PASTOR GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE MINISTRY OF THE WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD



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FROM MINISTERIAL SERVICES

**** TO BE READ IN ALL CHURCHES ****

A Reminder Concerning the Festival Tithe

Preparations for the 1984 Feast of Tabernacles continue at a fast pace. Everyone at Headquarters is anticipating a tremendous Feast again this year! All of your plans should be made and your housing arrangements completed very soon.

We would like to remind those of you who have not sent in your tithe of the second tithe to do so as soon as possible. If anyone anticipates having any excess second tithe, this may also be submitted now. Be sure to indicate what portion is tithe of the tithe or excess second tithe if you mail it in with your regular tithes and offerings.

Sharing your second tithe in this way makes it possible for needy members to attend the Feast, as well as pay for auditorium rentals, operational expenses and member activities.

We appreciate your assistance in making this another successful Feast!

Questions and Answers

Question: May members give second tithe as holy day offerings?

Answer:

Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong has taught for over 40 years that the second tithe is to enable members to attend God's holy days--especially the Feast of Tabernacles. The second tithe is saved for that purpose--not as offerings for the Church. The Scriptures are very clear on this point (Deut. 14:22-27).

However, members may supplement their holy day offerings with second tithe provided they have first carefully planned to meet all their festival expenses, sent in their tithe of the tithe, and have shared a portion of their excess second tithe with less fortunate members by sending it to Headquarters for distribution or turning it in at the Feast site. Those who fulfill these prior obligations and still have second tithe left over may give it in addition to their regular holy day offerings (that is, above and beyond the amount already set aside for holy day offerings). Or, they may turn it in as excess second tithe.

**** TO BE READ IN ALL CHURCHES ****

Sick Children and Pregnant Women

Attending the Feast

Each year we find that a number of problems arise as a result of brethren taking sick children to the Feast of Tabernacles. We also receive questions about whether pregnant women should attend the Feast. Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong made the policy regarding both matters clear in a letter dated September 14, 1962. This policy still stands. Therefore, to help everyone understand what members in these situations should do, we have reprinted the following excerpt from Mr. Armstrong's letter.

Many members have been careless and inconsiderate by bringing sick children to the Festivals—and also to local church services on the Sabbath. Frequently children are brought with whooping cough, measles, mumps, flu, chicken pox and other contagious diseases. Other members' children have been exposed and come down with these diseases because of this. If your child has even been exposed within two weeks before coming, DON'T bring him.

If your child is sick, take care of him in a proper manner. But DO NOT, under any circumstances, bring such a child <u>UNTIL</u> you can actually <u>see</u> that he has been completely healed. When anointed, have FAITH-BELIEVE-but if God does give you a test of faith, DO NOT bring the child on the strength of that faith. Let him be HEALED on the strength of your faith, but don't bring him to any Church meeting or Festival until every physical symptom is gone, and the healing is complete. Moses expelled those with communicable diseases from the camp of Israel. We shall have to do likewise, in fairness to other children. If your child is taken ill with such a disease while at the Feast, counsel with a minister. Ask him whether the child must be isolated or taken home if you are in doubt.

In past years some pregnant women have journeyed to the Festival and had their baby delivered at the Festival. This is very DAN-GEROUS to such a woman and her unborn child.

Therefore, NO WOMAN who is to be as much as eight months along by the end of the Feast should attend.

ALSO, any woman just a few months along in pregnancy should be very <u>CAUTIOUS</u> about whether she attends the Feast at all! The period from two to five months pregnancy is the time when most miscarriages occur. The higher altitudes and colder climate at Squaw Valley [a Feast site in 1962] might be too much for some during this period. Big Sandy is oppressively hot, with sudden change in temperature if a "norther" should blow in. DON'T RISK MISCARRIAGE OF A PRECIOUS LIFE! <u>REMEMBER</u>, God does <u>not</u> lay the same stress on attendance of women as He does men. <u>USE</u> WISDOM! Check up with the doctor who is to deliver your baby.

If you have any special problem or question, check immediately with your minister.

New Assignments for the Philippines

After four years of service as Regional Director in the Philippines, Mr. Guy Ames will be returning to the United States around the end of this year. Mr. Ames has enjoyed and appreciated his assignment in the Manila office, as have over 1900 of God's people in the Philippines. But due to certain recurring health problems, he has asked to be relieved of the heavy load as Regional Director.

