist John McGahern on a small farm in remote Leitrim, says a lot about their work as well as their lives. The remarkable thing is that such writers have achieved international success while continuing to write from and about a very specific and contemporary Ireland. They don't make concessions to Broadway or Hollywood or the literary cultures of London and New York. Instead of trying to make the universal local, they have made the local universal.

It is also misleading to think in any simple sense of contemporary Irish artists as inheritors of a great tradition. By staying in Ireland and writing out of their experience of it, they have had to face a period of radical change and unsettlement. For artists from the North, like Friel, Heaney, and the playwright Frank McGuinness whose play *Someone Who'll Watch Over Me* was successful on Broadway in 1993, that has meant facing up to the traumas of the Northern Ireland conflict over the past 25 years.

For those artists who come from the Republic of Ireland, change has been less dramatic and traumatic, but nonetheless real. The working class urban experience described by Roddy Doyle, the dislocated city sounds of U2, the wild side of sexuality in the films of Neil Jordan all speak of an Ireland very far removed from the world of farm, pub, and kitchen that was typical of Irish novels and plays up to the 1960s.

This younger generation seized on the opening up of Irish society in the last two decades with an exuberant delight. Because English has long been its principal language, Ireland has fewer difficulties with transatlantic culture than many other EU countries. At the same time, that transatlantic culture is not exactly foreign to a country whose emigrants did so much to shape American culture in the first place. When you remember that Irish folk music was one of the key ingredients in the mix that created American popular music, that the American musical owes much to George M. Cohan, an Irishman, that the Western was brought to its greatest heights by John Ford, an Irishman, and that American theater was greatly influenced by Eugene O'Neill, an Irishman, it is not so surprising that the Irish have felt able to play their part in international culture.

And the influences of the movies and rock and roll on Irish culture, far from having the swamping effect that many feared, have been positive. Some writers, like the playwright Jim Sheridan and the novelist Neil Jordan, themselves became internationally successful filmmakers. Jordan's success with *The Crying Game* and Sheridan's achievement in

getting seven Oscar nominations for *In the Name of the Father* are proof of the opportunities for Irish filmmakers which the recently established Irish Film Board, funded by the state, hopes to exploit. While Ireland remains a popular location for Hollywood movies—the Mia Farrow film, *Widow's Peak*, written by the Irish playwright Hugh Leonard being a case in point—the film board's chairperson, Lelia Doolan, hopes to see Ireland become a major film producing nation as well as a shooting location.

By taking hold of the new forms, Irish artists have been able to gain both new ways of expressing themselves and the international audience that film and rock music bring. The engagement has worked both ways, with the Dublin soul band in Roddy Doyle's novel *The Commitments* standing as a good symbol of the way in which Ireland has taken the new cultural influences from the international mainstream and made something fresh and distinctive from them. A book about a group of Irish youngsters wanting to be American soul singers spawned a successful international movie and a soul album that was a hit in America. Ireland has shown that, with enough creativity, small cultures don't have to be flattened by global media influences, but can instead take them in, mold them into a distinctive shape, and send them out again around the globe. ☺

*Fintan O'Toole is a columnist for The Irish Times.*

## 39th Eurovision Song Contest in Dublin

More than 300 million viewers around the world will tune into Ireland's capital city on April 30 for Europe's biggest annual "pop" television spectacular—the 39th Eurovision Song Contest run by the umbrella body for European broadcasting, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU).

Twenty five countries across Europe will compete—including rival groups from war-ravaged Bosnia and Croatia.

Each participating country holds a national contest, with the winning singer or group then chosen to represent their country in what has now become European television's biggest and most dazzling one-night technical hook up.

For Ireland and its national television service, Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE), it's a case of "been there, seen it, done it" before.

This year, for the first time, a new Eurovision rule means that any country which doesn't do better than seventh position cannot qualify for the next year's event. This year, the rule allows for entries from the newly emerging Eastern European countries at the expense of seven "traditional" competitors, including Belgium and Denmark.

In RTE's case, work on the elaborate stage set began in January, and by broadcast date, hundreds of design, construction, and production staff will have spent thousands of hours transforming a former railway goods depot here in Dublin into a Euro wonderland.

It's a costly business for the host broadcaster. But Joe Barry, RTE's Chief Executive, says "postcard videos" of Ireland's scenic locations are worth millions of dollars in tourism promotion and to the country's image as an ecologically conscious and friendly location for "clean" international businesses.

Even the Eurovision logo echoes that theme—of Dublin's historic past and a group of yellow starbursts echoing the visual symbol of Ireland's place in the European Union.

More than 130 young students from seven Irish design colleges competed for this year's logo. The winner—Dublin student Nicola Hooper.

—Mike Burns



# P R O F I L I N G I R I S H A R T I S T S

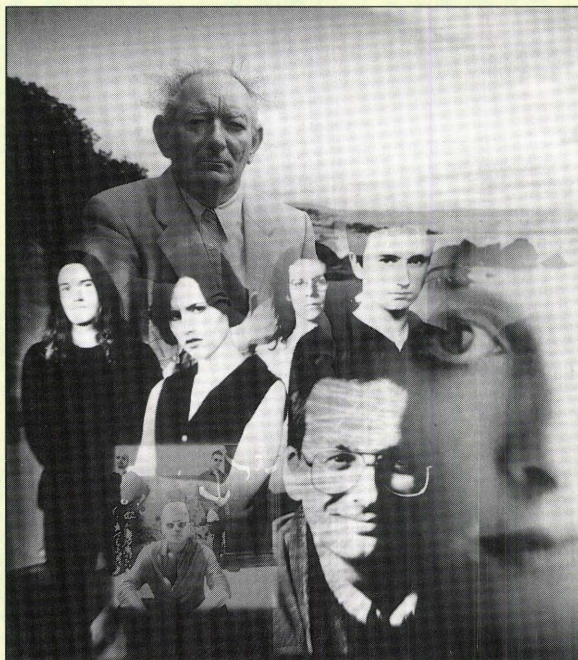
**U2.** Since U2's first release *Out of Control* in 1979, the Dublin rock band has soared to international fame and stayed there for more than a decade, steadily delivering highly polished hits like "New Years Day," "Pride," "One," "With or Without You" to their faithful following. Lead singer Bono (Paul Hewson), guitarist The Edge (Dave Evans), bass guitarist Adam Clayton, and drummer Larry Mullen Jr. formed the group in 1976. Today, their sound is known around the globe, instantly recognizable by Bono's forceful voice.

**The Cranberries.** This Limerick-based quartet has taken music charts in the US and the UK by storm with their debut album *Everyone Else is Doing It, So Why Can't We?* (Island). And in Ireland, they recently picked up a coveted Hot Press/Smithwicks Award. Lead singer Dolores O'Riordan co-wrote most of the album's tracks including hits "Dreams" and "Linger" with band member Noel Hogan, who plays lead guitar, along with Mike Hogan on bass guitar and Feargal Lawlor on drums.

**Enya.** Enya is the youngest of Gweedore's most famous musical family, the Brennans, who together with two cousins formed the folk group Clannad in 1970. A rift in Clannad over the band's direction and management caused Enya to go solo and pursue her own musical ambition. Using a synthesizer and her own voice overdubbed hundreds of times to give a choral effect, she created a new kind of ambient music with a distinctly Celtic flavor. The totally original sound—airy, yet punctuated with phrases in English, Irish, and Latin—made her BBC's choice for the soundtrack of a six-part series on the history of the Celts, which became her first solo album, *Enya*, in 1986. Since then, she has made two albums.

**Seamus Heaney.** Seamus Heaney was born in 1939 in Derry in Northern Ireland. He was 27 when his first collection (*Death of a Naturalist*) was published, winning him recognition among literati of the time as one of Ireland's up and coming poets.

Seamus Heaney taught at Queen's University, Belfast before leaving the turbulence of Northern Ireland in 1972. That year he moved with his wife and family to County Wicklow in



the South where he worked as a broadcaster and freelance writer before resuming teaching at Carysfort teacher-training college in Dublin. He was later Senior Visiting Lecturer at Harvard University and since 1989 has been Professor of Poetry at Oxford University. Heaney is a prolific writer who has a couple of plays and at least 10 collections to his name.

**Roddy Doyle.** Roddy Doyle, another teacher-turned-writer, has won the 1993 prestigious Booker Prize for his latest novel, *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha*. *Paddy Clarke* is in the same vein as Doyle's extremely successful Barrytown Trilogy that included *The Commitments*, *The Snapper*, and *The Van*. Both *The Commitments* and *The Snapper* have been made into successful movies.

**John McGahern.** John McGahern now lives on a small farm in Mohill, County Leitrim, but was born in Dublin in 1935 and lived in various parts of the west of Ireland, depending on where his father, a police sergeant, was stationed. His literary debut in 1961 with *The Barracks* won him the first AE Memorial Award to go to an Irish writer. *The Dark* (1964), his second novel, established him as a gifted writer with a mastery of language and deep insight into the volatility of emotions and the human heart. Most recently, he has published *The Collected Stories* (1992).

**Brian Friel.** Brian Friel was born in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland in 1929. After a short teaching career (1950-1960) he became a full-time playwright. Now living in County Donegal, his lines captivate audiences in Dublin, London, and New York, where his *Dancing at Lughnasa* (1990) received rave reviews during its run on Broadway with an all Irish, Abbey Theater cast.

**Neil Jordan.** Neil Jordan was born in Sligo, Ireland in 1950. His family soon moved from the seaside village of Rosses Point to Dublin. In 1974 he formed the Irish Writers' Co-operative, but soon turned his attention to filmmaking, which he has predominantly dedicated himself to ever since. His first success was in 1981 with *Angel*. That was followed by *The Company of Wolves* (1984), *Mona Lisa* (1986), the comedy *High Spirits* (1988), *The Miracle* (1991), and *The Crying Game* (1992). Jordan lives by the sea, in Bray, County Wicklow.

**Liam Neeson.** Liam Neeson, the soft-spoken, intellectual-looking actor who played Oskar Schindler in Stephen Spielberg's Oscar-winning movie *Schindler's List*, started his days in Ballymena, County Antrim. Before joining the theater in the mid-1970s, Neeson worked for a brief spell first as a forklift operator and later as an architect's assistant. While the role of German industrialist Oskar Schindler may be his most memorable so far, he has also had major parts in box office successes such as *The Mission*, *A Prayer for the Dying*, *Suspect*, and *Darkman*.

**Daniel Day-Lewis.** Daniel Day-Lewis was born in London to the late British Poet Laureate Cecil Day-Lewis and actress Janet Balcon. He prefers Irish nationality, lives in Ireland (Wicklow), and has an Irish passport. Day-Lewis stunned audiences worldwide with his flawless execution of the role of Irish writer and cerebral palsy victim Christy Brown in *My Left Foot* (1989). His other credits include *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1989), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1991), and most recently *Age of Innocence* (1993) and *In the Name of the Father* (1993).

—Maeve O'Beirne



EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER

# Padraig Flynn

**PADRAIG FLYNN'S FIRST YEAR IN BRUSSELS** as Ireland's member of the European Commission has been described as a "roller coaster ride" for the tall, former Minister for Justice. He has adapted quickly to the new role of handling social and judicial affairs in the Commission and showed he could fight his corner when he had to.

Mr. Flynn has now produced a green paper on social policy and made an important contribution to the Commission's white paper on employment, which was well received at last December's EU Summit. He is also preparing a package of measures to help migrant workers, harmonize and strengthen immigration rules.

A less happy episode for Mr. Flynn was getting caught up in the Irish government's battle to secure \$12 billion in EU funds to finance its ambitious National Plan over 1994-1999. In spite of Mr. Flynn's campaign inside the Commission, the amount was cut back by over \$1 billion, but the blame for this was put down to the government's vaulting ambition rather than any fault of Mr. Flynn.

He is seen to relish his new life and career in Brussels and has hinted that he would not rule himself out as a candidate for the Presidency of the Commission when Jacques Delors retires at the end of this year.

Mr. Flynn, 54, was born in Castlebar, County Mayo. Tagged as ultra-conservative on his arrival in Brussels, Mr. Flynn has worked hard to shed the image and has impressed women's groups by his determination to improve living and working conditions for women.

He enjoys golf for relaxation and is a former snooker and tennis champion. He was knighted as a Commander of Gastronomy of Flanders at a ceremony in Bruges last year. He is married and has three daughters and a son. One of his daughters may yet be elected to his former parliamentary seat later this year.

—Joe Carroll

*Commissioner Flynn attended last month's Jobs Conference in Detroit. While in Washington en route to Detroit*



*he spoke with EUROPE Editor-in-Chief Robert J. Guttman about how the EU is helping to solve unemployment.*

**You have stated that Europe needs to cut its unemployment in half by the year 2000 and create 20 million new jobs. This seems to be a tough goal to attain, considering between 1970 and 1990 the US and Japan created a net 29 million new jobs and Europe created only 12 million, and mainly these were in the public sector. What are your plans to attain your goal by the year 2000?**

We have said that we would have to create at least 15 million new jobs between now and the end of the century if we are going to reduce unemployment to half what it is now. It's not so much the target that's the issue. The issue is that unless we do create that many, we're going to have very serious problems at the end of

the century. The new conventional wisdom is that there has to be a balance, and the balance is between growth and structural change and of course the need for social protection. And all of this, of course, cannot happen without a credible macroeconomic response to get the kind of broad levels that will make it possible not just to maintain the existing employment levels, but to have enough growth to see the reduction of unemployment. And the key point that we're trying to make is that the traditional solution, which was very evident in the past, was that cyclical recovery and deregulation of the labor markets would settle everything. But that will not give us a way out of the major structural problems that exist, and that's the reason why, coupled with economic growth, we need to create as many jobs as we can. We also need the structural reform.



## **How do you plan on getting structural reform?**

This is something that has to be done both medium-term and short-term. The way forward that we see has to be a synthesis between two models...that's the United States and the European model of production and protection. The United States is very strong on entrepreneurship, historically speaking, and also very strong on private sector creativity. This can be very beneficial for us in the European situation. The European Union systems have very strong models on education and training, social protection, and solidarity. That's how the European model grew up—job security and a high level of social protection. And we want to see that continue, but of course, it's being threatened now. It's being threatened at a number of points because of the changes in comparative advantage as far as the industrialized world and the Asian basin are concerned. It's threatened with the impact of new technology, and it's threatened as well with societal changes, particularly demographic changes. But there is a way forward, and that's the synthesis we would like to see developed. There has to be quite a radical shift in the nature of our education and our training systems. What we're trying to achieve is to keep our competitive edge, to deal with the leading edge of technology, and to do that we have to have a quality work force. And by quality work force, I mean well-trained; it has to be flexible and it has to be motivated. And to do that, we require training. In fact, we require continuous training, not just training for the sake of getting people involved in the labor markets; you have to apply it throughout the whole working experience. That requires a partnership in the dialogue that goes on between the social partners on both sides of industry, management and labor. In the short-term, we have to take the crisis as we see it and help the unemployed get access to the labor market. The only way that can be done is to improve their skills.

## **And how do you go about improving people's skills so they can get new jobs?**

We have two groups of people.

There are about 19 million in the European Union now, and more than half of them are long-term unemployed. And the danger about long-term unemployed is that they become inactive, not just unemployed but inactive and slip into other activities, often illegal activities. The long-term unemployed are very often the least skilled, least motivated, and have [few] qualifications, if any at all. So you have to provide basic training here to gear them to full access to the labor market, and you have to make it possible for employers to hire them, and that means changing the flexibility of the unit cost. It also requires changes in regulations.

And then we have the fight against the youthful unemployed. In Europe now, we have 5 million young people under 25 who have little or no qualification, and they are in danger of slipping out of the system entirely. Consequently, these problems have to be addressed in a particular way. We are seeking to get an arrangement whereby they would get a guarantee, that all the people under 20 years of age would receive continuing education, a training or apprenticeship, or whatever, [providing] a link between a work experience and training and education, so that they have the work ethic and learn how to participate in the labor market. We need to fight against what I call the emergence of the deprived underclass in European society. There is no problem more damaging to society than the creation of a class of people with no jobs, no skills, no money, and no fulfillment.

## **The bottom line is, do European governments have the political will to carry this out?**

There is a new understanding that the cyclical response will not satisfy our requirement. The evidence is there now, recession following recession, and growth following growth, that the accumulation at the end of the time has been higher levels of unemployment and exclusion of the people on the margins of society. And it's doing two things: It's socially very damaging. Then there are the costs. We're not just talking about the monetary cost of paying unemployment benefits and assistance, we're talking about the other attendant costs, which are enormous—

health problems, crime, not achieving an education, all of that kind of thing. And then you have the monetary costs insofar as budget transfers for paying the social welfare transfer is concerned. When you add all of these things together, it becomes a huge penalty. Now governments recognize that growth alone won't do the trick. They now have to carry out structural reforms, and these are the difficult things to do. This will require radical changes as well as an attitude change. These are things that will be difficult to implement.

It's not just about job creation. We're talking about almost as big a change as from hunting to farming, when you're thinking that far back. We're talking about a changed attitude in society. That's going back to prehistory, now, but you're talking about that kind of fundamental change. We're going to have to learn how to value people better. We're going to have to prevent the polarization of jobs. What we are very distressed about is, we're heading toward a dual society. We want to avoid that at all costs, because that leads to dislocation and societal changes that are quite grim.

