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# FOIA MARKER

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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

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**OA/ID Number:** 13802  
**Folder ID Number:** 13802-008

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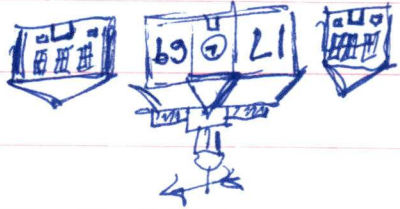
**Folder Title:**  
Richard M. Nixon Library Conference 3/11/92 [OA 7569]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>

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~~US2 3045~~  
~~US2 3324~~



(202) 944-5159  
FAX: 333-1822

- Kevin Confront

Library Prod of?

Foreign Policy Section

Talking Points

Attendance since opening

Sandy Quinn  
~~My~~

(202) 944 5159

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

John Taylor, DIR, NLI&S

(714) 993-3393

- Time

- How long

- Content

- Audience

- Acknowledgements

Demetri Simes

Carver Endowment  
for Information  
Please

(202) 862-7956  
~~862-7956~~

~~(714) 862-7956~~

~~Grasse Co, CA.~~

NIXON LIB SPEECH

Next bid

Entire Dinner

Major: Foreign Policy Address : New world ~~talk~~ <sup>forum</sup> ~~forum~~

8:00 Dinner Begins

9:00 Speech

Try to get out by 9:45

RN Library + Birthplace :

- Largest Paid Attendance of any presidential library in Country
- One of the most Active Libraries
- Ninth Book :  
"Seize the Moment"

- Genesis of Conference
- Personal Stories
- ~~overview of life~~

"In The Arena" July 19, 1980

- Foreign Policy Section
- World Leaders Room ✓
  - Bush, Reagan, Nixon, Ford stood
  - Life size Statues
  - on wall: "They Are Leaders  
Who have made a difference."

Not because ~~stern~~ they wished  
it, but because they wished  
it. - J.N.

- Mrs. Nixon will not be there.  
- Prod of: Birtplace

- Simple farmhouse

- Walter Auerbach in Audience

- ~~Abd~~ Ambassador to Court

of St. James <sup>capital</sup>

- gave Steven ~~star~~ star

to Pres. Reagan on

display in library

(on gold + unalike base)

- 320 ~~340~~ people in Audience

- Kissinger, Julia Walker, Arthur  
Lincoln, ...

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower (Daughter)  
will be there

+ David Eisenhower (Grandson of  
Ike)

- ~~Friese~~ Tricia Nixon Cox

might be ~~the~~ there.

- Bush + Nixon Enter together

- Only Presidential Library

that receives no Federal

~~Funds~~ Tax Dollars

teleprompter

9:00

320 people

Four Seasons Hotel

- Not fund-raising

- Free

John Taylor

944 5159

JT Introduced by Nixon

JT Ambassador Aurenberg + Mrs.

JT. George Argyros, ~~the~~ Nixon Lib + [Andrus]

BP Endowment

Chair Man of

Endowment Campaign

JT James R. Schlesinger + wife Rachel

(Newly Named)

(will make it possible)

~~Walt Stans~~

~~Trish + Ed Cox~~ NOT THERE \*

JT Julie + David Eisenhower

JT Dimitri Sines, Conference Committee

JT Bob ~~Ellsworth~~ Ellsworth, Dinner Committee

JT Bob Gray, Dinner Committee

JT Maurice H. Stans, former Sec. of

Brent Scowcroft

Commerce

raised \$ for BN Lib (made it possible)

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

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 --  
[[AND WE'VE BEEN FIGHTING OVER THE SPOTTED OWL EVER  
SINCE.]] Good laugh

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 *Trouble* 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. //

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.

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 WAS FITTING THAT DEAN  
ACHESON TITLED HIS MEMOIRS "PRESENT AT THE CREATION",  
FOR THESE YEARS WERE TRULY CREATIVE. //

*Too many  
big words*

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?

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. //

*Appl.*

*I don't see how difficult our problems are home*

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. //

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. LOOK AT THE LANDS OF THE FORMER SOVIET  
UNION, REACHING OUT TOWARD WESTERN WAYS. / LOOK AT THE  
FLEDGLING DEMOCRACIES HERE IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE. / Cuba  
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 <sup>INSIDIOUS</sup> 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. //

*Arab*

*Africa  
+  
S. Africa  
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."

*Good  
Chuck*

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 <sup>TODAY</sup> 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.

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 IS 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. // *Applause.*

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 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. //

*ADD  
Uruguay Round  
GATT  
Free Trade  
Appl.*

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 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. //

stress.



MR. PRESIDENT, THERE HAVE BEEN LITERALLY MILLIONS OF WORDS WRITTEN ABOUT YOU. / AS PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID, SOME EVEN HAVE BEEN TRUE. / <sup>Laugh</sup> 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. TODAY, WE KNOW YOU WERE -- JUST AS YOU WERE RIGHT IN HELPING BUILD A SAFER, MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. /

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.

# # # #

Nixon: I won that year - had a  
great running mate.

BY BOB GREENE

# REFLECTIONS IN A WARY EYE

*To sit down with Richard Nixon and discuss Richard Nixon is to tread on carefully guarded ground*

WAITING TO see Nixon, I killed time in the cafeteria. I watched a woman eat an egg-and-muffin sandwich and wash it down with a root beer. It was eight o'clock in the morning, in a federal office building in lower Manhattan.

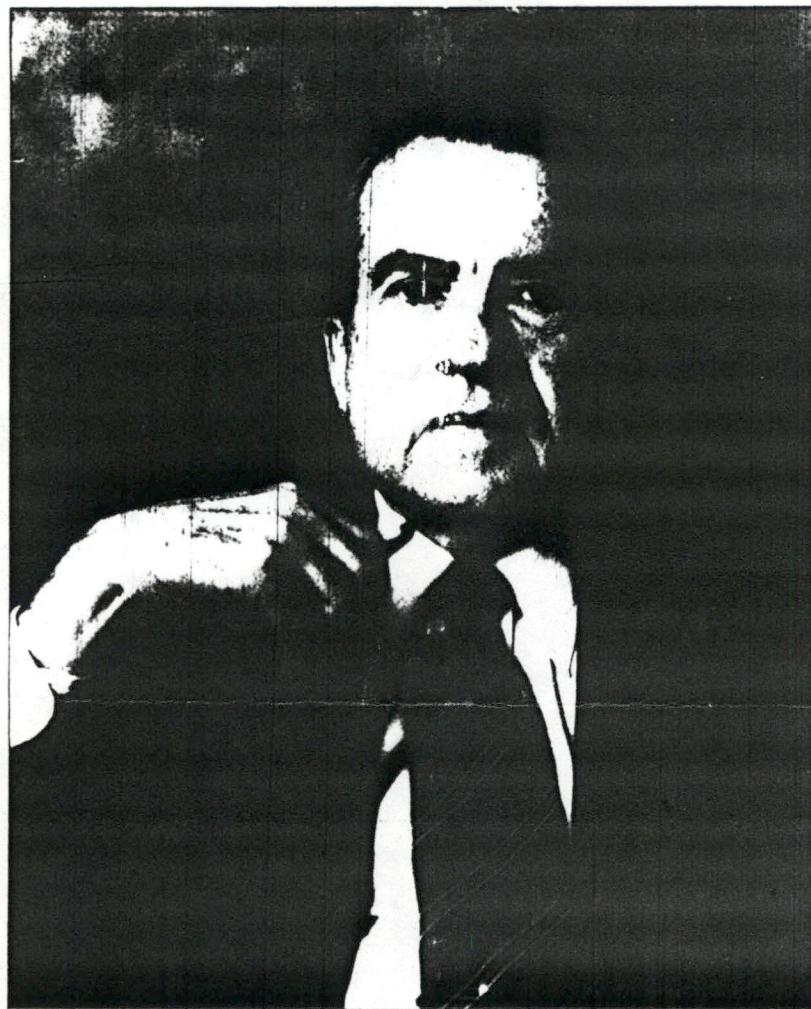
I was early. Nixon's letter had said to come at nine, but I wasn't going to risk being late for this one. I made notes, as if this would be a regular interview, but that wasn't my reason for being there at all. I didn't care if I never wrote about it.

Spending time with Richard Nixon... for people of my generation, the people who had been in college during his election and his years as President, the very idea was like a tingling promise. We were the people who had professed to hate him most passionately. Despising Nixon, for a time, was a required course. And yet in the years since he had left office, it had become clear that he was the one political figure of our age who was bigger than life.

There was no player in the national drama who came close to Nixon; the *idea* of Nixon was somehow central to the experience of being an American in the second half of this century.

I wanted to meet him the way an eight-year-old wants to go to Disney World. I couldn't imagine anything more tantalizing. In a can't-buy-a-thrill age, the notion of sitting alone with Nixon—just listening to him talk—had an appeal that, for me, went way beyond the idea of journalism. We had exchanged letters. I tried to express some of those sentiments to him, in more formal language. I couldn't believe it when his second letter said he would "welcome a visit."

His office phone number was unlisted; I had been given a floor number and told to look for a certain number on a door. At quarter to nine, I rode the elevator up. There were Spanish-speaking people looking for an immigration-processing office. Thirty feet away, I found the door.



There were no words on it. I tried the knob; it was locked.

A woman let me in. There, on the walls, were huge color blowups of the Nixon presidency: Nixon riding in a motorcade, smiling and waving; Nixon with his arm around a young Chinese boy; Nixon with Brezhnev. A lone secret service agent, wearing a brown suit and reading a copy of *National Geographic*, sat visibly bored in a chair facing the door I had just come through. The telephones did not ring.

It looked like the office of a middle-level civil service functionary. The secretary and the secret service man spoke neither to each other nor to me. I figured Nixon would make me cool my heels for a while, let the anticipation build. But at nine o'clock straight up, the secretary said, "Would you like to come with me?"

We walked through a door, and there, sitting next to an illuminated globe at the end of a long room, was Richard Nixon, sixty-seven.

"Mr. President, you have a visitor," the secretary said.

WHEN HE rose and said, "So... did you just fly in?" the first thought to come to my mind was: Dan Aykroyd.

I couldn't shake it. It occurred to me that in these years since he left office, he has been invisible so much of the time that we have come to know him mainly as caricature. Often it was as if he really *were* just an idea, not even alive. And yet here he was, grayer than I had expected, wearing a blue suit and hunched over ever so slightly. On his desk was a small pile of letters, behind the desk were an American flag and a flag bearing the seal of the President of the United States.

We sat facing each other in armchairs near the globe. He was talking, but I was just staring at him. He was the one who seemed nervous; he was making small talk, trying to be friendly, filling the air with words so there wouldn't be the

chance of even the most momentary uncomfortable silence. He was asking questions about where I had stayed the night before and how much it had cost, and when I finally made myself pay attention to his words, he seemed to be saying something about some friends of his who had gone out for a milkshake in New York.

"...And they said they had gone to Rumpelmayer's," Nixon said. "And they asked me how much I thought a milkshake cost. I thought to myself: McDonald's. Eighty cents? Ninety cents?"

He looked at me as if he expected me to say something. When I didn't, he said:

"Do you know how much that milkshake cost?"

"No, sir," I said, "I don't."

"That milkshake cost three dollars and forty cents," Nixon said.

We began to chat. I had promised myself that I would ask him only the things I was truly curious about. That wasn't Watergate, and that wasn't politics; I figured

that if this would be the one time in my life I was alone with Nixon, I'd rather just try to get him to talk about himself.

So fairly quickly we came around to the subject of his stiff and bloodless public image. He said he was well aware of it; he realized that it hurt him in the eyes of some, but that he could never change. "I wear a coat and tie all the time," he said. "It isn't a case of trying to be formal, but I'm more comfortable that way. I've done it all my life. I don't mind people around here in the office, particularly younger people—they usually take their coats off. But I just never have. It's just the way I am. I work in a coat and tie; believe it or not, it's hard for people to realize, but when I'm writing a speech or working on a book or dictating or so forth, I'm always wearing a coat and tie. Even when I'm alone."

I was calling him "Mr. President." I wasn't sure why; before I had arrived I had thought about how I would address him, and I had decided on "Mr. Nixon." But now I wasn't doing it. It didn't seem to be because of his own formality, or even out of intimidation; rather, in a strange kind of way, I sensed I might bruise his feelings by demonstrating that I could skip the title he obviously loved so much. So "Mr. President" it was, but it felt so awkward on my tongue that I decided to ask him about it. When he had been in office, had he allowed even his closest aides to relax a little and call him anything less austere?

"Never. And none did."

When I said that his best personal friends must have had the luxury of calling him Dick or Richard, he shook his head. He told me that even Bebe Rebozo had followed this protocol.

"So when you were out on a fishing boat," I said, "and you were trying to relax, and Rebozo wanted to offer you a beer—he said, 'Would you like a beer, Mr. President?'"

"Yep," Nixon said. "That's right. That's the way."

I had told him in my first letter that I had been among his legions of young critics. He seemed to be intrigued by this, welcoming questions that sprang from that experience, and when I saw that he was warming to them, I asked how it had affected him when he heard the two famous phrases: "Tricky Dick" and "Would you buy a used car from this man?" I said that when people of my generation and political persuasion had tossed off those words, it had never occurred to us that there was really anyone on the receiving end. Nixon had always seemed so much bigger than we were, so far removed, that at the time it had not seemed possible that he could have his feelings hurt.

"If I had feelings, I probably wouldn't have even survived," he said. "I remember very clearly something. I was speaking down in Williamsburg, Virginia, and this was right after I had become Presi-

dent. And I think we had made the first announcement about our first withdrawal of twenty-five thousand. And this very pretty girl, she was I guess sixteen, seventeen, came up and spit full in my face and said, 'You murderer.'

"I borrowed a handkerchief from a secret service man and wiped it off, and then I went in and made my speech. It was tough."

In a way, telling that story seemed to bring him to life. It struck me that to anyone else, the key part of the tale would have been the girl's spitting. But Nixon's voice rose and the set of his jaw became firm precisely when he said, "It was tough"; that's what he wanted me to understand—that no matter how badly people treated him, he could not be touched.

Our conversation was running well past the hour I had hoped for. I had always heard that Nixon hated anything close to psychological questioning, and as we talked about personal matters, I was watching closely to see if he would recoil. But for some reason he didn't; rather, he seemed to be almost relishing the course the discussion was taking. Twice his secretary buzzed him to give him the opportunity to end the appointment; twice he told her that it was all right, he wanted to keep going. I found myself wondering: Is it possible that he's lonely up here? Is it possible that he really needs the company?

I couldn't think of any other explanation for what was happening. Maybe it was as simple as the fact that when you're the most famous national catchphrase of them all, people stop treating you as if you're flesh and bones. The more I made it clear that I liked hearing these stories, the looser Nixon got; he seemed delighted to have an audience that was treating him neither as a criminal nor as a face from a history book. It occurred to me that maybe, in light of the way it had all turned out for him, he didn't get the chance to do this very much.

He began to ramble a bit, telling brief stories, throwing off quick opinions—about thirteen-year-old girls he had seen smoking marijuana on the street near his home, about Lyndon Johnson's inviting him to the presidential bedroom and greeting him from beneath the covers, about his fears concerning young people's watching television instead of reading books. He was smiling more, and looking me in the eye, and asking me questions. I told him I was noticing this; I asked him why, he thought, this side of him seemed so foreign to people.

"I never wanted to be buddy-buddy," he said. "Not only with the press. Even with close friends. I don't believe in letting your hair down, confiding this and that and the other thing—saying, 'Gee, I couldn't sleep because I was worrying....'"

"I believe you should keep your troubles to yourself. That's just the way I am. Some

people think it's good therapy to sit with a close friend and, you know, just spill your guts. Not me. No way."

I said that on the surface such an attitude might promise a person self-protection, but that in the end it would probably result in his being so isolated and so remote that no one truly knew him.

"Yeah," Nixon said. "It's true. And it's not necessary for them to know."

WE HAD been talking for nearly two hours. Nixon appeared to be growing tired. His sentences were drifting off, he was looking out the window more often. With no warning, he put his hands on his knees and said, "Well, anyway, I have to knock this off."

We stood up. I was feeling curiously emotional. Nixon did not seem to have the old vigor that had inspired such passions in the land. At one point he had said to me, "Frankly, the sense of your mortality grows as you get older. I mean, after all, you read the obituary page, and you read of people sixty-nine, seventy, sixty-five... all of my generation. They cut off. They die. Heart attacks, cancer, what have you."

I suddenly felt a little like a kid who had grown up and moved away and was having a meeting with a father he'd never gotten along with, but who he now finally realized would not be around forever. I tried to say something; Nixon seemed to sense the direction in which I was heading, and moved to cut me off. If I was going to get sentimental, he wanted to avoid it, and so before I could even start he was steering us back to harmless small talk. He asked me if I had seen the World Series game the night before.

"George Brett's hemorrhoids," Nixon said. "They put that in the paper. Damn. They shouldn't do that. That's private. Who the hell wants to read about hemorrhoids?"

All the while he was moving me toward the door, I started to thank him for seeing me, but he wasn't listening.

"Carter had them," Nixon said. "Remember, he had them early on? It's probably the tension that creates them."

And then he was opening the door and shaking my hand, and I was walking out.

He called out to me, and I turned around. He was framed in the doorway.

"How old are you?" Nixon asked.

"Thirty-three," I said.

Nixon smiled. "Thirty-three," he said. "Let's see. I was thirty-three years old when I was first elected to the House. It's a good time to be alive."

He nodded almost imperceptibly. Then the door closed. I had a real desire to say something to someone, but the secretary was typing a letter, and the secret service agent was still reading his magazine, and there was nobody else around.

BOB GREENE is a contributing editor of *Esquire* magazine.

Esquire

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)  
March 10, 1992  
Draft Four  
MILHOUS

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

Mr. President. Secretary Kissinger, Ambassador Annenberg.  
Julie and David Eisenhower, Tricia Cox, distinguished guests,  
ladies and gentlemen. / It is indeed a pleasure to be among good  
friends, and to renew old ties. //

((Let me say how impressed I am by this audience. / I'm  
especially glad to see Henry Kissinger. / I didn't always  
understand Henry, but I've now spent enough time around Arnold  
Schwarzenegger that I understand him perfectly.)) //

A writer once said of Henry's boss, "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. //

Richard Nixon was born in the house his father built. Like  
Dwight Eisenhower, he had the "rare" and priceless privilege of  
growing up in a small town." // Later, as 37th President, he  
founded the Environmental Protection Agency / placed crime and  
drugs on the national agenda / created a pioneering cancer  
initiative / and ended the draft. More people voted for him as  
President than any other man in history. //

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. //

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, a balance between withdrawal from and engagement in the world. //

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 balance withdrawal and engagement, 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. 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. 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 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 today more the rule than

exception. 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?

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." // "Cut 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. America First. 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. //

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. Can we not afford to invest what is necessary to win the peace? / If we fail, if we repeat the experience of the Weimar Republic, we will create new problems for our security and that of Europe and Asia. We must support reform, not only in Russia, but throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. //

As a former President, Richard Nixon is a prolific author. As President, he wrote an early chapter of the New World Order. / Today, like my friend and predecessor, Ronald Reagan, we are building on RN's roots planted in Tel Aviv and Cairo and Moscow and Beijing. We are building our New World Order not by shutting out -- but by including others through the personal diplomacy that must mark America's role in the emerging world. / 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 peace. At the historic peace process in the Middle East -- one that holds out hope of reconciling Israel and her Arab neighbors and where the U.N. 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. //

In the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda there is a "World Leaders" Room of giants who provided such leadership -- Churchill, Ike, Chou En-Lai, Charles DeGaulle. / RN 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. / Crucial to the New World Order is preventing crises before they happen -- as President Nixon did, for instance, in

1970 in Jordan. Another part is stopping already bad crises from turning worse -- as RN did in 1973, airlifting arms to Israel in the Yom Kippur War. //

Former aide William Safire tells of how once President Nixon asked about a foreign policy speech. Safire 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."

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. //

Those who would have us do less ignore the potential for overseas developments to affect life 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. 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. //

This is not meant to suggest that we should not do more here at home. Of course we should. But foreign policy must not be made the scapegoat for what ails America. //

Isolationism is not the only temptation we need to avoid. Protectionism is another. It too will be difficult to resist. There are many examples of unfair trade practices where U.S. firms get shut out of foreign markets owing to trade barriers of one sort or another or owing to 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. It is not hard to see why. Prices go up. Quality and choice go down. Our goal should be to increase -- not restrict -- trade. Export growth is a proven engine for economic growth. [Every billion dollars in our 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. //

USTR  
Fact  
Sheet

We all have thoughts on how best to cope with the challenges of the emerging world. What matters most is that we understand the nature of the challenges and commit ourselves to engaging them. Opting out, be it under the banner of protection or isolation, is nothing more than a recipe for weakness and, ultimately, disaster. //

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 especially upon those in this room tonight. Many of you helped form the consensus that served us so well over the past half-century. Now we face a challenge no less daunting. // If I may cite your conference chairman Jim Schlesinger, "The Cold War, despite its menace, had an elegant simplicity." I quote this not out of any regret over the Cold War's passing, but to point out the risks we face in its wake. / 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. / 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 grandchildren would live in freedom. / He was wrong, but at the time you were not sure you were right. Today, we know you were -- just as you were right in helping build a safer, more peaceful world. /

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.

# # # #

Esquire 1984  
Bob Green

Hugh Sidney, Time  
Ike

Nixon

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)  
March 9, 1992  
Draft Three  
MILHOUS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NIXON LIBRARY  
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((Let me say how impressed I am by this audience. / I'm  
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Dwight Eisenhower, he had the <sup>great</sup> ~~rare~~ and priceless privilege of  
~~growing up~~ <sup>being raised</sup> in a small town." // Later, as 37th President, he  
founded the Environmental Protection Agency / revenue sharing / a  
pioneering cancer initiative / and ended the draft. More people  
voted for him as President than any man in history. //

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Nixon Library  
Fact Sheet  
p. 1

The Nixon  
Presidency  
Michael  
Grawese  
p. 30

GB Speech  
7/19/90.

