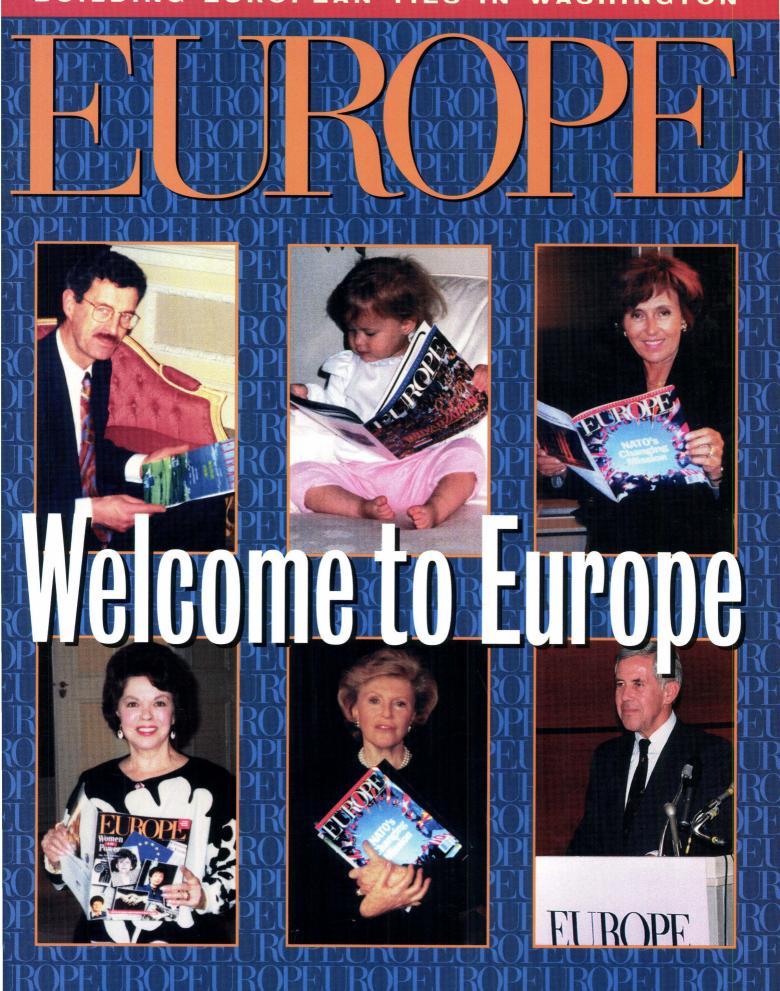
BUILDING EUROPEAN TIES IN WASHINGTON



Letter From the Editor

EUROPE, the official magazine of the European Union, began as a newsletter in 1954 when the European Commission then known as the European Community for Coal and Steel opened its first office in Washington, DC.

That small black and white newsletter has now grown into a 52-page color glossy magazine with more than 75,000 monthly readers in the United States. *EUROPE* is now sold on more than 500 newsstands across the United States.

As we celebrate more than 40 years of our publication—actually the first magazine called *EUROPE* was published in January, 1979—*EUROPE* is now available on various on-line databases, and we are beginning a joint venture with the television show, *European Journal*, which will be seen across the country on more than 300 PBS stations. *EUROPE* also hosts press breakfasts and luncheons, featuring US and Europe's leading policy-makers as our speakers.

As EUROPE magazine grows in size and stature—we have won numerous awards for our design and layout—our ability to generate news has also increased, from our interviews with President Bill Clinton and former EU Commission President Jacques Delors to CEO's of numerous European and American corporations. Excerpts from our articles are routinely quoted on television and other news sources around the world.

EUROPE is proud of our top-quality writers who contribute articles regularly from the 15 EU capitals. Many of our writers, including Reginald Dale of the International Herald Tribune and Leif Beck Fallesen, editor-in-chief of the Borsen in Copenhagen, have been with us for almost 20 years. And we continue to add new, dynamic writers to our magazine every month.

EUROPE has been fortunate to have had creative staffs throughout the last 40 years, including former publishers Andrew Mulligan, Denis Corboy, Benoit Liger, Giancarlo Chevallard, and Peter Doyle. Former editors of the magazine include Jurek Martin, Walter Nicklin, and Webster Martin. Today's staff, which includes myself, Anne Depigny, Peter Gwin, and Sue Burdin, always looks forward to our upcoming issues and enjoys hearing from our readers. Soren Sondergaard, the act-

ing publisher, is very supportive and is always looking for ways to make the magazine more "interactive."

