John S. Cleaves: The fall of the Left...

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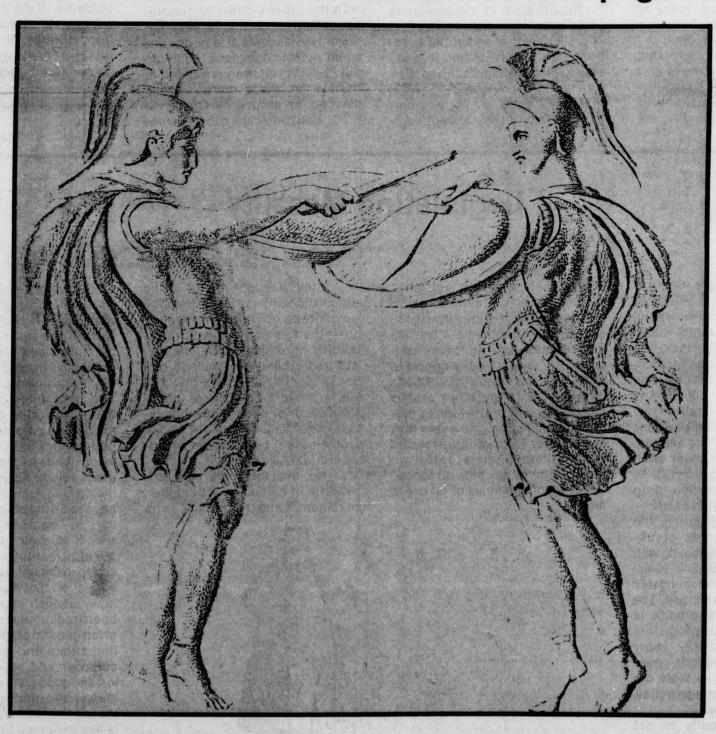


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Professor G. Allen Greb on the INF Treaty
Devon Laing: The Presidential 6-Pack
Douglas Jamieson offers UCSD a helpful hint
plus Student Poll #1, and the Comics page



The Right Stuff

by Douglas Jamieson

Universities throughout the United States each hold similar engineering curriculums and for this reason a person wanting a good engineering education can get one at just about any university. For the aspiring engineering student this seems like very good news indeed; however, some universities have 'the right attitude', while others are what President Reagan would call "'doom cryers'". Who do these doom cryers hurt the most? Well, on the small scale the students seeking to become engineers absorb the initial loss. It is on the large scale, unfortunately, that the problem is much more severe. Presently, and in the long run, the United States scientific community will suffer the greatest.

Universities with 'the right attitude', particularly one applied toward engineering, are helping America the most. The right attitude does not mean giving out high grades. Rather, it calls for instilling optimism, instead of doom, in the students and the curriculum.

The specifics come down to graduating high school seniors. Students wanting to become engineers usually know this at an early age. By the time these students are ready to enter college, many of them even know the specific type of engineer they want to become.

It's natural and right that universities reviewing these students set certain entrance requirements. In fact, the majority of universities have engineering entrance requirements that are well above the average for admittance into other departments. These differing requirements are how one university can distinguish itself from another.

The essence of 'the right stuff' is as follows: A university can have any entrance requirements it wants as long as these are applied to incoming freshmen. Once the students are accepted, they should be engineering majors as freshmen, designated to the field of their choice. The students continuence in engineering then becomes conditional on the maintainance of an overall 2.0 GPA. This entrance design offers the students a more relaxed atmosphere knowing that they have already made the major. They had what it took to get into the department as freshmen, in turn their obligation is to maintain a GPA of at least 2.0. Transfer students are also

easily addressed. Universities have the right to set an entrance GPA for these students. However, the aspect that should be given the greatest weight is whether the student is already an engineering major at the school (s)he is attending, or if (s)he initially qualified for the program at the university being transferred to.

At the other end of the spectrum are the universities that exercise what one might call bad faith. An important understanding here is that universities are not exercising bad faith if they accept engi-

neering students to the university, but not initially into the department, as long as they practice the above entrance design. These students become pre-engineering majors, and are given a second chance after completeing a limited number of core classes. These classes are easily completed in the



freshman year and allow the student time to think of other career options if it becomes apparent that engineering is not the one.

It is the universities which don't accept anybody to the engineering department as incoming freshmen that practice bad faith. Instead, they have the students go through an extensive array of core classes. These, when combined with the other university general education requirements, take the majority of students at least one and a half years to complete. Additionally, a GPA requirement of 3.0 is needed in these core science classes, or an overall GPA over 2.70. Then, after spending the time

to complete these classes, the student must apply to the department. While some students know that they are going to make it into the department, others rest on the borderline or did not even make the GPA requirement. But why should students with GPA's between 2.0 and 2.6 be denied careers in engineering? All of these students would be well on their way to becoming engineers if the school had accepted them into the major as incoming freshmen.

Universities that allow students to study engineering for two years then say that these students cannot be engineering majors because they have GPA's of less than 2.7 are practicing bad faith. The university leaves these students in a bind by giving them no alternative except to change their major. Even transferring would be risky because these students are not officially engineering majors and so might not be readily accepted into the programs at other schools.

These are the universities that deprive America of capable young engineers, by first luring students to their university but then providing neither ample opportunity nor alternatives to these students. If the United States is to continue to be the formost "land of opportunity", it must strive to utilize all of its resources, not discourage and waste them.

Douglas Jamieson is a Sophomore at UCSD.

Legislating Morality

by Horatio Galba

George Will is right. Governments inevitably shape souls because governments make laws and all laws legislate morality. Laws informus, if nothing else does, that murder is foul. Laws of taxation require us to accept that we owe some obligation to our country and our fellow citizens. Traffic laws tell us — again, if nothing else does — that it is improper to hit and run.

hose concerns most often thought of as "moral questions" or "social issues" - abortion, drug abuse, illegitimacy, and so forth are all subjects of legislation, and yet, while legislation is of undoubted importance in dealing with these moral questions and social issues, the best way of dealing with them is through peer pressure. The difficulty with this approach is two-fold: (1) one can't legislate peer pressure, and (2) many people regard moralistic peer pressure as obscene - more obscene, in fact, than obscene behav-

The first difficulty is not insurmountable. Peer pressure

might not be subject to legislative fiat, but it is certainly open to suasion, it only requires that those who do the 'suading be attractive and self-assured. As for the antimoralists, they are quite unable to make the necessary distinctions between social pressure that is salubrious and that which is narrow and philistine. As such, they are a lower form of intellect and need not detain us here, as they will prove to be either natural followers or whining ninnies of no use to anyone.



Still, it might be of some consolation to these lesser beings if we concede up front that the peer pressure this country requires is not that of religious fundamentalists and others who want to ban Shakespeare, Lewis Carroll, and Mark Twain from school bookshelves, or of backwoods simpletons who believe all our social problems will be resolved by another Great Awakening.

