

PASTOR GENERAL'S REPORT

TO THE MINISTRY OF THE
WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD



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FROM MINISTERIAL SERVICES

International News

From the French Department This year marks the twentieth year since La PURE VERITE was first published. In June 1963, it went to 4,258 subscribers. Presently it is being sent to 150,180 subscribers around the world, and in addition 80,500 magazines are being placed on newsstands in Canada. The subscription list is renewed each year, with 30,000 receiving their renewal letter in November.

Even though 64% of La PURE VERITE is distributed outside of Europe, a three-month trial period has been set to have it printed in England. The English, German, Dutch, Italian (and soon to be Norwegian) editions of The PLAIN TRUTH are already printed at Alabaster Passmore's Ambassador Press in Radlett, England. Preliminary studies made by our Publishing Department and by the printers seem to indicate that appreciable savings can be made by this switch.

The year-to-date income through October, 1983 has increased 26.8% over the corresponding ten-month period in 1982. This figure is the combined income for French Canada, Haiti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Belgium, France, Switzerland and French Cameroon. Through October 1983, the total number of donors has increased 61% over the same period in 1982.

God has opened additional opportunities for us to expand our PV distribution in Montreal, Sherbrooke and Moncton, in Canada. We have just received permission to distribute La PURE VERITE at 50 newsstands scattered throughout the north of Montreal and 27 in the south. The door has also opened to us to place our first newsstand rack in the city of Sherbrooke to distribute The PLAIN TRUTH and La PURE VERITE at the central bus station.

A new French broadcast has been added on Radio CJVA in Caraquet-Gloucester, New Brunswick on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 9:00 p.m., and Sundays at 10:15 a.m.

For the third consecutive year, Swiss TV has offered us free time for a sixteen-minute program about La MONDE A VENIR. With the help of the television department in Pasadena, Mr. Apartian prepared a powerful program warning the Swiss that they cannot expect to sit on the sidelines and avoid the consequences of World War III. Inserts of Mr. Armstrong's Rotary Club speech in Athens were also used.

From Canada we received the following letter about a miraculous healing of a three-year-old daughter of a member living in Trios-Rivieres. "Our little Evelyne was enjoying herself playing on a large slide. Climbing to the top of the slide, Evelyne lost her footing and fell about ten feet on her head. She didn't move at all and at first we thought that her neck was broken, and she had been killed instantly. Happily, after about 20 eter-

nally long seconds, Evelyne started to cry. We immediately telephoned for an anointed cloth and took her to an emergency hospital. After examination and X-rays, the doctors were astonished with the results! They told us that Evelyne was completely uninjured except for some light scratches. She even left the hospital running. We give God thanks."

Comments From Monthly Church Reports

From the United States

BOISE, ID--JEFF MCGOWAN: As Mr. Armstrong said some time ago, God has really left some good ministers who are really striving hard to serve God and His people to prepare them for Jesus Christ's return. All of the brethren, it appears, who attended the Feast were really inspired to serve God more effectively.

The problems in the family appear to be ever more serious. However, as Satan challenges, God provides the power and the information to meet and conquer the challenge, and the people are better off and stronger than ever for what God is doing in people's lives. Truly, by the success people are having with their family problems, "Elijah" has come and God is backing his ministry with awesome power.

CAMBRIDGE, OH/WHEELING, WV--R. SHORTY FUESSEL: It seems as though the Church here is experiencing an attitude of reevaluation. Over the past few months counselings have centered around people's desire to improve their lives and conform even more than ever to God's form of government as we are being taught. This attitude seems to be sobering most of the brethren and humbling them, thus allowing God to increasingly influence their lives. We are trying to teach the people to start using spiritual tools to overcome their spiritual problems rather than using their own resources. So far many are catching on and the Church as a whole is really showing increased fruit.

PORTLAND-BANGOR, ME--LEONARD HOLLADAY: We have had an unusually high number of requests for anointings since the Feast. The reasons vary: some are injured, others sick with the flu or a variety of maladies. It has been the kind of thing that draws the brethren closer to one another. More and more they are asking about each other and praying for one another. Lately I have been contacted by five individuals that I had disfellowshipped or listed as nonmembers who are seriously trying to do what is necessary to again be a part of the Church. God has tried them and they realize where they need to be. Everywhere I go people tell me that time is short and ask, "What must I do?"

