

PASTOR GENERAL'S REPORT

TO THE MINISTRY OF THE
WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD



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REPORT FROM THE TREASURER'S OFFICE

In the United States, 1984 has just ended with a 14.5% increase over 1983. This is a good increase compared to recent years. In 1982 the Church had an increase of 11.2%, and in 1983 an increase of 12%. Other organizations would probably consider our increase exceptional. We should all be thankful to God who supplies these funds according to the need and how our ways please Him.

Even though the year's increase was good, December's income dropped off considerably from what we had expected. Compared to the previous December, the increase was only 1.3%. Though the monthly trend was down, January 1985 has started off with an excellent increase over last January.

On the expense side of the ledger, we finished the year considerably less than 1% over budget. This was quite an accomplishment when you consider that the departments collectively were about \$3.5 million over budget about three months earlier. The department managers really went all out to correct this overage with concern and real "team effort."

Our reserves have improved appreciably over a year ago, though still too low, in my opinion. We hope to correct this condition by allocating more of the budget to reserves in 1985. The departments are also being asked to delay any discretionary expenses until after the spring or even the fall festivals to improve our cash flow condition.

The 1985 budget has been set, except for a few minor areas, and will now serve as a guide for the new year. It provides very little increase for most departments, except for Publishing Services and Media Purchasing. There are still urgent needs in some departments, particularly Ministerial Services and Mail Processing, that cannot be met at this time. We hope and pray that income for 1985 will be far enough above budget to allocate additional funds to these departments later in the year. Your concern and prayers for this are appreciated.

--Leroy Neff, Treasurer

FROM MINISTERIAL SERVICES

We are pleased to announce the addition of three new U.S. Feast sites this year, along with four new Festival Coordinators. They are as follows:

Vail, Colorado is nestled in a valley in the Rocky Mountains at about 8,000 feet (2,438 meters), 100 miles (161 km) west of Denver. It is a ski resort built within the last 20 years. A city-owned transit system will shuttle feastgoers between their housing accommodations and the Dobson Arena at no charge. Good-quality restaurants abound, and outdoor activities among the fall colors of the aspens should make Vail a popular festival site, with a maximum attendance of 2,500. Mr. James Reyer, pastor of the Denver East and West churches, will be coordinating this new site.

Corpus Christi, Texas, located on the Gulf of Mexico not far from the Rio Grande Valley, is a sun-kissed beach resort. Many hotels and condominiums have been built since the Feast was held there in 1980, making some outstanding housing facilities available at very affordable rates. Fishing, swimming, and boating should be very enjoyable at Feast time. We expect an attendance of about 4,000, with services to be held in the Bayfront Plaza Convention Center. This site will be coordinated by Mr. Greg Sargent, pastor of the San Antonio and Uvalde churches. He will be assisted by the Corpus Christi pastor, Mr. Robert Flores, Jr.

Pensacola, Florida has not been utilized as a Feast site before, unlike the above two sites. A beautiful, newly-opened civic center will easily handle the 7,000 Feastgoers expected this year. Clean white sand graces the abundant beach areas, and many of the housing properties are directly on or very close to the beach. Many other attractions in the area should add to the enjoyment of the Feast in Pensacola. Mr. Donald Waterhouse, pastor of the Ft. Walden Beach, Florida and Geneva, Alabama churches, will serve as Festival Coordinator for this site.

In addition, Mr. Burk McNair, pastor of the Big Sandy congregation, will serve as Festival Coordinator for the Big Sandy festival site this year. Expected attendance at this site--one of the world's largest--is 6,000.

Congratulations to each of these men on their additional responsibilities!

On another subject, I'd like to ask each of you to pray for Mrs. Jim Reyer, who has been suffering from cancer for nearly two years now. She is currently at a severe stage, experiencing a great amount of blood loss. She has had to undergo blood transfusions, and remains in serious condition. Also, please pray for Mr. Reyer during this difficult time. Remember that God does hear our effectual, fervent prayers. He is our healer, and does deliver us out of all afflictions.

