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



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BIG SANDY TO REMAIN TWO-YEAR COLLEGE

by Herbert W. Armstrong

After much consideration, counsel, fact-viewing and prayer, God has revealed that the college at Big Sandy, Texas, must remain what He led us to reopen--a two-year junior college.

There are many reasons for this decision. I know well it will come as a disappointment to many, especially at Big Sandy. But it is the point of wisdom, and it is the living Christ's decision.

Consider WHY Christ led me to open Ambassador College in the first place. I was only Christ's instrument. He was preparing, through me, for the Kingdom of God--a new world--a new civilization. He did not need any more colleges or universities on this world's model. But we did need an educated ministry in a developing and growing church--beside other properly educated personnel in God's Work. This world's educational system could not supply this need. God's type of college was a necessity.

It started the smallest--four students and faculty of eight. But it grew. As it grew and expanded into England and Texas campuses, even our own graduate faculty members and administration people and ministers began to liberalize. After 1968 it was becoming over-large and over-liberal. God was not blessing it as He previously had. The Bricket Wood campus was closed and the property sold. Then the Texas campus was closed. The property was sold but the deal fell through. We still had the campus. It was costing about a million dollars a year just to maintain it and prevent deterioration and overgrowing with weeds.

Why did Christ lead me to open Big Sandy again as a two-year junior college? We had more than twice the number of qualified and acceptable student applications as we could accept at the Pasadena campus, now once again GOD'S college. Many were asking what other college or university we could recommend if there was no room for them at Pasadena. We simply could not recommend ANY. And these prospective students were from our member families.

If some of the Big Sandy two-year students appeared to be ministerial material, they could complete the last two years at Pasadena. In any event, after two years at Big Sandy they could become leaders back home in their local churches.

But now, in the middle of a very successful first year of the reestablished college at Big Sandy, intensive consideration has been given to the question of establishing it as a full four-year college. Some have felt the added expense would be limited to two additional faculty salaries during the 1982-83 year, and two more the fourth year. However, I know by experience that a larger four-year college would involve many additional programs and activities and great additional expenditures not foreseen by the present faculty.

Second, the need for additional ministers does not warrant it. We now have a considerable reservoir of Ambassador graduates, many local nonsalaried elders--others who could be--all well qualified to become preaching elders to pastor local churches.

Third, although it appears God has held up the flow of world events toward the Great Tribulation and coming of Christ, we are most certainly ten years closer to it than we were ten years ago. And a new resurrected "Holy Roman Empire" is undoubtedly being secretly planned right now in European capitals and the Vatican. It could EXPLODE in the world news any day now. We simply do not have the time.

Fourth, I am now in my ninetieth year, and will reach my ninetieth birthday this summer.

I know that starting something that would escalate into a complex, many-faceted new wing of the Church at this stage IS NOT GOD'S WILL, AND JESUS CHRIST THE HEAD OF THIS CHURCH TELLS ME IT WOULD BE FOLLY, AND NOT THE POINT OF WISDOM.

I know some of us would like to see everything GROW and GROW--would like to have the sun, the moon, the earth, the stars and the universe. But wisdom comes with age and experience, and God emphatically leads me in this, HIS decision.

This Work is more nearly accomplished--completed--than we have realized!

The IMPORTANT thing now is that we be sure WE ARE READY for the Great Tribulation and Christ's coming!

NEWS FROM THE PASTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE

Mr. Armstrong Continues Church Visits

Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong continued his church visits with a stop in the nation's capital on the Sabbath of January 9. About 3,000 members from three church areas met at Washington's famous Constitution Hall to hear Christ's message given through His Apostle. The service started late due to a 45-minute delay on the ground at New York's Teterboro Airport. (Mr. Armstrong had spent the previous two nights in New York City.) But the delay didn't dampen the reception of God's Apostle. Mr. LaRavia gave the sermonette on unity, comparing the disharmony of the 70's with the peace and cooperation now at Pasadena. Following special music, the Apostle briskly walked onto the stage and delivered a very powerful message leaving no doubt that a voice is crying aloud within the Church as well as to the world. He continued on with the theme of the two trees showing man's limitation to knowledge of things, and the need for the spiritual knowledge of dealing with people and with God.