Hugh Sidney  
TIME, 10/29/90. p. 45  
Nixon  
p. 297  
Stephen G. Ambrose  
p. 190

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. /

As Vice President, his Six Crises ranged from Caracas to the Kremlin. / His Memoirs told of great Leaders. / His goal was Real Peace -- Victory Without War -- the triumph of freedom over tyranny, plenty over want. / He achieved it by peace through strength -- a just cause which last year led America to the Persian Gulf. We went there to halt aggression. We stayed there until we did. / Ask any of the brave men and women about the legacy of the Gulf. They will tell you: No More Vietnams. //

For nearly half-a-century, Richard Nixon has been a man In the Arena -- believing of America what Montaigne said of France: "I love her so tenderly that even her blemishes are dear to me."

Curt

/ His crusade hasn't changed since as a boy he heard train whistles in the night: To Seize the Moment for the liberty which is America's essence, and message. / So let me speak tonight about the foreign policy lessons of his Presidency -- and how we can use his Generation of Peace to help build a New World Order.

Curt

The first lesson is that a President must heed the lessons of history. There is no substitute for a lifetime spent studying international affairs. / Richard Nixon knew this -- understood the nuances of world politics as perhaps no other President. Once he said, and I agree: "[Even a small mistake in foreign policy can be the difference between life and death, peace and war."] //

In the Arena  
RN  
p. 331

In the Arena could bring destruction to the United States and even to the world."

Before the Fall  
Safire

In the Arena  
Israel

3

Look at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda. You see a "World Leaders" Room of giants -- Churchill, Ike, Chou En-Lai, Charles de Gaulle. / 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. / Crucial to the New World Order is preventing crises before they happen -- as President Nixon did, for instance, in 1970 in Jordan. Another part is stopping already bad crises from turning worse -- as RN did in 1973, airlifting arms to Israel in the Yom Kippur War. //

Former aide William Safire tells of how once President Nixon asked about a foreign policy speech. Safire 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. "It's not to set the world on fire." //

This brings me to a second lesson: Presidents must look beyond tomorrow to the next decade or next millennium. //

Even as America acknowledges the limitations of its power - - our adversaries must respect the power of its will. No Nation will believe another which ignores its commitments. // I will never forget May, 1972. Three weeks before the Soviet Summit, President Nixon bombed Hanoi and mined Haiphong Harbor to stem a North Vietnamese invasion of the South. / His advisors told him he was risking both the Summit and his re-election. He replied he would rather lose both than let down a friend. / ?

Nixon Library  
Fact Sheet  
p. 5

The Nixon Presidency  
Michael Genovese  
pp. 153-55

Before the Fall  
Safire  
p. 397

In the Arena  
RN  
p. 334

In the Arena

Yet President Nixon also knew that while Moscow and Washington might not be friends -- we could not afford to be enemies. So he signed the first agreement to limit strategic nuclear arms. / He knew that nuclear war might especially erupt in the Middle East. So he and Dr. Kissinger pioneered a cease fire so that ancient foes could talk -- not die -- over differences. / He knew, too, that the world's most powerful nation could not ignore the world's most populous nation. So twenty years ago, he opened America to China / opened China to the world / and began the dialogue which events cannot -- and will not -- sunder. // He did all of this while preserving a consensus at home in favor of continued engagement in world affairs. //

As a former President, Richard Nixon is a prolific author. As President, he wrote the opening chapter of the New World Order. / Today, we are building on the roots planted in Tel Aviv and Cairo and Moscow and Beijing. We are building our New World Order not by shutting out -- but by including others through the personal diplomacy that must mark America's role in the emerging world. / 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 peace. At the historic peace process in the Middle East -- one that holds out hope of reconciling Israel and her Arab neighbors. / The success of each depends on U.S. support and leadership. // Look 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. //

Some, of course, ignore these truths -- demanding that we  
 withdraw behind a wall -- militarily, and economically. Across  
 the political spectrum they call -- in some cases, shout -- 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 -- the so-called solutions:

Protectionism. Isolationism. America First. Here is my answer:  
 The real way to put America first is to put isolationism last. //

Remember: Imperial Communism is now a four-letter word: D-  
E-A-D -- because America was, and will remain, engaged. // We  
 have the obligation -- the responsibility to our children -- to  
 reject the siren songs of isolationism and protectionism.

Allowing the world to become a worse place will not make America  
 a better place. // In his 1968 acceptance speech, RN called for  
 an open world, open sky, open hearts, open minds. / He knew that  
 the New World Order does not mean an America which cuts and runs.

All this, in turn, means what he said as President:

"America is not going to build protectionist walls to shelter us  
 from fair competition. We are not going to live in our own  
 cocoon while the rest of the world passes us by." / The way to  
 bring down barriers abroad is not to raise them at home. / In  
 trade wars there are no winners, only losers -- prices go up,

1968  
 Republican  
 Convention  
 Book  
 p. 445

Medal of Freedom  
Speech - Thatcher

6

quality and choice go down. / We did not win the Cold War to make the world safe for trade war. And we don't want a trade war -- for America can outwork / outcompete / and outproduce anyone, anytime. So we welcome peaceful competition -- and we will win it, as we have before, through American ideals which have helped change the world. Ideals which today form the basis of the New World Order: Liberty, prosperity, and freedom without war. //

To achieve this will require perhaps the greatest foreign-policy lesson of the Nixon Administration: A President must have the courage to do right, and achieve good. / During the Gulf War, a true heroine, Margaret Thatcher, said to me, "Now George, this is no time to go wobbly." -- and because we didn't, Desert Storm became a triumph for all time. / So it is of tonight's guest. Agree with him -- disagree with him: I have never known a more courageous President than Richard Milhous Nixon. //

Twenty years ago, I was reading a Nixon campaign brochure. "For the first time," it said, "we are spending more of our resources on human needs than military needs." / Today, that is more true than ever. We will cut defense spending, but not our national defense. We will turn resources to meeting human needs -- but retain an effective nuclear deterrent, forward-deployment, capacity for rapid response, and rebuild our forces. / The Cold War is over -- and America won. / Freedom will win the peace only if America's President commands the respect of the world. /

The historian, Theodore White, once wrote how the 37th President's "virtuoso personal diplomacy" rearranged "the world

Breach of Faith

Making of President MZ?

Medal of Freedom  
Speech - GB  
3/7/91.

In the Arena

7

with exquisite skill." No wonder he had a profound effect on those who served him. ((Still, I can't help wondering whatever happened to a former Nixon speechwriter who seemed to have higher ambitions.)) / America's President acted for freedom's sake -- and for what Bulgaria's former <sup>Communist dictator</sup> president, Todor Zhivkov, told him years later. He asked RN how many grandchildren he had. [Told three] Zhivkov said, "You are a very rich man. Having grandchildren is the greatest wealth a man can have." //

Mr. President, there have been literally millions of words written about you. / As President Reagan said, some even have been true. / But let me close with words that you used 33 years ago, in the ~~Kitchen~~ <sup>Palace</sup> 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 <sup>under</sup> in Communism" -- you responded that his grandchildren would live in freedom. / He was wrong, but at the time you were not sure you were right. Today, we know you were -- just as you were right in helping build a safer, more peaceful world. /

As President, you showed how we must act for our grandchildren and grandchildren all around the world. // Some people talk of the Old or New Nixon. Go to Prague or Paris or Budapest or Bombay. The real Nixon has always been good enough for them. / Thank you for inviting me to address this conference. God bless you, and the United States of America.

# # # #

In the  
Arena  
RN.  
p. 366

Seize the  
Moment  
RN  
p. 111

## TALKING POINTS FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE IN-HOME VISITS

- o An integral part of the President's Growth Agenda for America is his aggressive trade policy to open markets and expand trade for U.S. firms.
- o This policy is creating new opportunities abroad for our entrepreneurs, new jobs at home for our workers, lower prices and greater choices for consumers, a better standard of living for all Americans.

### Export Growth and the Economy

- o Since the President took office, U.S. merchandise exports (the broadest measure) increased by 30 percent. This export expansion accounted for over 70 percent of U.S. GDP growth over the period.
- o Last year merchandise exports contributed more than half of the growth of our GDP. In the first nine months of 1991, merchandise exports are running 6.2 percent ahead of the same period of 1990.
- o The U.S. economy depends on trade all of the time, but even more so when our domestic market is sluggish. The downturn we are experiencing today would be twice as deep without our strong export growth.

### Trade Means Jobs

- o Every \$1 billion in exports generates about 20,000 jobs. Since 1986, 3.5 million new jobs related to merchandise exports have been created. The growth of U.S. merchandise exports means that today 8 million American jobs are related to exports.
- o Millions of other Americans owe their jobs to exports of U.S. services, the value of which now exceeds one-third of our merchandise exports.

### New Hampshire and Exports

- o Just as in the country as a whole, exports are a key to New Hampshire's recovery. New Hampshire's manufactured exports in 1990 pumped \$3 billion into the state economy. That's up nearly 80 percent since 1986. And, those exports created 45,000 jobs in 1990, 19,000 more than 1986. (This doesn't even count services exports, for which no state-wide figures are available.)
- o Export success stories:

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

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October 29, 1990, U.S. Edition

SECTION: NATION; Pg. 45

LENGTH: 1296 words

HEADLINE: HUGH SIDEY'S AMERICA;

Why We Still Like Ike;

A century after his birth, Americans revere Dwight Eisenhower's small-town humanity and commonsense leadership

BYLINE: Hugh Sidey

BODY:

It was a warm day in 1941 or 1942, and Wes Jackson, who was 5 or 6, climbed into the family's Lafayette sedan with assorted cousins. They drove from their farm near Topeka over to Abilene, Kans., for a family reunion at his great-aunt Ida Eisenhower's white frame house on Fourth Street, south of the tracks. Her son Dwight was either in Washington or Europe, even then on the edge of his great fame.

Wes dutifully greeted the elders present, wandered over the few acres and through the barn out back, then lounged under an old hackberry tree. At noon dinner he loaded up his plate with fried chicken and mashed potatoes and took a seat with a cousin on the back porch. Wes cleaned his plate. His cousin did not. Aunt Ida came inspecting. She spied the wasted food, stopped and delivered a stern dose of family doctrine: "Waste not, want not." Right then another remarkable career may have been started through the mixture of Eisenhower family values and the ethic of that prairie society. Jackson, now one of the nation's most renowned and innovative agriculture researchers, founded the Land Institute in Salina, Kans., in search of perennial prairie grain crops that will halt the wasting of the planet.

He is as much a philosopher as a geneticist, and he has thought a great deal about his first cousin once removed, Dwight David Eisenhower. Jackson believes the bedrock of Ike's achievements and his growing stature in history came from the white frame house in Abilene and the harmony the town required and imposed for a rewarding life. Many strata of worldly experience were laid down over Ike's character during his 50 years of public service. But the final high silhouette of his life followed the outlines shaped in the streets of Abilene.

The tributes for Ike's 100th birthday last week focused on his career as "the most successful general of the greatest war ever fought," to use biographer Stephen Ambrose's words. Ambrose goes further, suggesting that Ike is destined to be ranked "with Wilson and the Roosevelts as one of the four truly great Presidents of the 20th century." He is the most famous American soldier of all time. He commanded 4.5 million men in combat, more than any other man in history.

Victory explains his military stature. Peace and prosperity define his presidential ranking. Yet those achievements fall short of the sum of Dwight Eisenhower. That other part of him is found in the nature of the man.

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1990 Time Inc., Time, October 29, 1990

Had Ike been around for last week's celebrations, he most probably would have gone back to Kansas and talked about growing up in Abilene. He had been granted, he once said, "the great and priceless privilege of being raised in a small town." After the war he returned to Abilene 19 times, insisted that he be buried there. He had really never let go.

On the night before the Normandy invasion, moving among the men of the 101st Airborne who were loading up for their drop, he met a man from Dodge City. "Go get 'em, Kansas," he said with a thumbs-up. When the great battles were done and Ike stood in London's Guildhall, talking about the successful struggle for freedom, he was back home again. "The valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas," he declared.

"Family values," explains Jackson. The Eisenhowers treasured what they had -- one another and a fresh land. "Our pleasures were simple -- they included survival" is the way Ike put it. Bible Scripture was read three times a day in the Eisenhower home. Those lessons were reinforced in the town where Eisenhower sought and won approval from almost everyone, including the town toughs whom he fought when necessary. Hemmed in by family and neighborhood, he had no other choice -- or experience. Happiness was discipline.

At age 10, when Ike was denied the right to go trick-or-treating on Halloween with his brothers, his temper overwhelmed him. He ran outside and pummeled a tree until his small fists were torn and bleeding. He went to bed and sobbed for an hour. His mother came in, salved and bandaged his hands, then explained the futility of uncontrolled anger: "He that conquereth his own soul is greater than he who taketh a city." Much later Ike claimed that was "one of the most valuable moments of my life." Five times in 1954 when he was President, there were emotional appeals from his advisers to strike militarily at the troublemakers in Asia. Each time he went off to think, and each time he heard the echo from that day in Abilene. He kept the peace.

He had neither the inclination nor the need to worry about his financial or social status in Abilene. Ike revered an older man, Bob Davis, who taught him how to play poker and how to net fish on the banks of the Smoky Hill River. Davis was illiterate. Ike's best friend was Everett ("Swede") Hazlett, son of an Abilene physician who lived in the affluent part of town. In his exuberance Ike rounded up companions for baseball, football and camping from anyplace. His most famous fistfight was with Wes Merrifield, and according to Ike himself, the fight went more than an hour, ended in a draw when both boys were exhausted. The two got along out of necessity after that.

In war, Ike's magic was to inspire foot soldiers and generals alike, blending English lords with plain Americans, reconciling and focusing the energies of haughty, contentious commanders such as Britain's Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery and the U.S Third Army's General George Patton. Holding the trust of the grandiloquent politicians such as Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt was just as challenging. It took all Ike had and four packs of Camels a day.

In the White House he soothed the sulking Democrats of Capitol Hill. They still smarted over the fact that he had interrupted their party's long grip on the presidency. He won Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson to his side as often as not. One evening after plying L.B.J. with Scotch, Ike pointed to his own chair in the Oval Office and said, "Senator, someday you should be in that chair." Johnson roared back to his office in the



1990 Time Inc., Time, October 29, 1990

Capitol wearing that tribute like a battle ribbon.

In this warm and happy memoir there is a shadow, not over Ike's time or his achievements but over the U.S. of today. Jackson talks about it from his corner of Kansas above the Smoky Hill River, the same one that nurtured Ike. Was the unspoiled land and Abilene and the Eisenhower family -- and so many others like them in that era -- a one-time event in our history, now swept away by excessive wealth, greed, waste, softness and self-pity? Jackson confesses he has no certain answer. But he is worried by what he sees throughout the nation. When he talks about it, he sounds like Ike might sound were he alive.

"The farms, the ranches and the small towns were our sources of decency," says Jackson. "They seeded the cities in Ike's time. Now they are vanishing. Our cultural seed stock came from church, school and the community baseball team. We must now confront the Jeffersonian idea about living in harmony with the land. Is it mere nostalgia, or is it a practical necessity?"

Not long ago, Jackson went to Harvard to lecture, and he asked his audience if the university was educating people "to go home, not necessarily where they came from, but to some place where they can dig in and support meaningful things, not just upward mobility." Jackson got no firm answer, nor did he expect one. He carries the question with him wherever he travels to make people think again about what they may have lost and what they really treasure. He seeks a new generation that can find and grasp the "great and priceless privilege" that Dwight Eisenhower, perhaps the most beloved and respected American of this century, found in Abilene.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, NO CAPTION descColor: Silhouetted statue of Dwight D.

Eisenhower. , Photographs for TIME by Steve Liss; Picture 2, WAS THE UNSPOILED LAND AND SMALL-TOWN LIFE THAT THE EISENHOWERS VALUED A ONE-TIME EVENT IN OUR HISTORY, NOW SWEEPED AWAY BY EXCESSIVE WEALTH, GREED, WASTE, SOFTNESS AND SELF-PITY? descColor: Farmer in silhouette at dusk., Photographs for TIME by Steve Liss; Picture 3, CENTENNIAL CELEBRATORS STAND AT ATTENTION DURING THE NATIONAL ANTHEM, A TRIBUTE TO THE MOST FAMOUS AMERICAN SOLDIER OF ALL TIME descColor: Crowd at Dwight Eisenhower centennial celebration., Photographs for TIME by Steve Liss; Picture 4, THE HERO AS A YOUNG MAN; THE GENERAL'S HAT descColor: Framed photograph of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Army cap., Photographs for TIME by Steve Liss

## America's Role in the Emerging World

I could not be more pleased than to be here this evening, to have this opportunity 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.

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 <sup>use this</sup> ~~provided a balance between~~ confrontation and cooperation, <sup>?</sup> (a balance between ~~withdrawal~~ <sup>?</sup> from and engagement in the world) <sup>?</sup> 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. <sup>use this</sup>

To be sure, today's challenge is fundamentally different. Yet it does bear some resemblance. Once again we must find a way

to balance withdrawal and engagement, 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. In this post-Cold War world, ours is the wonderful yet no less real or difficult challenge of coping with success.

*with all  
meeting  
already than  
copying  
w/ 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.

It is true that 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

*he to Nixon?*

Plan--these and other institutions are proof 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 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 today more rule than exception. 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?

That is a challenge we must face. We often hear that we no longer need to worry about the world, that with the Cold War won the United States can relax. I hear too that we cannot afford to worry about the world, that we have done our part, that now it is time to spend our precious resources on ourselves, to fix what got broken here at home while we focussed on the outside world.

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. America First.

But now we have the 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. Allowing the world to become a worse place will not make America a better place. To the contrary, the futures of the United States and the world we are entering are inextricably linked. ✓

Just why this is so could not be more clear. Yes, the world is a safer place. Yes, the Soviet Union that we knew and 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. Can we not afford to invest what is necessary to win the peace? If we fail, if we repeat the experience of the Weimar Republic, we will create new problems for our security and that of Europe and Asia. The cost of meeting such a challenge would be far greater than the cost of avoiding it. We must support reform, not only in Russia, but throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

There are as well other challenges, the responses to which will help determine the character of the emerging world. Fledgling democracies in the Americas require our help. A historic peace process in the Middle East, one that holds out the hope of reconciling Israel and her Arab neighbors, will not succeed without U.S. support and leadership. Developments in Cambodia may allow us to resolve--finally--the vestiges of decades of bitter conflict in southeast Asia. The United Nations at long last may be in a position to fulfill the vision of its

*requirement for engagement*

*other regions*

founders. But at the same time, there are real dangers: drugs, terrorism, disease, the environment, above all the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons together with ballistic missiles. The post-Cold War world promises to be one of increased diffusion of military power, one with more, not less, chance for conflict. With so much that is good and right within our grasp, yet with so much still that could threaten us, to cast off the mantle of leadership would be to betray both our predecessors and our children, our past and our future.

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 cheap 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.

Those who would have us do less abroad ignore the potential for overseas developments to affect life 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. 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.

This is not meant to suggest that we should not do more here at home. Of course we should. We must--to improve our schools, to fight crime and drugs, to make sure quality health care is available to every American. But the problem is not simply one of resources. We already spend more on health care than any other country in the world. And we have learned that the federal government and money alone cannot make our cities safe or keep families intact. Some things we must do for ourselves--as states, as communities, as families, as individuals. Foreign policy must not be made the scapegoat for what ails America.

Isolationism is not the only temptation we need to avoid. Protectionism is another. It too will be difficult to resist. There are many examples of unfair trade practices where U.S. firms get shut out of foreign markets owing to trade barriers of one sort or another or owing to 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. It is not hard to see why. Prices go up. Quality and choice go down. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans do not form a moat. This is no time to pull up the economic drawbridge and cut ourselves off from the benefits of trade. Our goal should be the opposite, to increase trade. Export growth is a proven engine for economic growth. Every billion dollars in our exports creates 20,000 jobs

*Drive down barriers that  
 exist - not  
 create new ones.*

for Americans. And we should have no doubts about the ability of our workers and farmers to thrive in a competitive world.

We all have thoughts on how best to cope with the challenges of the emerging world. What matters most is that we understand the nature of the challenges and commit ourselves to engaging them. Opting out, be it under the banner of protection or isolation, is nothing more than a recipe for impoverishment, weakness and, ultimately, disaster. We will need to act with the same energy, the same generosity, the same leadership that have made possible the current prospects for peace and prosperity. We will have little success at persuading others to do more if we ourselves are determined to do less.

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 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 especially upon those in this room tonight. Many of you helped form the consensus that served us so well over the past half century. Now we face a challenge no less daunting. If I may cite your conference chairman Jim Schlesinger, "The Cold War, despite its menace, had an elegant simplicity." I quote this not

*Shades of  
Eagleburger*

out of any regret over the Cold War's passing, but to point out the risks we face in its wake. 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.

At this point I can do no better than to echo the words of Richard Nixon, the man responsible for our being together this evening. "We are privileged to live at a moment of history like none most people have ever experienced or will ever experience again. We must seize the moment not just for ourselves but for others. Only if this becomes a better world for others will it be a better world for us, and only when we participate in a cause greater than ourselves can we be fully true to ourselves."

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 an orderly one, 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.

TO: DOUG CHIA-MAN

*Love ya!  
Sayrah!*

FROM: KEVIN CARTWRIGHT (202) 456-6218

DOUG-

HERE IS THE INFORMATION ON THE RICHARD NIXON LIBRARY & BIRTHPLACE. WHEN PRESIDENT BUSH SPOKE AT THE DEDICATION, OVER 50,000 PEOPLE ATTENDED THE CEREMONY. WE WILL SEND YOU THE DEDICATION ALBUM AND THE NIXON LIBRARY NEWSLETTER WHICH HIGHLIGHTS THE PAST YEARS ACTIVITIES AS WELL AS PRESIDENT NIXON'S 1991 VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION--INCLUDING RUSSIA, LITHUANIA, THE UKRAINE AND GEORGIA.