No, what this country needs is a rebirth of elitism — of beautiful, intelligent, snooty people who

think that promiscuity is just too passe, that drug abuse is obnoxious, and that polyester should only be worn in extreme moderation.

We need elite institutions—

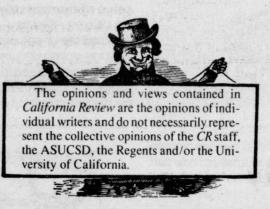
prep schools and lvy League colleges and universities — that actually, and intentionally, produce elites with elite tastes and elite minds and who can express their preferences with confidence and vigor. If one had to point to a single great failing responsible for the majority of America's ills, it would have to be the ubiquitous kow-towing to egalitarian sentiments, which, in their inanity, have led our elite institutions to lower their sights to the point of blindness, our educational establishments to virtually abolish education as it has been traditionally understood, and given general credence to the belief that sanity and insanity, criminal behavior and law-abiding behavior, and good taste and bad taste are merely alternative lifestyles, (and that, in the matter of taste, the bad is usually much to be preferred to the good because it is either avant-



California Review (Restitutor Orbis) was founded on the sunny afternoon of seven, January, nineteenhundred and eighty-two, by discipuli cum civitas listening to Respighi and engaging in discourse on preserving the American Way.

Letters to the Editor

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garde—and therefore creative and innovative— or popularly brutish— and therefore democratically enjoyable).

Rest assured, an insolent, moralistic aristocracy of beautiful people would not be resisted, it would be celebrated. Too intelligent and successful to be ignored, too attractive and graceful not to be admired, it would wield enormous power over the People-reading classes, all Kennedy worshippers, and all young people who have not already been so far debased as not to like anyone who doesn't yell, scream, and look like a maddened derelict.

And what would this achieve?
Plenty. When one changes the points of reference of a society, one changes the way a society thinks.
There is no reason in the world why we should not aspire to make ourselves people of discernment and nobility.

And there is no reason in the world why we cannot achieve this goal. Aerobics classes did not spring up because of Congressional

action, but because people felt it necessary to improve their health and fitness, and, concomitantly, their attractiveness to the opposite sex.

Having read Freud, we all know that sex is a pretty powerful tool, and surely from personal experience we know that hard bodies are ever so much more attractive when they are paired with sense and sensability.

So, verily I say unto you, the battle can be won, and all it will take to proclaim victory is for such blockbusters as Books and How to use them, The Mind as an Erogenous Zone, and Good Music doesn't end with Bolero to become bestsellers. And that, my friends, could be the start of another American Renaissance.

Horatio Galba is Cr's European Literary Correspondent.

California Review

Credo: Imperium et Libertas.



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Robert Triplett.....Eximius Concubitus

Leslie Crocker.....Supremus Auxulium

.Tribunus Plebis

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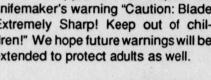
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A conservative journal is a terrible thing to waste. Please support the California Review, a not-for-profit organization. Thank you.

In Review

- CR applauds a Japanese knifemaker's warning "Caution: Blade Extremely Sharp! Keep out of children!" We hope future warnings will be extended to protect adults as well.
- · At the Washington Redskins' last practice before flying to San Diego to crush the Broncos 42-10 in the Super Bowl, a pep talk was given by none other than Lt. Col. Ollie North. The players ran off the field chanting "Ollie, Ollie, Ollie" and refused to speak to reporters.
- 127 Czechs were arrested in Pilsen for stealing \$200,000 worth of liquid socialist property from the Pilsner Urquell brewery. Apparently the beer wasn't noticed until the fun police noticed happy citizens in their workers paradise.
- · Hull, Mass. residents are hearing voices from their radiators, aluminum sidings, and ovens because of the 50,000 watt Boston WBZ radio tower near their town. One annoyed resident complined "It's a pain in the neck to listen to voices that are not of your choosing."
- · Revealing photos? This time it was Former Democratic Presidential Hopeful Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) who has enraged veteran's and other groups by appearing on the cover of the February Ms. Magazine with Old Glory draped around her shoulders. Apparently the teary-eyed Congresswoman didn't realize she was breaking a federal law prohibiting the use of the flag as a costume.
- · True to his beliefs, James Denby, the recently released American who was shot down while flying his private plane over Nicaragua, refused to speak out against President Reagan's foreign policies. "I told them I was a lifelong Republican...That was like saying 'I'm your enemy."
- · From the 'Say It Ain't So' department: a Maryland group has formed a Draft Jimmy Carter for President in 1988 Committee.
- · Remember S. Brian Willson, the protestor who had his legs severed by a Navy train as he sat on the tracks while trying to get the train to stop? Remember how right after the incident he hired a publicist, how he was visited by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's wife, how he contracted a bank of lawyers to sue as much of the government as he possibly could? Well, he is now getting his just deserts: the conductor, engineer, and brakeman of the train have brought suit against him, seeking compensation for mental anguish, emotional and physical distress, and loss of earnings.
- . This one is for everyone who has a roommate. Sita Ram Raju had a roommate who just wouldn't shut up. Fed up with the noise, Sita attacked him. In the ensuing battle, Sita bit his roommate's finger off. Sita then got to have lots of quite - in jail.





- Gosh, maybe there really is a Glasnost. Only 30 some odd years after it was written, "Doctor Zhivago" is finally being released in the Soviet Union.
- It's official, the Constitution has been ratified. It seems that 200 years ago, the town of Cornwall, Conn., never quite got around to approving the document, so residents recently got together and had an informal poll on whether to accept the Constitution as it was presented in 1788, without the Bill of Rights or other admendments. It passed with only one dissenting vote. Said one excited Cornwall resident "Not many people in the country have had a chance to vote on the
- · Porkopolis is celebrating its bicentennial and the City Council thinks a bronze statue of winged pigs would be a fitting symbol. Cincinatti, the hogslaughtering capitol of the 1800's, has decided that it already has plenty of statues of old, bearded men, and wanted something light-hearted for the historic event. There have been a few squeals of protest, but not enough to stop the work.
- Recipes calling for stag, gazelle, squab and tarru? These are just some of the meats used in the 25 recipes found on three clay tablets dating back

stands at eight years, 276 days.

mark, as of Friday, February 5, now

- · It's a common story: a couple wanting to marry, their families disapproving. and the lover's running away together. The catch this time is that the bride-tobe, DeGiuseppa Sandurra, is 77, and her beau Alfio Fiamma is 90 years old. and the cold-hearted families are their respective children.
- Arkansas residents almost got away with with a lucky break. It seems that this years state tax forms had a slight error, a line saying 'less' instead of 'more', which gave most residents a 100% tax refund. The revenue collectors, however, expect people to make the correction and pay what they are required to.
- Then there is the case of the taxgrinch in Fort Collins, Colorado. The city had decided to enforce a 1968 law requiring a tax on all non-profit fund raising. In this case, the fund-raisees were the Girl Scouts, and the tax was 5 cents per box of cookies. However, after a great deal of community protest, the city council relented, and cookies are once again tax-free.
- Mathew C. Huffine was caught for driving 75 in a 55 mph zone in Kentucky. Enclosed with his \$82.50 fine was an irate note requesting that local police officers spend their time protecting citizens. District Judge Carl Hurst returned the check and demanded an apology along with payment as an alternative to a court appearance. "Speedy" Huffine then, having learned his manners, meekly complied.



