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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13802
Folder ID Number: 13802-007

Folder Title:
Richard M. Nixon Library Dinner--Washington D.C. 3/11/92 [OA 7569]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	3	6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3-10

TO:

Carol Aarhus

FROM: PEGGY HAZELRIGG
Assistant Director
Office of Presidential Advance
Room 185 1/2, OEOB, x7565

Final copy!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

TO

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

EVENT: Attend Nixon Library Dinner

DATE: Wednesday, March 11, 1992

TIME: 8:00 pm - 9:55 pm

LOCATION: Four Seasons Hotel

ATTENDEES: 300

PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Four Seasons Hotel and proceed to Main Ballroom Floor (via elevator). THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Main Ballroom Floor and are met by: Mr. Stan Bromley, General Manager, Four Seasons Hotel; and Mr. Chris Hart, Manager, Four Seasons Hotel. Following Greetings, THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush proceed to Algonquin Room. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Algonquin Room and are met by: The Honorable Richard M. Nixon, former President of the United States. Following Greetings, THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush remain for Private Time with President Nixon. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Algonquin Room and proceed to Smithson Room. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Smithson Room and are met by the Escort Committee: Mr. and Mrs. David Eisenhower (Julie Nixon); Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cox (Tricia Nixon); The Honorable and Mrs. James Schlesinger (Rachel), former United States Secretary of Defense; The Honorable and Mrs. Walter Annenberg (Lee), former United States Ambassador; The Honorable

Robert Ellsworth, former United States Ambassador and United States Congressman; Mr. George Argyrous, Chairman, Nixon Foundation Development Committee; Mr. Dimitri Simes, Senior Advisor, Carnegie Institute; The Honorable Robert K. Gray, Chairman, Hill and Knowlton, Inc.; Ms. Teresa Hollingsworth, Director, Nixon Library Conference; Mr. John Taylor, Director, Nixon Library and Assistant to President Nixon; and Mr. Richard (Sandy) Quinn, Nixon Library Dinner Coordinator. Following Greetings, THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Smithson Room and proceed to Corcoran Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Corcoran Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, are announced into Corcoran Ballroom to Full Honors performed by the United States Marine Band, proceed to Seats and are Seated. Ms. Julie Nixon Eisenhower gives brief remarks. Dinner is served.

Following dinner service, Mr. James Schlesinger, former United States Secretary of Defense, introduces President Nixon. THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by The Honorable Richard Nixon, former President of the United States. THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Stage (Enter Stage Right) and Remarks. (NOTE: A Teleprompter will be used.) THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks and remains Standing. President Nixon proceeds to Stage and gives closing remarks. THE PRESIDENT, with Mrs. Bush and President Nixon, concludes participation in Dinner, departs Stage (Exit Stage Right) and proceeds to Algonquin Room. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Algonquin Room and hold briefly. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Algonquin Room and proceed to Motorcade (via elevator). THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush bid farewell to President Nixon, board Motorcade and depart Four Seasons Hotel en route White House.

The backdrop for THE PRESIDENT's Remarks is a blue drape with the Nixon Library Seal in the center. The Press Platform is located straight on at 100 feet.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

EVENTS:

Attend Nixon Library Dinner

DRESS:

Men - Black Tie
Women - Cocktail Dress

CONTACTS:

Office of Presidential Advance
Ed Murnane

- 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Peggy Hazelrigg

- 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Jack McDougale - LEAD
John Hutchison - PRESS
Mark Sullivan - USSS
Wayne Justice - MIL. AIDE
Jim DeCarlo - WHCA

WEATHER:

Mostly Cloudy/mid 40's

**BLACK
TIE**

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

7:50 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and
depart White House en route Four Seasons Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

Spare

Doctor
B. Farish

LIMO

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Bush

Follow Up

Control

S. Skinner
Gen. Scowcroft
Mil. Aide

Support

M. Fitzwater
M. Lukens
P. Swift
Official Photographer
Medic

Staff I
(minivan)

Press Van I

M. Busch

Press Van II

Press Van III

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

7:55 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Four Seasons Hotel and proceed to Algonquin Room.

Met by:

Mr. Stan Bromley
General Manager, Four Seasons Hotel

Mr. Chris Hart
Manager, Four Seasons Hotel

8:00 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Algonquin Room for Private Time.

Met by:

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
Former President of the United States

(PRIVATE TIME: 14 MINUTES)

8:14 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Algonquin Room and proceed to Smithson Room.

8:15 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Smithson Room and begin participation in Greeting.

8:20 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, conclude participation in Greeting, depart Smithson Room and proceed to Corcoran Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area.

8:24 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Corcoran Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly.

9:51 pm President Nixon gives closing remarks.

9:55 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Dinner, and, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Stage and proceed to Algonquin Room.

9:56 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Algonquin Room and hold briefly.

9:58 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Algonquin Room and proceed to Motorcade.

10:00 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush bid farewell, board Motorcade and depart Four Seasons Hotel en route White House.