We are grateful for the fine growth and open doors God has given His Church to preach the Gospel in the Dutch language in 1984, as described in the following report from Mr. Bram de Bree, Regional Director for the Dutch-speaking areas of God's Church.

International News

From Mr. Bram de Bree Greetings from The Netherlands, where we are in the grip of an old fashioned winter. Looking back over the past 12 months, we are very thankful to God Almighty who has blessed His Church in The Netherlands and Belgium. Despite continued economic recession and large scale unemployment, the Dutch-language office has moved ahead in support of carrying out the commission given to Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong.

In April our offices were moved from the downtown Utrecht location to a new satellite town some 10 miles south of Utrecht called Nieuwegein. The downtown Utrecht office had become inadequate due to lack of space and high rent. We were offered the south wing on the second floor of a just-completed four story office building in Nieuwegein, with 150% more floor space and 30% lower rent. The new building, its environment and furnishings contribute to pleasant and uplifting working conditions. Although the office space has increased, our staff of five full-time people has remained the same. For occasional rush work we call on members of the De Bilt congregation to help out on a voluntary basis.

In the first quarter of 1984 we conducted an advertising campaign promoting the Dutch edition of The PLAIN TRUTH, De ECHTE WAARHEID, on the back covers of a TV guide and the monthly publication of the Dutch Automobile Association. In the last quarter of 1984 we ran a back cover ad in the Belgian Automobile Association magazine. As a result, 16,570 new subscribers were added to the list, giving us a total circulation of 44,500 at the end of 1984.

The Dutch GOOD NEWS was issued six times during 1984. Circulation increased 1.2%. As of January 1985 the GOOD NEWS (het GOEDE NIEUWS van de Wereld van Morgen) will appear monthly again. The magazine will now be offered to De ECHTE WAARHEID readers who have been subscribers for two or more years.

YOUTH magazine circulation increased 25.7%. Most Dutch YOU members have a good command of the English language. English is taught with German and French as a second language at high school. Also, the participation of the Dutch YOU members at SEP camp at Loch Lomond, Scotland contributes greatly to their English vocabulary.

In 1984 the translation, printing and issuing of the YES lessons in Dutch was begun. Thanks to the dedication and hard work of Mr. and Mrs. Gerry van der Wende in Pasadena, Lesson One for all nine levels was issued. The lessons have been received by parents and children with great enthusiasm.

Three new booklets were translated this past year and four booklets were revised. This brings the total number of Dutch language booklets to 41. The highlight was the publication of THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN IN PROPHECY, a long-awaited book in the Dutch language.

Sixty thousand eighty-one pieces of mail were received in 1984. Personal correspondence increased 83.6%. Income increased 8.5% while the number of co-workers increased 47.8% and donors 7.6%.

In 1984, approval was received from Ministerial Services for the Antwerp, Belgium Church to meet each Sabbath. Before that, Antwerp met only twice a month. As of January 1985, four Dutch language services are being held weekly: Zwolle, De Bilt and Tilburg, The Netherlands and Antwerp, Belgium.

The number of Spokesman Clubs increased from two to three in 1984. Church attendance increased 10.2%. Membership increased 7.9% with 17 baptisms. Total membership is 217 and total attendance for all four churches is 334.

Again this year the management of the theater complex "De Tamboer" in Hoogeveen advised us that we would be given priority in booking the complex for the 1985 Feast of Tabernacles. Plans have already been completed for keeping the Feast at this location.

We are looking forward to continued expansion in 1985. Mr. Armstrong has approved our advertising program for 1985. The first ad will be in the March issue of HET BESTE (READER'S DIGEST).

Recent Ordination

Mr. Lazarus Chimba, who serves in the Harare, Zimbabwe congregation, was ordained a local church elder October 11, 1984. Hands were laid on him by the Regional Director for Southern Africa, Dr. Roy McCarthy.

Comments From Monthly Church ReportsFrom the United States

JACKSON-GREENWOOD, MS--MARC SEGALL: We truly appreciate Mr. Aaron Dean's articles on Mr. Armstrong's trips in the WORLDWIDE NEWS. Mr. Dean is so graphic, detailed, and colorful in his reports we feel like we were actually there experiencing it all. They certainly help the brethren understand the immense value of Mr. Armstrong's travel and contacts. The China trip was amazing!