## **You have stated a good social climate is essential to a good business climate. Could you briefly explain what that means?**

Yes, we have discovered that the economies that have high levels of social protection are the most successful. They have the best levels of productivity. They have the best job security, and they have the most motivated labor forces. No question about that. The European market can be a success. European citizens wish to see job security and a high level of social protection, and they're willing to pay for it. What they want is the opportunity to participate, so that their skills and professionalism can be put to full advantage, rather than have them retreat and defend their position, which always leads to industrial difficulties, and which leads to loss of competitiveness and loss of security. ☹



# A Europe of Regions Becoming Reality

**THE SOMEWHAT OVERLOOKED COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS, created by the Maastricht Treaty, created a political stir in Brussels March 10 by electing its first President—Jacques Blanc, the right wing President of the Languedoc-Roussillon region in southwestern France.**

**Blanc's election came as a surprise. Two leftist leaders were favored, Charlie Gray, a Scot and from the UK's Labor Party, and Pasqual Maragall, the Socialist Mayor of Barcelona, but centrist and rightist groups gained control of the new body, which will have a consultative role.**

However, Maragall, who was elected First Vice-President, will take over the presidency in two years, Brussels sources said, emphasizing that the election itself marked a major step forward by the increasingly powerful regions throughout the European Union.

"Because all members are elected politicians in their cities and regions, but have power nationally, we believe they could be highly influential with regard to us and other EU institutions," commented Elisabetta Olivi, Spokeswoman for Commissioner Bruce Millan, responsible for regional policy. Millan, previously Cabinet Secretary for Scotland in a British Labor government, said he welcomes working with the COR, which will have a formal say in, for example, how the EU's multibillion dollar regional funds are spent each year.

The COR decided in setting their agenda that they would agree on a common position with regard to the \$15 billion Cohesion Fund, and submit their recommendations to the European Parliament prior to the June elections. The fund applies mainly to Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Ireland.

Although during the Maastricht negotiations German Chancellor Helmut Kohl failed in his bid to establish a "Senate of the Regions," which would



**The new combination airport-TGV high-speed train complex at Satolas will open in July.**

have shared power with the European Parliament and somewhat resembled the Bundesrat in Bonn, he came out with 24 seats in the COR, along with France, the United Kingdom, and Italy. Spain has 21 seats. Luxembourg wound up with the smallest number, six. The new body closely resembles the EU's consultative Economic and Social Committee, which also has an advisory role, with 189 members.

"No one is quite sure what this new EU committee will accomplish, but it reflects the reality of life here and throughout Europe—regions are becoming new hubs of influence and strength," says Jean Chemain, the gruff, highly active Director of the Lyon Chamber of Commerce and Industry. "And they are building links and relations with each other, just as we are."

Indeed, the Lyon region is becoming a major hub in its own right, reflecting a slow shift in economic, political, and cultural weight away from the nation's tra-

**BY AXEL KRAUSE**



ditional center of gravity, Paris. "Nobody anymore looks at us as 'France's second city,' because we have in fact emerged as a major European commercial capital at the center of a critical economic region that runs roughly from Barcelona to Milan and from the Mediterranean to the Alps," said Robert Maury, Managing Director of the Association of the Economic Development of the Lyon region, emphasizing to Americans that "we are a sunbelt city, like Atlanta and Houston in the 1960s and 1970s."

Maury and his association were key players in attracting Euronews to the city, despite intense competition from roughly a dozen other cities, notably Munich, Valencia, Brussels, and Berlin. "We provided tax advantages and the many attractions of the city, as well as the new, emerging European transportation links," he said, noting that the region's new combined airport-TGV high-speed train complex at Satolas will be inaugurated in early July. More significant—and reflecting what is happening in other EU regions—are the planned links between the Lyon region and Turin in northern Italy.

In what could easily become the EU's single largest, rail-highway infrastructure project within several years, French and Italian officials and bankers, with the enthusiastic approval of Paris and Rome, are completing feasibility studies on the "Liaison Transalpine." Representing an investment conservatively estimated at more than \$50 billion, the Lyon-Rhône-Alps region would be linked with Italy's Piedmont region via a new, high-speed rail network that would carry both passengers and freight. Rail travel time between Paris and Turin via Lyon would be cut in half to just over three hours. Passenger volume is projected to rise from 6.2 million currently to 9.9 million with completion of a projected 54 kilometer tunnel and building other infrastructure, including new high-speed trains.

"This is more than just another mega-project because it will permit Turin and Piedmont to develop their historical, common regional interests with us, going back to the Middle Ages, including investments," says Bruno Chiaverini, Director of International Relations for the Rhône-Alps Regional Development Agency, which covers an area about the size of Switzerland with a population of around 5.5 million people. Added a senior Italian diplomat in Paris, "Both governments have endorsed the project, and although there are many uncertainties over its financial feasibility, the Piedmont region is also very interested in proceeding."

There are other striking examples of the trend, which are being reinforced by EU Commission-backed structural funds, aimed at helping poorer regions and totaling some \$160 billion over the next five years, and by the European Investment Bank. A large share of the Luxembourg-based EIB's \$20 billion in lending last year went to region-building projects, such as the TGV network in France and Belgium serving the Channel Tunnel, which has already reinforced the regional powers (and ambitions) of northern France, notably the Lille area, and of southern England. Consider the following:

In the Baltic Sea region, politicians and business leaders are promoting the revival of a vast trading and investment area of some 45 million people and 50 cities stretching from Copenhagen eastward to Gdansk, the Baltic States, and St. Petersburg and northward to Stockholm and Helsinki. The flurry of activity is being promoted with well-publicized ref-

erences to the Hanseatic League, which flourished in roughly the same region between the 13th and 15th centuries. Regional leaders have established a Baltic area think tank, Baltic area clubs, regular exchanges of mayors and chambers of commerce, and regional, English-language publications aimed at foreign investors.

The most recent impetus came in February as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania announced agreement on a free-trade pact that would establish a market of 8 million people and be extended to neighboring countries on the Baltic Sea, as well as to the EU; shortly after announcing that the agreement goes into effect April 1, Baltic envoys met with the Commission in Brussels to probe how the diplomatic linkage between the two blocs could work. Meantime, Denmark, the only Nordic-Baltic EU member country, presents itself as the region's leader for building transportation and telecommunication networks extending to its neighbors in the east primarily.

For example, Denmark has been in the forefront of a proposed railroad bridge linking the area around Copenhagen with the city of Malmö in southern Sweden. The planned bridge, while smaller in scope than the Channel Tunnel, will not only have the effect of creating a new economic zone. "We already feel closer to Copenhagen and the EU than to our own capital to the north," a senior official of the Malmö Chamber of Commerce commented recently. But the project would also help end what Peter Wallenberg, Sweden's most famous banker, once described as his country's "island mentality."

Similarly, Finnish businesses have acquired shares in some 2,000 privatized companies in Estonia, a short ferry ride across the Gulf of Finland. According to a recent article in *The Economist*, the Finns dream—perhaps overconfidently—they are helping transform the area into a poor, but Western, version of Hong Kong.

In Alsace in eastern France, regional leaders recently authorized the release of a controversial report, "Alsace 2005," which reached a startling conclusion: The ancient and prosperous region risked splintering economically, by being drawn even closer to the orbits of neighboring Germany and Switzerland. Rejecting the common wisdom that its future rested with the Paris-Lyon axis, Alsatian leaders have organized a major development campaign to firmly anchor Alsace in a new region stretching to the right bank of the Rhine, sharing power with neighboring *länder* in Germany and cantons in Switzerland; inhabitants already share the Allemannic dialect that sounds like German and is being revived in many schools.

Regional leaders in Strasbourg, Colmar, and Mulhouse, the largest Alsatian cities, are also counting heavily on the construction of projected TGV lines that would reach them in the west from Paris and in the south from planned lines extending from Lyon. However, Prime Minister Edouard Balladur recently warned Alsace against its emerging alliances, urging the region to work first of all with other regions in France, amid expressions of annoyed shock by leaders in the area and in Lyon. The incident reminded everyone that "a Europe of Regions" still had a long way to go in winning support from EU governments like Mr. Balladur's, which jealously defend their traditions of centralized government. ☐

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*Axel Krause is a contributing editor for EUROPE and the corporate editor for the International Herald Tribune.*





In Search of  
Scotland's

# SILICON GLEN

Marketing Creation  
or the Next  
Silicon Valley?

By Peter Gwin

If "Scottish Exports" ever appears as a category on the popular game show *Jeopardy*, kilts, bagpipes, golf, and whiskey would immediately spring to mind. Would be contestants, however, might want to rethink their answers now that the Silicon Glen is producing more than 20 percent of Europe's semiconductors and 10 percent of the world's personal computers.

"Silicon Glen" refers to a high-tech region that is growing along a 70 mile strip of Scottish plain that winds from Ayr in the southwest through Glasgow and Edinburgh and up to Dundee in the northeast. As its coal, steel, and shipbuilding sectors dwindled, Scotland began to cultivate its electronics industry, which fit nicely with the region's skilled work force and its well developed academic community. The local government recognized the industry's potential and has focused its efforts on attracting high-tech companies and building the infrastructure to support them. Firms, such as IBM, Compaq, and Digital among others, have been courted with a wide range of government incentives.

The region now yields an array of electronic products

and draws comparisons to two successful American high-tech regions, California's Silicon Valley and Massachusetts' Route 128. Critics, however, say that the name Silicon Glen refers only to a marketing campaign designed to bring in jobs. They say that development of a self-sustained region that includes a growing sector of indigenous high-tech firms has taken a back seat to attracting job-producing foreign investments. Others say that the region lacks the highly competitive culture of entrepreneurs and small companies that characterized American successes in the Silicon Valley and Route 128.

While some of these criticisms are valid, the story of Silicon Glen is more than a marketing study. It is the story of how a region attempts to renew itself while at the same time producing high skilled jobs and building an industry that will contribute to the next phase of the global high-tech revolution.

**Calvinism, the Steam Engine, and Shipbuilding.** Scots are quick to point to their strong work ethic and history of innovation as the



# Inside

# EUROPE

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## EU ENLARGES

The European Union will be bigger, richer, and classier next January when four of the world's wealthiest nations, Austria, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, are due to join the 12 nation bloc.

The enlargement of the EU isn't in the bag yet. The outgoing European Parliament has to give its assent to the four accession treaties and voters in the applicant states will have the final say on membership in referendums starting in Austria in June.

But the EU is already preparing for the latest wave of newcomers, the first since Spain and Portugal joined in 1986. And this expansion is certain to be the most important since the European Community was born in 1958, with much more far reaching consequences than the accession of the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland in 1973 and Greece in 1981.

The bare statistics are impressive enough: the four new members will swell the Union's population by 7.5 percent to 372 million and its Gross Domestic Product by 9.5 percent to \$6.3 trillion. The EU will loom twice as large on the map, its 3.6 million kilometers stretching from the freezing tundra north of the Arctic Circle to the balmy waters of the Aegean Sea. And it will share a common border with Russia for the first time.

But the statistics understate the importance of the latest enlargement of the EU. The admission of the four newcomers will tilt the balance of power northward, diluting the French influence that has pervaded the EU since its foundation and lessening Bonn's dependence on its pivotal alliance with Paris.

The EU will also go up market next January. The four newcomers enjoy a standard of living at least 50 percent above the EU average, boast much tougher environmental standards and extremely sophisticated welfare and education systems that are the envy of the rest of the world.

Their arrival also highlights the momentous changes that have taken place in Europe in the past decade. While the entry of Spain and Portugal signaled the end of Western Europe's oldest dictatorships, the Nordic and

Alpine invasion formally seals the end of the cold war that divided the continent for half a century.

Austria was prevented from joining the EU in the past by the former Soviet Union, which claimed its neutrality would be compromised by joining what Moscow regarded as the economic arm of NATO. Finland, too, stayed clear of the EU, politically and to an extent economically—a quarter of its exports went to the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s—for fear of offending its giant neighbor. Membership was taboo for neutral, aloof Sweden.

Norway, a member of NATO, rejected EU membership in a divisive referendum in 1972 and is bracing for all the old arguments to resurface in the upcoming campaign.

The newcomers will strengthen the EU's commitment to a liberal, free trading environment, siding with Germany, the UK, Denmark, and the Netherlands in the battle against the French-led protectionist leaning bloc.

Their membership is also certain to accelerate moves to deregulate Europe's inefficient, anti-competitive monopolies and weaken moves by some EU states to roll back liberalization in key sectors such as telecommunications and air transport.

By contrast, they are much more interventionist on labor and environment issues and are expected to join Germany, Denmark, and the Netherlands in a "green core" to continue to raise standards in the EU.

The newcomers will have an immediate impact on the EU's other neighbors. Austria will bring the experience gained from 45 years as an East-West trade post, the Nordic countries, their trade links with the three Baltic states.

The imminent entry into the EU of four countries that appeared consigned to isolation only five years ago has also rekindled the membership ambitions of Eastern Europe, especially Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic which have penciled in 2000 as the target date to join the "rich man's club."

The EFTA four will feel at home straight away because they have already taken on board all the EU's single market directives for the freedom of movement of capital,



## EU ENLARGES (CONTINUED)

goods, services, and people, under the European Economic Area Treaty (EEA). They have also transposed over 13,000 pages of legislation dating back to the establishment of the EU.

The EEA, which came into force in January, linking the 12 EU members, the four applicants, and Iceland, created the world's largest free trade zone. But the EEA still excluded Austria, Finland, Norway, and Sweden from the EU's decision-making process and the drive to deeper economic and political integration.

The 13 month-long enlargement negotiations were largely trouble-free, apart from lively spats over the applicants' high farm subsidies, fishing rights in Norwegian waters, regional policy, and a few issues peculiar to the individual applicants, such as Sweden's special arrangement for its snuff industry, and Austria's refusal to ease limits on EU trucks passing through its Alpine passes.

Indeed, the applicants are more pro-EU than some of the current members of the Union. They have all accepted the Maastricht Treaty in its entirety, unlike the UK and Denmark which obtained opt-outs on issues ranging from social policy to a single European currency.

The entry of the four, whose currencies have closely tracked the German D-mark for years, has boosted hopes the EU will succeed in reviving its goal of economic and monetary union before the end of the decade.

The newcomers had little choice but to seek membership of the EU as their businessmen warned of the dangers of

being locked out of the giant market on their doorstep.

The corporate sector decided to "join" the EU well before the politicians. Swedish companies regularly invested more in the EU than at home. Austrian businessmen saw Germany as an extension of their domestic market, and Finland weaned itself off the former Soviet Union, making the EU its biggest export market.

The EU investment race is picking up as entry seems a hardening certainty. Akzo, the Dutch chemicals company, paid \$2 billion to take over Nobel Industries, Sweden's state-owned chemical firm.

But the recent collapse of two well publicized cross-border mergers, between Renault and Volvo, and Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS), Austrian Airlines, Swissair, and KLM, have underlined the pitfalls of fusing different business cultures.

But there can be no turning back, according to politicians, businessmen, and academics in the four applicant nations. Their task now is to win over voters in the four applicant countries who don't share their enthusiasm for the EU. The Yes camp is in the majority in Finland and in Austria, although the pro-EU vote is growing in Sweden as fears grow over the potential threat of Russian nationalism.

The smart money says Austria, Sweden, and Finland will be fully paid up members of the EU on January 1, 1995. Norway is the joker in the pack.

—Bruce Barnard

## EU NEWS

### EU REVIEWS EASTERN EUROPE POLICY

The European Commission has begun a wide-ranging study of the EU's policies toward Eastern Europe as the region's former communist countries stepped up pressure for closer ties. Already, Hungary has formally submitted a request for EU membership, while Poland is expected to submit its formal application later this month.

EU sources said proposals for increased multilateral cooperation with Eastern European countries interested in joining the EU were discussed, as well as practical measures to prepare their economies for eventual membership. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said it was important to encourage these countries, possibly by requesting them to send advisory members to the European Parliament or extending invitations to their heads of government for yearly summit meetings.

### LAMY JOINS CRÉDIT LYONNAIS

Jean Peyrelevede, President of the state-owned Crédit Lyonnais of France, announced that Pascal Lamy, Chief of Staff for European Commission President Jacques Delors, will be joining the bank's executive committee, possibly by May 1.

Although Lamy has no experience in commercial banking,

he is highly valued for his expertise in multinational institutions and has been credited with having a hand in the success of Delors' special projects, such as the white paper on jobs and competitiveness, the treaty revisions of 1986 and 1992, the white paper on the single market and progress on monetary union. Lamy has also had a long association with Peyrelevede. They were both in the Socialist movement in the early 1980s, architects of the nationalization of French industries, and Lamy succeeded Peyrelevede as Deputy Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy in 1983. Today, however, both men are considered non-ideological managers.

Lamy acknowledges that it will take him six to eight months "to learn the banking business," but his transnational background will be useful in his new position at Crédit Lyonnais, which is the most trans-European bank at present and employs more than 30,000 workers.

