

THE YEAR OF EUROPE

the
PLAIN TRUTH

a magazine of understanding



**CRACKS
IN THE
ATLANTIC
ALLIANCE**

the
PLAIN TRUTH

a magazine of understanding

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WHY THIS SPECIAL ISSUE

To a remarkable degree, many people — particularly Americans — have been oblivious to the momentous tides of change which have swept over Europe in the past two decades. As an example of this unawareness, the famous Gallup Poll organization in June of this year discovered that 55% of the Americans questioned still have not heard nor have ever read about the European Community, or Common Market. This means that important events and trends in the fields of world trade, monetary affairs, and political and military alignments in the Western world have escaped the full attention of the majority of the North American public. To enlighten our peoples to these important trends, we of *The Plain Truth* dedicate this issue.

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ABOUT OUR COVER

The two-dimensional art of a *bas-relief* uniquely epitomizes U.S. and European political-economic cooperation. The numerous problems and inimical interests dividing Europe and the U.S. are dramatized by the fissure in the *bas-relief*.

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DO YOU see a bright future ahead? For you? For humanity?

Personally, I do — and if you can join me in saying that, you are one in a hundred thousand!

Where is any *good news* today? Where is any future to be found in nations developing nuclear weapons which can erase all human, animal and plant life from the earth? Where is any hope to be found in the wretchedness, ignorance, poverty, squalor and filth in which more than half the world's population lives? Where is any joyous anticipation to be found in prosperous "have" nations where sources of drinking water — the rivers and lakes — are being polluted and the air we breathe is being befouled, the soil is worn out and contaminated and the foods are being robbed of nutrition in food factories; where homes and families are being broken up, crime is rapidly increasing, racial problems and violence are erupting, and sickness and mental disturbances multiplying?

Where is happiness today? Sixty years ago, driving along country roads in Iowa, I saw and heard farmers plowing behind teams of horses, singing happily as they walked. Today, the farmers ride tractors — but where did the singing and the happiness go?

Where do we find encouraging reassurance for tomorrow on university campuses where the leaders of tomorrow are consigning morality to the limbo of an outmoded past, where suicides are on the increase, and where unproved doctrines are being absorbed by impressionable minds?

Where do we find inspiration in the assertions of world leaders and the "great," warning us that we must adjust to a future of growing problems and dangers where there are NO SOLUTIONS?

Well, for those of the above prevailing concepts, the future must indeed appear discouragingly bleak — if they take a look at it instead of kidding themselves into the assump-

Personal from



Hope for the Future

tion that by ignoring the dangers they will somehow go away.

There is a CAUSE for every effect.

There is a CAUSE for the state of the world today. And there has to be a CAUSE that will produce the peaceful and happy world tomorrow. There had to be a first cause for the very existence of matter, of life, of forces and energies. But today, it is considered "intellectual" to be willingly IGNORANT of that. I have said before that in the first two centuries of the so-called Christian era, it was popular to embrace gnosticism — meaning, "we know." But today, it is popular to embrace agnosticism — meaning, "we don't know — we are ignorant." Today, ignorance is embraced and labeled "knowledge."

Is it IGNORANCE to recognize the facts of the great first cause who reveals the true cause of all of today's ills? Is it wise, intellectual and knowledgeable to be deliberately ignorant of basic facts and truth?

There are two main ways of life — two basic principles — two fundamental philosophies. One is the way of GIVING, the other of GETTING. One is LOVE, the other LUST. One believes it is more blessed to give than to receive. The other insists that acquiring, taking, accumulating, in the way of competition, leads to progress and happiness.

The one way is God-centered, the other is SELF-centered. The one accepts the Golden Rule, the other says, "Do it to others before they do it to you." The one is the way of the

divine nature; the other, the way of human nature. The one is the way of humility; the other, of vanity.

This world — all civilization — this world's society — is based on the hostile, competitive, SELF-centered way. It has produced every wail of human woe. It is the way that now threatens the extinction of humanity.

This all means one thing. Man, imbued with human nature, is utterly UNABLE to solve his problems. He can only worsen problems and create new ones. By the "knowledge" and efforts of man, this world is doomed and hopeless.

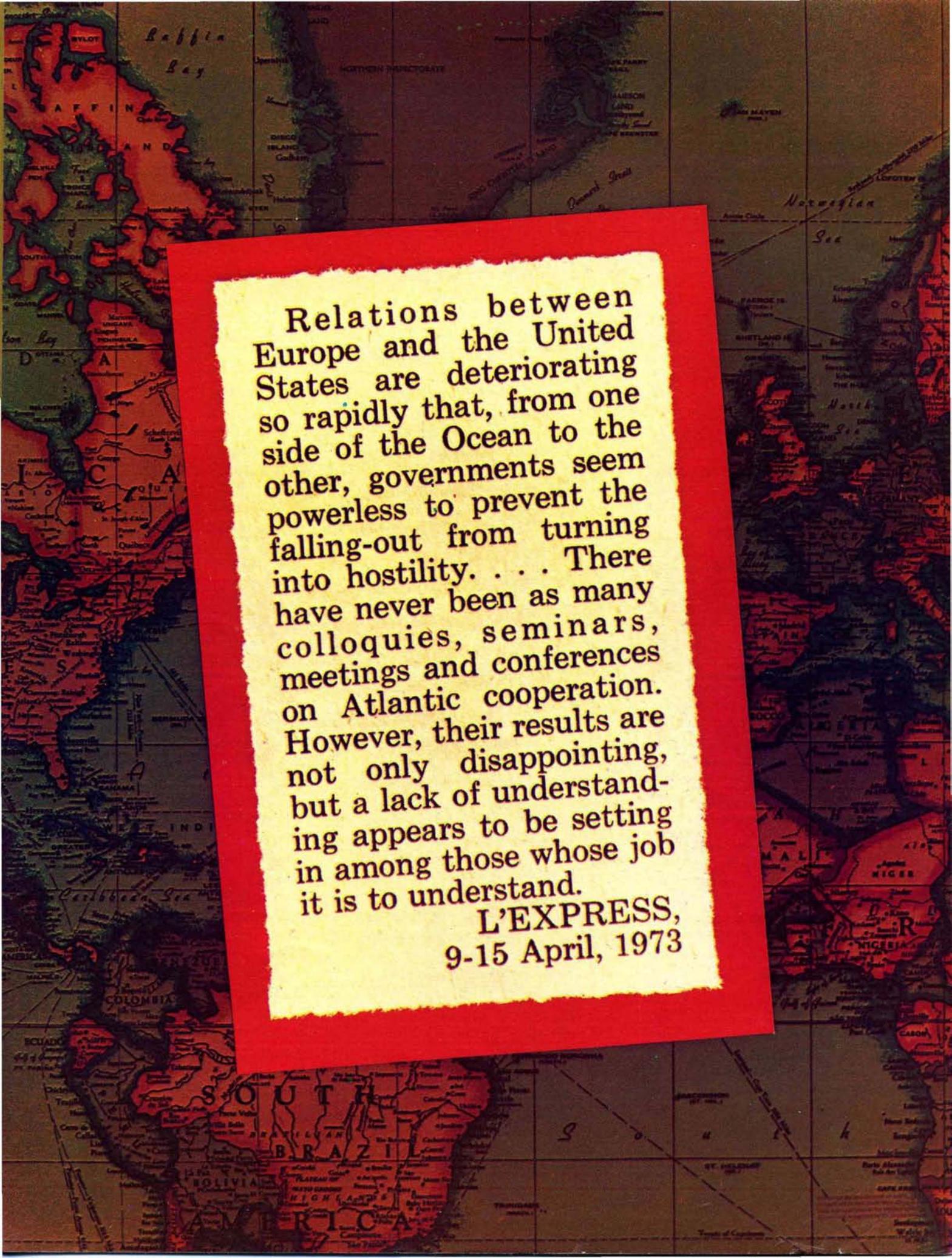
Is there, then, nothing to live for? Is there no hope for the future? Not within the knowledge, the skills and abilities of this world's great minds. Of self-professed "great" men, God says, "Professing themselves to be wise, they have become fools!"

But there emphatically is a bright future ahead! The world tomorrow — which *The PLAIN TRUTH* proclaims — will bring world peace, universal prosperity, universal right education, universal good health.

This coming utopia does not depend on the planning or doing of men. It will be produced *in spite of men*.

The greatest event of all history will be the coming of the *living* Jesus Christ again to earth. But this time, he is not coming as the gentle young man from Nazareth, bringing the announcement that led to his flogging and death at the hands of angry men. Jesus Christ rose from

(Continued on page 40)



Relations between Europe and the United States are deteriorating so rapidly that, from one side of the Ocean to the other, governments seem powerless to prevent the falling-out from turning into hostility. . . . There have never been as many colloquies, seminars, meetings and conferences on Atlantic cooperation. However, their results are not only disappointing, but a lack of understanding appears to be setting in among those whose job it is to understand.

L'EXPRESS,
9-15 April, 1973

NOT SINCE the United States emerged as the world's premier power from the ashes of World War II has its global prestige been at such a low point.

The current crisis between Western Europe and the United States goes far beyond the Watergate affair and its damaging impact upon the confidence in U. S. leadership overseas. It can be attributed primarily to America's orientation — or disorientation — in foreign affairs beginning in the early 1960's.

During the dozen frustrating years of the Vietnam experience, Washington's ties with Europe became strained, links with Japan rusted and Africa was virtually ignored, while much of Latin America became openly antagonistic.

In a touch of bitter irony, Washington's relations warmed up with North Vietnam's two principle suppliers and spiritual advocates, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. It is now no secret that relations between Washington and Moscow — which are now to include annual, wide-ranging summit conferences — are in many ways better than those between Washington and Paris, Bonn, Brussels or Tokyo, for that matter.

Nowhere has the effect of this "friend-swapping" been more serious than in the nations of Western Europe. During those same Vietnam years, the U. S. dollar, coveted earlier as a precious exchange commodity, became virtually unwanted. Tens of bil-

lions of surplus American greenbacks, by-products of a tidal wave of U. S. business investment, now constitute a major threat to the stability of nearly all the European currencies — and as a result, the entire world monetary system as it now stands.

Official views on a future national monetary arrangement could hardly be more divergent than between the French and the Americans. The French favor a return to fixed exchange rates among the world's major currencies, along with a key role for gold in any new system. Most leading American economic policy framers, on the other hand, prefer to see currencies "float," as they do today. And they do not hide their intense distaste for gold.

Not only are American monetary policies highly suspect in Western Europe, but so are Washington's views in the critical area of world trade.

Europeans, for the most part, are highly suspicious of the repeated calls by American trade experts for a "fair deal" for U. S. exports. They translate "fair deal" as "special advantage." The Americans, in turn, take sharp issue with the Common Market's various and sundry quotas, discriminatory taxes and preferential trade agreements with other countries.

The "capstone" of the economic dispute is the op-

CRACKS IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

To Washington policy-makers, 1973 was to be the "Year of Europe," a time to renew and strengthen trans-Atlantic relations. Instead, disputes over trade, monetary and military matters are threatening to tear apart the strategic partnership.

by Gene H. Hogberg

DOLAR = RUINE
Pour Les Paysans
Européens



eration of the Community's extremely controversial Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

The United States, dependent upon increased sales of its agricultural bounty to pay for burgeoning oil imports, would like to see the CAP barriers against food imports greatly reduced. According to the U. S. argument, virtually the entire CAP program of subsidies to European farmers is financed by the duties charged on imports of U. S. farm products.

The French, prime architects of the CAP, dogmatically declare, however, that they would rather wreck the entire Common Market than tamper with the CAP structure. The French farmer is still a powerful voice in French domestic politics. To fail to protect him from lower-cost U. S. farm goods would be suicidal for any politician in France.

The brewing controversy over conflicting trade policies caused a leading American weekly business magazine to editorialize: "The stage is set for the outbreak of a trade war

with all the protectionist devices, exchange controls, tariffs, and quotas that made the 1930's a nightmare."

Another thorn in the side of the Atlantic partnership is the divergence of views over military matters, specifically the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The United States would like its European allies to pick up more of the tab for NATO costs to reduce Washington's balance-of-payments outflow. Europeans argue that they already provide — and pay for — nearly 80 percent of NATO'S manpower. The West German government, in addition, pays for approximately half the cost of stationing the 220,000 U. S. troops and their dependents on German soil.

Perhaps the most serious disagreement of all between the U. S. and Europe — and one which has arisen primarily in the past year — is the totally different approach on both sides of the Atlantic in attempting to solve mutual problems.

The United States, being a single

power, upholding with Canada "one pillar" of the oceanic alliance, quite naturally prefers a single approach. Its officials prefer to treat monetary, trade and military problems in one overall package.

On the other side are the Europeans (and the French are adamant on this point), who demand that these three spheres of problems be clearly delineated and dealt with separately, point by point. Otherwise, they claim, the Americans might use the threat of a massive troop pullout from Europe as a lever to wring major concessions on money and trade matters. The French press has openly labeled such a "linkup" of issues as "troop blackmail."

As if to confirm their deepest fears, President Nixon, in his "State of the World" message on May 4 of this year, warned the Europeans that it would be unrealistic for them to expect U. S. military protection and political support for European unity to continue, while at the same time, they maintain and increase tariff barriers against U. S. exports.



HERALDED as the "Year of Europe," 1973 instead found Europe facing continued internal conflicts and a growing rift with its chief ally, the United States. Far left: In April 30,000 French farmers hoisted signs of protest against the dollar — "the ruin of the European farmer." Center: The devaluation of the dollar in February caught many American tourists off guard. Top right: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization found itself the subject of popular anti-NATO demonstrations earlier this year, such as this one in Copenhagen. Bottom right: A meeting of the NATO Council. A growing controversy in 1973 involved how much European NATO members should pay for U.S. troops stationed on European soil.

Far left: Henri Bureau — Gamma
Center: Alain Dejean — Sygma
Top and bottom right:
Black Star — Courtesy NATO

Europe's present course, Mr. Nixon said, could only lead to "deadlock, with the prospect of constant conflict" on economic and financial issues.

Mr. Nixon obviously felt he could openly express such sensitive issues because he had already "spoken" — via his foreign affairs proxy, Henry Kissinger — on the whole range of Atlantic relations eleven days earlier.

In an unexpected major policy address delivered before the annual meeting of the Associated Press in New York on April 23, Dr. Kissinger, President Nixon's adviser on national security affairs, set out for the first time a sketchy outline of the President's much-publicized "Year of Europe" program. Dr. Kissinger stated that the United States desired to write "a new Atlantic Charter" with the nations of Western Europe, to resolve the political, economic and military strains which have been developing between them.

In a survey of the complaints on

both sides of the Atlantic, Dr. Kissinger insisted that "the gradual accumulation of sometimes petty, sometimes major economic disputes, must be ended and be replaced by a determined commitment on both sides of the Atlantic to find cooperative solutions."

Calling for "a fresh act of creation equal to that undertaken by the postwar generation of leaders of Europe and America," the former Harvard professor asked "friends in Europe, Canada, and ultimately Japan, to join us in this effort" and come back with suggestions for the proposed new document of principles.

Dr. Kissinger described the alliance between the United States and Europe as "the cornerstone of all postwar foreign policy." He asserted that the big challenge today is "whether a unity forged by a common perception of danger [the Soviet Union] can draw new purpose from shared positive aspirations." Kissinger admitted that the task would be difficult. A generation ago, the United States was offering help

to a devastated Europe, lying prone before the threat of the Red Army. Today, the United States is suggesting cooperation with a rebuilt, powerful and strongly competitive Europe.

Reaction to the Kissinger proposal in Europe was cool, at best.

In France the dominant tone, as expected, ranged anywhere from subdued skepticism to downright derision. Particularly offensive to the French was the implication that Europe should only mind its "regional interests" — that Washington would continue to speak for the entire West on matters of world import, especially in relations with the communist giants, Russia and China.

The new, robust Europe of the Nine, in the French view, should not languish forever in this junior role. Certainly it should not codify its subservience in the form of some grandiose new Atlantic Charter delegating the greatest responsibilities to the United States. Such a

policy, believe French experts, would only grant the United States undue advantage in important world trade and monetary talks.

A writer in France's most influential evening paper, *Le Monde*, put it most bluntly: "For Western Europe, accepting such an alignment would amount to ratifying her commercial weakness, her economic dependence, her military insignificance and her political effacement. This would be to renounce herself for a long time, perhaps forever."

