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To: Rick Smith From: Boyer Cuzo
Fax: _____ Pages: 6 (including cover sheet)
Phone: _____ Date: _____
Re: _____ CC: _____

COMMENTS:

Rick:

*The first 5 pages of a 3/1/95
speech - Senator remembers Pres.*

*Nixon @ RLO office -
lunch. Boyer*

AFTER VICTORY: *DEFINING AN AMERICAN ROLE IN AN UNCERTAIN WORLD*

NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE
Wednesday and Thursday, March 1st & 2nd, 1995
The Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1

9:00 am

CONFERENCE RECEPTION CENTER OPENS

11:30 am

OPENING RECEPTION

12:00 noon

WELCOMING REMARKS

George L. Argyros, *Founding Chairman, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom*

OPENING REMARKS

Henry A. Kissinger, *former Secretary of State*

LUNCHEON KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Speaker: Senator Robert Dole, *Majority Leader, United States Senate*

2:15 pm

FIRST PANEL: *New Brave World: American Dominance or Anarchy?*

Panel Chair:

Brent Scowcroft, *former National Security Advisor*

Panelists:

Josef Joffe, *Foreign Affairs Editor, Süddeutsche Zeitung*

Joseph Lieberman, *United States Senate*

Dimitri K. Simes, *President, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom*

4:00 pm

SECOND PANEL: *Economic Dimensions of American National Security*

Panel Chair:

Lionel Olmer, *former Under Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs*

Panelists:

Norman Augustine, *Chairman and CEO, Martin Marietta Corp.*

Laura D. Tyson, *Chair, Council of Economic Advisors*

6:30 pm

RECEPTION AND BLACK TIE DINNER

Dinner Chairman: Henry A. Kissinger

Speaker to be Announced

BILL CLINTON

THURSDAY, MARCH 2

9:00 am

CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST

9:30 am

THIRD PANEL: *Sources of Instability*

Panel Chair: John McCain, *United States Senate*

Panelists:

Reghida Dergam, *Senior Diplomatic Correspondent, Al-Hayat*

Samuel P. Huntington, *Director, Olin Institute, Harvard University*

Author of "Clash of Civilizations"

Alexander Vershbow, *Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs, National Security Council*

10:45 am

FOURTH PANEL: *Defining U.S. National Interests*

Panel Chair: Robert F. Ellsworth, *former U.S. Ambassador to NATO*

Panelists:

James Kurth, *Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College*

Richard Lugar, *United States Senate*

C. William Maynes, *Editor, Foreign Policy*

Peter W. Rodman, *Director, National Security Programs, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom*

12:30 pm

LUNCHEON KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Speaker: Henry A. Kissinger, *Former Secretary of State*

2:30 pm

FIFTH PANEL: *What Price U.S. Global Engagement?*

Panel Chair: James R. Schlesinger, *former Secretary of Defense*

Panelists:

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *former National Security Advisor*

William Hyland, *former Editor, Foreign Affairs*

Charles Krauthammer, *Syndicated Columnist*

Sam Nunn, *United States Senate*

4:00 pm

ADJOURN

Concluding remarks by Dimitri K. Simes

President, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom

**THANK YOU. MY
CONGRATULATIONS TO DIMITRI
SIMES, STEVE CLEMONS, JOHN
TAYLOR, SANDY QUINN, AND ALL
THOSE CONNECTED WITH THE
NIXON CENTER FOR PEACE AND
FREEDOM FOR THEIR SPONSORSHIP
OF THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE.**

**I CAN'T HELP BUT THINK BACK
TO THE DAY IN JANUARY OF 1994,
WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON MADE HIS**

LAST VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL.

**THE OCCASION WAS THE 25TH
ANNIVERSARY OF HIS
INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT.
AND OVER 100 PAST AND PRESENT
SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN--
REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS
ALIKE--ATTENDED A LUNCH
HONORING PRESIDENT NIXON THAT
BOB MICHEL AND I HOSTED.**

**AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE
LUNCH, PRESIDENT NIXON STOOD--
AND WITHOUT A NOTE IN HIS
HAND--DELIVERED ONE OF THE
MOST COMPELLING SPEECHES
MANY OF US COULD REMEMBER.**

**AS ALWAYS, HE TALKED
POLITICS, AND HE ALSO SHARED
SOME PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON
HIS LIFE AND CAREER. BUT THE
MAJORITY OF HIS REMARKS WERE**

