



btw 2:00-4:30

Stanford, California 94305-6010

The Honorable Robert J. Dole
United States Senator
141 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

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We feel that the Hoover Institution is one of the nation's most prominent public policy research institutions. The fellows of the Institution have contributed significantly to the national agenda on a wide range of economic, social, and foreign policy and defense issues. Background information on the Institution and its scholars is being forwarded to your office under separate cover.

The Board of Overseers is currently made up of 83 distinguished business leaders, public servants, and academics, who advise the Institution on matters of policy, finance, and development. I am enclosing a list of the membership. I think you will recognize many of the names as eminent contributors to our society.

Our winter meeting is traditionally held in Washington and we have enjoyed some notable speakers in the past. During the past two years we have been honored to hear from Dick Cheney, Bob Mosbacher, Mike Boskin, Paul Wolfowitz, and Brent Scowcroft, as well as Vice President Quayle. Our members remember when you honored the Board by addressing it in 1985, and they would very much enjoy greeting you and hearing you again.

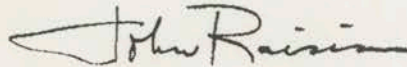
Our usual format is to have remarks for 15-20 minutes,
followed by questions from the audience -- for a total
of about 30 minutes. However, this format can be
adjusted in any way that you may desire. The afternoon
session of the meeting is scheduled from 2:00 p.m.
to 4:30 p.m. If you would like additional information,
your office can contact me at 415-723-1198.

1-21-92 Louise Doying - confirmed

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Paul L. Davies, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Overseers,
and I would be extremely honored if you can join us on
this occasion. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John Raisian". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, sweeping initial "J".

John Raisian
Director

Enclosure

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ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE
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Economics Department
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

SENATOR DOLE
HOOVER INSTITUTION
FEBRUARY 5, 1992

**THANK YOU. IT'S A PLEASURE
TO BE ABLE TO MEET WITH
SUCH A DISTINGUISHED
GATHERING.**

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
ONCE SAID, "TO LIVE FULLY IS
TO BE ENGAGED IN THE
PASSIONS OF ONES TIME."
SINCE IT'S INCEPTION IN 1919,
THE HOOVER INSTITUTION HAS
LIVED A VERY FULL LIFE,
BECAUSE YOU HAVE NEVER
BEEN FAR FROM THE PASSIONS
OF OUR TIME.

**AND YOU CAN TAKE GREAT
PRIDE IN THE REMARKABLE
EVENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED
IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION
AND ACROSS EASTERN EUROPE
THESE PAST FEW YEARS.**

**FROM THE TIME OF THE
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IN 1917
THROUGH THE ATTEMPTED
COUP OF 1991, THE HOOVER**

**INSTITUTION HAS PLAYED AN
IMPORTANT ROLE IN
DOCUMENTING SOVIET HISTORY,
AND IN ADVANCING THE VALUES
OF A SOCIETY BASED ON
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
FREEDOM.**

**IN FACT, IT WAS IN THE
SHADOW OF HOOVER TOWER
ON THE STANFORD CAMPUS**

**WHERE MIKHAIL GORBACHEV
PROCLAIMED AN END TO THE
COLD WAR IN JUNE OF 1990.**

**I CAN'T HELP BUT WONDER
WHAT HERBERT HOOVER
WOULD BE THINKING IF HE
WERE ALIVE TODAY. ONE THING
FOR SURE, WE COULD SURE USE
HIS EXPERTISE.**

LET ME SHARE YOU WITH
YOU A SCENARIO: RUSSIA IS
UNABLE TO FEED ITS PEOPLE.
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS
FACE STARVATION. THE
RUSSIAN LEADER SAYS THAT
WITHOUT INTERNATIONAL HELP,
"THE GOVERNMENT WILL
PERISH."

AMERICA, HOWEVER, IS
SKEPTICAL. HAVING RECENTLY
EMERGED FROM A WAR, THEY
WERE DOWNSCALING THEIR
MILITARY, AND FOCUSING ON
DOMESTIC PROBLEMS LIKE
UNEMPLOYMENT. FOREIGN AID
WAS NOT A PRIORITY.