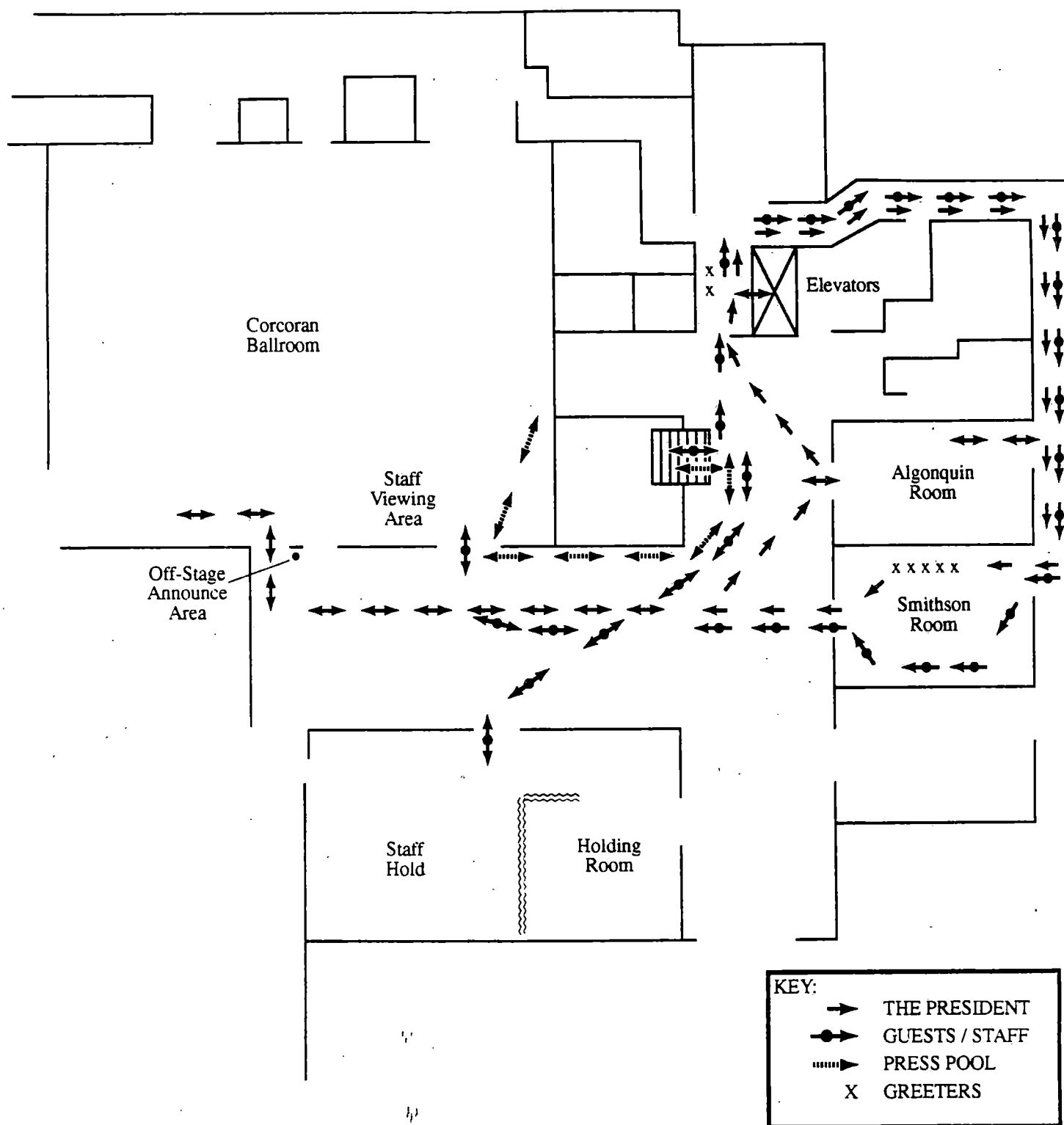
MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

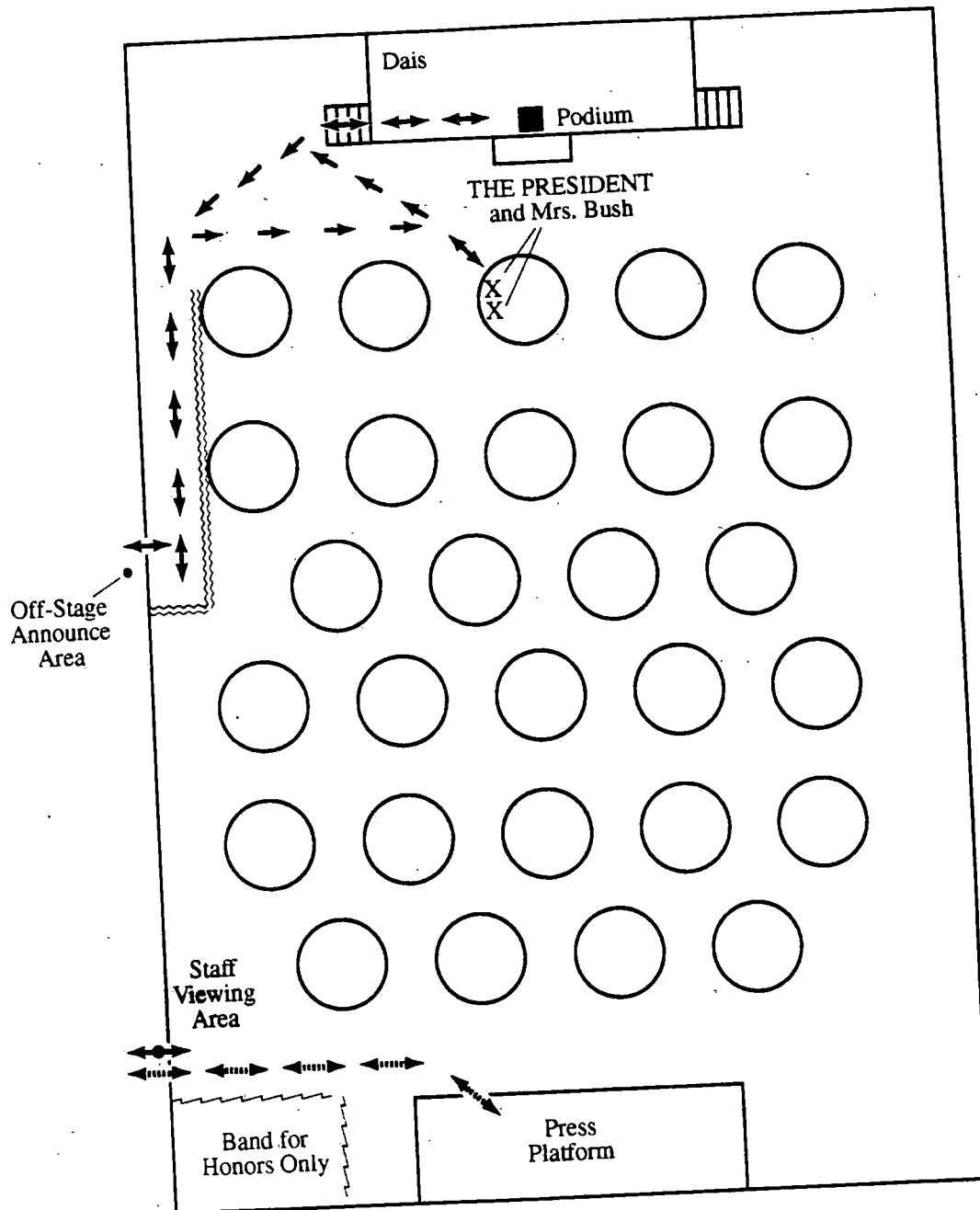
(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