### EU SUPPORTS LATVIA-RUSSIA AGREEMENT

The European Union welcomed the agreements signed by President Yeltsin and President Ulmanis on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia by August 31, 1994. The EU says it considers the agreements an important step toward achieving the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from the



Baltic States called for in the 1992 CSCE Helsinki document. The statement issued by the EU Presidency further stated that the agreements signaled a positive step toward the establishment of good relations and further cooperation between Latvia and Russia. Aside from troop withdrawal, the agreements allow for social guarantees for serving and retired Russian military personnel in Latvia.

### SOROS ACQUIRES ARCHIVES

Hungarian-born billionaire George Soros is set to take over the archives and research unit of the US-funded cold war broadcaster Radio Free Europe by this month, according to Ross Johnson, the station's Acting President. The Soros Foundation, which supports democratic and market reforms in Eastern Europe, has proposed to move the research unit and archives to Prague as an independent entity that will work closely with the Central European University, also funded by the Foundation, based in Prague and Budapest.

Radio Free Europe was one of the few sources of accurate information during the decades of communism. US budget cuts at the end of the cold war, however, forced it to cut back and redefine its role.

### NEW SLOVAK MODERATION

New Slovak Prime Minister Josef Moravcik immediately set about establishing a more moderate tone than the confrontational policies of ousted nationalist Vladimir Meciar after his new government was sworn into office last month. Along with Slovak President Michal Kovac, Moravcik stressed the need to project their country as a worthy member of Western European institutions. Moravcik said his government would eschew the policies of "confrontation" espoused by his predecessor, whose overthrow he led by way of a no-confidence vote.

"I would like this government to succeed in raising the political credibility of Slovakia abroad. It should be able to persuade the politicians and the banks and the businessmen that Slovakia wants to be a stable, democratic country, a country that wants to join Europe's political and economic structures," Kovac said.

### FRENCH PUBLISH PURE DICTIONARY

The French government has published a dictionary with 3,500 official French terms to replace English and other foreign phrases that have crept into the daily French vocabulary. The dictionary took 20 years of scholarly research and is the latest in a decades-old government campaign to purify French. It also follows a recent bill barring foreign words from advertising, contracts, company rules, and conferences.

Some foreign phrases used in France, such as "le fast food" restaurant or "price-earnings ratio," under the dictionary must now be replaced with "le restovite" and "coefficient de capitalisation des resultats." Even the English acronym GATT for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is now AGETAC.

### WHAT THEY SAID

**"The couple is doing well."**

—*Alain Juppe, France's Foreign Minister, on Franco-German relations.*

**"I have seldom felt so happy after 100 hours without sleep."**

—*Hans van den Broek, EU External Political Affairs Commissioner, after clinching the membership terms for Finland, Sweden, and Austria to join the EU.*

**"They were the frontline defense, not only of freedom for Berlin but also for Europe and for the right of mankind to self-determination."**

—*Eberhard Diepgen, Mayor of Berlin, praising the efforts of French troops stationed in Berlin during the cold war at a farewell ceremony as the soldiers now prepare to depart Germany.*

**"We have consigned our country to a future of democracy and freedom."**

—*Silvio Berlusconi, Italian media mogul, commenting on the future of Italy after his right wing alliance's victory in the recent Italian elections.*

**"Bosnia has exposed the need for a shared foreign and security policy but also the immense obstacles to achieving it."**

—*Sir Leon Brittan, EU External Economic Affairs Commissioner, from his recent book, Europe: The Europe We Need.*

**"I have no plans to move just yet."**

—*John Major, British Prime Minister, in Northern Ireland to a real estate agent who asked if he was interested in buying property, lightheartedly rejecting suggestions that he was stepping down.*



## BUSINESS BRIEFS

Europe's fledgling biotech industry is set to grow by 15 times, notching up sales of \$94 billion and creating 2 million jobs by the year 2000.

"This industry has emerged from academic science to become one of Europe's most promising industries," according to a survey by consultants **Ernst & Young**.

Biotech companies are raising cash by selling shares particularly on the London stock exchange, which has changed its rules to meet the needs of the industry.

European biotech firms trail their US rivals in raising finance, but they have an edge in getting speedier product approval from European regulators.

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**Reed Elsevier**, the Anglo-Dutch publishing group, crowned its first year as a merged company with a 30 percent leap in 1993 pre-tax profits of \$799 million from \$618 million it would have earned if the two companies were together in 1992.

The group is set for expansion this year, with acquisitions in the US a priority, said Chairman Peter Davis. The US is already the company's biggest market, accounting for about 50 percent of its sales and its profits.

•••

Europe consolidated its position as a major player in the global oil market, with North Sea output surging 20 percent in the first quarter of 1994 to 5.1 million barrels per day (bpd), 1 million bpd more than in the first quarter of 1993.

Production from the British and Norwegian sectors of the North Sea will scale an all time high of 5.5 million bpd by next October, analysts say, greater than all OPEC members except Saudi Arabia which pumps 8.5 million bpd.

Unrestrained North Sea output is a major factor behind the slump in oil prices to five year lows but the UK and Norway refuse to join OPEC in cutting output to "rig" the market.

•••

**Philips** of the Netherlands, Europe's flagship electronics company, finally swung back into profit last year, enabling the group to pay its first dividend since embarking on a savage restructuring program in 1990.

Philips posted a net profit, excluding extraordinary items of \$462.5 million against 1992's net loss of \$481.3 million.

The turnaround flowed mainly from cost-cutting and sharply reduced financing costs rather than improved market share, injecting a note of caution into the celebrations. "We hope the worst of the problems is behind us, that we have cautiously started on the road to recovery," said Philips Chairman Jan Timmer.

•••

The German government approved the construction of the world's first magnetic-levitation train, the "Whispering Arrow" which will run between Berlin and Hamburg at up to 250 miles per hour.

The so-called Transrapid project, a \$5 billion joint venture between the federal government and a private consortium, including **AEG**, **Siemens**, and **Thyssen**, will put Germany at the forefront of the growing global market for high speed rail travel.

The project, which will create 10,000 jobs, has been criticized by environmentalists and the opposition Social Democrats, who have threatened to scale it back if they win the general elections later in the year.

But Transport Minister Matthias Wissmann insisted, "Germany urgently needs economic and technological symbols like the Transrapid."

The trains, which will cut traveling time between Berlin and Hamburg from 3.5 hours to less than 1 hour, will be held magnetically on a cushion of air above a monorail.

•••

**National Westminster Bank**, one of the UK's top clearing banks, is paying \$500 million to acquire **Citizens First Bancorp**, a New Jersey-based bank with 50 branches.

The acquisition is the biggest by a British bank in the US since the big losses suffered in the 1980s. The bank will be merged with National Westminster's existing US retail banking interests centered in New Jersey.

•••

**DHL Worldwide Express**, the Brussels-based express mail company, lifted 1993 revenues by almost a fifth to \$3 bil-

lion and is looking for 15 percent growth in 1994. DHL is a privately held company, but an eventual public listing can't be ruled out, said Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Patrick Lupo.

DHL, celebrating its 25th anniversary this year, has set aside \$1.25 billion for investments over the next five years and is targeting China as a major growth market.

•••

Arch rivals **Boeing** and **Airbus** agreed to extend for a year a joint feasibility study of a 600-800 seater super jumbo jet.

**Aerospatiale**, the French member of the four nation Airbus consortium, had cooled on cooperation with its American rival after Saudi Arabia's controversial decision to give Boeing and McDonnell Douglas a \$6 billion order for new commercial jets.

Boeing and Airbus reckon that by the year 2010 there will be a market for as many as 500 jets capable of seating over 500 passengers. The estimated \$15 billion price tag for a super jumbo convinced Boeing and Airbus to join forces.

•••

While Sweden's politicians prepare to sell membership of the European Union to skeptical voters, the country's business community continues to move south despite the recent collapse of the planned merger between **Volvo** and **Renault** of France.

•••

The German government hinted it may start selling off **Lufthansa** this year, finally activating its eagerly-awaited plan to reduce its stake in the airline to under 51 percent.

Privatization likely will be achieved through a large placing of Lufthansa shares in which the government will not participate, thus cutting its stake.

—Bruce Barnard

### INSIDE EUROPE

#### Correspondents

Bruce Barnard

Reuters contributed to news reports in this issue of *Inside Europe*.

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main reasons for their success in the Silicon Glen. The hard-nosed, Scottish approach to getting a job done right, Presbyterians say, is due to the influence of Calvinism, which preached thrift, individual responsibility, and education for all. These tenets have provided Scotland with a sound, well-educated work force since the late 18th century. This work force served the region well as the Industrial Revolution, powered by the steam engine, transformed Scotland into a textile manufacturing center. In fact, one can hardly mention the steam engine in Scotland without being reminded that James Watt, a Scot, vastly improved its design. Scots also proudly claim famous innovators such as telephone inventor Alexander Graham Bell, Lord Kelvin of temperature scale fame, and the father of capitalism Adam Smith.

In the mid-1800s, the government backed a widening and deepening of part of the river Clyde to allow large sea-going vessels better access to Glasgow, and soon Scotland had developed a burgeoning shipbuilding sector in addition to its textile and whiskey industries. Coal and steel production followed, and by the early 1900s, one in five of the world's ships was launched on the Clyde.

After World War II, however, Scottish heavy industry dwindled to a shadow of its former self just as it did in other places. Competition from new cheap labor markets cut profits and orders. The same factors that affected the Clyde, affected German and Italian shipbuilding as well as Pennsylvania's steel industry. By the 1970s, thousands of jobs created by coal, steel, shipbuilding, and their sub-industries had largely evaporated and left Scotland facing high unemployment.

**The Silicon Plan.** In 1981, an agency named Locate in Scotland (LIS) was created as part government body, part development organization to recruit high-tech firms and to act as the "single doorway" for firms investing in Scotland. The new agency found that Scotland already possessed a small cluster of electronics manufacturers. Ferranti, a defense oriented electronics firm, had worked on the development of radar during World War II from its Scottish location. In the 1950s, IBM, NCR, and Hughes had built facilities in the region. Honeywell, National Semiconductor, and Motorola along with other firms arrived in the 1960s and 1970s. The agency determined that this cluster of electronics firms combined with Scotland's wealth of skilled labor and its large academic community constituted the foundation for a full-fledged high-tech region.

The government focused on building the region's infrastructure to support a major high-tech manufacturing industry. It undertook road and rail projects and assisted in constructing distribution networks. The government also consulted investors about their needs and helped to establish a network of suppliers to provide the manufacturers with sheet metal, plastic molding, cable construction, and other materials. "Almost 10 years ago, we had practically no plastic injection molding source in Scotland," says one government official, "now some 70 percent of it is sourced in Scotland." The government also helped foreign firms acquire land and recruit workers.

The agency dubbed the region "Silicon Glen," drawing comparisons to California's Silicon Valley. "We looked at what had made electronics clusters a success in other parts of the world. The obvious examples to look at were Silicon

Valley and the Route 128 area around Boston," says Martin Togneri, North American Director of LIS. "At the time, we didn't know if an economic development agency could play a role in building a Silicon Valley or Route 128."

**High-Tech Competition.** Another challenge that LIS faces is competition from other European countries attempting to build their own high-tech regions. Togneri says that development agencies in a host of countries see the electronics industry as a very attractive prospect. "If you are looking for companies that are likely to build new factories or put new research facilities overseas, then the electronics industry has to be one of your main targets," he said.

Several European regions are vying for foreign investment in their nascent electronics industries. Shannon, Ireland has had some success promoting its highly educated work force, low wage scales, and lucrative tax incentives to such companies as Microsoft, Lotus, and Apple. The Côte d'Azur is another high-tech region, with better weather than both Scotland and Ireland and in that regard more like California. Even former Eastern European locales want into the act. The German government is investing heavily in rejuvenating Jena, a former East German university town that has a high concentration of engineers and scientists who produced lasers and semiconductors during the cold war.

Togneri counters that being a native English-speaking region is an advantage Scotland has over several of its competitors in attracting American firms. He also argues that few other regions can match Scotland's highly skilled work force. "There are plenty of regions with high unemployment," but he says "that is quite a different proposition from having the skills high-tech companies need."

**Capital, Culture, and Combustion.** Outwardly, Silicon Glen seems to possess all the required elements to reproduce the success of Silicon Valley and Route 128. Scotland's 12 universities and 62 colleges contribute computer science and electrical engineering graduates into the work force and also regularly team up with high-tech firms to conduct research and development, much like the collaboration between US universities and industry. Edinburgh University has developed one of Europe's top departments for artificial intelligence, which is heralded as one of the next areas for major advancement in computer technology. The region is home to upward of 250 software companies, and the work force, which has been called Scotland's crown jewel, is highly skilled and adapts well within company cultures.

While the number of high-tech firms located in Scotland is growing, industry observers say the region currently lacks three main "ingredients" that made both Route 128 and Silicon Valley the major technological centers they are today: a wealth of venture capital, a culture that promotes entrepreneurialism, and a technological "explosion."

Critics of Silicon Glen have long pointed to the lack of small company start-ups of the type that developed in both Route 128 and Silicon Valley. Small companies sow the seeds of new technology, says David Lampe, Associate Director of Corporate Relations at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, because "larger companies are less nimble, less flexible. Many of the most advanced technologies work their way into the marketplace through small companies.



They are the ones that not only have the highly specialized technical expertise, but they're the ones who are ready to take the risk."

Togneri and other industry analysts agree that a significant hindrance to Silicon Glen's development is the lack of venture capital available to Scottish start-ups. By contrast venture capital punctuated the growth of the US high-tech sectors, funding the start-up of many companies. According to Lampe, in the 1940s Boston area business and academic leaders pioneered the idea of venture capital as a way to propel new technologies directly into the market place. Several highly technical, Route 128 firms emerged with the help of start-up capital provided by that group, including a tiny start-up company headed by Ken Olson, an electrical engineer come entrepreneur. Olson's company, Digital Equipment Corporation, now ranks among the 30 largest US industrial companies.

Lampe asserts that American entrepreneurs maintain an important cultural advantage. "In America, if you're an entrepreneur, you're considered a hero. It's the essence of the American spirit," he says. "If you're an entrepreneur and your company fails, you're still a hero. In much of Europe [being an entrepreneur] is a little bit questionable, and if you're an entrepreneur and you fail, then you're definitely not a hero."

With their cultures of entrepreneurs and small companies in place, both the Silicon Valley and Route 128 were the scene of major technological advancements that had widespread applications. "[Route 128] got the mini computer business, which caused a tremendous explosion in the region, and Silicon Valley got the micro computer business" says Lampe. "It may be another 100 years before another micro computer or mini computer comes along.... Not all technologies have that huge market potential."

**Creating Jobs and Companies.** Comparisons to the American high-tech regions notwithstanding, the Silicon Glen has made great progress in little more than a decade of active development. In that time it has attracted both American and Japanese companies, producing everything from personal computers, televisions, and cellular phones to microprocessors, semiconductors, and software.

Since 1983, IBM, for example, has invested \$367 million in its Greenock plant, spends almost \$400 million a year with its Scottish suppliers, and employs 2,300 workers. Motorola has a \$150 million plant in Bathgate to go with its \$405 million East Kilbride facility, which build semiconductors and

cellular phones. Together Motorola's plants employ close to 3,500 workers.

Compaq Computer Corp. opened a manufacturing facility in Bishopton Renfrewshire in 1987. Compaq spokesperson Anne Gillespie says that language and market access were two deciding factors that convinced the Houston based firm to locate in Scotland. "The fact that Scotland is English-speaking was very important, especially in communicating with a local work force," she says. "And the UK is an important market for Compaq products." The company now employs 850 workers, producing the full range of Compaq computers for sale in the UK and the rest of Europe.

As the major manufacturers expand their operations in Scotland and others come to the region, several indigenous Scottish suppliers have emerged, and the need for more suppliers and subcontractors has increased. Fullarton Fabrication is a good example of a successful Scottish company that

has grown out of the Silicon Glen. Fullarton produces several different types of computer related equipment as a subcontractor for several major manufacturers in the region. Founded in 1978 by six former metal workers, Fullarton today supplies the Scottish based sites of IBM, Compaq, Xerox, and several others with everything from metal work and painting to plastic injection molding and interface cables. In 1993, the company had revenues of \$86 million and is in the process of opening a facility in North Carolina to serve manufacturers based in the US.

Critics argue that the Silicon Glen contains few companies that develop their own high-tech products and that job creation is emphasized over product development. In response Locate in Scotland says that attracting jobs is not the agency's sole interest. "We see a wide range of goals that we have to achieve. Clearly job creation is a very important part of it," says Martin Togneri. "Growing indigenous companies is important as well."

Jim Rigby, the Controller of Hewlett Packard's Queensferry Telecommunications Division (QTD), agrees with the critics that Scotland needs more product development to augment its manufacturing base. "Scotland hasn't produced a world-class indigenous product because it has emphasized manufacturing over research and development." Rigby's firm, however, has taken strides toward changing the trend by making its Scottish operation more autonomous. QTD is responsible for designing, manufacturing, and marketing products that test telecommunications systems and equipment.

Other operations are also becoming more autonomous.



