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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

33 JAN 8 P4:37

January 8, 1993

Note for the President

From: Robert Zoellick & Andy Ferguson

Re: Draft Farewell Address

As we discussed earlier this week, we have prepared the attached draft for your consideration. If you think we're generally close to a target with which you are comfortable, then we can go over the changes or refinements you would like.

Draft Farewell
January 8, 1992

Good evening.

33 JAN 8 P4:38

Tonight is the last time I will speak to you from the Oval Office. I leave the White House with many warm memories, and with a great deal of pride in what we have accomplished together these last four years.

And now, as Governor Clinton prepares to take his place behind this desk, I offer him my support and prayers, as I know you offer him yours.

After Harry Truman left the presidency, he mentioned that he had exchanged one title -- Mr. President -- for another even more distinguished: Mr. Citizen. I'm proud to assume that title, so long as I can keep a few others I like just as much: father, grandfather, husband. I said on election night that I'd be getting big into the grandfather business, and I plan to do just that.

So I guess it's only natural that tonight my thoughts turn closest to home: my family. America's family. The American family.

And that's what I'd like to talk about for a few minutes tonight.

Many Americans got to know a special family this holiday season -- maybe you saw them on television or read about them in the newspaper. Eighteen months ago, Orestes Lorenzo Perez defected to the United States from Castro's Cuba. His family was forced to remain behind. Last month, Orestes made good on his

vow to carry them to freedom -- and he did it in a 31-year-old, four-seater plane.

Orestes' courage, and his love of family, speaks to us all. Now he, his wife and two children are here, safe and free in the United States, and in time they will become Americans -- as American as you or I. Living proof of what Franklin Roosevelt said half a century ago: "The principle on which this country was founded ... is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race and ancestry. A good American is one who is loyal to our ... creed of liberty and democracy."

That's Orestes Lorenzo. That's America. It's why we call the founding of our country a revolution. For alone among the countries of the world, America is based not on race or ethnicity or membership in some favored group. It is based on an idea -- an idea that we Americans believe applies to all human beings everywhere. That idea is freedom.

If you want to know just how revolutionary America is, look around the globe, where ethnic rivalries and ancient animosities of blood and culture drain scarce resources and waste precious lives. Today more than ever I believe that the American ideal must not only endure but prevail -- the ideal of E Pluribus Unum, a nation of many peoples forged by freedom into one people.

Here at home as well the time is right to reaffirm the American ideal. No matter our background, our race or our faith, we are, as George Washington said, "one people"; a nation of

special individuals, not special interests. At the core of our unique society is the individual, the family, the community, united by a belief in liberty and a common desire to fulfill our dreams and aspirations to the best of our abilities.

In this room, not long after his family's heroic flight to freedom, I had the chance to visit with Orestes Lorenzo. I was struck by something he told me. "Everything that makes families stronger," he said, "is bad for Castro."

That's the way it works in totalitarian countries. Families are the great bulwark against the arrogance of dictators, the most fertile ground for love, and love of freedom. In families we learn independence and self-sufficiency; families teach as no one else can the virtues of tolerance and self-respect. We discover in families the faith that reveals an authority higher than any state. All of this is subversive to dictators; which is why they must declare war on the family.

It's not that way in America. In a free country power flows from the people to the government, not the other way around. In America families and the government do not have to be at odds.

Quite the opposite: I believe a strong, active government can strengthen families, help them stay together and make them self-sufficient.

Here is the key: government must always remember -- must take as its guiding principle -- that the important decisions in life must be made by families themselves.

Too often in the past, and even with the best of intentions, government has overlooked this vital truth. Instead of strengthening the family, government at times subverts it. Instead of supporting parents, government has sometimes tried, in its zeal for action, to replace them altogether.

When fathers abandon mothers, when children grow up neglected and alone, our country pays a terrible price. Senator Pat Moynihan of New York warned of these consequences with great candor and courage a quarter of a century ago. Many people didn't want to listen; honest words and warnings were uncomfortable to hear. But Senator Moynihan recently cited the cost. Family breakdown, he pointed out, directly affects a child's health, emotional well-being, performance in school, and involvement in drugs and violent crime.

With the stakes so high, we must examine -- carefully and honestly -- the power of the federal government to shape our society, for better or worse. It can drive us apart, or it can pull us together, drawing upon the natural strength of family and community.

The way to secure liberty, said John Adams, is to place it in the people's hands. This is more than a principle. For government, it can and must be a strategy for making policy and restoring the American family.