10:05 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive White House.

TAB A
 WASHINGTON, D.C.
 Four Seasons Hotel
 Nixon Library Conference Dinner
 Overview Diagram
 Wednesday, March 11, 1992



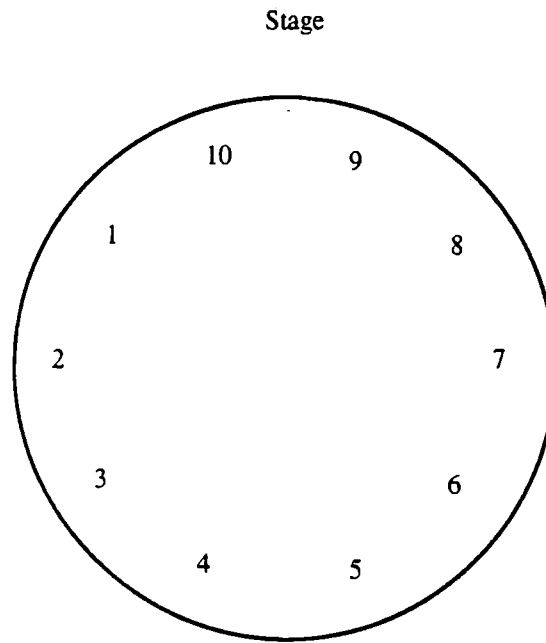
TAB B
WASHINGTON, D.C.
Four Seasons Hotel
Corcoran Ballroom
Nixon Library Conference Dinner
Dinner/Address
Wednesday, March 11, 1992



KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- GUESTS / STAFF
-→ PRESS POOL

TAB C
WASHINGTON, D.C.
Four Seasons Hotel
Nixon Library Conference Dinner
Seating Diagram
Wednesday, March 11, 1992



1. THE PRESIDENT
2. Mrs. Bush
3. President Nixon
4. Mrs. Walter Annenberg
5. Ambassador Walter Annenberg
6. Mr. John Taylor - Director, Nixon Library
7. Brian Crozier - Personel Friend of President Nixon
8. ~~Bob Abplanalp - Personel Friend of President Nixon~~ *not coming*
9. Mr. James Schlesinger
10. Mr. George Argyrous - Chairman, Nixon Foundation Development Committee



AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE EMERGING WORLD

A Nixon Library Conference in Washington

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE EMERGING WORLD FORUM TO HEAR NIXON, NATIONAL LEADERS AND OTHER EXPERTS DURING TWO-DAY WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

James R. Schlesinger
Chairman

George P. Shultz

Dimitri K. Simes

William E. Simon

John H. Taylor

Theresa Hollingsworth
Conference Director

Washington, D.C.-- Post-Cold War challenges facing the United States -- and the historic opportunities surfacing in a world dramatically and irrevocably transformed by the dissolution of the Soviet Union -- is the focus of a national policy conference to be held here, March 11 - 12 1992, by the Richard Nixon Presidential Library.

Entitled *America's Role in the Emerging World*, the conference, to be held at the Four Seasons Hotel, will attract 200 top opinion leaders and decision makers from government, industry, academia, civic institutions and the media.

Conference chairman is James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense, Director of Central Intelligence and Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission during the Nixon Administration. He served as Secretary of Energy under President Carter.

Schlesinger said the forum will present a series of panel debates and discussions by a diverse roster of international experts -- and major addresses by current and former leaders including President Nixon; Henry A. Kissinger, former Secretary of State; Robert Gates, Director of Central Intelligence; and Carla A. Hills, U.S. Trade Representative.

THE RICHARD NIXON LIBRARY & BIRTHPLACE

18001 Yorba Linda Boulevard, Yorba Linda, California 92686 Tel: 714-993-5075 Fax: 714-528-0544

CONFERENCE OFFICE

4717 Alton Place, NW, Washington, DC 20016 Tel: 202-966-6225

Richard Nixon Library Conference: Page 2

In a letter to conference participants, Schlesinger sampled the scope of provocative questions to be addressed:

"Does the defeat of communism signal the end of American internationalism? Is it time to focus our energy and resources on pressing problems at home? Or does the new world present new strategic and economic challenges -- in East-West relations, in Europe, in Asia -- that require the United States to continue to bear the heavy responsibility of providing leadership in the global arena?"