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for surpassing the record of Lord Asquith to become the longest continuously serving PM of the 20th century. Her

to 1700 BC. The cuneiform written

tablets from Mesopotamia are now part

of Yale University's Babylonian Collec-

CR would like to congratulate British

California Review Student Poll No.1:

Fill out and send via Intra-Campus mail or drop off at the office, Room 212, Student Center.

> Intra-Campus mail B-023-005

> > None

Other

Do you consider yourself to be: Conservative Moderate Liberal What is your political ideology?

Democrat Independent

What do you think of the California Review? Good Don't care

What would you like to see in this paper?

Republican

...The Rise of the Right

by John S. Cleaves

Where has all the "fun" gone? What has happened to the petition seekers who used to stand in Revelle harassing you when you were already late to class? Or to the people who used to ask you to sign away your meal at the cafeteria in a protest against democracy in Outer-Mid Oombdada? Where have those guys who would only shave on one side of their face gone? What about the anti-CIA/FBI/INSer's who would make the day so interesting with their lyrical chants, their sit-ins, their physical attacks? Just where has the Great Unwashed disappeared to?

This year, more than any other while I have been here, is filled with a kind of sleepy apathy, politics wise, by the "radical" student population. Aside from the rather common and wholly unimaginative acts of vandalism against the CR office, and a student apparently trying to expose himself in front of a Contra spokesman. little or nothing has been done by the Left here on campus. They haven't built any shanty villages to protest whatever has caught their attention for the week, they haven't thrownpaint on the ROTC students, they haven't even attacked any members of the A.S. lately

Certainly they still carry out a few activities. They publish their assorted propaganda papers, occasionally co-sponsor debates, and play their bongo-drums almost every Friday, but other than that they are surprisingly inactive. The Left of our campus has declined to just a shadow of its former pres-

"How could this happen?" you might (but probably don't) wonder.

Have UCSD's students lost their interest in political causes? The answer to this question is an emphatic "No!". Students here are as active as ever, it's just that that action is heading in a different direction. This can be seen in the popularity of two student groups, Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), which is one of the fastest growing campus organizations, and College Republicans, which continues to be one of the largest and most active of the student groups.

How can this shift to support of right-of-center political groups be explained? Is it part of what the national press has, in years past,



termed the "conservativization" of college students? Does it have something to do with the recent polls that show that over seventy percent of these same students have as a goal the desire to become financially well-off? Either of these could be part

of the cause. Almost all of the students at this campus have grown up as part of the Reagan Generation, a time during which being American has been construed as being something good, rather than as something to be ashamed of. It has also been the age of the material good, when pursuit of wealth has become socially acceptable.

Most students can easily recall the American scene prior to Reagan: U.S. citizens held hostage by the Iranians, rampant inflation, and who can forget the odd-day. even-day gas rationing during the Oil Embargo of 1979? To many Americans, the government of the late 1970's was weak and ineffective, unable to make a decision or to provide an answer to the problems of the day.

Then Reagan became president and the problems evaporated away: the hostages were freed, gas became plentiful, and the economy took an upturn, eventually rising to one of the highest levels ever. Many of the new problems to arise were similarly solved decisively, such as the freeing of Grenada from the Communist grip, the bombing of Libya, which noticably curtailed terrorist activity, and the improvement of many national services, including education, while at the same time reducing federal income taxes.

Living during a conservative and action-taking presidency has undoubtedly had a great impact upon the lives of most Americans. It is natural, therefore, that many people, viewing those results as positive, have been drawn to a more conservative stance, one which would bring them to support and participate in like-minded organizations on campus.

A second possible cause is that many students hold becoming financially well-off to be their most important goal. These people, who know that they are going to have to work long and hard to achieve their desires, are going to be less supportive of policies which call for such things as high levels of personal income tax, or for a spreading of wealth and property among the masses. In fact, they will want to do everything in their power to prevent such insidious things from taking place. When these people

turn to find out who supports their goals, they soon learn that it is the conservative groups which work to the same ends. So these students, who realize that they will soon be out in the "real world", are drawn into the right-of-center organizations by their desire to protect their property and their future income.

However, there exists a third plausible, and much more entertaining, reason behind the fall of the Left and subsiquent rise in popularity of the Right: the Left is boring!

It's true, the movement as a whole has become rather dull and unoriginal. They haven't come up with any new catch-words in years, their two favorites still being "Vietnam" and "Fascism", which are used in such ways as to prove they know nothing about either the war or the definition (which calls for a socialist economy, and is actually remarkably similar to Communism). They haven't changed their clothing styles since somewhere in the early '70's, and they haven't changed any of their ideas, concepts, or opinions from somewhere even farther back in history. Leftists voice the same tired objections even when faced with new and different situations. seldom changing their perspective, rarely, if ever, adapting to a changing world.

So it's really not much of a puzzle. Right wing campus groups are growing because they are much more appealing to the present needs and goals of students, while the Leftists continue on in their 1960's motif, alienating the vast majority of the student population with out-of-date opinions and outof-style clothing.

John S. Cleaves, a Senior at UCSD. is Editor-in-Chief of CR.

"Peace" Curricula

by Edwin J. Delattre

The Washington Summit of President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev has brought new publicity to the issue of arms control, and with it, to a new college course scheduled to begin in February, 1988. A joint effort by Tufts University and Moscow State University, the course emerges from a resolution of several college presidents in the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and China, endorsing a "world-wide curriculum for peace." Last December, The New York Times reported that these presidents viewed informed public opinion "that sees arms control as an element of national security" as "the best chance to stop the arms race." Tufts University president Jean Mayer said at

that time, "If people knew enough of what was going on, this would

help to cut down the arms race." Now, a year later, President Mayer says the goal is "to organize universities around the world to commit themselves to a common 'peace' curriculum, the model for which would be worked out in a joint American-Soviet, satellitelinked course on arms control...In other words, educate the young to achieve peace." Classroom discussion will be moderated by an historian at Tufts and a physicist in Moscow, "Evgeny Vilikhov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party."