ROANOKE, VA--ROBERT PERSKY: PM activity is slowly but steadily rising. Trials among the brethren also are increasing, but they are repenting and overcoming. They know the coming of Christ is near.

ALAMOSA, CO--GARY PENDERGRAFT: Mr. Waterhouse's Bible study helped this area particularly because a number of people (seven to be exact) are counseling for or considering baptism. It

helped wake them up to the fact that this is for real! His study also helped all the rest of us to focus on our part in the worldwide work of God's Church. Thank you very much for sending him and other guest speakers to our area.

CHARLOTTE, NC--GEORGE PINCKNEY: For the past year I have required our Y.O.U. members to complete the "Teen Bible Study" in YOUTH 83 as a monthly assignment for the Y.O.U. Bible study. I feel the material presented in each issue provides excellent instruction and Biblical training for our young people, and has been well received by them. We are thankful for this additional excellent tool we can use in educating the youth in God's Church.

NORFOLK, VA--EDWARD FAULK: The brethren and new PMS are thrilled and amazed with the response they get from the WATS line operators. Their requests are handled in a very professional manner. The response from Mail Receiving is also very fast and efficient. I can also thank the crew in Ministerial Services for the way they handle all the local paperwork from this area. So far they have been 100% perfect!

From the Philippines

DAVAO CITY--BIEN MACARAEG: It is always encouraging to witness the effect of increased media coverage. I was mailing a package at the LBC Air Cargo office last month when two of their staff saw the name "Worldwide Church of God." They struck up a conversation. It turned out they both have finished 12 lessons of the Bible correspondence course and one is subscribing to The GOOD NEWS. They both have high regard for the Church.

I went to a government office a few weeks ago and saw at the guard's desk what seemed to my eyes as familiar literature. Upon closer look, I noticed it to be Lesson 2!

Last week I was having our "Request for Excused Absence" form xeroxed, and when they saw the name "Worldwide Church of God," they asked whether that was the one airing "The WORLD TOMORROW" telecast. One of the men there mentioned how the owner watches the program every Saturday morning since that was his favorite program. He won't come down for breakfast until he has finished watching the program!

Violence and crime, however, seem to be on the upsurge here--probably due to the difficult economic situation. One morning early this month while on my way visiting, I saw a man sprawled beside the Diversion Highway, two kilometers from Buhangin. I stopped to help thinking it was a vehicular accident, but I soon learned that the man was dead. He had bruises, ice pick stabs and gunshot wounds. His two companions were also murdered and dumped in the garbage nearby.

Snatchings are also becoming more common. My wife had her bag snatched from the Suzuki. I also witnessed boys snatching magazines from a newsstand rack to sell them later.

CAGAYAN DE ORO CITY--EDMOND MACARAEG: Right after the Feast of Tabernacles, there was an influx of new prospective members who have never attended before. Even family members who have not attended before, e.g. teen-agers, have begun attending. There is also an increase in requests for baptism.

QUEZON CITY--REY TANIAJURA: We have a very good increase in the number of people requesting visits for the first time, as well as people asking where they can attend Sabbath services. It looks like these people's interest in the Church was generated by "The WORLD TOMORROW" program.

SAN FERNANDO--ROBERTO GOPEZ: I counseled with a prospective member whose case is another example of the strange ways God directs people to His Church. Prior to his first Sabbath attendance, this man had been very anxious to observe the Sabbath with God's people. But he did not know that there is a Church here. So he observed the Sabbath in his home. One Sabbath as he was walking by the hall where the local Church meets, he heard somebody preaching. He stopped and listened. He became aware then that what he was hearing was familiar to him because of The PLAIN TRUTH magazine and the booklets he had requested from the Worldwide Church of God. The following Sabbath he returned to the hall and is now attending Sabbath services regularly.

--Joe Tkach, Ministerial Services

AMBASSADOR COLLEGE UPDATE

(Pasadena campus)

I hope you ministers and your families all had a joyous and profitable Thanksgiving. Most of the students were invited into the homes of local members. A few of them spent Thanksgiving at Camp River Glen in the mountains near Pasadena. Apparently all had a good time. It is very good to see the normal activity of classes, clubs and other extra-curricular activities going on here on campus. Except for a few minor problems, everything continues running very smoothly in the College.