Conference steering committee member Dimitri K. Simes, Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said the conference timing is extremely appropriate because America is at an "historical crossroads" in foreign policy.

"While there are tremendous opportunities for the United States, there are also new challenges, and no clear compass on how to proceed in a new international environment," Simes said. "Our purpose is to develop new thinking and to find constructive approaches to American foreign policy dilemmas."

The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace, sponsor of the two-day conference, is located in Yorba Linda, California, on the site of the small farmhouse where the 37th President was born.

The only Presidential Library built and operated without taxpayers' funds, the museum features nine acres of galleries, gardens, theaters, and the birthplace farmhouse, and is open to the public daily.

The conference program:

Wednesday, March 11:

9:30 am Registration

10:30 am **Welcome & Opening Remarks.**

James R. Schlesinger, Conference Chairman, and Senior Advisor, Lehman Brothers.

Richard Nixon Library Conference: Page 3

10:45 am Panel: U.S. Global Involvement: Is it Worth the Price?

Panelists:

Chair: Lionel H. Olmer, Senior Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison.

--Fritz Ermarth, Chairman, National Intelligence Council.

--Lee H. Hamilton, U.S. House of Representatives.

--Robert B. Reich, Professor, Political Economy and Management, Harvard University.

12:30 pm Luncheon: In honor of President Richard Nixon.

Address: "The New World" --RN

2:15 pm Panel: The United States and the End of the Soviet Union.

Panelists:

Chair: Dimitri K. Simes, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

--Edward A. Hewett, Senior Director for Soviet Affairs, National Security Council.

--Vladimir P. Lukin, Ambassador to the United States, Russia.

--Lt. General William E. Odom, USA (Ret.), Director, National Security Studies, The Hudson Institute.

4:00 pm Panel: The United States and the New Europe.

Panelists:

Chair: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Center for Strategic and

Richard Nixon Library Conference: Page 4

--Lt. General William E. Odom, USA (Ret.), Director,
National Security Studies, The Hudson Institute.

4:00 pm **Panel: The United States and the New Europe.**

Panelists:

Chair: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Center for Strategic and
International Studies.

--Joseph Joffe, Foreign Editor, *Suddeutsche Zeitung*.

--Warren Rudman, U.S. Senate.

--Alan Tonelson, Research Director, Economic Strategy
Institute.

7:00 pm **Reception and Dinner. Speaker to be announced.**

Thursday, March 12:

9:00 am **Panel: Facing the New Asia.**

Panelists:

Chair: Paula Stern, President, The Stern Group.

--Stephen W. Bosworth, President, United States-Japan
Foundation.

--Michel Oksenberg, President, East-West Center.

--Stephen J. Solarz, U.S. House of Representatives.

10:45 am **Panel: Defining U.S. National Security Priorities.**

Panelists:

Chair: James R. Schlesinger, Senior Advisor, Lehman
Brothers.

--Geoffrey Kemp, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment
for International Peace.

Richard Nixon Library Conference: Page 5

--Daniel Patrick Moynihan, U.S. Senate.

--Vernon A. Walters, Former United States Ambassador to the United Nations and West Germany.

12:30 pm **Luncheon: Address by Carla A. Hills, United States Trade Representative.**

2:15 pm **The Global Assessment.**

Speaker: Robert Gates, Director, Central Intelligence.

3:15 pm **America's Role in the World.**

Speaker: Henry A. Kissinger, Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.

4:00 pm **Chairman's Summary: James R. Schlesinger**

4:15 pm **Conference Adjourns.**

The conference steering committee includes George P. Shultz, former Secretary of State; Dimitri K. Simes, Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; William E. Simon, former Secretary of the Treasury and President of the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace Foundation; and John H. Taylor, Library Director.

"The Nixon Library is proud to be bringing together this bipartisan group of leaders and experts," Taylor said, "to tackle the same questions that have preoccupied Richard Nixon throughout his 45 years in the public arena: What is America's mission in the world? How can we preserve the peace while extending prosperity and freedom both at home and abroad?"

Theresa Hollingsworth is conference director, with headquarters at 901 31st Street, NW, Washington, D.C., (202) 944-5159, Fax (202) 333-1822.

For press coverage arrangements, contact Kevin Cartwright at (714) 993-5075 ext. 205, Fax (714) 528-0544. (2/13/92)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST
SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS

FROM:

CAROL AARHUS *ca*

SUBJECT:

NIXON LIBRARY/FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

Let me start out by saying that it was indeed an honor to attend this event -- I actually got within 15 feet of President Nixon. He looks terrific, and was full of wit and grace.

Jim Schlesinger had a terrific intro of President Nixon. However, Nixon blew him away with an even better intro of POTUS. Nixon spoke with no visible text, using anecdotes and jokes that were perfect for the evening's mood. He warmed up the crowd fabulously.

Our President did the best with the text he had. He got the bulk of his applause from Curt's "inserts" and what he ad libbed. He got his first applause four minutes into the speech -- his second five minutes later. (care to guess why?)

There were two sections about protectionism/isolationism. He saw the familiar language, delivered it well, ad libbed like mad, and got the crowd applauding -- he sailed through it with shining glory.

The most positive responses came from two anecdotes in the text: one about [Bill Safire] and the other about Khrushchev. Both went over wonderfully with the crowd -- quite frankly, we needed more of the text to be like that.

In conclusion, I guess it is safe to say that there was a definite distinction as to what parts of the speech the crowd (and POTUS) liked and what they didn't. The language with which he was most familiar, and the anecdotes were a hit. The rest, as they say, was history.

