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**Case File Number(s):** 562000-574999

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#### WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: CO 054-02 569098

Date: 4/3/98

CUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Paul Schott Stevens to Fred Ryan re meeting, 1p	3/11/88	operad WHGL S/14/10

#### RESTRICTION CODES

- Presidential Records Act [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
  P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
  P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].
- Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information ((b)(1) of the FOIA].
  F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- Release would violate a Federal statue [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
   F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
   F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

20 054 -02

#### THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MRS. ELSBETH M. SEEWALD

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 22, 1988

SUBJECT: REQUESTS THAT THE PLIGHT OF THE GERMANS IN RUSSIA, THEIR PETITIONS FOR EMIGRATION AND THEIR DENIAL FOR REPATRIATION TO THEIR HOMELANDS, BE BROUGHT UP AT THE UPCOMING \*

	AC!	TION	DISPOSITI	ION
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)		DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE C COMP RESP D YY/N	
LINAS KOJELIS  REFERRAL NOTE:  REFERRAL NOTE:	ORG 8	88/04/22	C881	4125
REFERRAL NOTE:		_/_/_	/_	_/_
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:	NOW.			
COMMENTS: * SUMMIT MEETING IN MOSC	LOW			
ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: ME	EDIA:L INDIV	VIDUAL CO	DES:	
PL MAIL USER CODES: (A)	(B)	(C)		
**************************************		*OUTGOI	NG	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *A-ANSWERED *C-COMMENT/RECOM *B-NON-SPEC			PONDENCE: ESP=INITIALS OF SIGNER	
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE *C-COMPLETE *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDE *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*	ED		ODE = A FED = DATE OF OUTGOIN	* *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * *X-INTERIM REPLY *		* *	333341	* * *

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75,0EOB) EXT-2590 KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT.

\*



### **German American National Congress**

#### **Deutsch-Amerikanischer National Kongress**

4740 N. WESTERN AVE. 2ND FLOOR CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60625 (312) 275-1100

April 19th, 1988

The Honorable RONALD REAGAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, D.C., 20006

Dear Mr. President:

Americans of German descent come to you, who have so often in the past defended and argued for human rights and respectfully request that you address yourself to this cause when you meet with Secretary Gorbachev in May of 1988 in Moscow and urge you to bring to the Secretary's attention the plight of the Russians of German descent and intervene on their behalf.

One of the unfortunate results of the Second World War was the displacement and expulsion of the so-called "Wolga-Germans", who at the request and invitation of the Russian Empress Katharina the Great settled in the Wolga Region and the Ukraine and who, through centuries of work built thriving villages and created in effect the "grain-chamber" of Russia, and were exemplary and valued citizens of Russia.

They suffered a terrible fate by not only losing their granted homelands during the Second World War through their expulsion and forced resettlement by the Stalin-Regime, but in addition by paying with an inordinate amount of loss of lives during the transports. These innocent people endured indeed the full consequences of an insane war.

Their survivors and descendents are still banned from their homelands and from returning to them and reclaiming them. They are forced to live in foreign and inhospitable Siberian lands. Indeed an unjust and difficult fate.

Many of them want to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the United States and other countries. At least 60,000 of them have made application for emigration in the past few years - and have been denied this very basic human right.

We raise this question because many of the relatives of these people live in the United States of America and are now American citizens and do have a concern over the injustice that was done to the Germans in Russia, in total contradiction to the terms of understanding reached at the conclusion of the Second World War.

Page 2, The Honorable Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America April 19th, 1988

You have stated again and again that human rights are of prime and foremost concern to you and have intervened and spoken on behalf of other nations and people to guarantee these very rights, and have achieved major accomplishments in this regard. I refer particularly to your success in re-uniting many Russians of Jewish descent with their loved ones, and to the recent agreements concerning Afghanistan and its people.

Please accept our grateful thanks for your work on behalf of all of these nations and people, and please permit me to urge you to take up the quest and respond to the plight of the Germans in Russia by bringing it to the attention of Secretary Gorbachev with your request that he grant their petitions for emigration, and that he examine their history and fate and that retribution be effected in a fair and humane way and that they be granted the right of repatriation to their homelands.

If the past has taught us anything it is the knowledge that the many conflicts and deeds of inhumanity which the world has suffered and perpetrated throughout its existence, have been a total waste of human and other resources. We all must insist on cooperation and peace everywhere and must make sure that mistakes and wrongdoings are corrected and remedied.

May I wish you on behalf of all Americans of German descent the best of success at the upcoming conference and express the sincere hope that your continued efforts and work for the cause of peace will succeed and that your request to Secretary Gorbachev regarding the plight of the Germans of Russia will be welcomed and granted. May their long trail of tears and inordinate suffering find its end through your personal help.

Thank you.

I remain with best regards singer by yours

Elsbeth M. Seewald, Seewald

National President

GERMAN AMERICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[569098] [COSY-02]

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

4/27

Sandy:

What's the story on this?

You already have the Yugoslav at 10:00 on May 6.

HCD

on May 1 (com) SECRET

SECRET

N S C 880 Add on 1721

21 6.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 11, 1988

RECEIVED C 0 054-02 MAR 11 1988 - 10 07

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

DATE 3/14/10

DECLASSIE

Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12456, an amended White House Guideline a Sopt. 11, 2006

TO:

BY NARA\_

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR., Director
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM:

PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

REQUEST:

Meeting with Franz Josef Strauss,

Chairman, Christian Social Union (CSU) and

Bavarian Minister-President.

PURPOSE:

To reassure Strauss of the continuing U.S. commitment to Western security arrangements,

firm ties with West Germany.

BACKGROUND:

Strauss is coming to Washington to open an exhibit of Bavarian art. He very much wants to talk to the President about what he sees as the dangers in current East-West

relations.

PREVIOUS

PARTICIPATION:

Several times in Germany in recent years.

DATE, TIME AND

DURATION:

Any time from May 7 through May 10.

30 minutes.

LOCATION:

Oval Office.

PARTICIPANTS:

The President, Secretary Shultz, Secretary Carlucci, Senator Baker, Ken Duberstein, Colin Powell, Assistant Secretary Rozanne

Ridgway, Nelson Ledsky, NSC.

Franz Joseph Strauss, Ambassador Ruhfus and

two aides.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS:

Photo followed by office meeting.

REMARKS REQUIRED:

NSC will provide.

MEDIA COVERAGE:

Full U.S. and West German press coverage.

RECOMMENDED BY:

State Department, NSC and U.S. Embassy Bonn.

OPPOSED BY:

NONE

cc Tom Griscom

SECRET.