Mr. Armstrong has approved Mr. Dean Blackwell as the new Philippine Regional Director. Also, Mr. Armstrong has assigned Mr. Blackwell to conduct a training program for the Philippine ministers, most of whom have never had the benefit of Ambassador College instruction. The ministry will be given special training in all aspects of Church doctrine, counselling, preaching, and other pastoral responsibilities. Mr. Ames is delighted with the great opportunity and value Mr. Blackwell's assignment will afford the Filipino ministry and brethren.

Mr. Armstrong has also approved the assignment of Mr. Rod Matthews of Ministerial Services in Pasadena to assist Mr. Blackwell as Office Manager. Mr. Matthews is currently responsible to Mr. Tkach for international communications and record keeping.

The Blackwells and Matthews will be leaving for Manila shortly after the Feast of Tabernacles. This will ensure a smooth transition, allowing a six to twelve week overlap with Mr. Ames. All will be present when Mr. Gerald Waterhouse visits the Philippine churches in December.

International News

Update From the Netherlands From July 2nd through July 6th Messrs. Bram de Bree and Johan Wilms attended the International Publishing and Editorial Conference at Elstree House, Borehamwood, England, and visited the Alabaster Passmore Presses at Radlett and Maidstone. De ECHTE WAARHEID is printed at the Alabaster Passmore "Ambassador Press" at Radlett, shipped to Ostend, Belgium, then mailed to subscribers in Holland and Belgium.

Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong set the tone of the conference by putting emphasis on teamwork and unity. The meetings that followed in the next three days of the conference bore the fruits of his opening remarks. After the conference ended, Messrs. David Hulme and Ray Wright visited the new offices of the Dutch language area in Nieuwegein.

Income for July shows an increase compared to previous months--10.7% over last year, with a year-to-date increase of 21.9%. Incoming mail is up 22.5% while Personal Correspondence is up 304%. Outgoing mail is up 5.2%. Year to date, 9,659 persons have renewed their subscriptions to De ECHTE WAAR-HEID. The subscription list total stands at 56,376. The number of coworkers is up by 24.1% and donors up by 43%.

Preparations for the Feast of Tabernacles at Hoogeveen are well under way. Half of the services will be in Dutch and half in English. All Dutch services will be simultaneously translated into English for the expected group of 70 visitors. We are expecting a total registration of 400.

Comments From Monthly Church Reports

From the United States

GLENDORA, CA--JIM PEOPLES: The brethren are responding very enthusiastically to the material being conveyed to them from the Refreshing Program. Recent Bible studies on diet and music have gone over very well. Balance in diet is being stressed, and many people have responded favorably to this, as well as the encouragement to be discerning about the music we allow our children to listen to.

HOUSTON (EAST), TX--DAVID JOHNSON: We had a YOU mini-camp (3½ days) north of Houston for any of the local YOU who wished to attend. Mr. and Mrs. John Ogwyn did most of the planning and running of the activity and really did a terrific job. The park rangers said they had never seen such a fine group of young people and that our church is welcome back any time.

HARRISBURG, PA--JIM ROSENTHAL: Thank you for the tapes of Head-quarters sermons that are sent out on a twice-monthly basis. They really help make the many hours of driving time more profitable.

CHARLOTTE, NC--GEORGE PINCKNEY: God's intervention in protecting His people from serious injury has been evident this month. One young man fell through the Sheetrock ceiling in an attic to the floor 17 feet below. Miraculously, he had only minor injuries. Another man was standing between two trucks when one suddenly rolled into the other. He was momentarily pinned across his chest and pelvis. He was sore the next morning, but was thankful that God spared him from what obviously could have been a very serious injury.

TUPELO, MS--ROGER WEST: One of our members' daughters, 17 months old, fell against the brick ledge under their stove. The doctor at the hospital said her nose was broken and scheduled her to see a plastic surgeon the next day. The girl was anointed that evening. The next day the doctor could find no trace of a break and sent her home. He said she would be black and blue for three weeks. By Sabbath, all marks were completely gone.