I have recently had several budget discussions with various department heads in the College. We have to finalize the College budget in the near future before we present it to the Treasurer, Mr. Neff, and his staff. Other departments here at Headquarters are also going over their budgets at this time. I hope and pray that God will guide all of us at Ambassador, and in the other departments of God's Church, to do a very conscientious job as we plan our 1984 budgets.

We have now sent out approximately 1,145 applications to prospective students, and have received about 60 completed ones back so far. We have had fewer requests for application forms this year than the previous year. But it looks as though we have some very good applicants applying to enter Ambassador for the 1984-85 college year.

Once again, I ask your continued prayers for all of us charged with the serious responsibility of educating and training the young people whom God sends to Ambassador. We need your prayers that we may be enabled to do an

even better job of equipping these young people to go out and become real successes both in the Church, and in their future jobs.

--Raymond F. McNair, Deputy Chancellor

PUBLISHING SERVICES UPDATE

PLAIN TRUTH Display Island Distribution

Distribution of The PLAIN TRUTH has been extremely effective through lighted display islands located in major commuter stations and airports throughout the United States.

Following is a listing of all of the outlets in our Display Island Program with the monthly distribution of PLAIN TRUTHS also listed. The total quantity being distributed through airports is approximately twice what we had anticipated and is a measure of the effectiveness of this program.

THE PLAIN TRUTH AIRPORT DISPLAY ISLANDS PROGRAM

<u>Airport</u>	<u>Number Displays</u>	<u>Actual Mags/Month</u>
Boston -- Logan International Airport	3	4,000
Buffalo -- International Airport	1	3,200
Chicago -- O'Hare Airport	2	1,000
Cleveland -- Hopkins	2	1,200
Dallas/Ft. Worth -- International Airport	4	10,000
Dayton -- International Airport	1	2,300
Daytona Beach/Orlando -- Regional Airport	1	2,400
Detroit -- International Airport	2	6,000
Ft. Lauderdale -- International Airport	1	1,500
Greenville-Spartanburg Airport	1	350
Indianapolis -- International Airport	1	500
Memphis -- Regional Airport	2	2,000
Meriden -- Bradley International	1	1,200
Miami -- International Airport	1	3,000
Milwaukee -- Gen. Mitchell Field	1	1,800
Nashville -- Metropolitan	1	800
New York -- JFK Airport	3	3,800
Philadelphia -- International Airport	4	2,000
Pittsburgh -- International Airport	1	2,000
Portland -- International Airport	1	2,100
Raleigh-Durham -- Airport	1	800
Richmond -- Municipal Airport	1	200
St. Louis -- Lambert Airport	2	4,600
Seattle -- International Airport	4	7,000
Toledo Express Airport	1	1,800
Washington, DC -- Dulles	1	1,500
Washington, DC -- National	1	<u>3,000</u>

Total quantity per month 70,050

THE PLAIN TRUTH
COMMUTER STATION DISPLAY ISLANDS PROGRAM

<u>Commuter Station</u>	<u>Number Displays</u>	<u>Actual Mags/Month</u>
Chicago -- ICG Station	1	3,800
Chicago -- L Station	2	6,000
Chicago -- Northwestern Station	1	2,000
Chicago -- Union Station	1	4,200
New York -- Bus Terminal	1	6,400
New York -- Grand Central	1	9,000
New York -- Penn Station	1	13,800
New York -- World Trade Center	1	5,400
Philadelphia -- Penn Station	1	3,000
Philadelphia -- 30th St. Station	1	<u>3,000</u>
Total quantity per month		<u>56,600</u>
GRAND TOTAL DISPLAY ISLANDS PROGRAM (Commuter Stations & Airports)		<u>126,650</u>

Mr. Robert Fahey, associate pastor with Mr. Frank McCrady, Jr. of the Manhattan, White Plains, and Long Island churches, related to us a story regarding our distribution in New York.