Declassify on: OADR



#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

571178 C0054-02 PR007-01 FG006-10

#### **MEMORANDUM**

TO:

COLIN POWELL

FROM:

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.A

SUBJECT:

APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING:

Photo with Alfred Dregger, leader of the CDU/CSU

majority in the West German Bundestag

DATE:

May 6, 1988

TIME:

9:50 am - during NSC Briefing Time

DURATION:

10 minutes

LOCATION:

Oval Office

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED: NSC will provide

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY

PARTICIPATION: No

PROJECT OFFICER. SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST NOTE:

M. Archambault

A. Kranowitz

J. Courtemanche

E. Crispen

R. Dawson

F. Donatelli

D. Dellinger

A. Dolan

J. Erkenbeck

L. Faulkner

C. Fuller

M. Fitzwater

T. Griscom

Advance Office P. Stevens

J. Hooley

J. Kuhn

J. Lamb

J. Manning

J. McKinney

N. Risque

D. Johnson

R. Shaddick

G. Walters

WHCA Audio/Visual WHCA Operations

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

5/2/88

R0

**MEMORANDUM** 

TO:

COLIN POWELL

FROM:

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.77

SUBJECT:

APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING:

Photo with Alfred Dregger, leader of the CDU/CSU

majority in the West German Bundestag

DATE:

May 6, 1988

TIME:

9:50 am - during NSC Briefing Time

DURATION:

10 minutes

LOCATION:

Oval Office

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED: NSC will provide

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY

PARTICIPATION: No

PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST NOTE:

M. Archambault

A. Kranowitz

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D. Dellinger

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D. Johnson

R. Shaddick

G. Walters

WHCA Audio/Visual WHCA Operations

8803462 Ledsky

P. Stevens

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

4/22/88

Sandy:

On this one, I talked with Mary Kay. Wanted to be sure it was correct to have this back to back with the Jugoslav at 10:00.

She said Powell definitely does not want his NSC briefing time taken with this.

It now develops that Dregger will be here May 8 through 12 if it could be set up any other time but she said please not to show it during NSC time on the 6th.

She thought she had talked to you about this earlier.

HCD

Red Tone They was

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

CONFIDENTIAL

April 15, 1988

2688

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO:

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR., Director

Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM:

PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

REQUEST:

Meeting with Alfred Dregger, leader of the

CDU/CSU majority in the West German

Bundestag.

PURPOSE:

To reassure Dregger of the continuing U.S. commitment to Germany and Western security

arrangements generally.

BACKGROUND:

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 20

Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12358, as amended BY NARA AY DATE 1/14/10

Dregger is a leading conservative in Germany, a friend of Chancellor Kohl, and the floor leader of the governing Coalition in the Bundestag. Dregger favored German retention of the PIA's and is nervous about the INF Treaty, based on his fear that it will mean an eventual U.S. pull-back from Europe.

PREVIOUS

PARTICIPATION:

None

DATE, TIME AND

DURATION:

May 6, 1988 15 minutes.

LOCATION:

Oval Office.

PARTICIPANTS:

The President, Vice President, Secretary Shultz, Senator Baker, Kenneth Duberstein, Colin L. Powell, Assistant Secretary Rozanne

Ridgway, Nelson Ledsky, NSC.

Alfred Dregger, Ambassador Ruhfus, one aide.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS:

Photo Op in Oval Office followed by office

meeting.

REMARKS REQUIRED:

NSC will provide.

MEDIA COVERAGE:

U.S. and West German press.

RECOMMENDED BY:

State Department, U.S. Embassy Bonn, and NSC.

OPPOSED BY:

None.

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

571178 2004-00

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

4/22/88

Sandy:

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She thought she had talked to you about this earlier.

HCD

9:50/10 m

5/6



INCOMING

## THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

ID# 573429 4.3.7.1-C0054-02

DATE RECEIVED: JUNE 03, 1988

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS JR.

SUBJECT: URGES PRESIDENT REAGAN WRITE TO WEST GERMAN

PRESIDENT RICHARD VON WEIZAECKER ABOUT THE

21ST CENTURY TRUST

		ACTION	DISPOSITION
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAF	FF NAME)	ACT DATE CODE YY/MM/DD	TYPE C COMPLETED RESP D YY/MM/DD
HOWARD BAKER  REFERRAL NOT	TE:CJ	ORG 88/06/03	C88 106 107 CSBAKT 88110106
LS Cips REFERRAL NOT	re: Overta	I 88/06/07	Vent
REFERRAL NOT	TE:		
REFERRAL NOT	E:		
REFERRAL NOT	TE:		
ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENT	rest reposed		
CS MAIL USER CODES:	(A)(B)	(C)	
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *AC-COMMENT/RECOM	*DISPOSITION  *A-ANSWERED  *B-NON-SPEC-REFER  *C-COMPLETED  *S-SUSPENDED	*TYPE F RRAL * * C	PONDENCE:  SESP=INITIALS  OF SIGNER  CODE = A  STED = DATE OF  OUTGOING
V THITHITH HOLDI	******	****	*******

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75,0EOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS

MANAGEMENT.

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

#### MEMORANDUM FOR KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN

FROM:

COLIN L. POWELL

SUBJECT:

21st Century Foundation

White House lawyers working through Anne Higgins and the NSC have now worked out a text for a letter which the President can safely send to FRG President von Weizsaecker regarding the 21st Century Foundation.

At Tab A is a suggested reply for your signature to Senator Mathias on this subject.

#### Attachments

Tab A Suggested Reply to Senator Mathias

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

ACTION

July 22, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM:

NELSON C. LEDSKY 7116

SUBJECT:

21st Century Foundation

White House lawyers working through Anne Higgins and the NSC have now worked out a text for a letter which the President can safely send to FRG President von Weizsaecker on the 21st Century Foundation.

Accordingly, we have at long last prepared a reply on this subject for Ken Duberstein to send to Senator Mathias.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to Ken Duberstein at Tab I, transmitting a suggested reply to Senator Mathias (Tab A).

Approve Disappiove	Approve	Disapprove
--------------------	---------	------------

#### Attachments

Tab I Memo to Ken Duberstein

Tab A Draft Reply to Senator Mathias

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

Dear Senator Mathias:

Just a note to let you know that we have taken action on the suggestion in your letter of May 31, and sent off to FRG President von Weizsaecker a letter from the President, endorsing in general terms the goals of the 21st Century Foundation.

We hope this will be of help.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue Metropolitan Square 1450 G Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20005-2088

UNCLASSIFIED NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8804373 RECEIVED: 14 JUN 88 10

TO: POWELL

FROM: LEDSKY

DOC DATE: 22 JUL 88

SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: FRANCE

MP

PERSONS: WEIZAECKER, RICHARD VON

SUBJECT: LTR URGES PRES TO WRITE WEST GERMAN PRES RICHARD VON WEIZAECKER

ABOUT 21 CENTURY TRUST

ACTION: OBE PER WEST WING DESK

DUE DATE: 17 JUN 88 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: COBB

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCIF:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION POWELL

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS:								
-								
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OPENED BY:	NSRCB	CLOSED BY	Y: NSCTF		DOC	2 OH	F 2	

#### UNCLASSIFIED NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 88043/3 RECEIVED: 14 JUN 88 10

TO: BAKER, H

FROM: MATHIAS, CHARLES MCC

DOC DATE: 31 MAY 88

SOURCE REF: 573429

KEYWORDS: FRANCE

MP

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR URGES PRES REGAN TO WRITE TO WEST GERMAN PRES RICHARD VON

WEIZAECKER ABOUT 21 CENTURY TRUST

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 17 JUN 88 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: COBB