We've made a start, these past four years, at putting that philosophy into action. In child care and welfare reform, in job training and education, our goal has been to broaden the choices

available to families, and to provide them, whenever possible, with the means to make those choices. We've tried especially to harness the genius of the private sector, by encouraging competition among public and private services to ease the burdens that families must bear.

In training for work, in selecting a school for their children, in deciding which kind of child care is right for them, parents reinforce their own independence and self-respect. In addressing the great issues of today -- health care, revitalizing our cities -- as well as in issues that we cannot foresee -- government can offer the tools of opportunity, and then commit to helping American families build a better life. The result will be stronger, more self-sufficient families. And, in turn, a stronger, more confident America.

That is how I see the proper relationship between family and government -- a relationship that presupposes the dignity of the individual and the autonomy of the American family. Governor Clinton has spoken often of "reinventing government." I think that is all to the good. Confronting a new era, other great American institutions -- our businesses and our military -- have faced the same task.

The rest of government can follow their lead. Decide what's most important. Understand that we need not do all that's been done in the past. Be honest about the consequences, good and bad, of government policy. Have the courage to question the assumptions on which policy is based.

And always, always -- remember, cherish, and protect our most precious resource, the American family.

And so, on this winter night, as I prepare to head home to Texas, I think of my own children and grandchildren, and of yours. And I think again of Orestes Lorenzo's children, as they take their place alongside us at the welcome table we call America. And I pray, as I know you do, that they -- each of them -- grow up to be strong and self-reliant, generous and open-hearted, sharing in the blessings of liberty that this nation, alone among nations, has promised its people in such bounty -- sharing as one people, one nation, under God.

Good night, goodbye, and May God bless the United States of America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 11, 1993

83 JAN 13 PM 12:00

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT B. ZOELLICK

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: Draft Farewell Address

Last night I finished up a draft farewell address. It goes beyond simply concentrating on the family and includes the theme of dynamism along the lines we have discussed. I tried to keep it to somewhere between twelve and fifteen minutes.

On my way home last night I was involved in an automobile accident that prevented my getting this draft to you this morning. I hope it is still helpful.

Please let me know after you have had an opportunity to look it over.

Attachment

Draft Outline
Farewell Address

I. The Majesty of American Democracy

In _____ days, after _____ years in public service, I shall pass on the mantle of presidential leadership and authority to my successor.

This is a time of reflection, for me, and for us as a people. I am grateful for the privilege of serving you, and of the trust you have given me. We are thankful for the generous expressions of appreciation and good will that Barbara and I have received in the past several weeks.

We have established a tradition in our democracy of an orderly and peaceful transition of power from one President to the next. I have met with the President-elect and am pleased that this transition has been handled smoothly and constructively.

I wish him, and those who will serve with him, well. We face important work as a nation. I benefitted greatly from the support I received from you, and am confident you will give him that same support, help and encouragement.

Our democracy is a marvelous form of government, one that we have nurtured and developed for more than 200 years. We

have a long history of spirited election campaigns, which are a hallmark of our democracy. But we also have a history of uniting once the result has been declared and together working to achieve our aspirations as a people.

This is as it should be, and I am confident we will once again demonstrate the majesty of our democracy as a new presidential term begins.

II. The American Century

My purpose this evening, beyond expressing my gratitude for the privilege of serving you and conveying best wishes to my successor, is to speak with you about our country and about how I view the challenges we face as a people.

Historians will record the twentieth century as the American Century. It was in this century that the United States first became actively engaged around the world. Throughout this century, we have sought to advance two ideals - - democracy and free enterprise -- that have served us well for more than two hundred years.

Today, in country after country, given the choice, people have chosen these two ideals as the path they want to pursue. We have just completed the greatest mission of this American Century -- the triumph of democratic capitalism over imperial

communism.

We are now embarked on a great humanitarian effort half way around the world to bring food to a starving people. This again is part of an American tradition -- reaching out to those in need, and helping extend to others the blessings of peace and prosperity that we enjoy.

III. Preparing for the Next American Century

Some believe that our best days as a nation are behind us. I am convinced that our best days lie ahead.

We are better positioned than at any time in our history to provide all our people with peace and prosperity. I am convinced of that because of how I view the world and because of what I consider our greatest strengths as a nation and as a people.

Our current situation is driven by three fundamental realities:

The global economy is becoming increasingly integrated. This means that exports will prove much more crucial than in the past to our economic success as a nation. The marketplace in which we must compete is a global one.