**Silicon Glen entrepreneur James Lougheed believes that his computer interface system, NXOYS, could set off a new wave of computing.**



According to IBM spokesman Tony Quinlan, IBM has made its Greenock plant responsible for worldwide development of its computer monitors division. Also, Digital Equipment designed part of its revolutionary 64 bit Alpha chip at its South Queensferry operation. Motorola, as well, designs certain product components in its Scottish facilities.

Also, Hewlett Packard has created a project that is helping to develop high-tech entrepreneurs. Two years ago it joined with the government to form the Scottish Software Partner Center. At the time HP had extra space in its South Queensferry facility and decided to lease space to budding entrepreneurs. The center serves as sort of an incubator for two to 10 person companies. The participants gain access to work space, telephone service, photocopying, and the company lunchroom. They retain 100 percent of the copyrights to the products they develop while at the center and are under no obligation to sell their products in conjunction with HP or to produce HP-based software. Jim Rigby says that the idea for the Software Partner Center was a natural one for HP. "Customers purchasing habits show that they buy software first," he says, "and in turn software sells HPs."

**Looking for Explosions.** The ultimate goal for original product development in the Silicon Glen has to be discovering one of those "explosive" new technologies that has a broad range of applications. Although David Lampe says that the Boston area waited 100 years for the minicomputer to launch the hyper-growth of the Route 128 region, the Silicon Glen won't have to wait quite so long if James Loughheed has anything to say about it. The 38 year old computer programmer and entrepreneur, who is a participant at the Software Partner Center, says he is on track to developing the key to a new wave of computing. He estimates his idea has the potential to have an impact similar to that of the mini and micro computers.

With tousled hair and dressed in jeans, Loughheed has the look of an MIT-Silicon Valley computer whiz. Listening to him talk about his work is a bit like watching a performance. He enthusiastically punctuates his points with his hands and scribbles diagrams to help explain his ideas. Originally Loughheed had studied music and art, ambitiously attempting to develop "three dimensional sound sculptures." He turned to computer programming and software design almost by accident. He bought an early Apple and quickly became frustrated by the machine's restrictions. "It wouldn't do what I wanted it to do," he says. So he learned programming. His early frustration has become something of a motto for him now—make computers do more and make it easy.

He has been awarded government grants to develop his

ideas, and he is currently seeking additional funding to take his project, ominously called NXYS, off the proverbial drawing board and into production. As his ideas are still unpatented, he prefers to speak generally about NXYS. He will say that it is a revolutionary computer operating system that incorporates multimedia facilities and will allow everyday users—not just computer geniuses—to use simultaneously many types of electronic information, including text, video, and sound. "My mission is to put powerful tools into Joe Common's hands without him knowing it," he says. Simply put, "I have the  $E=MC^2$  of user interface technology." As with all visionaries, Loughheed has generated some skepticism. "He's either a genius or a lunatic," says HP's Rigby, "and the jury is still out."



**Defining Success.** Even though the Silicon Glen is beginning to see small pockets of entrepreneurs emerging among the large foreign firms, most within Scotland's high-tech industry will concede that the region still has a long way to go to compete with the Silicon Valley and Route 128. Indeed, Ian Lang, the Scottish Secretary, harbors no delusions that foreign high-tech investors alone are the answer to developing Scotland's economy. "We should never assume that [foreign] investment is the answer to all our prayers," he has been quoted as saying.

The question then remains: How is success defined for Scotland's high-tech industry? Martin Togneri says he sees success as a combination of elements. "We would eventually like to see a substantial number of world leading and fast growing Scottish companies in the electronics industry. And we would like to continue to enjoy a strong share of the market for foreign direct investment especially from high-tech industries."

By any measure, the Silicon Glen, in only 13 years, has grown considerably, and as Europe slowly emerges from recession, the region appears ripe for future growth. As a part of the European Union, which is set to ex-

pand to 16 member countries in 1995, Scotland is located inside the world's largest single market, with upward of 380 million consumers (about 130 million more than in the US). With American companies anxious to exploit that market, Silicon Glen's English-speaking work force will continue to attract firms looking for a European site. Perhaps it won't be long before the old "kilts and whiskey" image will fade, and Scots will be best known for their hard-nosed approach to writing programming codes and their innovative micro chip architectures. ☹

*Peter Gwin is EUROPE's managing editor.*





# DUBLIN

WHERE HISTORY AND CULTURE RUN DEEP

**Beginnings.** Dublin's turbulent tale really begins in the 9th century. "The wind is fierce tonight, it tosses the sea's white hair. I fear no wild Vikings sailing in the main," penned one optimistic Irish monk. But in 837 AD, Norse ships breached the Liffey River and established a Viking trading post. By 1170, the tiny settlement of wattle houses had fallen to the Anglo-Normans. *Dubh Linn* (the Dark Pool) developed into an important medieval city, minting its own silver and with a flourishing merchants' guild. It was to be the hub of English rule in Ireland for more than seven centuries. **By Steenie Harvey**





Nowadays Dublin displays a raffish Georgian charm; a gap-toothed braggart of a city that has suffered more through neglect than overdevelopment. Fortunately many architectural glories remain. The period between 1660 and 1860 saw broad streets and elegant squares laid out, grandiose mansions and civic edifices silhouetting the Liffey skyline. Look around Kilmainham Hospital, Gandon's Custom House, and the Four Courts—each is a showcase of the skills of Dublin's Georgian artisans.

**Business and Industry.** An active commercial seaport, Dublin is home to 1 million citizens, half of them under 25. Along with this highly educated, youthful work force, generous grants and tax concessions present an attractive proposition to foreign companies seeking a European foothold. The Industrial Development Authority (IDA) slowly reels in jobs—mostly in electronics, the computer industry, clothing, and pharmaceuticals. A new financial services center is also enticing international banking firms.

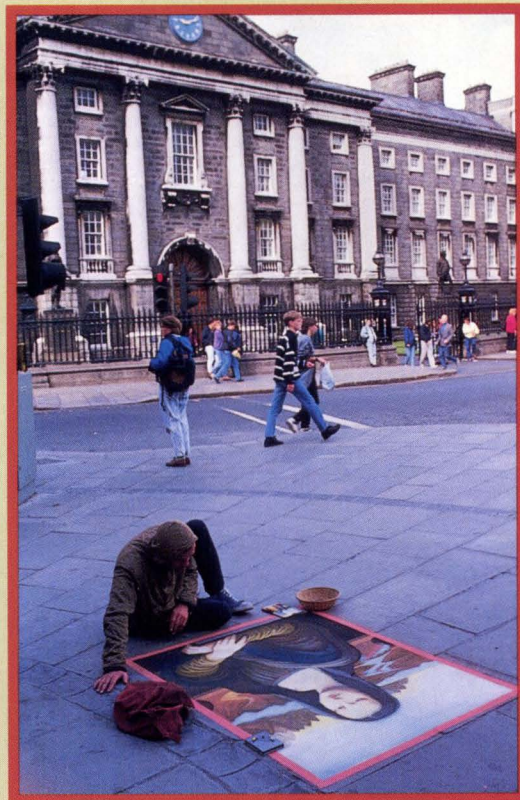
Above all, Dublin cherishes individualism. The city bursts at its creative seams with writers, artists, film directors, actors, musicians, and fashion designers. Rock giants U2 are almost an industry in themselves, and 1993 saw Roddy Doyle scoop the Booker Prize, Neil Jordan take an Oscar for *The Crying Game*, and John Rocha named as Britain's fashion designer of the year.

**Sights and Sounds.** Bricks, books, and booze? Only if you insist. The kaleidoscope flicks from wintry dockscares to Croke Park and an All-Ireland Hurling Final, from antique dealers in the ramshackle Liberties quarter to equine spectacle at the annual Horse Show.

Dublin is a real curiosity shop of experiences, and I never quite know how a visit will be rewarded. Take one chilly February morning. Within 30 minutes I found a bookstore offering impromptu Gaelic lessons, an eccentric with messages from extraterrestrials, and in Trinity College, two Tibetan monks creating a sand mandala—a complex and delicately-colored geometric mosaic.

Compact enough to explore on foot, central Dublin straddles the murky Liffey. The picturesque way to cross between the quays is over the wrought-iron Halfpenny Bridge, named after a former toll charge. Northside includes O'Connell Street where the marble-halled General Post Office still bears bullet damage from 1916's Easter Rising. Here too is Moore Street Market where latter-day Molly Malones flog everything from strawberries to Christmas wrapping. The cry today was "any oul baccy," packets of Dutch tobacco at a fraction of the duty-paid price.

Onto Parnell Square. At long last Dublin has a Writers' Museum to go with its James Joyce Trail and Literary Pub Crawl. It's astonishing to realize how



The Half Penny Bridge (left) spans the river Liffey, which winds its way through the heart of Dublin. Students and artists make the city's Trinity College (above) a lively place.



many great names these streets have spawned—not only Joyce, but Shaw, Yeats, and Beckett who all won the Nobel Prize for literature; O'Casey, Swift, Goldsmith, and Oscar Wilde, who informed customs officials, "I have nothing to declare but my genius." Add Brendan Behan, author of *The Borstal Boy*, and Bram Stoker, master of gothic macabre and author of *Dracula*, and the litany is staggering.

Chronicling the lives and works of Irish writers, the museum's treasures include a first edition of *Dracula* and a copy of Shaw's infamous *Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God*. It was banned in Ireland—not only for Shaw's religious views but almost certainly because of the illustrations.

South of the river, Dublin's most precious literary relic is the 8th century Book of Kells, a richly illuminated gospel text housed in Trinity College. Founded in 1592 for "the reformation of the barbarism of this rude people," Trinity offers the chance to wander through a campus of rain-polished cobblestones where courtyards are lined with hundreds of old-fashioned bicycles.

In tourism's poker game, the southside holds the picture cards. Here are the handsome Georgian doors, Dublin Castle, two great cathedrals, Christchurch and St. Patrick's. The latter is best known as the place where Jonathan Swift of *Gulliver's Travels* fame lies buried rather than as the place where Cromwell's troopers stabled their horses in 1643.

Southside Dublin is gracious Dublin, the home of the Shelbourne Hotel and St. Stephen's Green, a spacious park laid out by the Guinness family in the 1880s. It is Bewley's Oriental Coffeehouse on Grafton Street and stores that whisper luxury; a Dublin of museums, galleries and libraries, of ministerial limousines en route to Ireland's Parliament, Dáil Eireann.

A short amble west along the quays reveals a more chaotic world. Merchant's Arch is the gateway to Temple Bar, an atmospheric warren of 18th century lanes and cobbled alleyways now undergoing a renaissance. Dublin's Left Bank? With its psychedelic murals and mendicant Hare Krishnas, this is a neighborhood valiantly striving to recapture the Summer of Love. Among bijou restaurants and specialist bookstores, poky shops carry all the es-

entials: sharks' teeth, incense sticks, platform shoes, chunks of crystal, and the sound of Joni Mitchell.

**Pleasures of the Table.** Dublin is no gastronomic mecca but you can fare well. Its countryside larder delivers succulent beef, lamb, venison, farmhouse cheeses, and flavorful vegetables. Seafood is always a joy. Twenty minutes from Dublin's center, the King Sitric restaurant in seaside Howth employs its own lobster fishermen and has a menu of unusual fish like Gurnard, John Dory, and Black Sole. Alterna-

tively, try a feed of oysters in Davy Byrne's bar where Leopold Bloom fictionally dined on gorgonzola and burgundy. The city also bubbles with ethnic stockpots—Lebanese, Creole, Malaysian and Russian.

There's more to Dublin's pub culture than simply pouring Guinness down an arid throat. There are music pubs, literary pubs, and pubs that are sheer conversation pieces. As most now serve coffee, even teetotalers should soak up the atmosphere of a few. ☺

*Steenie Harvey is a writer living in Ireland.*

## A TRAVELER'S GUIDE TO DUBLIN

### VITAL STATISTICS

**Location:** At the mouth of the river Liffey, on Ireland's eastern seaboard—108 miles from Belfast and 158 miles from Cork.

**Population:** 1.024 million

### ACCESS

**By air:** Dublin International Airport (served by Aer Lingus, Delta, and most major European airlines). Passenger Information, tel. (01) 874 6301.

**By sea:** Dublin Port and Dun Laoghaire Port with sailings from Holyhead in North Wales.

### CONTACTS

**For business:** IDA (Industrial Development Authority). In Dublin, tel. (01) 668 6633. In New York, tel. (212) 972 1000.

**For pleasure:** the main tourist office on O'Connell Street is well-stocked with information and ideas, tel. (01) 284 4768.

### HOTELS

- The Shelbourne ★★★★★ ("a respectable edifice" according to Thackeray who stayed there in 1842, it overlooks St. Stephen's Green, and is the only survivor of the city's original Grand Hotels), tel. (01) 676 6471.

- Berkely Court ★★★★★ (luxurious with swimming pool and sauna), tel. (01) 660 1711.

- Fitzpatrick Castle ★★★★★ (nine miles from the city center with panoramic views of Dublin Bay), tel. (01) 284 0700.

- Longfields ★★★ (intimate and at the heart of Georgian Dublin), tel. (01) 676 1367.

- Mont Clare ★★★ (affordable and only three minutes walk from Grafton Street), tel. (01) 661 6799.

### RESTAURANTS

- Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud (considered to be one of the best in all of Europe), tel. (01) 676 4192.

- Le Coq Hardi (French cuisine for those with large

expense accounts), tel. (01) 668 4130.

- King Sitric (seafood specialties include Howth Crab and Lobster), tel. (01) 32 52 35.

- The Cedar Tree (authentic Lebanese cooking, great value), tel. (01) 677 2121.

- Gallaghers Boxty House (celebrates Ireland's culinary heritage with corned beef, cabbage, potato pancakes, and brown bread ice cream), tel. (01) 677 2762.

- La Scala (wonderful Italian cooking, pre-dinner drinks are served beneath a huge mural depicting well-known Irish politicians as toga-clad Roman senators), tel. (01) 662 1855.

### PUBS

- Mulligan's (on Poolbeg Street, was often visited by James Joyce).

- Brazen Head (on Bridge Street, it's Dublin's oldest pub, dating back to the 1600s).

- The Long Hall (glittering mirrors, wooden snugs, and smoky-time-warp ambiance on South Great Georges Street).

- An Beal Bocht (on Charlemont Street for traditional music séisuns).

- The Horseshoe Bar (in The Shelbourne Hotel, it's the center of Dublin's social whirl).

### MUSEUMS

- The Writer's Museum (an essential stop for literary pilgrims), tel. (01) 872 2077.

- The National Museum (its treasury includes the Ardagh Chalice, Tara Brooch, and many prehistoric gold artifacts), tel. (01) 676 6116.

- Guinness Hopstore (after learning the history of the Brewery, another excuse to sample a pint of the sinful black stuff), tel. (01) 53 67 00.

- Museum of Modern Art (20th century Irish art housed in Kilmmainham's Royal Hospital, the finest 17th century building in Ireland), tel. (01) 671 8666.

- Chester Beatty Library (extensive collection of Christian, Islamic, and Oriental illuminated manuscripts), tel. (01) 269 2386.



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AS THE CAPITAL OF THE FREE STATE OF BAVARIA, Munich dances to a different tune than the rest of Germany. Free-spirited and fun-loving, the Münchenerers have an irresistible joy for living. The image of burly Bavarians hoisting their beer mugs to the tunes of an oompah band comes to mind. Prussians (northern Germans) claim the city is strictly a small town. But it would be a mistake to dismiss Munich as an unsophisticated country bumpkin. Because side by side with its beer halls are unrivaled art museums and architecture, three-star restaurants, elegant shops showcasing the latest fashions, a renowned opera house, and excellent educational and scientific institutions. Combined with the fact that Munich is located in the very heart of Europe, it is easy to understand why it is Germany's most popular destination.

**Beginnings.** Founded in 1158 beside the Isar River by Henry the Lion, Munich was named after a small monastic community (*München* is the Old German word for monks) that had once resided here. In 1180 Count Otto von Wittelsbach took over from Henry, and his family ruled the area until 1918, when they were forced to abdicate.

During the middle of the 19th century King Ludwig I, intent on making Munich a rival to Paris, built many of the magnificent buildings that are today's chief tourist attractions. Ludwig I abdicated in 1848 largely because of his affair with Spanish dancer Lola Montez, who captured his attention after seducing Franz Liszt and Alexandre Dumas.