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCIF:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE LEDSKY

FOR INFO PERINA RODMAN

NSC/S- 1.1866
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not rehumed-

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY

DATE \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH: YES NO

OPENED BY: NSRCB

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF

UNCLASSIFIED

#### JONES, DAY, REAVIS & POGUE

AUSTIN HONG KONG
CHICAGO LONDON
CLEVELAND LOS ANGELES
COLUMBUS NEW YORK
DALLAS PARIS
GENEVA RIYADH

METROPOLITAN SQUARE
1450 G STREET. N.W.
WASHINGTON. D.C. 20005-2088

TELEPHONE. 202-879-3939
TELEX: DOMESTIC 892410
TELEX: INTERNATIONAL 64363
CABLE: ATTORNEYS WASHINGTON
TELECOPIER: 202-466-8642
WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

May 31, 1988

The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr. Chief of Staff to the President The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Cousin Howard:

We discussed the 21st Century Trust when I was last in your office and I suggested that the President might want to join Prime Minister Thatcher in writing to President Richard von Weizsaecker.

In the meantime, I have learned that several participants in the Toronto Summit have been briefed on the subject and that it might be appropriate for the President to mention it there. He will, I am sure, recall his 1986 meeting with the Board of Directors of the Trust in the Roosevelt Room in the White House.

I now am in receipt of a signed copy of the letter of May 10, 1988, that was sent to President von Weizsaecker and enclose a copy for your information and files.

Sincerely,

Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

# 21st Century Trust

CHURCH HOUSE WESTMINSTER LONDON SWIP 3BL Telephone 01-222 8616 (2 lines)

10 May 1988

A) sa his Brendent

The 21st Century Trust

This letter follows the brief discussion which we understand Lord Carrington had with you earlier this month when he visited you in Bonn.

We enclose a copy of the 21st Century Brochure in case you may not have already seen this, and we believe that you will endorse the whole concept as warmly as we do.

This enterprise would be far more firmly based if the Federal Republic of Germany comes in from the beginning, and all of us feel that it is important for a Sister Foundation with the same purposes as the 21st Century Trust and its Sister Foundation in America to be created in the Federal Republic.

You will see that one of the Members of the Advisory Board of the 21st Century Trust is Ambassador Karl-Günther von Hase, and one or two of us would be very pleased to call on you at your convenience during the next month or two - if you would be willing for us to do this - in order to discuss what practical steps might be taken to create the Sister Foundation in the Federal Republic.

May we again commend this project to you - we believe it will be of critical importance to the world in the years to come, in the next century and beyond.

Lord Callaghan of Cardiff

Hon Cyrus Vance

Lord Home of the Hirsel

Hon Lawrence Eagleburger

His Excellency Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, GCB President of the Federal Republic of Germany

## UNCLASSIFIED ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOCACTION OFFICERCAOASSIGNEDACTION REQUIRED001COBBZ88061411 APPROPRIATE ACTION002POWELLZ88072219 FOR SIGNATURE002X88120613 ORIGINAL NOT RETURNED TO NSC/S002X88120613 OBE PER WEST WING DESK

RECORD ID: 8804373

9		

573429

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR A.B. CULVAHOUSE

PAUL STEVENS

FROM:

JOHN C. TUCK

SUBJECT:

Presidential Letter for the 21st Century Trust

Senator Baker met with Senator Mathias last week and he asked Senator Baker to look into the possibility of the President doing a letter to the Federal Republic of Germany in support of the 21st Century Trust and its program. I am told that the President met with the sponsors of the 21st Century Fund in 1986 and we might want to dig out the files before making a recommendation.

Please advise.

Attachment

## 21st Century Foundation

Statement by The Planning Group

The democratic countries of North America, Japan, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and their friends, face tremendous challenges which, even more than in the past, require concerted measures. Threats to the security, prosperity, and freedom of the developed democracies can be expected to multiply in the future. The community of purpose and action built over four decades could crumble if steps are not taken to renew common aims and mutual loyalties. Not just the West's future is at stake: a strong, resilient and united community of the advanced democracies best promotes peace, freedom and development elsewhere.

#### It is time

- to identify issues which require unity of outlook;
- to rebuild the inner fabric of the community;
- to re-design a flexible, relevant framework for the future;
- to reinvigorate multinational networks of leaders;
- to broaden and stimulate debate leading to consensus;
- to bring forth and nurture new ideas and concepts.

In short, it is time to begin Atlantic and Pacific community building efforts afresh.

The network of private voluntary organizations that studies, analyzes, promotes, supports and feeds unity, values and understanding among the Western peoples urgently needs repair and reinvigoration. Unity cannot be built by governments alone; independent bodies have a vital role to play. The private sector must be revitalized, equipped anew, sustained.

No grant-making organization, private or governmental, now focusses on this task. To help fill this gap, a major new endowment is required. To very wealthy donors who have not so far undertaken major philanthropic enterprises, the need for such an endowment presents an opportunity of making a large financial commitment. A single donor, or small group - not an appeal - is envisaged.

We anticipate parallel steps in other advanced countries. A 21st Century Trust is already in formation in the United Kingdom.

President Reagan met with us in September 1986 and strongly endorsed our proposal to create the 21st Century Foundation. We intend to establish the new enterprise in 1987-88, and invite the broadest possible advice and support.

March 1987

David M. Abshire, former U.S. Representative to NATO Anne L. Armstrong, former Ambassador to the United Kingdom William E. Brock, III, Secretary of Labor Zbigniew Brzezinski, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Arthur Burns, former Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany Sir James Callaghan, British Prime Minister, 1976-79 William T. Coleman, Jr., former Secretary of Transportation Peter Corterier, Secretary-General North Atlantic Assembly Lawrence S. Eagleburger, President, Kissinger Associates; Chairman, International Advisory Board, University of South Carolina Daniel J. Evans, Senator from the State of Washington Dante B. Fascell, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States House of Representatives Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, 1974-77 J. Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia, 1975-83 John Gilbert, M.P., Labor Member of Parliament, United Kingdom Mark O. Hatfield, Senator from Oregon Edward Hennessy, Chairman and CEO, Allied Signal Corporation James B. Holderman, President, University of South Carolina Lord Home, British Prime Minister, 1963-64 John N. Irwin, former Under Secretary of State Walther Leisler Kiep, President, Atlantik Brucke Lane Kirkland, President, AFL-CIO Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Richard G. Lugar, Senator from Indiana Sandy A. Mactaggart, Chairman, Maclab Enterprises, Edmonton, Alberta Charles McC. Mathias, former Chairman, North Atlantic Assembly Walter F. Mondale, Vice President of the United States 1977-81 Sam Nunn, Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee Yoshio Okawara, former Ambassador of Japan to the United States Sir Michael Palliser, Chairman, Institute of Strategic Studies James Prior, M.P.; Chairman, General Electric Company, United Kingdom Walter Raymond, Jr., Assistant Director, U. S. Information Agency Grant L. Reuber, President, Bank of Montreal, Canada John Richardson, Chairman, National Endowment for Democracy Brent Scowcroft, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Sir Kenneth Stowe, UK 21st Century Trust Robert S. Strauss, former United States Trade Representative; former Chairman, Democratic National Committee Sir John Thomson, UK 21st Century Trust William Timmons, President, Timmons and Associates Alexander Trowbridge, President, National Association of Manufacturers Cyrus Vance, former Secretary of State Bernard Vernier-Palliez, former Ambassador of France to the United States Malcolm Wallop, Senator from Wyoming John C. Whitehead, Deputy Secretary of State Charles Z. Wick, Director, United States Information Agency Sir David Wills, Founding Trustee, 21st Century Trust; Founder, Ditchley Foundation Michael Witunski, President, James S. McDonnell Foundation Frank Zarb, Lazard Freres & Co.