Mr. Armstrong, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Ellis LaRavia, Mr. Fred Stevens, and his G-II crew departed Burbank Airport at 7:45 a.m. Thursday morning. A stop in Tucson allowed the group to take care of some business before going on to New York City. There it was necessary to purchase some Steuben crystal for presentation to heads of state during the upcoming trip to the Orient.

Friday morning found the group in the Steuben showroom. Mr. Armstrong wanted to obtain more of the "Pillar of Griffin" pieces which he had previously given to many government heads he had met. Unfortunately this piece was discontinued, so he had to make other selections. Since Steuben keeps a list of various pieces already given to heads of state by others, Mr. Armstrong was able to pick up suitable pieces which he individually selected for the heads of state he will be meeting in Hong Kong, Thailand, the Philippines and Japan during his January/February trip.

On Friday afternoon, Mr. Armstrong returned to his typewriter to update the BIBLE STORY for republication. The first edition contained very little about the Tree of Life. Mr. Armstrong is adding a section to explain this all-important spiritual knowledge God has revealed to him since the BIBLE STORY was written.

While Mr. Armstrong was busy at the keyboard, Mr. LaRavia and Mr. Stevens met with Mr. Lew Gillenson to gather some necessary information about Quest and Everest House. Final disposition of both should occur in the near future.

Sabbath morning found Mr. Armstrong's party in the air headed for Washington, D.C., where Mr. Armstrong gave spiritual guidance and encouragement to the members in attendance. Although a bit tiring, the three-day trip was very successful in all regards, culminating with the very positive Church and ministers' meeting in Washington, D.C.

Ambassador Auditorium Groundbreaking Commemorated

An all-employee meeting including college students was called Thursday, January 14th, to observe the tenth anniversary of groundbreaking ceremonies for Ambassador Auditorium. After opening remarks by House Manager Ellis LaRavia, a 20-minute film on the construction of this magnificent structure was shown.

Three representatives of the architectural firm responsible for designing the building were present. After the film, Mr. Stanley Smith, in charge of the project at the time and now senior officer of Daniel, Mann, Johnson and Mendenhall (DMJM), took a few minutes to reminisce about his and the company's role in bringing this beautiful edifice into existence. Then Mr. Armstrong spoke for nearly 30 minutes.

Mr. Armstrong talked about how the idea of a house for God came to him in the late fifties. By 1959 he saw the need for the college to have an

auditorium and a place for the headquarters church to worship God. "I knew Pasadena was only a temporary headquarters for now and for this generation," he said. "But I knew it [the Auditorium] should be fine. It should have the character of God." So he prayed about it. He asked God to show him if He wanted it to be built.

Being mindful of Christ's parable warning against starting what you are not able to finish, Mr. Armstrong knew God would have to make it financially possible. Several large insurance companies finally agreed to loan the money. (The cost was approximately 12 million dollars, and that included the combination track/parking structure.) "It came as a result of prayer," Mr. Armstrong explained. "It came by the will of the eternal, living God and His Son, and the Head of this Church, Jesus Christ. And they have blessed it in every way."

Though it was never intended to rival Solomon's temple, the Auditorium was to be a house for God. Brethren around the world have contributed to help make it possible and, appropriately, it is composed of the finest building materials from around the world. Since it represents God it had to be the finest of its kind. And, as Mr. Armstrong stated unequivocally, it <u>is</u> the finest!

Now standing resplendent at the temporary headquarters of God's Work, Ambassador Auditorium is used virtually everyday. Mr. Armstrong concluded, "It's here for you to enjoy and it's here for us to worship God in. It's here for us to share with this whole community of Southern California."

TV Program Now Aired in Europe

The first two programs of the French subtitled WORLD TOMORROW TV program airing on TV Luxembourg have brought a fine response from Belgium and Northern France. The majority of letters are requesting French literature, some English and even one request was for Dutch publications.

TO BE ANNOUNCED

Due to rescheduling, Mr. Armstrong's special TV programs, "Mideast Special I" (meeting with President Mubarak of Egypt) and "Mideast Special II" (Mr. Armstrong's Nile Hilton speech), will be broadcast nationwide in the U.S. on the weekends of January 23-24 and 30-31.