As the European Union grows in economic importance, especially with the addition of Finland, Austria, and Sweden, we are enhancing our presence in the United States with new offices. The Washington delegation of the European Commission and *EUROPE* magazine can now be found at 2300 M Street, NW in Washington, DC.

For the first time in its history, the Washington Delegation of the European Commission proudly flies the EU flag outside its building. Now that it is so easy to find our offices, we invite all of our friends to stop by and see us so we can welcome you to EUROPE.

Robert & Guttman

—Robert J. Guttman, Editor-in-Chief

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TO THE ADDRESS, EXAMINENT.

TO THE ADDRESS,

The staff of EUROPE, left to right: Robert Guttman, Sue Burdin, Peter Gwin and Anne Depigny.





The first magazine called *EUROPE* was published in January, 1979.

On the cover (clockwise from top left): Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring, Margaret Guttman, European Commissioner Edith Cresson, US Senator Richard Lugar, US

> Ambassador to France Pamela Harriman, and former US Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Shirley Temple Black.

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Welcome to Europe

By Lucy Hood

verything old is new again," says the song, and so it seems when reading through the pages of the newsletter, *The Bulletin from the European Community for Coal and Steel*, which eventually developed into what today is *EUROPE* magazine.

The man who founded the newsletter in October 1954, Leonard Tennyson,

demonstrated that many of the issues of yesteryear have come full circle in an article he wrote in July 1973. He was referring to the end of the post-war era following World War II, but his words could have applied to today's post-cold war world.

"Today, a conventional label has not yet been found to describe the ambiguous, complex, and changing multi-power world of the 1970s," he wrote. "New conceptual frameworks are being sought by nations to contain policies for the new era. Among these is the search by the United States and old allies for a proper place...in the shaping of a new global policy."



The Bulletin started out as an eight-page newsletter, and it was designed to let Americans know that the effort to integrate Western Europe had not lost momentum despite a series of setbacks, particularly a vote by the French National Assembly to oppose the creation of a European Defense Community.

The Bulletin was a one-man operation for 12 years. Tennyson changed its name to European Community in the Spring of 1963, and he hired a managing editor, Kathleen Lynch, in 1966, the same year the format started to change. A single color, red, was added to the black and white standard. By the early part of 1968, a few more colors started appearing, a different one in each issue, and the layout developed into more of a magazine-like format.

Lynch said working on the publication during the earlier days "was really great....I had contact with all these people who had been there when history was being made, people who had been working with Jean Monnet."

Lynch put out *European Community* until 1972 when Mary Locke joined the staff for a short-lived stay. Walter Nicklin succeeded Locke in 1973. During this time, Tennyson continued to supervise the publication of *European Community* as director of the office of public affairs. He worked for the European Commission for a total of 20 years, until November 1974, when Andrew Mulligan took over his job as director of communications for the European Community's Washington Delegation.

At this point, the format became drastically different, Lynch said, but the substance of the magazine stayed basically the same, and it acquired a degree of autonomy that it had never had before. "At that time, because we had an Irish head of information, we got a lot less fine tooth combing of the articles from abroad," she said.

As Americans speaking for the Community, the scrutiny was more intense, Lynch said, and the thought seemed to trigger the memory of a mistake she made on her first issue. Lynch told of the time when she noticed a speck of dust on the publication's logo and she had it removed from the negative before the issue went to press. "It was West Berlin that I removed," she said, adding that the missing dust speck caused quite an uproar in Europe.

By the time Tennyson left, the Delegation itself had grown from his one-man operation in the early days to an entity with full diplomatic representation. Tennyson's trademark as the editor of the European Community's primary publication in the United States was a clear and concise writing style; his legacy, however, is of great historical value.

As Time Goes By

A look at some of the memorable events that occurred in Europe and the U.S. during the last 43 years.

1952

Gene Kelly stars in Singin' in the Rain. Hemingway publishes The Old Man and the Sea.