Advisors
Richard Bradley, Associate Counsel, Rockefeller Family and Associates
Stanton H. Burnett, Counselor, U.S. Information Agency
Michael Castine, Chairman, International Committee for the President's
Office on Private Sector Initiatives
Michael S. Moodie, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Ronald S. Ritchie, Consultant, former Member of Parliament, Toronto

University of South Carolina Staff and Counsel
Jonathan Davidson, Washington Director, Byrnes International Center,
University of South Carolina
James R. Huntley, Consultant, University of South Carolina
Robert J. Woody, Partner, Lane & Mittendorf
Thomas B. McVey, Partner, Lane & Mittendorf

#### THE 21st CENTURY FOUNDATION

#### Challenges Facing the Developed Democracies

Global peace, security, prosperity, development and freedom in the 21st century -- less than 15 years ahead -- will depend to an important extent on our ability to rebuild a common set of purposes among the advanced democracies. (For now, we define these as the member-nations of OECD -- North America, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Western Europe. The composition of this group will no doubt change and grow in the future, as it has in the past).

Cultural, political, and economic diversity will remain important to the vitality of this community of nations. Pluralism is, after all, one of the hallmarks of the Western way of life. But the advanced democracies face numerous and potentially profound challenges to their security and prosperity. Coordinated measures are imperative, whether dealing with the Warsaw Pact, effectively and equitably providing for collective defense, handling arms control, grappling with world trade and financial issues, coping with common threats such as terrorism, addressing the imbalance between the advanced and the developing countries, or coping with environmental problems.

Some of the challenges are already evident. Other yet unforeseen threats will undoubtedly unfold. Whatever the differences separating the advanced democracies and dividing political tendencies within each country, there is no realistic alternative to a fundamental unity of Western purpose if we are successfully to surmount the problems and meet the opportunities ahead. This is in the interest of the world, not just the West: a strong, resilient and united community of the likeminded best promotes peace and development elsewhere.

The time to design the frameworks in which the democracies can survive and flourish in the 21st century is now. It is time

- to look afresh at those fundamental issues which require unity of outlook
- to repair the inner dynamics -- indeed the very fabric -- of the Western community and way of life, and to rebuild a sense of common purpose to face the challenges of the 21st century
- to think purposefully about the institutions of the community of the likminded. They must be relevant for the future, and flexible enough to accommodate those nations which already belong to, and those which aspire to join, the Western system. They must address wider global issues with realism and sensitivity.

#### The Late Eighties: A Watershed

For four decades, a strong network of alliances and partnerships comprising the Western community has successfully preserved world peace and promoted unparalleled prosperity. But new trends are emerging:

- economic cooperation, and forged political consensus after the trauma of the depression and the second world war has dissipated. Throughout today's Western world, a generation which has not been driven together by quite such manifest challenges to the very survival of its way of life, is increasingly prone to dwell on sectional or national interests and to become diverted by transitory issues, at the expense of holding fast to the long term fundamentals which dictate the unity of the developed democracies.
- The geography has changed. The Western system has expanded to the Pacific. New interest in democracy and technology elsewhere calls for still greater enlargement of horizons in the future.
- New issues and new communications technology have changed the pattern and texture of international discourse. These developments are not intrinsically undesirable. Lively debate is essential to the health of the democratic community. But "instant comment" on complex issues can lead to sharper internal polarization and to further drifting apart on fundamental issues than the leadership and peoples of the community are in fact seeking.
- The means available for reasoned and serious exchange of ideas throughout the community have atrophied, reducing prospects for consensus.

#### A Time for New Private Initiatives

Community building efforts now require a substantial infusion of new resources and stimuli. The network of private voluntary organizations that studies, analyzes, promotes, supports and feeds unity, values and understanding within the Atlantic-Pacific community is in urgent need of repair and reinvigoration.

The transatlantic network which played a crucial role in forging Western unity is withering, due in part to a critical decline in funds, but also for lack of fresh ideas. The newer transpacific network is not yet firmly established. Euro-Pacific networks barely exist. Non-governmental organizations, with few exceptions, reflect the needs and concepts of the Fifties and Sixties, not of today, let alone of tomorrow.

Unity of purpose and action cannot be built by governments alone, in the future any more than in the past. Independent bodies have a vital role in shaping ideas and educating publics. Governments are under pressure to contain expenditures, especially on foreign affairs. It is essential that the private sector be revitalized, equipped afresh, and sustained.

#### Critical Needs

Educational programs mounted for and by the younger generation must be promoted to help aspiring leaders reappraise the situation of the democracies and undertake their own initiatives as they conceive them.

Thought must be given to the future of the community itself, how it can and should develop, meeting the fresh challenges of a new century. New networks of people and groups are needed to create the new concepts and institutions to meet our future needs.

Better means must be found to disseminate to a broad community the products of intellectual work undertaken to strengthen the West.

Networking among elites is too remote. Effective constituencies to support collective action must be built. The "grass roots" need to identify with the destiny of the West. Curricula of the public schools and the universities should reflect new appreciations of the Western heritage and of the role of the advanced democracies in the modern world.

#### Role of the New Philanthropy

To help meet these needs a major new endowment is required. The purpose of The 21st Century Foundation is to promote the development of a coherent, vital, and durable community of the likeminded attuned to the needs of the future. No grant-making organization currently focusses on this task; on the contrary, in recent years there has been a precipitous decline in the support of private foundations, governments and other sources for international community building. The new Foundation will

- support activities which enhance the unity, dynamism, and mutual loyalties of the Western community of nations and peoples
- stimulate analysis of issues of joint concern, and the design of frameworks for cooperation to embody the community of democracies of the future
- support practical efforts to strengthen the relationships which unite the free societies and their friends, and to revitalize a sense of common purpose.

The Foundation will implement its goals primarily by making grants to suitable nonprofit organizations. It will also monitor Western cohesion, and seek to promote cooperation among foundations and other nonprofit organizations with related objectives. Adequately endowed, the new Foundation will set a lead for other philanthropies, thus multiplying the impact of its endowment in the vital but neglected field of community building among the democracies.

#### Creation and Structure of the New Foundation

Substantial capital will be necessary for these ambitious purposes. A widespread appeal for endowment funds would divert resources from the organizations the new foundation is designed to support. An endowment should therefore be raised instead from sources not so far available.