REPORT FROM THE TREASURER'S OFFICE

January 12, 1982

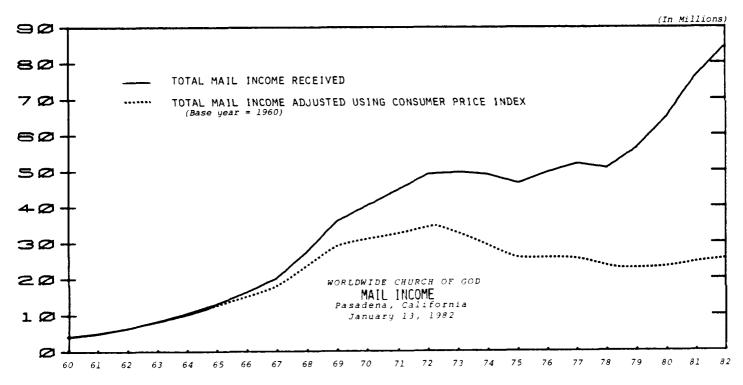
I have just received the final United States income figures for 1981. We ended the year with a 17.4% increase over 1980. This increase, though very healthy, is not nearly as great as the increases the Work was blessed with in the early years. But it is a good increase that we should appreciate and for which we can thank God. The cost-of-living increase for the same period is about 9% to 11%, depending on which scale is used. Therefore, the net increase is about 6% to 8% in purchasing power. Our bank reserves at the end of the year were substantial and adequate and much improved over a year ago, but it is still necessary to use great care in how the funds are used in order to continue in a sound financial condition.

Many new radio and television stations were added in 1981, and PLAIN TRUTH circulation increased to above 4,000,000 worldwide for the first time ever. Also, as a direct result of the increase, Mr. Armstrong was able to approve cost-of-living (or larger) salary increases for most employees.

The 1982 budgets were submitted some weeks ago to Mr. Armstrong and approved. With this approval, we have a balanced budget with a projected increase to reserves. However, there are still some minor adjustments, especially in the international area, that we need to discuss with Mr. Armstrong. The budget provides for approximately a 40% increase in media and immediate support areas, while most other budgets were set at near a 10% increase.

I am including an income graph so that you might better understand what has happened to the income of the Work over the past 21 years, as compared to actual purchasing power. These figures include total mail income, plus holy day offerings. The solid line represents the actual income stated in dollars for each year. However, to see the effect of inflation, the dotted line shows the same income deflated using the Consumer Price Index (CPI), with the base year for the CPI being 1960. You can see the buying power of the Work over the years stated in constant dollars using the value of the dollar in 1960.

The CPI is a statistical measurement of average changes in the purchasing power of the dollar. It includes prices for only a fixed "market basket" group of approximately 300 goods and services purchased by the average U.S. family. These prices are averaged with each item weighted to reflect its importance in family spending.



The financial staff also uses a much broader index called the GNP Implicit Price Deflator to measure the effect of inflation on the Work. It is based on all goods and services included in the U.S. Gross National Product. Graphs produced using both indexes were very similar, so the one we are using here is the more familiar Consumer Price Index.

From this graph, it is clearly evident that the actual purchasing power of income received reached a peak in 1972, then dropped off dramatically to a low point in 1979, and has been slowly increasing since then.

We hope that you are urgently praying that God will bless His Church with greater increases so that we can continue to expand even more rapidly in sending His message to the world.

--Leroy Neff, Treasurer's Office

FROM MINISTERIAL SERVICES

Important Y.O.U. Announcement

The Y.O.U. Office is now accepting applications for high school and college <u>staff positions</u> for the Summer Educational Program in Orr. Applications must be in the mail no later than February 12th. This year's application requires the local minister's evaluation/recommendation. The Y.O.U. Office will rely heavily on ministerial recommendations and wishes to thank you in advance for your assistance in this area.

<u>Please inform your congregations</u> that interested high school and college students should call or write the Y.O.U. Office to obtain an application.

