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Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13610
Folder ID Number: 13610-009

Folder Title:
Nixon Library Dinner 3/11/92 [OA 6099] [1]

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Document No. 313693ss

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 10 P3:30

DATE: 3/10/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NIXON LIBRARY SPEECH WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☑	MCBRIDE	☐	☑
SCOWCROFT	☐	☑	MOORE	☐	☑
DARMAN	☐	☑	PETERSMEYER	☐	☑
BRADY	☐	☑	PORTER	☐	☑
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☑
CALIO	☐	☑	ROLLINS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☐	☑	SMITH	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	YEUTTER	☐	☑
GRAY	☐	☑	FINDLAY	☐	☑
HOLIDAY	☐	☑	DELAND	☐	☑
			KAUFMAN		☑
			MCGROARTY		☑

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 MAR 10 P1:59

March 10, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: CURT SMITH

SUBJECT: NIXON LIBRARY SPEECH

On Wednesday, March 11 at 9:35 p.m., you will address a foreign policy forum sponsored by the Richard Nixon Library at the Four Seasons Hotel. Your remarks (17 minutes, teleprompter) focus on President Nixon's achievements in foreign policy; the lessons learned from his stewardship; and how those lessons can help build the New World Order.

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
March 10, 1992
Draft Four
A:3692RNIX

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 <u>being</u> an American in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> it. //

Richard Nixon was born in the house his father built. Like Dwight Eisenhower, he had the "great and priceless privilege of being raised 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 <u>any other man</u> 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. //

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. 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." // "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 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 Bejing. 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. / Or at the fledgling democracies here in our own hemisphere. / Look at Cambodia and its neighbors in Southeast Asia, yearning for peace. Or 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, 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. / 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. //

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.

# # # #

DRAFT 6 | Mar 11, '92 | RN | RS

945 am

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

Nixon or Ford?

Richard NIXON,

A writer once said of Henry's boss, "His life was somehow central to the experience of <u>being</u> an American in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> it. //

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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.~~ //

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.

Isolationism is not the only temptation we need to avoid. Protectionism is another [even more seductive which] ~~It too~~ will be difficult to resist. There are, indeed, 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 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. It is not hard to see why. Prices go up. Quality and choice go down. Our goal [should] must 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. //

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. // → we will have little success at ← persuading others to do more if we choose 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

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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.

# # # #

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
March 11, 1992
Draft Six
A:NIXONII

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

Mr. President; Ambassador Annenberg; Julie and David Eisenhower; [Tricia and Edward Cox]; 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 <u>being</u> an American in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> 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.]]

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This challenge is by no means unprecedented. Think back to the era after World War I or the years in the immediate wake of

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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.

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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

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(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
March 11, 1992
Draft Six
A:NIXONII

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

Mr. President; Ambassador Annenberg; Julie and David Eisenhower; [Tricia and Edward Cox]; 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 <u>being</u> an American in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> 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.]]

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This challenge is by no means unprecedented. Think back to the era after World War I or the years in the immediate wake of

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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. //

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 -

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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. //

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

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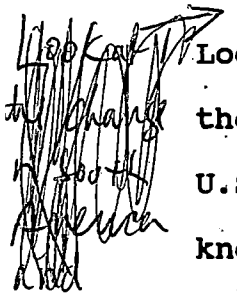

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STAFFED 11:05 W
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The result, as they say, is history. We kept the peace. We won the Cold War. Democracy is on the March. Now, for the third time this century, we have emerged on the winning side of 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. 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 and profound 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 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. 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. / Or at the fledgling democracies here in our own hemisphere. / Look at Cambodia and its neighbors in Southeast Asia, yearning for an end to decades of violence. Or at the historic peace process in the Middle East -- one that holds out hope of reconciling Israel and her Arab neighbors. Look at a UN that may be at long last in a position to fulfill the vision of its founders. / The success of each depends on U.S. support and leadership. / Look, too, at the threats that know no boundaries: drugs, terrorism, disease, pollution -- and above all, the spread of weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. They, too, will yield only to an America that is vigilant, and strong. //

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."]]

Yes, carrying out a leadership role in determining the course of the emerging world will cost money. But like any insurance policy, the premium is modest compared to the potential cost of living in a warring and hostile world. // Many in Congress are calling for a peace dividend. They would have us slash defense spending far below the reduced levels we have calculated would be prudent. This must be resisted. The United States must remain ready and able to keep the peace; a well-trained, well-equipped military cannot be created overnight if and when the need arises. Anyone who has ever gone to war knows that peace is its own dividend.

