

# BILDERBERG



## PARTICIPANT LISTS

"privacy, rather than secrecy"

"The objectives of the Association are to promote the study of, and public education in international affairs.."

"I think, first and foremost, it's a form of self-enrichment.."

"I got to 'breathe the air'. I learned alot"

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## What are the Bilderberg Meetings?

The Official Bilderberg Website states the following blurb:

**“Founded in 1954, Bilderberg is an annual conference designed to foster dialogue between Europe and North America. Every year, between 120-150 political leaders and experts from industry, finance, academia and the media are invited to take part in the conference. About two thirds of the participants come from Europe and the rest from North America; approximately one third from politics and government and the rest from other fields.**

**The conference is a forum for informal discussions about major issues facing the world. The meetings are held under the Chatham House Rule, which states that participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s) nor of any other participant may be revealed.**

**Thanks to the private nature of the conference, the participants are not bound by the conventions of their office or by pre-agreed positions. As such, they can take time to listen, reflect and gather insights.**

**There is no desired outcome, no resolutions are proposed, no votes are taken, and no policy statements are issued.”**

Which although true to large degree, only goes *part* of the way to explaining the purpose, structure and procedures of Bilderberg.

The Bilderberg steering committee members are usually long served members of the Bilderberg Group and they are the people who help set the agenda for that years meeting. The steering committee members are responsible for scouting for and vetting, potential useful new members within each of their own countries. The steering committees are hoping to bring into the wider group, new people who may have knowledge or expertise in a particular field, which can be beneficial for the rest of the group to sound out on any particular topic. It should be noted that there seems to be a pattern of Bilderberg recruiting politicians who exist, or may eventually exist in a place to have economic policy control over a country. As well as regular attendees, there are usually a few guest attendees each year. Of these guest participants, many are only invited once, having either been deemed unsuitable to the groups goals, or their contribution welcome and insightful, but also not really suitable to wider goals aimed for by Bilderberg.

## How do the Bilderberg Meetings work?

### These are known facts about Bilderberg meeting procedure.

- Participants are given a few background papers for the agenda to be covered, by the Bilderberg Secretariat, ahead of the conference.
- On arrival participants receive a conference portfolio, giving detailed information on the schedule and procedures of the conference, lay-out of the site, seating arrangements in the conference room, the final list of participants, and other supporting information.
- Over the course of the meetings, each agenda item is given a meeting of roughly 40 minutes to 90 minutes of discussion time. And each delegate, is expected to participate in the full conference programme, unless already agreed with the Bilderberg Chairman.
- Each agenda item has a designated moderator, and between one to three panelist speakers who debate the agenda item, and take interventions from the floor. The Bilderberg secretariat shares moderator contact details with each panelist to help coordinate their presentation with the other panelists, prior to making their presentation.
- The expected tradition of Bilderberg, is that there are no formal speeches and no read texts, as experience shows that spontaneous presentations are most successful. Most of each session is devoted to the discussion among panelists and participants.
- Moderators are strongly encouraged to lead the debate from a substance point of view: the discussion kept within the framework of key questions outlined briefly at the start each session. Each panelist is expected not to exceed speaking longer than 10 minutes when making their introductory statement.
- The moderator is asked to summarise the rules for intervention at the opening of the session to make sure that all attendees understand the strict application of the 1, 3 and 5 minute system. Moderators should only permit "1 minute interventions" which are really addressed to the points then being discussed.
- Each participant is expected to have contributed a meaningful intervention, at least once during the conference. As they are invited there to 'sing for their supper', have their 'brains picked' and prove their worth to the wider group.
- Participants are expected not to give interviews to the press during the meetings, a point which is expected to be strictly adhered to, especially with guests contacts with news media. So that no attribution can be made to a particular participant of what has been discussed during the meeting.
- After each conference, a summary report of each meeting is given to each participant. The summary includes the names of all participants, and opinions are summarized; speakers are not referred to by name. The report may also contain a summary of any ground of consensus reached between participants.
- This conference report is circulated only to participants, former participants, potential participants, and sponsors of the Bilderberg Meetings.