PER OUR DISCUSSION, JOHN TAYLOR, DIMITRI SIMES AND JAMES SCHLESINGER WILL BE DISCUSSING TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT BUSH'S MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS.

ALSO THOUGHT YOU MIGHT WANT TO KNOW THAT VLADIMIR P. LUKIN, AMBASSADOR OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO THE UNITED STATES, WILL HAVE PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS TO PRESIDENT BUSH EARLIER THAT DAY. LUKIN'S FIRST OFFICIAL APPEARANCE/ADDRESS WILL BE PARTICIPATING IN OUR THIRD PANEL DISCUSSION: THE UNITED STATES AND THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH YOU. BESIDES THE INFORMATION I GAVE YOU ON AMBASSADOR WALTER ANNENBERG, THERE ARE MANY UNIQUE ELEMENTS THAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT BUSH. GEORGE ARGYROS IS OUR NEW ENDOWMENT CHAIRMAN. HE WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TASK OF RAISING FUNDS SO THAT THE NATION'S ONLY PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY TO NOT RECEIVE ANY FEDERAL TAX DOLLARS CAN CONTINUE WITH THE WIDE VARIETY OF ACTIVITIES, SUCH AS THE POLICY CONFERENCE HERE IN WASHINGTON, THAT MAKES THE NIXON LIBRARY A VITAL PRESIDENTIAL CENTER. MANY OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AUDIENCE

SENT BY:

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PRESIDENT BUSH WILL HAVE KNOWN AND OR HAVE WORKED WITH FOR  
YEARS. HERE IS AN INITIAL RSVP LIST.  
THANK YOU.

CC: JOHN TAYLOR

THE RICHARD NIXON



LIBRARY &amp; BIRTHPLACE

INFORMATION

Contact:  
Brett Holmes  
(213) 653-3900

**The Richard Nixon  
Library & Birthplace  
Set For July Opening**

**Yorba Linda, California** — For almost half a century Richard Nixon has been a leading player on the world stage. The unique fascination with this remarkable man—the 37th President of the United States—will soon have a focal point with the dedication and formal opening of the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace.

Visitors from all over the world will be offered a "window" on the career of one of our most accomplished architects of successful domestic affairs and foreign relations, a senior statesman whose involvement in global matters has associated him with some of the most important issues, events, controversies and personalities of our time.

Library guests will have an opportunity to explore historical events and experience a domestic and international journey through exciting, and often tumultuous periods—presented via film, interactive video displays, exhibits, never-before-displayed photographs, memorabilia and re-creations reflective of the former President's public and private life.

The Library & Birthplace will be dedicated Thursday, July 19 and opened to the public Friday, July 20.

Situated on nine hillside acres, the 52,000 square foot, Spanish-style library structure shares the site with the modest wood house in which Richard Milhous Nixon was born on January 9, 1913. The house was built by Frank Nixon in 1912, and stands today in the same location where Nixon was born and raised before moving with his family to nearby Whittier in 1922.

—more—

**The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace  
Page 2**

Constructed and to be operated entirely with private funds, the Library will offer visitors an opportunity to see priceless gifts of state, stroll among life-size world leaders, view the famous Nixon-Kennedy Presidential debates, and even have a video "conversation" with Richard Nixon.

The visitor's experience will also include a chance to step inside the world of a 1950's political campaign complete with a crowd of well-wishers and an authentic 1949 "Woody" station wagon; to examine an actual moon rock and the telephone used by the President in extending good wishes to the Apollo 11 astronauts; and to witness state dinners, holiday celebrations and other White House festivities through the eyes of Pat Nixon.

Upon concluding a tour of the Library, guests will have an opportunity to visit the birthplace. Many original furnishings are to be found here, including the actual Nixon family piano. An audio program, featuring the voice of Richard Nixon, will offer visitors a firsthand sense of the life of the young Nixon.

The grounds surrounding the Library will enable visitors to savor a variety of inviting views, among them a tranquil reflecting pool, beautiful landscaping including the First Lady's Garden, the birthplace home, and a partial re-creation of the citrus grove which originally surrounded the Nixon home.

Opening in 1991, the Library's archives level will be the most complete record available for students and scholars of Richard Nixon's life and career.

The collection will include a rich audio-visual archive, papers from his Vice Presidential, senatorial, congressional, and out-of-office years, his private diaries, his book manuscripts, a complete collection of key Presidential documents, and papers donated by other members of the Nixon Administration.

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The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace  
Page 3

**LIBRARY HIGHLIGHTS:**

***The Early Years***

*The Early Years* will explore Nixon's life before public office—from Yorba Linda to his marriage and Navy days—with childhood and ancestral photographs, family heirlooms, childhood letters, essays, as well as Pat and Richard Nixon's first letters.

***Theater***

A motion picture will be presented inside a comfortable 293-seat theater, and look at the 37th President's wit, humanity and strength, capturing the man behind the events as well as the events themselves. Focusing on the theme of "comeback", the film will include segments of the 1952 "Fund Crisis" speech and 1960 campaign as well as footage of the former President engaged in his current pursuits.

***Campaign for Congress***

*Campaign For Congress* will cover Nixon's transition from the Navy to civilian life, telling the story of how he won his first elected office.

***The House of Representatives***

Visitors will be able to experience Richard Nixon's metamorphosis from "the greenest congressman in town" to one of the best known statesmen in the nation.

***Hiss-Chambers***

Photographic representations of the three key figures—Nixon, convicted perjurer Alger Hiss and the man who accused him of Communist espionage, Whittaker Chambers—and an assortment of artifacts such as a hollowed-out pumpkin, microfilm, antique microphone and Woodstock typewriter will be the focal point of the *Hiss-Chambers* exhibit.

**The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace  
Page 4**

Also included in the Hiss-Chambers section will be an audio presentation, thematic in character of dramatic testimony of the session hearings.

***The Senate***

Visitors will be able to venture onto the 1950 "fighting, rocking, socking" campaign trail, complete with a vintage "Woody" station wagon like the one Nixon used in his campaign.

Nixon's Senate floor defense of General MacArthur will be presented along with the young senator's trip to Europe and meeting with General Eisenhower—a meeting that later proves significant when presidential candidate Eisenhower seeks out a running mate for Vice President.

***The Vice Presidency***

The dramatic presidential election of 1952, including the joyous nomination scene at the Republican National Convention, will introduce *The Vice Presidency*.

The Vice President's day-to-day work will be presented including Nixon's role with the Senate, National Security Council and the Cabinet. Nixon's original notes taken during a meeting with the Reverend Martin Luther King in 1957 will be on hand, along with two large artifacts—the official chair he used while presiding over the Senate and the globe that was housed in his office.

**1960**

Visitors will have an opportunity to view the first televised Presidential debates—the debates that forever changed the shape of American media and politics. Extensive footage from each of the four debates will enable visitors to see the candidates address the issues—and each other.

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The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace  
Page 5

Included in the 1960 exhibit will be treasured black-and-white LIFE Magazine campaign photographs, as well as an extensive array of campaign memorabilia, capturing the candidates and America—airports, small towns, whistle stops and big-city rallies.

### **Wilderness**

The *Wilderness* section will bridge the gap between the 1960 and 1968 campaigns. Nixon's return to California, campaign for Governor of California, writing of Six Crises, family life, travel and law career will be presented.

### **1968**

The frenetic national scene of the 1968 Presidential campaign will be captured with emphasis on the social and political currents that shaped the outcome—the women's movement, the anti-war movement, the American combat soldier, black activism and the attitudes of middle America.

### **World Leaders**

Unique display cases will rise thirty feet to the ceiling showcasing stunning gifts from all over the world.

The center of the room will focus on statues of ten of the century's greatest leaders appearing to be engaged in casual conversation. The bronze-tone, life-size figures of Charles de Gaulle of France, Konrad Adenauer of West Germany, Winston Churchill of Great Britain, Yoshida Shigeru of Japan, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Golda Meir of Israel, Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung of China, Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union will pose in characteristic wardrobe and stances.

Information about these world leaders will be available through a touch sensitive video monitor—presenting a biographical sketch of the leader, the story of his or her relationship with President Nixon, and quotations from both.

—more—

The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace  
Page 6

**Foreign Affairs**

Visitors will have an opportunity to witness President Nixon's dealings with the People's Republic of China—the secret "backchannel communication" that paved the way for his famous 1972 trip to China—and also his recent trip as a private citizen.

A "typical" American tract home will offer visitors a dramatic look at the realities of the Vietnam War, the development of President Nixon's peace strategy, and the events that led up to "bringing the boys home." A special section will be devoted to P.O.W.s and the famous White House "welcome home" dinner.

Nixon's Soviet relationship, from his trip to Moscow and "Kitchen Debate" with Nikita Khrushchev in 1959 to the triumph of detente to the present day, will be presented in detail inside an elaborate structure featuring "onion domes" like those that decorate St. Basil's in Moscow.

**Mrs. Nixon**

This window rail display overlooking the First Lady's Garden will take visitors through the life of Patricia Ryan, one of America's best-liked and most well-traveled First Ladies. Displays will include Mrs. Nixon's 1973 inaugural gown, the red suit worn by Mrs. Nixon in China in 1972, the red and blue velvet dresses worn by Tricia and Julie Nixon at the 1953 inauguration, and both Julie Nixon Eisenhower's and Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding dresses.

"Life in the White House" will include coverage of state dinners, holiday celebrations, the Rose Garden wedding of Tricia and Edward Cox, everyday life in the White House and special projects initiated by Mrs. Nixon.

**Evolution of a Speech**

*Evolution of a Speech* will trace the development of the famous "Silent Majority" speech—from Nixon's handwritten notes through the first typewritten drafts and on to final presentation copy.

**The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace**  
**Page 7**

***Lincoln Sitting Room***

A historically accurate re-creation of one of Richard Nixon's favorite rooms in the White House will include the brown armchair and ottoman used by the President during his years in the White House, as well as several period antiques. A fire will blaze in the fireplace, while the President's favorite music plays on the stereo system.

***Domestic Affairs***

Ten cases in a setting reminiscent of the Capitol rotunda in Washington will offer presentations on domestic affairs such as Space, the Environment, Energy, Urban Affairs, Crime, the Economy, Health, Civil Rights, Drugs, Youth, the Supreme Court, the White House staff, Vice Presidents and the Cabinet.

***1972***

Visitors will have an opportunity to relive President Nixon's landslide re-election victory in this area reserved for the 1972 campaign.

***Watergate***

Visitors will have a chance to listen to excerpts of the White House tapes and view a montage of President Nixon's last day in the White House, including his emotional helicopter farewell.

***Presidential Forum***

Visitors will be both participants and spectators in this dramatic interaction with the President through the use of a "touchscreen" video system. Visitors will have an opportunity to select a specific subject of interest and have a "conversation" with the President.

***Legacy***

*Legacy* will present Nixon's life since the Presidency. Sports, family life and activities on the international front will offer visitors a personal sense of Richard Nixon, the leader and the man.

The Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace  
Page 8

**Birthplace**

The birthplace, a simple farm house complete with original furnishings such as the original family piano, will offer visitors an indication of the former President's humble origins. Guests will be offered a firsthand sense of the life of young Nixon through a audio program narrated by the former President.

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## 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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Sullivan is involved in to get better health care out there for our people and be as of the much leadership and support for those initiatives as I possibly can. And some of you know that with me this is more than a passing interest. And I would just say to you, keep up the good work for La Raza. It inspires the American people. And I want to do my part.

Thank you all, and God bless you. Thank

## Exchange With Reporters Aboard Air Force One

July 18, 1990

*The President.* —say welcome. No questions, of course, because we've just finished this press conference, and you know—

*Q.* Press conference?

*The President.* Well, 2 days ago, that one that we had, the one with the magazine editors. Had the one with—

### Federal Budget Negotiations

*Q.* How did the budget meeting go?

*The President.* Well, we've agreed to meet again Monday, and we'll see how it goes. A lot of work still to be done.

*Q.* Did you make any progress?

*The President.* Well, I think every time we sit down we get rid of some of the differences. But in the meantime, Dick Darman is going to have more meetings with Dick Gephardt [House majority leader], who, incidentally, I will say is, I think, doing a first-class job—both Dick Darman and Nick Brady on our side, and certainly, Dick Gephardt trying to hold this big group together and lead it. And I think we all owe him a vote of thanks for the way he's proceeding as chairman of the process.

But, no, we've still got some problems out there. But they're going to be meeting while we're on this trip, and then we'll get back together early in the week.

*Q.* Do you have basic agreement yet just on the outlines, on the size of the package?

*The President.* Well, that's what Darman and Dick Gephardt are going to be talking about further. We've had some discussions, and the way it was outlined to me, there's some agreement, but I don't think you can

you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:17 p.m. in the Regency Ballroom at the Omni Shoreham Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Tony Salazar, Raul Yzaquirre, Rita DiMartino, and Patricia Asip, chairman, president and chief executive officer, and executive committee members of the national council of La Raza.*

call it total agreement at this time.

*Q.* Are you more optimistic now than previously?

*The President.* Well, it's hard to say; it's hard to quantify that. But it's not a question of optimism or pessimism; it's a question of having to get this done. The deficit problem is so serious that there must be a bipartisan, responsible answer. And I will keep saying that and keep encouraging the White House negotiators and the Republicans to go forward, but it's hard. It's a good question, and I don't know how to answer it.

*Q.* Did you do taxes today?

*The President.* We just had the kinds of discussions I talked to you about, about getting the problems in shape. And there's five major ingredients, and all of them are being discussed.

Thank you all. I hope you have a wonderful trip out here.

### Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library

*Q.* Are you glad to be honoring Richard Nixon?

*The President.* What?

*Q.* Are you glad to be out here for Richard Nixon?

*The President.* I'm very pleased to be going to this dedication of this library, and I'm very pleased that President Nixon's daughter is with us. And I only regret that a previous commitment on the part of Mrs. Nixon and President Nixon prevented them from being with us today. Yes, I'm glad to

be going out.

*Note: The exchange occurred in the afternoon while the President was en route from*

*Washington, DC, to Anaheim, CA. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Nomination of Steven B. Kelmar To Be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services

July 19, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate Steven B. Kelmar to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services for Legislative Affairs. He would succeed Gerald L. Olson.

Currently Mr. Kelmar serves as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs at the Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as an administrative assistant for Representative Sherwood Boehlert,

1982–1989; deputy assistant for Representative George C. Wortley, 1981–1982; special assistant to Senator S.I. Hayakawa, 1979–1981; a lead advance representative in the Office of the Vice President, 1983–1989; and campaign manager for Boehlert for Congress, 1982–1986.

Mr. Kelmar graduated from Pennsylvania State University (B.A., 1979). He was born May 6, 1953, in Philadelphia, PA. Mr. Kelmar resides in Alexandria, VA.

## Remarks at the Dedication of the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library in Yorba Linda, California

July 19, 1990

*The President.* Thank you all very, very much. What a wonderful reunion. And I am very proud to have been introduced to this gathering by Ronald Reagan. I know how I got here. [Laughter] President Reagan is my mentor and my esteemed friend, and I will always be grateful to him.

But to President and Mrs. Nixon, Barbara and I are delighted to be with you on this memorable day. My special greetings to all my predecessors—to President and Mrs. Reagan, to President and Mrs. Ford—to members of the Nixon family, who are right out here; to Secretary Simon, who has done such a superb job on all of this; to my current Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher; and of course, to our old friend, your own Governor, George Deukmejian; to all these Cabinet officials out here—former Secretary Haig and Secretary Schultz, and I'm told that Chief Justice Warren Burger was there—all the senior

members of the Nixon administration; of course, all of our friends—Reverend Billy Graham and Reverend Peale and Ambassador Moore, all the way from Ireland, and Ambassador Annenberg and Ambassador Zhu-qizhen of China—welcome, sir—to Hugh Hewitt and Vicky Carr, and ladies and gentlemen. Thank you, Mr. President, once again, for that introduction.

I'm not sure, President Reagan, whether it's you or me that attracted this noise over here; but I remember as Vice President, you had your share of this kind of attention. [Laughter] But let me just say to all of you: Our thanks for the privilege of helping to dedicate this beautiful library of the 37th President of the United States of America.

To Lincoln, the Presidency helped play, as he put it, "America's mystic chords of memory." Shall we wait just one minute? And to Teddy Roosevelt, the Presidency

meant the "bully pulpit"—calling on America's boundless energy. And it was Dwight Eisenhower, beloved Ike, who described its power "to proclaim anew our faith" and summon "lightness against the dark." To occupy this office is to feel a kinship with these and other Presidents, each of whom in his own way sought to do right and, thus, to achieve good. Each summoned the best from the idea we call America; and each wondered, I suspect, how he could be worthy of God and man.

This year an estimated 1½ million people will visit Presidential museums and libraries, exploring the lives of these Presidents, passed down, like oral history, from one generation to another. And they will see how each President is like a finely cut prism with many facets—their achievements and their philosophy, their family and their humanity.

For instance, not far from here, as we've heard, visitors will soon see the library of my distinguished predecessor, the 40th President of the United States, and Mrs. Reagan. President Reagan, we will not soon forget how you truly blessed America.

Look next to Michigan, where a museum and library honor the 38th President of the United States, Gerald Ford, and Mrs. Ford. An entire nation is grateful for your decency, your leadership, and your love of country.

And tomorrow morning the first visitors will enter our newest Presidential library; and they will note that only F.D.R. ran as many times as Richard Nixon—five—for national office, each winning four elections, and that more people voted for Richard Nixon as President than any other man in history. They will hear of Horatio Alger and Alger Hiss; of the book "Six Crises"; and the seventh crisis, Watergate. And they will think of Checkers, Millie's role model. [Laughter] And, yes, Mr. President, they will hear again your answer to my "vision thing"—"Let me make this perfectly clear." [Laughter]

And many of these visitors will know of your times as President, perhaps as tumultuous as any since Lincoln's, and of your goal as President: a world where peace would link the community of nations. And yet others, young visitors, will not remem-

ber the years 1969 to '74. They'd not even been born when Richard Nixon became President. So, to help them understand our 37th President, here is what I would tell those who journey to Yorba Linda.

I would say first: Look at perhaps the truest index of any man—his family. Think of his mother, a gentle Quaker, and his father, who built their small frame house that we see less than 100 yards from here, and his daughters, Patricia and Julie. Any parent would be proud of children with the loyalty and love of these two women. And think finally of a very gracious First Lady, who ranks among the most admired women of postwar America, the woman who we know and love as Pat.

As First Lady, we remember Pat Nixon championed the Right To Read program, helped bring the Parks To People program to the disadvantaged. She refurbished the White House and opened it to more people than ever before. And she was our most widely traveled First Lady, visiting five continents and 22 nations, overcoming the poverty and tragedy of her childhood to become a mirror of America's heart and love. And when, in 1958, foreign mobs stoned the Nixons' car, she was, an observer said, "stronger than any man." And yet it was also Pat who moved pianist Duke Ellington at a White House dinner to improvise the melody—"I shall pick a name," he said, "gentle, graceful, like Patricia." Mrs. Nixon, the Secret Service called you Starlight, and your husband has said it best: "You fit that name to a T." So, once again, I won't ask you to stand up again—you've already done it. But let us show our appreciation for the grace and the beauty that Pat Nixon brought to the White House. [Applause]

And then next I would say to visitors here: Look at Richard Nixon the man. He had an intellectual's complexity. Knowing how you feel about some intellectuals, Mr. President, I don't mean to offend you. [Laughter] But he was an author—eight books, each composed on those famous yellow pads—who, like his favorite author, Tolstoy, admired the dignity of manual labor. And he worked in the most pragmatic of arenas, and yet insisted that politics is

poetry, not prose. And he believed in love of country and in God, in loyalty to friends and protecting loved ones. And he was also a soft touch when it came to the kids—believe me, I can empathize with that.

Let me repeat a story which President Nixon himself enjoys—I hope he enjoys it. One day, greeting an airport crowd, he heard a young girl shouting, "How is Smokey the Bear?"—and at that time living in the Washington zoo. And the girl kept repeating the question. And not understanding her words, the President turned to an aide for translation. "Smokey the Bear," the aide mumbled, pointing to the girl, "Washington National Zoo." Triumphant, President Nixon walked over, extended his hand and said, "How do you do, Miss Bear." [Laughter] I'd be the last to criticize verbal confusion. After all, I confess, some say English is my only foreign language. [Laughter] President Nixon—the point is—he was merely being kind, just as he mailed those handwritten letters to defeated rivals, like his friend Hubert Humphrey, or saw that when the POW's returned home in early '73 to a White House dinner each wife received a corsage.

Just as Richard Nixon was extraordinarily controversial, he could also be uncommonly sensitive to the feelings of other people. This brings me to what I would next tell those who travel to Yorba Linda. What President Nixon said of Dwight Eisenhower in a '69 eulogy was true, also, of himself: "He came from the heart of America, not geographically, perhaps, but culturally." And Richard Nixon was the quintessence of middle America and touched deep chords of response in millions of our citizens. As President, upholding what he termed the "silent majority" from Dallas to Davenport and Syracuse to Siler City, he loved America's good, quiet, decent people. And he spoke for them. He felt deeply on their behalf. Theodore White would say: "Middle America has been without a great leader for generations, and in Richard Nixon it elevated a man of talent and ability." For millions of Americans, this President became something they had rarely known: a voice speaking loudly and eloquently for their values and their dreams.