The second reality is that we live in a time of accelerating technological change. The speed of change is driven by the rapid diffusion of ideas, innovations, and new processes. The future will belong to those nations and societies that are the most innovative, flexible, and adaptable.

The third reality is that our economy is going through a period of adjustment occasioned by the ending of the Cold War and the transition to reduced defense spending. This involves temporary dislocations for some and substantial changes for others. But it provides us with the opportunity to redirect these resources in ways that will help us strengthen our commercial base. In short, this is a time of great challenge and great opportunity.

The defining challenge for us now is to win the economic competition in an integrated world economy, and to provide Americans with prosperity and economic security. The future will belong to those countries that are prepared for this world of expanding trade, technological change and adjustment.

IV. Building on America's Strengths

America's greatness now and in the future springs from three special characteristics that we must maintain and

develop.

First, we have cultivated a spirit of adventure and entrepreneurship. We have embraced dynamism rather than clung to the safe and the secure. We are an innovative, adaptable people, and have the most mobile labor force in the world. This is a great and special strength that we must preserve. It involves a readiness and willingness to compete, to change, to adjust.

In the quest for personal security, we face a danger of pursuing security through mandates and regulations that could sap our strength and diminish the dynamism that is one of our great assets.

I am pleased with how we are responding to the challenge of an integrated global economy. Our export performance, the best in the world for the last two years, suggests that we recognize the frontier represented by foreign markets and that we are energetically and successfully tackling this frontier.

A second strength is our commitment to opportunity. People flock to America not because of what they expect to be given, or to have handed to them, but because this is a land of opportunity. It is one of our characteristics and our great strengths that we trust our people to make decisions for themselves, rather than turning over that responsibility to the

government.

I am proud of the Americans with Disabilities Act and the promise it holds of bringing 43 million Americans fully into the maintain of life in our land.

Third, we have accomplished much because we work together with common purpose. I am grateful for the Thousand Points of Light we have honored and the renewed commitment to service they and others like them represent. We are a kinder, gentler people. I have been inspired by how we have responded to those in need -- whether in Africa half way around the world, or to aid those rendered homeless by hurricanes that have struck our shores.

V. What We Must Do

As we look to the future, tonight I have four brief suggestions for what we must do. At the top of that list is the work we must do within the walls of our own homes.

Strengthening America's Families. Some weeks ago, I met with some young scholars from the University of Louisville. One of them asked me what I considered the greatest challenge facing our nation during the coming decade. I answered: "The thing that concerns me most is what is happening to America's families."

Last January, I met with mayors, Republican and Democrat, from cities across our land, large and small. They were deeply concerned about the quality of life in our country and uniformly identified the disintegration of the family as the most serious problem facing their cities.

By whatever measure one chooses to use, it is clear that recent decades have witnessed a disintegration of families and this has serious consequences for our society.

One reason I am so concerned about strengthening our families is that I am convinced families are essential in transmitting certain values. We have come to discover that it is in the home where many values are most effectively taught - values such as accepting responsibility, respecting the rights of others, honesty, hard work, and concern for others.

When these values are not transmitted through the family, other institutions in our society have tried with only limited success to fill the gap. We have come to learn the wisdom of the observation that no other success can compensate for failure in the home. This is true for society as it is true for individuals.

We must rededicate ourselves as a people to building and maintaining strong families and helping others to do so. In

doing so, let us remember that there is no better exercise for the human heart than reaching down and lifting someone else up.

Government has an important role to play in helping families help themselves. I am proud of the historic child care legislation that places additional resources in the hands of our most needy families while leaving with them the decisions regarding the care of their children. Likewise, I am encouraged by the movement toward allowing parents the right to choose the school their children will attend. Similarly, in health care, as we expand access, we must entrust the family with making decisions regarding the health plan that best fits their needs rather than giving that responsibility to government.

Second, we must transform our education system. I am pleased with the progress we have made in establishing a bipartisan partnership with the governors, in adopting six ambitious national education goals, and in moving confidently toward achieving them.

We have opened the doors of our colleges and universities to more Americans than ever before. Moreover, we have a university system that is the marvel of the world.

The task before us now is to transform our elementary and secondary schools into islands of excellence. We must also

create successful apprenticeship programs for those students who will move immediately from high school to the world of work. Our children are our future, and that is a future that can and must be bright.

Third, we must save and invest for the future. This is a theme I sounded four years ago. It is as relevant today as it was then. We must increase private saving and reduce public borrowing. It is not fair to our children to leave them saddled with public debt accumulated because we refuse to leave within our means.