All the previous stated facts shown overleaf, when taken together, give reasonable grounds to think that the Bilderberg standard blurb that “**There is no desired outcome, no resolutions are proposed, no votes are taken, and no policy statements are issued.**” rings somewhat hollow.

For example

- Why are participants prepped before hand with background papers from other political or business lobbys?
- Why are the areas of consensus and opinion summaries printed and issued to each participant, for them to use at will, as long as they do not attribute the source?
- What is the exact role of pre-meeting contact with the discussion moderators?
- Bilderberg Conference reports are already anonymised to a fair degree, so why are they withheld from general public consumption, when many of the participants are supposed to be elected public officials?

It should also be bared in mind, that *informal* discussions also play a large part of the conference meetings, which one might reasonably assume, is actually the *real* main reason why the conferences are held at all.

i.e. To network, socialise and bring potentially useful people into the sphere of influence of the wider group, and thus further Bilderberg international consensus, out of the eyes of the general public, and out of democratic oversight.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## Key of Participating Countries

AUT	Austria
BEL	Belgium
BUL	Bulgaria
CAN	Canada
CHE	Switzerland
CHN	China
CYP	Cyprus
CZE	Czechoslovakia
DEU	Germany
DNK	Denmark
ESP	Spain
FIN	Finland
FRA	France
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GBR	Great Britain
GRC	Greece
HUN	Hungary
ICE	Iceland
INT	International Participant
IRL	Ireland
IRN	Iran
IRQ	Iraq
ISR	Israel
ITA	Italy
KSV	Kosova
KWT	Kuwait
LUX	Luxembourg
NLD	The Netherlands
OZ	Australia
NOR	Norway
PNA	Palestine
POL	Poland
PRT	Portugal
RUS	Russia
SVK	Slovakia
SWE	Sweden
TUR	Turkey
UKR	Ukraine
USA	United States of America

All participants highlighted in **red** were serving publicly elected politicians at the time of their attendance.

As Bilderberg meetings are held under the [Chatham House Rule](#), this effectively blocks public accountability and scrutiny of politicians engaged in such proceedings. This brings a conflict of interest, between serving democracy, and the privacy needs of the international elite.



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2014 - The Marriott Hotel, Copenhagen, Denmark, 29th May - 1st June

## Agenda

- Is the economic recovery sustainable?
- Who will pay for the demographics?
- Does privacy exist?
- How special is the relationship in intelligence sharing?
- Big shifts in technology and jobs
- The future of democracy and the middle class trap
- China's political and economic outlook
- The new architecture of the Middle East
- Ukraine
- What next for Europe?
- Current events

## Current list of Participants<sup>[1]</sup>

### Chairman

FRA	<a href="#">Castries, Henri de</a>	Chairman and CEO, AXA Group
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher, Der STANDARD Verlagsgesellschaft m.b.H.
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	CEO, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL	<a href="#">Davignon, Etienne</a>	<a href="#">Minister of State</a>
BEL	Leysen, Thomas	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
CAN	Clark, W. Edmund	Group President and CEO, TD Bank Group
CAN	Ferguson, Brian	President and CEO, Cenovus Energy Inc.
CAN	<a href="#">Kenney, Jason T.</a>	<a href="#">Minister of Employment and Social Development</a>
CAN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Professor of Medicine and Principal (President) Emerita, McGill University
CAN	Poloz, Stephen S.	Governor, Bank of Canada
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CHE	Kudelski, André	Chairman and CEO, Kudelski Group
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Honorary Chairman, Novartis International
CHN	Huang, Yiping	Professor of Economics, National School of Development, Peking University
CHN	Liu, He	Minister, Office of the Central Leading Group on Financial and Economic Affairs
DEU	Achleitner, Paul M.	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Former CEO, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	<a href="#">Asmussen, Jörg</a>	<a href="#">State Secretary of Labour and Social Affairs</a>
DEU	Döpfner, Mathias	CEO, Axel Springer SE
DEU	Enders, Thomas	CEO, Airbus Group
DEU	Röttgen, Norbert	Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, German Bundestag
DNK	Besenbacher, Flemming	Chairman, The Carlsberg Group

DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Executive Vice President, Haldor Topsøe A/S
DNK	Kragh, Steffen	President and CEO, Egmont
DNK	Olesen, Søren-Peter	Professor; Member of the Board of Directors, The Carlsberg Foundation
DNK	Rasmussen, Jørgen Huno	Chairman of the Board of Trustees, The Lundbeck Foundation
DNK	Topsøe, Henrik	Chairman, Haldor Topsøe A/S
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	Executive Chairman, Grupo PRISA
ESP	<b>García-Margallo, José Manuel</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation</b>
ESP	Nin Génova, Juan María	Deputy Chairman and CEO, CaixaBank
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	Alahuhta, Matti	Member of the Board, KONE; Chairman, Aalto University Foundation
FIN	Apunen, Matti	Director, Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA
FIN	Ehrnrooth, Henrik	Chairman, Caverion Corporation, Otava and Pöyry PLC
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell, plc; Chairman, Outokumpu Plc
FIN	Siilasmaa, Risto K.	Chairman of the Board of Directors and Interim CEO, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Stadigh, Kari	President and CEO, Sampo plc
FIN	Wahlroos, Björn	Chairman, Sampo plc
FRA	<b>Baroin, François</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (UMP); Mayor of Troyes</b>
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
FRA	Chalendar, Pierre-André de	Chairman and CEO, Saint-Gobain
FRA	Macron, Emmanuel	Deputy Secretary General of the Presidency
FRA	Nougayrède, Natalie	Director and Executive Editor, Le Monde
FRA	<b>Pellerin, Fleur</b>	<b>State Secretary for Foreign Trade</b>
GBR	Agius, Marcus	Non-Executive Chairman, PA Consulting Group
GBR	Alexander, Helen	Chairman, UBM plc
GBR	<b>Balls, Edward M.</b>	<b>Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer</b>
GBR	Cowper-Coles, Sherard	Senior Adviser to the Group Chairman and Group CEO, HSBC Holdings plc
GBR	Dudley, Robert	Group Chief Executive, BP plc
GBR	Flint, Douglas J.	Group Chairman, HSBC Holdings plc
GBR	<b>Greening, Justine</b>	<b>Secretary of State for International Development</b>
GBR	Kerr, John	Deputy Chairman, Scottish Power
GBR	Mandelson, Peter	Chairman, Global Counsel LLP
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
GBR	<b>Osborne, George</b>	<b>Chancellor of the Exchequer</b>
GBR	Sawers, John	Chief, Secret Intelligence Service
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Chief Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	Mitsotaki, Alexandra	Chair, ActionAid Hellas
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy
GRC	Zanias, George	Chairman of the Board, National Bank of Greece
HUN	<b>Bajnai, Gordon</b>	<b>Former Prime Minister; Party Leader, Together 2014</b>
INT	Breedlove, Philip M.	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
INT	Coeuré, Benoît	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
INT	Lagarde, Christine	Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
INT	Rasmussen, Anders Fogh	Secretary General, NATO
INT	Reding, Viviane	Vice President and Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights and