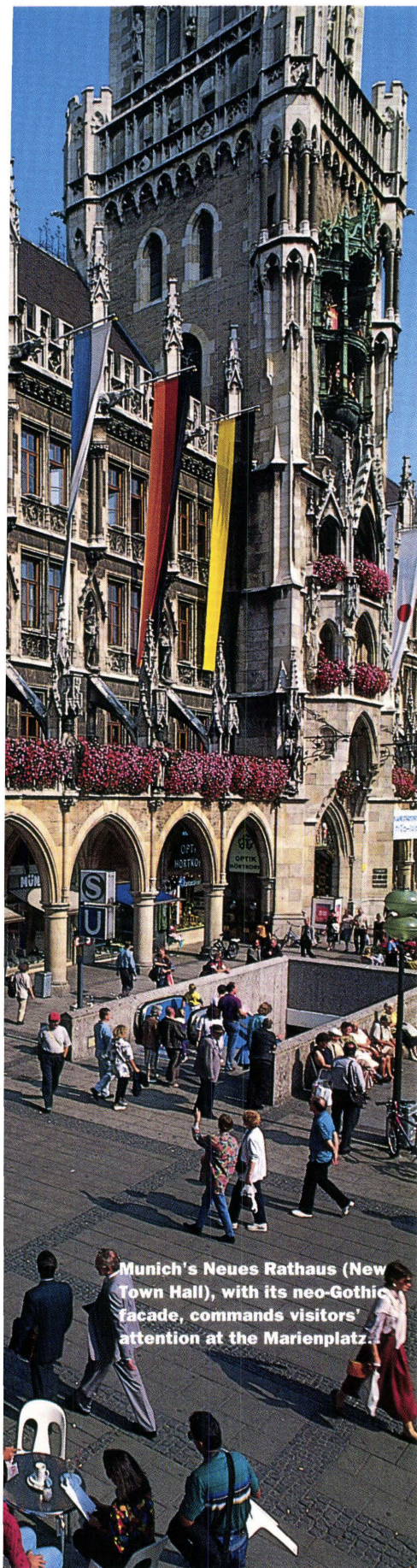
## Exploring the Soul of Germany's Southern City

# MUNICH

By Janet Bennett







Munich's Neues Rathaus (New Town Hall), with its neo-Gothic facade, commands visitors' attention at the Marienplatz.

His 18 year old grandson, Ludwig II, nicknamed Mad Ludwig, took over in 1864 with grander building schemes in mind. His architectural extravaganzas in the countryside (the best known of which is Neuschwanstein castle, the model for the castle at Disneyland) practically bankrupted the state. Although beloved by the people, the court doctors eventually said he was unfit to rule.

After World War I, Munich's history takes on a more somber note. The city became the center of the Nazi movement, and Hitler made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power here during the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. And then in 1938 Chamberlain met with Hitler here and agreed to Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland. The city suffered heavy damage during World War II, but instead of letting the past go, Munich tried to reconstruct it. Thanks to a careful restoration program, its public buildings, ranging in style from late Gothic to rococo, stand as an eloquent testament to a rich history.

**Business and Industry.** Location, location, location! Munich's couldn't be better for the new Europe, and Franz Josef Strauss (FJS) Airport, named after the late Bavarian State President, makes Munich more accessible than ever. Completed in May 1992 at a cost of \$7 billion, it is served by over 100 scheduled and charter airlines, offering flights from Amsterdam to Ankara. The very high-tech and efficient FJS, which looks a little like Paris' Centre Pompidou, is one of Europe's largest airports, with a capacity of 16-18 million passengers a year. Despite its size, the more than a mile and a half of moving sidewalks makes getting around practically painless.

Speaking of high-tech, in recent years the city and environs have become the capital of Germany's high tech region. The multibillion-dollar Siemens AG is based here, along with BMW, Audi, and Deutsche Aerospace. Companies like these are drawn by Munich's top research facilities. It is the largest university city in Germany with some 130,000 students in residence.

Munich is an international media center (it ranks second in book publishing in the world) and is also Germany's number-one trade fair and conference center. In addition to many other entic-

ing qualities, the city has one of the lowest crime rates in Europe.

**Sights and Sounds.** The onion-shaped domes atop the two enormous (over 300 feet tall) towers of the late Gothic brick cathedral, the *Frauenkirche* (Church of Our Lady), are Munich's most distinctive landmark, the emblem of its skyline. Inside, there is a collection of religious works of art as well as the 15th century black marble mausoleum of Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian. The cathedral has been closed for renovation but is due to open later this year to celebrate the 500th anniversary of its founding.

Around the corner from the *Frauenkirche* is the soul of the city. The *Marienplatz* is named after the statue of the Virgin Mary that has guarded this square for 300 years. Not exactly guarding it but surely dominating it is the 19th century *Neues Rathaus* (new town hall) with its neo-Gothic fancy wedding cake facade. Every day at 11 a.m. (also at noon and 5 p.m. in the summer), thousands of people come to stare up at the famous *glockenspiel* in the tower of the town hall. They wait to hear the chimes peal the time and for the 32 brightly colored mechanical figures to enact first a jousting tournament in honor of the 1568 marriage of William V and then a dance marking the end of the plague in 1517.

A short stroll (a few blocks south) from the *Marienplatz* is the *Viktualienmarkt*, one of Europe's best and most beautiful open air markets purveying all kinds of fruits, vegetables, sausages, game birds (in season), bread, cheese, and wine. Impeccably dressed shoppers discuss with vendors the consistency of the oil in a Mediterranean salad or decide from among five different kinds of potatoes at tiny stands marked *Kartoffeln*. A favorite cold-weather shopping break is to indulge in the warm honey wine and *stollen* (Christmas cake) offered at several locations around the market.

**Pleasures of the Table.** As the *Viktualienmarkt* so amply demonstrates, Münchenerers have a love affair with food. Places to eat range from a simple snack bar like *Bratwurst Glöckl*, specializing in what its name implies, to a high temple of gastronomy like *Aubergine*, serving nouvelle German cuisine.





Originally a party to celebrate the engagement of Ludwig I and Princess Therese in 1810, Oktoberfest has been an annual event ever since.

More mainstream menus may be found at Franziskaner and Spatenhaus. The former, an enormous establishment with an endless maze of large dining rooms interspersed with small cozy ones is the place in Munich for a *weisswurst* (fat sausage made with white veal and herbs) and a Pilsner or a *weissbier* (wheat beer). Local legend has it that weisswurst should be eaten before noon to ensure its freshness, but any time seems right to enjoy this hot, juicy meat served with sweet mustard and soft pretzels. *Leberkäse*, which translates to liver cheese (it's actually a sort of pâté), is another favorite here. Close

The city's international claim to fame is Oktoberfest, which is celebrated from late September through the first Sunday in October.

by (incidentally, both these restaurants are near the opera house), Spatenhaus, with its whitewashed walls and pine tables and chairs, looks like a typical Alpine inn. Specialties of the house are *kalbshaxe* (roasted veal shank), *spanferkel* (crispy roast suckling pig), and *bauernschmaus*, a heaping plate of pork, sausages, and bread dumplings. The must-have dessert is the flaky, not-too-

sweet apple strudel.

For a change of pace, Rive Droite doesn't offer much in the way of decor, but its grilled fish with thyme sauce and its crème brûlée are sublime. Finally, a visit to Munich wouldn't be complete without lifting a *mass* (two-pint glass) of *helles bier* (pale beer) at the Hofbräuhaus, once the haunt of Lenin and Hitler, and now as much a monument as a beer hall.

**Special Events.** The city's international claim to fame is Oktoberfest, which is celebrated from late September through the first Sunday in October. The site of the festival is an enormous





exhibition ground called the Theresienwiese, named after Princess Therese who became engaged to Crown Prince Ludwig (later Ludwig I) in 1810. The party to celebrate the engagement has been an annual event ever since, attracting over 6 million people a year who imbibe over 750,000 kegs of beer and eat hundreds of thousands of roasted chickens and sausages.

**Day Trips.** *Dachau*—On a hilltop with a view of the Alps, this town about 14 miles northwest of Munich was the site of the first Nazi concentration camp, which took in about 200,000 prisoners, some 30,000 of whom died here. A grim memorial to man's inhumanity to man. (Take the S2 from the Marienplatz.)

*Schloss Nymphenburg*—a splendid palace and park that was the summer home to Bavarian royalty. The complex includes a rococo hunting lodge called the Amalienburg, the Pagodenburg (a pavilion for tea parties), a heated pool, and a carriage museum with an exquisitely decorated sleigh once used by Mad Ludwig.

**Future Plans.** Munich is constantly upgrading its transportation facilities, with the new FJS playing a critical role. The city is in the process of adding more high-speed ICE trains to its already extensive rail service. Trains leave almost every hour between Munich and other major cities in Germany. An express train connects the airport with the main train station.

Detractors say its airport is overbuilt, its politics petty, and its attitude provincial. An example of the latter was a decision by the city fathers to beautify a main artery out of town. The road was narrowed to two lanes to make room for plants and now is constantly overcrowded with major traffic jams, even at midnight.

On the other hand, the same small-town feeling makes Munich user friendly for tourists and businesspeople alike. Moreover, Munich has that rare ability to poke fun at itself. Its newest museum, ZAM, houses tongue-in-cheek exhibits of chamber pots, padlocks, and corkscrews, among other similar items. It's hard not to like a city with a sense of humor. ☺

*Janet Bennett is a writer based in Washington, DC.*

### VITAL STATISTICS

**Location:** Along the banks of the Isar River in southern Germany. On a clear day, the Alps (about 50 miles away) are a beautiful backdrop to the city. 220 miles from Vienna. 165 miles from Prague. 163 miles from Zurich. 372 miles from Brussels.

**Population:** 1.360 million

### ACCESS

**By Air:** Franz Josef Strauss Airport, served by over 100 chartered and scheduled airlines, including United, Delta, TWA, American, British Airways, Air France, Swissair, and Lufthansa. Passenger Information, tel. (49) 89 975 21 313.

**By Rail:** High-speed Inter City Express (ICE) trains connecting Munich to cities such as Hamburg and Frankfurt leave from the *Hauptbahnhof* (main train station). There is an express train (S-8 line) between FJS airport and the *Hauptbahnhof*. Passenger Information, tel. (49) 89 592 991.

**By Road:** The A9 to Nuremberg and Berlin; the A8 east to Salzburg; the A95 to Garmisch.

**By Public Transit:** Munich's public transit system consists of the U-bahn (subway) and the S-bahn (suburban railway), as well as streetcars and buses. The U-bahn has its central stops at the Marienplatz and the *Hauptbahnhof*.

### CONTACTS

**For business:** Economic Development Organization of Bavaria. In Munich, tel. (49) 89 216 22 642; fax (49) 89 216 22 760. In the US, tel. (201) 652 7070; fax (201) 652 3898.

**For pleasure:** The Central Tourist Office is located just around the corner from the Marienplatz, tel. (49) 89 239 1272.

### HOTELS

• *Jahreszeiten* (Four Seasons) Kempinski (the epitome of luxury and elegance, located on Maximilianstrasse, the city's best shopping street; penthouse swimming pool), tel. (49) 89 230 390.

• *Rafael* (small luxury hotel offering personal service as its trademark; close to Marienplatz), tel. (49) 290 980.

• *Park Hilton* (designed for international business travelers; location beside Englischer Garten, great for joggers), tel. (49) 89 384 50.

• *Brauerei Gasthof Hotel* (something different 25 kilometers from Munich; true Alpine guest house with hand-painted canopied beds covered with fluffy white duvets; top German execs use it as retreat for meetings), tel. (49) 80 95 705.

• *Hotel Bosch* (bed and breakfast convenient to art museums, shops, and restaurants), tel. (49) 89 52 149 39.

### RESTAURANTS

• *Aubergine* (a Michelin three-star dining experience that the price reflects), tel. (49) 89 59 81 71.

• *Franziskaner* (do as the natives do; after shopping, lunch on *weisswurst*, sweet mustard, and pretzels at this popular place), tel. (49) 89 227 841.

• *Spatenhaus* (whitewashed walls and pine tables and chairs set the mood at this typical Bavarian restaurant), tel. (49) 89 227 841.

• *Rive Droite* (sparse setting for delicious grilled fish and fabulous *crème brûlée*), tel. (49) 89 58 81.

• *Bratwurst Glöckl* (all kinds of different sausages on the edge of the Viktualienmarkt).

• *Hofbräuhaus* (the beer hall of all beer halls filled with the sounds of oompah band music), tel. (49) 89 221 676.

### MUSEUMS

All museums are free on Sunday.

• *Alte Pinakothek*—Old Picture Gallery (collection of 14th-18th century European painting with treasures including a large number of works by Rubens), tel. (49) 89 238 05 195.

• *Neue Pinakothek*—New Picture Gallery (highlights are Impressionists Manet, Monet, and Degas; also 19th century German and Scandinavian landscapes), tel. (49) 89 238 05 195.

• *Deutsches Museum*—German Museum of Science and Technology (considered the largest technical museum in the world; collection includes original U-boat built in 1906, antique musical instruments, locomotives, chemistry exhibits, and more), tel. (49) 81 21 791.



# CAPITALS

AN OVERVIEW  
OF CURRENT  
AFFAIRS IN  
EUROPE'S  
CAPITALS

## Letter from America

**"G**un's don't kill people, people kill people," declares what is probably one of the best known bumper stickers in the US. Unfortunately, within less than a five mile radius of its source, the National Rifle Association's headquarters a few blocks up 16th street from the White House, more than 460 gun deaths were recorded in 1993, with hundreds more gun inflicted woundings to round out the list. That Washington, DC, the capital of the only superpower is also the murder capital of the "civilized" world is not only a major embarrassment to all Americans, Washingtonians in particular, but more importantly it is the starkest symptom of what is currently seen as the major problem confronting the United States today, violent crime and particularly gun related crime.

Washington, often called "out of touch" with the rest of the nation, is, at least as far as its citizens' concerns about violent crime, typical of the entire country. In a recent *Washington Post* survey of 3,000 DC, Maryland, and Virginia voters, crime and violence were named as the number one concern by wide margins in all three jurisdictions. This corresponds to national polls such as one recently conducted by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. Reporting on its survey *The Post* said "A frag-

mented community of 4 million people, the Washington area is united today by a set of shared worries, most strongly a fear of violent crime..."

While gun crime does occur in Europe, the latest figures parallel the radical differences in the levels of concern it elicits among the respective populations. Paris, for example, a city with a population almost four times greater than Washington's,

Switzerland, 87 in Japan, 10 in Australia, 68 in Canada, and 10,567 in the United States. God bless America."

But while Europeans and others seem relatively unconcerned with handgun deaths on their own soil because of the small number of gun-related crimes, gun violence involving their nationals traveling in the US becomes big news back home. Last year's spate of tourist violence in southern Florida caused Otto

Texas, the other in Louisiana, illustrate the reaction of other societies to American violence. In commenting on the shooting death of a 16 year old Japanese exchange student who had mistakenly knocked on the door of the wrong Baton Rouge house while looking for a Halloween party (he didn't respond to the homeowner's command of "freeze"). *The Daily Yornuri*, editorialized that the killing, "is totally beyond the comprehension of the Japanese... (who) find it difficult to understand why a citizen... would even own a handgun." In response to the killing, prospective Japanese visitors to the US now take courses to learn phrases such as "Freeze" and "Don't move a muscle." The early 1994 killing, under similar circumstances, of a Scottish visitor to Houston, (in this case the lost victim was drunkenly pounding on suburban doorways at 4 a.m.), brought a like response from the British media. Headlines such as "Oiled Scot Gunned Down in US" reflected the views of the English typified by the statement of a deputy editor of London's *Daily Mail* that "On one hand we are sympathetic with the householder. At the same time we tend to think America is a nation full of lunatics."

While the statistics leave no doubt that America is a far more violent place than Europe, Japan, or Australia, (the FBI reports 13,220 handgun murders in 1992) the debate about why this is so and what

## SPECIAL REPORT:



# Owning Guns in Europe

suffered less than 25 percent of DC's gun related deaths last year.

This disparity has been seized by Handgun Control Inc., the anti-gun lobbying group chaired by Sarah Brady, as the basis for its signature riposte to the NRA's "Guns don't kill..." slogan, which reads, "In 1990, handguns killed 22 people in Great Britain, 13 in Sweden, 91 in

Schneider of the German Association of Tourists to lift his organization's endorsement of the Miami area. "Go to St. Petersburg, Go to Orlando... but don't go to Miami," he told Germans after Uwe-Wilhelm Rakerbrand became the fourth German murdered in last summer's "bump and stop" robberies.

Two accidental killings of foreign nationals, one in



to do about it is intense. In both of their recent "State of the State" addresses, Governors Pete Wilson (R-CA) and Mario Cuomo (D-NY) demonstrated the perceived political importance of being tough on crime by making strict law enforcement the major issue. President Clinton echoed this theme in pushing his administration's crime bill in his own address to the American people.

While there is little doubt that if there were no guns there would be no gun crime, the importance and efficacy of gun control laws is a red hot issue of debate between proponents of handgun rights at the NRA and gun control advocates represented by a panoply of political, social, and medical groups. Studies done by such prestigious journals as the *New England Journal of Medicine* and *The American Journal of Epidemiology* abound and contain something for advocates of seemingly every position on the subject. Is it the availability of guns or poverty? Is it peculiar to youth or race? Does it, as former US Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger once tentatively posited, have anything to do with America's "frontier ethic?" Each probable cause has its proponents and detractors. Certainly the impact of automatic weapons has exacerbated the problem. "Instead of being shot once or twice, people are getting shot six, seven, or 12 times," reports Lieutenant Tommy Musgrove of the District of Columbia's Metropolitan Police Department.

Whatever its causes and



**Under the new Brady Law, Americans must wait five days and submit to a background check before they can purchase a handgun.**

notwithstanding the fact that the FBI recently reported that overall US violent crime actually declined in the last decade, American violence and particularly handgun violence is, at least for the moment, seen as the major problem confronting the nation. Whether the five day waiting period required by the Brady Law which went into effect February 28, will have any impact in the continuing increase in handguns' share of crime, which rose from 9.2 percent of all violent crimes in 1979 to 12.7 percent in 1992, what is sure is that the debate in the US will continue.