And finally, and most importantly, I

would say to visitors: Richard Nixon helped change the course not only of America but of the entire world. He believed in returning power to the people—so he created revenue sharing—and that young people should be free to choose their future—so Richard Nixon ended the draft. And he helped the United States reach new horizons in space and technology. He began a pioneering cancer initiative that gave hope and life to millions. And he knew that the great outdoors is precious but fragile, and so he created the Environmental Protection Agency, a historic step to help preserve and widely use our natural resources.

And all of this Richard Nixon did, and yet future generations will remember him most, in my view, for dedicating his life to the greatest cause offered any President: the cause of peace among nations. Who can forget how he endured much in his quest for peace with honor in Vietnam. He knew that true peace means the triumph of freedom, not merely the absence of war. And as President, he served this country's special mission to help those around the world for whom America has always been a morning star of liberty, engaging in diplomatic summitry and helping change the postwar bipolar globe.

Who can forget how in Moscow Richard Nixon signed the first agreement to limit strategic nuclear arms, giving new hope to the world for lasting peace, or how he planted the first fragile seeds of peace in the Middle East. And Golda Meir [former Prime Minister of Israel], whose statue is inside, credited him with saving Israel during the Yom Kippur War. And even now memories resound of President Nixon's trip to China—the week that revolutionized the world. No American President had ever stood on the soil of the People's Republic of China, and as President Nixon stepped from Air Force One and extended his hand to Zhou En Lai, his vision ended more than two decades of isolation.

"Being President," he often said, "is nothing compared with what you can do as President." Mr. President, you worked with every fiber of your being to help achieve a generation of peace. And today, as the movement toward democracy sweeps our

globe, you can take great personal pride that history will say of you: Here was a true architect of peace.

Yes, there have been literally millions of words written about this President, but let me close with a passage from the President himself that comes from his first Inaugural Address, January 20, 1969, where the new President spoke of how the greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. And he began by noting that within the lifetime of most present mankind would celebrate a new year which occurs only once in a thousand years, the start of a new millennium, and that America had the chance to lead the world onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization. And finally, Richard Nixon concluded, "if we succeed, generations to come will say of us that we helped make the world safe for mankind. I believe the American people are ready to answer this call," he said.

Mr. President, you helped America answer its summons to greatness. Thank you for serving the cause of peace. God bless you and your wonderful family. And

now it is my honor, as President of the United States, to introduce the 37th President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon.

*Note: President Bush spoke at approximately 10:55 a.m. outside of the library. In his opening remarks, he referred to William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury during the Nixon administration and head of the foundation responsible for the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library; Alexander M. Haig, Jr., national security adviser to President Nixon and Secretary of State during the Reagan administration; and George P. Shultz, also Secretary of the Treasury during the Nixon administration. President Bush also referred to the shouting of hecklers present at the ceremony. Presidents Gerald R. Ford, Ronald Reagan, and Richard M. Nixon also spoke at the dedication ceremony. Following the library's dedication, President Bush had lunch with President Nixon. Earlier in the morning, President Bush attended a fundraising breakfast in Anaheim for the California Republican Party.*

## Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senatorial Candidate Larry Craig in Boise, Idaho July 19, 1990

What a great crowd. My heavens, this is wonderful! Thank you all. Please, be seated. Thank you all very much. Larry, thank you. I hope you enjoy your dinner tonight. Rest assured, the Idaho potato is one vegetable I approve of. [Laughter] But I'm not going to put myself at risk that the other vegetable might be served, so I have to leave before dinner. [Laughter] I hope you'll forgive me. But thank you all, really. You have a wonderful way of making me feel at home.

I want to salute Steve Symms, a great Senator, fierce advocate for Idaho and, indeed, for the fundamental principles of the United States. I want to salute the Lieutenant Governor, an old friend of mine, Butch Otter. I see my fellow aviator down there, Pete Cenusara. He presented me

with a model of the plane I flew a thousand years ago. The only good news is he got his wings 3 months before I did, so he's older and perhaps more experienced. I want to salute the attorney general, Jim Jones; State Treasurer Edwards; and also Roger Fairchild, our distinguished nominee for Governor of this State—and I want him to win. I want him to win the governorship. Our outstanding successor—and this has to be also—successor to Larry Craig, Skip Smyser—we want to see him hold this seat that's so important to us. And we have another superb candidate running in the other seat, Sean McDevitt. And it's important you give him your support—a distinguished veteran of the United States military. And a special salute to a 15-year-old

from Boise whom I just met, Olen Hsu, who won this year's Idaho State essay contest. There he is, way down, tethered down on the end down there.

And we just had a receiving line in there, and so I say this from the bottom of my heart: I wish that the pride of Wellesley was with me here tonight—Barbara Bush. She was with me at the library with the four Presidents there, but now she's campaigning next door in Washington State. But, you know, I say this not just with husbandly pride, but, I think, with some objectivity: I thought Barbara did a great job up at Wellesley talking about values and family. And so, that leads me to pay tribute to Suzanne Craig, who is such an important part of all of this—important part in lifting a great career to new heights, doing so much for family. Let us all give a round of applause to Suzanne, and to the kids as well—Mike, Shae, and Jay.

And it is a delight to be back among friends in Idaho. I know you feel I'm like the bad penny turning up every couple of years for the last 8 or 10, but you have this wonderful way of making somebody feel at home. It's especially delightful to be, with you during this centennial year. Of course, we know that the history of this great State reaches beyond a century. If we had to choose the one day that Idaho history began, it would undoubtedly have to be March 4, 1863, when the first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, created a new territory of the United States with a stroke of his pen. And as I look around this room, at Senator Symms and Congressman—Senator-to-be—Larry Craig and at our outstanding candidate for Governor, Roger Fairchild, I can't help but reflect how fitting that this great State of Idaho and our Republican Party were born together. Now a new century is beginning for Idaho. So, let us make it a century of promise and prosperity. Let us do that by sending Larry Craig to the United States Senate.

You know, Larry is a white-water rafter. And he's just the kind of guy who would enjoy a hair-raising adventure, with chills and spills, ups and downs, where you're knocked around and never sure if you're going to make it through in one piece; and that's just what it's like to run for the

United States Senate. But nevertheless, he's going to make it, and come November, I'm sure he will have forded the river with this marvelous skill that he has demonstrated in the Congress. I believe that this is his destiny: to join the ranks of great Idaho statesmen, to follow in the footsteps of Borah and Symms and my dear friend and former classmate in the Congress, Jim McClure.

Of course, I don't want to break any myths here, but Larry hasn't been a statesman all his life. In fact—we did a little homework for this meeting—Larry, I understand that when you were a boy, a farm boy in Midvale, you house-trained a pig. [Laughter] Imagine that, your Senator-to-be house-training a pig. [Laughter] That ought to help him in Congress. [Laughter] And at a community car wash, you washed the hood of a farmer's brand new car—unfortunately, using SOS pads. [Laughter]

Well, given his decade of achievement in Congress and service to the people of the First District, I reckon that even that farmer has forgotten about his car and cast his vote for Larry Craig—a strong, consistent, steady voice for Idaho and for the bedrock principles and beliefs that Idahoans hold dear: the freedom to own land, to reap the rewards of hard work, to provide for one's family; and then an undying faith in God and country. Larry embodies these values. That's why I have looked to him for advice as Congressman Craig. And I want to rely on Larry Craig's advice and consent in the years ahead, when he is Senator Craig.

As you know, I presided over the Senate as Vice President when that body was controlled by Democrats, and earlier, by Republicans. And I can tell you this: When it comes to an administration and a Congress working together, compromise is often necessary if you're going to make this great country go forward, but there is no substitute for having a United States Senate that shares our outlook, that will work with us to build a better America. And that means, in my view, with considerable experience in Washington, a Republican Senate. And I need Larry Craig to hold that McClure seat to give us a chance to have a Republican Senate.

*Curt*



*TO  
Kathy Super  
Where is it?  
How many  
times/day  
etc.  
J*

February 9, 1992

To: Sam Skinner and Kathy Super

The attached from Julie Eisenhower involves an invitation to be honored at MARCH 11th dinner. Nixon would introduce.

Please see if this would fit. Maybe a good place for a foreign policy speech (introduction by Nixon)

Ask Teeter what he thinks.

*4*

P>S> Kathy: We need to reply fairly soon. I sent attached "spin" to Julie

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Letter from JULIE NIXON EISENHOWER

Dated: February 4, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

As Nixon Library Conference Chairman, along with my sister, Tricia, I want to join with all of those planning "America's Role in the Emerging World" in hoping that you will allow us to salute you at a dinner in your honor on the evening of March 11. My father would like the privilege of introducing the man who has done so much to mold the structure of peace which exists in the world today.

The conference is designed to highlight your policies and that of other leaders who have changed history in the past few years.

Although the impact of these discussions would be diminished without your presence, we are all fully aware that you continue to be in the midst of important diplomatic efforts as well as the upcoming campaign.

We do hope, however, that you are able to work this event into your very busy schedule.

With warm regards always to you and to Mrs. Bush,

Sincerely, Julie Eisenhower

Julie Nixon Eisenhower

February 4, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

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With warm regards always to you and to Mrs. Bush,

Sincerely,  
Julie Eisenhower



CAMP DAVID

Feb 9, 1992

Dear Julie

I passed your letter along to Kathy Super our top scheduler and to Sam Skinner. We'll get back to you soon

Thanks for the note.

Of course I'd be honored to be introduced by your Dad.

Warm Regards

Cap But

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Julie Eisenhower  
Foxall Lane  
Berwyn, Pennsylvania 19312

CC: (in & out)  
Rose Zamaria  
Sam Skinner  
Kathy Super

*Bobbie*

APPOINTMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

SCHEDULE

HONORARY POSITION

WASHINGTON

RESPONSE DUE DATE:

February 24, 1992

REQUEST FOR SCHEDULING RECOMMENDATION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

- \_\_\_\_\_ SAM SKINNER
- \_\_\_\_\_ ANDREW CARD, JR
- \_\_\_\_\_ ROGER PORTER
- \_\_\_\_\_ SIG ROGICH
- \_\_\_\_\_ SUSAN PORTER ROSE
- EDE HOLIDAY
- \_\_\_\_\_ CONSTANCE HORNER
- \_\_\_\_\_ GREGG PETERSMEYER
- \_\_\_\_\_ DORRANCE SMITH

- \_\_\_\_\_ PHILLIP BRADY
- \_\_\_\_\_ DAVID DEMAREST
- \_\_\_\_\_ MARLIN FITZWATER
- \_\_\_\_\_ FREDERICK MCCLURE
- \_\_\_\_\_ CAM FINDLAY
- BRENT SCOWCROFT
- \_\_\_\_\_ C. BOYDEN GRAY
- Mark...*
- ...*

FROM:

KATHY L. SUPER  
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

Please provide your recommendation the following scheduling request:

EVENT: Address the Nixon Library Conference in Washington -  
America's Role in the Emerging World  
DATE: March 11, 1992

LOCATION: Washington, D.C. - Four Seasons Hotel  
NOTE: President Nixon will make an address also

Additional information concerning this event is attached.

YOUR RECOMMENDATION:

- Accept  Regret \_\_\_\_\_
- Surrogate \_\_\_\_\_  
Priority \_\_\_\_\_  
Routine \_\_\_\_\_
- Message \_\_\_\_\_  
Video \_\_\_\_\_  
Satellite \_\_\_\_\_  
Teleconference \_\_\_\_\_  
Written \_\_\_\_\_

If your commendation is to accept, please cite reasons below

PLEASE RETURN TO WINDY WHITE, ROOM 182 OEOB, BY THE RESPONSE DUE DATE ABOVE SO THAT YOUR COMMENTS MAY BE CONSIDERED AS WE PROCEED WITH IS REQUEST.  
THANK YOU

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0088

January 18, 1992 12 JAN 21 A8:07

MEMORANDUM FOR KATHERINE L. SUPER

FROM: WILLIAM F. SITTMANN

SUBJECT: Invitation for the President to Address the Nixon  
Library Conference on America's Role in the  
Emerging World, March 11, 1992

Attached at Tab A is a letter from James R. Schlesinger, Chairman of the Nixon Library Conference on America's Role in the Emerging World, inviting the President to deliver the keynote address on March 11, 1992, at the Four Seasons Hotel, Washington, D.C. The letter was sent to General Scowcroft, and he has replied that the invitation has been forwarded as requested.

Attachment

Tab A Incoming Invitation



## AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE EMERGING WORLD

*A Nixon Library Conference in Washington*

December 16, 1991

The Honorable George Herbert Walker Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to invite you to deliver a keynote address at **America's Role in the Emerging World -- A Nixon Library Conference in Washington**. The conference will take place March 11 and 12, 1992, at the Four Seasons Hotel here in Washington, D.C., and we would particularly like to have you speak at a black tie dinner on March 11.

The purpose of the conference is to draw public attention to the crucial importance of the outside world to the security and prosperity of the United States. We also would like to discuss American objectives and options in the new international environment. To achieve this objective, we are inviting a top-level group of bipartisan participants, including several distinguished statesmen from abroad.

Among those speakers who are already confirmed for the conference are Senators Richard Lugar and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Bill Simon, and, of course, President Nixon himself.

This is the first event in Washington under the auspices of the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace, and is personally sponsored by President Richard Nixon. We expect that the conference will become a major intellectual and political event, one which will help to demonstrate the importance of world affairs to the American public.

### CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

James R. Schlesinger  
*Chairman*

George P. Shultz

Dimitri K. Simes

William E. Simon

John H. Taylor

Theresa Hollingsworth  
*Conference Director*

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

Needless to say, your participation would greatly add to the conference, and both President Nixon and myself very much hope that you will be able to take time from your busy schedule to be with us on this occasion.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jim Schlesinger".

James R. Schlesinger

- APPOINTMENT
- HONORARY POSITION

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

- SCHEDULE

RESPONSE DUE DATE: February 24, 1992

REQUEST FOR SCHEDULING RECOMMENDATION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

- \_\_\_\_\_ SAM SKINNER
- \_\_\_\_\_ ANDREW CARD, JR
- \_\_\_\_\_ ROGER PORTER
- \_\_\_\_\_ SIG ROGICH
- \_\_\_\_\_ SUSAN PORTER ROSE
- EDE HOLIDAY
- \_\_\_\_\_ CONSTANCE HORNER
- \_\_\_\_\_ GREGG PETERSMEYER
- \_\_\_\_\_ DORRANCE SMITH

- \_\_\_\_\_ PHILLIP BRADY
- \_\_\_\_\_ DAVID DEMAREST
- \_\_\_\_\_ MARLIN FITZWATER
- \_\_\_\_\_ FREDERICK MCCLURE
- \_\_\_\_\_ CAM FINDLAY
- BRENT SCOWCROFT
- \_\_\_\_\_ C. BOYDEN GRAY
- Tim Rodes*
- George...*

FROM: KATHY L. SUPER  
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

Please provide your recommendation the following scheduling request:

EVENT: Address the Nixon Library Conference in Washington -  
America's Role in the Emerging World

DATE: March 11, 1992

LOCATION: Washington, D.C. - Four Seasons Hotel

NOTE: President Nixon will make an address also

Additional information concerning this event is attached.

YOUR RECOMMENDATION: February 24, 1992

- Accept \_\_\_\_\_ Regret XX Surrogate \_\_\_\_\_ Message \_\_\_\_\_
- Priority \_\_\_\_\_ Video \_\_\_\_\_
- Routine \_\_\_\_\_ Satellite \_\_\_\_\_
- Teleconference \_\_\_\_\_
- Written \_\_\_\_\_

If your commendation is to accept, please cite reasons below

*[Signature]*  
William F. Sittmann  
Executive Secretary

PLEASE RETURN TO WINDY WHITE, ROOM 182 OEOB, BY THE RESPONSE DUE DATE ABOVE SO THAT YOUR COMMENTS MAY BE CONSIDERED AS WE PROCEED WITH IS REQUEST. THANK YOU

ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:05 a.m., March 8, 1991]

### Message on the Observance of St. Patrick's Day, 1991

March 7, 1991

I am delighted to send warm greetings to everyone celebrating St. Patrick's Day.

Although the greatest wave of Irish emigration took place during the mid-19th century, the United States has enjoyed the contributions of Irish immigrants and their descendants since the beginning of the Colonial Era. Serving in our Nation's War for Independence and later helping to build its railroads, canals, and industries, Irish Americans have long demonstrated a capacity for hard work, as well as a strong penchant for full, spirited, and upright living. The American author and abolitionist, Lydia M. Child, once fondly observed: "Not in vain is Ireland pouring itself all over the Earth . . . The Irish, with their glowing hearts and reverent credulity, are needed in this cold age of intellect and skepticism."

Today, those tender sentiments still ring true. Thus, St. Patrick's Day is more than a time of stirring memories and good cheer; it is also a time when we honor those sons and daughters of Ireland who, inspired by a passion for liberty and opportunity, crossed the Atlantic to build new lives on these shores. Indeed, on this day, Americans of every background join with Irish Americans to celebrate their rich cultural heritage and our Nation's continued friendship with the people of the Emerald Isle.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to all for an enjoyable and memorable St. Patrick's Day. God bless you.

George Bush

Note: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

### Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Margaret Thatcher

March 7, 1991

**The President.** Ladies and gentlemen and so many distinguished guests, and members of this administration, and friends of what is indeed a special relationship. Particularly to Sir Denis Thatcher and Mark and Diane Thatcher, and above all, the greengrocer's daughter who shaped a nation to her will.

America's highest civilian award is the Medal of Freedom. And we are here to present it to one of the greatest leaders of our time. For over 11 of the most extraordinary years in British history, she helped freedom lift the peoples of Europe and the world. Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, we are delighted you are with us today.

She has been called the Iron Lady—irrepressible, at times incorrigible, always indomitable. [Laughter] She summoned the best in the human spirit—speaking for our values and our dreams. Once she said, "Turn if you like; the lady's not for turning." And she wasn't. Instead, the free world turned to her—for counsel, for courage, for leadership that proclaimed a belief in right and wrong—not a devotion to what is popular.

It has been said that great leaders reflect their time. Margaret Thatcher did. She also transformed her time as few leaders ever have. Consider the 1980's and early nineties—a golden age of liberty. Remember what she meant and how she mattered. Hers was not merely among Britain's finest hours. She helped mold perhaps democracy's finest era.

Think first of what she meant to the place that Shakespeare called "this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England." She didn't create spirit in the British people—it's been there for a millennium. But Margaret Thatcher believed in it and once again unleashed it.

She cherished human dignity and self-determination. So, when an antidemocratic military moved against the Falkland Islands, Britain met the challenge. And she sought to decrease what government must do and increase what the individual may do. So she

put private roofs over British heads—and restored economic pride to British hearts. Like her successor, John Major, she believed passionately in free enterprise. And so she used it to renew British initiative and national pride. Margaret Thatcher didn't merely make Britain a leader in the new world order—she defined the essence of the United Kingdom.

Think next of what she meant to us—what she meant to America. Mrs. Thatcher understood the ties that bind our nations—moral and economic, political and spiritual—so she defended America, helped inspire it. No country could have had a more valiant comrade in arms. No President—as another great leader, Ronald Reagan, could attest—could ask for a better friend.

We will never forget her courage in helping forge a great coalition against the aggression which brutalized the Gulf. Nor will I forget one special phone conversation that I had with the Prime Minister. In the early days of the Gulf crisis—I'm not sure you remember this one, Margaret. In the early days of the Gulf crisis I called her to say that though we fully intended to interdict Iraqi shipping, we were going to let a single vessel heading for Oman enter port down at Yemen—going around Oman down to Yemen—let it enter port without being stopped. And she listened to my explanation, agreed with the decision, but then added these words of caution—words that guided me through the Gulf crisis, words I'll never forget as long as I'm alive. "Remember, George," she said, "this is no time to go wobbly." [Laughter]

Those who work with me in the White House know we use that expression often and have used it during some troubling days. And never, ever will it be said that Margaret Thatcher went wobbly. [Laughter]

Finally, think of what Margaret Thatcher meant to the world. Her resolution and dedication set an example for all of us. She showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever when moral conviction uplifts their souls. And she knew tyranny is powerless against the primacy of the heart.

Margaret Thatcher helped bring the cold war to an end, helped the human will outlast bayonets and barbed wire. She sailed freedom's ship wherever it was imperiled.

Prophet and crusader, idealist and realist, this heroic woman made history move her way.

Prime Minister, there will always be an England, but there can never be another Margaret Thatcher. Thank you for all you've done.

And now I have the great privilege to ask Commander Ross to read the citation on the Medal of Freedom. We're delighted you're here.

**Commander Ross.** The President of the United States of America awards this Presidential Medal of Freedom to the Right Honorable Margaret Thatcher. Three times elected Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher led her country with fearlessness, determination, integrity, and a true vision for Britain. In over a decade of achievement, she extended prosperity at home and made signal contributions to transatlantic partnership, the unity of the West, and overcoming the postwar division of Europe. With a strong sense of her nation's history and of the principles which brought it to greatness, she restored confidence to the British people.

The United States honors a steadfast and true ally and a firm friend of political and economic freedom throughout the world.

Signed, George Bush, The White House, Washington, DC, 7 March 1991.

**Prime Minister Thatcher.** Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am so very honored to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom of the greatest country in the free world. And thank you, Mr. President, for the wonderful things you have said, including that wobbly bit. [Laughter]

It's a double honor to receive this medal from the hands of a President whose steadfast leadership has just won the victory of freedom that will rank with the greatest in history. And I am especially moved to receive it in the White House, which in addition to its powerful historical association has many sterling memories for me personally. It was here with you and your predecessor that I embarked on the adventure of restoring the economy and the defenses of the free world against the many threats that faced us a decade ago.

We've overcome many difficulties since those early days and faced many crises. The

onward march of freedom is not inevitable; it has its enemies, as we know. But when in our time freedom came to be tested, there were no faint hearts in the White House—only great hearts. Great hearts who had been wise enough to keep their sword and armor in case of danger. Great hearts who had harnessed the genius of scientists so that your armed forces had the very best equipment. Great hearts who knew that the sovereignty of freedom and justice had to be upheld not by pious sentiments or platitudes but by staunch and valiant deeds of men and women.