It appears, then, that the "peace" curriculum is actually an "arms control" curriculum. (One

wonders why college presidents do not call such courses by their right name.) Without a doubt, the arms control debate is important for students of international relations: good courses on the subject certainly belong in the curriculum. The question is, are courses like the Tufts/Moscow State example more likely to be exercises in political ideology or serious academic explorations of this complicated subject? Will the participation of a Soviet "professor" give the impression that the Soviet Union respects academic freedom, or that the Soviets can be trusted in international affairs?

Equally important, will the professors who teach such courses have the courage to raise funda-

mental issues about peace among human beings and nations? While nuclear weapons are new, warfare is unfortunately not. Throughout history, some of humankind's most profound thinkers and statesmen have grappled with the issues of war and peace.

For example, St. Augustine argued fifteen hundred years ago that there will always be wars because everyone is alike in desiring peace. The catch is that everyone desires his own idea of peace Since these ideas differ and conflict, there is no end to wars. In our own century, Winston Churchill said, "War is horrible, but slavery is worse." History, the greatest

continued on page 9

Interview with Professor G. Allen Greb

In light of the President's recent signing of the INF treaty, we here at CR decided to bring you something a little different than our usual fare. Therefore, on the sunny day of 27, January, Mr. Cleaves packed up his gear and plunged into the Great UCSD Outback, where he subsequently found the IGCC headquarters, 517 MAAC. There he came into contact with Professor G. Allen Greb, a research historian who has been with IGCC since its inception. He was able to tell us a bit about how the INF treaty will affect the lives of UCSD students, as well as present his views on where the negotiations are headed.

CR: If you could tell us a little about IGCC?

AG: That stands for Institute Global Conflict and Cooperation. IGCC is a system-wide organization with it's central offices here, that is they are associated but independent groups of faculty members and students on each one of the campuses of the U.C. system. All nine campuses are loosely coordinated from UCSD because the director is here. The director is Herbert York of the Physics Dept., who is also head of the Science, Technology and Public Affairs program. I'm the associate director, my background is in History. The other associate director is Jim Scalley, who's a sociologist. To give you an idea of what we're trying to do, which, broadly defined, is to create more opportunities in the University of California for people to address peace and security issues in the traditional way that people in universities do, which is with research projects and with teaching projects.

The course that I teach, "The History of Arms Control", is an example of the courses that are funded and supported by the IGCC but it has now been picked up by the History and Political Science departments here on campus. What we're trying to do is get more people involved talking about peace and security issues in general, running conferences, doing their own individual research, and getting younger scholars involved and teaching more courses on all of the campuses.

CR: Do the other departments have other courses as well?

AG: There are several courses here at U.C.S.D., though they are not as far as advanced as those at some of the other campuses in the U.C. system which have developed either undergraduate minors, or fields of concentration that cut across lots of different disciplines. We are starting here at U.C.S.D. to do that, and I hope by the end of this year, when we re-organize the central office here, to establish an interdisciplinary minor in Peace and Securities Studies here at U.C.S.D. that will include courses in the

Political Science, History, Sociology, Communications, Psychology, and Frontiers of Science. So there will be lots of courses available, in fact there already are, its just that many students are unaware of them, except by thumbing thru the schedule of classes. If it's organized in to a minor, then it will appear in the U.C.S.D. catalog and will be easier for the students to identify.

You're going to get a lot of questions about the U.S. commitment to NATO

CR: Could you tell us a little bit about the recent INF Treaty?

AG: It's an interesting agreement in that from my perspective no one really thought that either the U.S. or the Soviet Union would be coming to any kind of an agreement on this particular issue at this time or at any time in the near future. I think it reflects the different domestic political environments of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Both sides want this kind of an agreement, or want an agreement per se. That's not to say that the treaty as it's signed and hopefully will be ratified doesn't have merit in of itself, political and military merit while enhancing the National Security interests of both sides. I think it was helped along by the domestic political situation in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

CR: So Glasnost helped ...?

AG: Sure! I believe so. You might use Glasnost as a catch all phrase or "perestroika", the restructuring of the Soviet society and the implications of that, but what's more important is that you have now in the Soviet Union a situation where the succession crisis is over. You had a whole series of Soviet leaders who were not really lively leaders, who took power and either became sick almost immediately or already were. Everyone knew that they woould not be in power for a very long period of time. You had Brezhnev who got sick and was not even ruling in a fundamental sense for perhaps the last year or two of his term of power. Then you had Chernenko and Andropov and with both of those guys it was clear they would not be in power very long. Now that that is out of the way and most people are arguing that if the young, new, vivrant leader is not pushed out of power, he will be there for a very long time. His ideas are about restructuring the Soviet foreign policy and international policy and specifically it's relations with the U.S. and getting at the

issue of saving money. One way to do that is to calm things down on an international basis and arms control is one way to calm things down between the Soviet Union and the U.S. It is not the only means, it is only a piece, but it is an important piece nonetheless.

CR: What happened domestically in the U.S. that allowed us to go forward with this?

AG: All of these decisions in the U.S.

stem from the very top, from the

president himself. There was a reconsideration for a number of different reasons: reactions to what had taken place during the second Reagan adminstration, both domestically and in Europe. I think there was a fundamental re-evaluation by the president himself and many of his advisors. Those advisors are a different group than those who were advising him during his first administration, not necessarily people who are "dove-ish" if you will, or soft-headed, but who have a broader perspective on how to deal with the issue of how to handle U.S. security. That is those who believe that we should at least pursue the route of diplomacy and try to get the Soviets to agree to the things that are in the interests of both countries, as well as pushing forward with a strong defense. In particular, the changes that have taken place in the Dept. of Defense itself. I think, with the entrance of Carlucci, with Pearl's departure, and especially with Weinberger leaving, the new advisors are a bit more pragmatic about some of these issues, and less ideological than those we had before.

CR: So would you say that diplomacy is becoming more important in U.S. foreign policy?

AG: Yes! When you have a president who serves two terms there is a natural tendency on the part of that

No one thought the U.S. & the USSR would be coming to any kind of agreement

president to reflect in his second term on how history will view his entire eight years in office. The notion being that he wants to make contributions in the area of international relations, national security policy, and the strengtening our defense policy, contributions that Reagan believes he has made. The perceptions about what has been done has allowed us to be in a position where we have been able to make the progress that we have in the arms control arena with the Soviets. It is like you have to have all sorts of accidental historical

forces that come together at a particular point in time to create an opportunity for major breakthroughs is arms control negotiation, and I think we've got that. The same situation that we had in the early 1960's with the interest of Khrushchev and Kennedy leading to a united test ban, and in the early 1970's for very different reasons. The interests on the part of Kissinger and Nixon and Brezhnev to try and deal with the issue of Strategic Arms Limitations, the SALT agreements. We've got some forces coming together on both sides that create an environment in which this treaty has been made possible. You can have those forces all in line and together, but that doesn't mean that a fundemental agreement will be found. But we have one, and I think its for the good of international relations in general and U.S. national security policy in particular.