N.B. -- After the speech was over, and we were filing out to the motorcade, President Nixon said to POTUS, "... like Siamese twins... One can't live without the other." I assume they were talking about the relationship between foreign and domestic policy, since that was the take-away theme of the speech. Maybe we can use this analogy in future speeches.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

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RESEARCHERS

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March 12, 1992

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RESEARCHERS

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DRAFT

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH
FOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

EVENTS:

Attend Nixon Library Dinner

DRESS:

Men - Black Tie
Women - Cocktail Dress

CONTACTS:

Office of Presidential Advance
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Peggy Hazelrigg - 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Jack McDougale - LEAD
John Hutchison - PRESS
Mark Sullivan - USSS
Wayne Justice - MIL. AIDE
Jim DeCarlo - WHCA

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/Low 60's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

7:45 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart White House en route Four Seasons Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

Spare

Doctor
B. Farish

LIMO

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Bush

Follow Up

Control

H. Moore
Adm. Howe
Mil. Aide

Support

M. Fitzwater
M. Lukens
P. Swift
Official Photographer
Medic

Staff I

Staff Van

All Remaining Staff

Press Van I

M. Busch

Press Van II

Press Van III

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

7:55 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Four Seasons Hotel and proceed to Algonquin Room.

Met by:

Mr. Stan Bromley
General Manager, Four Seasons Hotel

Mr. Chris Hart
Manager, Four Seasons Hotel

8:00 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Algonquin Room for Private Time.

Met by:

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
Former President of the United States

8:14 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Algonquin Room and proceeds to Smithson Room.

8:15 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Smithson Room and begin participation in Greeting.

Met by:

Escort Committee

8:20 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Smithson Room and proceed to Corcoran Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area.

8:24 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Corcoran Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly.

Page Two

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EVENT: ATTEND NIXON LIBRARY DINNER

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

8:25 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, are announced into Corcoran Ballroom, proceed to Seats and are Seated.

8:27 pm Ms. Julie Nixon Eisenhower gives brief remarks.

8:30 pm Dinner is served.

9:33 pm The Honorable James Schlesinger, United States Secretary of Defense, introduces President Nixon

9:34 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by The Honorable Richard Nixon, President of the United States.

9:35 pm THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

9:50 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks and remains Standing.

9:51 pm President Nixon gives closing remarks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9:55 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Dinner, and, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Stage and proceed to Algonquin Room.

9:56 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, arrive Algonquin Room and hold briefly.

9:58 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President Nixon, depart Algonquin Room and proceed to Motorcade.

10:00 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush bid farewell, board Motorcade and depart Four Seasons Hotel en route White House.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:10 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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ATTENDEES: 300

PRESS: Open

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Annenberg (Lee), former United States Ambassador; The Honorable Robert Ellsworth, former United States Ambassador and United States Congressman; Mr. George Argyrous, Chairman, Nixon Foundation Development Committee; Mr. Dimitri Simes, Senior Advisor, Carnegie Foundation; The Honorable Robert K. Gray, Chairman, Hill and Knowlton, Inc.; Ms. Teresa Hollingsworth, Director, Nixon Library Conference; Mr. John Taylor, Director, Nixon Library and Assistant to President Nixon; and Mr. Richard (Sandy) Quinn, Nixon Library Dinner Coordinator.

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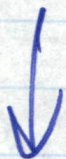
Nixon's intro- 1952 VP we won that yr.
I had a very good running mate

spoke w/ no cards, etc.
looked great
very funny

Said POTUS has wrkd w/ 90 for leader
more for. pol. exp. than any other
POTUS
most qual. for '92

Nixon said

Foreign & domestic policy are
like Siamese twins... one can't
live w/out the other."



on depart. w/ FL & PO

NIXON LIBRARY
FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

Jack
is Lee Mrs. AZ

add: ✓ from
✓ on
James Schlesinger

MR. PRESIDENT; AMBASSADOR ANNENBERG; JULIE AND
DAVID EISENHOWER; GEORGE ARGYROUS; JOHN TAYLOR;
DISTINGUISHED GUESTS; LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. IT IS
INDEED A PLEASURE TO BE AMONG GOOD FRIENDS, AND TO
RENEW OLD TIES. //

A WRITER ONCE SAID OF RICHARD NIXON, HIS LIFE WAS
"SOMEHOW CENTRAL TO THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING AN AMERICAN
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THIS CENTURY." / I AM PROUD
TONIGHT TO SALUTE A PRESIDENT WHO MADE A DIFFERENCE --
NOT BECAUSE HE WISHED IT, BUT BECAUSE HE WILLED IT. //

AS OUR 37TH PRESIDENT, HE PLACED CRIME AND DRUGS ON
THE NATIONAL AGENDA / CREATED A PIONEERING CANCER
INITIATIVE / ENDED THE DRAFT / AND CREATED THE EPA --
[LAND WE'VE BEEN FIGHTING OVER THE SPOTTED OWL EVER
SINCE.] (L) (A)

Reminiscence
re: 1964 loss,
spoke of
close ties
& continued
support.
(A)

YET AS I SAID WHEN HIS LIBRARY OPENED, RICHARD NIXON WILL BE REMEMBERED FOR ANOTHER REASON: DEDICATING HIS LIFE TO THE NOBLEST CAUSE OFFERED ANY PRESIDENT -- THE CAUSE OF PEACE AMONG NATIONS / A CAUSE TOLD IN HIS BOOKS -- NOW, NINE OF THEM -- EACH WRITTEN OUT LONG-HAND ON HIS FAMOUS YELLOW LEGAL PADS. /