7/25 European Coal and Steel Community Inaugurated

11/4 Eisenhower elected president

1955

4/18 Albert Einstein dies

5/14 The Warsaw Pact is signed

11/30 James Dean is killed in car crash

1957

3/25 France, Italy, Germany,
Benelux sign Treaty of
Rome which forms the
European Economic
Community

5/15 Britain explodes its first atom bomb

1958

1/1 EEC begins

1/1 West German forces join NATO

7/6 Alaska becomes the 49th state

1962

Lawrence of Arabia wins
Academy Award for best picture;
Edward Albee's play Who's
Afraid of Virginia Woolf is a hit
on stage

Jan. John Glenn becomes first American in space

1/14 EEC agrees on Common Agricultural Policy

3/2 UK applies to join European Coal and Steel Community

1963 I

1/14 Britain's entry into the EEC blocked by De Gaulle

8/28 200,000 black and white civil rights supporters march in Washington



Dalmas/Sipa

and listen to Martin Luther King give his "I have a dream" speech

11/22 President John F. Kennedy is assassinated

1968

The American rock musical *Hair* opens on Broadway. Jean-Claude Killy wins three gold medals in downhill skiing competition at the winter Olympics.

- 1/5 Alexander Dubcek becomes Czech leader
- 5/10 Vietnam peace talks begin in Paris
- 6/5 Robert Kennedy assassinated



8/21 Soviets invade Czechoslovakia

1970

Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid is a box office hit.

- 5/4 Four US students killed at Kent State University in Ohio
- 11/9 De Gaulle dies

1972

1/22 Britain joins the EEC, in what British Prime Minister describes as "another great step forward toward the removal of divisions in Western Europe." Ireland and Denmark join at the same time.

- 2/17 President Nixon visits China and USSR
- 6/17 Watergate break-in takes place
- 8/26 20th Olympic Games open in Munich. Arab terrorists kill 11 Israeli athletes



FORTY YEARS OF EUROPEAN NEWS & ANALYSIS



In addition to marking the pace of European integration, Tennyson's publications also marked the pace of history worldwide. "Europe Pays Tribute to Late President Kennedy," read the headline on the front of the November-December 1963 issue of *The Bulletin*.

The oil crisis of the early 1970s was treated, in part, with humor. Thoughtful stories on the oil crisis were accompanied by cartoons. One that was picked up from the Indian Express in New Delhi depicted two Arabs sitting and talking. One is saying to the other, "What a responsibility, having to

develop the developing nations and underdevelop the developed ones!"

Future issues would contain, for example, a cover story on wine, entitled "Wrath of Grapes." Another on the status of telecommunications in the Summer of 1976 says, "For Whom Ma Bell Tolls." In the story, writer Christopher Lorenz of the *Financial Times* compares the European phone system to the more developed and efficient one in the United States.

By 1976, when Lorenz's "Ma Bell" story was published, the *European Community* had entered a new era. Over the years it had gradually emerged from its newsletter format to that of a magazine, and in 1976, the final touch was added. It went glossy, taking on much the same appearance that it maintains today as *EUROPE*.

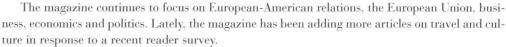
The January/February 1979 issue of the magazine was the first one called *EUROPE*. The cover featured President Jimmy Carter and EC Commission President Roy Jenkins.

As Walter Nicklin, *EUROPE's* editor at that time, said, "changing the name from *European Community* to *EUROPE* not only demonstrated our independence but also allowed us to reach out to a broader audience. As the editorial product improved, circulation grew, particularly in the business audience. As evidenced by direct mail tests, my hunch that there was indeed a demand for a quality European magazine proved correct."

Nicklin left to start his own magazine in 1981, and Jurek Martin, presently the Washington bureau chief for the *Financial Times*, took over the editor-in-chief position for a brief period. Webster Martin, who had been the magazine's advertising director, became the new editor-in-chief in the early 1980s. As Roy Denman, the former head of the delegation in Washington, stated, "Webster did a magnificent job with the magazine. He was a man of wit and wisdom who sensed the sort of issue which would interest an American audience about an emerging Europe. And he had an uncanny sense of knowing the kind of journalist to go to write an article on these lines. With a charm that could lure birds from trees, he knew how to persuade them to deliver their copy on time."