—Robert Bassman

## AMSTERDAM

### ARMS AND AMMUNITION

You won't easily find somebody in the Netherlands who owns a gun. Except for hunting and recreational shooting, the private ownership of firearms is not allowed, and even in these cases it is strictly regulated. Air pistols are sold freely in sport shops, and there are rare shops specializing in hunting, but the free sale of

arms is outlawed.

The legal basis for the ownership of firearms is the Arms and Ammunition Act of 1986. It distinguishes between arms that are completely outlawed; arms reserved for military and police use; potential weapons that are not to be carried in public such as broken beer bottles, bicycle chains, wooden clubs; and finally, the category of hunting rifles and pistols. Under certain conditions, these may be owned by private persons.

Hunters need a hunting license from the local police and have to pass an exam in order to qualify for the ownership of a gun. A similar requirement exists for sport shooters. In the case of either hunting or sport shooting, the firearm is registered, and the owner must renew the license annually. Licenses may be withdrawn in cases of abuse. Permission for owning a firearm for self-defense may only be awarded in "exceptional circumstances," according to the law.

The Arms and Ammunition Act also establishes the punishment for illegal ownership of arms. These punishments range from a maxi-

mum fine of \$5,000 for minor offenses to a maximum imprisonment of four years and a fine of \$50,000 in severe cases. The law gives broad powers to the authorities in tracing the illegal possession of firearms. It states that whenever there is "reason" to do so, personal possessions, locations, and buildings may be searched. Under pressure, it was added that the constitutional right of citizens to move

freely, has to be respected.

Despite this tough law, the ownership of firearms with the exception of hunting and sports, is not entirely controlled. It may be easier to buy guns in neighboring countries than in the Netherlands and border control is not strict. Undoubtedly, criminals have easy access to arms. The number of lethal settlements of disputes between criminals, particularly between drug gangs, is rising fast as the Netherlands has become a major center of the international drug trade.

On the other hand, a growing movement of environmentalists and advocates of animal protection now want to outlaw hunting entirely.

—Roel Janssen

## COPENHAGEN

### GUNS NOT PART OF CULTURE

Only about 40,000 Danes, fewer than one out of 100, have a license to possess firearms. This reflects the fact that Denmark has restrictive gun laws, but also the



country does not have a gun lobby like the US's National Rifle Association. Furthermore, over the past five years the number of licenses issued has dropped by a fifth, despite the absence of a corresponding increase in crime and violence.

To qualify for a license, a Dane has to convince the local Police Commissioner that there is a legitimate need, typically rifles for sporting purposes. Only a very small proportion are issued to persons claiming the need for personal protection, and they are thoroughly investigated to weed out anyone with a criminal record. Pistol licenses are only issued for two years at a time.

Denmark has its share of armed robberies and homicides involving guns, but the latter are typically shootouts on the drug scene. Burglars are virtually never armed, like their victims. So shooting an intruder in the home or being shot by an intruder is an extremely rare occurrence in Denmark. Most Danes believe that introducing more guns in the home will escalate the confrontation with criminals to a more lethal level.

Guns are simply not a part of Danish culture, nor any past or current subcultures for that matter. Policemen are typically unarmed; bank robbers usually have fake guns; and it is simply not considered a civil right, much less macho, to own a firearm. Among the young, knives, not guns, are fashionable, and they are a growing problem.

The number of licenses do not tell the full story about guns in Danish homes. A number of German firearms, appropriated by Danes from the occupation forces after the end of the World War II, are still in illegal circulation, mainly as collectors' items.

And between 40,000 and 50,000 Danish members of the Home Guard, a territorial army consisting of trained civilians with full-time jobs, have their firearms in their homes to ensure that the Home Guard is ready for action at immediate notice.

Some of these weapons have been put to ill use, especially by unbalanced Home Guard members against close relatives or for suicide. But again, the number of incidents is extremely small. Danes for the most part tend to handle their guns with exceptional respect.

—Leif Beck Fallesen

ple keeping guns at home remained strong until the end of World War I. The government introduced controls in 1920, allegedly to reduce armed crime, but many historians believe the real reason for the new restriction was fear of a repeat of the Russian Revolution.

These laws were not too strict concerning shotguns used for hunting. "Thirty years ago you could sell a shotgun to a 12 year old," says gunsmith Tibor Takats. But the gang killing of Ginger Marks in the 1960s with a shotgun led to new legislation in the 1969 Firearms Act forc-



As the drug trade becomes increasingly violent in the UK, the police may soon be forced to carry guns.

LONDON

NO RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

The debate over gun control in the UK dates back to the time of Henry VIII in the 16th century when the growing number of armed robberies provoked a public outcry. In response a law was passed to restrict the supply of weapons, but every household was encouraged to keep firearms for his own protection.

Indeed, the tradition of peo-

ing shotgun owners to license their weapons.

Nonetheless, offenses involving firearms in the UK increased by 50 percent between 1988 and 1991, to more than 5,000 a year. Police believe the use of weapons, especially by drug dealers, is growing at an unprecedented rate.

However, it is essential to place this in context. In the US, 16,000 people died from gunshot wounds in 1990, the vast majority in robberies; in the same year only 55 people died in armed robberies in the UK.

The situation in the UK is the reverse of that in the US. In the US the right to carry a gun is specifically protected under the constitution. In the UK no one has the right to bear arms, except for sporting purposes and then only under license.

Most of the UK's gun laws are already stricter than the EU requirement and will not be relaxed. "[The UK] has some of the tightest firearms laws in Europe," according to a spokesman for the Richmondshire Rifle and Pistol Club. "The security requirements for those holding any kind of firearm have been increased considerably, and these are rigorously enforced by the police."

The manufacturers and sellers of sporting guns estimate that there are 2.5 million shotguns legally held in this country and about the same number held illegally, though not necessarily for crime.

There is a thriving illegal gun trade, but no one is sure of its size. About 300,000 semi-automatic and automatic weapons were legally held before the 1988 legislation. Currently about 55,000 are registered. There are about half a million held handguns and about the same number again in circulation, though not registered.

The UK is not a mass gun owning society, but the police are concerned that as more drug dealers use weapons the number of deaths will grow and they will be forced to join the civilian arms race.

—David Lennon

LISBON

GUNS NO ISSUE IN PEACEFUL PORTUGAL

In Portugal, gun laws are simply not an issue. What's more, the Judiciary Police



(PJ), the body that investigates homicides and other crimes in Portugal, do not even keep an updated record of how many deaths per year are caused by firearms. A PJ spokeswoman told *EUROPE* that separate statistics on deaths by shooting were last kept in 1988, and even then figures were only available for Lisbon. In that year, 14 of 49 homicides committed in the capital were carried out with firearms, a figure more or less in line with preceding years. The lack of interest in the exact breakdown may indicate that shooting incidents are not considered a major problem in Portugal.

Violence in general is not particularly widespread in this country, whose relatively intact society has only recently begun displaying cracks. Police and arms dealers confirm that it is very difficult to buy firearms for protection.

A potential customer will need to fill in a form at the relevant police department in Lisbon or, in smaller places, at the local government office. He will be asked to produce an extract from his criminal record, proof of identity and residence, as well as documentation supporting his claim that he needs to protect himself. Such a claim could say that he has a dangerous job, such as transporting large amounts of money or that he has previously been assaulted. The authorities will investigate the potential buyer's trustworthiness, a process which can take up to three months. If all is in order, the applicant is then issued a license and authorization to purchase, which is valid for 60 days. The license is held until the applicant returns to fill in the details of his new gun and collect it. No more than 5 percent of all requests to buy arms for self-defense are granted. The proce-

cedure involving rifles for shooting competitions and hunting is similar, but there is no need to justify the application.

As European Union members adjust their laws, Portuguese who wish to take firearms across borders now require a European Firearms Pass, containing details of the arms in question and space for other countries to confirm the entry of the arms. For some firearms, authorization from the EU country of destination is needed before the weapons may be brought in. These latest laws were published as recently as last year, and there are no immediate plans for changes.

The fact that gun laws are no topic for discussion in Portugal, however, does not prevent the Portuguese from paying the closest attention to any mass shooting reported from the US and its wide coverage in the American media.

—Peter Miles

## MADRID

### SECOND LOOK AT GUN LAWS

**G**un control was never much of an issue in Spain until recent incidents demonstrated that perhaps a hard look was in order at the laws which allow certain members of society to carry firearms.

The first case involved a pair of off-duty policemen in the northern region of Galicia. In the course of an extortion attempt, the two men held a wealthy industrialist, his wife, daughter, and their housekeeper at gunpoint overnight in the family's home and later shot them when things went wrong.

In the second incident, a prominent Madrid businessman who was permitted to pack a pistol due to his position, shot to death an An-

golan man, who had tried to snatch the purse of the man's wife. In testimony to police, the businessman admitted the mugger was fleeing at the time he pulled the trigger.

Although exceptional cases because of the publicity they received, these two examples are by no means isolated incidents. Indeed, hardly a week goes by without news of someone with permission to carry a firearm, usually an off-duty policeman, civil guard, or retired military man, involved in a shooting.

#### Spain's gun

laws are strict,

mostly as a

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weapons. If a private citizen wants to buy a gun, he or she must be a certified hunter, a member of an officially registered target-shooting club, a firearms collector, or an individual who either carries around large amounts of money, operates a robbery-prone business or could be the target of terrorists like the Basque separatist group ETA.

Of the almost 3 million rifles, shotguns, and pistols registered in Spain, some 2.8 million belong to hunters, with the next highest number in the hands of target shooters, followed by private security staff, collectors, and finally, private citizens who need the guns for personal protection.

Most crimes in Spain, such as store robberies or muggings, involve knives, and it is rare that the victim suffers anything worse than an empty wallet and a bad scare; so many people see no need to go around armed. But with violent street crime on the rise things could change.

In another recent case which generated headlines, a Madrid shopkeeper was kicked to death by two assailants who made off with his wife's purse. His son commented that his father would still be alive if he had had a pistol to protect himself.

—Benjamin Jones

## BERLIN

### GUN VIOLENCE RISES

**I**n Germany, there is a national registration and licensing system for handgun owners, but few criminals get their guns from ordinary shops. In 1992 the gun law was violated in more than 19,000 cases. The statistical data for 1993 has not yet been completed, but experts speak of a dramatic increase in the

But it is rarely so dramatic. In most cases, it is simply a drunken cop or ex-soldier shooting up a bar late at night or taking potshots at some poor unfortunate who got on their bad side.

Spain's gun laws are strict, mostly as a legacy from the Franco years when the last thing an unpopular dictatorship wanted was masses of citizens running around with



illegal arms trade in handguns and assault weapons.

Handguns can easily be bought in the streets and flea markets. They come mostly from army depots of the former Warsaw Pact countries. Police report that in Frankfurt, hand grenades are offered at about \$17 a piece and in Berlin and Munich a Russian automatic weapon can be had for less than \$570. The opening of the frontiers to Eastern Europe as well as the creation of the European single market offers prospects not only for trade and industry but also for criminals. Organized crime successfully exploits gaps in the new systems. The most lucrative branches of organized crime, such as drug trafficking, car theft for resale, and the illegal gun trade have firmly established themselves in Eastern Europe.

Homicide rates also rose considerably. In 1991 there were 962 murders; in 1992 they increased by 16.7 percent to 1,123. From January 1993 to September 1993 the homicide rates rose by 19 percent. "At the same time," says a police spokesman in Bonn, "more and more people have armed themselves to an extent we could hardly imagine." Indeed, Germans complain that they feel defenseless against criminals and more and more Germans are taking matters into their own hands. The number of cases in the first six months of 1993 in which shotguns were used to intimidate or to kill rose by 100 percent as compared with the same period in 1992. The highest rates were registered in the new federal states. With 4.7 murders per 100,000 inhabitants, Magdeburg in eastern Germany tops the list of German cities.

Eike Bleibtreu, Chairman of the Federation of German Criminal Officers, deplors

"the extreme brutality" of gun crimes. Since January this year 16 people were killed in Germany's capital, Berlin, a city with 3.5 million inhabitants.

Fearing assaults, more and more women are arming themselves. They buy self-defense sprays, gas pistols, or knives. According to police statistics, a crime is committed every five seconds and a woman is raped every 10 minutes. There are more than 1.8 million female victims of robbery, bodily injuries, and rapes per year. "In 1992," says Ulrich Müller-Böhm, Secretary-General of the Federation of Producers of Hunting and Sport Weapons and Ammunition in Düsseldorf, "More than 900,000 spray cans, dummy pistols, and signal weapons were sold in Germany." More than 25 percent

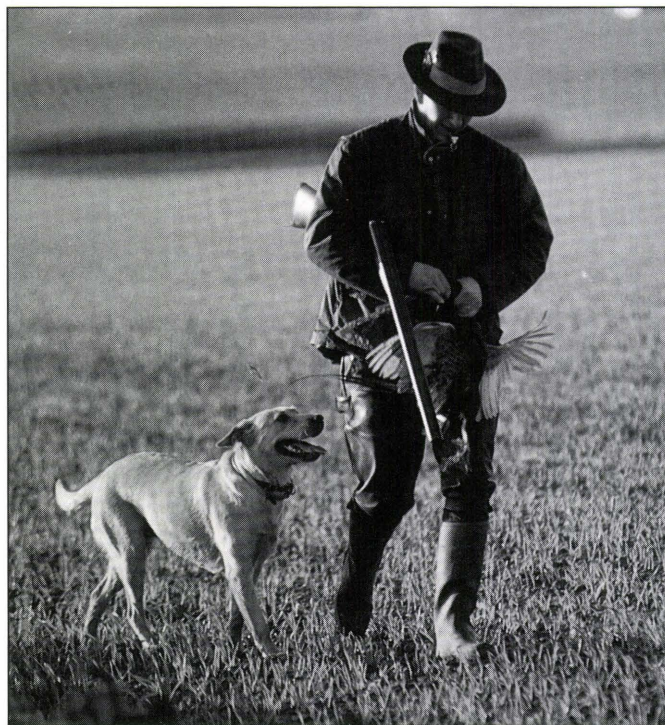
ample, there were 2,000 offenses against the gun law—none committed by women.

—Wanda Menke Glückert

## ROME

### GUNS BECOMING STATUS SYMBOLS

The number of requests for gun licenses has risen dramatically in Italy. But the law passed in 1990 that regulates the possession of handguns and rifles represents another turn of the screw in a series of laws which are already very strict. Just for a start, a triple distinction is made between "possession," "transport," and "gun license." With the "possession" designation, guns may be kept, but only under lock and key and in a secure loca-



With 1.65 million registered, France has the most hunters in Europe.

of these non-lethal weapons were bought by women. But women in Germany shrink from buying lethal weapons. In 1992 in Hamburg, for ex-

ample, there were 2,000 offenses against the gun law—none committed by women. In 1992 in Hamburg, for ex-

ample, there were 2,000 offenses against the gun law—none committed by women. In the second case, "transport," one is permitted to carry arms, but only along an exact route between one's home and a rifle range. The route must be presented to and agreed upon by the police and may not be modified. The third designation, the "gun license," which is for a weapon to be used in self-defense, is very difficult to obtain. Besides having a clean police record, one must accompany the request for the license with a letter from one's employer stating that it is necessary to one's profession to be armed. But even that is not enough. Almost all police stations require a medical certificate that attests to one's good physical and mental health. Furthermore, in a few cities, it is also necessary to exhibit one's tax return. Only requests by very rich people are taken into consideration because it is believed they might need to defend themselves against possible robberies or kidnappings. In this way, though, gun licenses have also become a status symbol.

If it is almost impossible to obtain legal permission to carry arms, the taxes one has to pay once the gun has been obtained are almost nonexistent—roughly \$20–25.

But who are these gun packing Italians? Authorities don't release the official numbers for security reasons, but unofficial estimates peg the figure at 120,000 privately owned guns in Italy. The largest category, ironically, is doctors, who own 30 percent of the guns, followed by lawyers (25 percent), goldsmiths and jewelers (20 percent), bank couriers (10 percent), and journalists (5 percent).

But new categories (a few of them unexpected, parish priests, for example) are lining up in front of the display



windows of gun stores. For years now, in the North like in the South, Catholic priests have been the victims of assaults. A few priests have begun to shoot back. Then there are women who live in slums along with a high rate of drug related crime. In Genoa, a whole committee of them made a joint request for obtaining gun licenses. In Sicily, truck drivers, who must travel along a certain stretch of highway, have asked to be able to carry guns to prevent constant robberies. They now drive under police escort.

Perhaps the changing political situation will end up favoring gun proponents. The Northern League, the new strong conservative and separatist movement headed by Umberto Bossi, has presented a proposal for a law that would facilitate obtaining gun licenses.

—Niccoló d'Aquino

ATHENS

FEW GUN HOMICIDES

Traditional Greek village life, in which every household possesses a shotgun or hunting rifle, still influences regulations on owning firearms. However, most Greeks now live in cities, where the number of armed robberies has risen sharply in the past decade. At Easter, for example, handguns and hunting weapons are fired into the air outside churches to celebrate the Resurrection. On the island of Crete, shooting into the air is a feature of wedding festivities.