SO, I COULD NOT BE MORE PLEASED THAN TO BE HERE THIS EVENING TO SPEAK BEFORE THIS GATHERING DEVOTED TO EXPLORING "AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE EMERGING WORLD." THE SUBJECT COULD NOT BE MORE TIMELY. AND THE AUSPICES COULD NOT BE MORE APPROPRIATE. / THE RICHARD NIXON LIBRARY STANDS AS A MONUMENT TO A PRESIDENT AND TO AN ADMINISTRATION DEVOTED TO AN ACTIVE, THOUGHTFUL AND ABOVE ALL, REALISTIC APPROACH TO THE WORLD. //

zzzz.
THE CHALLENGE FACED BY PRESIDENT NIXON COULD HARDLY
HAVE BEEN MORE DAUNTING: HOW TO MAINTAIN DOMESTIC
SUPPORT FOR A FOREIGN POLICY MANDATED BY A GROWING
SOVIET THREAT AT A TIME AN OVER-BURDENED AMERICA WAS
FIGHTING AN UNPOPULAR WAR IN VIETNAM. WHAT EMERGED --
THE POLICIES OF DETENTE AND THE DOCTRINE THAT BEARS
THE NAME OF THE 37TH PRESIDENT -- PROVIDED A BALANCE
BETWEEN CONFRONTATION AND COOPERATION. //

PRESIDENT NIXON MANAGED THIS AND MORE, EXTRICATING
US FROM A WAR / NEGOTIATING THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE
U.S.-SOVIET ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS / OPENING UP
RELATIONS WITH CHINA, MEDIATING DISENGAGEMENT PACTS IN
THE MIDDLE EAST / ALL WHILE PRESERVING A CONSENSUS AT
HOME FAVORING CONTINUED ENGAGEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

TO BE SURE, TODAY'S CHALLENGE IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT. YET IT DOES BEAR SOME RESEMBLANCE. ONCE AGAIN WE MUST FIND A WAY TO SQUARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF WORLD LEADERSHIP WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF DOMESTIC RENEWAL. / WHAT WE MUST DO IS FIND A WAY TO MAINTAIN POPULAR SUPPORT FOR AN ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY AND A STRONG DEFENSE IN THE ABSENCE OF AN OVERRIDING EXTERNAL THREAT TO OUR NATION'S SECURITY AND IN THE FACE OF SEVERE BUDGETARY PROBLEMS. IN THIS POST-COLD WAR WORLD, OURS IS THE WONDERFUL YET NO LESS REAL OR DIFFICULT CHALLENGE OF COPING WITH SUCCESS. //

⌘ THIS CHALLENGE IS BY NO MEANS UNPRECEDENTED. THINK BACK TO THE ERA AFTER WORLD WAR I OR THE YEARS IN THE IMMEDIATE WAKE OF WORLD WAR II. IN BOTH INSTANCES, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE ANXIOUS TO BRING THEIR VICTORIOUS TROOPS HOME, TO FOCUS THEIR ENERGIES ON MAKING THE AMERICAN DREAM A REALITY. //

PERHAPS MORE INSTRUCTIVE, THOUGH, ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR REACTIONS FOLLOWING THIS CENTURY'S TWO GREAT WARS. AFTER WORLD WAR I, THE UNITED STATES RETREATED BEHIND ITS OCEANS. WE REFUSED TO SUPPORT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. WE ALLOWED OUR MILITARY FORCES TO SHRINK AND GROW OBSOLETE. WE HELPED INTERNATIONAL TRADE PLUMMET, THE VICTIM OF BEGGAR-THY-NEIGHBOR PROTECTIONISM. AND WE STOOD BY AND WATCHED AS GERMANY'S STRUGGLING DEMOCRACY, THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC, FAILED UNDER THE WEIGHT OF REPARATIONS, PROTECTIONISM AND DEPRESSION, AND GAVE WAY TO THE HORROR OF THE THIRD REICH.

zzzz.
LIKEWISE, OUR INITIAL REACTION TO VICTORY IN WORLD
WAR II SHOWED LITTLE LEARNING. // BUT, GALVANIZED BY
AN EMERGING COMMUNIST THREAT SPEARHEADED BY AN
IMPERIALIST SOVIET UNION, THE UNITED STATES ACTED.
NATO, THE IMF, THE WORLD BANK, THE MARSHALL PLAN --
THESE AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS PROVE THAT AMERICANS
GRASPED THE NATURE OF THE CHALLENGE AND THE NEED TO
RESPOND. / OUR MILITARY WAS MODERNIZED, FREE TRADE
NOURISHED, U.S. SUPPORT FOR FORMER ADVERSARIES GERMANY
AND JAPAN MADE GENEROUS. ~~IT~~ IT WAS FITTING THAT DEAN
ACHESON TITLED HIS MEMOIRS "PRESENT AT THE CREATION",
FOR THESE YEARS WERE TRULY CREATIVE. //

THE RESULT, AS THEY SAY, IS HISTORY. WE KEPT THE
PEACE. WE WON THE COLD WAR. DEMOCRACY IS ON THE
MARCH. NOW, FOR THE THIRD TIME THIS CENTURY, WE HAVE
EMERGED ON THE WINNING SIDE OF A WAR -- THE COLD WAR -
- INVOLVING THE GREAT POWERS. THE QUESTION BEFORE US
IS THE SAME: WE HAVE WON THE WAR? BUT ARE WE PREPARED
TO SECURE THE PEACE?

↓
Blech!