Robert Guttman, the present editor-in-chief of *EUROPE*, came on board on November 15, 1989. Guttman, who had started and run his own successful publishing firm for more than 10 years, has geared the magazine more to a business audience. "We began to include lengthier articles on successful European businesses with profiles and interviews with their CEOs. We also changed the format of the magazine adding more color and more features to appeal to people across the United States."

Guttman also points out that "EUROPE began to focus on Central Europe, Russia, and the former Soviet republics as interest grew in these areas after the collapse of communism."



As the first issue of *EUROPE* stated in 1979, "Editorially, the magazine will remain essentially the same—as a forum for discussion of European and Atlantic issues."

Today, *EUROPE* magazine continues to uphold that standard as a highly regarded "forum for discussion" on the important, timely and timeless issues facing the United States and Europe.

Lucy Hood is a freelance writer in Washington, DC.



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BUILDING EUROPEAN TIES IN WASHINGTON

Europe's US Delegation

BY MICHAEL D. MOSSETIG

or those who regard history as a sometimes circular process, the story of the European Delegation's Washington office does offer some timely justification.

The office, recently moved into its fourth set of quarters, was originally established in 1954, when the Republicans last controlled both houses of Congress. And its first serious trade dispute with the United States government put it up against the political clout of Arkansas chicken farmers.

But the fortieth anniversary of the office, coinciding with yet another move, is also a reminder of how much has changed. When the office was opened, Dwight D. Eisenhower was president of the United States and Richard M. Nixon his vice president. John F. Kennedy was a junior senator from Massachusetts and Lyndon B. Johnson the Democratic leader of the Senate. Winston Churchill was serving his last months as prime minister of Britain. Charles de Gaulle was in political exile at Colombey-les-deux-Eglises, and the French were extricating themselves from a place called Vietnam. The US Supreme Court had just handed down its revolutionary desegregation decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*. Jimmy Carter was a navy officer; Ronald Reagan was in Hollywood; George Bush was in the oil business in west Texas; and Bill Clinton was in grade school. The Dodgers were still playing baseball in Brooklyn, and a team called the Washington Senators was playing the same game with far less talent at Griffith Stadium at 7th St. and Florida Avenue.

The Washington office opened with two Americans occupying two rooms. It operates now as an established diplomatic mission (minus such functions as consular or military affairs that attach to a standard embassy) with a mostly European staff of more than 80. But over the 40 years it has performed the same two basic tasks: representational in official Washington and informational in Washington and the rest of the United States. (A New York office was established in 1964, and is now representational also at the United Nations.)

The creation of the Washington office owes much to two men who are now historical figures, Jean Monnet, considered the founder of modern federal Europe and the first president of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, and George Ball, who became a top-ranking State Department official in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

According to Leonard Tennyson, the man who actually established the office in 1954 and ran its information services for the next 20 years, Monnet hit upon the idea of a Washington representation

in response to a political setback in Europe. The European Defense Community was being killed off by the French Parliament, Tennyson said in an interview, and Monnet grew concerned that official Washington would think Europe was losing its ardor for integration, which was then in institutional form in the European Coal and Steel Community. The result was that Monnet called on the Coal and Steel Community's American lawyer, George Ball, to set up an office in Washington to remind the Eisenhower administration and Congress that the one Community was going strong even if the Defense Community idea had run aground.

Ball, who worked out of the offices of Cleary and Gottlieb, at the old Southern Building on Fifteenth Street, NW, recruited Tennyson, a former newspaperman and Marshall Plan official. Like any other American working on behalf of a foreign govern-



1973

Woodward and Bernstein win Pulitzer Prize for Watergate investigation.

- 1/1 United Kingdom,
 Denmark, and Ireland
 now full members of EEC
- 1/27 Vietnam peace treaty signed in Paris

1976

Alex Haley's novel *Roots*.

Martin Scorcese's film *Taxi Driver*.

- 5/6 Concorde makes first commercial transatlantic flight
- 11/2 Jimmy Carter is elected president, becoming the first southern president since before the Civil War

1979

- 5/4 Margaret Thatcher elected prime minister of Britain
- 6/2 First direct elections for the European Parliament
- 11/4 Khomeini supporters
 occupy US embassy, taking the staff hostage and
 threaten to kill them
 unless the Shah is extradited from the United
 States to Iran
- 12/27 Soviet troops invade Afghanistan to support new pro-Soviet regime

1980

- 11/4 Ronald Reagan elected president
- 12/8 John Lennon is fatally shot in New York

1981

Steven Spielberg's Raiders of the Lost Ark. Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical Cats.