**DEVOTED TO HIS LIFE'S PASSION--
FOREIGN POLICY.**

**PRESIDENT NIXON SERVED AS
OUR GUIDE, LEADING US ON AN
AROUND-THE-WORLD TOUR,
OFFERING HIS UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE
ON THE STRENGTHS AND
WEAKNESSES OF OUR ALLIES AND
ADVERSARIES, AND ON THE FUTURE
AS HE SAW IT.**

**IN HIS REMARKS, HE REPEATED A
STATEMENT THAT HE MADE AGAIN
AND AGAIN DURING THE LAST YEAR
OF HIS LIFE. HE SAID, "THE
SOVIETS HAVE LOST THE COLD
WAR, BUT THE UNITED STATES HAS
NOT YET WON IT."**

**THOSE WORDS WERE TRUE
THEN--AND ARE JUST AS TRUE
TODAY. AND WHILE THE TITLE OF
THIS CONFERENCE--"AFTER**

**VICTORY"--HAS A NICE RING TO IT, I
BELIEVE THE DECLARATION MAY BE
A BIT PREMATURE. IT IS, AFTER
ALL, POSSIBLE TO WIN THE WAR
AND LOSE THE PEACE -- AS THE
YEARS BETWEEN WORLD WAR I
AND WORLD WAR II DEMONSTRATE.**

**DON'T GET ME WRONG. THE
STAGE IS SET. WE ARE THE
WORLD'S ONLY SUPERPOWER. AND
THE WORDS SPOKEN BY NIKITA**

KHRUSHCHEV IN THAT FAMOUS
"KITCHEN DEBATE" WERE DEAD
WRONG. NOT ONLY WILL
AMERICA'S CHILDREN NEVER LIVE
UNDER COMMUNISM--NEITHER WILL
RUSSIA'S CHILDREN. STILL, THERE
ARE FAR TOO MANY GAINS TO
CONSOLIDATE, AND FAR TOO
MANY UNCERTAINTIES IN THE
WORLD TO SAY THAT A FINAL
PEACE HAS BEEN WON.

**FOR EXAMPLE, THERE IS A
RESURGENT RUSSIA, ASSERTING ITS
POSITION AROUND THE GLOBE.
CHINA HAS INTERNATIONAL
AMBITIONS OF ITS OWN, AND IS IN
THE MIDST OF A LEADERSHIP
TRANSITION. THERE ARE
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS --
OFTEN STATE-SUPPORTED. THERE
ARE GLOBAL CRIME SYNDICATES.
THERE ARE EXTREMIST**

**MOVEMENTS BASED ON RELIGION
OR ETHNIC ORIGIN.**

**WHILE NONE OF THESE COMPARE
TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE SOVIET
EMPIRE, EACH OF THESE CAN POSE
THREATS TO IMPORTANT
AMERICAN INTERESTS.**

**IT SEEMS TO ME THESE
MULTIFACETED THREATS SHOULD
BE VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF
FIVE CLEAR GLOBAL REALTIES**

**WHICH AFFECT AMERICA'S
FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS.**

**ONLY BY RECOGNIZING THESE
REALITIES--AND DEALING WITH
THEM WITH THE SAME
COMMITMENT WHICH LED TO THE
DEFEAT OF SOVIET COMMUNISM--
WILL AMERICA TRULY BE ABLE TO
CLAIM VICTORY.**

**REALITY #1: THE FIRST NEW
REALITY IS THAT THE WHOLE**

**WORLD IS PLUNGING HEADLONG
INTO WHAT DAVID HALE OF THE
KEMPER ORGANIZATION IN
CHICAGO HAS TERMED A "NEW
GOLDEN AGE OF CAPITALISM."**

**I REMEMBER WHEN LECH
WALESIA TOLD ME THAT THE
DEFINITION OF A COMMUNIST
ECONOMY WAS "100 WORKERS
STANDING AROUND ONE SHOVEL."**

**NOW, IN PLACES LIKE POLAND,
RUSSIA, INDIA, LATIN AMERICA,
AND EVEN CHINA -- FOUR BILLION
PEOPLE FORMERLY UNDER SOME
FORM OF SOCIALISM ARE NOW
FIGHTING WITH EVERYTHING THEY
CAN LAY HANDS ON TO NOT JUST
GRAB A SHOVEL--BUT TO BUILD
SHOVEL FACTORIES.**