The decision to use force is not easy to take, either for politicians or for generals, for whose performance in the campaign I have boundless admiration.

I've been involved in taking three such decisions, some of which you referred to, Mr. President. First, it fell to me to send armed forces 8,000 miles to recover the Falkland Islands from an earlier aggressor. And then with President Reagan, to allow the use of air bases in Britain for the raid on Libya. We in Britain have experienced and still experience terrorism and knew someone had to stand up against it. And then, third, Mr. President, I was with you at Aspen when you made the historic decision that Saddam's seizure of Kuwait would not stand.

I wish only that the Iraqi dictator could have seen your somber determination on that occasion. Much grief to his countrymen, much pain to his neighbors and to us might then have been avoided.

Like you, Mr. President, I hate violence. And there's only one thing I hate even more—giving in to violence. We didn't give in to it. The battle of Desert Storm has not only liberated Kuwait and her people; it has sent an awesome warning to any other dictator who sets out to extinguish the rights of others for his own evil gain. The sanction of force must not be left to tyrants who have no moral scruples about its use.

I want to pay a grateful tribute on behalf of myself, the British people, and the British soldiers who fought in the field, to the statesmen and generals who conceived, planned, and executed a great victory with a minimum of allied casualties. We and the world are in their debt.

But freedom has won victories in peace as well. The way of life and prosperity of Western Europe was a constant reproach to the poverty of communism in Eastern Europe. Now that the shackles of communism have been removed from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, they are now free to rejoin Western Europe—something which would have seemed impossible 2 or 3 years ago.

The great principles of freedom, justice, and democracy, which are the inheritance of both our countries, find their most eloquent expression in the American Declaration of Independence. As one of your statesmen pointed out, it was not a document designed for one generation, but, and I quote, "For posterity unlimited, undefined, endless and perpetual." And so it has been. And so it may ever be.

Mr. President, once again, its truths have been upheld. Once again, the strong bond between our two countries in peace have been reaffirmed as it has been in war. The peoples of the alliance you, sir, formed will feel proud not only because the battles they fought were won but because they know that what you did was morally right. Their victory will bring hope to other oppressed peoples that they, too, one day may be free.

It is in that spirit, Mr. President, that I accept this award—not on behalf of myself only but on behalf of my country and remembering the people struggling toward freedom in the Baltic States, remembering those striving to make freedom work in Eastern Europe, and those trying to negotiate a free South Africa in peace. And on behalf of those throughout history who never having known freedom have, nonetheless, died for it. And for us here today.

Mr. President, this is a very proud day. May I thank you for this award. May I say that we salute America and we salute you, Mr. President, and all the things you stand for. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

**Remarks Prior to a Meeting With President Cornelio Sommaruga of the International Committee of the Red Cross**  
**March 8, 1991**

*The President.* I might take this opportunity just to salute the International Red Cross. And from the very beginning, it seemed to the Americans that you tried very hard to do what was compassionate and right, and you ran into some obstacles, but you stayed with it. And I think we owe you a vote of gratitude. And I want to assure you of our continuing interest and support, and of course, we're very proud of the new president of the American Red Cross because Elizabeth Dole being there, I think, is more than a symbol—it shows a part of the commitment that we all feel to the work of the Red Cross.

So, it gives me a chance anyway to welcome you back and to say thank you.

*Mr. Sommaruga.* Thank you very much, Mr. President. I am extremely glad to be here today; also to express appreciation for the excellent cooperation we were able to have in the field with the military, with the commands of the coalition forces, in order to carry out our mandate, which is a mandate given us by the Geneva Convention. And we will continue to carry out this mandate. And I think that what happened in the Gulf will also be for us all a sort of lesson on how one has to proceed in the implementation of internationally maintained law and possibly also in the enlargement of it.

*Q.* Mr. President, is there any indication that the POW's were mistreated?

*The President.* I'll not take any questions here. I am concerned about reports that some of them were clapped on the ears and it affected their hearing. But I don't know the details yet on all of that.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

**Memorandum on the Return of Desert Shield/Desert Storm Participants to Federal Civilian Employment**  
**March 8, 1991**

*Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies*

*Subject:* Return of Desert Shield/Desert Storm Participants to Federal Civilian Employment

Now that our Armed Forces and their Coalition partners have achieved success in meeting our military objectives in the Gulf region, we can look forward to the return of the valiant men and women who participated in Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm.

Many of these participants are members of the Reserve Forces and the Air and Army National Guard who left their regular civilian employment to join in this national effort, with great disruption to their families and their normal pursuits. In recognition of the sacrifices they have made, it is essential that their civilian employers do everything possible to ease their return to civilian life.

The Federal Government has always been a model for other employers in the protections and benefits provided for those who serve, and I am committed to ensuring that we continue to set an example for the Nation in this regard. Accordingly, I have determined that the following actions by executive departments and agencies are appropriate:

- Military reservists and members of the Air and Army National Guard who are returning to their Federal civilian employment should be restored to the same jobs they left, and the legal flexibility of placement in equivalent jobs should be used only when absolutely necessary.
- Desert Shield/Desert Storm participants who are returning to their Federal civilian employment should be afforded 5 days of excused absence from their duties, without charge to leave.
- Federal employees who have served in the Armed Forces during this emergency and who qualify for retirement may do so without returning to their civilian employment under 5 U.S.C. 8332(g).

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# The NIXON PRESIDENCY

Power and Politics in  
Turbulent Times

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MICHAEL A. GENOVESE



Contributions to Political Science, Number 259

**GREENWOOD PRESS**

New York  
Westport, Connecticut  
London

highly centralized structure headed ultimately by H. R. Haldeman. With few top-level positions in the bureaucracy to fill, the president had to shift the centers of power from the bureaucracy to the White House.

To control the bureaucracy, a series of recommendations by Fred Malek, known as "The Malek Manual," presented a plan for bullying unresponsive bureaucrats into submission. Failing that, the president would centralize power and control into the White House.

As President Nixon's legislative proposals met with opposition in a Democrat-controlled Congress, he increasingly turned to attempts to achieve his policy proposals through administrative power, which had been centralized under the control of the White House, and took advantage of the wide latitude of administrative discretion to "interpret" laws in a manner favorable to his own views, and sometimes, as the impoundment of funds suggests, in direct opposition to the expressed will of Congress.

By the end of his first term, Nixon abandoned his legislative strategy in favor of an administrative approach to achieving his policy goals. The Nixon domestic agenda, frustrated by Congress, would be achieved through administrative techniques. This management approach to policy became the favored means of policy-making in the Nixon White House. Nixon would do administratively what he was unable to do legislatively. This required almost total control of the bureaucracy and caused a great deal of friction with the cabinet secretaries and the bureaucracy.<sup>18</sup> When it didn't initially work the way the president wanted, massive reorganization became the only answer. Nixon would take over the bureaucracy politically.<sup>19</sup>

### Plans for Reorganization

Richard Nixon was never happy with the way his administration was managed. This was not due to any perceived failings on the part of his closest advisers, but flowed from that monolith known as "the government." It was large, unruly, and not part of the team. Failing in his attempts to tinker at the periphery of government, Richard Nixon was determined to reorganize the entire executive branch to better suit his needs.

Nixon was keen for reorganization. He eliminated the Department of the Post Office (and replaced it with a public corporation); merged the Peace Corps and Vista into a new agency called Action; created the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the Federal Energy Administration; and proposed changes in the Atomic Energy Commission. He also eliminated several agencies and proposed the most ambitious reorganization of the executive branch in years. But the president had bigger ideas.

Nixon's approach to government reorganization focused on what Ronald Moe calls an "architectonic strategy," believing that the problem was principally

### Nixon in the White House

"the machinery" of government. Thus, the president proposed comprehensive reforms.

Nixon had three major reorganization plans. The first, proposed in 1970, was the result of a report presented to the president by Roy Ash. This report, submitted to the Congress, which had to approve executive branch reorganization, called for a reorganization of the Bureau of the Budget into the Office of Management and Budget, and the establishment of a Domestic Council. The Congress did not nullify this proposal, and it went into effect in 1970.

The second, more ambitious reorganization plan was presented in 1971 in the State of the Union address, and called for a major cabinet reorganization. Nixon proposed that the twelve cabinet positions be reduced to eight. Treasury, Defense, and Justice would remain, but the others would be eliminated and divided into four: Human Resources, Community Development, Natural Resources, and Economic Development. This was an effort to organize by function, not constituency. But the Congress refused to accept the president's reorganization proposal, and it was not implemented.

In 1973 President Nixon presented his third and most ambitious reorganization plan. But, frustrated by Congress's unwillingness to accept his plan, the president refused to submit this plan to the Congress and implemented it by executive fiat.

The day after his landslide reelection victory in 1972, the president notified the top members of his administration. He thanked them for their efforts in the election, insisted that in his second term he would not be an "exhausted president," and then dropped a bombshell. Everyone, said the president, was required to submit letters of resignation. With that, the president left the room.

Haldeman admitted that this was done "in a ruthless fashion." "Ruthlessness was the only attitude that would work." Nixon, working with a plan orchestrated by John Ehrlichman, was to revive elements of the 1971 reorganization plan, but with several new twists.

The four super-cabinet officers—the heads of Economic Affairs, Human Resources, Natural Resources, and Community Development—would be demoted to the rank of assistants to the president and would serve as assistant deputy presidents. Added to this would be Henry Kissinger as head of the Office of Economic Affairs, and John Ehrlichman in charge of the Domestic Council. "The president's council," according to Ehrlichman, would be the "six-pointed Presidency." By presidential designation and not statute, they would run the government and free the president's time for "big issues." In some ways it would be a collegial presidency—at least from an administrative standpoint. This new structure, according to Theodore White, "began to appear somewhat akin to Politburo of the government. Richard Nathan described this as an "administrative presidency."

The president, having called for the resignation of all his top officials, called Key Biscayne for a holiday. Nixon then went to Camp David for work. When the press came to call "the Mount Sinai shuttle." Helicopters flew in and

Initially Henry Kissinger had very little to do with the administration's Middle East policy. As Kissinger admitted in his memoirs, "When I entered office I knew very little of the Middle East." Beyond this, the president was concerned that the Arab leaders might be suspicious of Kissinger, a Jew. Thus, Secretary of State Rogers and the professional diplomats at State assumed the leadership role on this issue.

Nixon's early goal was to develop an evenhanded policy in the region. While Nixon was sensitive to the power American Jews held within the United States, he was also concerned that the Arab nations, especially those of the oil-rich countries, see that U.S. policy was balanced and fair. Nixon's concern for fairness in Middle East policy is reflected in notes taken by H. R. Haldeman at a September 10, 1979, meeting with the president. Nixon and Al Haig discussed the need to

quietly

take resp for looking over anything re Israeli  
be *sure* it is objective—has not been in past.

& balanced

also I will watch them—say nothing to K

Nixon also wanted to reduce the growing Soviet influence in the region. He thus needed a genuine settlement of the differences between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Nixon was determined to actively pursue a Middle East peace settlement with new initiatives. He thus opened up U.S.-Soviet consultation on the Arab-Israeli conflict and made more positive overtures to the Arab leaders. Nixon's policy took shape in what was called the Rogers Plan.

The United States began active negotiations in the four-power talks (United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France) hoping to arrive at a consensus. But the most serious talks occurred between the United States and the Soviet Union between March 18 and April 22, with Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco engaging in direct talks with Soviet ambassador Dobrynin. The United States also hoped to get talks going among the belligerents, but the Arabs and Israelis were not prepared to talk, only to fight.

The administration felt that to get the peace process on track, the Soviet Union had to be brought into the process as an active participant and the United States had to visibly display that it truly would be evenhanded in its dealings with the Arabs and Israelis. There were several modifications of the Rogers Plan, but in essence it called for indirect negotiations between Egypt and Israel, a timetable for Israeli withdrawal from Egyptian lands, formal end to the state of war, agreed-upon secure borders, creation of demilitarized zones, free navigation through the Strait of Tiran, access through the Suez Canal, settlement of the Gaza Strip dispute, discussions on the Palestinian refugee issue, recognition of sovereignty and secure borders, and a promise from the "four powers" to see that the agreement was adhered to.<sup>103</sup>

The Rogers Plan was a bust. Israel and the Soviet Union rejected the plan, and U.S. policy floundered. In his memoirs, Nixon claims that he knew the Rogers Plan "could never be implemented,"<sup>104</sup> but hoped that the proposal would display an evenhanded approach and thereby make later efforts to approach the Arab leaders easier. Nixon himself never aggressively pushed the Rogers Plan, but hoped it might put the Soviets on the defensive.

While Kissinger was not the front man for the administration on Middle East policy in the first year, he began to have greater influence as time went on. By January of 1970, as the Middle Eastern situation worsened, the administration groped for a policy. All sides seemed polarized, with the Israeli air force stepping up its raids on Egypt, and the United States and Soviet Union unable to reach agreement on general principles toward peace in the Middle East. Finally, on January 31, Nixon received what Kissinger called the "first Soviet threat" of his presidency. This "threat" was conveyed in a letter from Premier Kosygin which read in part, "We would like to tell you in all frankness that if Israel continues its adventurism, to bomb the territory of the UAR and other Arab states, the Soviet Union will be forced to see to it that the Arab states have the means at their disposal, with the help of which a due rebuff to the arrogant aggressor could be made."<sup>105</sup>

Nixon characterized his response to Kosygin's letter as "carefully low-keyed," but it caused great concern that the Soviets would step up their activity in the region. Nixon sent a memorandum to Kissinger pointing out that "Even Handedness' is the right policy—But above all our interest is—what gives the Soviets the most trouble—Don't let Arab-Israeli conflicts obscure that interest." Thus, the Middle East became yet another arena for East-West conflict.<sup>106</sup>

At this point Rogers's star was descending, and Kissinger loomed more powerful. Nixon decided to resupply Israel and try to stem the growth of Soviet power in the region. As the Soviets began to resupply Egypt, Kissinger pressed Nixon, arguing that "the political balance would be drastically changed, and the military balances could be overthrown at any moment of Soviet choosing."<sup>107</sup> Kissinger dismissed the argument—whose source was the State Department—that the Israelis bore some responsibility for the conflict with Egypt, and instead concentrated on the growing Soviet influence in Egypt. From this point on, halting Soviet influence in the Middle East became the overriding concern of U.S. policy.

While Rogers and Dobrynin talked, Kissinger pressed the president to act forcefully. But Nixon, unsure of what to do, vacillated. By June, the president endorsed a revised Rogers Plan, this one a toned-down version of the first, designed to stop the shooting and start the talking. Egypt responded positively to the plan, and Nixon pressed Israel to agree to a cease-fire. The State Department had one of its few foreign policy victories!

But just as it seemed as if progress might be made in the Middle East, another crisis erupted. In September 1970, King Hussein of Jordan, one of the few pro-Western leaders in the Arab world, faced a series of hijackings and

threats to his leadership in Jordan. On September 6, members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked a TWA plane and a Swissair plane and forced them to land in Jordan. A third plane was hijacked and forced to land in Cairo, its passengers were unloaded, and the plane was blown up. The next day a BOAC jet was hijacked and forced to land in Jordan. The PFLP had 478 hostages, all in Jordan. Amid threats a blow up the planes with the passengers aboard, King Hussein faced a dilemma: if he failed to act with force, the Jordanian army might act on its own, thereby jeopardizing his authority; if he acted too decisively, he ran the risk of being labelled traitor to the Arab cause.

Nixon, hoping to exert greater influence in the Middle East, put U.S. troops on alert in the region. On September 12, the PFLP moved the hostages to their camps and blew up the three planes. An exchange of "hostages" was agreed to. Israel would release 450 Palestinian prisoners, and the hijackers would release their hostages. But 55 Jewish hostages remained captive.

The PFLP also began terrorist attacks against Hussein's army. On September 15, Hussein replaced his civilian government with military leaders, and Jordan was in a civil war. Nixon was concerned that Syria and Iraq would intervene against Hussein. If that occurred, Nixon hinted that U.S. troops might intervene to help King Hussein. Nixon was convinced that the Soviets were behind the insurrection, and wrote in his memoirs that he could not allow Hussein to be overthrown, but was conscious of the game of nuclear dominoes being played.<sup>108</sup>

While Nixon may have overstated Soviet involvement and overestimated the consequences, the situation for Hussein was perilous. On September 18, Kissinger got word that Syrian tanks had crossed the Jordanian border. Amid reassurances from the Soviets that they were not behind any such efforts, Kissinger the next day received firm evidence that Syria had invaded Jordan. Hundreds of tanks were moving toward Irbad. Kissinger was sure the Soviets had lied to him.

American troops were on selected alert, and the United States warned the Soviets that if Syria proceeded, Israel and perhaps the United States might intercede. But by September 21, Syria was still in Jordan, and Hussein requested Israeli air support. Move and countermove seemed to be leading to a direct U.S.-Soviet conflict in the Middle East. Israel wanted assurances from the United States that if Egyptian and Soviet forces attacked Israel, the United States would come to the aid of Israel. Nixon agreed. Thus, Israel was able to give Hussein the support he needed. With Israeli aid, King Hussein's troops were able to drive the Syrian forces back into Syria, and a broader international crisis was averted.

After the Jordanian crisis, things seemed to stabilize in the Middle East. The Nixon administration drew several lessons from the crisis: (1) the evenhanded approach didn't work; (2) the Soviets were a growing threat in the region; and

(3) our best bet for stability was to boost Israel and its military. But Nixon and Kissinger may have erred in placing too much weight on the Soviet influence in Syria. Regional and internal political pressure motivated Syria more than Soviet pressure. Thus, rather than looking at the regional dynamics, Nixon continued to see the Middle East in terms of the United States versus the Soviet Union.

The very tenuous stability of the Middle East was once again shattered in October of 1973 by the Yom Kippur war. Unfortunately for Nixon, this occurred at a time when the Watergate scandal was closing in on the president. In the midst of the Watergate tapes controversy, as revelations of executive branch wrongdoing flooded out to the public, at a time when Nixon's vice president, Spiro Agnew, was forced to resign when evidence indicated that he had been accepting bribes, Nixon was distracted by his own problems. But leaders cannot pick the time they will allow crises to emerge, and the October '73 war came as a surprise to the Americans.

On October 6, 1973, two weeks after Henry Kissinger became secretary of state, Egypt and Syria simultaneously attacked Israel's northern and southern borders. Two days later, Israel launched a counterattack against Syria; a week later Israel counterattacked Egypt, crossing the Suez Canal. The Soviets resupplied Egypt and Syria with arms; the United States did the same for Israel. The military advantage was going to Israel. In an effort to boost the Arab position, the Organization of Arab Oil Producing Countries (OAPEC) announced a cut in oil production until Israel withdrew from the occupied territories. This move was clearly designed to pressure the West into softening its support for Israel.

On October 19, Brezhnev sent Nixon a message urging talks to end the hostilities.<sup>109</sup> Kissinger flew to Moscow, and the talks resulted in a U.S.-Soviet-sponsored United Nations resolution that was ultimately accepted by all parties. But the cease-fire quickly broke down, and the Israeli army completely encircled the Egyptian Third Army on the East Bank of the Suez Canal. Egyptian president Anwar Sadat asked the United States and Soviet Union to intervene, but Nixon refused. Brezhnev sent a message to Nixon suggesting joint intervention, threatening to intervene unilaterally if the United States failed to move. Nixon put all U.S. troops on worldwide alert shortly after midnight, October 25.<sup>110</sup> Whether Brezhnev or Nixon was bluffing is uncertain, but the Soviets *did not* intervene, and the United Nations eventually sent a peace-keeping force to the region to supervise a cease-fire.

Because Nixon was so distracted by Watergate, it was Kissinger who took the lead in developing the U.S. response to the October '73 war. Kissinger spoke and acted "for the president." And the Yom Kippur war changed the way the United States viewed the power situation in the Middle East. The illusion of stability based on Israeli military superiority was shattered. Also, the West began to fear that oil could indeed be used as a tool to pressure the United States and its allies. While the United States did not shift from a pro-Israeli to a pro-

Arab stance, the United States did recognize that oil might be used to blackmail the West, and the sense of vulnerability, of the limits of U.S. power, became more pronounced.<sup>111</sup>

Kissinger, out of the ashes of the October war, developed a more complex, step-by-step process of diplomacy whereby Egypt and Israel disengaged their forces in January of 1974, Syria and Israel agreed to a demilitarized buffer zone, and Egypt and Israel agreed to the "Sinai II" disengagement, which called for Israel to give back part of the territory they acquired in the 1967 war. Events in the Middle East created opportunities. Finally, in 1974, Kissinger was able to take advantage of the opportunities and through step-by-step diplomacy salvage a tenuous peace in the region.

As the Watergate crisis closed in on the president, Nixon, just two months before resigning from office, took a trip to the Middle East. At the time the president was suffering from phlebitis, and his doctors recommended against the trip. But the president was determined. He went to Cairo, where he received a hero's welcome. Nixon visited several other Middle Eastern countries, returning home to face the crisis that would soon drive him from office.

Overall, the Nixon administration's policies toward the Middle East took several course changes—from evenhandedness, to a view that the region was a U.S.-Soviet battleground, to a pro-Israeli tilt, to a recognition of the complexity of motives and resources of the region that led to the United States' serving a role as "honest broker." Nixon and Kissinger (and Rogers) did not ameliorate the deep-rooted difference between Arabs and Jews, but they did help keep the conflict within certain bounds.

### THE INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR

On March 25, 1971, Yahya Khan, the president of West Pakistan, ordered his troops to attack secessionist forces in East Pakistan. Henry Kissinger characterized this episode as "perhaps the most complex issue of Nixon's first term."