Americans as a whole would probably be quite shocked at the extremely blunt language directed toward American policies — especially monetary ones — in the French press. Phrases such as America's "attacks" and "trade offensives" are liberally employed.

Perhaps the epitome of biting French fiscal logic to date appeared in the financial supplement of *Le Monde* in the Spring of 1973. The headline read "Monnaie de Singe." Translated into English, it means "monkey money." The author of the article, Roger Bernos, declares:

"Europeans [and Japanese] have finally discovered with stupefaction that for the last 15 years they've been paid in monkey money."

Mr. Bernos explains that "to pay in monkey money means to recompense or pay in pretty words and empty promises, as did the exhibitors of performing monkeys when they paid the toll over bridge or road by having their animals perform tricks."

The \$22 billion accumulated as reserves by the Germans, the \$17 billion held by Japan, and France's \$5 billion, all of which accumulated over the last 15 years, Mr. Bernos writes, "had in fact no interest, no value, and were even undesirable. It's a rough shock."

"Everyone knows," he continues, "that with good reserves in one's granary, one can await the winter and bad times with a confident heart. Alas! Disenchantment has

come. For it is essential that one should have stored good grain and not light straw."

Undoubtedly, the French are the most outspoken European critics of American foreign policy. But as a leading French economist himself points out, "Often the French say out loud what many other Europeans are silently thinking but cannot say."

Such "silent thinking" is obviously occurring in West Germany. In March of this year, roughly one month after the second official dollar devaluation, an opinion poll reported that only 47 percent of the Germans considered the United States the most important country for Bonn to have good relations with. This was down sharply from the 79 percent of a year ago.

Not helping matters are recent scattered remarks of mayors and of the local officials, especially in southern Germany, who have been openly critical of the "permanent" stationing of nearby U. S. army garrisons. The West German federal government views such protests as only adding fuel to the fire of the argument of American senators who have been pushing for a drastic cut in American troop levels overseas.

The West German press has been quick to evaluate the new state of Bonn-Washington affairs. "The German-American relationship has changed, but not for the better," reports *Vorwaerts*, the official organ of Brandt's Social Democratic party. The *Neue Rhein Zeitung* adds that in West Germany, "it has almost become fashionable to chime in with anti-American propaganda."

One of West Germany's leading news analysts tried to put his finger on the nebulous anti-U. S. mood in his country, but found it difficult.

"A spook goes around in Europe: Anti-Americanism," Sebastian Hoffner wrote in his column in *Stern*, May 3, 1973. He added: "Spooks are intangible. It is difficult to deal rationally with the European

anti-Americanism, since it manifests itself only rarely clearly. It is in the air like an odour, and not a good one; an exudation out of the subconscious. In the same way there was an anti-semitism in the air in Germany in the twenties, and in the fifties it was anti-communism."

The liberal *Frankfurter Rundschau* put the development in proper perspective. It conceded that U. S. popularity — like the dollar — has been devalued in Germany. But, the paper said, "Europe still needs America" because "the U.S.A. still plays the main role in world politics."

The increasingly open, critical feelings expressed by Alliance members have some officials on both sides of the ocean deeply concerned. Former U. S. ambassador to the European Community, J. Robert Schaetzel (see accompanying interview), has been continually warning of the growth of an "adversary relationship" between Europe and the United States. What worries him is that "no one really seems to care" what is happening and that precious little is being done at the present time to halt the downward trend.

West German Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt, after a visit to Washington earlier this year, told an interviewer that there was a "major danger" that trade disputes could end up wrecking the Atlantic Alliance.

Even to suggest a breakup of the alliance which cements the free world was unthinkable before the 1970's. But no longer is this so. The year 1973 could mark the beginning — if both powers are not extremely careful — of a complete breakdown in trans-Atlantic relations. Nothing could be worse for a United States already plagued by Watergate, a sick currency, and now facing fuel and possibly food shortages on top of everything else. A Europe united against, not with, the United States could very likely be worse than any of the above maladies. □

...BUT WHO SPEAKS FOR EUROPE?

A CONVERSATION WITH J. ROBERT SCHAETZEL

J. ROBERT SCHAETZEL served six years as U. S. Ambassador to the European Community, or Common Market, until October 1972. He retired from governmental service one month later, having served the State Department for 27 years, much of the time as a specialist on Atlantic affairs and international trade. Mr. Schaetzel has many close friends in Europe and is widely recognized and appreciated on the Continent as an American who understands the European view on the many sensitive issues affecting the Atlantic Alliance. He is presently writing a book under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations, suggesting what U. S. policy should be, vis-à-vis the enlarged European Community.



Photos by Dexter Faulkner

To assess the current status of U. S.-West European affairs, Plain Truth Associate Editor Gene H. Hogberg talked with former United States Ambassador to the European Community, J. Robert Schaetzel. Here are key excerpts of their conversation, held recently in Mr. Schaetzel's home in suburban Washington, D.C.

QUESTION — PLAIN TRUTH: Mr. Schaetzel, for six years you were the U. S. Ambassador to the European Community. Since your retirement from government service a year ago, you have crossed the Atlantic on numerous occasions. How would you describe the present state of relations between the U.S. and key West European nations?

ANSWER — SCHAETZEL: The situation has not fundamentally changed in the last few years. A great deal is going on in Europe in terms of the new construction, trying to put together something

which is variously called the "European Community," "Common Market" or "United States of Europe." The hallmark of the European scene is preoccupation with their own internal affairs. I would say almost the same thing prevails in the United States. In a general atmosphere of preoccupation with internal affairs, you can have a degree of conflict over secondary and tertiary issues. And this is really what we've had: a great deal of misunderstanding, sharp disputes over, in many cases, quite inconsequential trade issues and a remarkable degree of insensitivity on both sides.

Q. What does the United States want from the nations of Western Europe today? Washington was very instrumental in pushing them toward unification in the first place.

SCHAETZEL: I don't think the U. S. government knows what it wants. I've argued that it has no clearly defined policy toward Europe. I think the government itself does not have or has lost — perhaps both — the interest which previous adminis-

trations have had in a united Europe as a political objective. That's not what government officials say. They say they are still in favor of it — but it is said with less enthusiasm. The important point is that the Europeans don't believe the U. S. government has the conviction which previous administrations have had.

Q. A recent Gallup poll, commissioned and paid for by the Common Market, indicated that 55% of the American public still doesn't know what the 15-year-old Common Market is. What has been your experience on this, in your contacts across America?

SCHAETZEL: I have found that there is still vast ignorance regarding the Common Market in the U. S. among the general public, although not so much among the people and audiences I'm more often in contact with. Since I left Brussels in October 1972, I have spent a great deal of time traveling around the U. S., speaking to various groups. Out of this experience, I've been struck by the continuing interest in the whole idea of a united Europe on the part of Americans. They have not yet had their minds poisoned by the difficulties. I don't believe we've been condemned to a certain attitude or relationship. The whole matter is still wide open.

"A Task of Extraordinary Proportions"

Q. The ambivalent attitude on the part of the United States is one thing. But it appears that the various member nations of the European Community themselves have highly divergent views on what they want their association to become.

SCHAETZEL: Right. This is one of the real difficulties, because the Common Market process began in 1950, less than 25 years ago. The creation of a united Europe was a task of extraordinary proportions.

Nothing like it had ever been attempted before. And then, of course, by 1958 came the De Gaulle phenomenon. De Gaulle came back into power, and France, which had really initiated the whole affair, then became the major problem in the European construction. De Gaulle had never believed in it.

Q. It appears as if the Common Market, formally established on January 1, 1958, just barely got in "under the wire" before De Gaulle resumed power a few months later.

SCHAETZEL: As a matter of fact, when De Gaulle came back to power in 1958, there was the fear on the part of many Europeans, including a large number of French, that he would destroy the whole business then and there. The fact that he didn't astonished them. But nonetheless, from 1958 until about 1968, the question was really the survival of the European Community rather than how far it could be pushed along.

Now it wasn't until Pompidou [De Gaulle's successor] came in that the Community seemed to have a new lease on life. That permitted the British negotiations which were finished last year, with the British coming in on January 1, 1973. The Community is now going into a phase which will last for several years, during which time its members will decide what the structure of the new Europe is to be. A European said to me in the course of my recent trip, a man who had been in it from the beginning, "This is a hundred-year proposition." That's the sort of dimension in which they are thinking. It's a very hard dimension for Americans to comprehend.

Europe Has "No Acknowledged Leader"

Q. Yet the political leaders of Europe set rather impressive guidelines

and target dates for the Community. They talk about wanting to achieve various policies by 1980 or 1985. . . .

SCHAETZEL: They set targets, and targets are useful. They may or may not make them, but at least they're trying to maintain a momentum. But you made an observation about the differing views among the various European member states. This is certainly true. The sharpest impression I have — the essence of the European story that I came back with from my last trip — was of the great confusion among Europeans. Among the people intimately involved in the whole process of European construction, there is no common strategy, common policy or acknowledged leader to whom the good and true turn for advice or guidance as to what to do next.

Q. But what about the vast "Eurocracy" centered at Common Market headquarters in Brussels?

SCHAETZEL: The institutions of the Community are relatively weak. There is no body which stands out as being the institutional spokesman for this new Europe. The Community Commission under Walter Hallstein attempted to go in this direction back in the mid-1960s. But it got into a fight with De Gaulle and has really not recovered. The representatives of the member governments, the Council of Ministers, are not a body which can perform this task very well. Jean Monnet [the so-called father of the Common Market] is a man of 85, and while he is still remarkably vigorous intellectually, obviously he cannot perform the function which he performed so remarkably in the past.

I was talking to Lord George Brown when I was in London recently, and we got into this question of leadership. He made an observation many people make these days — that this is the period of mediocre

"... in the whole process of European construction, there is no common strategy, common policy or acknowledged leader... There is no single person with whom one can speak with the same authority as the President of the United States."



leadership, and not only that, people seem to be content with it. All of this is bound to be quite discouraging to those whose goal is a united Europe.

Q. Isn't this lack of central leadership or authority the very thing that frustrates the Americans so much in their dealings with the Common Market?

SCHAETZEL: That's right, and many of the things said not only by this administration but by previous administrations express a desire for a partner with whom the United States can deal on a more or less equal plane. Yet because of the stage of the Community's political and economic development, there simply isn't such an organization or individual. There is no single person with whom one can deal, no person who can speak with the same authority as the President of the United States. This understandably creates irritation and frustration, rather than encouraging American patience. Europeans are equally frustrated about this situation, but they know there are very real limits on what they can do.

The French Express European Attitudes

Q. I've been amazed at some of the blunt statements in the French press

regarding the whole gamut of U.S.-Common Market problems. I don't sense the same degree of outspokenness in the West German or even British press, although the latter has been very critical of Mr. Nixon during the Watergate affair.

SCHAETZEL: Unfortunately, it is all too true. France is a most difficult partner, both for the Europeans and across the Atlantic. It is ubiquitous in its resistance to efforts to improve Atlantic relations. A good French friend was telling me in Paris last month, "You know, we are a suspicious people. We're even suspicious about one another, so therefore you have to take into account that anything we say stems from this particular national quality."

The French are also highly self-confident, and they are anxious, given their history and the nourishment of ego they got from De Gaulle, to assert themselves both among the Europeans and on the international level. So all these factors come together to make the French the principal problem within Europe, and I think between Europe and the United States. I say principal because they are not alone. Many of the things they say, they just happen to say more openly and more offensively than the others. The French are expressing,

in certain cases quite crudely, strongly held European attitudes.

Q. The French editor of a European business magazine recently stated that the French often say out loud what others are thinking, but are afraid to say.

SCHAETZEL: That is correct. On the other hand, there is something which is really peculiarly French and much less understandable.

For a country which prides itself on logic, I am staggered by things so inherently illogical in much of the French approach to international affairs. For instance, the French are in the forefront of wanting a Europe which is able to deal independently and co-equally with the rest of the world. Therefore, they are in favor of a united Europe, so they say. And yet to have a Europe which really works, having strong institutions based on a sufficient delegation of national sovereignty, the French devote themselves to frustrating the very efforts to move in that direction. They set up the ultimate contradiction. They are the major proponents of a certain objective — and at the same time the major obstacle to the achievement of that objective. Call this French logic, if you wish.

Q. You once described "French logic" very poetically....

SCHAETZEL: Somebody once said that French logic is like a knife which is "all blade." But no matter how you explain it, the French attitude is frustrating and worrisome to other Europeans. This is especially true for the West Germans. There are currents just below the surface of Germany which could cause the Germans to say, "All right, Western European unity isn't working; so let's concentrate on an alternative policy." As one of my German friends recently told me, "After all, Germany is the one European country that could have an alternative

policy." This is because of its historic ties to the East and — going back to the Bismarckian period — the notion of Germany as a bridge between the East and the West.

The French approach encourages these forces in Germany which could be incredibly dangerous, not only for Western Europe itself but for European and world security. There had been a hope that after the recent French elections, Pompidou would have felt that he did not need to cater to the ultra-nationalistic Gaullists any longer. This has not turned out to be the case. The present situation between France and her partners is as bad as it was five or six years ago, during the low point at the end of the Gaullist regime.

Germany's Dilemma

Q. You mentioned "incredibly dangerous" forces that could become a serious problem in West Germany. Could you clarify what you mean?

SCHAETZEL: First, there are certain elements within the SPD [the Social Democrats, the party of Chancellor Willy Brandt] who were never enthusiastic about Western European union. They believe that Germany should devote itself to arrangements with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, that this policy would make more sense in terms of Germany's national interests.

There is another force which suggests a dangerous form of German nationalism. It comes from people who are politically right of center. They believe Germany shouldn't get itself tied to poor countries like Great Britain, or traditionally mis-managed countries like Italy or impossible countries like France. "We will be a national Germany looking after our own interests on the international stage, making arrangements with whatever country or group of countries as are in the im-

mediate self-interest of Germany" — this is their concept. These are all disintegrating conceptions, and they could weaken Germany's commitment to the Western Alliance and cause it to turn away from the European Community.

Where Does Japan Fit In?

Q. It was interesting to note that in Dr. Kissinger's address to the editors of the Associated Press on April 23, in which he called for a new Atlantic charter, he mentioned that accommodations have to be made for Japan; that Japan, though not an Atlantic power, is nevertheless a very powerful, dynamic force in the world today. How do the Japanese complicate the matter we've been discussing?

SCHAETZEL: They've introduced an element which none of us anticipated ten years ago, and that is the vitality of their economic system, their capacity to compete — and not primarily by any discriminatory or unfair measures. We dangerously fool ourselves if we think the Japanese miracle has been arrived at underhandedly. I would argue that it stems from the remarkable cultural and social pattern of the Japanese. An American-Japanese scholar said that, in a sense, these may be almost the only people who are completely at home in an advanced industrial society. In other words, they are people whose mores allow them to live in congested areas and in a highly complicated industrial society. Their social system allows them to live happily in this environment, which is not true of people as deeply rooted in the freedom of the individual as is the case of our own and European societies.

But to get back to the first part of your comment, there is no question now among the most thoughtful people that any stable world order is

going to have to be based on a new relationship among Japan, the European Community and the United States. It needs to be emphasized that to accomplish this will involve very hard work. The Europeans, who have a lesser fund of knowledge about Japan than do the Americans, have an even longer road to travel than the U. S. Yet the disturbing thing is that in Kissinger's speech, the one you mentioned, the Japanese reference was a kind of after-thought. He talked about many things and then said, in effect, "Oh yes, we must involve the Japanese too." I feel that either Japan should not have been dealt with at all in this speech, or else it ought to have been done in a much more thoughtful and subtle manner. All it did was increase the alarms among the Europeans. And even the Japanese didn't like it. In short, the reference to Japan seemed remarkably inept and ill-conceived.

Europeans Fear Washington-Moscow Collusion

Q. Moving into this complex relationship is the Soviet Union. The U. S. is developing a better relationship with the Soviets, and the Germans have been doing the same for their own reasons. What impact does this have on the Western Alliance?