-- Joe Tkach, Ministerial Services

AMBASSADOR COLLEGE UPDATE

(Big Sandy Campus)

We have had a very active summer here in Big Sandy. We had the usual crush of college year-end activities and graduation. Then on May 22 all the Big Sandy faculty joined the faculty in Pasadena for the Refreshing Program. Things went very well during the program and it proved valuable to everyone who attended. The opportunity for the two faculties to be together is an important one.

We had hardly gotten settled back here when SEP began. There were 210 campers from all over the United States who spent three weeks in intensive

training to either learn new skills or sharpen old ones in basketball, volleyball, tennis, cycling, computers and speech, to name a few. The group seemed to be an exceptional one. Any of you who had young people here from your church area can be assured they did nothing to embarrass you or their parents. They were very responsive and enthusiastic about all their activities.

Mr. Armstrong arrived on Wednesday, July 11, to see the camp in action and took a small part in one activity. You have probably seen his picture in THE WORLDWIDE NEWS putting at the golf course. He had stopped to see the action and was asked to try his hand. I understand Mr. Jim Kissee offered him a job if he wanted to stay and work with the campers. Needless to say, the youngsters were surprised and pleased to have him join them for a short time.

The SEP group left and the next day a group of 157 arrived for a three-day volleyball camp. The girls outnumbered the boys about two to one because most fellows tend to think of volleyball as a girls' game. They quickly learned that is not true. If you watched any of the Olympic volleyball games you know what I mean. The staff has done a great job working with these groups this summer.

Everyone is now rushing to prepare for the beginning of the 1984 fall semester. We enter the year with a recertification from the Texas Coordinating Board, which gave the college a license for two more years. We have 200 freshmen arriving on campus this week. Soon the academic year will be underway. Big Sandy will have about 25 to 30 more students than last year (depending on how many can't make it because of finances or some other problem). The nearly 35 international students on campus this year will be a great addition to the classes and activities.

Those of you who know Dr. Cliff Anderson will be pleased to know he is well on the way to recovery. The doctors tell him that he should be back in class in a fairly short time, and they say he should have another twenty or so years of life, which translates to mean a normal life span.

This summer the Student Services offices have been remodeled and a couple of offices were added. The job should be finished just in time to facilitate the handling of all the new students. Dean of Students Larry Salyer and those who work with him are very happy with the new work area. Dr. Don Ward and the Academic offices will also be moving into new offices here in the field house. All of us appreciate the upgrading and look forward to more as the budget allows.

In closing, I want to again remind all you church pastors of the need, for all those young people intending to apply to Ambassador College next year, to take the SAT as soon as possible. The tests will be administered October 13, November 3, December 1, January 26, March 23, and June 1. The October 13 testing comes during the middle of the Feast. These dates are for Saturday testings. Sunday administrations usually follow immediately after the Saturday date.

The SAT scores from the November 13 testing will not arrive in the Registrar's Office before December 15. If applicants do not take the test in November, they should schedule themselves for January or March at the latest to allow the results to be received in time for next year's acceptances.

The class this year looks like a good one. We had to turn down a large number of very acceptable young women due to lack of space. Encourage them to reapply for the fall of 1985. There is a greater need for good young men as Ambassador traditionally receives many more qualified applications from women than men.

Some of you may wonder why a particular applicant from your area wasn't accepted. If we can help clarify the matter for you, let us know. But if you recommended a "defer" or were only lukewarm in your recommendation, that may be a factor. Thanks for your evaluations and help.

--Leslie L. McCullough, Deputy Chancellor

PUBLISHING SERVICES UPDATE

Phenomenal Growth Rates for U.S. PLAIN TRUTH

Subscription circulation in the United States continues to grow by leaps and bounds. In the first half of 1984, we have added nearly 780,000 new subscribers. This is nearly 80% of the number of new subscribers added in all of last year. 1984 looks like it will break the record set in 1982, when we added over 1.2 million new subscribers.

The two biggest sources of new subscribers continue to be Mr. Armstrong's telecast and the newsstand program. The top five sources of new subscribers added from January through June of this year are:

Newsstand Program	242,000
Television	215,000
Blow-in Subscription Cards	103,000
PT/Lit Request Envelopes	60,000
Waiting Room Program	39,000

When counted as a whole, the member participation programs, consisting of the newsstand, waiting room and card holder programs, brought in 285,000 new subscribers, or 37% of the total.