THOSE COULD BE HEADLINES
FROM THE NEWSPAPERS OF

TODAY. BUT THEY WERE ALSO
THE HEADLINES FROM THE
NEWSPAPERS OF 1921.

DESPITE ITS INITIAL
RELUCTANCE, AMERICA
ANSWERED THE CALL FOR HELP.
AND THEY ANSWERED IT
SUCCESSFULLY BECAUSE OF
ONE MAN--HERBERT HOOVER.

**AS CHAIRMAN OF THE
AMERICAN RELIEF
ADMINISTRATION, IT WAS
HERBERT HOOVER WHO LED
THE EFFORT WHICH PROVIDED
700,000 TONS OF FOOD, AND
VAST AMOUNTS OF MEDICINES
AND OTHER SUPPLIES. THESE
SUPPLIES FED AND NURSED 18
MILLION RUSSIANS AND SAVED**

**BETWEEN 10 MILLION AND 20
MILLION LIVES OVER A THREE-
YEAR PERIOD.**

**SEVEN DECADES AGO,
AMERICA RESPONDED
AFFIRMATIVELY TO RUSSIA'S
REQUEST FOR HELP...A
REQUEST WHICH CAME FROM
VLADIMIR LENIN.**

**TODAY, THE REQUEST
COMES FROM BORIS YELTSIN--A
MAN WHO IS COMMITTED TO
DEMOCRACY. CAN THERE BE
ANY QUESTION THAT AMERICA'S
RESPONSE MUST BE THE SAME?**

**I MET WITH YELTSIN THIS PAST
WEEKEND. HE'S TOUGH AND
HE'S BLUNT. HE'S NOT WILLING
TO PREDICT VICTORY FOR**

DEMOCRACY. HE KNOWS THE
NEXT THREE MONTHS COULD
TELL ALL.

IF THERE'S NOT FOOD ON
THE SHELVES FOR THE RUSSIAN
PEOPLE, THEN HE REALIZES
THAT HE, AS WELL AS
DEMOCRACY, MAY BE SHELVED.

HERE AT HOME, THERE ARE
THOSE WHO ARE RALLYING

**UNDER THE BANNER OF
"AMERICA FIRST"...WHO SAY
THAT WE CAN'T BE THE
WORLD'S BANKER OR GOOD
SAMARITAN.**

**AT THE RISK OF BEING A
LONE VOICE IN THIS YEAR OF
PARTISANSHIP, POSTURING AND
PANDERING, ONE POINT I WANT**

TO MAKE IS THAT ISOLATIONISM
SOLVES NOTHING FOR AMERICA.

AS MY COLLEAGUE, PHIL
GRAMM, POINTED OUT LAST
WEEK, THIS IS THE SAME
ATTITUDE THAT KILLED THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT THE
END OF WORLD WAR I, AND
PLANTED THE SEEDS FOR
WORLD WAR II.

THEY ARE THE SAME IDEAS
THAT BROUGHT US THE
SMOOT/HAWLEY TARIFF AND
THE GREAT DEPRESSION.
THEY'RE THE SAME IDEAS THAT
GIVE US PEARL HARBOR, IN A
WAR THAT WOULD NOT HAVE
BEEN FOUGHT HAD AMERICA
BEEN PREPARED.

**"AMERICA FIRST" IS NOT A
SOLUTION--IT IS AN ESCAPE.**

**IT IS NOT A PROGRAM--IT IS
A WHIPPING BOY.**

**IT IS NOT A STRATEGY--IT IS
A COP-OUT.**

**IT WILL NOT SERVE AMERICA.
IT WILL NOT SERVE THE
AMERICAN WORKER. IT WILL
NOT SERVE THE AMERICAN**

**FARMER. IT WILL NOT SERVE
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.**

**THE FACT IS THAT EVEN
WHEN COMBINED WITH THE
COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM AND
THE END OF THE COLD WAR,
THE PERSIAN GULF WAR WAS
NOT THE "WAR TO END ALL
WARS."**