**THERE ARE NOW MORE THAN 30
STOCK MARKETS IN THE**

**DEVELOPING WORLD, AND
CAPITALIZATION OF THE FOUR-
YEAR-OLD SHANGHAI SECURITIES
EXCHANGE HAS REACHED \$30
BILLION. DENG XIAOPING HIMSELF
HAS SAID THAT NO ONE CARES
ANY MORE WHAT COLOR THE CAT
IS, AS LONG AS IT CATCHES MICE.
THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT
EVERYONE WANTS TO TRADE, AND
EVERYONE WANTS TO CREATE AND**

**USE CAPITAL ON A WORLD-WIDE
BASIS.**

**WHILE THIS NEW "GOLDEN AGE
OF CAPITALISM" OFFERS GREAT
OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICA, WE
MUST REMEMBER THAT MANY OF
THE COUNTRIES SO EAGER TO
ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF
MEMBERSHIP IN THE WORLD
TRADING SYSTEM MAY NOT FULLY
UNDERSTAND OR ACCEPT THE**

**RULES AND DISCIPLINE THAT GO
WITH IT.**

**A TRADE WAR WAS AVERTED
WITH CHINA, BUT OTHER THREATS
TO U.S. COMMERCIAL INTERESTS
WILL SURELY ARISE IN THE COMING
MONTHS AND YEARS, AND OUR
CONTINUED VIGILANCE AND
LEADERSHIP WILL BE REQUIRED.**

**REALITY #2: THE SECOND
INESCAPABLE REALITY OF THE
POST-20TH CENTURY WORLD IS
THAT THE SECURITY OF THE
WORLD'S OIL AND GAS SUPPLIES
WILL REMAIN A VITAL NATIONAL
INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES
AND OF THE OTHER INDUSTRIAL
POWERS.**

**THE PERSIAN GULF--THE
HEARTLAND OF WORLD ENERGY
FOR HALF A CENTURY--IS STILL A
REGION OF MANY UNCERTAINTIES.
SAUDI ARABIA HAS BEEN
WEAKENED FINANCIALLY. IRAN
AND IRAQ CONTINUE TO EXHIBIT
GREAT HOSTILITY TO THE WEST
AND POSE THREATS TO THEIR
NEIGHBORS.**

**AND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE
OIL AND GAS HEARTLAND ARE
BEING REDRAWN TO THE NORTH,
TO INCLUDE THE GREAT
HYDROCARBON DEPOSITS OF THE
CAUCASUS, SIBERIA, AND
KAZAKHSTAN.**

**IN THIS "NEW ENERGY ORDER,"
MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
GEOPOLITICAL DECISIONS -- ONES
ON WHICH A NATION'S**

**SOVEREIGNTY CAN DEPEND -- WILL
DEAL WITH THE LOCATION AND
ROUTES FOR OIL AND GAS
PIPELINES. IN RESPONSE, OUR
STRATEGY, OUR DIPLOMACY AND
OUR FORWARD MILITARY PRESENCE
NEED READJUSTING.**

**REALITY #3: THE THIRD INEVITABLE
REALITY FOR AMERICA -- AND FOR
THE WORLD -- IS THE FACT THAT
WHILE THE BERLIN WALL MAY HAVE**

**CRUMBLLED, WEAPONS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION HAVEN'T.**

**LISTEN TO JUST A PARTIAL ROLL
CALL OF COUNTRIES AND GROUPS
THAT ALREADY POSSESS NUCLEAR,
BIOLOGICAL OR CHEMICAL
WEAPONS: NORTH KOREA. IRAQ.
IRAN. LIBYA.**

**HAVE ANY OF THESE NATIONS
EARNED OUR TRUST? AND GIVEN
THEIR PAST BEHAVIOR, IS IT ANY**

**SURPRISE THAT THERE ARE
STARTLING SIGNS THAT A WORLD
WIDE BLACK MARKET IN NUCLEAR
WEAPONS HAS EMERGED?**

**ALL THIS IS TAKING PLACE AS
TALKS TO REVIEW THE GLOBAL
TREATY LIMITING THE SPREAD OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL SOON
BEGIN. EVEN IF THE NUCLEAR NON
PROLIFERATION TREATY IS
EXTENDED INDEFINITELY,**

**[REDACTED], WE MUST AVOID
FALLING INTO A FALSE SENSE OF
SECURITY. WE MUST PREPARE
NOW FOR THE FUTURE.**

**IRAQ, IRAN, AND NORTH KOREA
ALL ILLUSTRATE THE FAILURES OF
TRADITIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION
EFFORTS, WHICH DEPEND LARGELY
ON THE COOPERATION OF OTHER
STATES.**