- 1/1 Greece joins the EEC
- 1/20 US hostages are released from Iran after 444 days in captivity
- 3/30 President Reagan is shot
- 5/10 François Mitterrand elected French president
- 5/13 Pope John Paul II is shot
- 7/29 Prince Charles and Lady Diana marry
- 10/6 Egyptian President
 Sadat is assassinated
 in Cairo

1984

Roland Joffe's film *The Killing Fields*. Milos Forman's film *Amadeus*

- 7/28 Olympic games open in LA
- 8/5 Actor Richard Burton dies
- 11/6 Reagan is reelected president

1985

- 3/10 Gorbachev becomes leader of the U.S.S.R.
- 3/29 Spain and Portugal to join the EEC
- 7/7 German Boris Becker, 17, becomes youngest person to win men's singles at Wimbledon



1988

- 5/31 Reagan and Gorbachev sign the INF treaty in Moscow
- 9/17 24th Olympic Games open in Seoul
- 11/11 George Bush elected president
- 12/22 Pan Am flight explodes over Scotland, killing 270

1989

11/9 Berlin Wall opened Collapse of Communism across Eastern Europe

1990

David Lynch's film *Wild at Heart*. Graham Greene, Margot Fonteyn and Martha Graham die.

- 2/11 Nelson Mandela is released
- 4/17 International conference on global warming held in Rio de Janeiro
- 8/2 Iraq invades Kuwait
- 8/8 Britain joins European exchange rate mechanism



BUILDING EUROPEAN TIES IN WASHINGTON

ment then or now, Tennyson had to register with the Justice Department as a foreign agent. The office was set up next to Clearly and Gottlieb, reflecting a symbiosis between Ball and the European movement that strongly influenced American policy through the Johnson administration.

The point that Tennyson and other early veterans of the office make is that during that time and through the 1960s they were pushing a usually open door. Monnet had known Secretary of State John Foster Dulles since the League of Nations and President Eisenhower since World War II. He

had similar Oval Office access with President Kennedy, though they were hardly contemporaries. More importantly, Ball was in the State Department and for much of the time in charge of European policy.

"The European movement was infused with great ideals," said Ted Van Dyk, who joined the office in 1962 and then went on to become a top aide to Vice President Hubert Humphrey and who is now a Washington consultant. "People in the (Kennedy) administration treated us as part of the family," he said.

In the early years, the Washington office was a much different kind of bureaucracy than it has since become. "Free-wheeling" was the word that came out most in describing the early office, a group of Americans who were used to operating without hierarchy and an ocean removed from their ostensible supervisors, first in Luxembourg and then in Brussels.

Growth was inevitable. The small offices at the Southern Building were exchanged in early 1963 for several suites at the Farragut Building on Farragut Square. It was from there on November 25 of that year, recalled Ella Krucoff (who joined in 1962 and who is now the longest serving veteran), that the delegation staff watched the funeral procession of President Kennedy pass by on its way from the White House to St. Matthew's Cathedral.

According to Tennyson, the process of Europeanization accelerated after the original community of six was expanded by three (Britain, Ireland, Denmark) in 1973. For many years, he said, the French had resisted turning the office into a diplomatic post, a reflection of Gaullist opposition to any governmental trappings for Brussels institutions. He said the British particularly wondered why an American was running the information office. Tennyson retired, to be replaced as the head of information by two Irish journalists, first Andrew Mulligan and then Denis Corboy. Giancarlo Chevellard, an Italian, replaced Corboy, but the Irish trend was continued with his successor, Peter Doyle.

By the time the Europeans started arriving in big numbers, the Delegation had moved to 2100 M Street, NW, following the progression of many Washington offices from the old downtown to further north and west of the White House. It had also taken on more diplomatic rank. In order to assure that its representative be addressed as Ambassador, the Community appointed a man already with that title—Italian diplomat Aldo Mario Mazio—as delegation head in 1971. He was followed years later by Jens Otto Krag, a former Danish prime minister. The delegation head presented his formal credentials to the State Department, rather than to the President, until the arrival of the current delegation head Andreas van Agt, a former prime minister of the Netherlands, in 1990.