		Citizenship, European Commission
INT	Üzümcü, Ahmet	Director-General, Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
IRL	<b>Coveney, Simon</b>	<b>Minister for Agriculture, Food and the Marine</b>
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; UN Special Representative for Migration
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Chairman, FB Group SRL
ITA	Elkann, John	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Maggioni, Monica	Editor-in-Chief, Rainews24, RAI TV
ITA	Monti, Mario	Senator-for-life; President, Bocconi University
NLD	Beurden, Ben van	CEO, Royal Dutch Shell plc
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University
NLD	NLD, H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the	
NLD	<b>Samsom, Diederik M.</b>	<b>Parliamentary Leader PvdA (Labour Party)</b>
NLD	Scheffer, Paul J.	Author; Professor of European Studies, Tilburg University
NLD	<b>Schippers, Edith</b>	<b>Minister of Health, Welfare and Sport</b>
NLD	Zalm, Gerrit	Chairman of the Managing Board, ABN-AMRO Bank N.V.
NOR	Brandtzæg, Svein Richard	President and CEO, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	Høegh, Leif O.	Chairman, Høegh Autoliners AS
NOR	Høegh, Westye	Senior Advisor, Høegh Autoliners AS
NOR	Reiten, Eivind	Chairman, Klaveness Marine Holding AS
NOR	Rynning-Tønnesen, Christian	President and CEO, Statkraft AS
NOR	Ulltveit-Moe, Jens	Founder and CEO, Umoe AS
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman, Impresa SGPS
PRT	<b>Macedo, Paulo</b>	<b>Minister of Health</b>
PRT	<b>Medeiros, Inês de</b>	<b>Member of Parliament, Socialist Party</b>
SWE	<b>Bildt, Carl</b>	<b>Minister for Foreign Affairs</b>
SWE	Buskhe, Håkan	President and CEO, Saab AB
SWE	Lifvendahl, Tove	Political Editor in Chief, Svenska Dagbladet
SWE	Svanberg, Carl-Henric	Chairman, Volvo AB and BP plc
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
SWE	Wallenberg, Marcus	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken AB
TUR	Çandar, Cengiz	Senior Columnist, AI Monitor and Radikal
TUR	Göle, Nilüfer	Professor of Sociology, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
TUR	Koç, Mustafa	Chairman, Koç Holding A.S.
TUR	<b>Oran, Umut</b>	<b>Deputy Chairman, Republican People's Party (CHP)</b>
TUR	Taftalı, A. Ümit	Member of the Board, Suna and Inan Kiraç Foundation
USA	Alexander, Keith B.	Former Commander, U.S. Cyber Command; Former Director, National Security Agency
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Executive Chairman, Evercore
USA	Berggruen, Nicolas	Chairman, Berggruen Institute on Governance
USA	<b>Donilon, Thomas E.</b>	<b>Senior Partner, O'Melveny and Myers; Former U.S. National Security Advisor</b>
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	Professor of Economics, Harvard University; President Emeritus, NBER
USA	Gfoeller, Michael	Independent Consultant
USA	Greenberg, Evan G.	Chairman and CEO, ACE Group

USA	Hockfield, Susan	President Emerita, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
USA	Hoffman, Reid	Co-Founder and Executive Chairman, LinkedIn
USA	Jackson, Shirley Ann	President, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
USA	Jacobs, Ken NLD M.	Chairman and CEO, Lazard
USA	Johnson, James A.	Chairman, Johnson Capital Partners
USA	Karp, Alex	CEO, Palantir Technologies
USA	Katz, Bruce J.	Vice President and Co-Director, Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	Chairman and CEO, Alcoa
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Co-Chairman and Co-CEO, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow and Vice Chair, Hudson Institute
USA	Li, Cheng	Director, John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings Institution
USA	McAfee, Andrew	Principal Research Scientist, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Senior Advisor to the CEO, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Murray, Charles A.	W.H. Brady Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
USA	Petraeus, David H.	Chairman, KKR Global Institute
USA	Reed, Kasim	Mayor of Atlanta
USA	Rubin, Robert E.	Co-Chair, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Rumer, Eugene	Senior Associate and Director, Russia and Eurasia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Schmidt, Eric E.	Executive Chairman, Google Inc.
USA	Shih, Clara	CEO and Founder, Hearsay Social
USA	Spence, A. Michael	Professor of Economics, New York University
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Thiel Capital
USA	Warsh, Kevin M.	Distinguished Visiting Fellow and Lecturer, Stanford University
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman and CEO, Wolfensohn and Company
USA	Zoellick, Robert B.	Chairman, Board of International Advisors, The Goldman Sachs Group