**ONLY AFTER DESERT STORM DID
THE WEST LEARN JUST HOW FAR
IRAQI NUCLEAR AMBITIONS HAD
PROGRESSED.**

**AND INSTEAD OF ANNOUNCING
THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL
VETO ANY EFFORTS TO EASE OR
END U.N. SANCTIONS ON IRAQ, THE
ADMINISTRATION DISPATCHES AN
ENVOY TO PLEAD WITH THE
EUROPEANS FOR COOPERATION.**

**WHERE WOULD SUCH TIMIDITY
HAVE GOTTEN US IN THE COLD
WAR?**

**IRAN ALSO APPEARS POISED FOR
A GREAT LEAP FORWARD IN ITS
NUCLEAR PROGRAM--THANKS TO A
CASH-HUNGRY RUSSIA DOING FOR
IRAN WHAT THE CLINTON
ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE FOR
NORTH KOREA.**

**AND MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT
IT, THE AGREED FRAMEWORK WITH
NORTH KOREA HAS LITTLE
PROSPECT OF SUCCESSFULLY
ADDRESSING THE NORTH KOREAN
THREAT, AND APPARENTLY, HAS
ALREADY BEEN VIOLATED BY
PYONGYANG.**

**AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN
ADDRESSING THESE NON-
PROLIFERATION CHALLENGES IS**

**ESSENTIAL IF ADDITIONAL STATES
ARE NOT TO CHOOSE THE NUCLEAR
OPTION. IT'S WORTH ASKING:
WHAT WOULD WE HAVE DONE--OR
NOT DONE--IF IRAQ HAD ONE OR
TWO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN 1990?
PREVENTIVE MILITARY ACTION AS A
NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY TOOL
CANNOT BE RULED OUT.**

**THERE ARE DEFENSIVE OPTIONS,
HOWEVER, THAT COULD PROVIDE**

**THE UNITED STATES AND OUR
ALLIES WITH PROTECTION AGAINST
ACCIDENTAL AND LIMITED
BALLISTIC MISSILE STRIKES.**

**PURSuing AN EFFECTIVE BALLISTIC
MISSILE DEFENSE CAPABILITY
SHOULD BE A TOP PRIORITY FOR
U.S. DEFENSE POLICY NOW AND
FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.**

**REALITY #4: THE FOURTH NEW
GLOBAL REALITY IS THE INCREASE**

**IN VIOLENCE DUE TO EXTREMIST
RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC
MOVEMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF
THE GLOBE.**

**SOME OF THESE MOVEMENTS,
LIKE THE TRIBAL WARFARE IN
RWANDA, OR CONFLICTS IN BURMA
OR WEST AFRICA HAVE LITTLE
DIRECT IMPACT ON AMERICAN
INTERESTS.**

**HOWEVER, SOME OF THE
INSTABILITY AND TURMOIL DUE TO
ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE
IS IMPORTANT FOR AMERICAN
INTERESTS -- AND COULD LEAD TO
THE DISINTEGRATION OF KEY
STATES. SERBIAN GENOCIDAL
AGGRESSION IN THE BALKANS, FOR
EXAMPLE, THREATENS TO SPILL
OVER TO MACEDONIA, ALBANIA,
AND BEYOND.**

**AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN
INACTION IN THE FACE OF THAT
AGGRESSION CANNOT HELP BUT
EMBOLDEN OTHER RADICAL
"ETHNO-NATIONALISTS" BY GIVING
THEM A GREEN LIGHT FOR ETHNIC
CLEANSING.**

**THE INDIAN REBELLION IN
MEXICO COUPLED WITH FINANCIAL
UNCERTAINTY HAS RESULTED IN
GENUINE SECURITY CONCERNS ON**

**OUR SOUTHERN BORDER -- AND
MAKE NO MISTAKE THAT ILLEGAL
IMMIGRATION IS A SECURITY
THREAT.**

**A KEY NATO ALLY IN TURKEY
FACES ISLAMIC EXTREMISM AND A
SEPARATIST ETHNIC MOVEMENT.
VIOLENT ISLAMIC
FUNDAMENTALISTS THREATEN THE
GOVERNMENT IN ALGERIA, AND
HAVE LAUNCHED AN ASSAULT ON**