THAT IS THE CHALLENGE WE MUST FACE. YET ALREADY,
THERE ARE VOICES ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM CALLING
-- IN SOME CASES, SHOUTING -- FOR AMERICA TO "COME
HOME." // "GUT DEFENSE," THEY SAY. "SPEND THE PEACE
DIVIDEND." "SHUT OUT FOREIGN GOODS." "SLASH FOREIGN
AID." //

YOU ALL KNOW THE SLOGANS. YOU ALL KNOW THE SO-
CALLED SOLUTIONS: PROTECTIONISM. ISOLATIONISM. BUT
NOW WE HAVE THE OBLIGATION, THE RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR
CHILDREN, TO REJECT THE FALSE ANSWERS OF ISOLATION AND
PROTECTION, TO HEED HISTORY'S LESSONS. // TURNING OUR
BACK ON THE WORLD IS NO ANSWER. TO THE CONTRARY, THE
FUTURES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD ARE
INEXTRICABLY LINKED. //

I don't
care how diff
out I can prob
one at home.
(A)

into delivery

kind of
mumbling laughter

JUST WHY THIS IS SO COULD NOT BE MORE CLEAR. YES,
THE WORLD IS A SAFER PLACE. YES, THE SOVIET UNION THAT
WE FEARED IS NO LONGER. BUT THE SUCCESSOR REPUBLICS
ARE STILL STRUGGLING TO ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AS
DEMOCRACIES, STILL STRUGGLING TO MAKE THE TRANSITION TO
CAPITALISM. WE INVESTED SO MUCH TO WIN THE COLD WAR.
WE MUST INVEST WHAT IS NECESSARY TO WIN THE PEACE? //
IF WE FAIL, WE WILL CREATE NEW AND PROFOUND PROBLEMS
FOR OUR SECURITY AND THAT OF EUROPE AND ASIA. IF WE
SUCCEED, WE STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY AND BUILD NEW MARKET
ECONOMIES -- AND IN THE PROCESS WE CREATE HUGE NEW
MARKETS FOR AMERICA. WE MUST SUPPORT REFORM, NOT ONLY
IN RUSSIA, BUT THROUGHOUT THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND
EASTERN EUROPE. //

zzzz

for CM
✓

AS A FORMER PRESIDENT, RICHARD NIXON IS A PROLIFIC
AUTHOR. AS PRESIDENT, HE WROTE A CHAPTER THAT
PREVIEWED THE NEW WORLD ORDER. / TODAY WE ARE BUILDING
ON RN'S ROOTS PLANTED IN TEL AVIV AND CAIRO AND MOSCOW
AND BEIJING. A LOOK AT THE LANDS OF THE FORMER SOVIET
UNION, REACHING OUT TOWARD WESTERN WAYS. / LOOK AT THE
FLEDGLING DEMOCRACIES HERE IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE. /
LOOK AT CAMBODIA AND ITS NEIGHBORS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA,
YEARNING FOR AN END TO DECADES OF VIOLENCE. OR AT THE
HISTORIC PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- ONE THAT
HOLDS OUT HOPE OF RECONCILING ISRAEL AND HER ARAB
NEIGHBORS. LOOK AT A UN THAT MAY BE AT LONG LAST IN A
POSITION TO FULFILL THE VISION OF ITS FOUNDERS. / THE
SUCCESS OF EACH DEPENDS ON U.S. SUPPORT AND LEADERSHIP.
/ LOOK, TOO, AT THE THREATS THAT KNOW NO BOUNDARIES:
DRUGS, TERRORISM, DISEASE, POLLUTION -- AND ABOVE ALL,
THE SPREAD OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE MEANS
TO DELIVER THEM. THEY, TOO, WILL YIELD ONLY TO AN
AMERICA THAT IS VIGILANT, AND STRONG. //

Cuba
ref
look below
the Rio Grande
all free except
one...

For CM
✓

These insidious
threats...

Look @ Africa
So. Af. Angola
Zambia

IN THE NIXON LIBRARY IN YORBA LINDA THERE IS A
"WORLD LEADERS" ROOM OF GIANTS WHO PROVIDED SUCH
LEADERSHIP -- CHURCHILL, CHOU EN-LAI, CHARLES DEGAULLE.
/ PRESIDENT NIXON NOT ONLY KNEW THE GREATEST STATESMEN
OF THE 20TH CENTURY -- HE BECAME ONE OF THEM -- LIKE
THEM, JUDGED BOTH BY DISASTERS AVERTED AND DREAMS
ACHIEVED. /

A FORMER AIDE ONCE TOLD OF HOW PRESIDENT NIXON
ASKED ABOUT A FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH. THE AIDE SHOOK
HIS HEAD. "FRANKLY," HE SAID, "IT'S NOT GOING TO SET
THE WORLD ON FIRE."

PRESIDENT NIXON SHOOK HIS HEAD. "THAT'S THE WHOLE
OBJECT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY," HE SAID ALMOST TO
HIMSELF, "NOT TO SET THE WORLD ON FIRE." (L)

YES, CARRYING OUT A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN
DETERMINING THE COURSE OF THE EMERGING WORLD WILL COST
MONEY. BUT LIKE ANY INSURANCE POLICY, THE PREMIUM IS
MODEST COMPARED TO THE POTENTIAL COST OF LIVING IN A
WARRING AND HOSTILE WORLD. // MANY IN CONGRESS ARE
CALLING FOR A PEACE DIVIDEND. THEY WOULD HAVE US SLASH
DEFENSE SPENDING FAR BELOW THE REDUCED LEVELS WE HAVE
CALCULATED WOULD BE PRUDENT. THIS MUST BE RESISTED.
THE UNITED STATES MUST REMAIN READY AND ABLE TO KEEP
THE PEACE; A WELL-TRAINED, WELL-EQUIPPED MILITARY
CANNOT BE CREATED OVERNIGHT IF AND WHEN THE NEED
ARISES. ANYONE WHO HAS EVER GONE TO WAR KNOWS THAT
PEACE IS ITS OWN DIVIDEND.

