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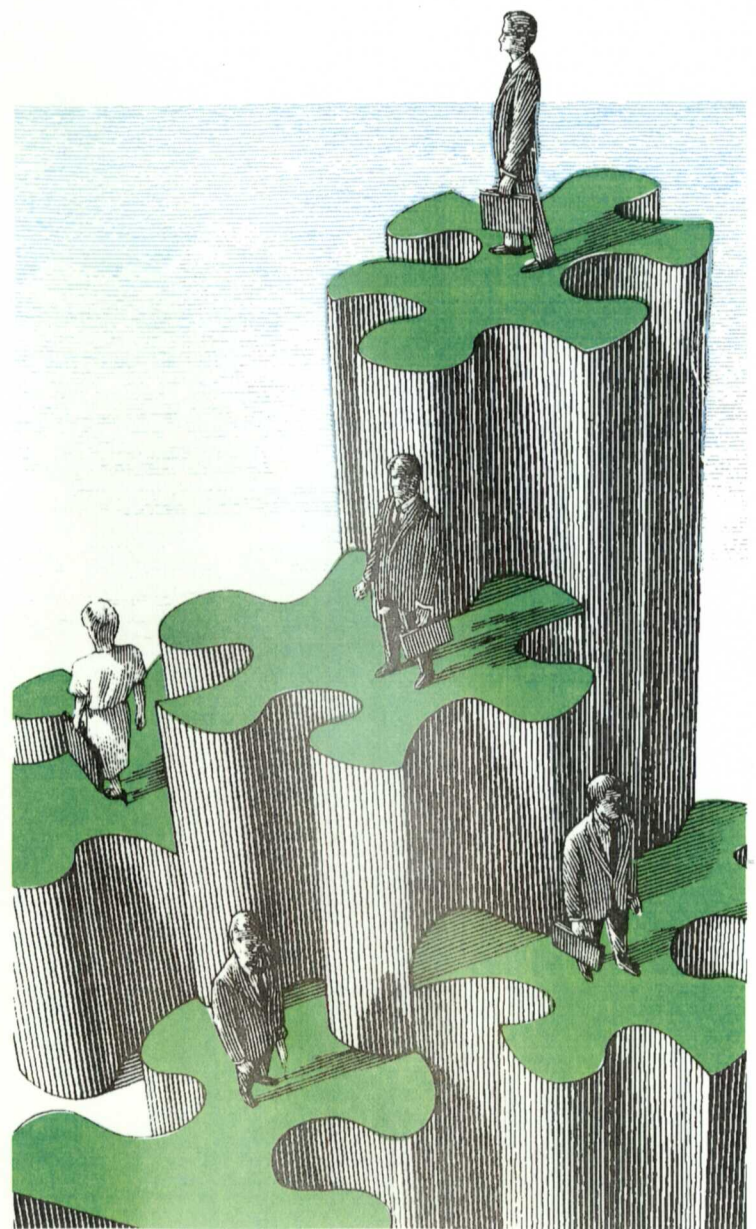
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The John C. Bollens/John C. Ries  
Lecture Series

**End of the Cold War:  
New Challenges  
for Governing**

Walter Mondale

Former Vice President of the United States



## The John C. Bollens / John C. Ries Lecture Series



The aim of the John C. Bollens/John C. Ries Lecture Series is to bring together the worlds of academic exploration and practical politics so that the work of those who serve the public will be illuminated by discussion of the broader principles and ideas of representative government. Such a synthesis is true to the spirit of the lecture's namesakes, distinguished professors both in the Department of Political Science at UCLA.

Born in 1920 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, John Bollens earned his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin before joining the UCLA faculty in 1950, becoming a full professor in 1960. A most productive and influential thinker on local government, he was the author of 26 books, including a profile of California governor and presidential candidate Jerry Brown, and served in numerous important appointive positions in the City and County of Los Angeles, as well as in Chicago and Seattle.

Born in 1930 in Marysville, California, John C. Ries earned his doctorate at UCLA as one of John Bollens' most promising students. Following a hitch in the Air Force, he joined UCLA's Political Science Department in 1965. Known as a caring and dedicated teacher both at the undergraduate and graduate levels, he rose to become an associate vice chancellor, while maintaining his commitment to quality teaching at the University. An author or co-author of four books and numerous scholarly articles on defense policy and public administration, his life was tragically cut short by a brain tumor at the age of 57.