**EGYPT. HOW LONG WOULD THE
CAMP DAVID TREATY BE HONORED
IF FUNDAMENTALISTS TOOK POWER
IN EGYPT?**

**ISLAMIC TERRORISTS SEEK TO
DESTROY THE PEACE PROCESS
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO --
AND MAY BE HAVING SOME
SUCCESS. WITH SUPPORT FROM
IRAN AND OTHERS, ISLAMIC
TERRORISTS ALSO DEMONSTRATED**

**AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER
THAT AMERICA IS NOT IMMUNE
FROM ATTACK.**

**AND ETHNIC TURMOIL IN THE
FORMER SOVIET UNION CANNOT BE
IGNORED, AS WARFARE HAS
OCCURRED IN FIVE FORMER
REPUBLICS. AND THE CHECHENS
MAY BE JUST ONE OF MANY
ETHNIC GROUPS WILLING TO USE
VIOLENCE TO ALTER BOUNDARIES**

**ORIGINALLY SET BY JOSEPH
STALIN.**

**IN SHORT, THE LIST OF WORLD
"HOT SPOTS" IS FAR TOO LENGTHY
FOR ANYONE TO CONCLUDE THAT
AMERICA CAN BECOME
COMPLACENT.**

**REALITY #5: THIS LEADS TO THE
FIFTH GLOBAL REALITY WE MUST
FACE: THE FACT THAT
GEOPOLITICAL RIVALRY WITH**

**RUSSIA DID NOT END WITH THE
DEMISE OF SOVIET COMMUNISM.**

**ON HIS LAST TRIP ABROAD,
PRESIDENT NIXON SPOKE BEFORE
THE RUSSIAN STATE DUMA, AND
HE FORESHADOWED A CHANGE IN
RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS,
SAYING: "RUSSIA IS A GREAT
POWER, AND RUSSIA AS A GREAT
POWER MUST CHART ITS OWN
COURSE IN FOREIGN POLICY...WHEN**

**WE HAVE DIFFERENCES, WE
SHOULD NOT ASSUME THEY WILL
BE OVERCOME BY A GOOD
PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP EVEN AT
THE HIGHEST LEVEL."**

**AND AS WE HAVE SEEN TIME
AND TIME AGAIN, THE FOREIGN
POLICY COURSE THAT RUSSIA IS
CHARTING, IS ONE THAT IS OFTEN
IN CONFLICT WITH AMERICAN
INTERESTS.**

FOR EXAMPLE:

***RUSSIA STEPPED IN THE MIDDLE
OF THE NORTH KOREA AGREEMENT
BY OFFERING TO PROVIDE NUCLEAR
REACTORS -- WHICH WOULD HAVE
THE CLEAR EFFECT OF KILLING THE
U.S. BROKERED DEAL.**

***RUSSIA CONTINUES TO
THREATEN PROSPECTIVE NATO
MEMBERS OVER ALLIANCE
EXPANSION, THEREBY CONFIRMING**

THE NEED TO ENLARGE NATO SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.

***IN DECEMBER 1994, RUSSIA
VETOED A SANCTIONS RESOLUTION
ON SERBIA IN THE U.N. SECURITY
COUNCIL, ITS FIRST SUBSTANTIVE
VETO SINCE THE HEIGHT OF THE
COLD WAR IN 1985.**

***RUSSIA PERSISTS IN SUPPLYING
WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR**

TECHNOLOGY TO THE ROGUE REGIME IN IRAN.

***RUSSIA CONTINUES TO
MAINTAIN AN INTELLIGENCE
FACILITY AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL
IN CUBA, THEREBY PROLONGING
CASTRO'S OPPRESSION.**

***RUSSIAN PRESSURE,
SUBVERSION AND INTIMIDATION OF
THE SOVEREIGN STATES IN THE
"NEAR ABROAD" FOLLOWS A**

**HISTORICAL PATTERN SET LONG
BEFORE THE BOLSHEVIKS TOOK
POWER IN 1917.**

**AS DR. KISSINGER SAID LAST
MONTH BEFORE THE SENATE
ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE,
"...WHAT WE DEALT WITH IN THE
COLD WAR WAS BOTH
COMMUNISM AND IMPERIALISM,
AND WHILE COMMUNISM WAS**

**DEFEATED, THE TREND TOWARD
IMPERIALISM STILL EXISTS."**

**LET ME BE CLEAR IN SAYING
THAT NO ONE HAS BEEN MORE
SUPPORTIVE OF PRESIDENT YELTSIN
THAN I. IN JUNE 1991, I WENT TO
ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE TO
MEET PRESIDENT YELTSIN
VIRTUALLY ALONE, SINCE THE
UNITED STATES STATE
DEPARTMENT BELIEVED**