SCHAETZEL: It introduces difficulties. The United States has had a very close and special relationship with Western Europe both during the war and in the post-war period. The Europeans began the process of attempting to work out arrangements with the Soviet Union to ease East-West tensions. We in the United States stood back from this, and in many cases, took a very hard line. So it's quite easy for Americans to say now, "Well look, what's so odd about what we're doing? We're only belatedly doing what you Eu-

"What Europeans extract from all this is that the U.S. is moving in the direction of a kind of balance-of-power system in which it looks at Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Japan and China all as being equal components of some kind of vast international game."



Europeans have done and in many cases what you've urged us to do." But there's probably more than a quantitative difference in the varying approaches of the Americans and the Europeans to East-West détente. There's a qualitative difference as well, in that the American superpower is developing very close and continuing ties with the Soviet superpower in a whole range of relationships: defense, politics and economics. It's bound to make the Western Europeans nervous. "Do we know everything that's going on?" they seem to be asking. "Have we been consulted, or are we merely being informed? Are we being told only about the top of the iceberg?" They sense — and they certainly say this in the European press — that President Nixon seems to find a dialogue with the Kremlin easier, more productive and more interesting than relations with Western Europeans. Then there was the unfortunate idea floated first by Kissinger and then by Nixon: the pentagonal balance-of-power system.

Q. You mean the view that the U. S., the Soviet Union, Japan, China and Western Europe represent the "Big Five" more-or-less-equal power centers?

SCHAETZEL: Yes, and this vision of

the world order really worries most responsible, thoughtful Europeans. I was asked about it again and again on my most recent trip. It suggests to them a system resting on international amorality — as De Gaulle said, countries have interests, not friends. What Europeans extract from all this is that the U. S. is moving in the direction of a kind of balance-of-power system in which it looks at Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Japan and China all as being equal components of some kind of vast international game. Europeans would argue that if this is really the direction of American policy, then it represents a most fundamental change and ignores what they had thought was crucial. That is, that there is something distinct in the Western culture; that we have been involved in an Atlantic relationship not for purely security or economic reasons, but because there was a shared cultural tradition which goes back to the Greeks — that in democratic society, governments exist to protect certain individual rights and cultural values. In short, Europeans have thought the link between Western Europe and America is a common interest in Western civilization. Worried Europeans extract from this balance-of-

power idea the notion that the U. S. appears to be rejecting this fundamental viewpoint. These are some of the things which make them uneasy and flow from the mysterious relationship, as they see it, which seems to be evolving between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Q. You are presently engaged in writing a book based largely on your years of service as U. S. Ambassador to the European Community. What will be the theme?

SCHAETZEL: The objective of the book is to suggest what American policy should be, let's say over the next ten years, toward a changing Europe, particularly the European Community. The major plea is that Americans must rekindle their interest in Western Europe and its search for unity because it is very much in the most profound American interest. This doesn't mean that we should design the new Europe or we should take a number of overt actions.

I asked one European after another, "What would you like the United States to do if you had it within your authority to dictate to us?" The message from every one of them was: "We would like to have again your interest in this process which we don't think we now have." That really is my central theme. □

PART 1

WHAT EUROPEANS THINK OF AMERICA

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Our regional editor Ray Kosanke files this two-part report from Brussels in conjunction with John Karlson in West Germany, David Price in England, Philip Sandron in France and Bernard Andrist in Switzerland. The first part discloses what the European family thinks of Americans today. The second half touches the one major concern confronting Europeans today.

IT'S AN AGE of instantaneous communication. People the world over can watch American astronauts on their TV screens walking on the moon or circling the earth. The United States finds its every move scrutinized by nations around the world.

Whether the United States likes it or not, it is still the leading power in the Western world. Its natural resources, large population, economic capacity and military might all work together to force upon it a position of leadership. This is a position which increasing numbers of Americans neither desire to have nor wish to maintain.

Few Europeans are indifferent to the United States. Huge numbers have relatives in "America" — as the United States and Canada are popularly referred to. For a large number of Europeans, Americans are people "just like us."

Today, the Atlantic Ocean is hardly a barrier so much as it is a bridge between the two continents. Americans by the hundreds of thousands are constantly seen in Europe. And, as the United States becomes less expensive to Europeans, increasing numbers of tourists from the Continent are seeing the U.S.A.

Along with his view of the ubiquitous American tourist, complete with camera and colorful clothes, the average European has formed a stereotyped image of the American businessman, generally pictured as

chomping on a big cigar and simultaneously shouting orders into two or three telephones.

The older generation in Europe carries the memory of American soldiers who twice came to the rescue of Europe. For these people, the image is still a good one; present scandals and economic problems have not erased the warmth and appreciation many feel for America.

But the majority of Europeans today are under 30 years of age. For them, World Wars I and II, American soldiers and the Marshall Plan are all items read about in the classroom. Present reality is a twice devalued dollar, unbelievable political scandals and a rebuilt Europe seeking its own identity and place in the world.

The fact that Americans have done little to support their own currency in the last few years has produced considerable grumbling in Europe. While a devalued dollar at least temporarily means more exports and a better trade balance for the United States, in Europe, a weak and floating dollar plays havoc with the entire system of international trade because it is the standard of exchange used by all. International trade is Europe's bread and butter and its lifeline. Under the present international monetary system, whenever the dollar is unstable, so is Europe.

Some general sampling of opinion around Europe revealed not only frustration with U. S. economic and monetary policies, but also growing doubts about the once heralded "American way of life." Where the United States was once seen as the land of golden opportunity, more and more Europeans are beginning to seriously question

NATO military umbrella protecting Western Europe is headquartered near Mons, Belgium, above right. General Sir Thomas Pearson, Supreme Allied Commander Northern Europe, in historic 1972 discussions with German Federal Republic President Heinemann.

*Ian Henderson — Plain Truth
Alfred Hennig — Plain Truth*





Ray Kosanke — Plain Truth

THE BERLAYMONT, European Community headquarters, Brussels, Belgium.

whether conditions in the States are that much better after all. From France came the reaction that Frenchmen were not at all envious of life in the United States. It was seen as too mechanized and too urbanized. The French, in fact, are trying to escape a similar fate occurring to their own big cities.

Watergate, too, has very definitely made its impression on Europeans. Belgium, England, France, Germany and Italy have all had governmental scandals in recent months. Scandal is not a totally new thing to them by any means. Rather, it's a question of degree — most feel the U. S. scandal is more important because the United States plays a significantly greater role in world affairs than any of the European nations involved, and a U. S. scandal can have much more serious international overtones.

A Gallup poll in England revealed that 90 percent of those questioned had heard of Watergate. In contrast, showing how much more closely Europeans follow events in the United States than vice

versa, a recent poll in the United States revealed that fully 55 percent of all Americans polled had never even heard of the European Community or Common Market!

To the French, Watergate itself was not particularly surprising, only the magnitude of the problem and the high-level circles implicated. The French have their own scandals to worry about — recurrent rumors and charges about government involvement in illegal dealings with construction circles. And reports of widespread tax frauds are almost an annual affair in the French press. Nevertheless, the American image of high crime rates, the Mafia and now Watergate, lead the French to feel that "it's simply worse there than here."

In West Germany, U. S. prestige has indeed suffered, and moral confidence in America is considerably lower. This despite the fact that the Germans too have a domestic scandal on their hands with their own "Steiner Affair."

One German interviewed in London, however, held a high opinion

of the United States "in spite of everything." He felt Americans "were an agreeable, hardworking and efficient people." A Belgian commented that the Watergate affair showed the strong and positive role played by a free press in the United States.

Asked whether the United States as a nation has lost its credibility, a significant number replied that the country as a whole has not, but that President Nixon himself has indeed. In any event, it was stressed, Europe has no choice but to deal with the United States, for it is a world power and European nations are not. Dependency on the United States is one reality Europe cannot do without.

What concerns many thoughtful Germans now is whether or not President Nixon will be able to maintain the formidable U. S. contribution to NATO, at a time when American senators, taking advantage of the Watergate crisis, want to drastically reduce the U. S. commitment.

To the Swiss, Watergate appeared unbelievable. "How could such a scandal take place?" Of real concern to the pragmatic Swiss is the fate of the pummeled dollar and the instability it creates in the money markets of Europe. Swiss reaction to the American image of violence, which reaches back to the assassinations of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King, Vietnam, widespread crime and now a nationwide political scandal was simply: "It's crazy!" Our survey in Switzerland brought out the fact that much of the news the Swiss received about the United States was negative.

The English news media has covered the Watergate scandal very closely, as the poll mentioned above clearly indicates. The British have recently had another sex scandal in government circles, but again, the scale of the problem is felt to be considerably less than the impact of the Watergate affair.

European opinion of the United States is declining markedly. With

CHEESE FESTIVAL in Alkmaar, Holland. Tons of cheese are delivered by local farmers to wholesale market in town square. Cheeses are bought, labeled, and later shipped around the world. It's all part of the European Community's burgeoning export trade in farm produce which indirectly drives up domestic food prices.

John Kilburn — Plain Truth

the devaluations of the dollar, the Watergate affair, charges against the Vice-President, food and fuel shortages, major inflation and social problems from drugs to racial turmoil, Europeans are drawing the conclusion that maybe *they* don't have it so bad after all. And *that* despite the fact the average European is basically concerned about the same problems his American cousins are facing — the cost of living, and particularly, the cost of food.

The growing economic weakness of the United States is reflected, many Europeans note, in the fact that Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and Germany all now have a higher GNP (Gross National Product) rating on a per capita basis than the United States.

The moral role of the United States has also deteriorated in European eyes, resulting in a loss of respect. With a quiet shaking of the head, many Europeans express bewilderment and concern at the internal weakening taking place in the United States. Europeans feel that these problems are unfortunately turning the United States inward. Such a trend, if perpetuated, could lead to a United States neglect of its responsibilities and relationships in the rest of the world.

Basically, however, America's roots are in Europe, and many express this fundamental fact. The close personal ties that exist have maintained a strong bond between the two continents. American aid during the wars is still highly respected by the older generation, but unfortunately, these people are no longer the majority, and events are swiftly moving on. □



EUROPE'S NUMBER ONE CONCERN: HOW TO MAKE ENDS MEET



Debaize — E.E.C.

THE BIG issues facing both Americans and Europeans today are very much the same. They all center around the soaring cost of living.

While prices over the years have gone up, the increases today are reaching proportions which threaten to upset the normal order of things here in Europe. This poses a direct threat to more than one European government. National governments are being increasingly thought of as the culprits — either responsible for the skyrocketing costs or at least ineffective in stemming the tide.

Europeans, like people everywhere, want the good life: food on the table, a roof over their heads, money to spend, a secure job and vacation with pay. The mounting number of major problems con-

fronting Europeans reflects their growing apprehension that all is not well in the economic world.

As Europeans feel their lives more and more affected by soaring prices, insufficient housing and overcrowded, polluted cities, their sense of well-being is increasingly threatened.

The man on the street in Europe is not only concerned with soaring prices, but also with the need of a stable currency. The currency question is something Europeans struggle with much more than their American counterparts, because Europeans must work out currency exchanges every time they, or their goods, cross a border.

Germans are finding that not only are domestic prices skyrocketing, but also their currency has been re-valued twice in recent months. This means that their exports cost more in America as well as within the boundaries of the European Community. German exports are thereby less competitive — a blow to national and individual earnings.

One German comment, increasingly true throughout Europe, is: "Without my wife working, we would not be able to make ends meet, financially."

From Paris, one senses the number one challenge facing Frenchmen: "La vie est chère!" Life is expensive!

Job security, the French feel, is the second most important problem in France. In big cities, the long-standing problem of housing continues to plague people seeking to better their standard of living. It ranks third on the French problem chart.

The average Frenchman would like to have more time for his private life. He feels that too much time is spent on the job, in addition to commuting to and from his place of employment. The average French worker is now working as long as or longer than his counterpart anywhere else in Europe.

In England, the London *Times* recently published a poll showing that 55 percent of all individuals ques-

tioned felt the most important problem the government should act on is the rising cost of living. Thirty-eight percent specifically pointed to the rising cost of food as being the major problem. Those polled felt helping the aged was the third biggest issue facing England today. Fourth was the problem of housing.

The poll further showed a large defection from support of the ruling Conservative Party of Prime Minister Edward Heath. It is "part of a country-wide rebellion by Conservatives against rising prices." One question in the poll reveals the political implications of people's strong feelings about issues that negatively affect their standard of living. Britons were asked: "Regardless of which party you yourself support, which party do you think will win the next general election?"

In response, only 25 percent thought the ruling Conservative Party would win, while 50 percent thought the Labour Party would win. Five percent felt the Liberal Party would win, and 20 percent didn't know. The next general election is scheduled for 1975.

Now let's look at Belgium, headquarters of the EEC. Again, the cost of living heads the list of the major headaches facing Europeans. Housewives find themselves paying 60 Belgian francs for a pound of butter. That would be more than \$1.71 per pound in the United States. This is leading many households to switch to margarine. For one dozen eggs, a housewife pays the equivalent of \$1.28. A pound of ground beef costs her 75 Belgian francs (\$2.14). A 10-gallon tank of gasoline or petrol costs a whopping \$12. All over Europe, fuel prices are astronomical.

Outside the European Community, the problems are little different. Interestingly, however, the Swiss tend to see their problem in a different perspective. While the rate of inflation in Switzerland stood at 8.5 percent in August, the Swiss accepted it. To them, "overpopulation" is their primary

concern. Overpopulation to the Swiss means too many foreigners working in Switzerland. They want no more, and they wish many of them, mainly Italians, would return home. In their view, the foreign worker problem intensifies the other symptoms of economic illness facing Europe: an increase in the cost of living, a shortage of housing and, generally, inflation. With fewer foreigners, there would be less inflation. So thinks the average Swiss.

In the Netherlands, the possibility of local drought, sickness in herds and similar natural disasters are pointed out by one farmer as being typical of the insecurities European farmers face today. His wife's main concern is the now familiar "rising prices and the concurrent depreciation in the value of money."

The average European's concern is over the issues that immediately touch his daily life. For matters beyond that sphere, his interest or concern rapidly tapers off. On such seemingly important matters as the unification of Europe and the role of the European Community, public apathy is amazingly widespread. Over the years, inquiries made as to what individuals thought of the Community have drawn little more than shrugs of the shoulder. For the most part, the Common Market is seen by Europeans as something reserved for the murky realm of politics and is regarded somewhat distantly, even suspiciously. When, for example, hundreds of thousands of tons of the butter all Europeans paid so dearly to stockpile were recently sold by the Community to the Russians for less than one fifth the price Europeans must pay, many were angry and upset. Beyond such fleeting concerns, feeling about the Community is minimal for the ordinary individual.

One is reminded of the words of German historian Golo Mann in *The History of Germany (Deutsche Geschichte)* 1919-1945. In the opening chapter titled "Weimar," he writes: "Under normal conditions, the citizen has no great concern for

politics, just as a healthy person takes his bodily functions for granted. He's aware of them, but doesn't bother himself too much about them; they take care of themselves."

What the average European is directly concerned with are the problems that come home to roost in his personal life — especially those which threaten his own pocketbook. In that, he is very similar to his American, Australian and Canadian counterparts. He's concerned about the quality of life where he lives, but feels "too small" to do anything about the big political and economic problems of the world at large.

He feels or at least hopes that the people who run his and other nation's governments have enough wisdom, concern and common sense to keep major national and international problems in check. Yet today, it's not solely individuals who are "too small" to cope with the world's major problems. More and more, nations themselves are not big enough to master their own situations in the world. According to Golo Mann: "In the turmoil of world events in the 20th century, no country is totally in control of its own destiny. This depends on the world economy, the world's political situation and on the 'spirit of the age.' Each nation can contribute to these, but it cannot master them."

The rate of inflation is contributing to uneasiness in Europe, but it does not now pose a threat to the social order. If the GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) talks which opened in Tokyo in September and if the EEC-U. S. trade talks and similar conferences do not effectively deal with the current worldwide economic instability, present uneasiness could rapidly turn into open frustration.

If left unchecked, open frustration could develop into international anarchy. This, the man on the street, especially in Europe, does not want. Whether or not the governments of the free world can master the situation remains to be proved. □

advance news

in the wake of today's **WORLD EVENTS**

● **Spain Begins Transition of Power**

In June of this year, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, Spain's unchallenged head since 1939, turned over the premiership of Spain and leadership of the country's only political party to Vice President Luis Carrero Blanco, 70, a loyal friend and long-time deputy. Admiral Blanco assumed the official title of "President of Government" and took over the day-to-day administration of the country, though he is still responsible to Franco. The move was viewed as the first step toward Franco's eventual retirement. Franco, now 80, still retains two other top posts in Spain: Chief of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. He is still without question "El Caudillo" (The Leader) and continues to make Spain's vital decisions.