ANNISTON, AL--MICHAEL HANISKO: The taped sermon by Mr. Armstrong on abortion and Dr. Zimmerman's on marital relations were very well received and generated many comments. In response to Dr. Zimmerman's sermon, several couples that are having marriage difficulties commented that what God requires of them in overcoming their problems couldn't be any more clear than what they just heard.

DES MOINES, IA--ROBERT CLONINGER: The taped sermon by Dr. Zimmerman set a record for the number of copies checked out from our library. It is evident that it moved many to listen again and re-evaluate the condition of their own marriages.

TAMPA, FL--RONALD LOHR: Mr. Tkach's visit was the high point of the month. The brethren were responsive to his message. His visit was very supportive of the local ministry and unifying in every way.

PORTLAND, ME--LEONARD HOLLADAY: Our YOU members are so scattered from one another that getting together for activities is difficult. I'm trying to help them by getting to know them better. At the Feast I was talking with Mr. Les Schmedes (pastor of the Rochester and Syracuse, New York churches), who instituted a visiting program with each teen. It has opened communications between himself and the teens and improved communication between parents and teens. I've talked with about one fourth of our teens in both congregations so far and feel that it is having a positive impact on them and the Church.

MURFREESBORO, TN--JAMES FRIDDLE: A former Ambassador College student was pinned in his car for two hours with a broken thighbone, broken shoulder blade and three broken ribs. One of the paramedics who helped cut him out of the car said she had never seen a person live after an accident as serious as his. After three weeks in the hospital he is now home and walking. God miraculously kept him alive and healed him.

JOPLIN, MO--VINCE SZYMKOWIAK: The life of one of our local teenagers was miraculously spared after her car ran under the trailer

of a tractor-trailer rig. Her car was dragged beneath the trailer for perhaps 50 yards, then the trailer's rear wheels ran over the car. The car was then hurled over an embankment, and she was thrown through one of the car windows. She landed unconscious in about six inches of water. There were undoubtedly several miracles God performed to save her life. After she was anointed, x-rays were taken, and not one bone or tooth was found to be broken or fractured! Not one suture was required. God worked in a powerful way to spare her life.

--Joe Tkach, Ministerial Services

FROM MEDIA SERVICES

Radio Tapes for Church Libraries

Mr. Garland Snuffer and the Radio Production staff have recently mailed out a set of four 60-minute audio cassette tapes to all English-speaking churches worldwide. These tapes contain eight of Mr. Armstrong's 30-minute radio programs (two programs per tape) on the subject of "The True Church." These are actual radio programs aired in times past. We have sent you one set for each 50 heads of household. (For example: If there are approximately 350 heads of household in your church area, you would have received seven sets.)

These cassettes are to be put in your church library so the brethren can have an opportunity to listen to them. Hopefully this will be a viable replacement for the radio program in the United States and a special plus for the English-speaking brethren in Europe, South Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific. We are planning to send out three or four more sets of additional radio programs during 1985.

Video Tape of Mr. Armstrong's Bible Study

Mr. Armstrong has also instructed the Television Department to send out a video cassette presentation of his Bible study given in Pasadena in early December. This was the first Bible study Mr. Armstrong gave upon returning from his November Far East trip. Mr. Armstrong showed the Ambassador Television production he presented to King Bhumibol of Thailand, entitled "More Than a Monarch."

The videotape consists of three parts: 1) Mr. Armstrong's introductory comments; 2) the production "More Than a Monarch"; and 3) Mr. Armstrong's concluding remarks (total length: one hour and 20 minutes). Mr. Armstrong has instructed that this should be presented to the local congregation only as a Bible study. Rather than rent expensive video projection equipment, please utilize a VCR tape player and monitors. Pastors of larger church areas may want to hold several smaller Bible studies in order to keep costs down. Technical instructions for VCR tape player and monitor setup will be included with the video cassette.

In the United States, we will be sending all pastors a VHS videotape. If you need a format other than VHS, i.e. BETA or 3/4", please contact Linda Scobee at Television as soon as possible. We are planning to distribute the tapes the week of January 21st. We will be contacting all Regional Directors for setting up video tape distribution in their areas.