We are pleased to announce that in addition to the Orr campsite, approximately 300 campers will be accepted to Big Sandy for a four-week session (July 1-27) on the Ambassador College campus. Applicants to Big Sandy should be those who have attended the Orr camp at least once in the past, since activities at this site will be advanced level.

<u>Camper</u> applications will automatically be sent to all Church pastors in early February. Camper applications to either site must be in the mail no later than March 15th.

International News

Philippines--End-of-year Summary Great excitement rippled among the brethren as news reached the office this month concerning two major events that will further help fulfill the Great Commission in this part of Asia.

The first is Pastor General Herbert W. Armstrong's planned visit to the Philippines in early February. Mr. Armstrong held a successful two-night campaign in the Philippine International Convention Center in Manila last January. He will again speak at PICC on February 6 and 7. A first-time campaign in Cebu, the country's second largest city, is also being planned for February 4. As in the past, Mr. Armstrong will meet with government officials and civic leaders.

The second piece of news is the possibility of The WORLD TOMORROW program being aired on nationwide television early this year, thanks to the finan-

cial assistance of the Canadian office. The program was last telecast here in 1972.

December ended with a fine 32% increase in income compared with December, 1980. The year's income was 25% better than 1980. This reflects excellent performance on the part of the membership, since there have been many odds against them during the year.

This past year has been a year of typhoons (over 20 of them!) and national economic debacles. The unemployment rate in the country has been estimated at a staggering 26%. This is up from 14% in 1980 and 8% in 1979. Several church members have been affected. Also, members in the southern Philippines have had to live in fear for their lives because of confrontations with rebel forces fighting against the government. And most of them are still recovering from the ravages of the torrential rains which hit them early in the year.

On top of all this, the Work here has had less co-workers and donors to help carry the load than in the previous year. There were 103 baptisms during the year and a total of 2,221 members at the end of December--a 12.6% increase over the total membership in 1980.

The office received 92,319 pieces of mail last year--down by 3,442 from the preceding year. Our PLAIN TRUTH circulation now stands at 33,573.

The brethren have made up for these negative physical factors with a greater spiritual effort. This is evident in the increase in average church attendance this past year--2,291 or 16.6% better than 1980. Feast attendance also registered a 14.6% increase over 1980. This undoubtedly has been helped by the fact that we hired six more men into the ministry last year. We now have 17 full-time elders pastoring 21 churches.

With Mr. Armstrong's campaign and telecast this year, we look forward to tremendous growth in 1982!

News of the Work in Germany The ministers of God's Work in German-speaking Europe did a lot of traveling in December, 1981. John Karlson and Tom Lapacka visited the Bonndorf/Black Forest Feast of Tabernacles site in order to nail down accommodations and conduct talks with local officials. Regional Director Frank Schnee, and Winfried Fritz traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia to talk with Czech travel bureau officials in regards to the 1982 FOT in Brno. So far everything looks good for a great Feast at both sites!

The 1981 Youth Winter Camp was held for YOU members, singles and some attending parents in Radfeld, Austria, from December 20th to the 31st. Bible studies every other day and a church service on the Sabbath provided spiritual food. Excellent weather and deep snow made for ideal sledding, skiing and skating (not to forget snowballing!). Meals eaten together at the "Sonnenhof" Hotel added to the exuberant fellowship enjoyed by young people from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, England, France and Norway.

The ministry also had the chance to spend a week at the youth camp. Unity and friendship were strenghtened by joint family expeditions to sledding and skiing territory. We also really enjoyed getting to know our youth better by having meals in the same hotel with them and addressing relevant themes during the evening Bible studies (which the ministers alternated in presenting).

Looking back on 1981, we are very pleased to see that we surpassed our goal of adding 50,000 new subscribers to The PLAIN TRUTH mailing list. Fifty-four thousand were added worldwide, due to our 1981 advertising campaign. A total of 47,000 were added to the German-language file, with the remaining 7,000 (15%) requesting other language editions.