The Foundation presents an opportunity of making a large financial commitment towards the future of the Western community to very wealthy potential donors who have not so far undertaken major philanthropic commitments. If one donor provides the whole endowment, his or her name can be identified with this vital cause in perpetuity. If a small group of substantial commitments is made, each donor could still be identified with the enterprise by means of separate funds within The 21st Century Foundation.

We envisage parallel steps in other countries. A similar enterprise, The 21st Century Trust, is already in formation in the United Kingdom. It is hoped to establish over time a private, multinational, articulated group of grant-giving foundations, working towards the common goal of strengthening the Western community.

A two-tier governing structure is contained in the Articles and By Laws of the Foundation, which has been incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. Authority is vested in a board of directors responsible for governance and implementing the terms of the charter. The 15-member board will appoint staff to manage and operate the Foundation. A broader council of up to 60 members will give overall guidance and support to the board and staff. The structure and organization of the Foundation will be further refined in consultation with prospective major donors.

#### President Reagan's Support

A Planning Group met with President Reagan in September 1986 to discuss the purposes of the Foundation. The President strongly endorsed the proposal, commending as a "vital task" the Planning Group's initiative in seeking "to project the free Western vision into the 21st century." Leaders of both political parties, including Cyrus Vance, William Brock, Walter Mondale, and others have also given the idea their strong support.

The Planning Group intends to oversee the formal establishment of the 21st Century Foundation in 1987-88, and invites the broadest possible support for this urgent and vital endeavor. The political and intellectual leadership of our community of nations and peoples should take command of our long-term collective destiny now, before our common problems overwhelm us.

James F. Byrnes International Center
University of South Carolina
1750 K Street, N.W., Suite 1200
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 659-9696 785-6921



Draft Letter from President Reagan to President von Weizsaecker

Date

I know that Lord Callaghan, Lord Home, Cyrus Vance and Lawrence Eagleburger have written to you to urge that the Federal Republic of Germany should set up a Sister Foundation to the 21st Century Trust in the UK and to the 21st Century Foundation in the USA. These are nongovernmental bodies supported entirely by private money. Their object is to promote the cohesion of the democracies and their friends. This initiative deserves our warm encouragement. In particular, I support the suggestion that the Federal Republic of Germany should be a founder member of the movement and play a full part from the beginning. I hope you will share this view.

# 21st Century Trust

## 山北

#### Foreword

Down the ages men and women have never ceased to proclaim their right to be free. For some the struggle is not yet won. For us, the freedom of our society is precious. It confers upon each of us the rights and obligations of citizenship under laws enacted in a freely-elected Parliament.

We cannot take it for granted that our freedoms will survive. Their continued well-being requires effort on our part: to explain to young people what they are and how they were won; and since freedom's boundaries are never finally set, to explore how they can be adapted so as to respond to the changes that the new century will bring. We shall work with our friends in other countries in order to share their experience and exchange ideas on the basic requirements that must be met in a free society.

The 21st Century Trust has been established in partnership with its sister Foundation in the United States of America and is resolved to undertake this work. The bridge across the Atlantic is crucial to our future, but our hope is that other bridges will be built by establishing sister Foundations elsewhere - in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America.

The Trust will need resources to carry out this task. It will work in cooperation with other bodies whose work fits in with our objectives. Up to now no single body exists to do this work. We believe it is essential that we make a fresh start now, independent of governments and of political parties, but with the active support of the overwhelming number of our fellow citizens who subscribe to our ideals.

We commend the Trust to you and seek your help.

Callaghan of Cardiff

James Callaghan

Home of the Hirsel

The 21st Century Trust in the United Kingdom was established on 11 November 1986. The initiative for its foundation came from Sir David Wills, the Founder of the Ditchley Foundation, following an international conference on the future of the Free Societies. The Trust has twelve Trustees, all of whom are citizens of the United Kingdom or the United States of America and are distinguished in public life.

The idea behind the Trust is that the cohesion of the Free Societies and their mutual ties must be continually repaired, strengthened and enriched if these nations are to continue to live in peace and freedom.

The purposes of the Trust are:

The advancement of education through the interchange of scientific knowledge, professional and administrative skills, and cultural and aesthetic appreciation, so as to promote an understanding of the values of Free Societies and their friends and strengthen the ties between them.

In the terms of the Trust deed, a Free Society means one governed by laws which cannot be made or changed except by an elected body and that body shall be subject to free election by universal suffrage at established intervals.

In the face of domestic difficulties and external threats, Free Societies need a common set of purposes and a shared effort with their friends and potential friends in other Societies to achieve them, Increasingly, economic and social problems, as well as concern for international security, transcend frontiers; action or inaction in one Society affects others. Accordingly, healthy development in each Society depends upon establishing a habit of constructive cooperation between them all. This cannot be left to Governments alone. The support of private institutions innovative, independent and wideranging - is essential. The 21st Century Trust has been set up to meet this need.

In keeping with its objectives, the Trust will be one of a network of sister foundations dedicated to the same ends. The 21st Century Foundation, with similarly eminent and broad-based support, was established in the United States of America in 1987. Further sister bodies are projected in Germany and Japan and subsequently in other Free Societies.

The Trust intends to achieve its goals through education in the broadest sense. It will run its own programmes and also give support to the efforts of other private bodies effectively aiming at the same goals. Its efforts will be concentrated on younger men and women of merit and potential distinction from the Free Societies and their friends. They will be widely drawn: from industry, commerce and agriculture; from the professions, universities and trade unions; from central and local government and politics; from the arts; and from journalism and communications.

The Trust will aim to generate cooperation and understanding between such people by giving them the experience of working together, for example in multinational groups, to study and resolve common problems. They will be encouraged to learn each other's languages, learn about each other's culture and understand the challenges facing a Free Society in each other's countries. The means to this end will be varied, imaginative and sometimes experimental.

The Executive Council is responsible to the Trustees for the development of the work of the Trust, Two of its members, Sir Kenneth Stowe and Sir John Thomson, as Co-Directors, are the principal advisers to the Trust, the former with responsibility for finances and the latter with responsibility for programmes. Mr Neil Morgan has been appointed as Executive Director to manage the activities of the Trust. The Trust's Legal Adviser is Sir Matthew Farrer of Farrer and Co, 66 Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Trustees are establishing an Advisory Board, widely drawn, whose members will assist in the furtherance of the Trust's objectives and in the development of its programme. A list of initial appointments to the Advisory Board appears opposite.

The Trust was established with sufficient resources for its own small administrative office (in Church House, Westminster) and for the programme for 1988/9. It is and will remain independent of Government. It will seek to establish resources for a continuing and expanding programme in association with other bodies; by sponsorship; and by individual and corporate endowments. Its Fund will comprise wholly private monies.

The Trustees believe that those who understand the magnitude of the problem and its crucial importance for the Free Societies in the coming century, will wish to be partners in its solution and to support the Trust in its work. It is unthinkable that the Free Societies and their friends will not do everything possible to keep sacrosanct the peace and stability which we have enjoyed in the past forty years.