--Larry Omasta, Media Services

AMBASSADOR COLLEGE UPDATE

(Pasadena Campus)

After the usual two-week end of semester break, classes resume Monday, January 14th. Thus far many of us have been extremely busy during the break. I don't think I have ever had quite so many "irons in the fire" as during this present break.

A fairly large number of Big Sandy and Pasadena students met in Colorado during the winter break to ski. I haven't heard from any of the students yet (or the few faculty members from the two campuses who accompanied them), but I am sure they are having a fine time.

We are now in the process of having our annual student progress meetings. It takes us many hours to discuss and evaluate the progress of the senior and junior students as we consider possible job opportunities within the Church and next year's student leadership positions.

In early February, my wife and I are scheduled to spend a little over a week at the Big Sandy campus. We very much look forward to visiting with the faculty and students of our sister campus. I will again teach a number of classes, speak at a Forum or Assembly, and give a couple of sermons and a Bible study. Also, this will give me a further opportunity to discuss college-related matters with some Big Sandy college administrators.

Recently, Mr. Dick Ames (Director of Admissions at Pasadena) and I had the privilege of accompanying Mr. Armstrong to Big Sandy in the new G-III. Mr. Armstrong wanted us to get together with the college administrators at Big Sandy to discuss the theology curriculum for both campuses. He felt certain alterations were needed to ensure that all AC graduates--including those from the two-year Associate of Arts and Associate of Science programs--receive certain vital information about the Bible. Thus material concerning the Bible's inspiration, preservation, translations, infallibility, etc., which had been covered in the fourth-year Biblical Scholarship class, Mr. Armstrong has decided could be condensed down to one semester, and be taught the spring semester of the second year Fundamentals of Theology class. Mr. Dick Ames teaches this class at Pasadena, and Dr. Don Ward teaches it at Big Sandy.

In the future, the theology classes which will be required for all students on the four-year Bachelor of Arts program will be as follows: 1) Life and Teachings of Jesus (Harmony of the Gospels), 2) Fundamentals of Theology, 3) Biblical Prophecy, and 4) Doctrines of the Worldwide Church of God. Besides these Bible courses, the students on the BA program will, of course, take a number of elective Bible courses in order to have sufficient hours of theology.

Hopefully, the cold winter being experienced in certain parts of the world will not be too difficult for any of you or your families. We at Headquarters remember all of you in our prayers, and ask your continued prayers for us also.

--Raymond F. McNair, Deputy Chancellor

YOU UPDATEYOU Insurance Information

As a result of several misunderstandings regarding what the YOU insurance does and does not cover, we are providing the following information from Mr. Chris Anderson of the Insurance Department.

YOU ACCIDENT INSURANCE

An accident insurance policy is maintained for all YOU members, coordinators, chaperones and assistants. The coverage is paid for by the YOU members and all YOU members and staff worldwide are covered. Following is a brief description of the insurance provided:

● Accident Medical Expense	\$10,000
● Accidental Dismemberment	\$10,000
● Accidental Death	\$ 2,500
● Dental (maximum benefit)	\$ 250
● Deductible	\$ 25

Please note that the coverage is for accidents only. This insurance does not include any coverage for sickness nor is it intended to replace any existing major medical or catastrophic insurance presently in force. It is only intended to provide financial aid (subject to the above limits) in the unfortunate event that an accident occurs.

This insurance affords coverage only while participating in an approved and supervised YOU activity, either on an international, national or local basis. It includes accidents which occur while traveling directly to or from such activities (although, if involved in an auto accident, the auto insurance should be treated as primary).