The major portion of our advertising took place in the spring and fall of the year. Such prominent newspapers and magazines as Germany's prestigeous daily DIE WELT, Switzerland's SCHWEIZER BEOBACHTER and Austria's DIE PRESSE, PROFIL and TREND circulated a total of 670,000 PLAIN TRUTH flyers in 1981. However, our best results came from a full-page ad with a glued-on postcard in the internationally-known weekly news magazine DER SPIEGEL (Oct. 19 edition). So far, 21,000 responses from 60 different countries have been received.

From advertising alone we received over 42,000 new subscribers with a cost per response of \$2.32. Consequently, even with continual renewals, the KLAR & WAHR subscription list has nearly doubled from 40,000 subscribers in December 1980 to 79,000 in December 1981.

During the course of the year we also renewed some 40,000 subscribers, giving us a clean list to make room for new subscribers.

Mail in 1981 was up 36% over 1980. We received 199,285 pieces of mail in 1981. Also 35% more booklets were sent out. And 53% more Correspondence Course lessons were sent out than in the previous year. In all, it was a year of strong, positive growth in the German-language area of God's Work.

In 1981 we also printed some 45,000 booklets to meet the increasing number of requests from the new subscribers. Also 30,000 copies of Mr. Armstrong's soft-bound edition of THE INCREDIBLE HUMAN POTENTIAL were printed, as well as 30,000 soft-bound MISSING DIMENSION IN SEX books. In addition, in December 10,000 of Mr. Armstrong's new booklet NEVER BEFORE UNDERSTOOD were printed run-on with the English version.

God has also been pouring out many financial blessings. For December, 1981, our mail income was up 11.7% over our very good month of December, 1980. And despite a slow start, the income in 1981 has reached a 28% increase over 1980. We attribute this mainly to the rapid growth in the KLAR & WAHR subscription list.

Comments From Monthly Church Reports

SOMERSET/MIDDLESBORO, KY--MEL DAHLGREN: The comment by Mr. Armstrong on how the ladies responded in Pasadena to the make-up decision was very encouraging. Some were feeling pretty down and needed the encouragement. They are doing quite well! We've really had no hang-ups, just readjusting pains which for the most part are all behind now. Make-up is no longer a part of God's Church in Middlesboro. We really appreciate every one of Mr. Armstrong's taped sermons. PHOENIX (WEST), AZ--JAMES E. TURNER: The change in make-up hit some hard. It proved to be an attitude tester, but most accepted it readily and learned valuable lessons. Proof God's Spirit is at work.

ALBUQUERQUE/FARMINGTON, NM--WALTER M. DICKINSON: Since Mr. Armstrong has taken a strong stand on the use of cosmetics and has spoken strongly about how weak we are in allowing the world to creep into our lives, there has been a noticeable trend toward fasting and heartfelt prayer within the congregation. The members are beginning to awaken to the urgency of the times and the personal need to repent and draw ever closer to our Father in heaven so that He and Christ will make their abode with us individually.

CHICAGO (NORTHWEST), IL--ROY HOLLADAY: The church accepted the make-up decision well. Members continue to be amazed at Mr. Armstrong's vitality. His tapes have had an excellent response. Each new tape seems to top the last one in helpfulness and clarity.

SCOTTSBLUFF, NE/FT. COLLINS, CO--CHUCK ZIMMERMAN: Our PT newsstand program is going well! Every month we seem to dispense more and more, and our per capita placement has risen from .8% to 2.1%! Mr. Armstrong's tapes are received with even greater enthusiasm here lately. Seems the make-up/vanity subject has many people "soul searching" and the tapes aid them in this growth.

MEDFORD, OR--FRED DAVIS: Unemployment is still a serious problem in the area. People are starting to move to look for work. Brethren remain steadfast and loyal and appreciative of Mr. Armstrong's tapes.

RUSSELLVILLE, AR--KEN MATTSON: The Bible Study by Mr. Waterhouse really gave a boost to all. A few are having it rough because of the economy, but their spirits are holding up.

HONOLULU, HI--DAVID FRASER: Attitude of members extremely good. Five PM's started attending this month.

MACON, GA--OTTO LOCHNER: Youth of God's Church are progressing toward God's calling. An increased interest plus more members' children (young adults) requesting baptism.