-- Ray Wright, Publishing Services

UPDATE FROM MAIL PROCESSING

Texas WATS Operation Continues to Expand

The WATS operation in Big Sandy has grown rapidly in its first six months. Already, operators there have handled more than 50,000 calls.

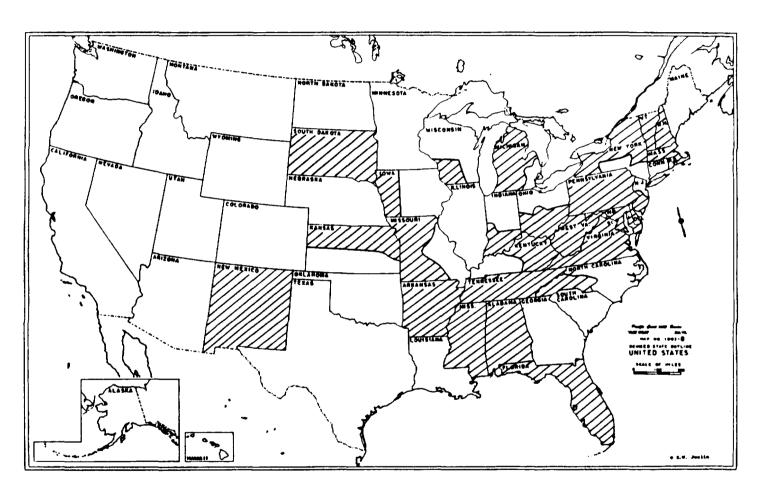
Beginning in March 1984 with 10 WATS lines, Big Sandy answered 10% of the weekend calls responding to "The WORLD TOMORROW" telecast. Now with 50 lines, operators answer 40 to 45% of the thousands of calls that pour in each weekend.

Further expansion is planned to keep pace with the increases in TV stations and response. By fall we will have 75 lines in Big Sandy and 125 in Pasadena.

Area Code Distribution for WATS Lines

With two separate WATS operations, it is necessary to carefully divide the nation's area codes between them. Doing this ensures that manpower and equipment will be adequate to handle the number of calls coming in to each site. It also enables more callers to reach us immediately after the telecast airs.

The following map shows the current area code divisions for our WATS lines. The shaded area is served by Big Sandy, the remainder by Pasadena.



Teens Thrilled About SEP

Many young people who attended one of the SEP sessions this summer have written in to share their excitement about this special experience. Parents have also written to express gratitude for SEP. They all thank Mr. Armstrong for establishing the camps and for his personal interest in the youth of God's Church. Many teens made new friends and appreciated the new opportunities afforded them. For some, SEP was a turning point in their lives. Following are a few comments:

I was at SEP for the first session this year. I had a terrific time. There is not enough to be said for SEP--I think I'll remember it forever. I'm glad you think the kids in God's Church are important. You and God's ministers let us know that we can't let

ourselves get away with things we know are bad just because of our age. I'm 15 years old and I hope I can go back as a camper or worker someday.

T.W. (Paulden, AZ)

I've had the great opportunity to attend the Big Sandy SEP session and I'd like to thank you so much for the camp. Also for all the concern for teens in God's Church today. Thanks for all the work you've done in helping to teach us God's way of life. At camp it's such a blessing to meet other teen-agers from God's Church that live all around the world. These friendships are worth a great deal.

C.S. (Milwaukee, WI)

I would like to thank you for helping me to go to camp. I had a really great time there and learned a lot of things. Thanks again for helping a girl's dream come true.

M.M. (Toledo, OH)

Just a big thank you to you and everyone involved with SEP. My son just returned from the first session at Orr. He had a wonderful time and it came at a time in his life when he needed something special. Thank you, thank you!

Mrs. J.O. (Belton, TX)

I would like to thank you for founding the SEP summer camps. I just returned from the second session in Orr. I got to do a lot of fun activities which I don't think I otherwise would have been able to do. I greatly enjoyed the jet skis and water-skiing.

I also enjoyed the numbers of young people there my own age who I could talk to and get to know. So many people from so many places! I am from the Portland, Maine Church, and there are about 20 YOU members there. Going to camp allowed me to meet over a hundred new teens. I got addresses from several and plan to write them in the near future.