Thousands of magazines are being distributed each month through four lighted display islands in New York, including Grand Central, Penn Station, the World Trade Center, and the Port Authority Bus Terminal. Presently, we ship 108 cartons to Transportation Displays, Inc. each month for dispersion to these four display outlets.

Recently, Mr. Fahey called to confirm the number of cartons going to each location. His contact at TDI had just spoken to his distribution coordinator who confirmed that 107 boxes had been distributed during the past month. Mr. Fahey's contact then mentioned that he thought 108 boxes had been shipped. The distribution coordinator confirmed this, and informed our contact that one box of 200 magazines was being held back each month for distribution to employees of TDI. He said many enjoy reading new issues of The PLAIN TRUTH each month. Certainly the Gospel is being preached in many interesting ways today!

--Ray Wright, Publishing Services

UPDATE FROM MAIL PROCESSING

Semiannual Letter Off to a Good Start

Initial response to Mr. Armstrong's semiannual letter, now being sent to two million U.S. subscribers, is very good. The co-worker response stands at 14% for the first eleven days, one of the highest percentages since the late sixties.

A high response from co-workers generally indicates that regular subscribers will also respond favorably. Earnest prayers are needed to ensure worldwide success of the letter.

****** PLEASE READ IN ALL U.S. CHURCHES ******Donation Information for Income Tax Purposes

The end of the year is fast approaching and it will soon be time to file your income tax returns. With this in mind, the Mail Processing Center offers the following information for your consideration.

- Mail containing donations must be postmarked by December 31 to be eligible for a 1983 receipt.
- The annual receipts will be mailed out after January 20 and should reach you by the end of January or the first week in February.
- If a husband and wife give separate donations, each will receive separate annual donation receipts. If a joint tax return is being filed, they may at that time combine the total contributions.
- Please understand that donations credited to a child's record cannot legally be transferred to the parents' annual receipt and should not be deducted on the parents' tax returns.
- Canceled checks, money order receipts, and your annual receipt from Headquarters should be retained in your personal records. It is recommended that you keep this information for a period of five years to back up your tax returns.

If you have any questions concerning receipts, please feel free to contact us by letter or by using the WATS line during normal business hours (Monday through Friday, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Pacific Standard Time).

GOOD NEWS Articles Give Practical Help and Inspiration

An increasing number of members and co-workers are writing in, expressing their sincere appreciation for the "strong meat" The GOOD NEWS magazine is providing. "It keeps getting better and better" is a frequent comment. Recent articles on subjects such as the roles of wives and mothers, marriage, the Sabbath, and God's loving concern for us, have brought numerous letters of gratitude. Many readers are finding The GOOD NEWS to be timely, encouraging, and readily applicable to their lives, as the following comments show.

"Mothers and Homemakers--Biblical Heroines!"

Thank you, thank you, thank you, on behalf of all the women in God's Church for the series of articles for us in the October-

November issue. In this age of society's pressures, of women's lib and the downgrading of women's God-given role of homemaker, these articles are truly a breath of fresh air, giving new life and motivation to a job that can become stale, without much attention and nurturing. This you have provided for us. I pray all of us women can rise to the challenge and inspiration that you have set forth.

M.C. (Seattle, WA)

Having just finished reading "Mothers and Homemakers--Biblical Heroines!" I felt I must thank you for revealing the vital importance of the role of wife and mother.

Today's world is filled with those who believe being in the home is some form of cruel and unusual punishment to replace their true destiny--career, etc. You have most surely shown God's viewpoint in creating the role a woman plays in the family--and its critical need. May God inspire your female readers to see themselves in a new light of understanding; but perhaps even more importantly, may each man come to see what a precious treasure the woman God has entrusted to His care really is. Masked in what appears to be everyday routine and household chores lies a true heroine indeed.

Having been recently divorced by my wife of 12 years, my three children and I daily experience the crushing emptiness only a wife and mother can fill. It is my hope Mr. Earle's article will serve to help each family realize the great honor and responsibility God places on a woman's shoulders.

D.D. (Pocola, OK)

Thank you for the article supporting mothers and homemakers. It's so evident that there's a lack of true knowledge in this area of family living. The minds of women are being subtly injected with the Satanic poison that to be a homemaker and a mother is something to be ashamed of and that a career will provide the action and fulfillment they long for. Instead, the father, mother, and children are suffering the consequences of the breakdown of the family unit.