CR: Did Nato have any influence on the negotiations?

AG: Well, there are some complicating forces at work. We probably did not consult as much as we should have with our NATO allies in regard to this treaty. But if you look at the history of the INF question (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces), it's one in which we talked to our NATO allies more than in any other - certainly more than we talked to them about other strategic talks now going on between the U.S. and the Soviet Union . Although we do consult them, it's not in the same manner that we had in regard to the INF treaty. The original deployment of our INF forces in Western Europe came as a result of a request by West German Chancellor Schmidt in 1977. Leading then to the 1979 dual track decision that was made very much with our NATO allies, that if the Soviets got rid of their SS-20's, the U.S. would not deploy the Pershings or the ground launched cruise missles (GLCM's). So I think there has been more consultation going on in this particular issue than there has been in a lot of the other ones. However, now that you have an agreement that is signed, sealed, and delivered. you're naturally going to get a lot of questions from the European allies about the nature of the U.S. commitment to the NATO Alliance. It's useful to raise these questions and to start talking about questions that we should have been talking about 10-15 years ago. Now we are going to have to start facing the issues. Although, what the treaty does itself is so minimal, eliminating only three to four percent of the actual weaponry that is in Europe, although it is a visible political symbol since it is weaponry that is land-based, and it's there and everyone knows it's there, it's still only three to four percent and therefore it doesn't fundamentally alter the commitment that the U.S. has made to detering the Soviet attack.

CR: Didn't the treaty eliminate the missles but not the actual war-heads?

AG: Well, the vehicles, the launchers, and the missles themselves, and the part of the vehicle that contains the warhead will be destroyed. The fissionable material in the warheads themselves is going back into the inventories of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, to be used in any way those nations see fit. Probably it will go back into the 'stockpile' of fissionable material which is then an issue for separate negotiations.

CR: You were in the Soviet Union during the negotiations. Could you tell us a bit about that experience?

AG: Well, it was a fascinating experience to see how the Soviets covered the same kinds of issues. In the Soviet Union we got a running commentary from our host about the television coverage of the Summit every night. I mean it was THE major issue in the Soviet Union. That's not to say that the man on the street there knew more than the man on the street here in the U.S., like which missles were being covered or what the INF agreement was actually doing. But there was an incredible amount of interest in the notion of improvement of US-Soviet relations just in general. It domianted the news, the speeches by Reagan and by Gorbachev were shown in full. The one issue that wasn't covered in any great detail was the behind the scenes bantering between Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev, because the Soviets resent Raisa's apparent influence and also her conspicuous consumption, the use of the credit cards, wearing the fur coats and all that. We didn't hear any of that in the Soviet Union. Some of the Soviet general programming included such things as Mr.Rogers on the Soviet children's program "Good Night Moscow." It was a major issue among even the mid-level officials that we were dealing with at the various institutes in Moscow, such as the U.S.-Canada institute,

the Institute on World Economy and International Economy (IMEMO), and some of the others. I mean that was the issue that was dominating their consciousness. What was going to be the impact of this treaty? What was the nature of it? What did this mean for U.S.-Soviet relations in general? It certainly made the job that we had, which was trying to set up relationships between some of these institutes and our institute(the IGCC), a lot easier. It really helped in that regard to be in in the environment of improving U.S.-Soviet relations. We certainly would not have been as well recieved, nor accomplished as much as we did, if it had been at another time and at another place.

CR: Did you see any of the opening up of the Soviet society as we talked about under Glasnost and Peristorika?

AG: In discussions with some of the people that we talked with, there is a great desire for it, not necessarily opening up but the restructuring notion, getting their economy on a 20th century footing, and in that sense opening up their relations with other nations. Obviously, for example, with regard to international security issues the verification provisions that we included in the INF agreement are unprecedented. They do indicate a willingness on the part of the political leadership, and apparently the military leadership as well, to start opening up that aspect of relations. Now, with what's going on internally in the Soviet Union, a lot of the people we talked to, even though they desired to have these changes take place, believed that its going to be very difficult to do that internally. There is already such a structure of getting things done by working around the established set of rules that it is going to be difficult to try to impose on that fundamental changes in the Soviet economy. If you do that you are going to step on a lot of toes, and that's already starting to happen, and the question then becomes how far, and how much, can Gorbachev and his political leadership survive without getting pushed back themselves. For example, the same thing happened to Khruschev in the early '60's, and his being removed from power in 1964. I think Gorbachev is more politically astute than Khruschev was, and he probably won't have an embarassment like the Cuban missle crisis to push things along. He seems to be handling things on an international level front much differently than Khruschev. So it gives some hope at least that things are going forward.

All of these
decisions in the
U.Ş. come from
the Very Top

CR: While in the Soviet Union did you do any work on possible joint U.C.S.D.-Moscow State University classes?

AG: Yes, we did talk with people at the Moscow State University. As an initiation of our cooperation with them, we've made arrangements, not to do a joint class, but to do a summer seminar on international security, global security, and arms control issues, and to hold that in Moscow in the summer of 1989. It will be a three-way conference in which we will bring in teachers, professors, and scholars from Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and from several Soviet Universites, as well as people from the Unviersity of California. Scholars and teachers who plan to teach these kinds of courses on international peace and security, or who are already teaching these courses but want to improve them. We will get them together for a two-week period of time and basically bombard them with lectures and give them an intensive course on the nulcear question, so that they can in turn go back and teach better courses. This would be an initial kind of cooperation with Moscow State University. Certainly in the future if that's a success, we did mention the possibility of having joint courses, using joint textbooks and a joint curriculum, between the U.C. universities and several of the Soviet universities. The education abroad program within the university has set an affiliation with Lenigrad State University. They have exchanges of scholars and students, where U.C. students can go and study at Lenigrad for a semester or even a year and the Lenigrad State University students can do the same thing with regard to the University of California.

CR: What type of student?

AG: The initial target group are students from the hard sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and so forth. I'm sure there will be a lot of students from U.C.S.D. in that regard, but in the long run it isn't limited at all, students from the Social Sciences as well as students from the Humanities department will be able to take part in this program.

CR: Will the senate ratify the INF Treaty, or will so called "killer" admendments be attached to prevent its passage?