Camp is great if you approach it in the right attitude. You must be willing to learn from your mistakes. It's just like waterskiing--if you are scared and tense you aren't going to have fun. You must trust in God that everything is going to turn out all right. After all, it's <u>God's</u> camp!

J.L. (So. Windham, ME)

I would like to thank you for the SEP camps for our young people. My daughter has gone to camp for two years and this year she was chosen as a worker. When she calls home she is so happy to be able to be at Orr. She loves the atmosphere at camp, one that can only be found where God's Spirit is. She enjoys the sermons on the Sabbath because they are geared to teen-agers. It is such a good experience for our young people. Thanks again for the activities that are provided for our young people growing up in the Church.

Mrs. R.H. (Bryan, OH)

I recently read the article in THE WORLDWIDE NEWS about SEP camp at Orr. It was very encouraging to read the impressions the campers had at SEP.

I attended camp at Orr in 1980. I was at a point in my life where I didn't want to go on living God's way of life. It seemed like the Millennium was a long way off and sort of unreal. But camp made it seem real. It was a place where people cared about you, a place where everyone was happy. It truly was millennial.

That's what made me start thinking. It was a turning point in my life. I think now if I hadn't gone to SEP I probably wouldn't be in the Church today. But thankfully, through you and the staff members at Orr, God showed me which way I should go.

What I'm saying is thank you for the Summer Educational Program. I know that many more activities have been added since I was there. I hope every teen has the opportunity to attend.

S.L. (Navarre, OH)

--Richard Rice, Mail Processing Center

ON THE WORLD SCENE

MOSCOW'S NEWEST WORRY: GROWING TIES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST GERMANY

For more than a year, West Germany and Communist East Germany have been moving closer together. Despite ideological differences and the fact that the two nations are members of rival military blocs, officials in Bonn and East Berlin have been intensifying mutual contacts, dictated, according to an East German source, "by a concern for peace." Simply put, both German states want to pursue the fruits of detente--increased human contact across the Wall for Bonn and continued access to sources of economic assistance for East Berlin--which are endangered by the new cold war atmosphere between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Nervous Moscow sees the professed "concern for peace" otherwise. The Kremlin was particularly unhappy about two recent developments: a new \$330 million extension of credit from Bonn, and the announced intention of East German leader Erich Honecker to visit West Germany in late September.

Finally, by late July, Moscow had had enough. An editorial in the party newspaper, PRAVDA, took both German states to task. It charged that West Germany was using financial levers to "gradually erode the foundations of the socialist system" in East Germany with the ultimate aim of achieving German reunification.

PRAVDA also chided East Berlin for accepting the loan, the second big one in about a year's time. Although it didn't say so directly, a clear impression was also left that it would not be a good idea for Honecker to visit West Germany--the first trip ever by an East German leader there.

At first the East Germans dutifully translated and reprinted the PRAVDA attacks in the official party newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. But at the same time the paper defended its efforts to improve relations with Bonn, stating: "Our Socialist German state sees as its task above all to cooperate so

that war does not start again on German soil." Reinforcing its position, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND also reprinted a Hungarian article that praised Honecker's efforts to make new contacts with the West. Then, on August 3 and 4, the editors chose not to reprint two other PRAVDA broadsides—an act of unusual defiance.

East Berlin had reason to believe it had support in some East Bloc quarters. For the second time, the official Hungarian news agency came out against the Soviet hard line, instead praising Honecker's foreign policy and stressing the need for improved East-West relations in order "to bring back detente." Meanwhile, top ranking East German officials, reported one West German newspaper, reassured leaders in Bonn that the Honecker visit was still on and that Romania, Hungary and even Bulgaria backed it.

For its part, Bonn officials tried to downplay the Soviet attacks. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher dismissed the charges, saying "German-German ties are part of a European peace policy." He said "the time is ripe" to relax tensions.

Continuing East Germany's independent mode, the monthly magazine HORIZONT, reflecting the views of the country's foreign ministry, declared that the Communist parties of different countries should have the right to "follow their own paths and to arrive at their own conclusions." Moreover, editorialized HORIZANT, the German Democratic Republic was "autonomous in matters domestic and diplomatic."

"I can't ever recall an instance of such defiance," responded a West German expert on East German affairs.