Carrero's appointment also did not affect the position of Prince Juan Carlos de Borbon, 35, who has been designated by Franco to become King of Spain and to succeed him as Chief of State at his death or retirement.

As reported in this column in December 1972, Spain desires eventual membership in the powerful European Community or Common Market. Franco's authoritarian regime, however, has caused reluctance on the part of the European democracies to admit Spain into the present nine-nation club. Though Franco's move in June did not result in any degree of political liberalization, it was nonetheless the beginning of the final transition of power. Many observers believe that it will be the restoration of the monarchy after the death or retirement of Franco that will initiate a trend toward liberalization. It will move Spain closer to the democracies of Europe and to the expanding Common Market.

● **The Economics of Scarcity**

The world, and especially its leading industrial power, the United States, is running out of available raw materials. This little understood side of the resource crisis is far more significant than temporary shortages of gasoline, fuel oil, and electrical power. The heady era of the mid-sixties, with its cheap fuels and abundant materials, is over.

We are now in the days of the "economics of scarcity."

There are two causes for the current squeeze. The American economy is presently operating very close to, though not at, capacity. And, more ominously, the world's stock of wealth has been significantly depleted by the industrial binge the Western world has enjoyed for the last decade.

Proven reserves of nearly all key materials are being seriously depleted. The United States, for example, has mined the last of its known reserves of manganese and chromium, which are vital to steel-making. Bauxite, from which aluminum is made, is running short. Zinc, lead, mercury, copper, and a host of other minerals will also be depleted within a few decades.

The United States now imports half of its aluminum, zinc, nickel, and tin. Shortages dominate the economic picture in many other categories such as lumber, paper, cotton, wool, fertilizers, and resins.

What does all this scarcity portend? For one thing, continued price inflation in virtually every category, since steel, aluminum, petrochemicals, wood, and paper are the primary manufacturing materials.

Should imports of certain vital minerals ever be curtailed, as in a "trade war," whole industries could go under. If the U.S. steel and auto industries had to be curtailed because of mineral shortages, the chain reaction through other industries would certainly mean flat-out depression.

For the United States and much of the rest of the industrialized world, the shortages will necessitate greater recycling, elimination of material wastes, diversification of sources of needed supplies, and decreased use of automotive vehicles. All these, however, have their drawbacks. Recovery and recycling technology — usually expensive — must be greatly improved — and that will take time. The hunt for new sources of mineral supplies could lead to serious political frictions among the United States, Japan, and the nations of Western Europe.

And what if the Third World nations, which produce many of these vital minerals, organize themselves into a "mineral monopoly"?

— edited by Gene Hogberg

LOOKING INTO THE 1980'S

WHEN EUROPE'S LIGHTS GO OUT

by Ray Kosanke

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

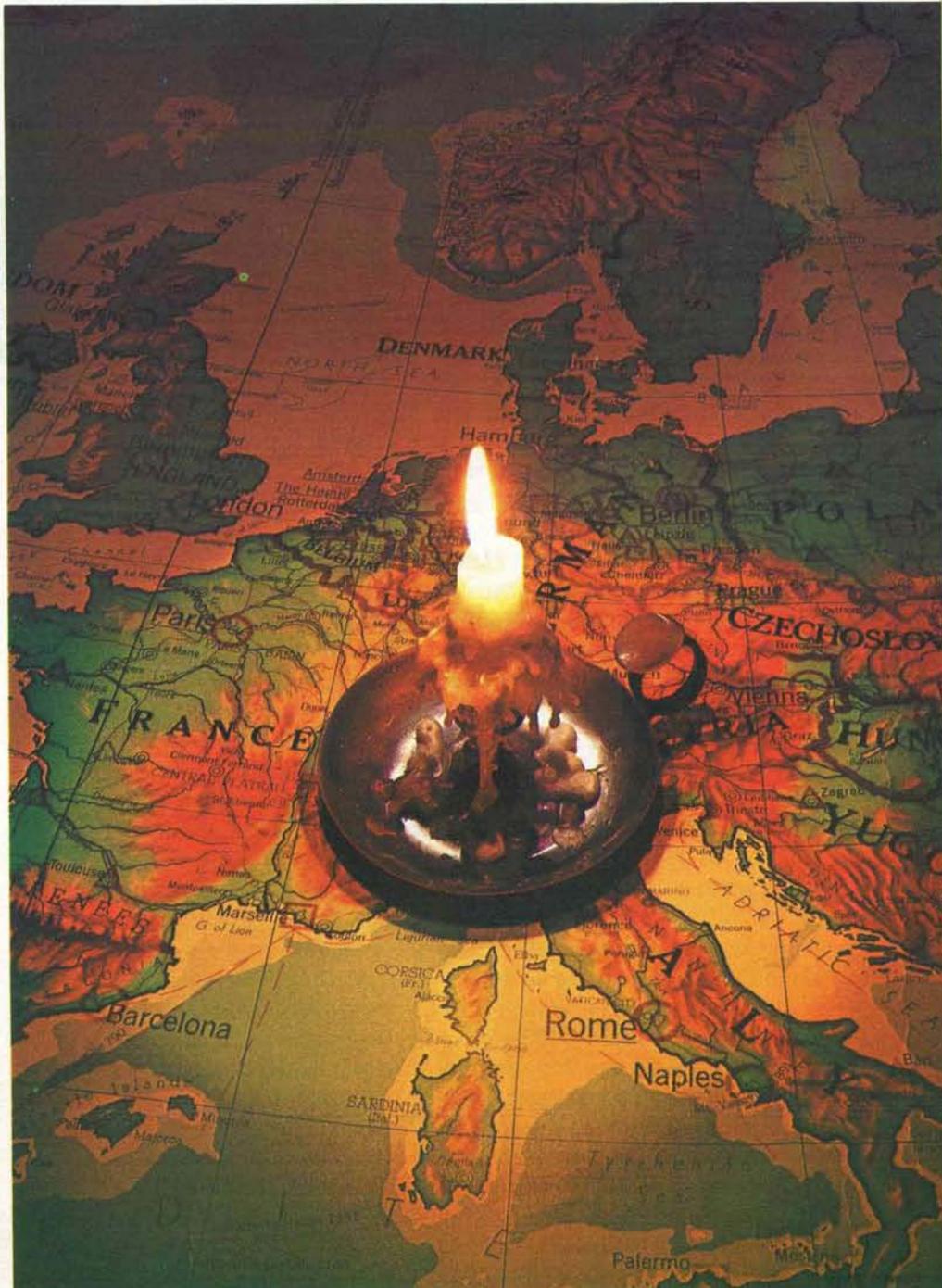
“The oil conflict continues. It is beginning to affect the whole population; due to the lack of heating oil and gasoline. The pumps are empty just about everywhere. Yesterday a few stations opened, but by midnight all stations were closed by government order for an undetermined period of time.

“It has now become very serious, especially for those whose heating systems depend on heating oil. They are simply without heating. A large number of grade schools and high schools have been closed. Doctors are facing problems because they can't receive patients in unheated clinics, and the shortage of gasoline is making it difficult to go out on house calls. The absence of heating oil is creating a real trauma. A large number of people are already suffering from the cold. . . .”

THIS IS not a scenario about the remote future. It is part of a letter this writer received from Europe while visiting in the United States earlier this year. The cause was a temporary man-made shortage of fuel in one nation, Belgium. But it nevertheless portends the harsh reality of a gathering crisis toward which the industrialized nations of the world are even now headed.

Our Way Threatened

“Instant energy” — the comfort and convenience so long taken for granted as an accepted and expected part of life — is suddenly a



Warren Watson — Plain Truth

glaring question mark for the future. Experts around the world are voicing their growing concern. "Our society, our position in the world, and our very way of life is being threatened," they increasingly warn.

Yet in spite of the many voices raised in concern, the gravity of the situation in many corners is not yet apparent. For most, the pinch of a real energy shortage has yet to make itself felt.

James Akins, Director of the U. S. State Department's Office of Fuels and Energy, titled his 30-page exposé published in *Foreign Affairs* magazine: "The Oil Crisis: This Time the Wolf Is Here."

In August 1972, Akins stated that "today the world is consuming 45 million barrels of oil a day, and by 1980 that figure will be 80 to 100 million barrels. We don't know where this oil will come from."

What do these statistics mean in actual fact? The average figure of 90 million barrels per day that we are estimated to need 6 years from now for total worldwide consumption would fill a train of oil tank cars stretching 3,000 miles (4,827 kilometers) — a train that would stretch completely across the United States! The same train would cover the distance from London, England to Athens, Greece, back north to Thessalonike and over to Istanbul, Turkey!

Western Europe, the United States and Japan together consume 80% of the world's available energy and 80% of the world's daily oil production. The demands that are being made call for bigger and bigger quantities every day. The oil world is simply not geared to meet these burgeoning demands.

The Effect on Europe

The United States has recently sought to create a consortium of oil-consuming nations with Europe and Japan to strengthen their bargaining positions for adequate supplies of Middle East oil.

Japan, for its part, was concerned by Petroleum Minister Yamani's

warning that such a consumer's cartel against OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) could mean a petroleum "war." After a Middle East tour, Yasuhiro Nakasone, the head of Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry, said that Japan cannot accept a "common front" of oil-importing nations.

European officials, too, are reluctant to enter into a unified approach with the United States for fear that the Arabs will boycott them as well.

There's another twist to this dilemma. Due to the huge expenditures the United States will have to make for oil in the near future, U. S. strategists note that fi-

United States would seek to influence, persuade or force its own oil companies to put U. S. interests first in the event of a serious shortage. On commercial grounds alone, these companies have substantially larger markets in the United States than in Europe. They could very well feel that the United States has a prior claim on whatever supplies of foreign oil they can secure.

These foreign supplies are becoming more and more important. By 1985 the United States will be needing close to 12 million barrels a day, imported by sea. Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, U. S. Chief of Naval Operations, estimated "this will require the equivalent of from several hun-

The Persian Gulf lifeline and the entire Middle East increases in importance every day. The reason is simple. The Middle East has a staggering 62% of the TOTAL PROVEN OIL RESERVES!

nancial cutbacks will force major withdrawals of U. S. military forces overseas — withdrawals that neither the United States nor Europe has wanted, in view of the ever-increasing military strength of the U.S.S.R. (which has its own oil reserves).

Europe is in a bind. Adding to the military question of finding itself defensively crippled, Europe must realize that of the seven major oil companies actually producing oil in the Middle East, five are U. S. controlled. All members of the enlarged European Community rely on these U. S. owned companies for much of their imported oil. Warned the London *Times*, "Europe could not stand on its own in the event of a crisis."

In June 1967, during the Six-Day War, the United States was able to supply the immediate needs of Europe and Japan when the Arabs cut off supplies to Western-aligned nations. That support is no longer possible due to the lack of reserve capacity facing the world today. Older U. S. oil fields, for example, are now in their twilight years.

It appears obvious that the

dred to over 1,000 tankers, each of 70,000 tons, fully committed to deliveries of oil to the U. S."

Jugular of Modern Civilization

The Middle East, called the "cradle of civilization," would be better termed the "jugular vein of modern civilization." An oil tanker glides through the waters of the Straits of Hormuz at the entrance to the oil-rich Persian Gulf *every ten minutes*, laden with a cargo of oil destined to provide light, heat or electricity somewhere in the world.

Each tanker moving along this lifeline is a veritable heartbeat, moving the life-giving energy source that keeps the modern world in motion.

This Persian Gulf lifeline and the entire Middle East increases in importance every day. The reason is simple. The Middle East has a staggering 62% of the *total proven oil reserves!*

Since Europe and Japan have *no* major reserves of oil, the Middle East and North Africa supply between 85% and 90% of Western Eu-

rope's oil and between 90% and 95% of Japan's oil.

The U. S. House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East summed up the seriousness of this situation in its report: "Never before in the history of mankind have so many wealthy, industrialized, militarily powerful and large states been at the potential mercy of small, independent and potentially unstable states which will provide, for the foreseeable future, the fuel of advanced societies."

Threat to Europe's Security?

As big a security risk as this dependence on the Middle East represents, European leaders find themselves without a jointly constructed energy policy. In fact, Western Europe finds that its dependency on oil as an energy source has risen from 33% of its total energy requirements in 1960 to over 64% at present.

Commissioner Henri Simonet, the European Economic Community official responsible for energy, found himself straddled with this burden after taking office in January 1973. He has already observed that "this situation of dependence cannot fail to grow in the future, and it is anticipated that Europe will be using oil to provide for 68% of its energy requirements by 1985."

Lack of European Unity

Despite reams of paperwork and multitudinous good intentions, Western Europe has not yet achieved a common energy policy. The ministers responsible for energy policy in the EEC met in Brussels last May 22 to discuss a common energy policy — for the first time since November 1969.

For Europe, the urgency of keeping itself supplied with energy has been swallowed by myriad other major issues, from monetary union and regional policy to the price of butter.

Not only does the EEC not have a common energy program, but the member nations themselves are seri-

ously lacking coherent internal energy policies. One German newspaper, *Die Zeit*, warned of West Germany's situation: "It would be catastrophic if our politicians let the crisis in coal mining distract their attention away from the greater evil that threatens us all: a worldwide shortage of fuel and power. If this comes in the next few years (as many experts fear), the Federal Republic will be practically unprepared."

European nations are presently working separately to attain secure supplies of energy sources. Wilhelm Haferkamp, former EEC commissioner for energy affairs, urged a common policy despite the effects on national sovereignty. He warned, "We cannot wait until the lights in Europe literally go out."

The real decision-making power, however, now rests with individual European governments that balk at any potential threat to their national sovereignty. The very real threat of oil shortage has not yet impressed itself upon Europe; the will to coordinate harmoniously and give authority to a central European government simply does not yet exist.

The basic reason for this is that the governments and peoples of the EEC are not yet willing to transfer the fundamental powers of decision-making to common European institutions.

To transfer such power to a European institution would be a step into the shadows of the unknown, which Europeans are not yet prepared to take. Yet not to unify appears to portend a future plunge into literal darkness. The European Parliament warned that unless the member nations of the EEC get together soon on a joint energy policy, Europe would face a crisis by 1980 in which the lights would "go out over Europe."

It's becoming more and more obvious that only a major shock will change things profoundly. Says one European official: "We will need a very serious crisis to bring people to recognize the dangers ahead and force governments to start work seriously on joint projects."

Other Possible Sources

Does nuclear energy, so often referred to as the answer to all energy needs, represent independence for Europe? Commissioner Simonet noted that "at present, *Europe is still totally dependent on the U.S.A.* for the supplies of enriched uranium needed for its nuclear reactors." He adds: "... the uncertainty which still hangs over the choice of techniques [for enriching uranium in Europe] is sufficient proof of the fact the nuclear field is hardly out of the experimental field."

EEC sources note that not until 1985 is nuclear power expected to contribute even 10% to 20% of Western Europe's energy needs. Only France expects to have a higher figure in this category.

Important North Sea oil discoveries have been touted as potentially freeing Europe from dependence on the Middle East. But experts now say that even if the North Sea produces 3 million barrels per day by 1985, it will account for only about one tenth of the total West European consumption.

Searching for alternate solutions, experts have eyed Venezuela's million million (one trillion in U. S. terminology) barrels of heavy oil, and also the probable 300,000 million barrels of recoverable oil in the Athabaskan tar sands of northeastern Alberta, Canada. The United States and its large amounts of shale and coal have also been considered, as they could be converted into almost unlimited quantities of hydrocarbons.

Huge Financial Burden

All of these resources exist. However — and this is crucial to the entire worldwide situation — the problem is to turn these trapped resources into usable oil. Energy expert James Akins clarifies the scope of the problem: "The shale, the heavy Venezuelan oil, and the tar sands all require capital investment on the scale of 5 to 7 billion U. S. dollars for each million barrels per day of capacity. Above all, the lead

time (the time it takes to actually turn the raw material into the usable product) is long — perhaps 15 years, certainly 8 — before significant production could be achieved from any of these sources." And this is assuming a massive program is launched immediately — using funds that simply are not available!

