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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 Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13610
Folder ID Number: 13610-010

Folder Title:
Nixon Library Dinner 3/11/92 [OA 6099][2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	17	7	4

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 9 P5:11

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

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

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT <i>Rostow b538</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY <i>Schaer 2607</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>probably N/C</i> HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			DELAND <i>5160</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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:

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 being an America 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 / revenue sharing / a pioneering cancer initiative / and ended the draft. More people voted for him as President than any 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. /

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 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,

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.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

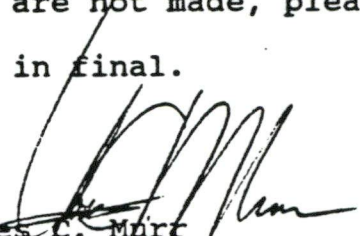
92 MAR 10 AM 11:07

MAR 10 1992

NOTICE:

Enclosed are comments from staff members of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Such comments do not necessarily represent the official position of the Director of OMB or of the Office of Management and Budget. If you wish to have the Director's personal comments, please let me know -- and contact me if you have any questions.

If our proposed substantive changes are not made, please let us know before the material is prepared in final.


James C. Merritt
Associate Director for
Legislative Reference
and Administration

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See Comments

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Assistant to the President
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Ext. 2702

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(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
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Are you saying you are actually for revenue sharing!?!?!?

Grady
4/8/14

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Note:

wasn't their
cold war

Howard
4657

4

cooperate

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4657

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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.

#



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

722 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20503

DATE: 3/10/92

TO: DAN Mc GROARTY

TELEPHONE: _____

FAX: x 626

FROM: Dale Curtis, Special Assistant

TELEPHONE: 202-395-5750

FAX: 202-395-3744

PAGES: 5

MESSAGE:

Dan - a great speech on one of the
greats. Suggestion: with The Earth Summit
negotiations ongoing today at the UN (Nixon
did it in 1972) - and with The Admin getting
some positive press recently for its position on
global warming - a ^{strong} mention of the international
environment issues could help Bush politically and
give the speech a "forward look." - Dale

02 MAR 9 P4:21

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
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Draft Three
NILH008

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WASHINGTON, D.C.
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~~founded the Environmental Protection Agency~~ / *revenue sharing* / a
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Yet as I said when his Library opened, Richard Nixon will be
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** put crime and drugs on the national agenda*

2

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4

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. *Today as in Nixon's day,* the success of such 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." / "Cut 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: R-
E-A-D -- because America was, and will remain, engaged. //

We have the obligation -- the responsibility to our children -- to
make the world a better place by
rejecting 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,

* with Bush getting more credit These days on global warming, ozone, etc - not necessarily doing the popular thing but the right thing -

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 ^{without disorder}, prosperity ^{without pollution}, 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 race only if America's President commands the respect of the world. /

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

and with United Nations today discussing env'tal treaties, a mention here would set speech apart -

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 10 P12:18

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

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

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			DELAND		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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:

see comments
P1
P7

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

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

92 MAR 9 P4:21

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 America 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 / revenue sharing / a
pioneering cancer initiative / and ended the draft. More people
voted for him as President than any man in history. //

Yet as I said when his Library opened, Richard Nixon will be
remembered for another reason: Dedicating his life to the

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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. //

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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.

#

America's Role in the Emerging World

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So, 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--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.

stet → ~~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.~~

And, 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

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.

But 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.~~ ^{So} 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

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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 ^{mealest} ~~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.~~ ^{But}

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~~ ^{Not restrict it-}

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 ^{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.

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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.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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 SUBJECT: FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
WASHINGTON, DC
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	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

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

02 MAR 9 P4:21

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

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FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
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Mr. President. Secretary Kissinger, Ambassador Annenberg.
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((Let me say how impressed I am by this audience. / I'm
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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. //

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

92 MAR 10 AIO: 21

March 10, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: GENE C. SCHAEER *GCS/cm*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Nixon Library

Counsel's office has reviewed the matter, and has no legal objection. Factual suggestion noted.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on this matter.

cc: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

MAR - 9 1992

MAR - 9 1992

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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

Table with columns for names and checkboxes for ACTION and FYI. Names include VICE PRESIDENT, SKINNER, SCOWCROFT, DARMAN, BRADY, BROMLEY, CALIO, DEMAREST, FITZWATER, GRAY, HOLIDAY, HORNER, MCBRIDE, MOORE, PETERSMEYER, PORTER, ROGICH, ROLLINS, SMITH, YEUTTER, FINDLAY, 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:

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
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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 America 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 / 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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Pinkerton + John Gardner's careers.

(Smith/Arryhus)
March 9, 1992
Draft Three
MILHOUS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NIXON LIBRARY
WASHINGTON HILTON
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1992

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

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			DELAND		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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:

Good - should we mention more about Russia and the Nixon memo?

BT for SR

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

92 MAR 9 P4:21

(Smith/Aarhus/Chia)
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Draft Three
MILHOUS

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