**THE LIKES OF QUADDAFI ARE
STILL ON THE LOOSE; IRAN,
LIBYA, AND A WHOLE BUNCH OF
OTHERS ARE PART OF A MAD
SCRAMBLE TO GRAB SOVIET
TECHNOLOGY, TECHNICIANS
AND WEAPONS.**

**REGIONAL CONFLICTS,
TERRORISM, AND
MULTINATIONAL DRUG CARTELS**

**ARE STILL VERY MUCH A PART
OF LIFE ON THIS PLANET.**

**IN ADDITION, NO ONE CAN
DOUBT ANY LONGER THAT
AMERICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY
IS INTIMATELY TIED UP WITH
AMERICA'S ECONOMIC HEALTH;
AND AMERICA'S ECONOMIC
HEALTH IS, IN TURN, A DIRECT**

FUNCTION OF AMERICAN'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

**FOREIGN LENDING PROPS UP
OUR ECONOMY. FOREIGN
EXPORTS GIVE OUR
CONSUMERS THE PRODUCTS
THEY WANT, AT PRICES THEY
CAN AFFORD. FOREIGN
MARKETS--WHEN OPEN--FUEL
OUR GROWTH, AND WHEN**

**CLOSED, FRUSTRATE OUR
PROGRESS..**

**THE GLOBE IS SAFER FROM
NUCLEAR ATTACK--BUT NOT
NECESSARILY SAFER, OVERALL.**

**AND, SURELY, FROM AN
ECONOMIC STANDPOINT, IT'S A
WORLD THAT GETS SMALLER
AND SMALLER EVERY DAY.**

**CAN WE CLOSE UP OUR
DOORS, IGNORE OUR
OBLIGATIONS, AND SURVIVE ALL
ALONE? PROBABLY. WILL WE
PROSPER? ABSOLUTELY NOT.**

**AS FOR AIDING RUSSIA, YES,
WE HAVE TO BE SURE THAT
PRESIDENT YELTSIN DOES ALL
HE CAN TO ENSURE THAT THE
AID GETS TO THE PEOPLE.**

**YES, THE AMERICAN
TAXPAYERS--AND PRESIDENT
BUSH WAS RIGHT ON TARGET--
THEY ARE THE UNSUNG HEROES
OF THE COLD WAR--HAVE
CARRIED MORE THAN THEIR
SHARE OF THEIR WEIGHT, AND
IT'S TIME FOR OTHER
COUNTRIES TO CONTRIBUTE.**

**BUT WE ARE THE LEADER OF
THE FREE WORLD. WE ARE
WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES AND
OTHER PEOPLES ASPIRE TO BE.
WE ARE THE BEST EXAMPLE OF
THE SUPERIORITY OF FREE
ENTERPRISE. AND THEREFORE
WE MUST DEMONSTRATE
LEADERSHIP.**

**IN AN ARTICLE WRITTEN FOR
COLLIER'S MAGAZINE IN 1942,
HOOVER REMEMBERED THE
EFFORT TO FEED RUSSIA. AND
HE OFFERED THESE PROPHETIC
WORDS, "WE WILL NEED TO DO
IT ALL OVER AGAIN AS PART OF
OUR EFFORT TO BRING PEACE
TO A WEARY WORLD."**

THAT TIME HAS NOW COME.
AND PERHAPS THE BEST
REASONS FOR DOING IT ALL
OVER AGAIN WERE EXPRESSED
BY ANOTHER FORMER
PRESIDENT, RICHARD NIXON.

NIXON SAID, "THE NATIONS
OF THE FORMER EVIL EMPIRE
LOST FAITH IN COMMUNISM
BOTH BECAUSE OF ITS

**INHUMANITY AND BECAUSE IT
DID NOT WORK.**

**NOW THE IDEAS OF
FREEDOM ARE ON TRIAL. IF
THEY SUCCEED, THE END OF
THE COLD WAR WILL MARK NOT
ONLY THE DEFEAT OF
COMMUNISM, BUT ALSO THE
VICTORY OF FREEDOM."**

**THANK YOU. I'D BE HAPPY TO
RESPOND TO YOUR QUESTIONS.**