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**Eighth Annual  
John C. Bollens/  
John C. Ries Lecture**

*WALTER F. MONDALE*

**“End of the Cold War:  
New Challenges for Governing”**

When Ed Edelman called me and asked me to be here tonight and I immediately said yes, I did it because I admire him greatly. One of the things that you get to do when you rattle around the country like I did for the better part of 20 years, is you get to see talent — and sometimes you see its absence. And I like keeping a little private list of gifted and decent public servants. Ed was always on that list, and he is today, and I'm honored to be here.

I join with all of you in honoring those after whom this lecture series is named, and applauding their objective of bringing excellence in scholarship within the reach of those who practice in public life. That is something that we desperately need today. It is something that is very dear to my heart because that is how I got started. If you look at the Minnesota Democratic Farm-Labor Party, it was, above all, a movement spawned on the campuses of our state. Some of the great political scientists of my time were there, Evron Kirkpatrick, Christianson, Herb McCluskey, other names that are somewhat forgotten now but were the giants in the field at the time. And then there was a little known professor of political science at McAllister named Hubert H. Humphrey, and a sociology professor from St. Thomas named Eugene J. McCarthy. And we unloaded the campuses of our state and went from a hopeless minority into a dominant majority and spawned, if I may say so, one of the most remarkable and creative periods in the history of American politics. And I was glad to be a part of every bit of it.

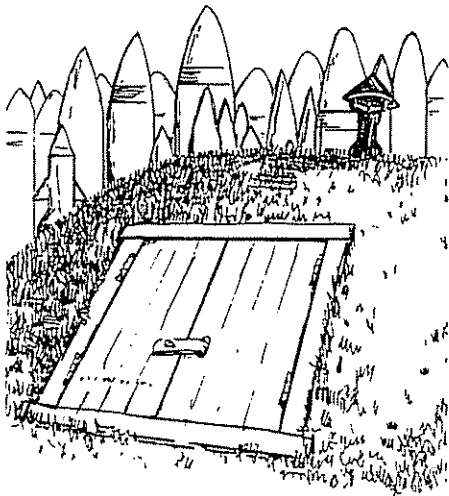
Thus, it didn't surprise me to see that John Bollens got his doctorate degree from the University of Minnesota. You will find that wherever genius and commitment exists there's a Minnesotan around. That's a good joke — unfortunately it was the University of Wisconsin — but the prevailing winds nevertheless helped it.

Tonight we're talking about the connection between leadership, politics and how that mixture leads to reform.

I'd like to start with an example that I think embodies everything we're talking about tonight. And that is the story of Lyndon Johnson when he was a very young man — I think around 21 or 22. He decided he wanted to get active in the Democratic Party. He didn't know how to do it. He was in this small town on the Rio Grande, so he went to the other side of town and he asked this old codger who's a Democrat if he'd teach him how to do it. He said, "Sure. Matter of fact, meet me tonight at 6:00 and I'll show you how it's done." So Lyndon met him and took him out to the cemetery, and they started writing down the names from the tombstones. And everything is going along just fine until Lyndon wrote down the name of Rodriguez. And this old codger said, "Wait a minute, don't write down that name!" And Lyndon stood up and hinted at his future career, and said: "I will! This man has just as much right to vote in the next election as anyone else in this cemetery."

The most profound political development in our lifetime, or at least in mine, will turn out to be what we just witnessed in the total collapse and disappearance of the Soviet Union.