The Chase Manhattan Bank pointed out earlier this year that, if energy demands from now until 1985 alone are to be met, costs for the exploration, processing, transportation and marketing of oil will soar to one million million dollars!

The fact is, the Middle East producer nations will soon be the only source for the massive capital needed for the continued research and development so fundamentally necessary to keep the world supplied with energy.

By 1985, the money Arab nations and Iran will be earning from oil sales will be nearing the entire world's present level of official gold reserves and foreign exchange. As one weekly magazine pointed out, this would be enough money to purchase every issued stock of all the world's petroleum corporations.

It is expected that by 1980 the Arab nations and Iran will be earning over 60 thousand million dollars every year. The financial strength represented is overwhelming. In February, Europe was rocked by a massive inflow of 6 thousand million dollars, touching off the monetary crisis that resulted in the second devaluation of the dollar.

European bankers felt that perhaps 25% of this was Arab controlled. The price of gold bullion on world markets continues to remain at unprecedented highs. Bullion dealers said much of the heavy demand for gold could be traced to the Middle East, where wealthy oil producers rushed to convert the weakening dollars they were earning into more solid assets.

Storms Brewing

Financial experts and economists the world over realize that major problems are looming on the hori-

zon. From where, for instance, are the United States, Western Europe and Japan going to get all those billions to pay for future energy?

As it appears now, not only will Western Europe, the United States and Japan be competing for oil, but to keep their very way of life afloat, they will also be competing to sell the products produced by industries made possible by — yes, you guessed it — OIL.

Oil Is Power

Surprisingly, in a period of history when the Arabs have been noted for their disunity in the political sphere, they are a growing power bloc in the commercial world of oil.

The obvious relationship between oil and politics is not overlooked by the OPEC. Comprised of nine Middle East and North African nations plus Indonesia and Venezuela, this group holds two thirds of the world's proven oil reserves and supplies about 85% of the crude oil consumed in Western Europe and Japan.

Since 1970, the OPEC has succeeded in raising oil prices some 72% over previous levels. The reason for their success is pinpointed by Henri Simonet: "He who is in possession of energy products is in possession of power. And this [is true] literally as well as figuratively, from the technical and from the economic and political viewpoint."

It is the Arab nations, primarily, which have the energy product — oil — and therefore the tremendous potential for power in every sense of the word. Western Europe will be needing an estimated 28 million barrels per day by 1980; the United States, 24 million; Japan, 14 million and the rest of the nations will divide some 19 million barrels.

The only possible way that amount of oil can be made available in the next few years is if the Middle East and North African nations more than double their present total production.

The key nation involved is Saudi Arabia. Beneath its arid deserts lie the world's greatest known oil re-

serves. As the superpower of world petroleum, Saudi Arabia would have to increase production from 7 million barrels each day to more than 20 million barrels per day by 1980!

Yet it is precisely at this time that the Arabs have become increasingly aware that in the face of the world's soaring demands for oil, even their giant reserves are finite — especially in terms of the next decade or two. They are now beginning to limit their rate of production. Kuwait's Minister for Petroleum and Finance, Abdel Rahman Salem al Atiqi explains why: "We are leveling our oil production rate for two reasons: first, to maintain our oil reserves as long as possible and, second, because we don't see any reason for turning our oil in the ground into money which may fluctuate downward in value. . . . So let us leave the oil in the ground until we want to sell it. The value of oil will not go down."

Oil as a Political Weapon

Enter the Arab-Israeli conflict — focal point of all Middle East politics. At a meeting of the Arab Defense Council in Cairo earlier this year, Iraq's Foreign Minister, Mur-tada Abdel Baki, proposed suspending *all* Arab oil exports — *for ten years*, if necessary — to force the United States and other Western powers to coerce Israel into a settlement favorable to the Arab nations.

Late last year, the Iraq News Agency quoted Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr as saying: "We can now use Arab oil as a weapon against our imperialist enemies in all our liberation battles, particularly in our decisive battle in Palestine."

The chairman of the national Iraqi company, Ghanim Abdul Jalil, stated: "It is our right to be against governments that are against us . . . there is a strong relation between the Palestinian problem and oil."

Former Egyptian Premier Mahmoud Fawzi hinted that the Arabs

might curtail oil production in order to harass the economies of Western Europe and the United States.

At the same time, Kuwait's parliament voted unanimously to cut off all commitments to Western oil companies in the event of renewed fighting between Arab states and Israel. Libya has followed suit.

In April of this year, Harvard-educated Saudi Arabian Petroleum Minister Ahmad Zaki Yamani told U. S. government officials that Saudi Arabia will not significantly expand its present oil production unless the United States changes its pro-Israeli stance in the Middle East.

By the end of 1972, there were at least 15 different threats by Arabs in responsible or influential positions to use their oil as a weapon against their "enemies." These threats are neither empty nor inconsequential.

Arab leaders such as Libya's Colonel Muammar Qaddafi are calling for petroleum revenues to be diverted into the battle against Israel. Qaddafi has recently stated: "The day will come when oil will be used as the ultimate weapon in the battle."

In addition to some \$200 million Colonel Qaddafi is spending on over 100 French-built Mirage fighter-bombers, it is estimated that he gives at least \$125 million a year to Egypt, some \$45 million to Syria and additional millions to Al Fatah and other Palestinian guerrilla groups.

Since April 1972, six African nations have broken relations with Israel, following strong financial "encouragement" from Libya. Many wonder how long it will be before major Western nations begin to feel similar pressures.

It would not take the cutting off of all oil production in order to cause havoc in the West. There is so little spare productive capacity in the world today that production in any one of 7 countries — Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, the Federation of Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Libya or Venezuela — will soon be larger

than the spare capacity of the rest of the world combined. "In other words," as James Akins points out, "the loss of production of any one of these countries could cause a temporary but significant world oil shortage; the loss of any two could cause a crisis and possibly a panic among the consumers."

Shortage Has Already Begun

As 1973 began, European headlines read: "Fuel Shortage in U. S. Worsens, Spreads to East Coast." Newspapers in mid-January reported: "Fuel shortages [in the Midwest] are already acute. Some schools in the area have closed temporarily. . . . Railroads have cut train speeds to conserve fuel. Scattered industries have eliminated shifts or shut down for a few days. Grain is rotting in fields because of a lack of natural gas to fuel the dryers."

After all the facts and figures, what emerges? The recognition by OPEC nations that their reserves are exhaustible and should be conserved.

Coupled with this fact is the additional reality of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the growing use of oil as a fulcrum to bend the Western world into a pro-Arab stance.

Again, it is not that the world lacks the potential for energy. The sources are there. The financial and productive capacity for greatly increased immediate supply is not.

This means there is indeed a fuel shortage. It has begun and it will increase. Prices are already soaring, and supplies are being threatened as never before. The lights are now beginning ever so slightly to dim. Unless world leaders start taking major and immediate steps, darkness will settle over growing segments of the earth's major nations.

What Lies Ahead?

If the United States finds itself with no reserve oil, where will Europe get its oil? What is the Western world going to do when it can no longer get the energy it needs?



G. Chauvel — Sygma

Libya's Colonel Qaddafi continues his call for using oil as a weapon in world politics. Leader of the fourth largest oil producing nation in North Africa and the Middle East, Qaddafi has emerged as a militant spokesman for Arab unity in the struggle with Israel.

The obvious answer is coordination among all governments involved and a mutual sharing of available resources. Unfortunately, such worldwide cooperation and mutual concern falls into the realm of good intentions, not political reality.

An energy shortage, and much more, is coming. To reiterate Dr. Reiersen's words: "... we are in a real crisis and I see no way out. We face a decade of trial and tribulation." Beyond it all there is light at the end of the proverbial tunnel. But before the light, there are decisions to be made and lessons to be learned. Unfortunately, too many of these decisions will be made selfishly and not for the good of the whole human family. Nations and governments and individuals are involved. The global stakes are high. □



CAN RUSSIA AND THE U.S. REALLY GET ALONG?

by Raymond F. McNair

What do the United States and the Soviet Union expect from closer relations? Can these two nations really patch up their differences?

RUSSIA AND the United States have never directly fought each other in a war. Both have, in fact, been allies in war.

Why, then, have the United States and Russia looked suspiciously at each other since the close of World War II? Why have these two peoples feared, and at times hated, each other since the time both worked together to bring the Axis Powers and Imperial Japan down to defeat?

What Are the Russian People Like?

Today, the average American does not like the Soviet Union. He is highly suspicious of Soviet motives. Yet Americans and other Westerners who have visited the Soviet Union, generally speaking, have given favorable, if not glowing accounts of the hospitality and general friendliness which they received from the average Russian while visiting the U.S.S.R.

This was true of the recent visit

President Nixon and Communist Party chief Brezhnev at San Clemente, the Western White House, during Brezhnev's recent visit to the United States.

Don Lorton — Plain Truth

my wife and I made to the Soviet Union. Though the customs, language and architecture may have been quite different from what we were used to, yet we received the distinct impression that the average Russian was very interested in and friendly toward America.

A few weeks before our arrival in the U.S.S.R., we had to finalize some travel arrangements with officials of the Russian Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand. We were, even then, quite impressed with the friendliness, if not effusiveness, of the Russians whom we met there.

The Soviet official at the Bangkok Embassy must have gone out of his way to make our stay in Russia happy, for we were given the red-carpet treatment from the time we reached Moscow International Airport until we arrived at our hotel. We were taken from the airport to our hotel in a beautifully carpeted limousine roughly comparable to a Cadillac.

Everywhere, we were treated with courtesy and respect. Our conclusion? The Russian people are, generally speaking, quite friendly to Americans and appear to be keenly interested in information concerning the United States. They impressed us as a people who want to be understood and liked!

People With a Heart

A memorable experience occurred just as we were leaving Moscow for London.

We checked out of our hotel in sufficient time to catch our scheduled Russian plane for London. Since neither my wife nor I speak Russian, we asked the English-speaking concierge at our hotel to please tell our Russian-speaking taxi driver to take us to the international airport. We had anything but red-carpet treatment en route from our hotel to the airport.

From the beginning, it appeared to us that we were unfortunate in getting a not-too-alert taxi driver. (Every country has its share of obtuse taxi drivers!) Our driver took the wrong turn and drove us miles out of the way, thereby causing us to arrive at the airport several minutes late. And to add to our consternation, we were taken to the wrong airport — the inter-Russian air terminal — instead of to the international terminal as we had requested.

The drive from the inter-Russian air terminal to the international terminal was about another 15 minutes. This meant that we were nearly a half hour late when we arrived. We were, as I recall, supposed to have arrived at the airport one hour before our plane took off.

When we began checking in at the airport, we were informed by an English-speaking woman employee that it was too late for us to get on our previously scheduled flight. (It was still about 25 to 30 minutes until the plane was scheduled to take

off.) And we were also told that the plane had only *one* available seat!

I then asked the young Russian airport employee to let me speak to the airport manager, since I still felt we ought to be able to get on that particular flight, having booked the seats months in advance.

She then took me down a labyrinth of corridors and into a room where there was a junior official as well as several Russian women. I asked the young lady to explain the circumstances to this Russian official, to say that it was not our fault that we were late and to ask him if we could still get on the flight for which we were originally booked. Repeatedly, I heard the word *Nyet* (No).

We left the office, and as we were going back to where my wife was waiting with our luggage, I again asked the young lady to let me speak to the manager. This time, she took me into the manager's office. He looked as though he might really have the authority to speak to the pilot. By now, the door of the plane had been shut, and it was getting ready to taxi out to the end of the runway.

I asked the Russian lady interpreter to please tell him about our plight — how we were given a taxi driver who didn't know where he was going and how he took us to the wrong airport, causing us to be late, through no fault of our own.

Furthermore, I asked her to tell the gentleman that I had already contacted relatives, informing them of our flight arrival at the London airport, and I had no way of letting them know we wouldn't be on the scheduled flight. Besides, if we missed our flight, we had no hotel reservations in Moscow for the night.

The airport official (presumably the manager) at last seemed to get the message. He grabbed the phone and gave some kind of an order — undoubtedly ordering the pilot to hold the plane until my wife and I were aboard. The pilot must have

informed him that it was too late for us to get on that flight. The manager's authoritative reply? "Da, da, da, da . . . !" According to my own interpretation, he said something like: "Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah . . . I know, but you just hold that plane. I am sending these people right out!" And that is precisely what he did.

The interpreter and I practically ran through a maze of corridors — back to where my wife was impatiently waiting with our bags. We hurriedly filled out a form or two and were told to forget about weighing our bags. (We had had to pay about \$65 for excess baggage at Bombay airport as we boarded for Moscow and would presumably have had to pay a similar amount here, had we not been so hurried.)

We were then asked to get into a car (instead of walking out to the plane), and we were driven to the waiting aircraft to save time. Apparently, we arrived in the nick of time — for the engines were already running, and the plane door had to be opened to let us on board. I found that the plane was only half full.

We sat down aboard the Russian aircraft, breathed a sigh of relief and took solid comfort in knowing that the Russians are just as other people. They, too, can be appealed to and can be persuaded to cut through red tape if you use the right approach — the approach of the "smiling, leaning elephant." This matter of persistence or importunity really works in Russia, as well as in any other country.

A Look at Soviet-American Relations

Today's younger generation, who since birth have lived under the threat of nuclear annihilation and propaganda from both sides, may find it difficult to believe that Russia and the United States were once on friendly terms and have even been allies during most of their national histories. It is only since the end of World War II that strained relations (the cold war) have existed between them. After nearly 30 years of cold

war, is it possible for the two great superpowers to resolve their differences and become friendly again?

Turning back the pages of recent history, we have only to look at the events of the year 1867. It was two years after the U. S. Civil War, and the United States had just purchased from Czarist Russia the Alaskan territory for the unbelievable sum of \$7,200,000 — less than two cents per acre! The deal was called "Seward's Folly" by opponents of this purchase. But the point to remember is that it was basically a friendly Russia that sold Alaska to the United States. Obviously, Russia would not have sold Alaska to America had she looked upon the United States as an unfriendly power.

Furthermore, history points out that it was, in great measure, U. S. industry which helped to industrialize Russia. Henry Ford and other American industrialists built factories in Russia — helping them to get their behind-the-times industries really moving. And it was billions of dollars worth of American aid, in the form of Lend-Lease, that prevented the collapse of valiant Soviet resistance before the Nazi onslaught in the early 1940's. The United States also sent Russia a lot of food during World War II.

I am sure that deep down, the Russians, especially the common people, have not forgotten this kindness.

Why Renewed U. S.-Soviet Overtures?

In May 1972, President Nixon visited Russia and discussed Soviet-American relations, and more recently, Mr. Brezhnev visited the United States in order to have further talks with the President.

What does the Soviet Union want from the United States? And what does the United States want from the Soviet Union? Why have Soviet and U. S. leaders at last decided to sit down and try to iron out some of their differences?

The United States and Russia, as a

result of Mr. Nixon's meetings with Soviet leaders in 1972, reached certain agreements: Both parties agreed to freeze intercontinental missiles at the 1972 levels, and they agreed to limit defensive missiles to 200 each. They agreed to cooperate on environment and health problems, to stage a joint space flight and to set up commissions for trade and scientific cooperation. It was also during 1972 that the Soviets purchased over one billion dollars worth of grain and soybeans from the United States. America's surpluses were unexpectedly depleted, causing higher prices for U. S. consumers.

— especially the European Community — even before Britain entered. The U.S.S.R. was hopeful that Britain would not be admitted into the EEC. Now, Soviet leaders see Western Europe headed toward full political and military integration.

The prospect of a revitalized Western Europe, armed to the nuclear teeth, sends shudders down the spines of Soviet leaders! Russians remember that it was a French leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, who, in 1812, led the French army to the Russian capital.

The Soviets have not forgotten that it was Adolf Hitler who ordered

body knows! "Demographic evidence suggests that the Soviet Union may have lost 25,000,000 or more persons between 1941 and 1946; of these, losses of males of military age may have been as high as 15,000,000 to 20,000,000" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 22, 1973 ed.). The suffering from famine, cold and every conceivable misery experienced by the people of Leningrad during the Nazi siege of 1941-44 is beyond human comprehension. About one million perished! The Russians can't easily forget those human sacrifices.

Russia Surrounded

Can you now begin to see why the Soviets want to improve relations with America? Plainly, they want an America which is friendly toward Russia — even more than they want American trade and technology!