--Joe Tkach, Ministerial Services

PUBLISHING SERVICES UPDATE

PLAIN TRUTH Circulation Breaks All Records

Now that the year-end statistics have been tabulated for the U.S. PT circulation, we can clearly see it was a record-breaking year.

PT circulation in 1981 increased by 65% with the addition of a recordbreaking 900,000 new subscribers. Newsstand circulation has more than doubled to 1.2 million copies per month, and response to the bind-in card has nearly tripled. Total requests for the PT as a result of the TV broadcast were up 489%, and 55% for the radio program.

The December PT worldwide circulation reached 4.2 million, setting an alltime Worldwide Church of God circulation record. This includes both subscription and newsstand circulation.

God's Work is definitely back on the right track!

U.S. Naval Base to Receive PT Newsstand

Mr. Roland Sampson of Bermuda has mentioned that the U.S. Naval Air Station there will soon begin PLAIN TRUTH newsstand distribution. There are over 2,000 base personnel on the island. According to a letter from an officer at the station, they plan to make the PT available at the base post office. --Raymond L. Wright, Publishing Services

UPDATE FROM MAIL PROCESSING CENTER

1981: Another Year of Continued Growth

With 1981 now lapsed into history, the growth in God's Work as reflected through the activities in MPC has again been very encouraging. Some of the highlights for 1981 are as follows.

Mail Received Increases 17.2%

Nearly 2.6 million pieces of mail were received in 1981--a 17.2% increase over the previous year and the highest total in seven years. Within the overall total of <u>mail</u> received, radio and television mail was up 128% over 1980! Also, newsstand cards increased 75% over 1980. The above figures do not include 334,800 Holy Day offering envelopes.

The department was also responsible for routing 123,850 pieces of international mail and approximately 90,000 items of campus mail.

WATS Response Leaps Ahead

Phone response to The WORLD TOMORROW telecast increased by 444% over 1980! The highest-pulling television programs were:

"The Plain Truth About Christmas"--8,958 calls "A Tribute to Anwar Sadat"--8,430 calls "Prophecy and the United States"--7,171 calls

At the beginning of 1981, 55 stations aired The WORLD TOMORROW telecast. By the end of the year this increased to 107.

Since January, 1971 (the beginning of our WATS service), we have answered three million phone calls.

More Than 37.5 Million Pieces of Literature Sent Out (U.S. Only)

During the past year, 37,581,493 pieces of literature were mailed in the United States. This breaks down as follows:

Co-Worker, M	ember	and	Sem	ianr	nual	Le	tte	ers,	et	c.	•		•	4,101,286
PLAIN TRUTH	Renewa	al Le	ette	rs.	• •	•		•		•	•	•		4,509,351
PLAIN TRUTH,														
Literature (
GOOD NEWS														
CORRESPONDEN														
WORLDWIDE NE														
YOUTH 81														
Miscellaneou	s	• • •	• •	• •	• •	•	• •	•	• •	•	•	•	•	1,070,165
										Тс	ota	1		37,581,493

December Semiannual Brings Highest Response in 12 Years

With more than 45 trays coming in over the weekend, it appears that the coworker and member response to Mr. Armstrong's December semiannual letter will be the highest since 1969. Responses to both should pass the 30% mark. Requests for the new booklet, NEVER BEFORE UNDERSTOOD--WHY HUMANITY CANNOT SOLVE ITS EVILS, and for a sample copy of YOUTH 82 are very heavy, and seem to be contributing to the excellent response.

Sets of Bound Booklets and Articles for Ministry

This past year every minister in God's Church worldwide received a fivevolume set containing all the current booklets, reprint articles, reprint series and CORRESPONDENCE COURSE lessons. A Master Index was also provided to assist the men in researching subjects for sermons, Bible studies and in their counseling. Several have expressed their appreciation and have mentioned how much the volumes have helped them already.

--Richard Rice, Mail Processing Center

WEEKLY LETTER COMMENTS

Comments About The WORLD TOMORROW Telecast

This week's comments are in response to the telecast. Viewers, many of them first timers, find Mr. Armstrong's presentations unique and different when compared to other religious programs. They especially appreciate his teaching from the Bible and not asking for money.