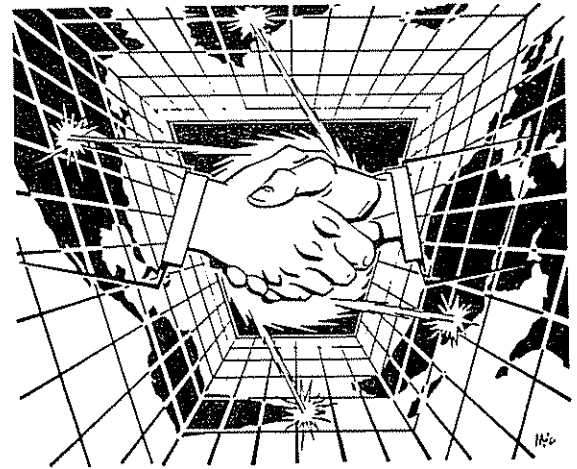
My whole life in public service was spent in the shadow of the Cold War. It cursed my generation of public leaders. Everything we did at home and abroad was shaped by that struggle. It drove our budgets, it dominated and poisoned our debates and ultimately, no matter what you were working on, sooner or later it dominated every subject that we dealt with as Americans. For decades it was hopeless, in a real sense, because we were frozen in that relationship. Our ever-expanding nuclear arsenals threatened the entire world, and young people doubted that they would live out a full life.



But now, with the events of the past few years, what my generation could only dream about has become a reality. The dramatic end of the Cold War offers us a very special opportunity to build new levels of peace, security, and mutual understanding through international cooperation.

I'd like to say to the students here tonight, you are really lucky. Because when I sat where you did all those many years ago, I did not realize that most of my public life would be spent wrestling with the problem that took most of our resources and most of our spirit. You have a chance now to shape an entirely different, new and more hopeful world. And I hope you take advantage of it because that is exactly what is needed.

What I talk about, then, is the challenge of governing in a post-Cold War world. Now we're in the midst of a presidential election — I don't know if you noticed that — and it is the perfect opportunity for a serious debate about what this new world should be. I don't hear that debate yet. But I wish we could, because that's all that really counts, to shape this new world. And I hope the candidates, all of us, will engage in that crucial debate.



In our new world of instant information and communications, the forces of technology and commerce are shrinking distances, making national borders porous and bringing us all closer together. The dramatic increase in our global interdependence now requires us to craft responses that are literally global in nature. We must be willing to rethink some of our most basic assumptions and we must be prepared to reshape our institutions to fit these new realities. In particular — and I think this is my main point — I think we must be prepared to reassess our unquestioned respect for national sovereignty, and our faith in the capacity of the nation-state to fully respond to our challenges.

There are two areas of concern where I believe the limits of national sovereignty are becoming clearly apparent. And there is a third area which I would like to discuss, where I believe the erosion of national sovereignty may be more problematic. The first is human rights, the second is our environment, and the third is what I call "social justice in a global economy."

The first two require us to see beyond our own nation to understand what we have in common as human beings living together on this planet. And just as American law has long since breached the corporate shield to make ours a more civilized nation, now we must begin to breach the veil of national sovereignty to make ours a more civilized world.

To take just one example, the tragedy may be with us again if we're not careful. The human rights challenge was brought home to us last year about this time by the terrible tragedy which occurred among the Kurdish populations in Iraq. These hapless Kurds put themselves at the mercy of the world. They had nothing else to protect them. We had a responsibility to respond. And we did, finally, after too long a delay, but we did. And what happened there must prompt us to question our traditional reverence for the nation-state and its claim to all immunity from intervention.

The enormity of the Kurds' suffering at the hands of their own government — and I'm talking now about nerve gas, chemical warfare, mass bombings, artillery, the sort of things you remember drove the poor Kurdish people up into the mountains, even though many of them knew they would die in the process of trying to pass through those mountains — suggests that the principle of national sovereignty enjoys a sanctity which is no longer justified when balanced against the abuses and the atrocities it permits.

The old axiom is, "No intervention in the internal affairs of another country." This axiom of modern international law and diplomacy has too often ended up as a shield protecting the brutality of tyrants. With the blessing of this principle, dictators have been free to do anything with their countries, so long as it does not spill over a national boundary. In the name of both international law and *realpolitik*, we have been all too willing to draw lines that exempt large sections of the world, often millions, from our concern for basic human rights and freedoms.

Thankfully, we're beginning to recognize that national sovereignty does indeed have limits. Landmark international treaties and covenants have legitimized



intervention in the affairs of nations in order to protect human rights and respond to humanitarian needs. Such things as the United Nations Charter of 1945, the Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 — the legacy of Eleanor Roosevelt, by the way — the Helsinki Accords of 1975, all of these in one way or another have made human rights a legitimate concern for the world community. However, considerable debate remains as to how to enforce these standards. It is not clear, for example, when the United Nations may intervene. And if you look at the United Nations Charter, drafted in this state in 1945, the Charter says, "Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially the domestic jurisdiction of any state." Not surprisingly, countries remain very quick to claim nearly everything as essentially an internal matter.