What is the significance of the new thaw in East-West European relations, reflected in the main by the inter-German "honeymoon"? Teddy Taylor, a conservative MP in the British Parliament, expressed his views in the August 5 SUNDAY EXPRESS in an article "Are We About to See the Break-up of the Eastern Bloc?"

Something very strange and unprecedented seems to be going on behind the Iron Curtain... Suddenly, things have been changing. Look first at Rumania.... Not only did it fail to join the [Soviet Olympic] boycott, but it actually sent a team to Los Angeles.

Perhaps even more significant has been the recent activity of the East German rulers. East Germany has for many years been regarded as the Soviets' most loyal ally. But its Communist boss...intends to visit West Germany next month.... Last year an official PRAVDA rebuke to any East European nation would have been more than enough to bring about a change of policy....

While the Russians have been gnashing their teeth, the Hungarian Communist Government has sent an open message of support and solidarity to the East Germans....

While these moves have been watched closely by the diplomats, we have all seen for ourselves on television what has been happening in Poland.... Last week, for example, around 10,000 Poles took part in a great march to the memorial erected to the countless citizens of Warsaw who were slaughtered by the Nazis while the Red Army watched from the other side of the Vistula....

What is the real significance of all these signs of new independence in the Eastern Bloc?... George Orwell has warned us in his book 1984 about the dangers of a controlled media producing a race without any independent thought. But that doesn't seem to be happening, and instead of Marxist robots the people of Eastern Europe after 40 years of suppression are still as fiercely independent as ever....

It may be that the Russians have bitten off more than they can chew--particularly in Afghanistan where, despite the use of massive weaponry and means of destruction the battle with the Mujahideen is still going on....

Whatever the cause, something very fundamental and important is going on. That something could well prove to be a threat to peace if the Russians, desperate to preserve their empire, decide to lash out in the same way as they did in Hungary and Czechoslovakia years ago.

But the same "something," if sensitively used and developed by the West, could equally lead to the restoration of freedom in half of the Continent of Europe.

In the August 6 FINANCIAL TIMES of Britain, journalists Rupert Cornwell in Bonn and Leslie Colitt in West Berlin analyzed the inter-German thaw in an article entitled "The Flirtation Worries Moscow." They point out that the Soviets themselves are largely responsible for supplying the East/West German momentum they now deplore.

A ghost has slipped forth from a long locked diplomatic cellar. Flitting on the edge of the European stage once more is the German Question, the quandary of the identity and boundaries of the German nation, after the miseries it has caused this century.

For confirmation, one need look no further than the reverberations set loose by the present warming of relations between Bonn and East Berlin. Their new agreement, a DM 950m bank credit guaranteed by the West German Government, against some distinctly modest humanitarian concessions from its eastern neighbour, seems hardly the stuff to change history.

Yet the reactions it has already drawn--above all from the fastnesses of Russia--have been reminder enough of an obvious but
awkward truth; that the post-war order of Europe and the balance
there between East and West, are crystallised around the unnatural division of the German people....

The true target [of PRAVDA's attacks], of course, has not been so much the capitalists in Bonn, but the hitherto client Communist leadership in East Berlin. And the warning to Herr Erich Honecker, the East German leader, about threats to "undermine the Socialist order in the German Democratic Republic" is one of the most serious in the Soviet arsenal....

And it should not be forgotten that the West too has been quietly satisfied at the post-war answer to the German Question. It was

after all an eminent Frenchman in the 1950s who remarked: "J'aime tellement l'Allemagne, je suis heureux qu'il y en a deux." ("I'm so fond of Germany I'm delighted there are two.")...

From the Russian viewpoint, it is a case of a once tolerated flirtation which has got out of hand. Control of East Germany has always been the key to Moscow's ability to manipulate the mood of West Germany, in the pursuit of its long-term goal of luring Bonn free from NATO.

From early 1983 on, on the instructions of Yuri Andropov the late Soviet leader, and with the full agreement of Herr Honecker, the siren song was duly sent forth. The bait of better relations with the East would be used to increase opposition within West Germany to the planned deployment of new NATO nuclear missiles. Despite that, the missiles were approved by the Bonn Parliament in November 1983. But by then East/West German affairs had acquired a momentum of their own which a policy vacuum in Moscow, as Mr. Andropov slipped towards death, did nothing to impede.