Following are those items which are excluded from coverage (quoted from the policy):

This policy does not cover loss resulting from:

- a) intentionally self-inflicted injury, suicide or attempted suicide, whether sane or insane;
- b) injury sustained while:
 - i) in or on;
 - ii) boarding or alighting from;
 - iii) being struck or run down by;
 - any aircraft in motion except as an airline passenger on an aircraft:
 - i) operated by a passenger airline;
 - ii) on a regularly scheduled trip over its established route;
- c) war or act of war, whether declared or not;
- d) injury sustained while in the armed forces (land, water or air) of any country or international authority;
- e) repair or replacement of existing dentures, partial dentures, braces, fixed or removeable bridges, or other artificial dental restoration;

- f) repair, replacement, examinations for prescriptions or fitting of eyeglasses or contact lenses;
- g) repair or replacement of artificial limbs or orthopedic braces.

Please note that coverage for airline travel is covered, while learning to fly, parachuting, etc. are not covered. However, as a result of adding the sport of parascending (or parasailing) to some of our SEP camp activities, we have extended the insurance to include this "in the air" sport.

Should it be necessary to file a claim, please keep the following in mind:

- Notice of claim should be filed within 30 days after a covered loss begins.
- All claim forms must be filled out completely and signed by the local coordinator in the appropriate place, certifying that the injured person is a YOU member or staff.
- Claims should be sent directly to the insurance company. Do not send them to Pasadena. This will only delay processing.
- Claim forms are available from the YOU office in Pasadena or you may photocopy the one in your YOU Pastor's Manual.
- Claims filed outside the United States should be paid for first with local currency (unless it is a major loss, i.e. over \$1,000), then file the claim and ask to be reimbursed. This helps to avoid confusion about conversion of foreign currency.
- Once a claim has been filed, subsequent bills should be sent to the insurance company with a cover letter, restating the name of the injured person and the date of the injury.

While we hope our YOU members and staff will never need this insurance (please encourage safety), we are grateful to be able to provide this coverage to over 14,000 YOU members worldwide, all for a cost of \$10 per year, per person.

* * * * *

Please feel free to communicate with Mr. Anderson of the Insurance Department should you have any additional questions about this insurance or how it works.

--Kevin O. Dean, YOU

UPDATE FROM MAIL PROCESSING

1984: A Year of Records

This past year was truly outstanding in terms of growth in the work of God's Church. Never has the Gospel been published so extensively or televised so widely as in 1984! Two 100-million-marks were attained for the first time:

- More than 100 million publications were sent worldwide, including magazines, books, booklets, letters, lessons, etc.
- Mail income from the United States surpassed \$100 million for the first time. This does not include income from other sources.

Several all-time records were set in 1984, as the following statistics illustrate (figures are rounded off):

- Worldwide PLAIN TRUTH circulation reached 7.5 million in December.
- GOOD NEWS circulation passed 400,000 in the United States.
- 6.1 million booklets, books and reprint articles were requested worldwide.
- 1.7 million new names were added to U.S. files, and 2.3 million were added to The PLAIN TRUTH subscription list around the world.
- U.S. Bible correspondence course enrollments reached 250,000.
- U.S. TV stations increased to 264, with 414 worldwide.
- The Mail Processing Center at Headquarters received 4.9 million letters and cards.
- The number of calls in response to "The WORLD TOMORROW" TV program was 552,000. Total calls, including those in response to radio and other media, were 791,000.
- The number of baptized members passed 56,000 in the U.S. and 21,000 internationally, for a total of 77,000 worldwide.
- Festival attendance around the world reached 126,000 for the first time.

These were all-time records, but a number of other high marks occurred as well. The prospective member count in the United States reached 4,338, the highest in nine years. U.S. donors passed the 95,000 mark, a six-year high. Co-workers in the U.S. numbered more than 55,000 by the end of 1984, the largest count since 1971.

1985 Starts With Record-breaking Weekend!

WATS calls for the first weekend of 1985 reached an all-time high. "The United States and Britain in Prophecy" aired, resulting in 15,836 calls. This total is 71% above the 1984 average, and about 1,900 calls higher than the previous record. The former record was set October 20-21, 1984 when "Revelation: Catastrophic Event" brought in 13,940 calls.