Thus, Iraq's protests inhibited the United Nations from taking the lead in assisting and protecting the Kurds inside Iraq. Indeed, China, a member of the Security Council, resisted a U.S. response to the Iraqi tragedy that could set a precedent which might later be used by the citizens of Tibet in appealing for help from the world community.

My key point here is that our conscience can no longer be detained at a nation's border. In fact, with the response to the Kurdish tragedy, I hope we are seeing the further development of what I would like to think is a global conscience. Modern travel and communications are breaking down the barriers of nationality, religion, race and geography that once divided our moral space into those we were responsible for, and those beyond our responsibilities.

But now television brings us the faces and the voices and the suffering of fellow human beings who would

otherwise be unseen. As those Kurds made their tortuous way across the mountains, none of us could deny we knew about it. It was in our living rooms and on our televisions that our fellow human beings were suffering. And being a witness to even a stranger suffering establishes a moral relationship. In a world of mass deaths and systematic tyranny, the moral boundary markers of nationality, race and class fade away. A century of genocide and war has forced us to a recognition of our common humanity. And the landmarks on this road to global conscience are many and well known.

Genocide in Armenia, Stalin's Russia, Hitler's Auschwitz, Pol Pot's Cambodia, the Vietnamese boat people, the ruin in Lebanon, China's repression, Tibet, Tienanmen Square, the tragedy of the hapless Kurdish refugees — and now we're starting to add new names to the list in Yugoslavia. Almost every night we hear of more of it. In the future, claims of national sovereignty will continue to lose their immunity from the claims of our common humanity.

Similarly and increasingly, the claims of our physical and natural environment are also challenging the prerogatives of the nation-state. For the truth is that pollution and other environmental ills have no respect for national boundaries. As the ozone level is deteriorating, and the "greenhouse effect" threatens massive climate change, the very notion of "domestic and internal matters" seems little more than a quaint anachronism.

Thus, we were first alerted to Chernobyl when Swedish monitoring devices picked up the radioactive fallout. Similarly, the forest and lakes of Scandinavia are being poisoned by industrial pollution from Central and Eastern Europe. Eighteen nations share the heavily polluted Mediterranean. The actions of one inevitably affect all of the others. Closer to home, the government of Canada cannot protect its own water and forest resources from acid rain without cooperation from the United States.

I've got to stop here, because the one thing that I've been able to do since you allowed me to go home was to fish. And instead of hiring a psychiatrist, I built a shack clear up in northern Canada, and I go up there once in a while for relief. And this last year, in this most remote wilderness, we started catching fish with large heads and small bodies, just like snakes or something. And the speculation is that it's mercury in the air, coming even up there and destroying God's nature. This is no longer funny, and there is no place to hide.

In places like Indonesia, sub-Saharan Africa, and Central America, too, we see terrible problems that result from the migration of "environmental refugees" — victims of degradation which makes the land incapable of supporting any population.

In so many developing countries, this environmental deterioration is a direct consequence of poverty, and in turn adds to that poverty. Global environmental threats give new reality to traditional concepts of collective security.

Thus, we must assign a far greater prominence to the practice of multilateral diplomacy. Responding to environmental degradation presents challenges for all of us, requiring innovation from science and technology, from politics and government, from diplomacy, from business and industry, from the law, and, of course, from education. And, of course, we must all accept our own responsibility.



*Board of Supervisors Chairman Ed Edelman introducing Vice President Mondale.*

Until recently, the world looked to us for leadership in environmental affairs. We had established, after all, the Environmental Protection Agency, we enacted the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and other major pieces of legislation. We led the way in early negotiations to limit the chlorofluorocarbons, which deplete the ozone layer.