A first loan of DM 1 billion had been agreed in the summer of 1983: even the Soviet walkout from the Geneva arms talks, in retaliation for deployment, scarcely interrupted the great thaw....

East Berlin needed Western hard currency to help reduce its debt and press on with economic overhaul; the centre right coalition in Bonn under Chancellor Helmut Kohl could point to its inner German policy as an indisputable success at which few could cavil. Trade between the two Germanys jumped 8 per cent in 1983, far faster than West German trade as a whole.

The permission for an unprecedented 27,000 East Germans to emigrate to the West in the first six months of 1984 also served the interests of both sides. The deal enabled Herr Honecker to... rid himself of troublesome opponents of the regime. The East Germans also received payment from Bonn for the emigres.... Then on July 25 came the announcement of a second credit, this time for DM 950m....

Whatever their innermost leanings, officials here accept realistically that reunification is a dead issue--at least until the two blocs are dissolved.

True Chancellor Kohl is fond of saying that partition "is not the final word of history." But until such time as history permits, the emphasis remains on "doing what is feasible," to make division more tolerable in human terms. East and West Germany, in the words of spokesmen for both, have a <u>Verantwortungsgemeinschaft</u>, a "community of responsibility," to see that no war ever again starts on German soil....

But Moscow sees the problem in different terms, indeed almost as a mirror of the problem of West Germany in the eyes of the Atlantic Alliance. The West fears that Bonn might yield to ancestral tugs from the East and slip away into a neutralist yonder: Moscow

is frightened the same fate could overtake East Germany, but from the opposite direction.

Not that that is a serious proposition, with 360,000 Soviet troops stationed on East German territory, and East Berlin wholly dependent on Moscow for energy and raw materials. But the country is, if possible, strategically even more vital for the Warsaw Pact than is West Germany for NATO... Above all it represents the western prong of the pincer which holds volatile, recalcitrant Poland to heel.

Given all this, the Kremlin--and, as most suspect, Mr. Andrei Gromyko the ascendant Foreign Minister in particular--have done their sums and calculate that the stick is a more sensible bet currently than the carrot. There would be several factors contributing to the change, which hotted up a month ago with the astonishing abuse piled upon a supposedly "revanchist" West Germany after the West European Union (WEU) had lifted remaining theoretical curbs on conventional weapons production by Bonn...

Entangled with these considerations, almost certainly, was the instinctive Russian fear, for historical reasons, of anything which might portend a reunited Germany. The spectre, moreover, is a useful one to conjure up when "Fortress Russia" is the order of the day, and preparations are under way for huge celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler next spring....

More tantalisingly,...there are signs that the Russians themselves might be split on their German policy. PRAVDA on August 2 accused Bonn of employing economic ties as a means of meddling in East German affairs. Be that as it may, the Government paper ISVESTIA, just 24 hours earlier, had gone out of its way to emphasise the importance of East-West trade, and implied that the DM 950m credit was a quite unexceptionable event. Such divisions would do much to explain why East Germany has found the courage to stand up to the Russians--so far at least. In permitting his party paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND to defend his dealings with Bonn, Herr Honecker must feel he is not without friends in the East.

The NEW YORK TIMES' outspoken columnist William Safire also probed "The German Problem" in his August 13 column--specifically the future big issue of reunification, which, he professes, may be in the "plotting stage" now. Only in the last three sentences of his analysis does Safire's argument break down.

LONDON--The superpowers have at last found common ground. Each is worried about The German Problem... Moscow originally approved of [East Germany's approaches] to the West, as part of its campaign to seduce Europe into rejecting the American-made nuclear missiles. When that seduction failed and West Germany began to put in place the West's answer to the huge escalation of Russian arms, Moscow expected East Germany to fall into its new hard line--the present supersulk that is supposed to help defeat Ronald Reagan in November.

But the East Germans, normally most subservient to orders from Moscow, are pressing ahead with their Western contacts, testing the limits of Soviet ire or exploiting a division in the Kremlin's constantly moribund inner circle. The Soviet leaders suspect that the East and West Germans are plotting "revanchism"--a movement to restore the old German borders and take back areas that the Russians chopped off after World War II.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, the State and Commerce Departments are trying to get a grip on The German Problem: the near-billion-dollar credits extended by West Germany to the Communist regime in the east, and the trans-shipment of the most sophisticated American technology to East Germany.