I'm a single woman who has worked in the business world for a number of years and I know personally how the human mind can be unconsciously brainwashed when it's constantly bombarded with the false values and pressures of society today. God's Holy Spirit and the inspired teaching of His ministers have helped me tremendously in seeing the right way to go.

L.S. (York, PA)

A big thank you to Mr. Earle for his GOOD NEWS article "Mothers and Homemakers--Biblical Heroines!" My husband read it aloud to our family and ended it with a big "three cheers for Mom!"

C.H. (Oroville, CA)

"Five Ways to Love Your Mate"

Your article in The GOOD NEWS saved our marriage. On a scale of one to ten our marriage was a minus two. My husband said he was

afraid to come home from work for fear I'd be gone. I assured him I wouldn't leave. I did want very badly to work things out, but how?

Then The GOOD NEWS arrived with Mr. William's very timely article. I am still thanking God for inspiring that article. It was such a shocking revelation to find that I had never known what real love is. The fact that we are in control and choose to love or not to was such a jolt. The scales fell from my eyes and I saw the clear and beautiful truth: "This love does not require the other person to change or be perfect. There are no conditions, no qualifications for the giving of agape."

This was the key to the problem. I wasn't accepting my husband as he was. I repented immediately and asked God's help. It has been a miracle! The change was immediate and we continue to grow stronger in our love and commitment to each other. I am so grateful!

A happy wife and mother

"How Much Does God Care for You?"

Thank you very much for the article on my importance to God. I had never looked at it this way. It really helped me to realize God is interested in me. It helps bring me closer to God. Thank you again, I really appreciate it and all the other articles the staff works on so hard for our edification and growth.

D.S. (Tacoma, WA)

I have been reading "Are You Being Called by God?" and "How Much Does God Care for You?" in The GOOD NEWS. By the time I was done I broke down and cried because I had realized how I was going about things the wrong way, and how I am a sinner. I asked God to forgive me of my ways, and the peace and joy I now have is too much to try to tell you. I am looking for the words to express it.

W.P. (Denver, CO)

"The Day of Atonement and Your Future"

I am writing to say thank you for the August GOOD NEWS article "The Day of Atonement and Your Future." This article was excellent in explaining the purpose of the Day of Atonement. After reading it I am so grateful that God is calling His true Church now and so grateful to be called at this time. I thank God for His true Church and also for inspiring the writers of these articles to give us the spiritual food He wants us to have.

M.T. (Joplin, MO)

Articles About the Sabbath

Just a note of appreciation for the outstanding articles on the Sabbath by Mr. Leroy Neff in the June-July and August issues of The GOOD NEWS. We in God's Church are so fortunate beyond our ability to even appreciate the way God is inspiring His ministers to teach us much-needed knowledge in these latter days. These

articles led me to such an in-depth study that it took over four hours to study the material in each one. By the way, it was a very thrilling study!

Thanks once again and keep up the good work! There is a desperate need for true knowledge of this kind all over the world.

R.G. (Marshfield, MO)

--Richard Rice, Mail Processing Center

ON THE WORLD SCENE

SPECIAL REPORT, PART I: A NEW ERA BEGINS IN EUROPE; THE "GERMAN QUESTION" EMERGES ONCE AGAIN

The last quarter of 1983 is turning out to be an historic milestone in the post-World War II politics of Europe. The nations of Western Europe are passing from one era into another. Fading away is Era Number One: The acceptance on the part of Europeans of America's leading role in military matters in the NATO alliance. Era Number Two is beginning, albeit on a political downslide, with doubts in Germany about NATO and fears about Germany's future role in Europe on the part of her neighbors. This presently confusing new era will conclude with the powers of Europe "getting their act together" in a final united effort to try to preserve Western civilization.

The catalyst for this change is the beginning implementation of the December, 1979 NATO decision to deploy new American-made intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The Europeans, specifically the West Germans and even more specifically then Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, asked for the new weapons to counter the rapid build-up of Soviet SS-20 missiles targeted on German and other European sites. He felt the new NATO weapons stationed on European soil would further "couple" America's strategic (intercontinental) arsenal to the defense of Europe. The Chancellor saw the new missiles as renewed evidence of a U.S. commitment to resort to nuclear weapons, if necessary, in the defense of Western Europe.