Finally, we must honor and keep alive a commitment to public service and to helping one another. There is no higher calling than serving others and serving one's country.

When we serve, we send an important message, one that I fear sometimes gets lost amidst today's often materialistic, self-interested culture. It is important to remember, it is important to demonstrate, that there is a higher purpose to life beyond one's self.

There are many forms of contributing to this country, many forms of public service. There is government. There is volunteerism. The daily tasks that require doing -- in our classrooms, in our hospitals, our cities, and our farms. All can and do represent a form of service. In whatever form,

service benefits our society and it ennobles the giver. It is a cherished American trait, one we should continue to practice and pass on to our children.

A half century ago, in June of 1942, we were at war and I was graduating from school. The speaker that day at Andover was the then Secretary of War Henry Stimson. His message was one of public service, but with a twist -- on the importance of finishing one's schooling before going off to fight for one's country.

I listened closely to what he had to say, but I didn't take his advice. That day was my eighteenth birthday. And when the commencement ceremony ended, I went into Boston, and enlisted in the Navy as a Seaman 2nd Class. And I never regretted it.

A half century has passed since I left school to go into the service. It has been a great privilege for me to serve with many good men and women in public service and in the private sector. The world is a far better place now than it was fifty years ago when we joined with faithful allies to resist totalitarianism.

Today we bequeath to our children and grandchildren a world with the potential to be far better yet. This is a great challenge and a great opportunity. I am confident that we will

rise to meet it. As we unite to do so, may God bless the
United States of America. Thank you. And good night.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3 JAN 5 P7:06
January 5, 1993

Note for the President

Re: Farewell Speech

I've attached a draft outline of the farewell remarks we discussed. Andy Ferguson, Dan McGroarty, and I put this together so you could give us guidance on the main points we should cover. We have tried to build on the family theme and the Lorenzo story you mentioned to me. We have also included a discussion of the proper, constructive role of government -- one that strengthens the family and society instead of substituting for (or even undermining) them.

Andy is putting together a rough draft, so if this outline is satisfactory we could give you an initial text to react to by the end of the week. If you have time, Andy would also benefit from your recollections of your conversation with Lorenzo, so he could try to work in a personal touch.

Thanks,



Bob Zoellick



Sharon

Bob Zoellick would like POTUS to have this first thing Wed Jan 6 AM.

It may come up in conversation when Bob sees him at 11:30a for the photo op.

thanks Cozetta 1/5 7 p

sent w/ evening schedule 1/5,
5.

Draft: January 5, 1992

- I. Wishing Clinton well
- II. Introduction
 - A. Personal family reference.
 - B. Announce theme: government's relation to family in America.
- III. Orestes Lorenzo escape story.
 - A. Why Lorenzo's family are now Americans.
 - 1. FDR quote: Americanism is a matter of the heart and mind.
- IV. E Pluribus Unum
 - A. America is the only country founded on an idea, not ethnicity -- the idea of freedom.
 - 1. At a time of ethnic fragmentation, this vision of an inclusive, not exclusive, nationality is more important than ever.
 - C. America is a nation of special individuals, not special interests.
 - D. The core of our society: individual, community, family.
- V. Warn against making family subordinate to government.
 - A. Growth of government past 25 years.
 - 1. Much of this growth comes from good intentions, but we must be honest about the dangers.
 - 2. When government usurps the role of mediating institutions -- church, neighborhood, family -- those institutions are weakened.
 - 3. Cite few powerful statistics about family breakdown.
 - B. Government grows from demands of factions and special interests -- the tendency to think of ourselves as groups, rather than as one people.
 - C. Dangers of a government manipulated by factions.
 - 1. Government unable to reform itself.
 - 2. Government can't adapt to changing circumstances, solve problems of a new generation.
 - 3. Compare with modern business, which are adapting to new challenges.
- VI. The proper relation of families to government
 - A. Contrast: Families in totalitarian countries -- Lorenzo: "Everything that helps families hurts Castro."
 - 1. Families as bulwark against the all-powerful state
 - B. Families in America.
 - 1. In America, government must never replace or undermine families.
 - 2. But: Government can help families and individuals fulfill dreams and aspirations.

3. Conservative way of helping people/families, by
 strengthening their ability to help themselves.
 Build sense of self-respect, responsibility, being
 part of something larger than self.
 - a. examples of child care, job training, school
 choice.
4. Necessity of making policy this way: our best chance
 to restore the American family

VII. Close

- A. The Lorenzos take their seat at the American table,
 alongside GB's kids, your kids, as one people, one
 nation, under God.