Gun regulations were updated in a new law on weapons and explosives passed in late 1993, mainly in order to bring Greek legislation in line with European Union directives. There is no serious lobbying movement

to change the regulations.

Greek citizens over the age of 18 can purchase hunting weapons over the counter, but they must be registered with the local police station, which issues a permit that has to be renewed every three years. Normally, purchasers must be members of a licensed hunting organization.

Handguns are more difficult to come by, although there is now a black market in small arms as a result of the war in the former Yugoslavia, from where illegal arms dealing has spread to Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Handguns, usually of Eastern European origin, are smuggled into Greece by Albanian immigrant workers who sell them cheaply, sometimes for less than \$30 each.

Officially, Greeks are allowed to buy handguns if they can provide the police and a local magistrate with satisfactory evidence that they are needed for self-defense. One such group are businessmen who claim they are potential targets for November 17—a left-wing group that has assassinated prominent businessmen and politicians. Where the general public is concerned, owners of garages and all-night pharmacies are generally permitted to keep a handgun on the premises. Again, the permit must be regularly renewed. Ordinary Greeks are not allowed to own automatic weapons.

Gun violence has become a problem in Greece over the past 10 years, with the growth of armed crime in cities often directed against banks. The number of armed robberies rose from 1,519 in 1982 to 50,626 in 1992. However, deaths from shootings remain low, at just under 200 in 1992—the latest year for which figures are available.

—Kerin Hope

BRUSSELS

FEW ARMED ROBBERIES

Prior to 1989 Belgium had very lax gun control laws. The law passed that year tightened the control considerably—at least on paper. There does not yet seem to have been much of an improvement so far as the criminal use of firearms is concerned.

Under the 1989 law, weapons were grouped into five categories. Group one

**The 1989 law also imposed tight restrictions on arms dealers, who must be licensed by the Ministry of Justice or by one of the provincial governors.**

(which includes self-defense toxic sprays and various types of knives) are forbidden weapons. Groups two and three are controlled guns, defined as war weapons (automatic and semi-automatic guns) and defense weapons (pistols, revolvers, short guns, and riot guns).

Group four are weapons used for hunting, which must be declared to the police, but are otherwise not controlled. Group five consists of antique

guns and collectors' weapons which are completely free of control.

The 1989 law also imposed tight restrictions on arms dealers, who must be licensed by the Ministry of Justice or by one of the provincial governors. Anyone seeking to purchase guns in categories two or three has to seek a permit from the local police, which is granted, if at all, only after careful inquiries have been made about the purchaser. Even if a permit is granted, it is only valid for keeping the weapon at home. To take it out into the street requires another permit, which is normally given only to employees of security firms and a very few other applicants.

Unfortunately, the new tighter restrictions only apply to people seeking to own a gun for the first time. Those who already possessed a weapon before 1989 were allowed to keep it provided they registered it with the local police. The new law has had a marked effect on the legal arms trade in Belgium. Sales of rifles, for example, have decreased from 6,000 a year to 500. Sales of handguns, however, have actually gone up from 6,000 to 7,000 per year. Sales of hunting guns, which only need to be declared and do not require a permit, have gone up by 17 percent over the past two years.

Altogether there are some 465,000 guns legally owned in Belgium—a substantial number for a country whose population is 10 million. The number of legally held weapons is, of course, unknown, but is likely to be considerable as many owners have not registered under the 1989 law and there is a flourishing black market in guns from Eastern Europe.

Under the circumstances, it is perhaps surprising that



the number of armed holdups was no more than 654 in 1993 and the number of murders or attempted murders was 317. If these figures are to be substantially brought down it will require more vigorous action to reduce the number of illegally held guns than the Belgian authorities have so far attempted.

—Dick Leonard

## LUXEMBOURG

### NO GUNS WITHOUT PERMITS

**G**uns cannot be made, held, or used here without a permit. Luxembourg joins the Netherlands in having some of the toughest gun control laws within the European Union. While some EU countries allow certain guns to be held by users without permits, only relics from the World Wars can be held within Luxembourg without a permit. Licenses for guns used in sport shooting must be renewed after two years while those for hunting and gun collections are good for five years. Permits are denied to anyone under the influence of drugs or prosecuted for serious crimes. Further, the law also does not permit acquiring, importing, producing, selling, transporting, holding, or exporting prohibited arms. According to Fernand Bruscher, Director of the gun control division within Luxembourg's Ministry of Justice, there are very few violations of the law annually. But weapons left from World Wars I and II, he said, escape from registration requirements. He views the Grand Duchy's laws as being effective.

In a small, homogeneous country like Luxembourg, gun control works well, observers say, but offers little

insights for the US. But the answer to the success of gun control within Europe may lie less in the existence of the laws themselves than in the way that socialization works in much of Europe.

In talking with Luxembourgers and Europeans about America's crime problems, they sense that social order has deteriorated, that things are somewhat "out of control," and that cities and the federal government lack the financial resources, resolve, and leadership to tackle the problem. Some say that disenfranchised segments of America need to feel they have a bigger stake in the country's prosperity. Others call for tough gun control laws supported by aggressive enforcement programs. Although Europeans may disagree about what needs to be done, they universally see the intensity of crime within the US as incomprehensible.

—James D. Spellman

## PARIS

### GUNS PART OF LIBERTY AND HISTORY

**A**s with other civil liberties dear to the heart of the French, private ownership of firearms can be traced back to the French Revolution. Before 1789, the right to carry arms was a privilege reserved for the nobility, the military, and law enforcement officers. Then came the rousing cry: "*Aux armes, citoyens!*" and from then on, France became a nation of gun owners. Practically every rural household had one or more shotguns in the cupboard and used them regularly for hunting everything from wild boar to skylarks and thrushes.

In 1939, on the eve of World War II, the French government introduced the

first regulations restricting gun ownership. Over the next 50 years a hail of decrees, orders, edicts, and circulars has been pumped out to modify, usually by tightening, the original legislation.

Current regulations list seven different categories of firearms, each described in confusing detail. Basically, only smooth-bore shotguns, single-shot hunting rifles, some target pistols and rifles, and historic firearms predating 1870 are freely available. All other guns must either be declared or in the case of self-defense firearms—a category under which more and more guns are being classified—a special police permit is needed to buy them. Applying for such a permit requires a sheaf of documents and can take up to nine months. Once obtained, the permit must be renewed with the same red tape as at the start, after a maximum period of five years.

With an arsenal of approximately 40 million privately owned firearms for a population of 57 million, it is easy to get the impression that the French are all armed to the teeth and in need of tight controls. But gun ownership is concentrated among hunters, marksmen, and collectors, who usually own several weapons each and do not make a habit of using them for self-defense. There is remarkably little gun violence: in 1989, for example, only 56 deaths were attributed to firearms, and the numbers are holding fairly constant.

Hunters are the most visible group of gun owners. With 1.65 million of them holding a valid hunting permit, France has more people chasing fur and feathers than any other country in Europe. Deaths from hunting accidents number around 20 a year and are dropping all the time, but then so is the num-

ber of new hunters, by about 4,000 a year.

Competitive shooting, which makes use of a wider and potentially more dangerous range of guns, attracts some 130,000 licensed marksmen. They can buy their first gun only after having been a paid-up member of a shooting club for at least a year. They can then own up to six firearms.

Collectors are harder to pin down as a group, since France, unlike other European countries, has not established an official "gun collector" status. That is partially because the French have an instinctive mistrust of lists being drawn up which might let the "wrong" people know that they have their father's Sten gun from the war stashed away in the attic.

New legislation is currently being introduced which will bring French firearm laws, still on the liberal side, in line with EU regulations. Decrees are flying thick and fast: the latest, dated February 18, bumped pistols that fire leadshot, which were previously available to anyone, into the highly restrictive "self-defensive firearms" category.

More amendments and some exemptions to the European regulations are bound to emerge over the next few months. French politicians know they have to tread carefully around the issue of gun control in a country where it has always been open season on anyone who tries to restrict individual liberty.

—Ester Laushway



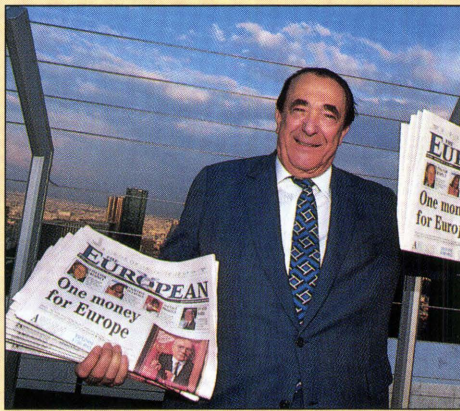
## NEWSMAKERS

He works at his piano with a pencil, an eraser, and a piece of paper on a chopping board. British composer **Michael Nyman**, 49, is best known for his film scores, the latest of which is the much applauded soundtrack for **Jane Campion's** film *The Piano*. He works most frequently with British director **Peter Greenaway**, having written the music for 10 of his films, including *The Draughtsman's Contract* and *Drowning by Numbers*. Idiosyncratic as Greenaway's films are, Nyman has had some more unusual commissions. The French National Railway, for example, hired him to compose *grande vitesse* music for the grand opening of the TGV high speed train link between Paris and Lille. When he is not busy working, either in his Victorian house in London or in the farmhouse he owns in the south of France, Nyman says he likes to collect wine that he does not drink and buy books that he does not have the time to read. The big project he dreams of is not another film score. He would like to write an opera based on Laurence Sterne's great novel, *Tristram Shandy*.

•••

It was supposed to have its world premiere in February, but at the eleventh hour the UK's Supreme Court stepped in and banned *Maxwell the Magnificent Musical*. The show that was supposed to chart the rise and fall of **Robert Maxwell**, the flamboyant newspaper tycoon who drowned after falling off his yacht two years ago, could apparently have prejudiced the outcome of the trial of Maxwell's two sons **Kevin** and **Ian**, charged with embezzlement.

The show's producer **Evan Steadman**, a London business-



man who once worked for Maxwell, invested—and has now wasted—more than \$1 million of his own money to bring the story of *Cap 'n Bob* to the stage. Posters for the musical promised to make audiences “laugh, sing, and be angry” (the latter, an emotion already experienced offstage by thousands of old age pensioners whose funds Maxwell robbed). For a special preview of the show, Steadman had planned to serve Maxwell's favorite dish, fish and chips, wrapped in a page of the *Daily Mirror*, the flagship newspaper of the empire. But it looks like nothing but justice will be served and Maxwell's widow **Betty**, 72, now stands the best chance of cashing in on his story. She is currently hard at work writing her memoirs.

•••

Swiss entrepreneur **Nicolas Hayek**, the father of the phenomenally successful Swatch watch, has a dream. He wants to produce a Swatchmobile—an environmentally friendly car powered by a hybrid system of battery and gasoline powered motors which would retail at around \$9,000. The Swatchmobile has been on the drawing board for several years and snazzy looking prototypes have been glimpsed being tested, but Hayek has had difficulty finding an automobile manufacturer willing to back his project.

Volkswagen was the original partner, but it bowed out just over a year ago because it

doubted that Hayek's dream car could ever be economically viable. Now luxury car maker **Mercedes-Benz** has announced that it has taken a 51 percent stake in Hayek's brainchild and will build the micro car in Switzerland. By 1996, two-seater, environmentally friendly Swatchmobiles should be rolling down the road

in glorious technicolor.

•••

Finland has selected a newcomer to politics as its new president, **Martti Ahtisaari** (57), a Social Democrat who previously worked in foreign affairs and for the UN, took over from outgoing president **Mauno Koivisto**.

Known as **Mr. Namibia** for having helped to negotiate that country's independence, he now intends to use his diplomatic talents to support Finland's candidacy to join the European Union. “I think Finland would benefit more from EU membership than from remaining outside,” he said. “I hope that Sweden and Norway will also join the EU and that the Nordic countries will be able to cooperate on EU policy matters.”

Over the next few months he will have to persuade a fair number of fellow Finns that he is right. While 41 percent of them are in favor of joining the EU, 32 percent still have not made up their mind.

•••

Some 30 years after they were locked away in the Russian estate archives, a valuable collection of documents by **Boris Pasternak** has set his family and his former mistress at each other's throats. When Pasternak died in 1960, he entrusted his private papers, including more than 130 letters and a Russian manuscript of his Nobel Prize-winning novel *Doctor Zhivago*, to **Olga Ivinskaya**, with whom he had a

long and passionate affair.

Shortly afterwards she was arrested by the KGB and the documents were seized. Ivinskaya, now 81, says that it is time she got them back, but Pasternak's relatives are laying claim to them too. They allege that Ivinskaya might sell the papers abroad—she has indeed done so already with one returned batch—whereas they would keep them in Russia where they belong.

The battle has gone to the courts, who will have to decide whose claims are strongest. Ivinskaya has romance on her side. She met Pasternak, who was 22 years older, at the literary journal *Novy Mir* in 1946, first went to work with him, and later they had an affair. She is said to have been a great influence on his masterpiece, *Doctor Zhivago*, and there have been rumors that she wrote parts of it herself.

The novel had to be smuggled out of the Soviet Union to be published. A year later, in 1958, it won Pasternak the Nobel Prize for literature.

•••

**Gheorghe Funar**, the mayor of Cluj, the capital of Transylvania, is determined to leave his mark. He is going about it in a less obvious manner than fellow Romanian **Count Dracula**, but there is the same fanatical glint in his eye. He is on a crusade to rid the city, which was Hungarian until 1918, of all Hungarian statuary and to erect Romanian ones in their place.

The mayor is pumping huge sums from local taxpayers (of which one third are ethnic Hungarians) into his mission, including \$1 million for a statue to **Avram Iancu**, a Romanian folk hero. Instead of wondering if he has gone mad, the Romanian government is apparently so impressed by Funar's nationalistic zeal that it has offered him a job as “popularity consultant.”

—Ester Laushway



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# ARTS & LEISURE

## WRITER'S CORNER

Timothy Garton Ash

**T**imothy Garton Ash is the author of numerous essays on Central and Eastern Europe and three previous books, including *The Magic Lantern*, which looked at the fall of the Iron Curtain in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague. The British author has most recently published *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*. He spoke with *EUROPE* Editor in Chief Robert J. Guttman about the economic and political conditions in Germany today and about Europe's future.

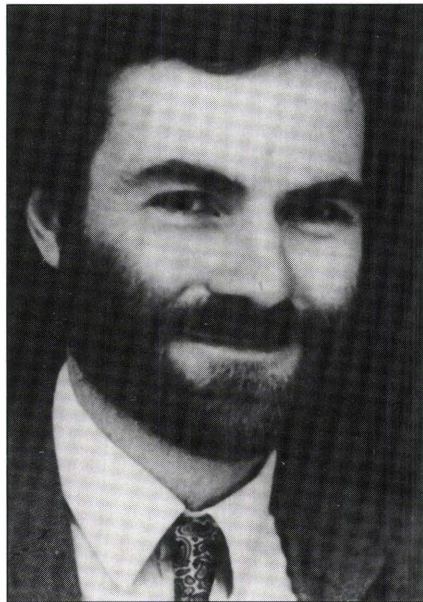
**In reading your book, it seemed to me that there are several overlapping themes, one on Germany and one on Europe. What's the book's overall theme?**

In the first place, it's a history of *Ostpolitik*, not just German *Ostpolitik*, but American *Ostpolitik*, French *Ostpolitik*, British *Ostpolitik*. In other words, it asks what did Western policy contribute to ending the cold war. Or, to put it more sharply, who got it right. And secondly, it has become a book about the re-emergence of Germany as the major power in the center of Europe.

**You talk about *Ostpolitik*. Do you think most Americans know what that means?**

I say somewhere in the book that it seems to me that

"*Ostpolitik*" is one of the few German words...which have entered the English language, certainly in [the United Kingdom] or France. Most politically informed people would know—what the word means, of course, is policy toward the Eastern Bloc at it was. And if you look at



policy toward the Eastern Bloc, then you discover that the two single most important actors were the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. And they were often the two at different ends of a given argument, whether about trade or about the right approach to the Helsinki process.

**What is your book's main interest to an American audience?**

I think the interest for an American audience is two-fold. Firstly, I would have thought every politically interested reader must be interested in looking back at the

history of the cold war and asking who got it right. I mean, after all, that's what the United States has spent a good deal of its time going over the last 40 years. And secondly, obviously Germany and more generally Western Europe is a very major partner and competitor, and it's interesting by looking at this history to see if one can make any guesses about the way Germany and Europe might develop after the end of the cold war.