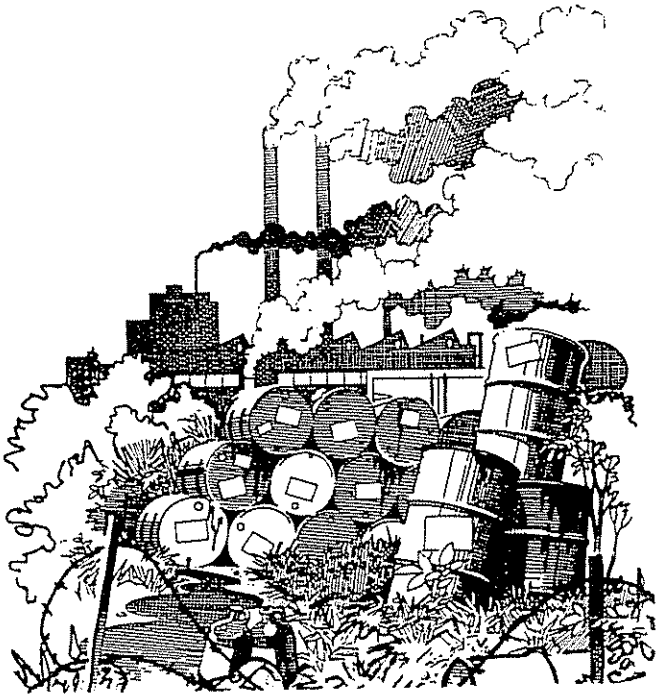
Unfortunately, we have since retreated from this leadership role. And even though the Secretary of State

promised the "greening of our foreign policy," our government has been working to slow international regulation of carbon dioxide and other emissions that contribute to the greenhouse effect.

We've also not been taking the lead with the International Earth Summit, scheduled this June in Rio de Janeiro, and I think there is a very good chance we won't even attend. So unless this government changes its mind, the United States will not even be there for the single most important conference on the environment, perhaps, in the last decade. Even though the polls show that Americans are overwhelmingly pro-environment, somehow the political pressure doesn't seem to be enough.

And that seems ironic, because if you look at what happened in Eastern Europe, one of the things that really drove the movement toward freedom was the environmental movement. And now that the veil has been lifted, we can understand why.

Eastern Europe is an unbelievable environmental holocaust. It is a toxic wasteland. The **average** level of lead in children's blood in the Silesia region of Poland would be reason for immediate hospitalization in our country. And the explosion, the concern, by the people there helped drive the removal of Communist leadership. We are now beginning to recognize that the claims of our global ecosystem, like human rights, must override those of any particular state or community.



Finally, there is a third major area where the principle of national sovereignty is being challenged. It is caused by the forces of global trade, commerce and finance which increasingly limit a nation's ability to control its own economic destiny.

My public career was devoted in good part to the progressive principle that our national government could be an effective instrument not only for supporting economic growth, but also for promoting values of justice and enhancing the standard of living for American citizens. That's mostly what I did in public life, and I always thought that we could do it. "We're Americans, our government can do what we please in the United States." But a new thing has come along, and increasingly, we're going to have to confront it.

Global economic competition has become, along with our horrendous federal deficit, an all-purpose excuse for why our federal government cannot undertake any new spending, or any new regulations to help people. It is sad that we cannot afford them — in the short term, because of the deficit; and the long term, because it would hurt our competitiveness.

How true is this? Must we always make a Faustian bargain with the global economy? Lowering our standard of living, sacrificing our values of justice in order to succeed in the international marketplace?

We saw this question come up recently in Peoria, Illinois between the Caterpillar Company and the United Auto Workers. Most of Caterpillar's products are sold abroad; because of its exposure to the world economy, the company insisted it could not afford the restrictions of the union's pattern bargaining. What the truth is I don't know. But that was the argument, and it prevailed.

Now on balance, we are all better off because of free trade. I want to be understood on that. In recent years, most of our economic growth, in fact, has come from exports. The value of our exports has doubled from 1985. But there is a downside; the challenge goes to the heart of national sovereignty. Under the pressure of global economic forces, what freedom and power does the national government have to support and protect its own people?

The free movement of capital and goods undercut a nation's ability to unilaterally pursue monetary, fiscal, labor or environmental policies. And here is the political dilemma: While nations are no longer the principal frame of reference for modern *corporations* which are increasingly global in nature, nations remain the principal frame

of reference for *citizens*, who must continue to look to their government not only for economic growth, but for justice, social welfare and environmental protection. This dilemma is especially acute for my party, the Democratic Party.