Saturday Night Cable Station Response Continues to Climb

The WATS response from our newly acquired cable station, LIFE, which began airing the telecast on Saturday nights in mid-December, has steadily increased. This past weekend we answered 850 calls from LIFE, placing it among the top three stations. Following are the responses from this station for the past four weeks:

<u>Airing Date</u>	<u>Number of Calls</u>
December 15, 1984	214
December 22, 1984	428
December 29, 1984	523
January 5, 1985	850

--Richard Rice, Mail Processing Center

ON THE WORLD SCENE

YALTA'S FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY HIGHLIGHTS: DIVIDED EUROPE'S UNFINISHED BUSINESS; HABSBURG NOSTALGIA IN HUNGARY

In less than a month, European nations will take note of the fortieth anniversary of the Yalta conference, the big-power meeting that, more than any other (such as Teheran in 1943 and Potsdam in 1945), sealed the present state of affairs on the continent. In the next few weeks there will probably be a number of articles in the news media about Europe's quest to overcome its forty years of division. The first major article along this line appeared in the Winter 1984/85 issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, entitled "The Future of Yalta," written by former U.S. National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. He condensed his far-sighted comments in the December 27 NEW YORK TIMES, from which the following excerpts are taken:

The coming year will mark the 40th anniversary of Yalta--the fateful Crimean meeting of Feb. 4-11, 1945, when the Allied Big Three completed the process of conceding Eastern Europe to Stalin. Yalta continues to symbolize the unfinished struggle for Europe's future. By now it should be clear that this struggle is unlikely to be resolved unless an active role is assumed by Europe itself.

It should be equally clear that there must be a better option for Europe and America than a partitioned Europe that perpetuates the American-Soviet collision or a disunited Europe, divorced from America, acquiescing piecemeal to Soviet domination over Eurasia. There is such an option: the emergence of a politically more vital Europe less dependent militarily on America, encouraged in that direction by an America guided by historic vision, leading eventually to a fundamentally altered relationship with Eastern Europe and Russia.

But that objective, so essential to Europe's restoration, cannot be accomplished as an American victory over Russia. Nor will it be achieved by an explicit Russian acceptance, through a negotiated agreement, of Eastern Europe's emancipation from Russian vassalage. Moscow will not yield voluntarily. A wider Europe can emerge only as a consequence of a deliberately but subtly induced process of change that can neither be quickly detected nor easily resisted....

The time has come to rethink the relationship between Western security and political change in Europe as a whole.... America is needed in Europe to deter Russia not only from military aggression but from political intimidation. That is obvious and it justifies the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the American military presence on the Continent. But what we must change is an American military presence that reduces the incentive for the Europeans to unite politically yet simultaneously increases the incentive for the Russians to stay put militarily in Central and in Eastern Europe.

Ultimately, America, in NATO, should be responsible primarily for offsetting Soviet strategic power, thus deterring a Soviet attack

or nuclear blackmail. But on the ground, European defense should become over the next decade even a more predominantly European responsibility. America should particularly encourage efforts at increased French-German military cooperation and eventual integration. France has a historic awareness of a European identity while West Germany chafes under Europe's partition.... The eventual fusion of these two national forces would represent a giant step toward a politically more vital Europe, yet a Europe that would be less at conflict with the Soviet Union than a Europe hosting a large American army. A gradually reduced American ground presence would create pressure from even the existing Eastern European regimes for a commensurate Soviet redeployment, thereby gradually creating a more flexible political situation.

The following are additional comments extracted from Mr. Brzezinski's lengthy FOREIGN AFFAIRS article. In it he stresses the roles that economic aid in general and West German policies in particular can play as a magnet to the East European states.

The last four decades...reveal an important strategic lesson: what has come to be seen as the legacy of Yalta--namely the partitioned Europe--can only be undone either in Soviet favor...or to Europe's historical advantage by the emergence of a truly European Europe capable both of attracting Eastern Europe and of diluting Soviet control over the region. America does not have the power or the will to change basically the situation in Eastern Europe, while crude and heavy-handed Soviet efforts to intimidate West Europe merely consolidate the Atlantic connection....

As it happens, the existing stalemate is increasingly resented by all Europeans. The Germans--no longer dominated by feelings of war guilt, less mesmerized by the American ideal, distressed by the failure of Europe to become an alternative to divisive nationalisms--are naturally drawn to a growing preoccupation with the fate of their brethren living under an alien system. The notion that the destiny of a united Germany depends on a close relationship with Russia is not a new one in German political tradition. Frustration with the nation's division is giving it a new lease on life.