January 1988

21st Century Trust Church House Westminster LONDON SW1P 3BL

Telephone: 01-222 8616

Registered Charity No. 295676

#### **Trustees**

The Rt Hon Lord Callaghan of Cardiff KG
The Hon Lawrence Eagleburger
The Lord Goodman CH
The Rt Hon Lord Home of the Hirsel KT, DL
The Hon Charles McC Mathias
The Rt Hon Dr David Owen MP
The Rt Hon Sir Michael Palliser GCMG
Sir Charles Troughton CBE, MC, TD
The Hon Cyrus Vance
The Duke of Westminster DL
The Rt Hon Viscount Whitelaw CH, MC, DL
Sir David Wills CBE, TD, DL

#### **Executive Council**

Sir David Wills CBE, TD, DL (Chairman)
The Lord Goodman CH
The Rt Hon Sir Michael Palliser GCMG
Sir Kenneth Stowe GCB, CVO
Sir John Thomson GCMG
Sir Charles Troughton CBE, MC, TD
The Duke of Westminster DL
Sir Oliver Wright GCMG, GCVO, DSC

#### Co-Directors

Sir Kenneth Stowe GCB, CVO Sir John Thomson GCMG

**Executive Director** 

Mr Neil Morgan

Legal Adviser

Sir Matthew Farrer KCVO

#### Members of the Advisory Board

Mr Dominic Cadbury
The Rt Hon Lord Carrington KG, CH, KCMG, MC
Dr David Clark MP
The Lord Donoughue
The Rt Hon Dr John Gilbert MP
Ambassador Karl-Günter von Hase
Dr James Holderman
Mr James R Huntley
Mr Henry Keswick
The Rt Hon Lord Moore of Wolvercote GCB,
GCVO, CMG, QSO
Ambassador Yoshio Okawara
Mr Christopher Patten MP
The Rt Hon Lord Prior
Mr George Robertson MP

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# 21st Century Trust

CHURCH HOUSE WESTMINSTER LONDON SW1P 3BL Telephone 01-222 8616 (2 lines)

10 May 1988

#### The 21st Century Trust

This letter follows the brief discussion which we understand Lord Carrington had with you earlier this month when he visited you in Bonn.

We enclose a copy of the 21st Century Brochure in case you may not have already seen this, and we believe that you will endorse the whole concept as warmly as we do.

This enterprise would be far more firmly based if the Federal Republic of Germany comes in from the beginning, and all of us feel that it is important for a Sister Foundation with the same purposes as the 21st Century Trust and its Sister Foundation in America to be created in the Federal Republic.

You will see that one of the Members of the Advisory Board of the 21st Century Trust is Ambassador Karl-Gunther von Hase, and one or two of us would be very pleased to call on you at your convenience during the next month or two - if you would be willing for us to do this - in order to discuss what practical steps might be taken to create the Sister Foundation in the Federal Republic.

May we again commend this project to you - we believe it will be of critical importance to the world in the years to come, in the next century and beyond.

Lord Callaghan of Cardiff

Hon Cyrus Vance

Lord Home of the Hirsel

Hon Lawrence Eagleburger

His Excellency Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, GCB President of the Federal Republic of Germany

# Draft letter from the Prime Minister to the President of the Federal Republic of Germany

I know that Alec Home, Jim Callaghan, Cy Vance and Larry Eagleburger have written to you to urge that the Federal Republic of Germany should set up a Sister Foundation to the 21st Century Trust in the UK and to the 21st Century Foundation in the USA. These are non-governmental bodies supported entirely by private money. Their object is to promote the cohesion of the democracies and their friends. This initiatve deserves our warm encouragement. In particular, I support the suggestion that the Federal Republic should be a founder member of the movement and play a full part from the beginning. I hope you will share this view.

(20.4.88)

#### THE 21ST CENTURY TRUST AND ITS PROGRAMME

The 21st Century Trust is a new UK charitable foundation dedicated to promoting the cohesion of the free societies and their friends. The Trust acts in the belief that through education, broadly defined democratic practices and principles will flourish and that societies so founded will be enabled to preserve peace and freedom.

A sister foundation already exists in the US and further bodies are projected for Japan, Germany and other countries. This network of sister foundations is symbolised by interlocking boards of trustees. There are at present three Americans amongst the twelve UK Trustees, all pre-eminently distinguished in public life. For example, half the Trustees have held high political office and include Lord Home and Lord Callaghan. The Trust is, however, an entirely private body and has no connections with Government or political parties. The Co-Directors are Sir Kenneth Stowe, responsible for funding, and Sir John Thomson for programmes.

As its first operational programme, the Trust will run three workshops in 1988. They will be for young leaders of any nationality in the age group 25-40. Each workshop will take a difficult question common to several democracies as the central issue on which the up-and-coming problem solvers will be asked to use their skills.

The first three topics, briefly expressed, are privatisation, interdependence, and the East-West strategic, especially conventional, balance. Notable experts will lead the discussions:

Privatisation Cumberland Lodge 11-22 July 1988	Dr. Roger Leeds Dr. David Thompson	Harvard Economist and author
Interdependence St. John's, Cambridge 9-19 August 1988	Professor Lincoln P. Bloomfield Mr. David Thomson	M.I.T.  Director-General, British Invisible Exports Council
Conventional balance Herstmonceux Castle	Dr. Lynn Davis	Formerly Director of Studies, I.I.S.S.

Foreign Editor,

Sud-deutsche Zeitung

Dr. Josef Joffe

19-30 September 1988

Only 25 places will be available for each workshop. In considering applicants, the Trust will aim at an appropriate geographical balance, but the prime consideration will be applicants' personal qualities and achievements. In addition to the fresh proposals which may be formulated in a ten-day intensive workshop, the Trust hopes that the participants and through them others will find that it is feasible and indeed fruitful to tackle difficult public policy problems across international frontiers. The Trust also hopes that the workshops will encourage a network of personal friendships to evolve naturally.

Applications should be made to the Executive Director, 21st Century Trust, Church House, Westminster, London SW1P 3BL. The fee for each workshop will be £2,000. However, there will be a certain number of bursaries available to those of outstanding quality who are unable to meet the fee.

JAT 21 January 1988

pending WILLIAM E. TIMMONS 1850 K STREET, N. W., SUITE 850 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 October 19, 1987 HONORABLE JOHN TUCK MEMORANDUM FOR: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS FROM: 21st Century Foundation SUBJECT: Following up on our recent conversation I am enclosing a revised letter which the President might agree to send to about fifteen prospects. It tones down the earlier draft but continues to identify Bill Brock with the project. Bill has agreed to follow up on these letters even if he's out of government service. Our plan would be to ask John Whitehead and Charles Wick, both of whom have been involved in the Planning Group, to work with Brock on pursuing the contacts. I would hope this draft can be approved before Thursday evening when many of the 21st Century Foundation group will meet in South Carolina. Thanks, John. Enclosure

## WILLIAM E. TIMMONS 1850 K STREET, N. W., SUITE 850 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

June 30, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE HOWARD H. BAKER

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS

SUBJECT: 21st Century Foundation

President Reagan endorsed the concept and creation of the non-profit 21st Century Foundation which is a new organization to revitalize the cohesion of western democracies. It's objectives are peace, freedom, and economic development. Enclosed are several background papers.