There's a recent book — if you haven't read it, you ought to think about it — called "Chain Reaction," by Tom and Mary Edsall. It's a profound treatment of the agony my party is now going through.

They write, "The growth of international competition has directly assaulted a traditional province of the Democratic Party: Protective measures designed to insulate vulnerable constituencies from the most destructive elements of unrestrained competition. These measures had amounted over time to a strategy for directing rising wages and steadily improving living conditions toward working-class voters.

"Intensified international competition will exert increasingly brutal pressure on policies that offer special protection, preference or subsidy to groups within the population — whether they be ethnic or racial minorities, unskilled workers, prisoners, elected officials, elderly, the disabled, AIDS victims, or single mothers."



These are policies that historically have been at the very heart of the Democratic platform.

Framed in this way, then, the issue is not just whether we need an "industrial policy" or a "competitive strategy" to increase our position in the world. Instead, we need a guiding philosophy to help us make these choices about balancing our need to compete with our commitment to values of justice in such things as the environment, health, education, fair trade, workers' rights, and support for children, the disabled and the elderly.

To be sure, the two sides of this equation do not always conflict. Many government expenditures and policies can be, in fact, justified as public investments, such as investment in highways and roads. And sometimes, promoting the values of justice, such as in educational opportunity, will actually help our competitiveness. But at other times, there will be an inevitable trade-off between the two.

For example, because of federal and state laws, millions of Americans with physical and mental disabilities can now go to school, live independently and lead productive working lives. Just 20 years ago, this was not possible. They were locked in institutions or were a burden on their families. Now, many Americans with disabilities contribute to our economy. They work; they pay taxes. But there are still many disabled Americans who cannot, and never will, work. Education and other opportunities which we provide help them lead more fulfilling lives, and it relieves some of the pressures on their own families. It may sound like a small matter, but if you've ever dealt with families in that situation it is very, very important.

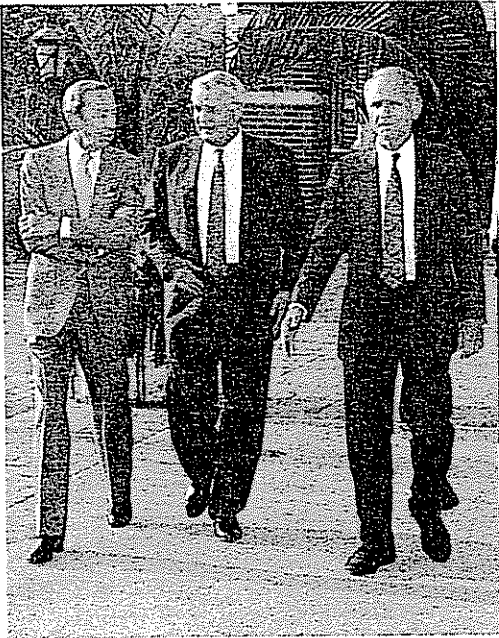
We will never be able to justify the cost in tax dollars as an investment in American's competitive position. It is, rather, the price we pay for living in a decent and a fair society, and so far we have been willing to pay that price.

As a society, we must decide what trade-offs we're willing to accept. We also need to take a closer look at what our economic competitors do — in Europe and Japan. They seem to make some policies work which, we are told, we cannot afford in the United States. Germany, for example, has had health care since 1875. Many European countries pay for parental leave. We are told we cannot afford that. We must be able to learn from them, even while acknowledging that we must find our own way. We must also look at the power of international covenants in regulatory institutions, including GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), to prevent global economic forces from levelling countries to the lowest economic common denominator. I know many scholars are already studying these questions, but we need more attention to these issues and we need to push them to a more prominent place on our nation's agenda.

These three areas of national sovereignty I've discussed — human rights, the environment, social justice — as well as others like weapons proliferation, population growth and migration, drugs, belonged to what Leslie Gelb of the *New York Times* called the "New Agenda" in foreign policy. He points out that in the 1950s and 1960s, we built



a vast intellectual apparatus to deal with the foreign policy issues of the Cold War, dominated by nuclear weapons and the Soviet threat. And it really was a profound fundamental commitment of American life. Under it we spawned the United Nations, NATO, the World Bank, GATT, all those institutions, with the help of academia and public leadership. An army of experts were educated, new disciplines were created, research centers and institutes were established like RAND. There was lots of money and prestige in thinking about nuclear deterrence and arms control. And it worked — we won the Cold War. Les Gelb concludes that “Just as in the 1960s, this emerging world requires a new foreign policy agenda and fresh faces to execute that agenda.” The impressive intellectual machinery we constructed for the challenges of the Cold War must now be retooled and reinvented to confront the new challenges ahead.