Two years ago, while the State Department was caving in to European demands that U.S. equipment be used in the Soviet-European gas pipeline, America was assured that West Germans would guard against the transfer of U.S. industrial secrets to the Communist bloc. But it turns out that Secretary George Shultz was snookered; the West Germans are now preparing laws to forbid their companies from going along with U.S. export restrictions. Thus, West Germany sticks its thumb in the eye of the Western superpower...while East Germany apparently sticks its thumb in the eye of the Eastern superpower....

Why are these events taking place at the same time? The answer should be obvious: 40 years after the war, two generations after the division of the Third Reich by the victorious allies, German leaders of East and West are beginning to put on the pressure to reunite their country. Nobody wants to admit this, of course. Germans talk only of "ultimate" reunification in some happy time of universal peace, because they know that the very prospect of one Germany soon erodes their credibility as allies to opposing sides.

The Russians, if this goes too far, will crack down on East Germany as they did on Poland; 20 Russian divisions are present on East German soil. The Americans, if Chancellor Helmut Kohl continues to finance and technologically bolster the Communist regime, will react by passing the Nunn amendment, and the withdrawal of U.S. forces will begin. [The legislation introduced by Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia nearly passed the Senate in June.]

That is why East Germans are talking to Moscow merely of detente, which is occasionally in favor, and why West Germans talk to America of the virtues of trade and human communication, which Americans are usually for. Their game is to begin the reunification process without ever calling it that.

German nationalism seems to mean more to Mr. Honecker than continued subservience to Moscow, and more to Mr. Kohl than the present generation's method of defending Western Europe. A decade from now we will learn of the secret negotiations in these years that took place between Germans who put Fatherland ahead of ideology. It should not be a surprise; it is only natural.

Would a reunited, neutralist Germany be a useful buffer between superpowers-or a way for the Russians to get the Americans out of Europe? Would it revive the nationalist spirit that led to two world wars? Bonn's leaders are deluding themselves... Reunified, Germany would be stripped of its Western protection. It would be at the mercy of the superpower that is unafraid to impose its will.

To balance the views of Mr. Safire, Josef Joffe, writing in the August 16 LOS ANGELES TIMES, downplays any possible conspiracy between the two Germanys. Yet one is reminded of the age-old piece of advice: "Never say never." In this case, never say that reunification is "impossible" or that the Berlin Wall--which recently "celebrated" its 23rd anniversary--won't come tumbling down some day. Unless stopped, this is the end product of the momentum which has been set in motion.

Nevertheless, this is what Mr. Joffe, a former editor of the West German weekly DIE ZEIT, had to say in an article titled "East Germany Is Edgy, but Won't Stray Too Far."

Last year the United States worried about "its" Germans; now it is the Soviets' turn to worry about theirs.... Yet this new Gemutlichkeit does not add up to a silent conspiracy against the European status quo. Twenty-three years ago this week the erection of the Berlin Wall destroyed the last illusions about reunification, leaving sober realism to prevail. Since then the two Germanys have embarked on a competitive/cooperative coexistence that takes due note of the realities of power in Europe. These realities were nicely put by the editor of HORIZONT when he told a visiting West German colleague the other day, "Nobody wants reunification—neither your nor our own allies."

The West Germans paid their dues when they joined the boycott of the Olympic Games in 1980 and when they took the missiles in 1983. Erich Honecker has been even more careful not to provoke Big Brother. When the Pershings went into West Germany last year, he dutifully accepted a new generation of shorter-range Soviet missiles on East German soil. During the Warsaw Pact economic summit in May, Honecker promised to sacrifice hard-currency earnings by bartering more goods to the Soviet Union. An Olympic superpower, East Germany lost a treasure trove in gold medals when it refused to show up in Los Angeles.

If that is insubordination, who needs loyalty? Nor do the Soviets have to fear their seemingly wayward allies: Both Chernenko and Honecker know that East Germany is the most crucial brace of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe. Precisely because the Soviets will not hesitate to use force to maintain their bastion between the Elbe and the Oder, Honecker and his comrades will always act with the kind of circumspection that makes violence unnecessary. The process of detente in Europe will never go far enough for fear of its going too far.

The "two Germanys" story is building up so rapidly and we have so many articles flooding in on it that we'll probably present more next time or in the near future.