**You mentioned in your book, both the EU and the Atlantic Alliance were needed to protect Germany against itself. The question I have to ask you is, why does Germany need to be protected against itself? Is there something in the German character that makes it necessary?**

The old saw about double containment, NATO, and the idea advanced by Konrad Adenauer and later by Helmut Kohl that Germany needed the EU to protect itself against itself were a response to Hitler and the history of the Third Reich. I think that a 20 year old German today could very reasonably ask the question that you've just asked. And in fact, 20 year old Germans are asking themselves that question today, and that is one reason why, if I have anything like a prediction—and after all the surprises of the last five years I'm very reluctant to make any predictions—but if I've anything like a prediction it is that the

next German government will in all probability be less emotionally and deeply and unambiguously committed to the project of European union in the existing EU as Helmut Kohl clearly is committed. I see wherever I look in Germany signs of spreading "Euro-skepticism." And I would venture to predict that any likely future German government is going to be more skeptical, more pragmatic, more hard-headed in its approach to the EU, and maybe more interested in a widening to the East.

**Do you see Germany in the future saying "We don't need the EU"? Is that a possibility?**

Until 1989, German politicians often believed very deeply in Europe, but they also needed Europe to realize their own national foreign policy goals. Europe was the path back to sovereignty for West Germany. By demonstrating its commitment to Europe, West Germany won the trust of its partners in the West and neighbors in the East. Europe ultimately was a path back to unity and full sovereignty. United Germany does not need Europe in the same way that the old Federal Republic did up to unification. It may be that it needs it in other ways, but the German national interest in Europe has at least to be redefined. And the answer is not so clear. Certainly, I think, not to the German electorate at the moment.

What has not happened is what Helmut Kohl hoped to make happen, namely that the process of European inte-



gration is irreversible. We have seen, for example, in policy toward Yugoslavia how rapidly major differences between the European powers can open up in policy. On the other hand, there is a quality of habitual day-to-day cooperation at every level which for me is the great value of the European [Union], and I don't see any group of mainstream German politicians in sight at the moment likely sacrificing that. So that I see an adjustment of the German attitude to Europe rather than a total reversal.

**You've been studying Germany, as you said, for seven years. What do you say are the main strengths of Germany today and the main weaknesses? And are they going to be overtaken by immigration and extreme nationalism?**

The assets of the old Federal Republic were immense and obvious—a very powerful economy, a model constitution, a stable democracy, and open society, a pluralistic culture. All these qualities made the old Federal Republic a model for East Europeans. In 1989 and to this day people look to West Germany as a model of European normality. But, we see now the problems not only of unification, but also as Chancellor Kohl has rather belatedly started to emphasize, structural problems of the old social market economy of the Federal Republic, and tackling both at the same time is a pretty daunting task. So that's a first major liability. The foundation of all the strengths of the Federal Republic looks a bit shaky. Secondly, I do think that the political elite and indeed public opinion is wholly unprepared for the challenges that face a united Germany, although in some sense the foreign policy of the old Federal Republic, the story I tell in the book, had

been directed to the long-term goal of unification. Unification happened at the moment when almost everybody had given up on it. And I think West Germany's leaders found themselves rather in the position of a pilot on a barge on the Rhine who suddenly finds himself in charge of an oil tanker on the high seas.

**You write that Germany is central to Europe because it is in the center of Europe. Is it more than just geography?**

It's also about size and the power of the economy. Do you remember the *New Yorker* cartoon in 1989 which showed a few people sitting around in a club and one saying, "Eastern Europe? Isn't that the place where the wars start?" I'd adjust that slightly: "Central Europe? Isn't that the place where the wars start?" And the European problem has sooner or later come back to the Central European problem, that is, a problem of the relation of this country of an awkward size in an awkward place to its Eastern neighbors.

**So you're saying as far as a superpower, competing with the US or Japan, Germany is in a different league, but as far as Central Europe, it's in the top of that league. Is that what you're saying, economically?**

That's dead right. And one of the great challenges for Germany is, obviously, how to use its economic power for the benefit of the fragile democracies in East-Central Europe without reawakening all the old fears. You may remember the Polish writer, Andre Szczypiorski, said that whereas in the past the Poles feared the Germans would come with their guns, now they fear the Germans coming with their checkbooks. But I would say the one thing

worse than the Germans coming with their checkbooks is the Germans *not* coming with their checkbooks, because, you know, if these countries are to recover economically, they need foreign capital, large quantities of it. And the first candidate for supplying it is Germany, but it is very difficult for Germany to play to Eastern Europe the role that the United States played to Western Europe after 1945, because the United States came as a liberator with a clean slate. And Germany comes weighed down with historical baggage in this region.

**Do you fear that America's going to turn its back on Europe? Do you see the Alliance going to a different level now?**

I am certain that it is essential for us, as essential as it has ever been, that the United States remains a major presence in Europe. And one of the lessons of this book is actually just how much we in western Europe and specifically western Germany owes to the United States over these 40 years. You know, particularly in Germany, there's often been fierce and rather patronizing criticism of American policy, and one thinks of the great debates of the 1980s. But if you look back at the history, you realize that it needed both. It needed Willy Brandt, but it also needed Ronald Reagan. It needed the German softly, softly approach to the Helsinki process, but also the American public diplomacy of human rights. It needed the German carrots, but also the American sticks.

**What role has the EU played in helping bring Germany up to its present level, in making Europe somewhat peaceful, prosperous, and what do you see as the European Union's role in the future?**

Firstly, I think that the EU can justly claim that 1989 was among other things its success because that model of a prosperous democratic integrating Western Europe worked as a magnet for the people of Eastern Europe, as Konrad Adenauer had always hoped it would. And it was, if you like, Europe's victory. But in a curious way, precisely that victory has precipitated the crisis of European integration that we now undoubtedly see across Western Europe, a calling into question of the model of European integration from above by enlightened elites and technocrats, which we have seen from Messina to Maastricht. And I think we shouldn't kid ourselves that just because we now have something called "European Union," we actually have a European Union. We don't, or that the process is back on the word, because I don't think it is. I think that the forces of calling in doubt the further progress of European integration, even of disintegration, are still very powerful in Western Europe. For me, at this juncture, it would be more important to spread the achievement of the EU at its present level of integration to a wider Europe than it would be to try and further force the pace of deepening in an ever narrower Western Europe.

**Does the fact that more and more countries want to get into the EU show it's successful?**

I think it's George Orwell who has a wonderful line somewhere. He says, "seen from inside, everything looks worse." And you might say, "seen from outside, most things look better." Yes, it is a tribute to it, but we shouldn't fool ourselves about the nature of the internal problems just because people want to get in. And, by



the way, one of the reasons people want to get in is not that they're so enamored of the model of the EU, but that they know it's even colder outside.

## BOOKS

### In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent

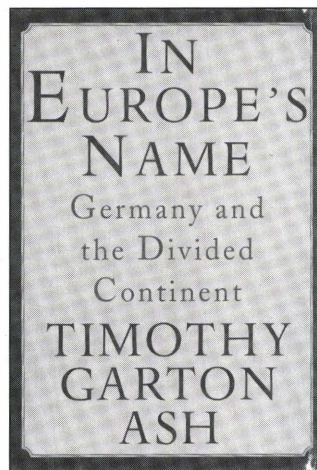
By Timothy Garton Ash; Random House; 680 pages; \$28.

To make one's way through Timothy Garton Ash's stunning work on modern Germany is to be reminded how policy makers and commentators alike base their judgments on—and are indeed hostage to—the most fragile and ephemeral political intelligence and their own illusions. From the post-war division of Germany until November 1989, Western (and West German) policies toward the East were based on the assumption (bolstered by the most sophisticated analysis of current information) that a divided Europe and Germany was an enduring condition. The rotting reality of the governments of Eastern Europe was something that managed to escape everyone's attention until barely before the Berlin Wall came down.

It was during those tumultuous months that Ash, a fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford, caught the attention of an American readership through articles that were at once journalistic and scholarly in the *New York Review of Books* and through three books on Central and Eastern Europe. Now, the author has produced a more conventional work of history, one that will be essential for anyone trying to make sense of Europe in the last three decades. Eventually it will be supplemented by histories that will have more memoirs and documents as primary

source material, but for now it is the epic work of a most important era in European history.

From Adenauer through Brandt and Schmidt to Genscher and Kohl, this work captures the various turns of West German policy and the



basic premises on which it rested. It is at once descriptive and analytical, historical and reportorial. It very sharply places the actions of these modern politicians in the much broader sweep of German geography and history and psychology. Though it certainly gives due weight to the roles of Bonn's Western allies, its focus, like the author's primary interest, is to the East.

Ash is particularly effective in drawing lessons without overdrawing on them, for instance his observation that Yalta ended and Ostpolitik began the day the Berlin Wall went up (August 13, 1961) and the conclusions then West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt drew from the halting response of the United States and the Western allies.

The author's strongest criticisms are directed at Brandt's heirs in the Social Democratic Party (who in part reflected the more leftist and pacifist bent of the aging ex-Chancellor) and of the policies of Bonn governments in the 1980s that were more

concerned about reassuring the East German government than in focusing on its totalitarian nature. Reassurance from the West was supposed to bring relaxation in the East (an updated version of the Prague Spring of 1968 was the hope) and corresponding benefits to those Germans stuck behind the wall. The reality was that reassurance (and financial help) did nothing to loosen the screws or those governments' grip on power. In the 1980s, there were far more complaints from the West German left about human rights in El Salvador than human rights in East Berlin, Prague, or Warsaw. And West Germans of all political persuasions viewed the growth of Solidarity in Poland more as a threat to the European order than as an opportunity to expand liberty and pluralism.

Ash deals most harshly with his fellow intellectuals in West Germany—writers, journalists, scholars—whom he accuses of failing to maintain their intellectual independence. Playing off of Vaclav Havel's admonition to "live in truth," Ash says the West German intellectuals worked in half-truth, became participants in policy, and allowed their analyses to be colored by the hopes and expectations of policy makers. They could and should have known how economically weak the East German regime had become, Ash argues. It will be interesting to see how these very same intellectuals respond when they review the German translation of this book.

In contrast, the Soviet leadership shed whatever illusions it had about its German allies far earlier. According to Ash, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze anticipated German unification as early as 1986 and the Soviet leadership knew that their version of Eastern Europe was finished by the June 1989

elections in Poland.

As Ash puts it: "If anything, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze and their closest advisors may have had a slightly more realistic idea of how quickly East Germany might collapse than Kohl, Genscher, and their colleagues in Bonn. Policy makers in Bonn had worked for so long with Soviet power in Central Europe as a fact almost of physical geography that to anticipate its collapse was almost like anticipating the dissolution of the Alps. Soviet policy makers, by contrast, shied from inside just how rotten the mountains were...."

Now that Germany is united, Ash argues that the most recent past may not be the most relevant guide in sorting out the future for Germany and Europe. For understanding what is next, we will have to go further back, before 1914 and before 1890. Until 1989, having strong alliances with both the United States and France, West Germany could place its policies within the context of NATO and the European Union and claim it was pursuing European policies. Now, both more independent and more powerful, a new Germany will have to establish priorities and make choices. Curiously, but powerfully, the author concludes Germany will be best off if it makes these choices by determining its own national interests and not to try to make national definitions of Europe's interests.

—Michael D. Mosettig

### Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha

By Roddy Doyle; Secker and Warburg; 282 pages; \$25

Roddy Doyle (no relation to the reviewer) is something of a phenomenon in Ireland. For one thing, he is hugely prolific. This is his fourth novel, and he also has a couple of plays to his credit.



Most Irish writers tend to work at a more sedate pace.

For another thing, he is hugely successful. Two of his books, *The Commitments* and *The Snapper* have been made into popular movies, and his latest book, the subject of this review, recently won the prestigious Booker Prize in London.

A third remarkable fact about Doyle is that all this success does not appear to have changed him. As they would say in Ireland, "He has not lost the rim of himself." He has not made a bid for international celebrity status. It was not until he won the Booker award that he decided to devote himself to a full time writing career, preferring to remain a school teacher in the working class district of Darndale in Dublin from which he drew the inspiration for his first three books.

With his latest book, he has now moved beyond the locus of the Barrytown Trilogy but not too far. Paddy

Clarke's Barrytown in only a marginal step upward from working to lower middle-class, and geographically it is separated by little more than a six foot wall from the project housing of the earlier books.

Nothing much happens in *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha*, though through whose pages the eponymous hero moves by way of a matter-of-fact chronicle of the everyday life of a 10 year old whose days are circumscribed by close-knit family, school, and games of football on the last piece of open space to survive the urban sprawl.

The book owes less to *Huckleberry Finn* than to *Call It Sleep*. And while it may not be as seminal a work as Henry Roth's classic account of life on the lower East Side of New York, it is nevertheless accurately evocative of its time (the late 1960s) and place (Dublin's outer suburbs.) Doyle's feel for the consciousness and language of a 10 year old is nearly fault-

less. Indeed the reader may forget that the author is well into his thirties (shades of Salinger's Holden Caulfield).

Despite the apparent parochial nature of the book, its Booker Prize clearly indicates that it has a more universal appeal, even though the Dublin juvenile argot employed must be very unfamiliar to most non-Irish (or even non-Dublin) readers. It is also more accessible than the earlier books, especially as readers are not obliged to penetrate the four-letter labyrinth of the Dublin teenage vernacular.

*Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha* is an interesting and adventurous new phase in Doyle's development as a writer. In the trilogy, he contented himself with fairly orthodox plots which were enlightened by the unique insights he gives us into Dublin working class life and the originality (at least for literature) of the language. Now he has abandoned plot, and has successfully attempted a more

psychologically-based and impressionable novel.

The book lacks the humorous thread of its predecessors, but it makes up for that through a technically more mature and creatively more imaginative treatment of his subject. It is a welcome addition to Doyle's oeuvre.

—Peter Doyle

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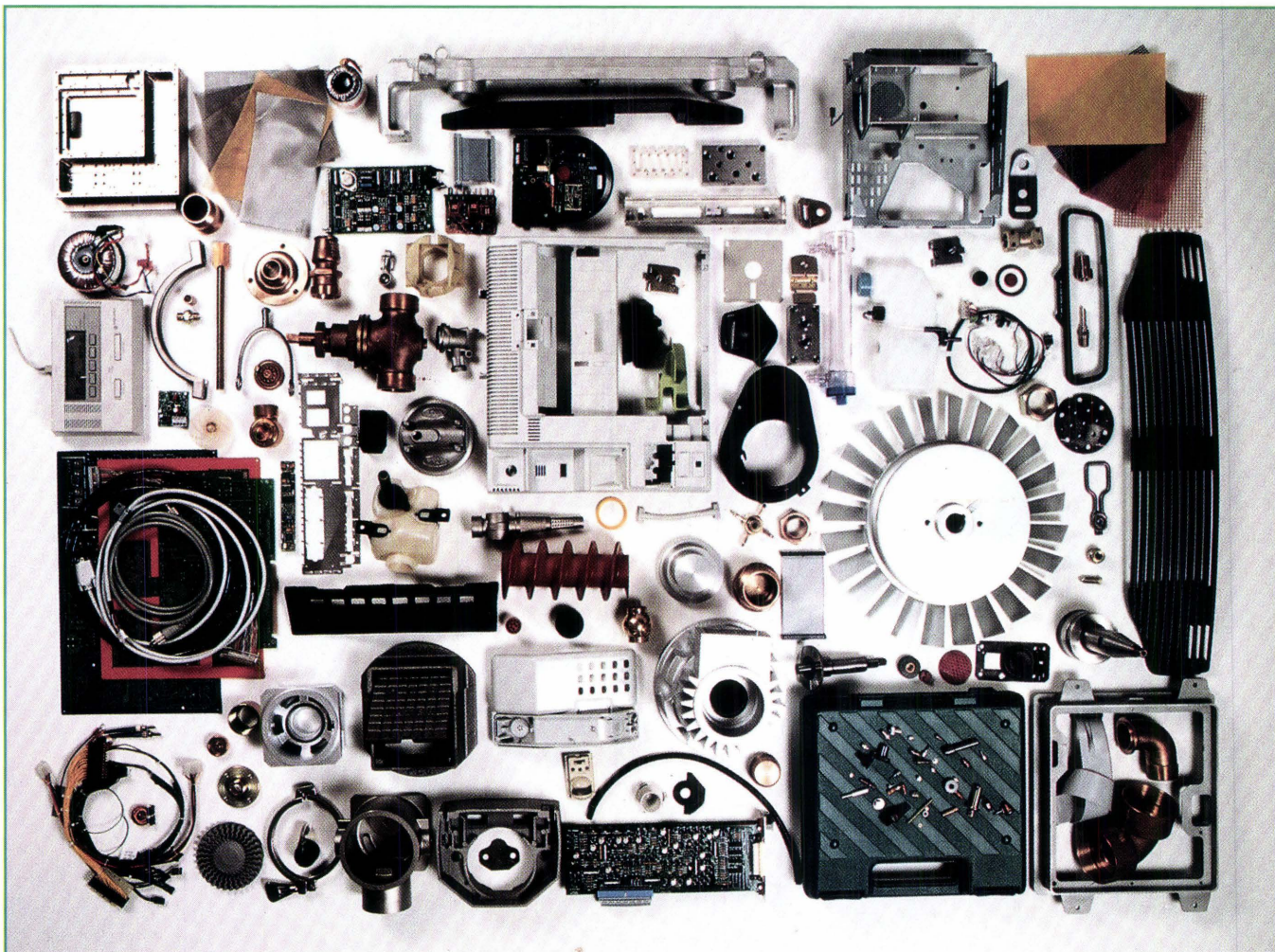
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