What seemed to be a good idea has backfired, in the eyes of many. Instead of cementing both sides of the Atlantic alliance together, the new missiles are proving to be highly divisive. This is especially true in West Germany. The Social Democratic Party (Mr. Schmidt's) now overwhelmingly rejects the deployment. Its supporters fear that the Pershing IIs and cruise missiles only guarantee that in any war, Germany is certain to be destroyed in a nuclear heap. Especially troubling, in their view, is that the Pershing IIs and cruise missiles, though positioned on West German soil, remain under the sole authority of the U.S. President.

Even supporters on the right believe that Germany must exert more control over its own destiny. Franz Josef Strauss (who may soon be in the Bonn parliament if Economics Minister Lambsdorff resigns over a current scandal) has publicly stated his desire that Germany should have a "second key" on the firing of the new weapons. This doesn't make Moscow happy.

The French are also deeply concerned over the deepening split in the Federal Republic over the missile issue. The ever-wary French detect signs of Germany distancing itself from NATO and America, possibly sliding into

an independent status in the very heart of Europe, returning to its historic Central European position.

An independent, even reunited, Germany possibly cooperating with Moscow sends shivers down the backs of French officials. For years the French have had the best of both worlds. Politically they have been a part of NATO. But in the 1960s, Charles de Gaulle withdrew France's military contribution. He instead built up an independent nuclear force (never can tell what those Germans might do). This has worked fine--as long as West Germany, situated between France and the Soviet bloc, remained firmly in NATO'S embrace. Even though Chancellor Kohl has said repeatedly that West Germany remains anchored to the West and will not be "a wanderer between both worlds," Paris is not so sure. It's a new and chancy ball game.

Here then are some background reports to this very important "new era" dawning in Europe. First is the account from the October 26, 1983 INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE:

BONN--...Fundamental changes are under way in the political makeup of the country [West Germany], which by its geographic position is the front line--or the bridge, as West German politicians prefer to put it--between the West and East blocs. Diplomats from Western countries agree that the West German national consensus on Western military strategy and on West Germany's role in the alliance is breaking down, probably irrevocably so....

Increasingly, West Germans point out that they have a greater concentration of nuclear weapons on their soil than any other country. They add that these weapons are under U.S. control and that they have no power over how the weapons will be used. It was Franz Josef Strauss, the conservative premier of Bavaria and staunch defender of NATO, who shocked Bonn a few weeks ago with a sudden suggestion that the West Germans should be given the "second key" to the nuclear weapons in their country....

The Central theme during the [October] peace marches was that West Germany would be the first country to be destroyed in a nuclear war. "The Thirty Years' War killed half of all Germans, so will the first thirty seconds of the next war," read one sign at the rally in Bonn on Saturday.

The Pershing IIs have caused many people in Germany, especially the young and college educated to question the post-war role of their country in the Western Alliance. Here is a report by Michael Binyon in the October 19 TIMES of London:

The missile debate...has coincided with a revival of German feeling, a belief, especially on the left and among the young, that it is time for the country to assert itself more, stand up to the Americans and follow policies it believes to be in its own interests even if Reagan's Washington does not. This feeling, crudely dubbed as left-wing nationalism though far removed from the old ideas of German nationalism, now has a dynamic of its own. It is beginning to sweep up in its wake people and politicians who have long subscribed to the Adenauer view of the

Federal Republic anchored in the western alliance and the main European pillar on which transatlantic friendship rests....

The Americans [are not being cast] in the role of protectors, but of occupiers. And the guilt-free generation, no longer burdened with the responsibility of fighting and losing a war, is beginning to resent the American presence. Its search for German roots and identity invariably collides with what is seen as the Americanization of German society--the obsessive materialism, the daily bombardment of the German language with English expressions, the whole postwar rebuilding of the Federal Republic in the American image.

German interests are thus seen mainly in distinction to those of the United States. And the contrast is made with East Germany. Despite its political servility to Moscow, visitors find with surprise it has remained more traditionally German, more Central European, in both sentiment and way of life.