The Soviet Union is in a vulnerable position. She sees her southeastern neighbor, China, the world's most populous nation, casting eyes upon what is now Russian territory. They can see that the 750,000,000 Chinese will someday need more living room, and their most likely direction of expansion is into Russian territory to the north. Historic territorial animosities between Russia and the People's Republic of China are not about to be healed.

The Chinese presence on their southeast can be dealt with by the Russians; but the U.S.S.R. has always, historically, sought to avoid, at all costs, having two wars going at the same time. She knows that she dare not try to take on the West and also China. This would spell the end of the Soviet Union.

Soviet leaders, of course, have no love for America's capitalistic system. But they do feel safer with America placated — in view of strained relations with China, a resurgent Western Europe, and Japan (an industrial colossus bordering the Soviet east) coming up fast on her eastern flank. Russia sees herself surrounded.

We sat down aboard the Russian aircraft, breathed a sigh of relief and took solid comfort in knowing that the Russians are just as other people. They, too, can be appealed to and can be persuaded to cut through red tape.

Brezhnev's 1973 visit to the United States gave further impetus to the Nixon-Brezhnev defense-trade talks of 1972.

Again, we need to ask why it is that these two nations want to get closer together.

The Soviet Union is interested not only in slowing down the missile race, but also in joint projects on health, environment, space flight, trade and scientific cooperation, due to financial considerations. But there is, besides these interests, an overriding concern few seem to understand.

The Big Soviet Concern

Shortly before my trip to the Soviet Union, I heard Premier Kosygin speak in London. He made it very clear that Russia is concerned, if not worried, about political and military developments in Western Europe.

The U.S.S.R. has been worried about the unity of Western Europe

the German army into Russia in the early 1940's. The echo of German guns, halted only 20 miles from Moscow, still rings loudly in the ears of older Muscovites.

Let us, for the moment, look at Western Europe from the eyes of the Russians. Millions of older Russians — mostly women, for many of the men are dead — still recall the bloodshed, the suffering, the devastation and the hellish horrors of World War II. They also remember that when the chips were down, it was Uncle Sam more than any other nation that came to the rescue of Russia.

Millions of these same Russians lost their loved ones in that nightmarish holocaust. They don't want to see this happen again!

Before we can properly understand Russian fears, we need to see the full scope of death and suffering which the Russians experienced in World War II. How many Russians actually died in World War II? No-

Brezhnev's "kiss" on Mr. Nixon's cheek is not symbolic of an unbounded Soviet love for the U. S. President or the capitalistic system. Brezhnev, like Nixon, is a realist, and he and his colleagues feel less fear about an American finger on the nuclear button than the finger of certain other people.

The communists haven't suddenly changed ideologically. They haven't come to believe that their system is unworkable. Neither have the communists given up their hopes of leading the world to socialism. But they do profess that their goals can be reached by means of peaceful coexistence. The question remains, however, as to whether or not two systems which are as ideologically different as capitalism and communism can ever really peacefully coexist. Considering the opposed views in the fields of economy, politics and religion, one must ask: "Can two walk together, except they be agreed?" (Amos 3:3.)

Soviets Need U. S. Technology

Soviet Russia is well aware that modern industrial growth and military superiority are tied closely to modern technology — especially computer technology. The U.S.S.R. also knows that the United States is well ahead of her in this and other advanced technological fields. The Soviets hope to gain valuable technological assistance from the United States by more friendly relations. Brezhnev wants modern Russia run by "computer communism."

And, though Russia is fabulously wealthy in natural resources, she knows that a severe crop failure can send her running back to Canada or the United States for needed grains to feed her hungry millions.

These, in summary, are some of the benefits Russian leaders hope to receive by becoming friendly with the United States: (1) security from the United States as an ally, (2) vital foodstuffs (which only the United States and Canada can supply) and trade and (3) advanced technology.

What does the United States hope to receive in the way of benefits from a closer, more friendly relationship with Russia? The United States hopes to be able to cut down on her back-breaking defense budget. She also hopes to benefit from trade with Russia and perhaps with other communist countries. Further, Americans want to be liked by the peoples of the world, and they know that if the U. S. government can

Soviet leaders have no love for America's capitalistic system, but they do feel safer with America placated — in view of strained relations with China, a resurgent Western Europe, and Japan coming up fast on her eastern flank. Russia sees herself surrounded.

reach an accord with Russia, this would be hailed as a victory for the United States.

The United States hopes better Soviet-U. S. relations will cause Russia to take the heat out of the war in Southeast Asia and reduce Mideast tensions. Also, many leading Americans hope better U. S.-Soviet relations might cause Russia to be more lenient toward letting Jews freely emigrate to Israel.

Can They Really Get Together?

Will the United States and Russia really settle their serious ideological differences? Can a nation that professes Christianity ever truly get along with a militantly atheistic state? Will there even be an eventual "hot war" between the two powers?

Here is where we have to look to the world's best seller for an answer.

For years following World War II, many news analysts saw a U. S.-Russian war as inevitable. And many students of biblical prophecy have taught, erroneously, that the Bible specifically foretells a major war between the United States and Russia.

But the writers of *The PLAIN TRUTH* have continued to say otherwise. Why? Because there is simply nothing in the many prophecies of the Bible that specifically says there will be a war between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Bible mentions modern nations, using the ancient ancestral names of the founding fathers of those nations. The peoples of the United States and the British Commonwealth are often mentioned in Bible prophecy — but not under their present-day names. (Write for our free book, *The United States and British Commonwealth in Prophecy*.)

The peoples of the Soviet Union are also mentioned in some of the end-time prophecies. Diligent students of Bible prophecy have known for many years that the Bible does prophesy that Soviet Russia will become militarily involved in the Middle East in the "end time" (see Ezekiel 38-39). Some have misapplied those prophecies to a Russian attack on America and Britain. Their predictions are not coming to pass.

Bible prophecy reveals that neither Russia nor the United States will be successful in maintaining their respective systems. Instead, the Creator God will intervene in world affairs and set up *his* government over the whole earth.

It is only after this prophesied event, overlooked by almost all newscasters, takes place that the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union — and all peoples — will learn how to live in mutual trust and in true peace and prosperity (Micah 4:1-4). □

what you can do...

TIMELY Tips and Helpful Suggestions for YOU and YOUR FAMILY

● Ghouls, Goblins and Heartache

Traditionally, Halloween has been a special fun evening for children. But all too often, it portends possible heartache, not real enjoyment for those who participate.

In recent years in the United States and Canada, the trick has been increasingly on Halloween trick-or-treaters and not the other way around. The ghoulish persons are turning out to be the adults handing out the "goodies" rather than the little tykes dressed like ghouls who go around from door to door saying, "Trick or treat!" Instead of treats, some children are getting such treacherous things as apples with needles, pins, or razor blades concealed inside of them, candy bars laced with razor blades, fish hooks or pins; popcorn balls built around mothballs or tacks; and candies tainted by various legal and illegal drugs or even laxatives.

At this point, one might ask the logical question: "Is Halloween really worth it?" Next, "What relationship does Halloween have with Christianity and the Bible anyway?" (Ask for our free article, "Why the Strange Customs of Halloween?" if you wonder. It's worth checking into.)

In Britain, Guy Fawkes Day takes place about the same time as Halloween, the 5th of November to be exact. And much like Halloween, it is not without its hazards.

Every year on Guy Fawkes Day, hundreds of children are injured by bangers, rockets, and other fireworks. Common injuries include loss of one or both eyes or maimed hands. And also, more and more children become victims of molestation while going from door to door or down the street asking for a "penny for the Guy."

Remember that fireworks are not harmless toys, but real explosives.

● Avoid Tooth Decay

The average five-year-old in Australia has six cavities that need filling. Sixty-two percent of all Australians will need to wear some form of dentures by the time they are forty.

In Britain, ninety percent of the children under twelve suffer from dental cavities. Approximately

twenty-five percent of today's British five-year-olds will have false teeth by the time they are twenty years old!

In the United States, up to ninety-eight percent of the population is affected by tooth decay. By age sixteen, the average American has seven decayed, missing, or filled teeth.

But it's not natural for anyone to have cavities or to lose teeth! Two simple rules can help you eliminate tooth decay and cut down on dental bills. Here they are:

1. *Cut down or cut out eating sweets altogether!* True, heredity and malnourishment are factors in tooth decay. But, as almost everyone knows, yet is often reluctant to admit, it is "ordinary table sugar" (refined white sugar), the same sugar usually found in candy, soda pop and other sweets, that is the leading culprit behind much of today's tooth decay.

"The worst enemies of the teeth are the all-day suckers, the chewy candies, and the sweetened chewing gums. Sweetened, carbonated beverages contain concentrated sugars. Also, pastries and pies and cookies should be limited, especially in those children with a strong tendency toward tooth decay. *A sweet tooth can ruin all the teeth!*" warns Dr. Benjamin F. Miller in *The Complete Medical Guide*, p. 62.

Natural, unrefined sugars such as those in honey, whole syrup, and molasses do not have the same harmful effects on teeth.

2. *Eat well-balanced meals followed by fruit or salad.* Balanced meals maintain bodily health and keep teeth healthy. They also eliminate a person's craving for sweets. (Write for our free booklet *The Seven Laws of Radiant Health* for further, vital information.) Also, finishing meals with fruit or salad not only adds to your health, but also helps keep your teeth clean. An interesting bit of research showed, for example, that an apple is a more effective and efficient tooth cleaner than a toothbrush. In thirty seconds a toothbrush removed sixty percent of the biscuit particles stuck to teeth. An apple quarter removed ninety percent of the particles. This is not to say that you shouldn't brush your teeth, but on occasions and in circumstances when you can't always brush, eating fruit or salad after meals is important to keep in mind.

— Patrick A. Parnell



The heritage of the Roman Empire was given to Europe. It has lived for centuries as the fabled phoenix bird, pictured above. Consumed in fire by its own terrible acts, Europe has periodically risen in youthful freshness from the ashes of a disintegrated unity.

AS YOU read this article, thirteen men, representatives of the nine European Common Market countries, toil and wrestle with the problems of creating a "European union" by 1980.

Few people realize, however, that what has been taking shape in Eu-

rope for a generation is not a unique event for the Continent. There have been a handful of such outstanding periods when Europe was uniting or united in some fashion.

First Unity and Then . . . ?

Europe's history can be summed up as: long and short periods of war and chaos punctuated by ephemeral and occasional periods of unity and peace. Another way to look at Europe's history is to see the Continent in a continual struggle to achieve political, social, cultural and religious unity.

But there are dangers in unity.

Perhaps the greatest danger is to Europe itself. For in the past, Europe has suffered most from its own bloody periods of chaos and attempts at unity. Any European statesman who understands the history of his continent must grapple with that past reality.

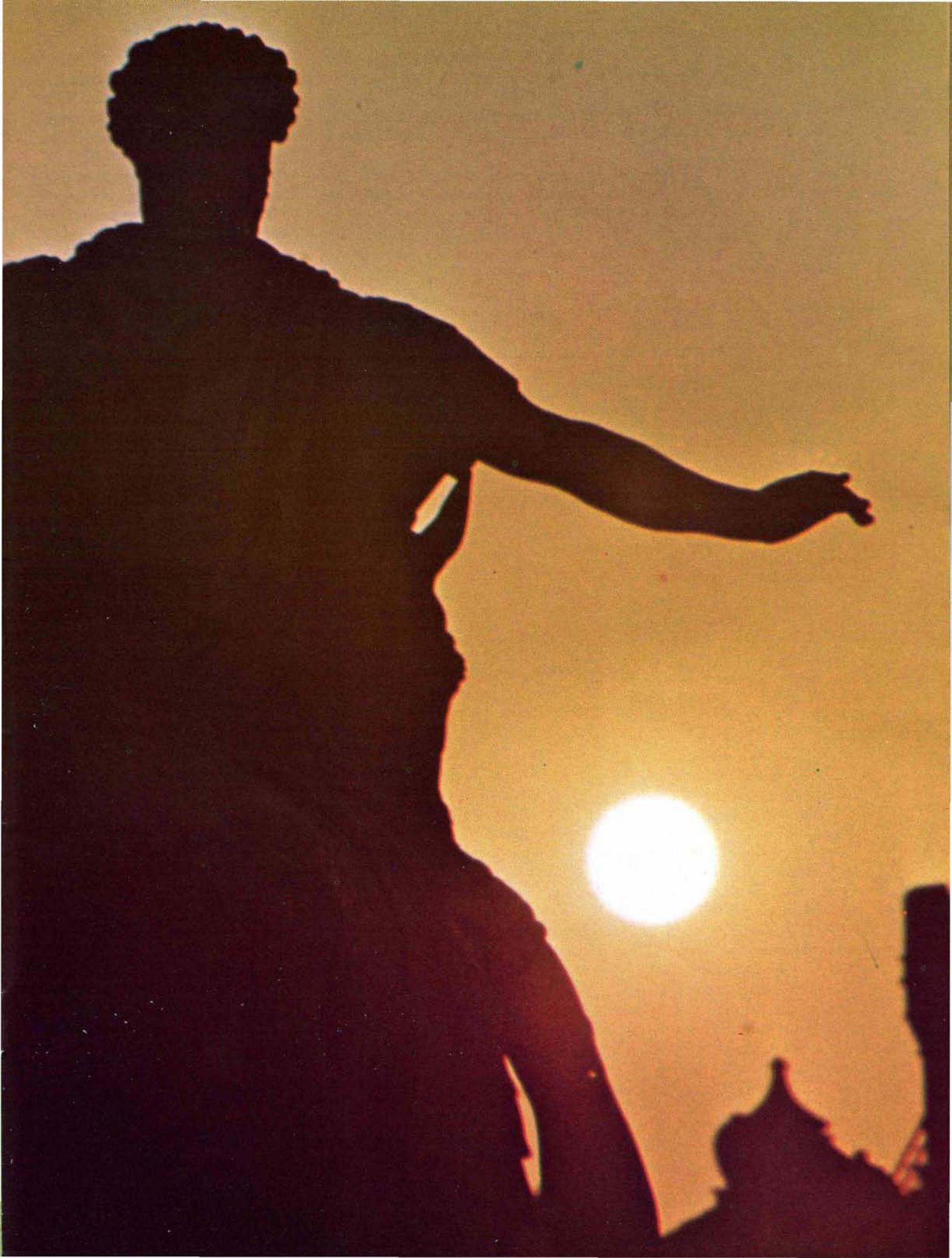
Europe: A "Revived Roman Empire"

Europe has a fascinating and unique history. Its modern kingdoms have their roots in an ancient empire that stretched from the Euphrates to Scotland and from the Rhine and Danube to the Sahara

by Paul William Kroll

Part 1: THE FALL OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE



Desert. That old empire was the Roman Empire.

It was near death in Western Europe in the late fourth and fifth centuries; but before it entirely perished, a new manifestation or phase of empire arose from its ashes. This new empire — a European-Roman empire — has since been resurrected periodically, to continue down through the centuries.

History is a great teacher. For it allows us to do a social and political autopsy on the victim; the post-mortem examination can show us why the body died. On the positive side, it can tell us what the victim could have done to preserve its life. This series of articles on Europe's past is a historical diagnosis of that continent's revivals and the catastrophes which inevitably followed unity.

The important events are presented as a chronicle, using on-the-spot newspaper format. The first article deals with the events surrounding the fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

To sketch the background for the "fall" we go back almost 2000 years.

Year A.D. 9: Rome's Expansion Checked. Three legions under the Roman general P. Quintilius Varus are annihilated by a German chieftain named Arminius. The site of the destruction is the Teutoburg Forest. Thereafter, the Roman emperors give up the idea of subjugating the Germans, even though it is still possible.

The consequences of this policy will become evident approximately 400 years later. For potentially dangerous enemies — the Germanic tribes — are left unconquered.

Year 100: Rome at Its Height. The Roman Empire is a great, world-ruling state which stretches from the Euphrates to Scotland and from the Danube to the Sahara Desert. There is *Pax Romana* — peace Roman style. The empire is tied together by good roads and excellent administration. Trading flourishes as the Roman world is

one vast, free trading area.

Year 180: The Glory Is Fading. The great emperor Marcus Aurelius is dead. With him, the great age of the Antonines is extinguished. The end of an era of might and prosperity is in sight. Military anarchy and economic problems are beginning to take their toll on the empire. Dio Cassius, summing up the great age of the Antonines, writes, "Our history now descends from a kingdom of gold to one of iron and rust."