The attack by the West Pakistani army was brutal, and it shocked the world. It was an effort not simply to defeat the secessionists, but to wipe them out. Most of the world denounced the atrocities, but not the United States. For Nixon and Kissinger, a larger geopolitical issue was at stake. Yahya Khan was a conduit for the United States to China, and Nixon did not want to jeopardize his China connection. But the war eventually drew India into the fray, would topple Yahya Khan's regime, and establish an independent state, Bangladesh.

The crisis stems from the time just after World War II when India and Pakistan won their independence from Great Britain. Pakistan united a large portion of the Moslem population, but a large segment was also split, between East and West Pakistan with India separating them. This led to wars in 1947-48 and 1965. The dominant West Pakistanis had constant troubles with East Pakistan, and in a December 1970 election, East Pakistan voted 98 percent for autonomy. The government of West Pakistan answered the call for indepen-

dence by imprisoning the leaders of East Pakistan, killing thousands of East Pakistanis, and imposing martial law. A resistance movement erupted, and this led to oppression by West Pakistan. Masses of refugees fled to India, heating up the already tense relations between West Pakistan and India.

Reports of Indian assistance to the rebels infuriated the West Pakistani government, and finally on December 3, 1971, the West Pakistani air force attacked Indian airfields near West Pakistan, and the West Pakistani army moved into the Kashmir region of India. The India-Pakistan war had begun. Immediately, Indian troops moved into East Pakistan.

Even before the fighting had begun, Nixon and Kissinger decided "to tilt toward Pakistan." In spite of public neutrality, the United States began to come to the aid of Pakistan, at first denying helping Pakistan and when caught in a lie, arguing that it was merely continuing to supply arms for which Pakistan had already contracted. This policy, which ran contrary to our public position, was revealed in a dramatic and damaging leak. The United States was pursuing one policy in public, and the opposite policy in private. The United States had a long history of good relations with India, but Nixon despised Indian prime minister Gandhi.<sup>112</sup> Also, India was warming up to the Soviet Union, while Pakistan was our primary, though not our sole (contrary to what Kissinger later claimed) link to China.

It quickly became apparent that India would win the war in East Pakistan and a new nation would emerge. But Nixon and Kissinger, seeing the war as a test of wills between the United States and the Soviet Union, began to heat up the American effort. Nixon ordered the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* into the Indian Ocean, and he had Kissinger drop hints that unless the Soviet Union backed off, he would cancel his trip to Moscow. But India did win the war, and Bangladesh was born out of East Pakistan. In his memoirs, Kissinger devotes seventy-six pages to this incident, accusing India, with the backing of the Soviet Union, of threatening American interests in the region and attempting to jeopardize U.S. rapprochement with China. Kissinger claims that he and the president handled the crisis with "far-seeing geopolitical comprehension," "statesmanship," and a "courageous political stand."<sup>113</sup>

But another active participant, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Christopher Van Hollen, presents a vastly different account of this crisis.<sup>114</sup> Nixon and Kissinger, seeing the Pakistani problem in East-West terms, misread the situation and assumed that the Soviets were behind the initial internal dispute in Pakistan and thus acted on an incorrect assumption. Kissinger believed that the India-Pakistan war was also an effort by the Soviets to humiliate China, with the United States caught in the middle.<sup>115</sup>

As Seymour Hersh points out, Nixon's assumptions "would . . . lead to a decision . . . to risk world war in a South Asia showdown with the Soviet Union. Nixon and Kissinger totally misread the situation, and the showdown they expected never took place. But if it had begun, and if China had decided to intervene on the side of West Pakistan, as Nixon and Kissinger convinced

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON,  
FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE  
NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Ladies and gentlemen, Delegates and Alternates, guests of this Convention, our fellow Americans, we have come to a momentous point in the deliberation of this Convention. At this point it is a great honor, a high honor—

It's important, it's necessary that the Young Republicans get seated before we proceed any further. Will you please remove the sign now. It has been requested by the officials of the convention hall that the sign be removed and will all of those Young Republicans please sit down who are in the aisle.

(Chants from the floor of "We want Nixon!")

I repeat, we have now come to the point in the deliberations of this great Convention, a point looked forward to by all of us where we would have the opportunity of seeing and where I would have the privilege and honor of recognizing the next President of the United States, Richard Nixon.

(The entire assembly arose, cheered and applauded enthusiastically. Hundreds of orange balloons floated down from the ceiling.)

THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON ACCEPTS THE  
NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

MR. NIXON.—Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, Delegates to this Convention, my fellow Americans:

Sixteen years ago I stood before this Convention to accept your nomination as the running mate of one of the greatest Americans of our time—or of any time, Dwight D. Eisenhower. (Applause and Cheers)

Eight years ago, I had the highest honor of accepting your nomination for President of the United States. (Applause and Cheers)

Tonight, I again proudly accept that nomination for President of the United States. (Applause and Cheers)

But I have news for you. This time there's a difference. This time we're going to win. (Applause and Cheers)

We're going to win for a number of reasons—first, a personal one. General Eisenhower, as you know, lies critically ill in the Walter Reed Hospital tonight. I have talked however with Mrs. Eisenhower on the telephone. She tells me that his heart is with us and she says that there is nothing that he lives more for and there is nothing that would lift

(1968)

him more than for us to win in November. And I say let's win this one for Ike. (Great applause and cheers.)

We are going to win because this great Convention has demonstrated to the nation that the Republican Party has the leadership, the platform and the purpose that America needs.

We are going to win because you have nominated as my running mate a statesman of the first rank who will be a great campaigner and one who is fully qualified to undertake the new responsibilities that I shall give to the next Vice President of the United States. (Applause and Cheers)

And he is a man who fully shares my conviction and yours that after a period of forty years when power has gone from the cities and the states to the government in Washington, D.C., it's time to have power go back from Washington to the states and to the cities of this country all over America. (Applause and Cheers)

We're going to win because at a time when America cries out for the unity that this Administration has destroyed, the Republican Party—after a spirited contest for its nomination for President and Vice President—stands united before the nation tonight. (Applause and Cheers)

And I congratulate Governor Reagan (applause); I congratulate Governor Rockefeller (applause); I congratulate Governor Romney (applause).

I congratulate all those who have made the hard fight that they have for this nomination, and I know that you will all fight even harder for the great victory our Party is going to win in November because we're going to be together in that election campaign. (Applause and Cheers)

And a party that can unite itself will unite America. (Applause and Cheers)

My fellow Americans, most important—we are going to win because our cause is right.

We make history tonight—not for ourselves but for the ages.

The choice we make in 1968 will determine not only the future of America but the future of peace and freedom in the world for the last third of the Twentieth Century. And the question we ask tonight: Can America meet this great challenge?

For a few moments, let us look at America, let us listen to America to find the answer to that question.

As we look at America we see cities enveloped in smoke and flame.

We hear sirens in the night.

We see Americans dying on distant battlefields abroad.

We see Americans hating each other; fighting each other; killing each other at home.

And as we see and hear these things, millions of Americans cry out in anguish.

Did we come all this way for this?

Did American boys die in Normandy, in Korea and in Valley Forge for this?

Listen to the answer to those questions.

It is another voice. It is a quiet voice, in the tumult of the shouting. It is the voice of the great majority of Americans, the forgotten Americans—the non-shouters; the non-demonstrators.

They are not racists or sick; they are not guilty of the crime that plagues the land. They are black and they are white. They are native born and foreign born. They're young and they're old. They work in America's factories. They run America's businesses. They serve in government. They provide most of the soldiers who died to keep us free.

They give drive to the spirit of America. They give lift to the American dream. They give steel to the backbone of America.

They're good people; they're decent people; they work and they save and they pay their taxes and they care.

Like Theodore Roosevelt, they know that this country will not be a good place for any of us to live in unless it's a good place for all of us to live in. (Applause and Cheers)

And this I say to you tonight is the real voice of America. In this year 1968, this is the message it will broadcast to America and to the world.

Let's never forget that despite her faults, America is a great nation. And America is great because her people are great.

With Winston Churchill, we say: "We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies because we are made of sugar candy."

America is in trouble today not because her people have failed but because her leaders have failed, and what America needs are leaders to match the greatness of her people. (Applause and Cheers)

And this great group of Americans—the forgotten Americans and others—know that the great question Americans must answer by their votes in November is this: Whether we shall continue for four more years the policies of the last five years.

And this is their answer and this is my answer to that question.

When the strongest nation in the world can be tied down for four years in a war in Vietnam with no end in sight;

—when the richest nation in the world can't manage its own economy;

—when the nation with the greatest tradition of the rule of law is plagued by unprecedented lawlessness;

—when a nation has been known for a century for equality of opportunity is torn by unprecedented racial violence; and

—when the President of the United States cannot travel abroad or to any major city at home without fear of a hostile demonstration—then it's time for new leadership for the United States of America. (Prolonged standing ovation.)

Thank you.

My fellow Americans, tonight I accept the challenge and the commitment to provide that new leadership for America and I ask you to accept it with me.

Let us accept this challenge not as a grim duty but as an exciting adventure in which we are privileged to help a great nation realize its destiny.

Let us begin by committing ourselves to the truth—to see it like it is, and tell it like it is—to find the truth, to speak the truth, and to live the truth. That's what we will do. (Applause and Cheers)

We've had enough of big promises and little action. The time has come for honest government in the United States of America. (Applause)

And so tonight I do not promise the millenium in the morning.

I don't promise that we can eradicate poverty, end discrimination, eliminate all danger of war in the space of four, even eight years. But, I do promise action—a new policy for peace abroad; a new policy for peace and progress and justice at home.

Look at our problems abroad. Do you realize we face the stark truth that we are worse off in every area of the world tonight than we were when President Eisenhower left office eight years ago. That's the record.

There is only one answer to such a record of failure—that is a complete housecleaning of those responsible for the failures and that record. (Applause and Cheers)

The answer is the complete reappraisal of America's policies in every section of the world.

We shall begin with Vietnam. We all hope in this room that there's a chance that current negotiations may bring an honorable end to that war, and we will say nothing during this campaign that might destroy that chance. But if the war is not ended when the people choose in November, the choice will be clear. Here it is—

For four years this Administration has had at its disposal the greatest military and economic advantage that one nation has ever had over another in any war in history.

For four years, America's fighting men have set a record for courage and sacrifice unsurpassed in our history.

For four years, this Administration has had the support of the loyal opposition for the objective of seeking an honorable end to the struggle.

Never has so much military and economic and diplomatic power been used so ineffectively.

If after all of this time, and all of this sacrifice, and all of this support, there is still no end in sight, then I say the time has come for the American people to turn to new leadership—not tied to the mistakes and the policies of the past.

That is what we offer to America. (Applause and Cheers)

And I pledge to you tonight that the first priority foreign policy objective of our next administration will be to bring an honorable end to the war in Vietnam. (Applause and Cheers)

We shall not stop there—we need a policy to prevent more Vietnams.

All of America's peace-keeping institutions and all of America's foreign commitments must be reappraised. Over the past twenty-five years, America has provided more than one hundred and fifty billion dollars in foreign aid to nations abroad.

In Korea and now again in Vietnam, the United States furnished most of the money, most of the arms, most of the men to help the people of those countries defend themselves against aggression.

Now we're a rich country; we're a strong nation; we're a populous nation. There are two hundred million Americans but there are two billion people that live in the Free World.

And I say the time has come for other nations in the Free World to bear their fair share of the burden of defending peace and freedom around this world. (Cheers and Applause)

What I call for is not a new isolationism. It is a new internationalism in which America enlists its allies and its friends around the world in those struggles in which their interest is as great as ours.

And now, to the leaders of the Communist world, we say: After an era of confrontation, the time has come for an era of negotiation. Where the world's super powers are concerned, there is no acceptable alternative to peaceful negotiation.

Because this will be a period of negotiation, we shall restore the strength of America so that we shall always negotiate from strength and never from weakness. (Cheers and Applause)

And as we seek peace through negotiation, let our goals be made clear:

We do not seek domination over any other country.

We believe deeply in our ideas, but we believe they should travel on their own power and not on the power of our arms.

We shall never be belligerent but we shall be as firm in defending our system as they are in expanding theirs.

We believe this should be an era of peaceful competition, not only in the productivity of our factories but in the quality of our ideas.

We extend the hand of friendship to all people, to the Russian people, to the Chinese people, to all people in the world. And we shall work toward the goal of an open world—open skies, open cities, open hearts, open minds.

The next eight years, my friends (cheers and applause), this period in which we're entering, I think we will have the greatest opportunity for world peace, but also face the greatest danger of world war of any time in our history.

I believe we must have peace. I believe that we can have peace. But I do not underestimate the difficulty of this task, because you see, the art of preserving peace is greater than that of waging war and much more demanding. But I am proud to have served in an administration which ended one war and kept the nation out of other wars for eight years. (Cheers and Applause) And it is that kind of experience and it's that kind of leadership that America needs today and that we will give to America with your help. (Cheers and Applause)

As we commit to new policies for America tonight, let me make one further pledge:

For five years hardly a day has gone by when we haven't read or heard a report of the American flag being spit on; an embassy being stoned; a library being burned; or an ambassador being insulted someplace in the world. Each incident reduced respect for the United States until the ultimate insult inevitably occurred.

And I say to you tonight that when respect for the United States of America falls so low that a fourth-rate military power, like North Korea, will seize an American naval vessel on the high seas, it's time for new leadership to restore respect for the United States of America. (Great cheers and applause.)

Thank you very much.

My friends, America is a great nation. It is time we started to act like a great nation around the world. (Applause)

It's ironic to note when we were a small nation—weak militarily and poor economically—America was respected. And the reason was that America stood for something then more powerful than military strength or economic wealth.

The American Revolution was a shining example of freedom in action which caught the imagination of the world.

Today, too often, America is an example to be avoided and not followed.

A nation that can't keep the peace at home won't be trusted to keep the peace abroad. A President who isn't treated with respect at home will not be treated with respect abroad.

A nation which can't manage its own economy can't tell others how to manage theirs.

If we are to restore prestige and respect for America abroad, the place to begin is at home in the United States of America. (Cheers and Applause)

My friends, we live in an age of revolution in America and in the world. And to find the answers to our problems, let us turn to a revolution, a revolution that will never grow old—the world's greatest continuing revolution—the American Revolution.

The American Revolution was and is dedicated to progress, but our founders recognized that the first requisite of progress is order.

Now, there is no quarrel between progress and order because neither can exist without the other.

So let us have order in America—not the order that suppresses dissent and discourages change, but the order which guarantees the right to dissent and provides the basis for peaceful change.

And tonight it's time for some honest talk about the problem of order in the United States.

Let us always respect, as I do, our courts and those who serve on them. But let us also recognize that some of our courts in their decisions have gone too far in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces in this country. (Loud cheers and applause.)

Let those who have the responsibility to enforce our laws, and our judges who have the responsibility to interpret them, be dedicated to the great principles of civil rights.

But let them also recognize that the first civil right of every American is to be free from domestic violence, and that right must be guaranteed in this country. (Applause and Cheers)

And if we are to restore order and respect for law in this country, there is one place we are going to begin: We are going to have a new Attorney General of the United States of America. (Cheers and Applause)

I pledge to you that our new Attorney General will be directed by the President of the United States to launch a war against organized crime in this country. (Cheers and Applause)

I pledge to you that the new Attorney General of the United States will be an active belligerent against the loan sharks and the numbers racketeers who rob the urban poor in our cities. (Cheers and Applause)

I pledge to you that the new Attorney General will open a new front against the filth peddlers and the narcotics peddlers who are corrupting the lives of the children of this country. (Cheers and Applause)

Because, my friends, let this message come through clear from what I say tonight—time is running out for the merchants of crime and corruption in American society.

The wave of crime is not going to be the wave of the future in the United States of America. (Cheers and Applause)

We shall reestablish freedom from fear in America so that America can take the lead in reestablishing freedom from fear in the world. And to those who say that law and order is the code word for racism, there and here is a reply:

Our goal is justice—justice for every American.

If we are to have respect for law in America, we must have laws that deserve respect. Just as we cannot have progress without order, we cannot have order without progress. And so as we commit to order tonight, let us commit to progress.

And this brings me to the clearest choice among the great issues of this campaign. For the past five years we have been deluged by government programs for the unemployed; programs for the cities; programs for the poor. And we have reaped from these programs an ugly harvest of frustration, violence and failure across the land.

And now our opponents will be offering more of the same — more billions for government jobs, government housing, government welfare.

I say it is time to quit pouring billions of dollars into programs that have failed in the United States of America. (Cheers and Applause)

To put it bluntly, we are on the wrong road and it's time to take a new road to progress.

Again, we turn to the American Revolution for our answer.

The war on poverty didn't begin five years ago in this country; it began when this country began. It has been the most successful war on poverty in the history of nations. There is more wealth in America today, more broadly shared, than in any nation in the world.

We are a great nation. And we must never forget how we became great. America is a great nation today, not because of what government did for people—but because of what people did for themselves over 190 years in this country. (Cheers and Applause)

And so, it is time to apply the lessons of the American Revolution to our present problems.

Let us increase the wealth of America so that we can provide more generously for the aged, and for the needy, and for all those who cannot help themselves.

But for those who are able to help themselves, what we need are not more millions on welfare rolls, but more millions on payrolls in the United States of America. (Cheers and Applause)

Instead of government jobs, and government housing, and government welfare, let government use its tax and credit policies to enlist in this battle the greatest engine of progress ever developed in the history of man—American private enterprise.

Let us enlist in this great cause the millions of Americans in volunteer organizations who will bring a dedication to this task that no amount of money can ever buy.

And let us build bridges, my friends—build bridges to human dignity across that gulf that separates black America from white America. (Applause)

Black Americans, no more than white Americans—they do not want more government programs which perpetuate dependency. They don't want to be a colony in a nation.

They want the pride, and the self-respect, and the dignity that can only come if they have an equal chance to own their own homes, to own their own businesses, to be managers and executives as well as workers, to have a piece of the action in the exciting ventures of private enterprise. (Applause)

I pledge to you tonight that we shall have new programs which will provide that equal chance.

We make great history tonight. We do not fire a shot heard 'round the world but we shall light the lamp of hope in millions of homes across this land in which there is no hope today.

And that great light shining out from America will again become a beacon of hope for all those in the world who seek freedom and opportunity.

My fellow Americans, I believe that historians will recall that 1968 marked the beginning of the American generation in world history.

Just to be alive in America—just to be alive—at this time is an experience unparalleled in history. Here is where the action is.

Think. Thirty-two years from now, most Americans living today will celebrate a new year that comes once in a thousand years.

Eight years from now, in the second term of the next President, we will celebrate the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution.

By our decision in this election, we, all of us here, all of you listening on television and radio, we will determine what kind of nation America will be on its 200th birthday.

We will determine what kind of a world America will live in in the year 2000.

This is the kind of a day I see for America on that glorious Fourth—eight years from now:

I see a day when Americans are once again proud of their flag. When once again at home and abroad, it is honored as the world's greatest symbol of liberty and justice.

I see a day when the President of the United States is respected and his office is honored because it is worthy of respect and worthy of honor.

I see a day when every child in this land, regardless of his background, has a chance for the best education our wisdom and schools

can provide, and an equal chance to go just as high as his talents will take him.

I see a day when life in rural America attracts people to the country, rather than driving them away.

I see a day when we can look back on massive breakthroughs in solving the problems of slums and pollution and traffic which are choking our cities to death.

I see a day when our senior citizens and millions of others can plan for the future with the assurance that their government is not going to rob them of their savings by destroying the value of their dollars. (Applause)

I see a day when we will again have freedom from fear in America and freedom from fear in the world.

I see a day when our nation is at peace and the world is at peace and everyone on earth—those who hope, those who aspire, those who crave liberty—will look to America as a shining example of hopes realized and dreams achieved.

My fellow Americans, this is the cause I ask you to vote for. This is the cause I ask you to work for. This is the cause I ask you to commit to—not just for victory in November, but beyond that into the new Administration, because the time when one man or a few leaders could save America is gone. We need tonight nothing less than the total commitment and the total mobilization of the American people if we are to succeed.

Government can pass laws. But respect for law can come only from people who take the law into their hearts and their minds—and not into their hands. (Applause)

Government can provide opportunity. But, opportunity means nothing unless people are prepared to seize it.

A President can ask for reconciliation in the racial conflict that divides Americans. But, reconciliation comes only from the hearts of people.

And tonight, therefore, as we make this commitment, let us look into our hearts and let us look down into the faces of our children.

Is there anything in the world that should stand in their way?

None of the old hatreds mean anything when you look down into the faces of our children.

In their faces is our hope, our love and our courage.

Tonight, I see the face of a child. He lives in a great city. He's black, or he's white. He's Mexican, Italian, Polish. None of that matters. What matters, he is an American child.

That child in that great city is more important than any politician's promise. He is America. He is a poet, he is a scientist, he is a great teacher, he is a proud craftsman. He's everything we have ever hoped to be and everything we dare to dream to be.

He sleeps the sleep of childhood; he dreams the dreams of a child. And yet when he awakens, he awakens to a living nightmare of poverty, neglect and despair.

He fails in school. He ends up on welfare. For him the American system is one that feeds his stomach and starves his soul. It breaks his heart. And in the end it may take his life on some distant battlefield.

To millions of children in this rich land, this is their prospect for the future.

But this is only part of what I see in America.

I see another child tonight. He hears the train go by at night and he dreams of far away places where he would like to go. It seems like an impossible dream.

But he is helped on his journey through life. A father who had to go to work before he finished the sixth grade sacrificed everything he had so that his sons could go to college.

A gentle, Quaker mother, with a passionate concern for peace, quietly wept when he went to war, but she understood why he had to go.

A great teacher, a remarkable football coach, an inspirational minister encouraged him on his way.

A courageous wife and loyal children stood by him in victory and also in defeat.

And in his chosen profession of politics, first there were scores, then hundreds, then thousands, and finally millions who worked for his success.

And tonight he stands before you—nominated for President of the United States of America.

(Great ovation and chants of "We want Nixon!")