I have been watching you for the past three weeks and thank God for the blessing He has bestowed on me by letting me find you. I have been waiting for years for someone to explain the Bible. Most pastors today pick out what people want to hear and still don't explain God's Words....Since I've listened to you I feel a whole new world has opened to me. I have my friends up early on Sunday morning watching you.

V.M. (Philadelphia, PA)

I like your television program and wish it could be longer than half an hour! I feel that you get straight to the point of the matter (the Bible). Instead of all the music and side talk of other church programs, yours is doing what it is meant to do. You really grab an audience. You have made me listen, and also understand the Bible. I feel very secure and think that you can help me, my family and others go the right way--God's way. I would like to help the Church of God because I feel I have found the right church. When I feel that secure with a church, it is time to donate (God's) tenth of money.

D.B. (Richmond, IL)

I watch your broadcast on Sunday mornings and like the way you present your topic of discussion. It is a joy to listen to you discuss the Bible. I'm about fed up with others on television who ask for money because they spend 90% of their time appealing for contributions instead of discussing God's Word and His works.

L.P. (Nashua, NH)

Would you please send me the booklet you discussed on television (THE BOOK OF REVELATION UNVEILED AT LAST)? I really enjoy your programs. Your explanations are so simple that my daughter (age 10) can understand them.

L.C. (Sedalia, MO)

I'd really like to receive your book, THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN IN PROPHECY. I was watching your program and was very happy to see someone finally tell the <u>real truth</u> about the Bible and not lies and deceit. I very much respect you for telling me what I want to hear--the truth. You have just gained another fan.

M.V. (Provincetown, MA)

--Richard Rice, Mail Processing Center

ON THE WORLD SCENE

IS THE END OF NATO NEAR? It's easy this early in 1982 to isolate the most important prophetic trend now developing: The split between the United States and its allies in Western Europe. Deepened by differing reaction to the crisis in Poland, this widening transatlantic rift is producing the most serious crisis ever in the history of the NATO alliance, formed in 1949 to thwart further Soviet inroads in Europe.

The most alarming aspect of this trend is the growing chorus of influential voices in the United States openly questioning whether the U.S. and Western Europe have any kind of a future together at all.

Poland Highlights Split

When the Polish government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski cracked down on its internal critics on December 13, 1981, the stage was set for this latest and most serious squabble within NATO.

On both sides of the line stood NATO's most important members, the United States and West Germany. The crisis showed how differently the two nations perceived what the proper response to Moscow and Warsaw should be.

President Ronald Reagan has made a big point of increasing U.S. defense spending to redress the NATO/Warsaw Pact military imbalance, which had turned heavily in Moscow's favor during the years of the Carter presidency.

When the Polish military put a screeching halt to that nation's liberalization movement, President Reagan simply had to "do something" lest his silence be perceived as condoning the Jeruzelski crackdown. His response was to initiate--unilaterally--a series of sanctions against both the Soviet Union and the martial law government in Poland. Western Europe has since been dragged--very reluctantly--into supporting the U.S. sanctions policy.

Mr. Reagan's announced sanctions, however, are more form than substance unless or until he reimposes an embargo on grain sales to the Soviets-fully three-fourths of U.S. sales are to the U.S.S.R.

West Germany's--and all of Western Europe's--trade stakes with the Soviets and Eastern Europe are much higher. This is critical in these recessionary times. Nearly a half million jobs in West Germany alone are dependent upon East Bloc exports. The big steel firm of Mannesman, for example, sells almost 60% of its steel tubing to the East--and this percentage will increase if the massive \$15 billion Soviet-Western Europe gas deal goes through.

These economic realities undoubtedly lay heavily on the mind of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as he gave his own perspective of events in Poland--a view far different from that of Mr. Reagan. Mr. Schmidt told THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I think that the sanctions, economically speaking, are not really of great effect. But, of course, psychologically, politically, they will have a great effect in Moscow....I consider Jeruzelski, first of all, to act out of what he believes to be in the best of interest of the Polish nation, in the first instance as a Pole. In the second instance, he appears as a military man. And only in the third instance, I think, he comes as a Communist.

Hardly the hard-line approach taken by Mr. Reagan.