Years 312-325: Christianity the Religion of the Empire. Constantine crosses the Milvian bridge near Rome and defeats the army of Maxentius. With this victory, Constantine becomes ruler of the Western Roman Empire. By 325, Constantine is sole ruler of the entire Roman Empire and has called the Council of Nicaea, a conclave ordered to settle doctrinal and religious disputes among Christians in the empire.

What the world had come to know as Christianity is increasingly becoming the religion of the empire, though paganism is still allowed to flourish. Constantine is converted to Christianity and thus becomes the first Christian emperor. The Church begins to play a vital role in the empire.

Years 370-378: The Barbarian Invasions Begin. About 370, the terrifying Huns crash into European history. They first overcome the Alans and then the Ostrogoths. In 373, it is the Visigoths who are defeated. About 80,000 strong, the Visigoths are allowed to settle peacefully in the empire in 376, after begging the emperor Valens for protection from the Huns. But the Visigoths are mistreated severely by Roman officials.

Then comes the year 378. In one sense, it marks the real beginning of the German invasion. The Visigoths, driven to war, decimate a Roman army and kill the emperor Valens, who is with his army.

But even when the Visigoths, under Alaric, invade Italy in the fifth

century, it will be more in the nature of a "picketing demonstration than actual warfare," as one historian will describe it. The Visigoths are more interested in better treatment; they have no intention of destroying the empire.

The existence of the empire is taken for granted. A barbarian might try, as Alaric will, to force the government to give him what he wants. But any personal ambition presupposes that the Roman Empire will continue. The very thought of destroying imperial Roman power is foolish. How could a barbarian tribe with perhaps 100,000 men, women and children destroy an empire of fifty to seventy million people, with incredible riches and a professional army?

Year 394: Ancient Gods Obliterated. The ancient gods are outlawed in the empire. Many temples are destroyed; persecution of adherents is undertaken. Freedom of worship is no longer allowed in the empire. The Catholic church becomes a state within the Roman state.

Though few men of that time understand the implication of this development, it will become evident in the fifth century. For in the fifth century, the Roman state will disintegrate. A political and social vacuum will be created. Only one institution will remain which can provide some unity and leadership: the Church.

But more importantly, it will be the bishop at Rome, the acknowledged leader of the Christian church in the West, who is destined to supplant the Roman state in Italy.

Years 396-405: Stilicho vs. Alaric — Men in Conflict. Alaric the Visigoth has been trying to crash the gates of Italy for many years. Paradoxically, the military genius of a Vandal general in the service of Rome saves the empire from destruction. His name is Stilicho. And he controls the entire military complex of the Western Roman Empire.

Stilicho defeats Alaric in 396 and again in 397. Then, strangely, we find Alaric being "appeased" by his

appointment as commander-in-chief of the Roman army in Illyricum, modern Yugoslavia. In 402 Alaric invades Italy. It is Stilicho the Vandal to the rescue once again!

As if Alaric isn't enough trouble, Stilicho is called upon to repel another invader in 406. He is Radagaisus, a barbarian who storms Italy with 200,000 Ostrogoths, Vandals, Quadi and Alani. Stilicho defeats him near Florence. Immediately, 12,000 of the most valiant enemy tribesmen who survive the battles are enlisted in the Roman army.

Stilicho is one of many barbarian generals in the Roman army. Some adopt Roman names, such as Victor, Magnentius or Sylvanus. Others retain obviously barbarian names: Merobaud, Dagalaif, Bauto and Ricimer. Barbarians are found even in the palace. At the court of Constantius, we know that the Franks, for example, are numerous and influential.

Year 406: The Hordes Invade the Empire. It is the last night of the year. A vast and motley horde of Alans, Vandals, Suevians and Burgundians force their way across the Rhine and descend on Gaul, modern France today. The Vandals will soon march across France, through Spain and into North Africa.

The end is near for the Roman Empire. Within twenty-five years, Rome will be surrounded by barbarian kingdoms in Gaul, in Spain, in Africa, in Eastern Europe and in Italy itself.

Year 410: Rome Sacked. The great Italian humanist of the mid-fifteenth century, Flavio Biondo, will write a history of the Roman Empire. He will title his work, *Decades Historiarum ab Inclinazione Imperii*, beginning his history from the decline of the empire. It will be a chronicle of the period from 410, the year Alaric the Visigoth sacks Rome, to the fifteenth century. Centuries later, the historian Gibbon will sum up the events of August 24-26, A.D. 410 with these words, "Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of Rome,

THE ROMAN EMPIRE: NEAR DEATH AND REVIVAL

Maps — Ron Lepeska

ON THE last day of A.D. 406, a federation of Germanic-speaking tribes crossed the frontier border of the Rhine. They moved steadily westward, seizing the defenseless Roman province of Gaul (modern France).

Although the Roman Empire had fought the Germanic hordes to a standstill for centuries, the situation now appeared black.

Other tribes, of course, had already been granted permission to
(Continued on page 35)



Roman Empire, divided into East and West, wrestles with barbarian neighbors to the north.



The Roman Empire falls in the West — A.D. 476. Barbarian Odovacer, leading an amalgamation of Germanic people including Heruli and Sciri, deposes Roman emperor. Vandals rule North Africa.

the Imperial city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia."

But to contemporaries, the sacking of Rome is an even more profound shock. The unimaginable has happened; the Eternal City has surrendered. Only a few years before 410, the poet Claudian had confidently written, "Nor will there ever be a limit to the empire of Rome."

But the city that was "destined to live so long as men shall exist" has been invaded and pillaged. An ominous feeling of despair is coming over men. There is the dreaded thought that Rome may be invaded again and perhaps destroyed forever.

The sacking of the city is bemoaned throughout the empire. Jerome, writing from Bethlehem, laments when he hears the news, "My voice is choked, and my sobs interrupt the words I write. The city which took the whole world is herself taken. Who could have believed that Rome, which was built upon the spoils of the earth, would fall?"

The fact that Rome's destruction is such a profound shock shows how unreal is the world in which many Roman citizens live. That Rome has been spared for so long from being pillaged is rather the thing to be wondered at.

Years 410-415: The Visigoths in Italy, France and Spain. In the same year that he sacks Rome, Alaric dies. His brother-in-law Ataulf has an international approach to government, and he is definitely a convert to the Roman system.

Orosius, a contemporary official describes it: "Originally he [Ataulf] had ardently desired to wipe out the Roman name, to make the whole of the Roman realm an empire of the Goths, and to call it so: it was to be, if I may use a colloquialism, *Gothia*, instead of *Romania*: Ataulf was to be what Caesar Augustus had been."

But Ataulf realizes his barbarians

will never accept or understand this concept. So he decides "to declare in favor of sustaining the Roman empire, and acting in the Roman name by the strength of the Goths, and thus to win from posterity the title of restorer, since he could not acquire that of substitute."

Ataulf leaves Italy shortly, migrates to Gaul, and begins the conquest of Spain. However, his dream for himself and his people will never become a reality; Ataulf is assassinated in 415. Rome does, however, grant the Visigoths the richest parts of Gaul as a permanent residence. Thus, southwestern Gaul remains an integral part of the empire, passing into the hands of *foederati* acknowledging the supremacy of Emperor Honorius.

There are now three federate kingdoms in Gaul — the Visigoths, the Burgundians and the Franks.

Years 440-454: Leo Spotlights the Papacy. Leo I, the bishop at Rome, makes the Roman episcopate the successor to the Roman state in Italy and the West. He himself becomes the leading figure in Italy.

In 452, Hun armies are camped outside Rome, poised to attack and destroy the Eternal City. It is Leo who leaves the city for a meeting with Attila. Incredibly, Attila does not attack Rome but departs. No one knows what happens or what Leo has said. However, even to casual observers, the point that the bishop of Rome has taken the place of the Roman emperor as the defender of Rome is not lost.

Years 455-475: Gaiseric the Vandal vs. Ricimer the Visigoth. Two important happenings occur in 455. The first is the invasion of Italy by the Vandal Gaiseric. He sails up the Tiber River from his North African strongholds. Rome is in a panic. Again, the bishop of Rome, Leo, comes to plead the cause. But unlike the pagan Attila, Gaiseric is an Arian Christian. Arians do not believe in the preexistence of Christ and have no love for those who do.

Gaiseric simply turns his Vandals loose on the city. For fourteen days

and nights indescribable pillage by Christian against Christian occurs. Everything of value is hauled away.

Utter chaos follows in Italy. Famines and plagues occur on the heels of repeated invasions. Farms are deserted and untilled. Rome and Italy are stripped bare of everything. Its physical wealth is gone; the people are reduced to an animalistic existence. From secure harbors at Carthage and Hippo, Gaiseric's warships operate with more impunity and on an ever-increasing scale. Sicily, Calabria and Campania are raided periodically; Corsica, Sardinia and finally Sicily are added to Gaiseric's kingdom.

Gaiseric cuts off Rome's grain supply, sapping her strength. Later, the historian Procopius will write, "Every year at the beginning of spring, Gaiseric invaded Sicily and Italy, enslaving some of the cities and razing others to the ground, and plundering everything." Gaiseric breaks two treaties with Rome, made in 435 and 442, continuing his game of truce and truculence.

The leaders at Rome cannot but shake their heads at the paradoxical beginning of the Vandal nightmare. The reason the Vandals are in Africa is due to the renegade Roman military commander of Africa, Boniface. Boniface, after being suspected of treachery, was recalled to Rome. But he refused to come. When armies were dispatched against him, Boniface invited the Vandals to come to his aid. All this is now a 30-year-old historical tragedy.

Meanwhile, new political developments occur in Italy. In 455 Aëtius is succeeded as master of the troops by Ricimer. Ricimer is of pure Germanic descent, a barbarian in the service of Rome, as was Stilicho. Ricimer will become the most powerful man in the Western Roman Empire, assuming the role of kingmaker in Italy. Though there is still an emperor in the East at Constantinople (modern Istanbul, Turkey), Ricimer relies primarily on the support of new German barbarians.

However, like the other barbarians before him, he cannot bring himself to the ultimate stage: mounting the imperial throne.

In 457, the emperor of the East, Leo I, makes Ricimer *patricius* or prime minister. Marjoran is made emperor in the West a few months later. In 461 Marjoran dies and Ricimer raises Severus to the throne. The latter dies in 465, and Ricimer rules alone for two years. In 467, the eastern emperor sends Anthemius to Rome as emperor, along with his daughter. She becomes the bride of Ricimer.

By this time, the Visigothic king, Euric, has made himself ruler of all Gaul. The empire in the West is clearly falling to pieces.

Ricimer marches into Rome in July 472. Another puppet, Olybrius, is made emperor. He lasts only a few months. Both Ricimer and Olybrius die in that year. For sixteen years, Ricimer, in his own peculiar way, has championed Rome, trying to keep the ragged pieces of the empire together.

By March 473, Ricimer's successor Gundobad proclaims Glycerius emperor. He is in turn succeeded by Julius Nepos, an appointee of Constantinople.

Now the stage is set for the final disintegration. In 475, a certain Roman named Orestes, the former secretary of Attila the Hun, forces Julius Nepos, the appointed emperor in the West, to flee from Italy. Orestes then proclaims his son Romulus Augustulus emperor. The barbarian mercenaries now demand one third of the soil of Italy itself as their personal domain. Orestes naturally refuses their demand and his obstinacy ushers in the end of the Roman Empire. The barbarians kill Orestes. Odovacer, a Germanic adventurer from beyond the Danube, is elected their king.

For twenty years, the western emperors have merely been the puppets of various Germanic generals and chieftains striving for mastery in Italy. In fact, the Roman Empire in the West has been near death for

MAPS CONTINUED

settle in the provinces as *foederati*. Leading Roman generals such as Stilicho and Ricimer were themselves of Germanic origin.

In August A.D. 410, a foreboding of what was to come occurred. Alaric and his Visigoths openly sacked Rome. Certain contemporary historians date the fall of the Roman Empire to this time. Still, there was an emperor on the throne.

In A.D. 476, Odovacer, ruler over

a coalition of Heruli, Rugians and Scirians, deposed the last emperor in the West, Romulus Augustulus. The old Western Roman Empire was officially dead.

But almost immediately, Odovacer concluded a treaty with the eastern emperor, thus "restoring" the empire in the West.

Previously, the Vandals had destroyed Roman power in Spain

(Continued on page 37)



Vandals in North Africa and Ostrogoths in Italy perpetuate Roman system.



Roman Empire in East overthrows barbarians in the West, restoring the Empire.

some time from military and political wounds. It has been kept alive only ceremoniously. Now, the ceremony is also ready to vanish.

Year 476: The End of the Empire. The young man named Romulus is the emperor of the Roman Empire, a mere shadow of its former self. The first Romulus was one of the two fabled founders of Rome; this Romulus will be the last emperor of the Roman Empire in the West. Romulus, mockingly called Augustulus, "the little Augustus," is taken captive by Odovacer in 476 and is simply dismissed.

Many a Roman emperor had met with a violent end; many had been mere puppets. *But none before had been without a successor.* For the first time, the office of emperor in the West is left vacant. The eastern emperor, Zeno, is politely informed that there is no immediate need for a western colleague. The barbarians want to place themselves directly under his wings.

The emperor Zeno at Constantinople considers Augustulus a usurper. His choice, Nepos, has fled to Dalmatia. Though Nepos lives in exile until 480, Rome is technically without an emperor, beginning in 476.

A chronicler of the time will realize that something vital and important happens in A.D. 476: "And so the Western Empire of the Roman people perished with this Augustulus — and from now the Gothic kings possessed Rome and Italy."

A number of East German tribes are successful in establishing powerful kingdoms in lands formerly a part of the Roman Empire. The Vandals have conquered North Africa; the Visigoths are settled in southern Gaul and Spain; the Burgundians have carved out a kingdom in Gaul. The Ostrogoths will begin to take over Italy in 489. Later, the Lombards will invade and conquer northern and central Italy.

All these Germanic kingdoms make Christian Arianism their state religion. The terms "Arian" and

"Germanic" come to be used interchangeably in opposition to "Roman" and "Catholic."

The creed of Arianism will spell the downfall of each of these kingdoms. For in the West, the Catholic bishops at Rome will withstand their Arian overlords and seek to be protected by Catholic rulers. The Franks are soon to provide that protection, beginning with a certain ruler named Clovis.

Years 476-489: Italy and Odovacer. Odovacer is granted the title of *patricius*, as was Ricimer. Thus, Odovacer rules as a viceroy of the eastern emperor. He will do so for thirteen years.

Under Odovacer, Rome enjoys a period of tranquility such as she has not known since the death of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 180. Odovacer regards his rule as merely a change in the administration of the remnants of the western part of the empire. There is but one Roman Empire, he reasons. In theory, there is no detachment of Italy from the empire during the rule of Odovacer.

Years 489-526: Italy and Theodoric. Theodoric the Amal, son of Theodemir, king of the Goths, invades Italy and defeats Odovacer. The Ostrogothic empire in Italy has begun.

Between 488 and 493, Theodoric, with his 100,000 Ostrogoths, beats back Odovacer. By a ruse, the Arian Theodoric, supported by the Catholic clergy in Italy, offers to share the rule of Italy with Odovacer. The latter falls for the bait. At a banquet on March 5, 493, Theodoric raises his sword and splits Odovacer from his collarbone to his loin in one stroke, as a fragment from the history of John of Antioch tells us.

Theodoric now rules all of Italy. He will seek the imperial title, but the eastern emperor Zeno has died. His successor Anastasius I decides to keep the title himself. Procopius, a Byzantine historian of the next century, will nonetheless eulogize Theodoric as emperor in fact, "Although he was, at least in name, a usurper, yet in practice he was as

truly an emperor as any who bore that title from the beginning of history. Both the Goths and the Romans loved him greatly."

If the Romans love him, the Roman church does not. In fact, the bishop of Rome will prove to be the single most important element in the barbarian's failure to found a permanent government in Italy.

Rome has been a predominantly ecclesiastical city since Constantine moved from the Roman government offices to Constantinople in the 330's. The head of the religious community at Rome is the city's most influential personage. The Patriarch of Constantinople, on the other hand, is overshadowed by the temporal emperor.