You can see why I believe so deeply in the American dream. For most of us the American Revolution has been won; the American dream has come true. And what I ask you to do tonight is to help me

make that dream come true for millions to whom it's an impossible dream today. (Applause)

One hundred and eight years ago, the newly elected President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, left Springfield, Illinois, never to return again. He spoke to his friends gathered at the railroad station. Listen to his words:

"Today I leave you. I go to assume a greater task than devolved on General Washington. The great God which helped him must help me. Without that great assistance, I will surely fail. With it, I cannot fail."

Abraham Lincoln lost his life, but he did not fail.

The next President of the United States will face challenges which in some ways will be greater than those of Washington or Lincoln. Because for the first time in our nation's history, an American President will face not only the problem of restoring peace abroad, but of restoring peace at home.

Without God's help and your help, we will surely fail. But with God's help and your help, we shall surely succeed.

My fellow Americans, the long dark night for America is about to end. (Cheers and Applause)

The time has come for us to leave the valley of despair and climb the mountain so that we may see the glory of the dawn—a new day for America, and a new dawn for peace and freedom in the world.

(Tremendous ovation lasting several minutes. Mr. Nixon presented his family and Governor Agnew and his family.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Please be quiet. Please be quiet. Please be quiet.

The Chair will make two very brief announcements before introducing Dr. Billy Graham for the final benediction. So please be quiet.

There will be a breakfast meeting of the National Committee, the Empire Room, Eden Roc Hotel, 8:30 a.m. tomorrow morning.

There will be a joint meeting of the Republican National Finance Committee and the Republican National Committee at 10 a.m. at the Eden Roc Hotel, Cotillion Room.

At this time, the Convention is highly honored to have present to deliver the final benediction a spiritual leader of world renown; a man who is admired and respected by all religious leaders: Dr. Billy Graham. (Applause)

## BENEDICTION

BY  
DR. BILLY GRAHAM  
EVANGELIST

Shall we pray.

Our Father and our God, we thank Thee tonight for America, and all that America stands for. And as we face the domestic and foreign problems of our generation, we pray that we will turn to the same God that Washington turned to at Valley Forge; that Franklin turned to in the writing of the Constitution; that Lincoln turned to in the dark days of the Civil War.

We pray tonight that Thou wouldst lead the American people in the choice of their leadership for the next four years, and that the men of Thy choice, men who believe in God, will be our leaders.

We pray that Thou wouldst protect the nominees of all parties as they tour this Nation and as they debate the issues of our day.

And we pray that all of us will recognize that our problems cannot be solved by materialism and more money, but can only be solved in a change of our hearts.

And we pray tonight that a great moral and spiritual awakening shall take place in this country that could sweep the world and bring peace at home and abroad.

And now tonight, we commit to Thee all the people of this Nation, and especially those men in Vietnam, and especially that great American who has led us in war and peace, who lies ill in a hospital in Washington tonight. We pray that if it be Thy will, that Thou wouldst raise him up to health and strength.

And now, under Him who loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood and has made us kings and priests, to Him be the glory and the praise and the honor, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Maine Delegation, the Honorable Fred C. Scribner, Jr., General Counsel of the Republican National Committee. Delegate Scribner.

MR. FRED C. SCRIBNER, JR. of Maine.—Mr. Chairman, the work of this Convention has been concluded. I therefore move that we adjourn sine die.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—All have heard the motion of the Delegate from Maine. All in favor say aye; all opposed, no.

The ayes have it. This Convention is hereby adjourned sine die.

(The Convention adjourned at 11:44 p.m., August 8, 1968.)



# LOOKING ★ FORWARD

THE RICHARD NIXON LIBRARY & BIRTHPLACE

WINTER 1991-92 EDITION

VOL. 2, NO. 1

\$2.95 PER ISSUE

## THE FIRST YEAR:

### **Dramatic Exhibits, Top Speakers, Student Programs and First National Issues Conference**

The exciting inaugural year was marked by attendance success and strongly favorable visitor reviews. The Nixon Library attracted the highest paid attendance of the nine Presidential Libraries.

"We're pleased with the high awareness achieved among both residents and tourists," reported John H. Taylor, museum director, "and we look for even greater success over the next year. We enjoy very positive visitor reaction to the museum's galleries, theater presentations, gardens and the Birthplace." Taylor said much was accomplished during the first year:

— The museum and restored birthplace **opened as promised:** on budget and on schedule for the July 19 dedication ceremonies attended by Presidents Bush, Nixon, Reagan and Ford and their First Ladies plus 50,000 well-wishers.

*(Turn to page 2)*



**Opening Day**



**Briefing President Bush at the White House following four-city visit to the Soviet Union.**

## NIXON MEETS WITH GORBACHEV AND YELTSIN

**D**uring his two-week fact-finding visit to the Soviet Union last spring, President Nixon got a unique glimpse of a superpower on the brink of collapse — and came away warning that the line President Mikhail Gorbachev was walking between reformers and reactionaries was dangerously thin.

"The Soviet Union is quickly approaching the moment of truth," RN wrote in *The Washington Post* in early June, "when it must decide whether to transform its outmoded communist system into a democratic state with a free market economy." That moment of truth came three months later, when hardline communists — the same men

RN had met in Moscow and warned about on his return — led an abortive coup d'état against Gorbachev.

In March President Nixon had predicted that Gorbachev could still turn back down the road toward real economic and political reform. "I just don't think he's finished, I don't see that," he told journalists before leaving Moscow. "It's that point they make of whether there was the 'old Nixon' or the 'new Nixon.' Well, is it the 'old Gorbachev' or the 'new Gorbachev?' We liked the old one. Is there a new one? He says he's the same one."

*(Turn to page 8)*





**World Leaders** — Presidents Reagan, Nixon, Bush and Ford gather in the museum's Hall of World Leaders

**The First Year** (continued from page 1)

— Visitor **surveys indicate high ratings** for museum attractions, particularly the movie “‘Never Give Up’: Richard Nixon In the Arena”; the Hall of World Leaders; RN’s birthplace house; and the First Lady’s Garden.

Special events included:

— Four **special exhibit presentations** including “Eisenhower the Artist”; “Bridges to Human Dignity: The Nixon Administration’s Breakthroughs in Minority Capitalism”; “Spring at the White House”; and “Presidents and Pens.”

— Development of a **student visitor program** which attracted more than 10,000 participants.

— The museum’s first **National Issues Conference**, “Bridges to Human Dignity: The Push for Minority Capitalism from Nixon to Bush,” with Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp as keynote. Participants included Maurice Stans, former Secretary of Commerce; James P. Pinkerton, Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning; Alex Armendaris, former Director of the Office of

Minority Business Enterprise; and Raymond K. Price Jr., author and President of the Economic Club of New York.

— A series of **High School Editors Forums** featured prominent national journalists: David Gergen, editor-at-large of *U.S. News and World*

*Report*; Herb Klein, editor in chief of Copley Newspapers; and Fred Barnes, senior editor of *The New Republic*.

— Frequent **VIP personal appearances** including Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, former British Prime Minister Edward Heath, former California Governor Edmund “Pat” Brown, the Shah of Iran, and other national and international figures.

— Recruitment of **100-member docent corps** to serve as museum volunteers throughout the galleries and Birthplace.

— Formation of **the Associate’s Club** as the friends of the Library support group, with more than 700 members contributing annual dues to underwrite exhibits and educational programs.

Taylor said a priority for 1992 will be the launching of a **major endowment campaign** to provide ongoing capital improvements and operating funds. “Unlike all other Presidential centers, we depend completely on attendance and private donations to support the upkeep, expansion and program of the Nixon Museum.

“We’re proud that we have succeeded without



**Jack Kemp** — Secretary of Housing and Urban Development keynoted the first National Issues Conference: “Bridges to Human Dignity: The Push for Minority Capitalism from Nixon to Bush.”



dipping into the taxpayer's pocket for operating funds. But it still takes money to be a lively and dynamic center of activity for those fascinated with the history of our times, the Presidency, and the life and principles of our 37th President," Taylor said.



**California Governor Pete Wilson** joins wife, Gayle, to try out the piano RN learned to play as a boy, now on display in the Birthplace.

Library officials are also pressing forward with plans to open a 10 million-12 million-page private archive, including RN's Congressional, Vice Presidential, and out-of-office papers and other important collections, including that of the 1972 Presidential campaign.

Taylor said an archival staff would be in place by the end of 1991 and the archive would be open in 1992. "Our goal is for there to be two indispensable stops for the serious Nixon scholar," Taylor said, "the National Archives for the records of President Nixon's five and a half years in the White House, and Yorba Linda for the records of the other 39 years this peerless statesman has been in the public arena." ★

## COMMENTS FROM THE DIRECTOR John H. Taylor

There's a lot I could say about our history-making first year, but I think our visitors say it better in the messages they leave in the lobby guest book.

So I picked a day at random: March 16, 1991.

Coincidentally, it happened to be Mrs. Nixon's birthday.

Anyway, here's the voice of the people. "Extremely spectacular," was the considered judgment of Jake Indich of Westminster, California, after he wandered through our nine acres of galleries and the prettiest gardens in Southern California.

"Great monument to history and a great man," concluded Leonard and Helen Swanson of St. Petersburg, Florida.

"Magnifico!" enthused Jean Masoe of Marsoe, France.

"Very inspiring — and Pat, a really lovely person," wrote Bernice Wood of Grosse Point Farms, Michigan.

Of course in spite of our being a nonprofit and thoroughly nonpartisan educational institution, some visitors insisted on getting political. "Viva Nixon!" suggested Jennie Gohn of Reseda, California. "Nixon — now more than ever!!!" said John Paget of Olympia, Washington.

As a matter of fact, we heartily agree. Part of what makes the Library & Birthplace such a dynamic institution is that the President remains active on the national stage — as a prodigious, bestselling author, as a trenchant political observer, and as a globetrotting elder statesman.

For example, no American President has ever had more doors thrown open to him in the Soviet Union as Richard Nixon did on his seventh visit this spring — from the highest reaches of the Kremlin, where he saw Gorbachev and Yeltsin, to the Writer's Union in Kiev, where he met poets, scholars, and other activists pressing for freedom for the Ukraine, to the embattled Parliament building in Vilnius, where President Landsbergis and his fellow freedom fighters were then struggling against nearly impossible odds.

Why does Richard Nixon subject himself to the grueling pace of such a trip? *To make a difference*, that's why — to have an impact on the course of events. In this

*(Turn to page 4)*



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**Comments from the Director** (continued from page 3)

instance, after reading accounts of the turmoil in the Soviet Union from all perspectives, and consulting with politicians, statesmen, and other experts, the former President decided there was no substitute for seeing for himself.

Upon his return, he briefed President Bush, met privately in Washington with top Soviet-American specialists, prepared major articles about his visit — and set to work on his ninth book, which will outline his vision of the challenges America faces in a one superpower world.

So even now, 78 years after he was born in that little white house, 45 years after entering politics, 17 years after leaving the other White House, Richard Nixon remains on the cutting edge of world affairs. Our job at the Library & Birthplace is to match the excitement generated by the man himself — and while it's not easy, we try. As “Nixonland,” a colorful, high-tech, E-ticket roller coaster through three-quarters of a century of California, U.S., and world history, we're already a success. During our first year we had the highest paid attendance by far of any Presidential library in the country.

Throughout the year we were blessed by the active support and encouragement of members of the Nixon family, who despite the thousands of miles that separate us kept close tabs on Yorba Linda, dispensing priceless advice about programming and also generously supplementing our museum exhibits. Julie Nixon Eisenhower flew to California in May to host our luncheon for President Landsbergis. When Mrs. Nixon was preparing their recent move from Saddle River, New Jersey to nearby Park Ridge, she found a copy of JFK's *Profiles in Courage* bearing a warm inscription by the author to then Vice President Nixon.

The family's personal involvement makes our museum come alive — and so does the involvement of over 700 of their friends, colleagues, and supporters who have become museum members by joining our Associate's Club. As the only Presidential library in the nation to be both built and operated without taxpayers' funds, we need your support to continue to thrive. By becoming a museum member, you will help us tell the most dramatic story in the history of postwar politics — a story, in Richard Nixon's own words, of “victory, defeat, and renewal.” As we've seen, the story is still unfolding. As a member of the Library & Birthplace family, we promise that you'll get an advance peek at every new chapter. ★

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## 1991-92: PEOPLE AND POLITICS, ART AND ARTIFACTS

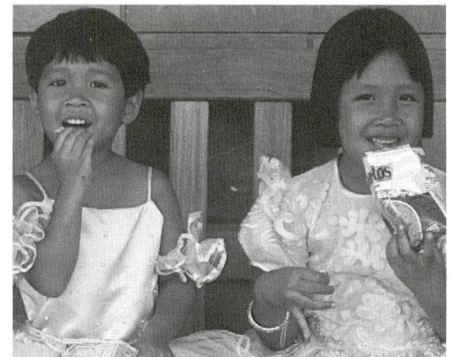
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In keeping with President Nixon's wish that the Nixon Museum always be “a vital place of discovery and rediscovery,” an ambitious program of expansion and special programs is under way.

On the first anniversary, July 19, the museum celebrated by unveiling two breathtaking new acquisitions in the Structures of Peace Gallery. The first is an embroidered tapestry showing Mao Tse Tung, Chou En Lai and President Nixon meeting in Beijing's Forbidden City.

The piece was crafted in Shanghai as the special gift of the Chinese Government to the Nixon Presidential Museum commemorating the historic meeting during RN's breakthrough visit in 1972.

At the same time, museum officials unveiled a beautiful double-embroidered cat, made of silk shimmering in a fine-mesh screen. The rare piece, given to the Nixons by the Chinese Government in 1976, is on permanent loan to the museum from the former President and First Lady.



**Cambodian Festival** — More than 2,000 enjoyed authentic native dancing, food, crafts and music.





**Opening of China** — A stunning gift from the Chinese Government is unveiled by the Los Angeles Consul General, Ambassador Wang Xue Xian. The embroidered scene of Mao, Chou and RN is a dramatic reminder of President Nixon's historic Beijing journey in 1972.

**Other major new presentations include:**

**Cambodian Treasures:** A dazzling exhibit of spectacular Cambodian silver, gold filigree jewelry, traditional hand-woven fabrics and ancient pottery. August 5 to October 27.

**The Berlin Wall:** To be unveiled in 1992. No American President has been more closely associated throughout his career than Richard Nixon with the post-World War II contest between East and West. When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, it was a dramatic victory in the struggle to extend peace and freedom around the world in which RN has been engaged for 45 years. Through the generosity of Carl Karcher, a full four-foot by twelve-foot section of the wall will be installed in the Structure of Peace gallery as a permanent reminder of the bankruptcy of communism.

**Pat Nixon: Ambassador of Goodwill:** Opens December 15 featuring dazzling jewelry and other priceless treasures received by First Lady Pat Nixon on her goodwill tours throughout the

world where she became, in the words of President George Bush, a "mirror of America's heart and love." This permanent expansion of the Life in the White House Gallery will also present the wedding gowns of Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox, and the formal attire worn by Mrs. Nixon at Tricia's White House Wedding.



**Priceless Treasures** — Spectacular Cambodian silver on special display.

**A Presidential Christmas:** Nov. 26 to Jan. 5, 1992. Celebrating the family traditions of Christmas at the White House with spectacular holiday decorations throughout the grounds, lobby and Birthplace.

Centerpieces of this 2nd annual Christmas event will be a collection of celebrity holiday cards received by the Nixons, and a presentation of eight colorfully decorated holiday trees from foreign lands including China, Mexico, Russia, England and Japan.



**A Presidential Christmas**

Ceremonies will be held November 26 for the gala holiday lighting of the huge Pepper Tree towering over the farmhouse where America's 37th President was born.

**RN and JFK: Friendly Rivals:** From Jan. 9, RN's birthday, to May 29, 1992, JFK's birthday. An exhibition of never-before-released correspondence between two American Presidents and between RN and other members of the Kennedy family.

Recently placed on display was an auto-graphed first edition of **Profiles in Courage** with a personal inscription to RN by then Senator John F. Kennedy.





## A fascinating journey through history:

★ ★ ★ ★ NINE ACRES

### 1. Lobby:

After purchasing tickets at the Reception Desk, browse through exhibits on RN's early years, visit the Gift Shop and watch the electronic timer above the theater door for movie times.

### 2. Theater (293 seats):

28-minute movie on RN's career: "Never Give Up": Richard Nixon in the Arena." In the hallway outside the theater are 30 of the 67 Time Magazine covers featuring RN.

### 3. Road to the Presidency:

Exhibits on RN's election to the House of Representatives and the Senate, and his successful pursuit of Alger Hiss in the famous 1948 espionage case.

### 4. The Vice Presidency:

RN's election as Dwight Eisenhower's Vice President, and his work as America's emissary on visits to 60 foreign countries.

### 5. 1960 Presidential Campaign:

Watch the Nixon/Kennedy debates on a 60's TV.

### 6. Wilderness Years / 1968 Presidential Campaign:

RN's life during his absence from public office, including the California gubernatorial bid—followed by his great comeback in winning the Presidency in 1968.

### 7. World Leaders:

A breathtaking presentation of life-size statues of 10 world leaders surrounded by more than 50 gifts from foreign nations. Touch-screen monitor presents biographical summaries and comments on each leader.

### 8. Structure of Peace:

A dramatic gallery featuring President Nixon's achievements in foreign affairs. Unique and priceless gifts from Chinese and Russian Leaders

### 9. Ambassador of Goodwill:

Exhibits on RN's beloved First Lady, Pat, and on life in the White House, including wedding dresses of daughters Tricia and Julie.

### 10. Prime Time Theater

(seating available): Continuous showings of famous RN speeches and other rare footage from the Nixon years.

### 11. Lincoln Sitting Room:

Re-creation of the President's favorite room in the White House.

### 12. Domestic Affairs:

Nixon Administration achievements in 10 major domestic categories. Exhibits include a moon rock and the telephone used to talk with Apollo XI astronauts.

### 13. Domestic Gifts:

The famous pistol from Elvis Presley, along with other gifts received from Americans throughout RN's Administration.

### 14. Watergate:

Time-line narration of key Watergate developments. Reflections by RN. Visitors can listen to the "smoking gun" tape played through headsets.

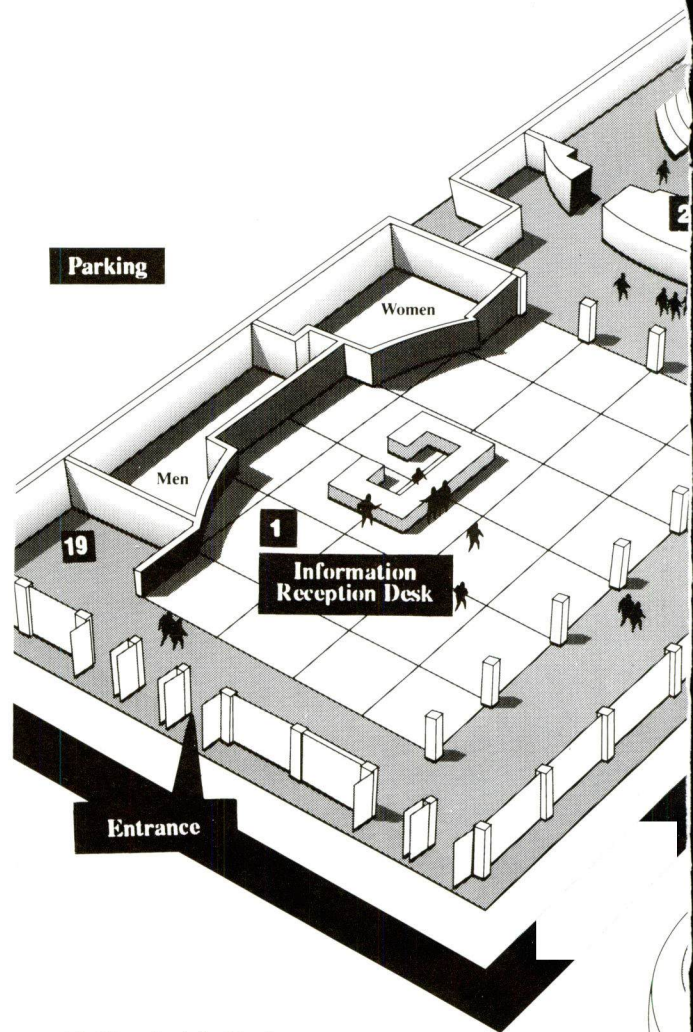
### 15. Presidential Forum

(seating available): Touch-screens enable visitors to ask RN almost 300 questions and see his answers on a big-screen monitor.

### 16. Legacy:

RN's activities since the Presidency. Photo display of the Museum's formal opening July 19, 1990.

**Continue your tour by exiting the lobby, and strolling along side the Reflecting Pool to the Birthplace.**



Parking

1  
Information Reception Desk

Entrance

Parking

### 17. First Lady's Garden:

Discover the spectacular color and floral variety of the First Lady's Garden.