AG: The position of Senator Robert Dole is critical in all that. To his credit, he has come out and said that he hopes the treaty will be ratified

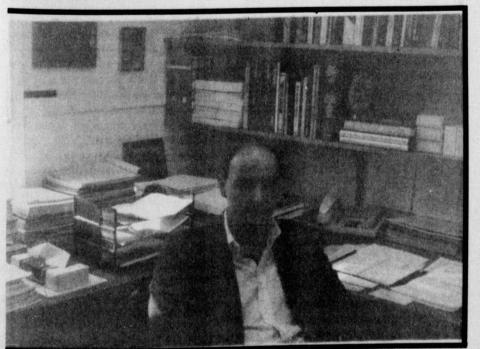
How soon it will be ratified is

another question, and that relates to the tactics that will be taken by some of the opponents of not only this treaty but other potential long-term treaties between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, for example fifty percent cuts in strategic weapons. They're taking the positions that the longer the ratification can be delayed, the less likely it will be that the U.S. and the Soviet Union can conclude an agreement to be signed in Moscow in May or June with reagard to strategic forces. I don't believe that anyone is trying to "kill" the INF agreement being negotiated in regard to strategic weapons. One of the most significant points about the INF Treaty is that it's a chance we seldom get: its the right President, at the right time, with the right treaty. It gives us a chance to get the arms control process back on track, at least domestically. The last treaties that have been signed between the U.S. and the Soviet Union have not been ratified.

CR: Which treaties are those?

AG: Those are SALT II, and two test ban treaties signed in the mid-1970's: the "Threshold" test ban treaty, and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions treaty. Although now discussions about those two treaties have been reopened and you might see the first real program in nuclear testing issues. If we can get the INF Treaty ratified in a reasonable length of time, and after watching the ratification hearings it seems that the opposition is minimal, and that the opposition comes from a very small group, people such as Senator Jesse Helmes, or Senator Ted Kennedy. who says that the administration is using the this as an excuse to modernize battlefield nuclear weapons, and that the opposition doesn't seem to be having a major impact, at least not yet. So I see the treaty being ratified. It will be the first treaty signed and ratified by the two countries in over 10 years, which is significant politically.

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Totalitarianism & Democracy are not "Moral Equivalents"

by C. Brandon Crocker

The doctrine of moral equivalence — the notion that the United States and the Soviet Union are essentially the same morally - is an incredibly popular belief nowadays. Recent polls in Britain, for instance, have shown that a majority of the people of this great ally of the United States believe the U.S. to be at least as great a threat to world peace as the Soviet Union. In this country, liberals like to express the view that the Soviets are just like Americans — they enjoy peace, they share many of our amusements, and their children fear nuclear war as much as do our kids. And if the Soviets accasionally carry out aggressive foreign policies, they only do so to the same extent we do to protect our own interests in the world.

By talking about the similarity of Soviet citizens and U.S. citizens, liberals try to reduce what they see as an unhealthy fear of the Soviet Union by Americans. The more we see the Soviet people as reflections of ourselves, the more trusting we will be of them and this, supposedly, will reduce world ten-

Unfortunately, in a totalitarian society such as the Soviet Union, what the average citizen is like is irrelevant to policy issues. The people who set Soviet foreign and domestic policies are in no way ordinary and are not likely representative of the Soviet people.

Furthermore, it is not terribly difficult to demolish the argument that U.S. and Soviet foreign policy are similarly based. American troops were sent to Grenada to protect U.S. lives endangered by a bloody coup, and to prevent the further evolution of the country into a supply base for Sovietbacked revolutionary groups in the area. This use of force was very different from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, where Soviet troops murdered the existing head of state. installed a Soviet puppet, and are currently protecting him by means of general slaughter from a popular uprising. Most of the major incidences involving American use of force abroad, since the end of World War II, have been to counter unprovoked Soviet moves. The U.S. sent troops to South Vietnam to counter Soviet-backed North Vietnamese aggression; the U.S. supplied aid to the "Contras" only after the Sandinistas entered into military agreements with the Soviet Union, supplied weapons to communist guerrillas in neighboring countries, and began amassing the largest army in Central America with Soviet arms, and with Soviet and Cuban military advisors. What, one may ask, is the Soviet Union's interest in Angola, where the government's forces are led by Soviet generals, and where the Soviets proxy, Cuba, has 35,000 troops? It is the West, not the Soviet Union, which has a stra-

tegic interest in the area (the Soviets already being self-sufficient in the strategic minerals found in southern Africa). The U.S. has only recently responded to this threatening act by sending limited aid to Jonas Savimbi's popular UNITA

The most pronounced moral difference between the United States and the Soviet Union, however, is not foreign policy, but domestic policy. By examining how the Soviet leadership treat its own citizens, we can make accurate judgments on Soviet morality which are relevant to any dealings with the Soviets.

In making this examination it is best to stay away from focusing on specific actions which are not institutional in nature. For instance, the systematic murder of tens of millions of Soviet citizens under Stalin was allowed by the Soviet political apparatus, but cannot be said to be a fixed part of that apparatus-just as the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II is not a fixed part of the American political apparatus. Such comparisons of incidences of injustice moves the analysis in the wrong direction. After all, all countries have them (though they may not be "morally equivalent"), and the argument can always be made that things are different now.

Where the examination should focus is on the basic underlying structure of the political system—a structure that will not change from leader to leader without revolutionary actions. For the United States, this basic underlying structure includes representative government and freedom of speech. These are enduring aspects of our society, guarded by constitutional protections. The basic underlying structure of the Soviet Union includes strict government control over the flow of information and suppression of political Strong institutional fixtures uphold this structure, and not even Mikhail Gorbachev's "glasnost" policies come close to dismantling them. Gorbachev himself has stated "we are not going to challenge the role of the party. And, as Soviet expert Richard Pipes has noted, much of the effect of "glasnost", aside from manipulating Western public opinion, has been to embarrass and weaken Gorbachev's foes within the party.

The United States' institutional structure includes regularly scheduled free elections, constitutional guarantees such a equal protection of all citizens under the law, and a government set-up which makes large, unchecked concentrations of power extremely difficult to establish. The institutional structures within the Soviet Union, on the other hand, are necessarily set up to restrict the actions of individuals. Dissent is not,

and never has been, tolerated in the Soviet Union, as it cannot be in any totalitarian society. Therefore, the government directly controls the press in order to keep non-approved opinions, and events which may induce the generation of nonapproved opinions, out of mass circulation. Despite this control over the flow of ideas, however, people do still have the ability to think freely, and thus censoring the press is not sufficient, in itself, to stamp out public political dissent.

The obvious solution to possibly disruptive political free thought has been adopted into the Soviet institutional structure. Those who advocate political or religious freedom, or who complain of government brutality and oppression, are not allowed to spread these views. Instead, they are arrested and isolated from the general population in a sprawling system of hard labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals, or for many of the less fortunate, who are not known in the West, that just "disappear". The accounts of Solzhenitsyn, Bukovsky, Shcharansky, and other Soviet dissidents eloquently tell of the brutality and barbarism inherent in such suppression.