Since church and state are inseparable according to Catholic doctrine, it stands to reason that the Roman See has become a great political force in Italy. Based on this reality, both Odovacer and Theodoric try to solicit the support and best wishes of the Roman church. But to no avail. Historian J. F. Bernard will point out, "The church was aware . . . that it could gain its full stature only in the vacuum of authority created by the absence of a strong civil government. The ecclesiastical power was, therefore, almost of necessity, always inimical to the civil authority."

In 524, the ring begins to close around Theodoric. The eastern emperor issues an imperial command. All Arian churches throughout the empire are to be handed over to the Catholics. Naturally, the bishop of Rome applauds the decision. The Arian Theodoric is forced to retaliate. This only serves to unite the eastern emperor, the Italian Catholics and the Roman bishop.

Paradoxically, the kingdom of Theodoric is considered a part of the Roman Empire. At Rome, the Senate continues to function. Romans staff governmental offices. Only one Goth in Italy possesses Roman citizenship — Theodoric.

In fact, historian J. B. Bury will

tell us, "In regard to the constitutional principle and the administrative system the Ostrogothic regime is simply a continuation of the regime of Odovacer." There is no break; the substitution of Theodoric is, from this point of view, simply a change in person.

In A.D. 526, Theodoric dies and his kingdom is divided among his grandsons. The possibility of a unified Gothic kingdom in Italy is finished. In seven years, Justinian will begin his invasions of the Germanic kingdoms in Western Europe.

Years 533-565: Justinian "Restores" the Empire. In 533, Justinian dispatches his military genius, Belisarius, into North Africa. The task is to reconquer all the lost territory of the Roman Empire and restore it to the imperial domains. Belisarius makes short work of the Vandals in North Africa. Next, his army of Huns, Isaurians and other mercenaries land in Italy.

By 535, the war for the reconquest of Italy has begun in earnest; it will not end for another twenty years. Not until 553 do the last important remnants of the Gothic army surrender. Then, the next year, 554, the Goths call in barbarian Franks and Alamanni. These march across Italy, killing friend and foe alike. Finally, they are defeated and crushed by imperial troops at the battle of Capua.

In 554 Justinian sets down his Pragmatic Sanction. Italian lands taken by the Ostrogoths are restored to the empire. A *pro forma* restoration of government is also made. The Roman Empire in the West has been nursed back to some semblance of political and military health.

Italy has been reconquered, but at a terrible price. Even then, Gothic strongholds such as Verona hold out until 563. Justinian attempts no restoration beyond the Alps; Spain is only partially held.

The War of Reconquest exhausts Italy. Plague, pestilence and famine follow in the footsteps of Gothic and imperial troops. The business of

MAPS CONTINUED

(A.D. 409) and in North Africa (A.D. 429). The Vandal kingdom was finally recognized by the Roman emperor in A.D. 435. In a sense, the lost African territories were once again part of the empire.

The Visigoths established an empire in Spain and in parts of Gaul, though no formal recognition was forthcoming from the Roman emperor. In 493, Theodoric and his Ostrogoths overthrew Odovacer and also concluded a treaty with the eastern emperor.

In A.D. 525, three barbarian kingdoms, all Arian Christian, were established in the Western Roman Empire. The Vandals ruled North Africa, the Visigoths were in Spain, and the Ostrogoths ruled Italy.

In A.D. 533, the eastern Roman emperor Justinian embarked on a military campaign of reconquest. His aim was to reunite the western half of the empire with the eastern half and to uproot Arianism, replacing it with Catholicism. In 533, Justinian's general, Belisarius, invaded North Africa. The Vandals were soon dispatched. But the mainland

war with the Ostrogoths took twenty years to complete and left only havoc.

By 554, Justinian had subjugated most of Italy and issued his Pragmatic Sanction. Italian lands taken by the Ostrogoths were restored.

A *pro forma* restoration of government was made. Though the last pockets of Ostrogothic resistance were not smashed until 563, officially, Italy was restored to a Roman Catholic empire.

But almost immediately, another Germanic tribe, the Arian Lombards, invaded Italy. By Justinian's death in 565, most of Italy had been lost to Catholicism and the empire. The Western Roman Empire, especially, seemed to be passing from history, and with it, the established Christian religion.

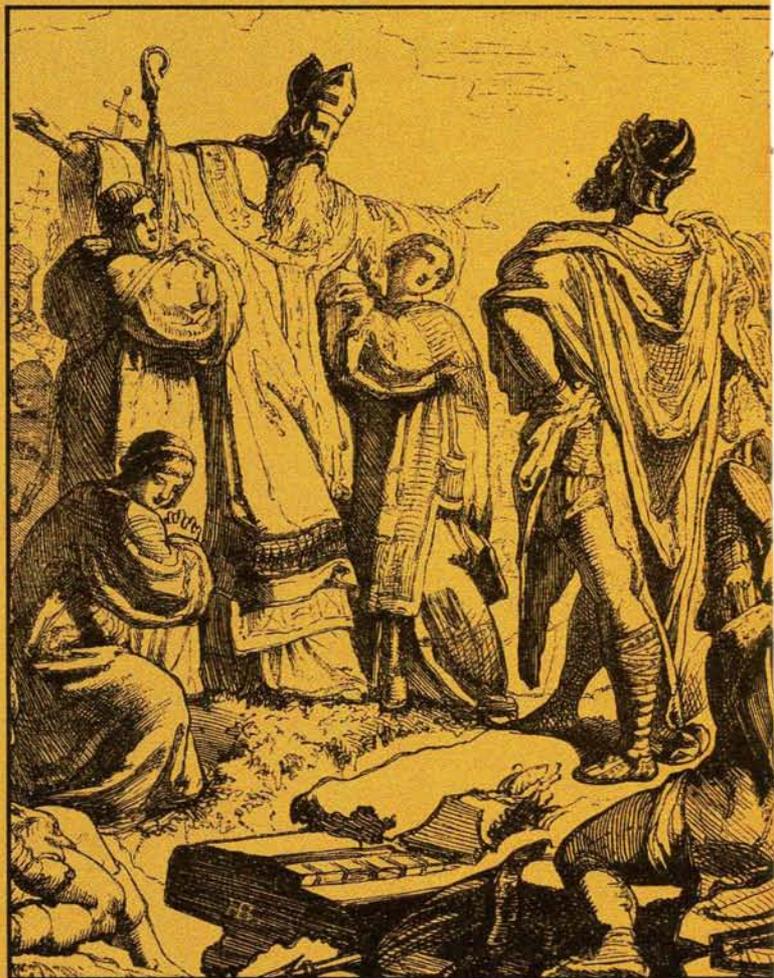
But at that critical moment for church and empire, a startling new development was taking place in the Germanic kingdom of the Franks. In the future, the Franks would restore stability to what had been the empire of the West.



Europe at death of Justinian as Lombards conquer Italy — A.D. 565.

MAP SOURCES: Though a number of sources were consulted, the information for the maps was gleaned from three primary ones: The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History, Colin McEvedy, London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1961; The Civilization of

Charlemagne, Jacques Boussard, translated from the French by Frances Partridge, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968; Medieval History, 2nd edition, Norman F. Cantor, London: Macmillan Co., 1969.



life comes to a standstill. Immense areas of fertile land are left to weeds. Rome's population drops to 40,000. Even under Theodoric it had several hundred thousand people — still a far cry from its few million during the heyday of the empire.

"It is ironic," historian J. F. Bernard will write, "that Justinian, whose sole purpose was to reunite Italy to the Empire, not only destroyed the country by the reconquest and the reimposition of imperial taxes, but also lost it forever." When Justinian dies in 565, the "restoration" is ready to crumble.

Year 568: The Lombards Invade Italy. In 568, the Arian Lombards march into Italy under their king Alboin. The Lombards, accompanied by Saxons and other Teutonic tribesmen, soon conquer the northern part of Italy. Ten years later Rome is surrounded. The city begs the eastern emperor Tiberius for aid. Tiberius offers little or no help. He simply advises Rome to either bribe the Lombards or pay the Franks to drive them out.

The Lombard domination in Italy will last for over two hundred years (568-774). Half the peninsula will be in Lombard hands; the other half in the possession of the eastern emperor. Though Rome is to withstand the Lombard assaults, Italy will remain divided politically. Even the Lombards quarrel among themselves.

The benefactress of all this confusion is the Roman church. Had the Lombards united, they might have overrun Italy. The Pope would have become an appointee of the Lombards, and probably Arian. Had Italy been a well-organized province of the eastern emperor,

the Pope would have become a mere provincial metropolitan under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. But in the absence of strong civil authority, the Pope finds political flexibility.

Meanwhile, theological and cultural differences emphasize the growing gap between Rome and the Eastern Roman Empire. In fact, once the Lombards are converted to Catholicism, the gap between Lombards and Catholics is more easily spanned.

The bishop at Rome and the Catholic church are the only ones who can give the kind of leadership necessary to preserve the cultural and religious traditions spawned by the Roman Empire. "With a structure and an organization modeled on the imperial paradigm," one historian will write, "she [the Catholic church] slowly assumed in men's minds an imperial image. Rome, though now but a provincial city, once again began to inspire men with a strange confidence in a new imperial power."

However, there is yet one hurdle to overcome. The Church may be the *image* of imperial power; but she is not quite its reality. Though the See of Rome has incredible land holdings, immense income and a private army, the Church cannot fight entire nations by herself.

A new temporal power will have to be found, a power willing to offer military protection to the Church, yet docile to the point of cooperation. Only one such power exists: the Frankish kingdom in the heart of Western Europe.

How this new empire revives the heartland of Europe and creates an unprecedented unity will be discussed in the next installment. □

CRUCIAL EVENTS OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

— Top: Alaric the Visigoth sacks Rome, A.D. 410. Visigoths soon depart. Left: Leo I, bishop of Rome, persuades Attila the Hun not to invade Rome — evidence of the leading role assumed by the bishop of Rome in Italian affairs. Far left, bottom: Roman Emperor Romulus Augustulus surrenders to Odovacer, A.D. 476, the traditional date for the fall of the Roman Empire. Far left center: Odovacer, who had conquered Rome, is assassinated by Theodoric, A.D. 493.

Culver Photos

Personal from



(Continued from page 1)

the dead. He went to the throne of the government of the vast universe to be GLORIFIED, and coronated as supreme RULER over the entire earth. When he returns, the world will know something of the meaning of "the power and the glory!"

His eyes will flash like flames of fire. His face will not be pale white. It will be like the sun shining in FULL STRENGTH. He will come with all the POWER that created the universe! He is coming to crush every government

of men, as if to grind them into powder! He is coming as the King of kings, ruling over ALL NATIONS.

He is coming to *change human nature!* He is coming to enforce the WAY of outgoing concern, or love, of giving, serving, sharing, helping, instead of grasping, taking and self-centeredness. He is coming to abolish war, competition, strife and violence. He is coming to inaugurate a universal, right education. He is coming to clean up this filthy earth. He is coming to restore the government of God as the all-powerful world government.

Yes, I see a very bright future — just ahead!

It's the only GOOD NEWS in the world today! □

cerning the celebration which preceded that eruption by a short time. I understand that the governor of the island was an atheist of the first degree, one could say of the worst degree, and that he had a parade staged as a travesty against the Church, that a sow was crucified and paraded through the streets in mockery of the Church. It was not long after this event that Mt. Pelée erupted. It would seem that there is a real lesson in that experience for the generation of the 1970's, as Mr. Dankenbring suggests.

C. R. H.,
Upland, California

Panama Canal

The Panama Canal is Panama's land, and should therefore belong to her. The United States has no right in Panama, on the isthmus or anywhere else in Latin America. We Americans seem to feel that we can buy anything we want. But freedom has no price. Panama for the Panamanians. . . .

Mark B.,
St. Louis, Missouri

I was a soldier in Panama and rode through the canal just twenty minutes ahead of a large landslide. . . . I also saw the first boat through, so I'm a witness to this great adventure.

Ward S.,
Wayland, Michigan

What Our Readers Say

The Energy Crisis

This letter is in regard to an article published by your magazine by Jerry Gentry entitled: "A New Look at the Energy Crisis" (July-August 1973 edition).

On page 4 of the magazine in the upper left-hand corner is a picture of the downtown Las Vegas gambling area, and reference is made to that picture indicating a tremendous amount of electrical power is utilized in lighting up the gambling areas in Las Vegas.

For the record, you should be apprised that of the total electricity produced by Nevada Power Company in Clark County (population 300,000), the hotel industry, which is our primary industry, uses 9.9%. Of that figure, it is estimated that less than 1% of all the power used by the hotel industry is directly related to the lighting of signs.

I would hope that you would correct this impression of electrical waste, which in my opinion, the picture heretofore mentioned subtly suggested.

Daniel J. Demers,
Assemblyman
Las Vegas, Nevada

• Thanks for the specific percentages. That one percent spent to attract gamblers and pleasure seekers would surely be appreciated by many a small community around the world.

Creation-Evolution Controversy

The recent contribution to the June 1973 issue of *The PLAIN TRUTH* entitled, "Why the New Creation-Evolution Controversy?" was well done. One of the things that has

bugged me over the years is that whenever there is a science-religion controversy, such as the one recently before the state board of education, those representing religion generally demonstrate all the characteristics of juvenile scholarship with a little emotionalism thrown in. A recent debate that was held in several locations in the West (CSU, Sacramento for one) showed the unbelievable shallowness of those purporting to uphold creation viewpoints. Furthermore, those scientific scholars who have deep religious convictions were not on the scene when their contributions would have been most effective.

Thank you for your rational contribution in the recent issue. You stated things rather well. One question intrigues me, however. Why did you omit one of our most powerful arguments — that of the second law of thermodynamics? If my understanding of the application of this law is properly founded, it says essentially that heat flows from a higher concentration to a lower concentration, and, by implication, from a higher organization to a lower. This is the reverse of evolution. The world is running down like the sun, not the other way around. Complex forms deteriorate into simpler forms by natural process. Only an intelligence can work it the other way. It cannot happen by itself.

I would like to have your views if you can spare the time.

J. Robert M.,
Sacramento, California

• The second law of thermodynamics will be dealt with as a separate article in a forthcoming issue.

Mt. Pelée's Eruption

I have been interested in many of the articles published in your magazine. Of special interest to me was the article concerning the eruption of Mt. Pelée on the island of Martinique in 1902. I wondered if Mr. Dankenbring had no information con-

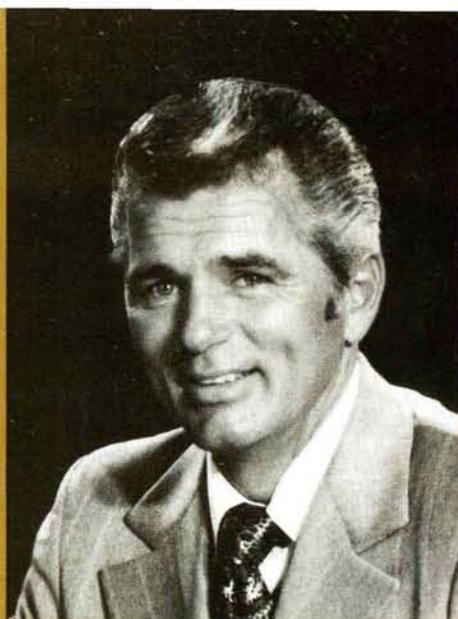
cerning the celebration which preceded that eruption by a short time. I understand that the governor of the island was an atheist of the first degree, one could say of the worst degree, and that he had a parade staged as a travesty against the Church, that a sow was crucified and paraded through the streets in mockery of the Church. It was not long after this event that Mt. Pelée erupted. It would seem that there is a real lesson in that experience for the generation of the 1970's, as Mr. Dankenbring suggests.

This all changed. You should visit the Port of Oakland. Containers are taking it all, except for bulk cargo, and the tanker trade. The break bulk general cargo ship will soon be an anachronism rusting away on red lead row, thanks to the great Australian invention, the all-conquering container. With containers, you can do anything in cargo handling: unload and load out once around the clock, transfer to and from rail flat car, truck or barge, whichever is most convenient and economical. An old woman or an aboriginal may be trained to handle the giant cranes or the securing tackle. Container stuffing is at the source unloading by consignee at his place of business and almost complete security from pilfering in between.

Kendric F.,
Walnut Creek, California

Garner Ted Armstrong

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