### 18. Birthplace:

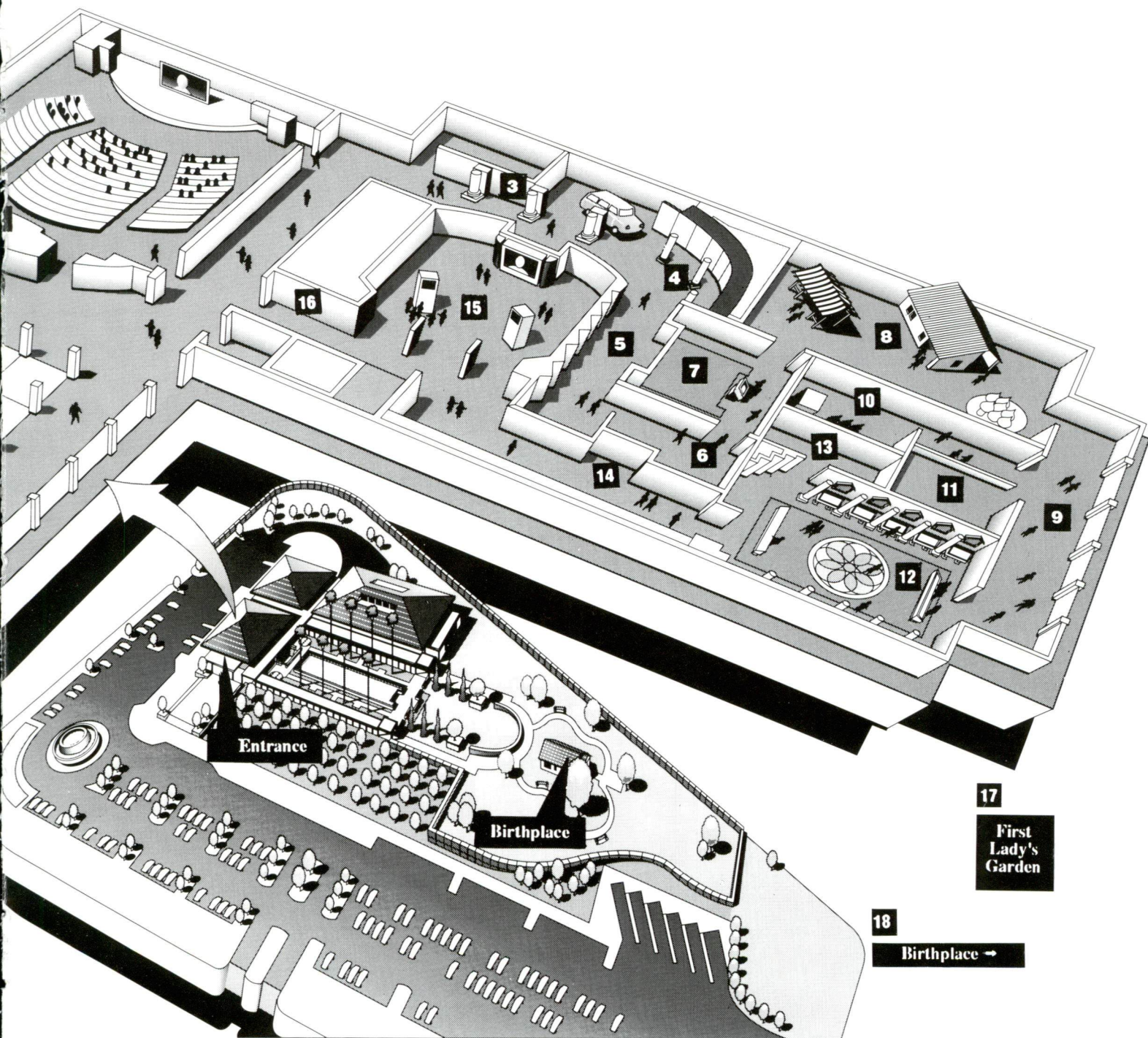
The original home where America's 37th President was born. Features narration by RN himself.

### 19. The Gift Shop:

Take home souvenirs and gifts from the Museum store's exclusive collections.

# THE RICHARD NIXON LIBRARY & BIRTHPLACE

OF GALLERIES, GARDENS, THEATERS, AND THE ORIGINAL BIRTHPLACE HOME. ★ ★ ★ ★



★  
Feel free to ask questions of the volunteer Docents throughout the Museum and Birthplace.  
Library Graphic courtesy of the Los Angeles Times, Orange County Edition.





**Nixon in Soviet Union** (continued from page 1)

But while refusing to count out Gorbachev, RN was highly impressed with Boris Yeltsin, whom many American intellectuals and policymakers had disparaged. During the coup, it was Yeltsin who captured the imagination of the world by standing up to the communist hardliners. "Everything I had heard before this trip led me to believe he was a very charismatic populist figure, interested in power but with no convictions — a lightweight," RN said in the March interview. "He is no lightweight. This man is on top of the game. He does not deal with subtleties. He is very direct, very candid, and expresses beliefs with great conviction. In the American vernacular, Gorbachev is Wall Street and Yeltsin is Main Street. Gorbachev is Georgetown drawing room, Yeltsin is Newark factory gate."

**In all RN met 35 major leaders during his visit, including his back-to-back talks with Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Most meetings lasted 90 minutes or more, and RN handled them all without notes, raising tough issues ranging from arms control to human rights.**

His program included toe-to-toe confrontations with three of the principal architects of the coup: KGB Chief Vladimir

Kryuchkov, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, and Interior Minister Boris Pugo.

During a tense session in an ornate meeting room in the Ministry of Defense, RN questioned Yazov closely on reported Soviet arms control violations and said many in the West remained concerned about the large share of Soviet GNP that was still being devoted to military spending.

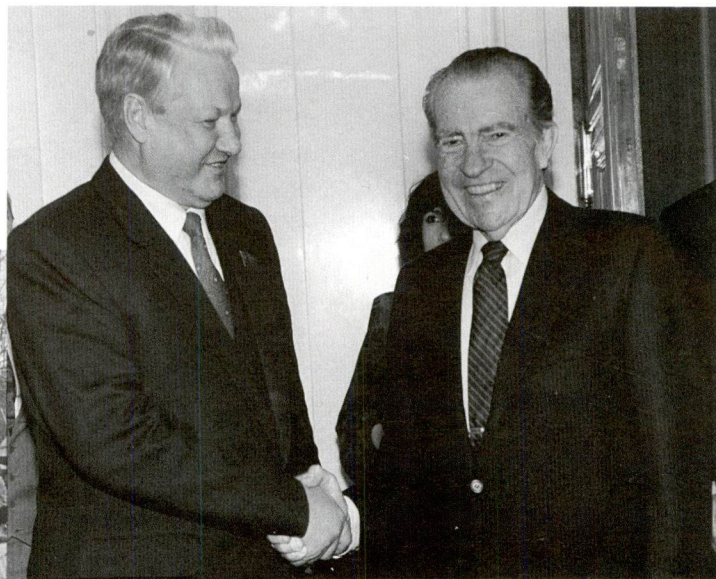
When RN and other members of his party asked Interior Minister Pugo about reports that the notorious "Black Berets" were operating in the Baltics under the ministry's direct orders, Pugo stonewalled while his second in command, General Boris Gromov, sat silently and impassively by his side. August's coup attempt was spearheaded by Interior Ministry troops under Gromov's command.

**RN's meeting with Vladimir Kryuchkov was the first substantive exchange any American President had ever had with a KGB chief. Kryuchkov made his distaste for reform clear when he told the former President, "We have**

**had as much democratization and glasnost as we can stomach."**

In addition to meeting top officials of the Soviet central government and Yeltsin's Russian Federation, RN traveled to Lithuania, the Ukraine and Georgia, in each case meeting both with the republic's top leaders, opposition representatives and, in the case of Lithuania, representatives of ethnic minorities.

In Vilnius, Lithuania, where President Nixon had meetings with President Landsbergis and was guest of honor at a State dinner, over 5,000 Lithuanians braved a late - winter blizzard to greet him. At one intersection near the airport, 2,000 crowded into the street, waving U.S. and Lithuanian flags and shouting "Long Live Nixon!", "Long Live America!" and "Nixon, Save Our Independence." RN asked his driver to stop, left the car and plunged into the crowd, which soon began to sing the Lithuanian national anthem. Nixon said later the reception reminded him of the tumultuous welcome he and Mrs. Nixon received upon their arrival in Warsaw in 1959.



**Face to Face**  
RN greeted by  
Lithuanians and  
Russian Federation  
President  
Boris Yeltsin.





**Baltic Freedom Fighter**—Julie Nixon Eisenhower escorts Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis on a tour of the Birthplace following his address to leaders of business, industry and government at the Museum in May.

Lithuania, along with Latvia and Estonia, declared its independence from the Soviet Union in 1990, although the Soviet Union did not recognize the republic's sovereignty. Lithuanian officials told RN there were still between 80,000 and 150,000 Soviet troops stationed in the Baltic republic.

During a visit to the TV tower in Vilnius where 15 persons were killed in January by Soviet troops, over 5,000 more people crowded around the former President as Vice President Bronislovas Kuzmickas guided him to the site of the shootings. "I cannot tell you how and when independence will be consummated, but you can be sure that you have the support of the great majority of the people of the United States," RN told the crowd. "That independence must come, but let it come peacefully and let it come expeditiously." A half-hour later, at a cemetery a few miles away, he laid a wreath at the victims' graves and then embraced the parents of one of them.

**The breadth of RN's contacts with leaders both in and out of office impelled no less an authority than *The Washington Post* to conclude, "No foreign visitor in government, academia, or the media has had such access in recent years." Other observers went**

**even further, saying that no American statesman in history had ever had as broad a range of contacts with Soviet government and opposition leaders in a single visit.**

On his previous visits to the Soviet Union, beginning with his first in 1959 — where a young Vice President Nixon grappled with Nikita Khrushchev in the famous Kitchen Debate — RN had been a guest of the Soviet government. This time he traveled under the auspices of Moscow's Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), where he gave a major address a few days after his arrival. As a private guest he had far more flexibility and mobility and was able to circulate freely among everyday Muscovites without the usual intimidating government security details.

He had no Secret Service agents of his own, having voluntarily given up his detail in 1985, when he took on the expense of paying for his own security. The first former President in history to give up Secret Service protection, RN has by now saved taxpayers \$20 million.

When he was not in meetings or preparing for them, President Nixon made unscheduled visits to Moscow's Central Market, a state-run store, and Red Square, where one chilly Saturday morning

he commiserated with disconsolate shoppers standing in a mammoth line outside the GUM department store.

"What are you going to buy today?" he asked a woman named Valentina.

"Whatever they'll sell us," she replied, showing the President her ration card.

"I'll put this on it, and that'll help!" he said, autographing the card with a flourish. Later he told a reporter that he was surprised by how discouraged people seemed. "I sensed a sort of resignation that I did not see before," he said, comparing the scene to his visit to a Moscow farmer's market in 1959.

RN was accompanied by Robert F. Ellsworth, the former Kansas congressman who also served as ambassador to NATO and deputy secretary of defense and now heads a leading London think tank, the International Institute for Strategic Studies; distinguished Sovietologist Dimitri K. Simes of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (an IMEMO fellow before emigrating to the United States in the 1970's); John H. Taylor, Library & Birthplace director; and Michael A. Endicott, staff and security aide.

**President Nixon paid his own expenses and those of the entire party. Upon his return he briefed President Bush on his findings. He is certain as well to rely heavily on his wealth of first-hand observations when preparing his next (and ninth) book, a foreign policy survey due out soon from Simon & Schuster.**

**After the trip, *New York Times* columnist (and former Nixon speechwriter) William Safire marveled at the complexity of RN's approach. He wrote, "The multiple messages, the subtle interweaving, the crosscut rhetoric to manipulate policy change — you can't watch Elder Statesman Nixon without a scorecard."**





### **The Docent Guild, nearly 100 strong.**

*In May, Julie Nixon Eisenhower was the guest of honor at a reception hosted for the Docent Guild, an energetic group of dedicated volunteers who serve as museum aides seven days a week and conduct guided tours for adult and school groups. Recruited and trained by Evelyn Young, director of public programs, the docents are attracting rave reviews from visitors. The first president, Kathy Johnson, was followed by 1991-1992 president Marilyn Little.*

## **ASSOCIATE'S CLUB:**

### **The Museum's Family of Friends.**

Building a grass roots support group is a familiar step when campaigning for public office, and now the same strategy is working to create an official family of friends who provide year-round support for the Museum's ambitious program of changing exhibits, public affairs and education.

More than 700 supporters signed up the first year.

Club benefits include a handsome membership card, an annual subscription to the *Looking\*Forward* newsletter, a logo lapel pin, special merchandise offers, and invitations to VIP events.

As a bonus for Charter Membership, card holders receive four free Museum admissions.

Annual dues range from \$35 to \$500. Applications are available from the Library. (See Order Form, Page 11.) ★

## **GROUPS FIND MUSEUM A FUN AND INSPIRING HISTORICAL JOURNEY**

A group visit to the Nixon Presidential Museum is a fascinating educational, cultural and entertainment experience. The Library is now established as one of southern California's most popular outings for civic and service clubs, and professional and special interest organizations holding conventions in Anaheim, Los Angeles and San Diego.

Groups, like all visitors, see the Museum on self-guided tours, usually spending close to three hours watching the 28-minute movie, exploring the galleries, strolling through the gardens and Birthplace, and browsing in the Gift Shop.

Groups of 20 or more may purchase reduced admission in advance at \$2.95 for adults age 12 and above, and \$1 for children age 8 to 11. Children age 7 and under are free. Docent guides may be scheduled in advance with a surcharge of \$.50 per person.

Students through high school are free when attending in school groups of 20 or more, and accompanied by one teacher or other adult escort per ten students.

Reservations may be made by contacting Laura Goodwin, group sales and event coordinator, with the date, arrival time and group size. ★

## **GIFTS GALORE FROM THE MUSEUM STORE**

**1) Holiday Ornaments:** 24k Gold Finish, 3 dimensional Birthplace scene. \$9.50

**2) Embossed Museum Christmas Cards:** Birthplace scene surrounded by holiday wreath. "Peace" inside. By California artist Inge Elbourne. Set of 10: \$10

**3) Pictorial Album:** 12-page, 4-color portfolio of photos and text on the opening ceremonies, plus pictures of the galleries and Birthplace. Excerpts of remarks by Presidents Bush, Nixon, Reagan and Ford. \$5.95

**4) Presidential Signature Plates, by the Boehm Studios:** Reproductions of the English Bone China service used at the Grand Opening luncheon attended by Presidents Bush, Nixon, Reagan, Ford and their First Ladies. Museum Eagle seal on the front and Presidential signatures on the back. 10-1/2 inches. 24-k gold borders. Elegant for display or service. \$95 each. Set of four: \$350

**5) In the Arena, by Richard Nixon:**

**a.** Hard cover \$15

**b.** Autographed limited edition.

Leather

bound. \$150

**c.** Audio Cassette.

\$15.95

**6) Library**

**Editions of RN's best sellers:**

Full-text. Soft cover.

**a.** Six Crises \$12.95

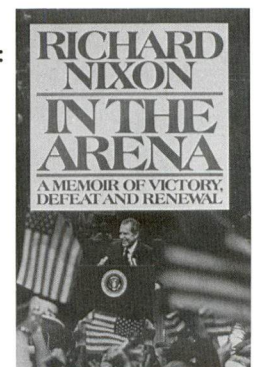
**b.** Leaders \$12.95

**c.** Real Peace/No More Vietnams \$12.95

**d.** 1999 Victory Without War \$10.95

**e.** The Real War \$12.95

**f.** RN Memoirs \$17.95

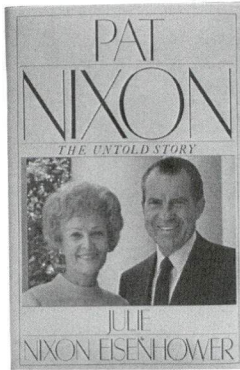


**7) Pat Nixon: The Untold Story:**

By Julie Nixon Eisenhower. \$10

**8) Spaulding**

**Golf Balls:** With the eagle logo in copper and green, and the President's signature. Sleeve of three: \$10



**9) Pens and Pencils:**

- a. Ball point pen. Eagle logo and RN's signature. Red, white and blue. 99 cents
- b. Felt pen. American flag with Library inscription. Red, white and blue. \$1.25
- c. Felt pen. Eagle logo. Copper and green. \$1.25
- d. Pencils. Green and white mix with Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace imprinted in gold. Packet of 15. \$4



**14) Baseball Caps:** One size fits all.

- a. Navy with copper and green Eagle logo. \$9.50
- b. White with red and navy Eagle logo. \$9.50
- c. Navy with red, white and blue. "Richard Nixon. America's 37th President." Presidential Seal. \$15

**15) Sweatshirts by Russell Athletic:**

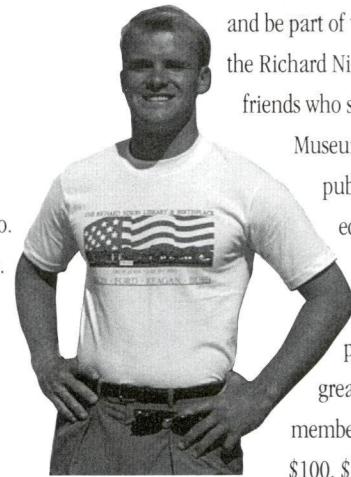
- S/M/L/XL sizes. \$22.50
- a. White with navy or green Museum Eagle logo.
- b. Gray with navy or green Museum Eagle logo.

**16) Dedication Day Tee Shirt:** Colorful design incorporates U.S. flag with Museum, and each President's name. 100% cotton in red, white and blue. Kids sizes: S/M/L Adult sizes: S/M/L/XL \$12.50

**17) Birthplace Birdhouse.** A cozy recreation of the Nixon boyhood home. Redesigned as Presidential quarters for your fine feathered friends. \$45

**18) Conference Transcript: "Bridges to Human Dignity: The Push for Minority Capitalism from Nixon to Bush."** National Issues Conference Transcript. Includes keynote address by Hon. Jack Kemp. \$10

**19) THE ASSOCIATE'S CLUB:** Join the Club and be part of the family — the Richard Nixon family of friends who support the



Museum's important public affairs, educational and special exhibition programs. A great gift! Annual membership: \$35, \$75, \$100, \$200 or \$500. ★



**10) Mugs:**

- a. American Flag with Library inscription. \$9.50 Set of 4: \$34.20
- b. Museum Eagle Logo. \$8.50 Set of 4: \$31.50
- c. The President and The King (RN and Elvis). \$7.50 Set of 4: \$27

**11) Neck Ties: \$25**

- a. Burgundy with Museum Eagle logo in gold. Silk.
- b. Navy with Museum Eagle logo in white. Silk.
- c. GOP Elephant Tie. Blend.

**12) Playing Cards:** Presidential Eagle logo. \$5.25

**13) Lightweight nylon windbreakers by Champion:** Red or blue with Presidential Eagle logo. S/M/L/XL sizes. \$35

**MERCHANDISE ORDER INFORMATION:**

Complete this form and mail or fax (714) 528-0544 to the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace, 18001 Yorba Linda Blvd., Yorba Linda, California 92686. We ship anywhere in the world. Call (714) 993-9747 for phone orders weekdays between 10:00 am and 5:00 pm Pacific Time. Orders shipped UPS.

**Shipping/Handling Charge for Each Order:**

Up to \$5.50 - \$3.30	\$17.95 to \$29.99 - \$5.95	\$40 to \$49.99 - \$10.25
\$5.51 to \$17.94 - \$4.40	\$30 to \$39.99 - \$8.10	\$50 to \$64.99 - \$12.37
<b>Order Form:</b> Please print.		Over \$65 - \$14.57

Your name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_ Tel: \_\_\_\_\_ Fax: \_\_\_\_\_

Item Code	Quantity	Description	Size/Color	Price	Total
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	\$ _____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	\$ _____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	\$ _____

Total Amount: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Shipping and Handling: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Tax (For Calif. orders only, add State Sales Tax of 7.75%): \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total Due: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**Payment:** Check enclosed, payable to the Nixon Library, for \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Credit Card: VISA # \_\_\_\_\_ MasterCard # \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration date: \_\_\_\_\_





# PLANNING TO VISIT? HERE'S WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW:

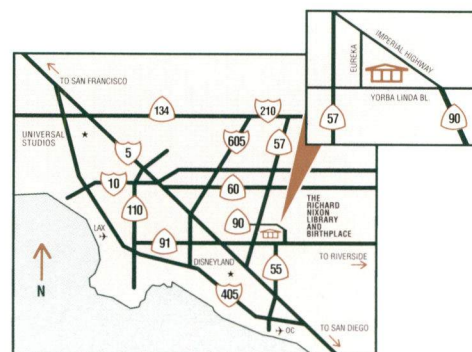
**Highlights:** The first Presidential Museum to be both constructed and operated entirely without taxpayers' funds. Built at a cost of more than \$21 million. Formal dedication ceremonies July 19, 1990. Nine acres of galleries, gardens and theaters — including the 52,000 square foot main gallery, the restored Birthplace home, a 75-seat amphitheater, 30' x 120' reflecting pool and the First Lady's Garden. **Operations:** Open daily except Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year's Day. Hours: 10:00 am to 5:00 pm. Sundays 11:00 am to 5:00 pm. Prices and operating schedule subject to change. Accessible by wheelchair.

**Location:** 18001 Yorba Linda Boulevard, Yorba Linda, Orange County, California 92686, just 15 minutes from Disneyland.

**Admission Prices:** Adults age 12 and over: \$4.95. Children age 8 to 11: \$1.00. Children age 7 and under: free. Seniors age 62 and over: \$2.95. Groups of 20 persons or more: \$2.95 each. School groups of students through high school are free with advance reservations. Free parking. VISA and MasterCard accepted.

**Private Functions:** The Library, Birthplace and grounds are available for receptions, meetings, banquets, conferences, weddings and other group functions by special arrangements made in advance.

**Hotels:** Nearby hotels include the Fullerton Marriott (714) 738-7800 or (800) 228-9290; the Woodfin Suites Brea/Fullerton (714) 579-3200 or (800) 237-8811; the Fullerton Radisson Suites (714) 579-7400 or (800) 777-7800; and the Yorba Linda Countryside Suites (714) 921-8688 or (800) 336-0632.



- ★ 25 minutes from John Wayne Orange County Airport
- ★ 45 minutes from Los Angeles Airport
- ★ 15 minutes from Anaheim/Disneyland
- ★ 90 minutes from San Diego
- ★ 40 minutes from Hollywood

## LOOKING ★ FORWARD

Winter 1991-92

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THE RICHARD NIXON  
LIBRARY & BIRTHPLACE

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Yorba Linda, California 92686  
(714) 993-3393

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