The inevitable question is Why? Why maintain a system of brutal secret police force, and a strictly controlled press, which manipulate, intimidate, torture, and murder the citizens of one's country who may have it within them to disagree publicly with official policy? What can be of such overriding importance to outweigh the basic human rights of one's citizens? The answer, quite simply, is the maintenance of political power. Government control of the press, and jailing and murdering of political dissidents and of those who put the authority of the State behind

that of their God, are only necessary to maintain the power of the political elite. This is a key difference between the Soviet and American systems. The American system is arranged to diffuse power to protect the liberties of individuals: the Soviet system is arranged to maintain and enhance the power of

Is a government which will

not allow a free press in order to maintain or enhance its power going to cringe from lying to other governments? Is a government which is willing to put peaceful dissenters to death or to a life of hard labor in order to maintain or enhance its power going to be squeamish about invading other countries? (If you have doubts, look to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan.) Is a government with these characteristics, which the Soviet Union possesses in full, as trustworthy and as equal a threat to world peace as is a free and open society such as the United States? The answer to all these questions is, unavoidably, not Add to this the fact that totalitarian societies have natural and obvious advantages in conducting covert activities (including cheating on agreements), and in carrying out overt armed aggression, and the danger to world peace posed by the Soviet Union, as gulags and psychiatric hospitals, a ... compared to the United States, is further magnified.

To put the morality of the Soviet political system on the same plane with that of the United States is extraordinarily ludicrous. the differences between the underlying political structures of our two countries are enormous, and we cannot afford to ignore the implications of these differences.

C. Brandon Crocker is CR's Imperator Emeritus.

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joint classes

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teacher, provides countless examples of men forced to make hard decisions about war and peace.

Should Moses have said to Pharoah, "Let us have peace!" instead of "Let my people go?" Should Eleazar, the Maccabean sage, have taught the young to betray their religious faith for the sake of peace? Should David have asked Goliath for peace?

Should Socrates have sought peace at his trial, and should Jesus have capitulated before Calvary? Should Abraham Lincoln have settled for peace after Fort Sumter? Should Martin Luther King have stayed away from Birmingham for the sake of peace? And, by contrast, should Chamberlain have paid the price he (and, eventually, all of Europe) paid to Adolf Hitler for peace at Munich?

It is always possible to achieve peace if we are willing to foresake everything else: liberty,

justice, human rights, common decency toward others, and selfrespect. But such peace is not honorable, and may not even be tolerable. In 1942, for example, Antoine de St. Exupery foresaw what the Nazis had in store for France: "Already as I move in the direction of Arras, peace is everywhere beginning to take shape...This is a nameless peace that stands for the end of everything...It spreads apace like a gray leprosy."

A true "peace" curricula would teach free men and women to defend themselves against the dominion of such tyranny. It would take proper notice of the fact that peace among two nations - one dedicated to liberty, the other, totalitarian - is always a difficult thing. It would acknowledge, and even honor, people who have courageously refused to settle for peace at any price. As Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story said in

1840, the inheritance of American youth has been bought by the "toils, and sufferings, and blood of their ancestors" and can "perish in an hour by the folly...or negligence of its keepers, THE PEOPLE."

Students taking such a course

would also need to consider the role of public opinion itself in matters of war, peace, and foreign policy. One of our most astute political commentators, Walter Lippman, wrote in 1955: "There is no mystery about why there is such a tendency for popular opinion to be wrong in judging war and peace. Strategic and diplomatic questions call for a kind of knowledge - not to speak of an experience and a seasoned judgement -- which cannot be had by glancing at newspapers, listening to snatches of radio comment, watching politicians perform on television, hearing occasional lectures, and reading a few books. It would not be enough to

make a man competent to amputate a leg, and it is not enough to qualify him to choose war or peace, to arm or not to arm, to intervene or to withdraw, to fight or to negotiate."

Courses that ignore basic questions about history, political theory, and the human condition cannot advance the interests of students; they will not do much to inform public opinion. Until such courses do address the hard, fundamental questions, the "peace" curricula is likely to become yet another promotion of a fashionable political agenda at students' ex-

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Defector exposes Sandinista Corruption

by Alfred G. Cuzan

A former senior officer in the Sandinista military, Major Roger Miranda, recently defected to the Unites States, making shocking revelations about what the Communists are doing in Nicaragua. Miranda said that the Sandinistas are planning a massive military buildup for the day the Contras are disarmed or defeated. The Soviet Union has agreed to ship to Nicaragua in the next few years enough tanks, helicopter gunships, MIG jet fighter airplanes, AK-47 assualt rifles, flamethrowers, and gas masks to equip a force of half a million.

Miranda, who served as comandante Humberto Ortega's principal aide, said that he was once a dedicated Communist who became disillusioned by the corruption of his bosses. Several of the Sandinista comandantes, including the Ortega brothers, Tomas Borge, and Jaime Wheelock, own Swiss bank accounts running into the millions of dollars. Another factor which led to his defection was the realization that the Nicaraguan poor have risen in opposition to Communism: "What we have been fighting all these years is a peasant insurrection. Whole families have taken up arms against the Sandinistas." Miranda told the New York Times.

Like the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 and Krushchev's "secret speech" denouncing Stalin's crimes in 1956, events which shocked many fellow-traveling intellectuals into breaking with Communism, Miranda's exposures should lead at least a few Latin Americanists who have heretofore been sympathetic to the Sandinistas to reconsider their position. One academic, however, who, far from having second thoughts about his previous apologies for the Sandinistas, has leaped headlong to protect them from the impact of Miranda's revelations, is William Leo Grande,

associate professor of political science at the American Univer-

In an essay published in the New York Times only four days after Miranda's expose was published in that paper ("How to Prevent Endless War in Central America," December 18, 1987, p. A-39), LeoGrande, ignoring the Sandinista corruption and the peasant insurrection which prompted Miranda to defect, hastens to assure us that the planned military buildup is nothing new and, in any case, it is all the fault of the United States.

gua and the United States."

LeoGrande explains that "given the history of their country," the Sandinistas fear a U.S. invasion, and as "long as they harbor that expectation, they will view a large military establishment and a close relationship with Cuba and the Soviet Union as indispensable to their survival." LeoGrande's solution? A "non-aggression pledge from the United States and the normalization of diplomatic and economic relations" in exchange for a Sandinista promise "to limit their armed forces."