Main Problem: U.S. Ambivalence

Chancellor Schmidt believes that the ambivalent American foreign policy in recent years, following in the wake of the Vietnam experience, lies at the heart of the crisis in the Western Alliance, not European softness.

During the Carter years, for example, Washington turned a blind eye as Moscow greatly expanded its medium range nuclear weapons targeted on Western Europe. Mr. Carter also canceled at the last minute--embarrassing his NATO allies--key weapons programs to redress the growing imbalance. Mr. Reagan's policy is the exact reverse of Mr. Carter's, but the key factor is this: How is he perceived in the Kremlin?

Chancellor Schmidt has called for an early summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev in order to, as he said, make Brezhnev understand "the guts that are behind the American president."

"They underrate you," Schmidt said of the Soviet leadership's attitude toward the United States. "They underestimate you and this is a great danger. It can lead to miscalculations which might spell danger for all of us; for you as well as for us in West Europe, as well as for them."

Schmidt told an American television journalist that the Soviets have come to question the continuity of goals and strategy of the United States. "The Soviets have questioned the strategy behind denying them grain, then giving them grain, then denying them something else," he said. "They need some strong words and need to feel the will behind those words."

Jettison "Ungrateful Europe"?

Influential Americans, on the other hand, while acknowledging past U.S. failures, especially during the period between 1976 and 1980, are laying more blame on "neutralism" and "pacifism" in Western Europe for the burgeoning NATO crisis.

These critics express definite isolationist tendencies. According to their line of reasoning, if America is no longer appreciated for the role it has played as free Europe's protector for the past 33 years, then Europe should simply be cut off, with U.S. troops on the continent pulled back home. Besides, some add, the U.S. needs to challenge the Soviets on the high seas and reduce land commitments abroad.

For the past two months the editorial page of the opinion-shaping WALL STREET JOURNAL has rung out with several editorials and opinion pieces on the need for the United States to rethink its defense commitment to Western Europe. Irving Kristol, the so-called "dean of neo-conservative journa-lism" wrote in the JOURNAL that "NATO ceased to be a living reality some years ago" and that "sometime in the not-too-distant future the appropriate funeral services will be held."

A short time later, a major piece by an American businessman, published on the JOURNAL's op-ed page, began bluntly: "The time has come for the U.S. to sever its ties with NATO." Incredibly the author, Ronald C. Nairn, expressed the belief that neither the conquest of Western Europe by the Soviets (after American troops have left) nor "Finlandization" of the continent "would make little strategic difference to the U.S." but would only "add to Soviet burdens."

The author said that the U.S. should, in effect, turn its back on Europe and instead look to Asia where "the vast Pacific basin lies at America's other shore." Compared to the 1.5 billion to 2 billion people of the Pacific basin, he said, "Europe seems a puny affair."

America's political leaders, too, are beginning to "think the unthinkable" --cutting the ties to Europe. Arthur Burns, U.S. ambassador to West Germany, said recently that "the nuclear debate is becoming a battle for the soul of Europe." U.S. troops, he went on to say, "will not stay here if they are not welcome."

Mr. Burns also quoted former Senator Mike Mansfield, now U.S. envoy to Japan, as having said that America's future lay in the Pacific, not the Atlantic.

Interestingly enough, Mansfield was the author of the "Mansfield Amendment," introduced several times in the U.S. Senate in the early 1970's, calling for American troops to be withdrawn from Europe. The Senate rejected the Mansfield Amendment every time. But now, Senate majority leader Howard Baker says he is not so sure it would not sail through.

What we are witnessing is the generation gap in full bloom on both sides of the Atlantic. On the Eastern shore, youthful Europeans are unaware of the importance of America's commitment to their freedom and security. On the Western shore, a "new crop" of U.S. legislators has grown to adulthood without realizing how critical a free, allied Europe is to the very survivability of America itself.

The upshot of this all-important trend is simply this: Without America, Western Europe, standing alone before the Soviet abyss, will have to arm itself, will have to become a nuclear "third force" on its own. Or as another piece in the WALL STREET JOURNAL commented: "European peace may someday require European self-policing."

--Gene H. Hogberg, News Bureau