The planning group for this foundation consists of many prominent Americans such as David Abshire, Anne Armstrong, Bill Brock, Bill Coleman, Larry Eagleburger, President Ford, Lane Kirkwood, Sam Nunn, Walter Mondale, Brent Scowcroft, Bob Strauss, Charlie Wick, and many more.

To get the 21st Century off the ground, however, the organization needs seed money. A number of wealthy prospects have been identified, and Secretary Brock - along with several others - are willing to discuss the project personally with potential givers. However, to introduce the subject and show his own endorsement, it would be helpful if the President could send a letter along the lines of the attached draft to a dozen or so Americans. I am enclosing the master prospect list and suggest you select only those the President may be comfortable writing, assuming he agrees to assist in the enterprise.

Enclosures

Draft letter from President Reagan to selected individuals from the attached list, or other potential donors.

Dans	
Dear	:

Recently a group of distinguished citizens met with me in the White House to discuss their plans for a new private initiative which I believe to be of singular importance, and possibly of interest to you.

This private venture is designed to foster the cohesion and cooperation of the Western community of nations and peoples in perpetuity, by establishing several large new grant-making foundations in the United States and other key nations.

Such an institution, "The 21st Century Trust," has already been created in Britain. Two former Prime Ministers, Lord Home and Sir James Callaghan, together with the Duke of Westminster and other prominent figures are among the Trustees. Working closely with the leaders of the American "21st Century Foundation," the founders are looking ahead to the creation of similar endowments in Germany, Japan, Canada, and other Western countries, all linked together in a coalition that can strengthen co-operation among the advanced democracies, and help educate our citizens, from the young to the leaders of society, in the need for the West to work together, to serve the world, and collectively safeguard freedom.

Of all the private projects I have learned about in the last few years, this seems most significant in terms of its scope and

promise. I would go so far as to say that something along these lines will be indispensable to our future. In fact I told the Planning Group for the 21st Century Foundation just this; the gist of my remarks to them is enclosed.

The new Foundation has just been incorporated. Secretary of Labor Bill Brock, whom I believe you know, is a leading future in this enterprise. I hope you would be willing to talk with Secretary Brock and others of the planning group about the prospects and plans for the 21st Century Foundation. Your advice and your active help could be of great value to the organizers. And perhaps this effort will be something with which you would like to be closely associated over the coming years.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Enclosure:

Transcript of Remarks

### Extract of Remarks by President Reagan to the first meeting of the Planning Group for the 21st Century Foundation

#### The White House, September 25, 1986, at 1:00 pm

#### William E. Brock III (Co-Chairman of the meeting)

Mr. President, you know many of the people here. We have representatives of American business, American labor, American foundations, American Government people, representatives from Japan, France, Great Britain, West Germany, and Australia.

It is a fascinating subject that we are trying to develop: the possibility of putting together in several different countries a foundation that will work to reunify the West, to establish the basic values of freedom that unite us. We have been talking about the fact that an awful lot of people in this country don't remember Viet Nam, much less World War II, and they don't know why we put together some of these institutions that we have to hold the free world together. There are members of Congress who are very well intentioned and honorable people that may not have a sense of the heritage behind our relationship with other countries. We need to strengthen that relationship and hold the free peoples together in common purpose. We have an awful lot of people in this world who really don't want to know what goes on outside our own borders, but that's how we got into wars before, and I don't think any of us want to repeat that.

The strength of the Western alliances is the most important single strength we have in preserving peace. So what we are talking about is the possibility of creating what they have already begun to put together in Great Britain, a foundation which David Wills, James Prior and others have worked on. We are discussing the possibility, with a view to seeing if we can't have a permanent large institution, that would have as its central and sole purpose the cohesion of Western philosophy, Western ideals and values, and Western free nations. And I thought it was a pretty exciting thing; we really wanted just to expose you to the idea and get your initial reactions.

One of the greatest speeches I ever heard was your speech to the British Parliament about four years ago, wasn't it? You talked in that speech about maintaining support for democratic processes. Out of that speech we formed the National Endowment for Democracy which is now ongoing. Lane Kirkland and John Richardson here are on the Board of Directors. You've been such an advocate of this sort of thing, that we wanted you to have a sense of what we are talking about and where we are going, and maybe get some reactions from you, and have you share some thoughts with us.

#### President Reagan:

I'd be very pleased to, Bill, and President Holderman, and distinguished friends here. I can't tell you how significant I

consider your work to be. When I made that speech at the Parliament, what I had in mind was that the whole world, the free world, is beset constantly, subversion being the principal weapon, with an ideology that is contrary to everything in the world that democracy stands for, and how come we're not just as busy being missionaries for the right side?

I'm sure you know that for many years I've been concerned with the manifold dangers to our precious freedoms. The Atlantic Alliance and the broader community with our friends in the Pacific form the indispensable heart and core of any serious effort to protect and extend democracy and the free way of life. If our precious community of common values and shared interests erodes and languishes, the prospects for freedom will be bleak indeed. If our peoples, young and old, do not comprehend well the fundamental importance of our democratic values and institutions, and do not strive constantly to preserve and enlarge our freedoms, and also likeminded peoples', then our Western community will indeed falter. What you are doing, seeking to project the free Western vision into the 21st century, is an absolutely vital task.

Governments have an important role to play in promoting this great vision. As you know, this administration has sought mightily to buttress the forces of democracy around the world and to foster the ties of community among the Western peoples. The greatly expanded inter-allied youth exchange programs, the product of close cooperation between governments and the private sector, constitute an excellent example of what is needed and what can be done. I'll continue to ask our allied partners to join in ever greater governmental efforts of this kind. must tell you frankly that at this moment the continuing capacity of the United States Government to play its full role in this constructive work, and indeed in every area of the management of our relations with other countries, is in jeopardy. In its zeal to curb expenditures, our Congress has drastically and mistakenly cut this country's foreign affairs budget. These cuts must be restored, and soon, for our world role could be greatly impaired. I'm sure that our foreign friends around this table are as concerned as we are with the implications of this crisis. You must realize that these new budgetary constraints could seriously affect our ability to work with governments and peoples to build the strong community of the free which we all so earnestly desire. To my own fellow citizens here, I can only urge that you study and ponder this great problem and make your views urgently known. At a time when financial constraints are in any case great, it becomes all the more necessary, indeed vitally so, that non-governmental forces in our Western world play the fullest possible role again.

Bill, you've emphasized that the foundation you are proposing is a private initiative. This aspect of your work is also of deep personal importance to me. Early in this administration, we took steps to reaffirm the role of voluntarism, charity and private initiative for public purposes throughout the United In the field of international affairs, we saw special opportunities for private commitment. Governments and private forces in countries represented here joined with us, for example, in greatly increasing the exchange of our youth, so that they would understand from personal experience how precious are the ties that bind us together. I've often thought, if all the young people of the world could get to know each other, I don't think anyone would be able to produce a war again. So I believe strongly that what you all at the University of South Carolina are sponsoring is not only for a strategic and noble end, but that you have chosen the right means. Your action is in the spirit of a great Western tradition, namely the right and indeed the duty of private citizens to act on their own initiative to serve important purposes of the community. The community you seek to serve comprises nearly one billion free citizens who carry with them the hopes of mankind. Gentlemen, I salute you and I wish you God speed for this historic enterprise, and assure you of my warm and unstinting support for your efforts.