*Board of Supervisors Chairman Ed Edelman (right), chats with Vice President Mondale (center) and Warren Christopher, subsequently named by President Bill Clinton to become Secretary of State.*

With the total collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, new possibilities for constructive international action are opened to us in a way that my generation could not have imagined. Indeed, a generation rarely gets such a chance to change the world. Because of the Cold War, my generation could not. Now we have an unprecedented opportunity to shape a new world for our children and their children. And I hope the students here,

and the scholars, will attack this problem. We need you. We need your talent; we need your energy; we need your bravery; we need your fresh eyes; we need your new perspectives; and we need public leaders that will listen to you, and work with you, and help us meet the challenges of the new world. Thank you very much.

### Questions and Answers

**Question:** Where can the money be found to implement these proposals?

**Mondale:** One of the enormous advantages right now is for the first time there is a chance to move some of the money around. We spent nearly \$300 billion this year on defense. I'll be conservative and say that 60% of what we spent was trying to find out what the Soviet Union was doing. But the changes are so deep here, the world has changed so profoundly, that there's a chance now that it can be overdone. You still need a defense budget. This still is a troublesome world. But at least we're talking about a category and multiples of billions of dollars that ought to be available. But the next problem is the demands of our own economy; we have to get this deficit down. We have to work on things like education, health, as well as some of these things I'm talking about. It's not easy, and it's not overnight, and we don't have unlimited funds.

The final thing I would mention is that we need to get some of these other nations that are reserve countries to start paying the costs of the honor of being a big reserve country. The Brits did it for years, we did it for years. Now the reserve countries are Japan and Germany and so on. They've got to start putting up the kind of money that goes with the honor of being reserve leaders.

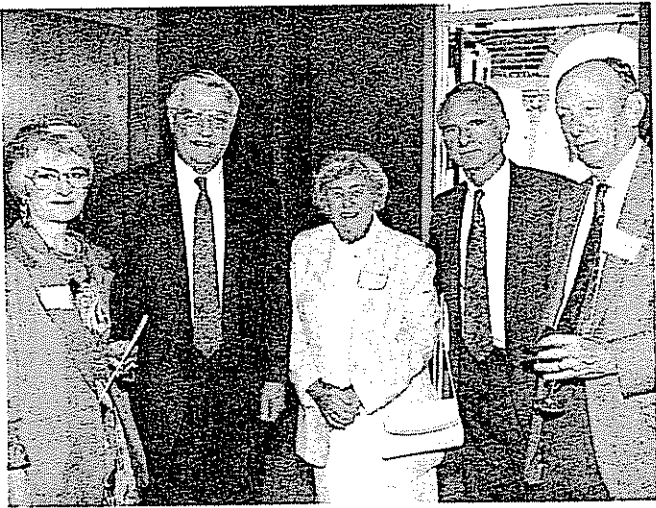
**Question:** Should the government take an active role in population control?

**Mondale:** We had a pretty significant population control program going until your Californian took over, and he pretty much killed it. And they tried to kill the United Nations' program. I think Bush has done the same thing, so that should be changed, in my opinion. These are personal choices; these are not easy things to do. But, I believe in choice, and I believe in planned parenthood. I think a lot of these male politicians who take the opposite side are thinking of votes, and I notice as the polls change they're saying it less and less.

**Question:** If Vice-President Mondale had the opportunity to assemble a forum to discuss the new charter to develop and implement his agenda, whom would he invite and how would they go about it?

**Mondale:** I think the chance now is to take the United Nations — which never remotely fulfilled the hopes that we had — and try to build it into an institution of strength with peace-keeping powers, peace-making powers, with institutions that can deal with the environment and human rights in a much more energetic way than they've done in the past.