*Today, perhaps
for understandable
reasons.*

THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE US DO LESS IGNORE THE INTIMATE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENTS AND THOSE HERE AT HOME. IF WE HAD NOT RESISTED AGGRESSION IN THE GULF A YEAR AGO -- IF WE HAD NOT LIBERATED KUWAIT AND DEFEATED IRAQ'S INVADING ARMY -- WE WOULD NOW BE FACING THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES NOT OF A MILD RECESSION, BUT OF DEPRESSION BROUGHT ON BY SADDAM HUSSEIN'S CONTROL OVER THE MAJORITY OF THE WORLD'S OIL. [I AM ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN THAT IF WE HAD NOT MOVED AGAINST SADDAM, HE WOULD BE IN SAUDI ARABIA TODAY.] IT IS A PIPEDREAM TO BELIEVE THAT WE CAN SOMEHOW INSULATE OUR SOCIETY OR OUR ECONOMY OR OUR LIVES FROM THE WORLD BEYOND OUR BORDERS.

I expect we could get a good debate going on right here in this room.

For CM

For CM

A

delivered well

THIS IS NOT MEANT TO SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD NOT DO MORE HERE AT HOME. OF COURSE WE SHOULD. BUT FOREIGN POLICY TOO IS A POWERFUL DETERMINANT OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE HERE AT HOME. //

ISOLATIONISM IS NOT THE ONLY TEMPTATION WE NEED TO
AVOID. PROTECTIONISM IS ANOTHER SIREN SONG WHICH WILL
BE DIFFICULT TO RESIST. THERE ARE INDEED MANY EXAMPLES
OF UNFAIR TRADE PRACTICES WHERE U.S. FIRMS GET SHUT OUT
OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENT MARKETS OWING TO TRADE BARRIERS
OF ONE SORT OR ANOTHER OR OWING TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENT
SUBSIDIES. / BUT THE WAY TO BRING DOWN BARRIERS ABROAD
IS NOT TO RAISE THEM AT HOME. IN TRADE WARS THERE ARE
NO WINNERS, ONLY LOSERS. EXPORT GROWTH IS A PROVEN
ECONOMIC ENGINE. EVERY BILLION DOLLARS ^{/ we estimate} IN MANUFACTURED
EXPORTS CREATES 20,000 JOBS FOR AMERICANS. AND WE
SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBTS ABOUT THE ABILITY OF OUR WORKERS
AND FARMERS TO THRIVE IN A COMPETITIVE WORLD. OUR GOAL
MUST BE TO INCREASE -- NOT RESTRICT -- TRADE. OPTING
OUT, BE IT UNDER THE BANNER OF PROTECTION OR ISOLATION,
IS NOTHING MORE THAN A RECIPE FOR WEAKNESS, AND
ULTIMATELY, DISASTER. //

That's why I'm
determined
GATT conclusion
& NAFTA
create p12
(A)

delivered
well

IF I CAN CHOOSE A THEME FOR YOU TO TAKE AWAY FROM WHAT I HAVE TO SAY TONIGHT, IT IS THIS: THERE IS NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN HOW WE FARE ABROAD AND HOW WE LIVE AT HOME. FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY ARE BUT TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN. *‡* TRUE, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO LEAD ABROAD IF WE ARE NOT UNITED AND STRONG AT HOME, BUT IT IS NO LESS TRUE THAT WE WILL BE UNABLE TO BUILD THE SOCIETY WE SEEK HERE AT HOME IN A WORLD WHERE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC WARFARE IS THE NORM. //

‡ LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUPPORTING AN ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY IS ONE FOR EVERY AMERICAN. BUT THIS TASK FALLS *in some ways* ESPECIALLY UPON THOSE IN THIS ROOM TONIGHT. WE ARE ENTERING A WORLD THAT PROMISES TO BE MORE RATHER THAN LESS COMPLICATED, MORE RATHER THAN LESS DIFFICULT TO LEAD. AND AGAIN YOU HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP SHOW THE WAY. //

MR. PRESIDENT, THERE HAVE BEEN LITERALLY MILLIONS OF WORDS WRITTEN ABOUT YOU. / AS PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID, SOME EVEN HAVE BEEN TRUE. ⁽⁴⁾ BUT LET ME CLOSE WITH WORDS THAT YOU USED 33 YEARS AGO, IN THE KITCHEN IN MOSCOW, WITH FORMER PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV. //

YOU DESCRIBE THE SCENE MEMORABLY IN YOUR LATEST BOOK, SEIZE THE MOMENT. WHEN KHRUSHCHEV BRAGGED THAT, "YOUR GRANDCHILDREN WILL LIVE UNDER COMMUNISM" -- YOU RESPONDED THAT HIS GRAND-CHILDREN WOULD LIVE IN FREEDOM. / HE WAS WRONG, BUT AT THE TIME YOU WERE NOT SURE YOU WERE RIGHT. ⁽⁴⁾ TODAY, WE KNOW YOU WERE -- JUST AS YOU WERE RIGHT IN HELPING BUILD A SAFER, MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. /

*nice
knowing
you led
abound*

AS WE LOOK TOWARD THE FUTURE, THE ONLY THING THAT
IS CERTAIN IS THAT IT WILL BRING A NEW WORLD. OUR TASK
-- OUR OPPORTUNITY -- IS TO MAKE IT ORDERLY, TO BUILD A
NEW WORLD ORDER OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY.
LET US DEDICATE OURSELVES TO MAKING THE MOST OF THIS
PRECIOUS OPPORTUNITY, OF THIS PRIVILEGE. THANK YOU.
AND MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#