Few people, even left-wingers, want their country to become like East Germany. But the dream of reunification--quietly dropped from the political vocabulary during the years of detente when it was seen as a stumbling block to closer relations with the East--has been revived, if changed. Now it is a dream as much of the left as it was of the right, only this time the left believes it is West Germany that must also change political direction, not just East Germany.

The argument thus moves towards neutralism--a distancing from NATO in order to give West Germany room to steer an independent policy, if possible deepening the dialogue with the Soviet Union. Such a development has of course long been a prime Soviet aim, and the Soviets are astute at using both sticks and carrots to entice West Germany to look East. But many Germans themselves recognize this as a familiar role in their history--more familiar, perhaps, than looking across the Atlantic--and one that is already beginning to bring results in contacts at all levels between East and West Germany....

The Bonn government, if it wants to restore any consensus in the increasingly polarized debate on security, German interests and the Atlantic alliance, will have to listen to the many voices speaking through the peace movement. That movement is already thinking about the next stage: the campaign to get the missiles taken away again, and with them perhaps some of the other weapons that foreign armies keep on German soil in both East and West.

Karl Kaiser, an SPD party intellectual and lonely defender of the traditional Schmidt line, has warned that the Social Democrats' new tack has aroused "consternation and apprehension" abroad and has reawakened "the specter of German unreliability" in international affairs. This is particularly true in France, which is almost neurotically sensitive to symptoms of neutralism in West Germany. Typical of the French sensitivity is the article "The 'German Question' Returns," in the October 31, 1983 NEWSWEEK, written by Pierre Lellouche, director of studies at the Institut Francais des Relations Internationales.

...The optimistic--or naive--strategists outside West Germany ...contend that once West Germany passes the psychological test of deploying the first nine Pershings, the rest will follow without any problem in 1984 and beyond.

But this rosy scenario may well prove to be as wrong as earlier forecasts. There is a basic flaw in this approach: It assumes that what is going on in West Germany is simply a question of missiles, a kind of anti-nuclear fever that will drop as quickly as it came.... What is really happening in West Germany is the re-emergence of the old "national question" nearly 40 years after the end of World War II.

If Germany is profoundly disturbed by the Pershings, it is because they are American weapons placed under the sole control of the President of the United States. That situation maintains Germany in the position of a defeated vassal state--a vassal state that continues to pay the price of its tragic mistakes of the 1930s by a painful division of the German nation between two blocs dominated by two rival superpowers. The Pershing missile palisade symbolizes the permanence of that division, perhaps even more than the Berlin Wall.

Many Germans quickly refute such an analysis. If there is one thing the Germans hate to discuss openly, even among themselves, it is their national identity problem. One former top official in the Schmidt government recently told me that the German "reunification" issue is "an obsession only in the minds of French Gaullists." But he quickly went on to say that "Germany is the only nation which has had to choose between peace and unity," and that "it cannot be expected to continue stockpiling forever thousands of nuclear weapons whose employment is in the hands of a foreign power."...

Like it or not, the Germans are gradually--and perhaps inevitably--breaking away from the postwar institutions that were supposed to take care of the "German problem" once and for all. NATO, which was conceived as a political device to "anchor" the western part of Germany firmly to the west as well as a military alliance against the Soviets, no longer does the trick. And the European Community has failed to channel German national aspirations into the "ersatz European nationalism" its founders envisioned some 25 years ago.

Again, the "German Question" is back on the table. Clearly, this issue, rather than the arithmetic of Pershing deployment, will be the more important question facing both the West--and the Soviet Union--in the future. Let us not fool ourselves. The missiles issue will not "go away" by the end of the year. It will be with us for many more months and years to come, simply because the Euromissiles battle is not a battle over hardware but over the fate of Germany, and with it, over the fate of Europe as a whole.

Shortly before he died on October 17, the renowned French political analyst Raymond Aron published his memoirs. In his last work he said, as reported in the October 24 INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE:

When I look ahead, I see little reason for optimism.... The United States has lost its military superiority. The Soviet Union is accumulating arms, first to intimidate but also to intervene if the occasion presents itself. In Europe, West Germany--which today more than ever is the keystone of the Atlantic alliance--seems shaken....