The first Community functionary to head the delegation was Fernand Spaak, who brought not only the name of his famous father (Paul Henri Spaak, a Belgian statesman and founder of the European movement) but his own political skills to a job that would increasingly become defined as both an inside and out-

side Washington post.

According to James Talbot, a former information official and now a lawyer, Spaak visited 47 states, bringing the message of the Community to Rotary and Kiwanis clubs as well as weightier gatherings.

"He would go into one of these places," Talbot said, "in an elegant French suit, speaking with an accent out of a 1930s movie, sit through a terrible meal, and yet manage to achieve considerable rapport with his audience.



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BUILDING EUROPEAN TIES IN WASHINGTON

"These people did not know much about the Community, but you have to remember they were part of the World War II generation, and they had warm feelings about Europe. If you sent somebody out today, the audience would be a lot different," Talbot said.

Indeed, the audiences already were changing by the time Roland de Kergolay, a Community functionary from France, succeeded Spaak in 1976. As his personal assistant, Ronald Soriano recalled, "You could go to an event with Fresno (California) farmers, and they would have a lot of



information about the Common Agriculture Policy and hit you with tough, detailed questions." What De Kergorlay found surprising was that after a hard grilling, these same people would come up to him, slap him on the back, congratulate him on his speech, and invite him to the local hotel for a couple of beers.

De Kergorlay was succeeded in 1982 by another Community official, its chief trade negotiator, Sir Roy Denman. As Talbot recalled, Denman arrived in Washington already on a first name basis

"Free-wheeling" was the word that came out most in describing the early office.

with many Washington officials, especially anyone dealing with trade, which had been his specialty for decades. His tenure was marked by a particularly prickly series of trade disputes on issues from steel to pasta. But also like Spaak, and even more deeply read in American history and politics, he made a point of getting out of Washington and did manage to speak in all 50 states.

The appointment of Denman's successor Andreas van Agt merged two traditions—former politician and one time prime minister of the Netherlands but one who also had labored for the community as its delegation chief in Tokyo. His ambassadorship has traversed a period of increasingly complicated relations between an expanding and deepening post—cold war European Union and the United States on everything from the Uruguay Trade Round to the ramifications of the single market and Maastricht.

It has also been a period characterized by increasing candor, a far cry from the more rapturous transatlantic relations of the immediate post–World War II years but perhaps inevitable as new generations come to power. The candor of the current relationship was perhaps best reflected in a speech van Agt gave to a recent US-European journalists' conference. The onetime Dutch justice minister and obvious friend and admirer of the United States gave his personal yet anguished appraisal of an American society beset with violence and guns and a prison population that now totals more than 1 million people.

It's hard, if not impossible, to imagine either Jean Monnet or Leonard Tennyson delivering such a speech to an American audience. But then again, they held sway when the United States was at its most self-confident and outward looking and less consumed with its own social and economic problems.

In that respect, history has not been a circular process. Nor will it likely be in coming years. The EU Delegation's Washington office will represent an expanding Europe that seeks and presumes to deal as an equal with the United States government. What remains to be seen for the future inhabitants of that office is how Washington will respond to the evolution of a partnership that simultaneously binds both sides more closely but seems to set both free to pursue and voice more frankly their particular concerns and interests.

Michael D. Mosettig is senior producer for foreign affairs and defense at the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour.

- 10/15 Gorbachev receives
 Nobel peace prize
- 11/22 Margaret Thatcher resigns and is succeeded by John Major
- 12/22 Former dissident Lech Walesa takes office as president of Poland

1991

- 1/16 Operation Desert Storm begins
- 6/13 Boris Yeltsin becomes Russia's first directly elected president



- 9/5 Baltic republics granted autonomy
- 12/25 Gorbachev resigns as the president of the USSR; End of USSR

1994 I

- 4/15 GATT signed
- 4/27 South Africans elect Nelson Mandela president
- 4/22 Richard Nixon dies
- 5/19 Jaqueline Kennedy Onassis dies
- 7/15 Jacques Santer chosen to succeed Jacques Delors as president of the European Commission

1995 I

- 1/1 Sweden, Finland and Austria join the European Union
- 1/17 Jacques Santer takes office as president of the European Commission
- 4/10 Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole announces his candidacy for president
- 4/19 Oklahoma City bombing
- 5/7 Jacques Chirac elected president of France
- -compiled by Lucy Hood

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