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. 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 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. It is not hard to see why. Prices go up. Quality and choice go down. Our goal must 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. //

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. We will have little success at persuading others to do more if we choose 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 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.

# # # #

Document No. 313693ss

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 10 P2:41

DATE: 3/9/92 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 11:00 A.M. 3/10/92

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NIXON LIBRARY
FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
WASHINGTON, DC
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☑	MCBRIDE	☐	☑
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	MOORE	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	PETERSMEYER	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	PORTER	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
CALIO	☑	☐	ROLLINS	☑	☐
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SMITH	☑	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☑	YEUTTER	☐	☑
GRAY	☑	☐	FINDLAY	☐	☑
HOLIDAY	☑	☐	KAUFMAN	☐	☑
			MCGROARTY		☑
			DELAND	☑	

REMARKS:

Please forward your remarks directly to Dan McGroarty Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 11:00 A.M., Tuesday, March 10, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

No Comment
-Sherrie Rollins
Called in at 9:00

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

92 MAR 9 P4:21

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
March 9, 1992
Draft Three
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 <u>being</u> an America in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> 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 / revenue sharing / a pioneering cancer initiative / and ended the draft. More people voted for him as President than <u>any man</u> 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. /

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." / 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.

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." //

Look at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda. You see a "World Leaders" Room of giants -- Churchill, Ike, 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. / 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. /

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 Bejing. 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,

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

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 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 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 in 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 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.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 10, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: CURT SMITH

SUBJECT: NIXON LIBRARY SPEECH

On Wednesday, March 11 at 9:35 p.m., you will address a foreign policy forum sponsored by the Richard Nixon Library at the Four Seasons Hotel. Your remarks (17 minutes, teleprompter) focus on President Nixon's achievements in foreign policy; the lessons learned from his stewardship; and how those lessons can help build the New World Order.

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
March 10, 1992
Draft Four
A:3692RNIX

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 <u>being</u> an American in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> it. //

Richard Nixon was born in the house his father built. Like Dwight Eisenhower, he had the "great and priceless privilege of being raised 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 <u>any other man</u> 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. //

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. 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." // "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 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 Bejing. 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. / Or at the fledgling democracies here in our own hemisphere. / Look at Cambodia and its neighbors in Southeast Asia, yearning for peace. Or 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. //

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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. //

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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.

# # # #

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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 <u>being</u> an American in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> it. //

Richard Nixon was born in the house his father built. Like Dwight Eisenhower, he had the "great and priceless privilege of being raised 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 <u>any other man</u> 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. //

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. 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." // "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 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 Bejing. 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. / Or at the fledgling democracies here in our own hemisphere. / Look at Cambodia and its neighbors in Southeast Asia, yearning for peace. Or 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, 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. / 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. //

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 <u>more</u> rather than <u>less</u> complicated, <u>more</u> rather than <u>less</u> 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 <u>you</u> used 33 years ago, in the kitchen in Moscow, with former Premier Khrushchev. //

You describe the scene memorably in your latest book, <u>Seize the Moment</u>. When Khrushchev bragged that, "Your grandchildren will live under communism" -- you responded that <u>his</u> grandchildren would live in <u>freedom</u>. / He was wrong, but at the time you were not sure you were right. Today, we know you <u>were</u> -- 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.

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Document No. 313693ss

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 10 P2:40

DATE: 3/9/92 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 11:00 A.M. 3/10/92

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NIXON LIBRARY
FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
WASHINGTON, DC
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☑	MCBRIDE	☐	☑
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	MOORE	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	PETERSMEYER	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	PORTER	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
CALIO	☑	☐	ROLLINS	☑	☐
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SMITH	☑	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☑	YEUTTER	☐	☑
GRAY	☑	☐	FINDLAY	☐	☑
HOLIDAY	☑	☐	KAUFMAN	☐	☑
			MCGROARTY		☑
			DELAND		☑

REMARKS:

Please forward your remarks directly to Dan McGroarty Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 11:00 A.M., Tuesday, March 10, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

To JF

A couple of suggestions

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

92 MAR 9 P4:21

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
March 9, 1992
Draft Three
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 <u>being</u> an America in the second half of this century." / I am proud tonight to salute a President who made a difference -- not because he <u>wished</u> it, but because he <u>willed</u> 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 / revenue sharing / a pioneering cancer initiative / and ended the draft. More people voted for him as President than <u>any man</u> in history. //

worth highlighting...

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. /

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." / 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.

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." //

Look at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda. You see a "World Leaders" Room of giants -- Churchill, Ike, 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. / 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. /

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 Bejing. 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,

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

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 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 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 in 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 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.

# # # #