The pacifism of millions of West Germans limits their government's ability to make decisions: Is it a legitimate fear of horrible weapons or a rejection of the partition that the German people accept less and less willingly? Whether he is socialist or conservative, the chancellor in Bonn looks toward both the Eastern menace and the Western Protector. In which direction will he finally go?

French worries about a "wandering Germany" enticed by the Soviet Union is causing some leading personalities in Paris to broach a subject heretofore taboo: German participation in the nuclear defense of Europe in order to keep her tied to the West and give her more of a sense of control of her own destiny. Here is another report from the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, November 2, 1983, written by John Vinocur of the NEW YORK TIMES:

Seen in the most schematic terms, France does not want a West Germany whose guiding passion would be resolution of the German national question by accommodation with the Soviet Union. In the same way, France feels its own security would be in danger if West Germany deserted its traditional foreign policy guidelines of security within the Atlantic alliance and West European integration....

Sensing that a significant part of the West German political leadership has moved in a direction France cannot ignore, both French Socialists and the conservative opposition parties have been hunting for ways of anchoring West Germany to the Atlantic defense community. The French believe that more European defense cooperation would be effective in giving West Germany a sense of control over its own affairs, but they are confronted by the reality of having little to offer in terms of real security or widened perspectives.

The difficulty of the task was emphasized during a trip to West Germany by Jacques Chirac, the mayor of Paris and leader of the Gaullists. In talking about a European nuclear force, Mr. Chirac said, "You can't think of it without Germany participating in it directly at a level of responsibility, and you can't think that it's the French and the British who are going to assure nuclear deterrence in Europe." Although he later said he was quoted out of context, it sounded as if Mr. Chirac were advocating a nuclear role of some sort for West Germany, until now a virtual taboo.

In the publication FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE REVIEW, French analyst Jean-Francois Revel said, in an interview:

I think that Germany is now trying to sleepwalk into a state of subjugation and that France, in spite of its more aggressive

rhetoric, is doing the same thing. We Europeans need a very strong jolt to wake us up to the fact that we have about ten years before we must make a choice: either to become a part of the Soviet empire or to try to keep our independence.

Recently an address was delivered in Munich by the 78-year-old French philosopher-author Manes Sperber. He was this year's recipient of the German book trade's peace prize. Mr. Sperber is what might be called a cross-cultural European, born in 1905 in a part of the Austrian Empire, the son of a rabbi. He grew up in Vienna and fled to Paris in the early 1930s, where he has lived ever since. Therefore, he can be said to represent a concerned European view of current events. Significantly, Sperber's remarks were published in BAYERNKURIER, the weekly Bavarian political organ of Franz Josef Strauss' Christian Social Union.

As it [Europe] has become nondangerous itself [meaning not a threat to the world], so Europe today is nevertheless more endangered by far than ever before. Yes, this old Europe does not deserve to go under. It has ceased to be a colonial power, no conquests can tempt it anymore--this war-mad continent could finally become an exemplary peace power. There remains though a fact of inestimable importance: It shares the massive continent with a totalitarian Empire whose rulers consider their dictatorship as endangered, as long as it does not extend to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, yes, and if possible, over the whole earth....

Those who believe that Europe is today equally endangered by both the United States of America and the Soviet Empire are--in my eyes--blinded by aggressive ingratitude. On the other hand, it is true that Europe must entrust its protection only to its own strength and not to any superpower.

For a European of my generation, but also for those born later, there can be no doubt that Europe can save itself and, at the same time, its unequalled values if it is united into a federation. Instead of being the bone of contention between two superpowers, Europe itself must become a superpower, neither expansionist nor revengeful, but utterly determined through its own sufficiently strong defense forces to deter anyone who might feel emboldened to want to take possession of it because of its weakness and their own political predominance.

As Mr. Sperber indicates, the united European nuclear force which we know will come, will be intended to be a force for world peace--"an exemplary peace power" to use his words. It will arise out of a totally different set of conditions than Nazism in the 1930s which attempted to unite Europe by force of German arms.

(To be continued)

--Gene H. Hogberg, News Bureau