LeoGrande's precipitous re-



LeoGrande says that "nothing in this plan departs significantly from Nicaragua's national security policy over the past several years" and that the plan is only a "worst case" scenario premised on a continuation of Washington's "implacably hostile" policies. "In short", summarizes LeoGrande, "Miranda has shown us the future we can expect if President Reagan gets his way" on continued Contra

But not to worry, the professor, a long-time apologist for the Sandinistas, tells us. The military plans Miranda has exposed need not come true if only the United States stops funding "the Contra war," if Contradora proposals prohibiting "the sort of Nicaraguan military buildup Major Miranda foresees" are revived and, above all, if there are "direct talks between Nicarasponse to Miranda's exposures does not deviate one iota from the Sandinista propaganda line. Like the Sandinistas, the professor wants us to believe that United States "hostility" pushed them into the Soviet camp. But anyone who has studied the Sandinistas' ideological and political development knows that they have been Communists and Soviet agents all along, top comandantes like Humberto Ortega (head of the Sandinista military) and Tomas Borge (head of the Sandinista police) having spent years training in Cuba before conquering Nicaragua in 1979.

It is not Nicaragua's "history" which accounts for the Sandinistas' real or pretended "fears" of a U.S. invasion. If history were an explanation, Mexico, which lost half its area to the United States in the Mexican-American

war, would be an armed camp. Yet Mexico's military is, in proportion to the country's population, one of the smallest in Latin America. If the Sandinistas fear an American invasion, it is because they know that turning Nicaragua into another Cuba, another Soviet satrapy armed to the teeth and bent on a "revolution without frontiers", threatens U.S. national se-

And neither would a "nonaggression pledge" pry Nicaragua from the Soviet bloc, any more than President Kennedy's 1962 vow not to invade Cuba weaned Fidel Castro away from Moscow. Should the U.S. make a similar pledge to the Sandinistas, the probable outcome would be an acceleration in the communization and militarization of Nicaragua. Like the Cubans. Nicaraguans will be sent by the thousands to do "internationalist duty" in Angola, Ethopia, and other far-away Soviet client states, not to mention those who will be sent to subvert fragile democracies in Latin America.

What Miranda has exposed LeoGrande can't hide: a regime corrupted at the highest levels, waging war on poor peasants, and planning a massive, Soviet-supplied military buildup for the day - which everyone concerned about true democracy and lasting peace in Central America has to hope will not come - when there are no more Contras to stop them.



Dr. Cuzan is an associate professor of political science at the University of West Florida, in Pensacola.

The Ultimate Taste Test

by Devon B. Laing In the second half of the twentieth century it has become necessary to market and package political candidates as though they were soft drinks. In this presidential election year there are six candidates attempting to win the Republican presidential nomination - a six pack of candidates. Each of the candidates has a distinct flavor, yet they all have a common bond. They are all members of the Republican party. Choosing between these candidates is like choosing between most any campaign. Classic Coke, New Coke, Diet Coke, or Cherry Coke. The candidates are Vice President George Bush, Senator Robert Dole, Congressman Jack

This is the ultimate taste test. Regardless of how a presidential

Kemp, Pat Robertson, former Gov-

ernor Pete DuPont, and former

Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

candidate is packaged, it takes four elements to launch an effective campaign. First, there must be a candidate. Second, it is necessary to raise enough money. Third, the candidate must have a firm grasp of the issues. Forth, the campaign must have effective organization. The candidate and his issues are greatly dependent on campaign organization, and organization requires a great deal of money. Thus, in today's political world, money determines the success or failure of

In this years race for the Presidency, half of the candidates will fail to raise enough money to win the nomination. Al Haig and Pete DuPont have failed to raise enough money. Therefore their campaign organization is not sufficient to motivate voters to choose either candidate. Jack Kemp, although

still hopefull, has been plagued by money problems since last Spring. Kemp will not have enough support to win the nomination. Pat Robertson has been quite successful in his fundraising efforts, however he lacks the organization to gain popular support for his campaign. George Bush and Bob Dole have both successfully tied the elements together in order to launch successful campaigns for the Republican nomination.

Both Bush and Dole are effective leaders, and they both have the required experience to become President of the United States. But what makes them different? George Bush has a greater diversity of experience.

He has served as a Congressman, RNC chairman, Envoy to China, CIA director, and Vice President. Dole does not have the same diversity of

experience, but he does offer something else. He offers leadership. He has demonstrated leadership throughout his tenure as U.S. Senator. Bush would make a good President as a result of his great experience. Yet, Dole would make an effective President because of his demonstrated leadership.

Although George Bush is favored to win the nomination, Bob Dole also has a good chace of winning. Bush will be marketed as the experienced candidate. Dole will be packaged as the candidate who can lead the country. Only the voters can decide which will taste best. The results of the ultimate taste test will be final on the closing of the Republican National Convention in New Orleans this Summer.

Devon Laing is president of College Republicans at UCSD.



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interview

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CR: Where are we headed - more negotiations, more treaties?

AG: Yes, the next step is the much more fundamental issue of the strategic forces of both sides and the potential for this fifty percent cut that's been tossed back and forth for three years. In the long term, we're heading toward denuclearization of the European battlefield, which requires the negotiation of the reduction of conventional forces in Western Europe and to deal, as the INF did, with the unequal reductions to balance the sides. The Soviets have made indications about being open to that possibility. Chemical weaponary seems to be something very much on the minds of both sides now. In the long term, looking toward a more secure and stable strategic nuclear and conventional environment between the two sides where they can address some of the much more fundamental problems that exist between the two sides.

CR: Thank you very much for your time professor, it has been a pleas-

AG: Thank you.



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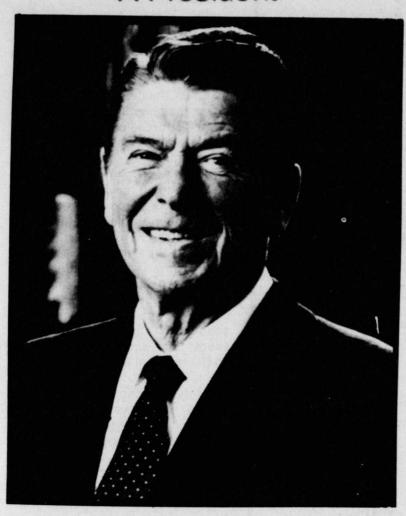
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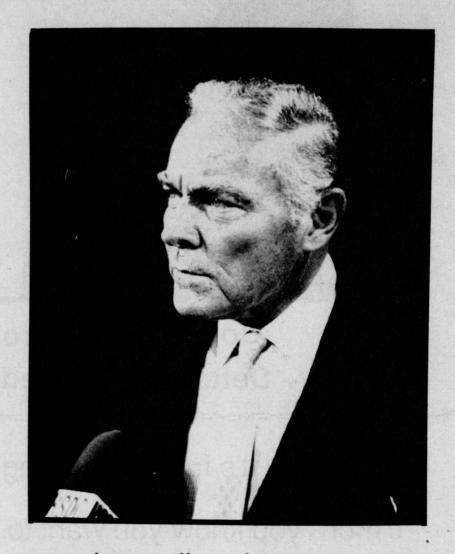
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