**GORBACHEV WAS THE "ONLY
GAME IN TOWN."**

**BUT JUST AS IT WAS WRONG TO
PLACE TOO MUCH FOCUS ON
GORBACHEV IN 1991, IT IS WRONG
IN 1995 TO IGNORE THAT FACT
THAT PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAS
MADE SERIOUS ERRORS, HAS
MOVED TOWARD AUTHORITARIAN
RULE, AND HAS LOST THE
POLITICAL SUPPORT OF VIRTUALLY**

ALL REFORM-MINDED RUSSIANS.

**THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S
MISGUIDED DEVOTION TO A
"RUSSIA FIRST" POLICY--WHICH
HAS TURNED INTO A "YELTSIN
FIRST" POLICY--RESULTED IN THE
LOSS OF A TREMENDOUS
OPPORTUNITY TO STATE AMERICAN
CONCERNS FORCEFULLY BEFORE
THOUSANDS WERE SLAUGHTERED
IN CHECHNYA.**

**A "NEW REALISM" ABOUT
RUSSIA AND ITS PROSPECTS FOR
THE FUTURE DOES NOT MEAN A
RETURN TO THE COLD WAR PAST.
IT DOES MEAN DEVELOPING A
MORE HONEST RELATIONSHIP, ONE
THAT DOES NOT PAPER OVER
IMPORTANT POLICY DIFFERENCES
WITH AN APPEAL TO PERSONAL
TIES.**

**NEW REALISM MEANS
EMPHASIZING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF
RUSSIA'S 1996 ELECTIONS, AND
THE PIVOTAL IMPORTANCE OF A
PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC
TRANSITION OF POWER.**

**AND NEW REALISM MEANS THAT
DEVELOPMENTS LIKE ARMS SALES
TO IRAN, VIOLENCE IN CHECHNYA,
AND U.N. VETOES ON BEHALF OF
AGGRESSORS SHOULD NOT BE**

**EXCUSED, IGNORED AND
MINIMIZED. OUR DIFFERENCES
WITH RUSSIA SHOULD BE
IDENTIFIED -- THEY SHOULD BE
NEGOTIATED WHEN POSSIBLE AND
CONDEMNED WHEN NECESSARY.
SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD
ULTIMATELY SERVE BOTH THE
RUSSIAN AND THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE BETTER THAN DEFENDING,**

**DENYING, AND RATIONALIZING
RUSSIAN MISDEEDS.**

**LET ME CONCLUDE BY SHARING
WITH YOU WORDS THAT RICHARD
NIXON SPOKE AT THE
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CREATION
OF THE CENTER FOR PEACE AND
FREEDOM IN JANUARY 1994.**

**"SOME ARE TIRED OF
LEADERSHIP. THEY SAY (AMERICA)
CARRIED THAT BURDEN LONG**

**ENOUGH. BUT IF WE DO NOT
PROVIDE LEADERSHIP, WHO WILL?
THE GERMANS? THE JAPANESE?
THE RUSSIANS? THE CHINESE?
ONLY THE UNITED STATES HAS THE
POTENTIAL...TO LEAD IN THE ERA
BEYOND PEACE. IT IS A GREAT
CHALLENGE FOR A GREAT PEOPLE."**

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
PRESIDENT NIXON WAS RIGHT.
LEADERSHIP DOES COME WITH A**

**PRICE TAG. BUT IT IS A PRICE
WORTH PAYING.**

**DEALING WITH THE FIVE
REALITIES I HAVE OUTLINED WILL
TEST AMERICA'S RESOLVE AND HER
LEADERSHIP. IF WE FAIL THOSE
TESTS--IF WE REFUSE THE MANTLE
OF LEADERSHIP--ANY DECLARATION
OF VICTORY WILL BE A LONG TIME
COMING.**

**BUT I AM AN OPTIMIST. LIKE
RICHARD NIXON, I BELIEVE IN
AMERICA AND IN AMERICAN
LEADERSHIP. I BELIEVE WE WILL
PASS OUR TESTS, AND IN DOING
SO, WE CAN CLAIM THE BIGGEST
VICTORY OF ALL-WE WILL HAVE
SECURED THE FUTURE OF OUR
GREAT REPUBLIC, AND OF PEACE
AND FREEDOM, FOR GENERATIONS
TO COME.**