Moreover, for Germany especially but also for Western Europe as a whole, the East holds a special economic attraction. It has been the traditional market for West European industrial goods. As Western Europe discovers that in its fragmented condition it is becoming less competitive with the high-tech economies of America and Japan, the notion of a special economic relationship with the East becomes particularly appealing. The fear that America may be turning from the Atlantic to the Pacific has in this connection a self-fulfilling and a self-validating function: it justifies a wider economic, and potentially even a political, accommodation between an industrially obsolescent Western Europe and the even more backward Soviet bloc, a logical consumer for what Western Europe can produce.

More than most Europeans, the East Europeans, no longer expecting American liberation, long for a genuine Europe, which would free

them from the Soviet yoke. That longing explains the extraordinary standing to this day in Eastern Europe of de Gaulle--simply because he raised the standard of "Europe to the Urals." It explains also the special appeal of the Pope, whose vision of Europe's spiritual unity has obvious political implications. But the East Europeans will settle for half a loaf if they cannot have the whole. Faced with the choice of exclusive Soviet domination, only occasionally contested by American policy, or of at least growing ties with even a politically weak Western Europe, the East Europeans clearly prefer the latter....

As President Mitterrand put it some two years ago, "tout ce qui permettra de sortir de Yalta sera bon...." But how to escape from Yalta?... This third option [of a politically more vital Europe] requires a long-term strategy.... The point of departure ...has to be joint recognition of the important conclusion which the experience of the last several decades teaches: the historic balance in Europe will be changed gradually in the West's favor only if Russia comes to be faced west of the Elbe rather less by America and rather more by Europe....

Undoing the division of Europe, which is so essential to its spiritual and moral recovery, is a goal worthy of the Western democracies and one capable of galvanizing a shared sense of historic purpose.... First, on the symbolic plane, it would be appropriate for the heads of the democratic West as a whole, perhaps on February 4, 1985, to clarify jointly, through a solemn declaration, the West's attitude toward the historic legacy of Yalta.... The West should underline its commitment to a restored Europe, free of extra-European control. It should stress its belief that there now exists a genuine European political identity, the heir to Europe's civilization, which is entitled to unfettered expression. It should affirm the right of every European nation to choose its sociopolitical system in keeping with its history and tradition.... Finally, by drawing attention to the positive experience of neutral Austria and Finland, it should pledge that a more authentic Europe would not entail the extension of the American sphere of influence to the European state frontiers of the Soviet Union.

Moreover, reaffirmation of the continued Western commitment to the Helsinki Final Act could help to resolve the potentially fatal European ambivalence regarding Germany. The fact is that, while the Europeans resent their historic partition, they fear almost as much a reunited Germany. Therefore, the renunciation of Yalta's legacy--the division of Europe--should be accompanied by an explicit pledge...that the purpose of healing the East-West rift in Europe is not to dismantle any existing state but to give every European people the opportunity to participate fully in wider all-European cooperation. In that context, the division of Germany need not be undone through formal reunification but by the gradual emergence of a much less threatening loose confederation of the existing two states....

If Europe is to emerge politically, it must assume a more direct role in its own defense.... To move Europe in this direction, the

United States will have to take the first steps, even perhaps unilaterally through a ten-year program of annual cuts in the level of the U.S. ground forces in Europe.... It would also have to be made clear that some American combat forces would remain in Europe, as they do in Korea, thereby ensuring immediate American engagement in the event of hostilities.... [Earlier in his article Mr. Brzezinski said: "The U.S. deficit will, in any case, drive Congress toward a more critical look at the cost of the U.S. NATO commitment."]

In the final analysis, only Europeans can restore Europe; it cannot be done for them by others. To be sure, Moscow will resist the aspirations of the Europeans. No empire dissolves itself voluntarily--at least not until it becomes evident that accommodation to gradual dissolution is preferable to the rising costs of preserving the imperial system. So it will be also with the Soviet empire.... As time passes, with the organic growth of a larger Europe gathering momentum, it will become more and more difficult for the Kremlin to resist a process that over time may acquire the hallmarks of historical inevitability....