I mentioned in my remarks here, our own stepping up of the encouragement of private initiative in these days, and last year we saw the results of that. We set an all time record for private financial contributions to worthy causes and charities and so forth, 79.8 billion dollars, which is more than the national budgets of over 2/3 of the countries of the world. It's just going back to our early pioneer heritage, where the people don't wait anymore or don't automatically turn and look for the government to do it. They see a problem, and the next thing you know is, a committee has been formed and they go after it. So again I say I'm heart and soul interested in this.

Dr. James B. Holderman (Co-Chairman of the Planning Group)

We appreciate your support, Mr. President (applause).

#### THE 21st CENTURY FOUNDATION

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Some of the challenges are already evident. Other yet unforeseen threats will undoubtedly unfold. Whatever the differences separating the advanced democracies and dividing political tendencies within each country, there is no realistic alternative to a fundamental unity of Western purpose if we are successfully to surmount the problems and meet the opportunities ahead. This is in the interest of the world, not just the West: a strong, resilient and united community of the likeminded best promotes peace and development elsewhere.

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- to think purposefully about the institutions of the community of the likminded. They must be relevant for the future, and flexible enough to accommodate those nations which already belong to, and those which aspire to join, the Western system. They must address wider global issues with realism and sensitivity.

#### The Late Eighties: A Watershed

For four decades, a strong network of alliances and partnerships — comprising the Western community has successfully preserved world peace and promoted unparalleled prosperity. But new trends are emerging:

- economic cooperation, and forged political consensus after the trauma of the depression and the second world war has dissipated. Throughout today's Western world, a generation which has not been driven together by quite such manifest challenges to the very survival of its way of life, is increasingly prone to dwell on sectional or national interests and to become diverted by transitory issues, at the expense of holding fast to the long term fundamentals which dictate the unity of the developed democracies.
- The geography has changed. The Western system has expanded to the Pacific. New interest in democracy and technology elsewhere calls for still greater enlargement of horizons in the future.
- New issues and new communications technology have changed the pattern and texture of international discourse. These developments are not intrinsically undesirable. Lively debate is essential to the health of the democratic community. But "instant comment" on complex issues can lead to sharper internal polarization and to further drifting apart on fundamental issues than the leadership and peoples of the community are in fact seeking.
- The means available for reasoned and serious exchange of ideas throughout the community have atrophied, reducing prospects for consensus.

#### A Time for New Private Initiatives

Community building efforts now require a substantial infusion of new resources and stimuli. The network of private voluntary organizations that studies, analyzes, promotes, supports and feeds unity, values and understanding within the Atlantic-Pacific community is in urgent need of repair and reinvigoration.

The transatlantic network which played a crucial role in forging Western unity is withering, due in part to a critical decline in funds, but also for lack of fresh ideas. The newer transpacific network is not yet firmly established. Euro-Pacific networks barely exist. Non-governmental organizations, with few exceptions, reflect the needs and concepts of the Fifties and Sixties, not of today, let alone of tomorrow.

Unity of purpose and action cannot be built by governments alone, in the future any more than in the past. Independent bodies have a vital role in shaping ideas and educating publics. Governments are under pressure to contain expenditures, especially on foreign affairs. It is essential that the private sector be revitalized, equipped afresh, and sustained.

#### Critical Needs

Educational programs mounted for and by the younger generation must be promoted to help aspiring leaders reappraise the situation of the democracies and undertake their own initiatives as they conceive them.

Thought must be given to the future of the community itself, how it can and should develop, meeting the fresh challenges of a new century. New networks of people and groups are needed to create the new concepts and institutions to meet our future needs.

Better means must be found to disseminate to a broad community the products of intellectual work undertaken to strengthen the West.

Networking among elites is too remote. Effective constituencies to support collective action must be built. The "grass roots" need to identify with the destiny of the West. Curricula of the public schools and the universities should reflect new appreciations of the Western heritage and of the role of the advanced democracies in the modern world.

#### Role of the New Philanthropy

To help meet these needs a major new endowment is required. The purpose of The 21st Century Foundation is to promote the development of a coherent, vital, and durable community of the likeminded attuned to the needs of the future. No grant-making organization currently focusses on this task; on the contrary, in recent years there has been a precipitous decline in the support of private foundations, governments and other sources for international community building. The new Foundation will

- support activities which enhance the unity, dynamism, and mutual loyalties of the Western community of nations and peoples
- stimulate analysis of issues of joint concern, and the design of frameworks for cooperation to embody the community of democracies of the future
- support practical efforts to strengthen the relationships which unite the free societies and their friends, and to revitalize a sense of common purpose.

The Foundation will implement its goals primarily by making grants to suitable nonprofit organizations. It will also monitor Western cohesion, and seek to promote cooperation among foundations and other nonprofit organizations with related objectives. Adequately endowed, the new Foundation will set a lead for other philanthropies, thus multiplying the impact of its endowment in the vital but neglected field of community building among the democracies.

#### Creation and Structure of the New Foundation

Substantial capital will be necessary for these ambitious purposes. A widespread appeal for endowment funds would divert resources from the organizations the new foundation is designed to support. An endowment should therefore be raised instead from sources not so far available.

The Foundation presents an opportunity of making a large financial commitment towards the future of the Western community to very wealthy potential donors who have not so far undertaken major philanthropic commitments. If one donor provides the whole endowment, his or her name can be identified with this vital cause in perpetuity. If a small group of substantial commitments is made, each donor could still be identified with the enterprise by means of separate funds within The 21st Century Foundation.

We envisage parallel steps in other countries. A similar enterprise, The 21st Century Trust, is already in formation in the United Kingdom. It is hoped to establish over time a private, multinational, articulated group of grant-giving foundations, working towards the common goal of strengthening the Western community.

A two-tier governing structure is contained in the Articles and By Laws of the Foundation, which has been incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. Authority is vested in a board of directors responsible for governance and implementing the terms of the charter. The 15-member board will appoint staff to manage and operate the Foundation. A broader council of up to 60 members will give overall guidance and support to the board and staff. The structure and organization of the Foundation will be further refined in consultation with prospective major donors.

#### President Reagan's Support

A Planning Group met with President Reagan in September 1986 to discuss the purposes of the Foundation. The President strongly endorsed the proposal, commending as a "vital task" the Planning Group's initiative in seeking "to project the free Western vision into the 21st century." Leaders of both political parties, including Cyrus Vance, William Brock, Walter Mondale, and others have also given the idea their strong support.

The Planning Group intends to oversee the formal establishment of the 21st Century Foundation in 1987-88, and invites the broadest possible support for this urgent and vital endeavor. The political and intellectual leadership of our community of nations and peoples should take command of our long-term collective destiny now, before our common problems overwhelm us.

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