I would try to use their other international institutions, the World Bank, GATT, and OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), that can be used for that purpose. But essentially, I put a lot of emphasis on the United Nations, and I would try to use that institution as the meeting place for such discussion. I think there are many leaders who could be helpful for the first time. We could have a Mr. Yeltsin, we could have other leaders that have been elected in the newly emerging countries like Vaclav Havel, and Valentsin, people who know about human rights more than we do. We can have leaders from Chile and elsewhere who suffered under despots, who can come and talk to us about this.



*Board of Supervisors Chairman Ed Edelman (second from right), is joined by (from the left) Mrs. Rita Ries, Vice President Mondale, Mrs. Virgene Bollens, and Professor David Wilson.*

There's a whole list of very gifted, brand new leaders in the world. I would invite the person who ran and won for president of Burma, who's now a Nobel laureate in jail, and demand that she be present. And if they wouldn't do

it, organize an international embargo, or even more, to force the Burmese despots to their goal. I would like a situation where we didn't let these horrors occur the way we do today.

**Question:** How do you enforce these international standards of social justice? Would it be the United Nations?

**Mondale:** The big plea now in America, East Europe, Japan and so on is they can't afford to do anything. Can't afford to spend money on education, can't afford to spend money on health, can't have a national health program, can't really mount anything for the environment, we have no money to fight drugs, 'cause we can't do it. And if you try to spend money, we raise taxes, we raise interest rates, we become non-competitive. I think a lot of sins are occurring in that argument.

Just as we tried to civilize our nation over 150 years to keep the industrial system, but to try to have some civilization around, that's what all our social and economic legislation is about. All that legislation is under attack now, because "you've got to get rid of that, or you can't compete with Burma" or something.

I think there's some truth to that, we have to compete. There's no easy way out of it. But what about the other side? How is it that Germany can afford health care, but we can't? Why doesn't Western Europe have slums like we do? Why are our streets unsafe, but they're safe in Paris?

The Japanese take a much more forthcoming and protective interest in their employees than many of our employers. When their businesses aren't doing well, they take a pay cut. And they show some interest in trying to pull together as human beings. That's what I want my Mondale forum to talk about next year: How do we deal with this debate about what we must be and do to be competitive, on the one hand, and what can we do to make progress in the area of social justice.

**Question:** Why be for human rights overseas, when we're not at home?

**Mondale:** Let me give you the answer that President Jimmy Carter gave to someone who said that, "Mr. President, we're not perfect on human rights." And the President said, "I agree with you. And I hope when you leave the White House, you'll tell the press what you just told me, because we want to improve human rights in our country."



I don't think there's any good argument that in order to deal justly with our own people, there's nothing left that permits us to try to use America's force to bring some justice to our fellow human beings elsewhere. We've got to keep working on our own human rights all the time. But I don't see them as separate issues at all. As a matter of fact, when we finally cleaned up our act on civil rights in America in terms of eliminating official discrimination, that finally permitted America to have some moral authority elsewhere in the world. Because whenever we spoke up, they said, "What about your blacks?" and you had to shut up.

**Question:** Is the United States on the decline as a world power, as we have earlier seen in the case of the United Kingdom, once the dominant world power? Are we going the same way?

**Mondale:** I doubt it. I think there are a lot of things we have to watch, our educational system isn't nearly as good as it should be, we have a mammoth population of poor and deprived people who are not thriving at all, the schools, the rest that don't work. This is a terrible cost to our economy. This enormous deficit is robbing capital that we need for new plant and equipment, for modern infrastructure.

I was just in Europe, you know; most of those countries are building new train systems now, they're building new ports. In France, they're now spending more on education than they are on defense because they've discovered that in order to be competitive, the quality of their work force needed a massive new infusion of education. There are many societies that are stirring in ways that suggest they're getting ready for this new world.

But I think American politics has been paralyzed by what I call the politics of irrelevance and avoidance. And for a long time, we've just whistled right by our real questions, and we've got to start leading again. And if we do, I think this country has enormous resources.



*Vice President Walter Mondale emphasizing a point during his delivery of the 1993 Bollens/Ries Lecture.*

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The Eighth Annual John C. Bollens/John C. Ries Lecture  
was presented April 27, 1992  
at Rolfe Hall, UCLA

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