One should not underestimate in this connection Moscow's adaptability. Despite his ruthlessness, even Stalin accommodated himself to the reality of an independent Catholic Church in Poland; Khrushchev to a Polish peasantry free from collectivization and to a separate Romanian foreign policy; Brezhnev to "goulash communism" in Hungary and to army rule in Poland. Why then should not the next generation of Soviet leaders be pressed also to come to terms with the fact that even the interests of the Soviet people would be better served by a less frustrated and oppressed east-central Europe, partaking more directly of the benefits of all-European cooperation?

As divided Europe enters the fifth decade after Yalta, it is important to reiterate that undoing Yalta cannot involve a precise blueprint or a single dramatic initiative. The shape of the future cannot be reduced to a neat plan, with specific phases and detailed agreements. Rather, it requires an explicit commitment and a sense of strategic direction for a process of change that is bound to have also its own dynamic. In any case, for America the emergence of a more vital Europe would be a positive outcome, for ultimately a pluralistic world is in America's true interest.

Mr. Brzezinski, like so many others, believes that a united Europe would "naturally" be in the best interest of the United States. Nevertheless, his studied analysis represents one of the clearest prognoses to date on the likely path European unity will take. And now, finally, is an article which appeared in the SUNDAY TIMES of London, December 30, 1984, analyzing the nostalgic fascinations that Hungarians are having with their "golden era" of Habsburg rule. It goes along with Brzezinski's belief that the Eastern Europeans, especially, are longing for a more "authentic" Europe.

Communist hardliners in Hungary are becoming nervous about a remarkable wave of nostalgia which is sweeping the country. There now seems to be a widespread belief that the 19th century, when

Hungary was ruled by the Habsburgs, was a golden period in the country's history. [During Emperor Franz-Josef's reign--1848-1916--Hungary was granted autonomy and ruled over much of eastern Europe.] This wistful view was given semi-official approval this month when the communist weekly Magyar Ifusag published an interview with a prominent historian, Dr. Peter Hanak. He attacked the traditional communist view of the Habsburg empire as a vehicle of national oppression.

Whereas in most eastern European countries the Habsburgs are described in schools and official publications as "those cruel tyrants who crushed the spirit of national freedom," Hungary has increasingly viewed its imperial past in a more favourable light. Hanak's remarks, in praise of the national "integration" and "peaceful flourishing of different cultures under one ruler" during the Habsburg rule, struck a chord with many Hungarians who are worried about the fate of their fellow countrymen who make up the large Magyar minorities of Romania and Czechoslovakia. Hungarians are increasingly hearing reports of "cultural genocide" in Transylvania, the area now ruled by Romania which they regard as the cradle of Magyar culture. They hear of Hungarians being forced to change their names to the Romanian equivalents and of the suppression of Hungarian poetry and prose....

During the past year, a stream of books concerning 19th-century Hungary has been published. Bookshops are filled with romantically titled coffee-table books depicting the grand buildings and cultural events of the days when Budapest was an elegant royal capital. The recent opening of the capital's newly-restored opera house, a building which personifies this age, has helped to concentrate Hungarians' minds on their past.

With statues and bridges named after the empresses of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and an annual changing of the guards in imperial uniforms, Hungary is careful not to neglect its imperial heritage. No more striking a symbol of this could be found than the Hungarian royal crown, displayed after years of absence in the capital's national museum. Watched over by eight policemen, visitors solemnly file past the crown, in a darkened room, as if paying respect to a communist martyr rather than a relic of imperialism.

The "pull of the past" is going to be increasingly difficult for the Soviets to deal with. It should be noted too, that there is a widespread belief that the U.S.S.R.'s next leader will be Mikhail Gorbachev. The personable 53-year-old lawyer and agronomist "wowed them" on his recent visit to London. Tough but considered practical and not unquestionably wedded to ideology, Gorbachev just might be the individual necessary to enable the Soviet Union to accommodate itself to the realities of Yalta's fifth decade.

--Gene H. Hogberg, News Bureau