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2013 - The Grove Hotel, Watford, UK, 6th - 9th June

## Agenda

- Can the US and Europe grow faster and create jobs?
- Jobs, entitlement and debt
- How big data is changing almost everything
- Nationalism and populism
- US foreign policy
- Africa's challenges
- Cyber warfare and the proliferation of asymmetric threats
- Major trends in medical research
- Online education: promise and impacts
- Politics of the European Union
- Developments in the Middle East
- Current affairs

## Final List of Participants<sup>[2]</sup>

### Chairman

FRA	<a href="#">Castries, Henri de</a>	Chairman and CEO, AXA Group
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher, Der Standard Medienwelt
AUT	<a href="#">Schieder, Andreas</a>	<a href="#">State Secretary of Finance</a>
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL	<a href="#">Davignon, Etienne</a>	<a href="#">Minister of State; Former Chairman, Bilderberg Meetings</a>
BEL	Leysen, Thomas	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
CAN	Clark, W. Edmund	President and CEO, TD Bank Group
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Chair, Brookfield Asset Management
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	Chair, Torys LLP
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CAN	<a href="#">Wall, Brad</a>	<a href="#">Premier of Saskatchewan</a>
CAN	Weston, Galen G.	Executive Chairman, Loblaw Companies Limited
CHE	<a href="#">Gutzwiller, Felix</a>	<a href="#">Member of the Swiss Council of States</a>
CHE	Jordan, Thomas J.	Chairman of the Governing Board, Swiss National Bank
CHE	Kudelski, André	Chairman and CEO, Kudelski Group
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Honorary Chairman, Novartis AG
DEU	Achleitner, Paul M.	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Board, Zurich Insurance Group Ltd
DEU	Enders, Thomas	CEO, EADS
DEU	Koch, Roland	CEO, Bilfinger SE
DEU	Lauk, Kurt J.	Chairman of the Economic Council to the CDU, Berlin
DEU	<a href="#">Lindner, Christian</a>	<a href="#">Party Leader, Free Democratic Party (FDP NRW)</a>
DEU	Löscher, Peter	President and CEO, Siemens AG
DNK	<a href="#">Corydon, Bjarne</a>	<a href="#">Minister of Finance</a>

DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Executive Vice President, Haldor Topsøe A/S
DNK	Topsøe, Jakob	Partner, AMBROX Capital A/S
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	Executive Chairman, Grupo PRISA
ESP	Guindos, Luis de	Minister of Economy and Competitiveness
ESP	Isla, Pablo	Chairman and CEO, Inditex Group
FIN	Apunen, Matti	Director, Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA
FIN	Heinonen, Olli	Senior Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School of Government
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell, plc
FIN	Urpilainen, Jutta	Minister of Finance
FRA	Barré, Nicolas	Managing Editor, Les Echos
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
FRA	Bavinchove, Olivier de	Commander, Eurocorps
FRA	Fillon, François	Former Prime Minister
FRA	Hermelin, Paul	Chairman and CEO, Capgemini Group
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Pécresse, Valérie	Member of Parliament (UMP)
FRA	Rey, Hélène	Professor of Economics, London Business School
FRA	Senard, Jean-Dominique	CEO, Michelin Group
GBR	Agius, Marcus	Former Chairman, Barclays plc
GBR	Alexander, Helen	Chairman, UBM plc
GBR	Balls, Edward M.	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Bell, John	Regius Professor of Medicine, University of Oxford
GBR	Cameron, David	Prime Minister
GBR	Clarke, Ken	Member of Parliament
GBR	Cowper-Coles, Sherard	Business Development Director, International, BAE Systems plc
GBR	Davis, Ian	Chairman, Rolls-Royce plc
GBR	Dudley, Robert	Group Chief Executive, BP plc
GBR	Flint, Douglas J.	Group Chairman, HSBC Holdings plc
GBR	Henry, Simon	CFO, Royal Dutch Shell plc
GBR	Kerr, John	Independent Member, House of Lords
GBR	Mandelson, Peter	Chairman, Global Counsel; Chairman, Lazard International
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
GBR	Omand, David	Visiting Professor, King's College London
GBR	Osborne, George	Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Robertson, Simon	Partner, Robertson Robey Associates LLP; Deputy Chairman, HSBC Holdings
GBR	Taylor, Martin	Former Chairman, Syngenta AG
GBR	Voser, Peter R.	CEO, Royal Dutch Shell plc
GBR	Williams of Crosby, Shirley	Member, House of Lords
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Chief Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	Kyriacopoulos, Ulysses	Chairman, S&B Industrial Minerals S.A.
GRC	Papahelas, Alexis	Executive Editor, Kathimerini Newspaper
INT	Barroso, José M. Durão	President, European Commission
INT	Lagarde, Christine	Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
INT	Reding, Viviane	Vice President and Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship, European Commission
INT	Thiam, Tidjane	Group CEO, Prudential plc

INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	Distinguished Visiting Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics
IRL	Gallagher, Paul	Senior Counsel
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Chairman and CEO, Telecom Italia S.p.A.
ITA	Cucchiani, Enrico Tommaso	CEO, Intesa Sanpaolo SpA
ITA	Gruber, Lilli	Journalist - Anchorwoman, La 7 TV
ITA	Monti, Mario	Former Prime Minister
ITA	Nagel, Alberto	CEO, Mediobanca
ITA	Rocca, Gianfelice	Chairman, Techint Group
NLD	Boxmeer, Jean François van	Chairman of the Executive Board and CEO, Heineken N.V.
NLD	Dijkgraaf, Robbert H.	Director and Leon Levy Professor, Institute for Advanced Study
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Knot, Klaas H.W.	President, De Nederlandsche Bank
NLD	H.R.H. Princess Beatrix	
NLD	Rutte, Mark	Prime Minister
NOR	Brandtzæg, Svein Richard	President and CEO, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	Eide, Espen Barth	Minister of Foreign Affairs
NOR	Skogen Lund, Kristin	Director General, Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise
POL	Rostowski, Jacek	Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA
PRT	Portas, Paulo	Minister of State and Foreign Affairs
PRT	Seguro, António José	Secretary General, Socialist Party
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Minister for Foreign Affairs
SWE	Borg, Anders	Minister for Finance
SWE	Ekholm, Börje	President and CEO, Investor AB
SWE	Löfven, Stefan	Party Leader, Social Democratic Party (SAP)
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
TUR	Aydıntaşbaş, Aslı	Columnist, Milliyet Newspaper
TUR	Babacan, Ali	Deputy Prime Minister for Economic and Financial Affairs
TUR	Diñçer, Haluk	President, Retail and Insurance Group, Sabancı Holding A.S.
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.S.
TUR	Özel, Soli	Senior Lecturer, Kadir Has University; Columnist, Habertürk Newspaper
TUR	Pavey, Şafak	Member of Parliament (CHP)
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Executive Chairman, Evercore Partners
USA	Athey, Susan	Professor of Economics, Stanford Graduate School of Business
USA	Bezos, Jeff	Founder and CEO, Amazon.com
USA	Eberstadt, Nicholas N.	Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy, American Enterprise Institute
USA	Evans, J. Michael	Vice Chairman, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	Professor of Economics, Harvard University; President Emeritus, NBER
USA	Fishman, Mark C.	President, Novartis Institutes for BioMedical Research
USA	Gfoeller, Michael	Political Consultant
USA	Jacobs, Ken	Chairman and CEO, Lazard
USA	Johnson, James A.	Chairman, Johnson Capital Partners

USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. LLC
USA	Kaplan, Robert D.	Chief Geopolitical Analyst, Stratfor
USA	Karp, Alex	Founder and CEO, Palantir Technologies
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	Chairman and CEO, Alcoa
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Co-Chairman and Co-CEO, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow and Vice Chair, Hudson Institute
USA	Lessig, Lawrence	Roy L. Furman Professor of Law and Leadership, Harvard Law School; Director, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Senior Advisor to the CEO, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Ng, Andrew Y.	Co-Founder, Coursera
USA	Ottolenghi, Emanuele	Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
USA	Petraeus, David H.	General, U.S. Army (Retired)
USA	Rubin, Robert E.	Co-Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Schmidt, Eric E.	Executive Chairman, Google Inc.
USA	Slaughter, Anne-Marie	Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Thiel Capital
USA	Thompson, Craig B.	President and CEO, Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center
USA	Warsh, Kevin	Distinguished Visiting Fellow, The Hoover Institution, Stanford University
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman and CEO, Wolfensohn and Company



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2012 - Chantilly, Virginia, USA, 31st May - 3rd June

## Agenda

- The State of Trans-Atlantic Relations
- Is Vigorous Economic Growth Attainable?
- The Future of Democracy in the Developed World
- The US Political Landscape
- The European Political Landscape
- A Conversation on US Foreign Policy
- The Politics and Geo-Politics of Energy
- Stability and Instability in the Middle East
- Imbalances, Austerity and Growth
- Sustainability of the Euro and its Consequences
- What Does Putin 2.0 Mean?
- What Can the West Do about Iran?
- How Do Sovereign States Collaborate in Cyber Space?
- China's Economic and Political Outlook

## Final List of Participants<sup>[3]</sup>

### Chairman

FRA	<a href="#">Castris, Henri de</a>	Chairman and CEO, AXA Group
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher, Der Standard Medienwelt
AUT	Cernko, Willibald	CEO, UniCredit Bank Austria AG
AUT	Faymann, Werner	Federal Chancellor
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL	Belgium, H.R.H. Prince Philippe of	
CAN	Carney, Mark J.	Governor, Bank of Canada
CAN	Clark, W. Edmund	Group President and CEO, TD Bank Group
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Group
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	Chair, Torys LLP
CAN	<b>Redford, Alison M.</b>	<b>Premier of Alberta</b>
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CAN	Wright, Nigel S.	Chief of Staff, Office of the Prime Minister
CHE	Supino, Pietro	Chairman and Publisher, Tamedia AG
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman, Novartis AG
CHN	Fu, Ying	Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
CHN	Huang, Yiping	Professor of Economics, China Center for Economic Research, Peking University
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Enders, Thomas	CEO, Airbus
DEU	Ischinger, Wolfgang	Chairman, Munich Security Conference; Global Head Government Relations, Allianz SE

DEU	Koch, Roland	CEO, Bilfinger Berger SE
DEU	Löscher, Peter	President and CEO, Siemens AG
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Chief International Correspondent, Die Zeit
DEU	Reitzle, Wolfgang	CEO & President, Linde AG
DEU	Trittin, Jürgen	Parliamentary Leader, Alliance 90/The Greens
DNK	Christiansen, Jeppe	CEO, Maj Invest
DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Executive Vice President, Haldor Topsøe A/S
DNK	Mchangama, Jacob	Director of Legal Affairs, Center for Political Studies (CEPOS)
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA; Chairman, El País
ESP	Nin Génova, Juan María	Deputy Chairman and CEO, Caixabank
ESP	Sáenz de Santamaría Antón, Soraya	Vice President and Minister for the Presidency
FIN	Apunen, Matti	Director, Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell, PLC
FIN	Siilasmaa, Risto	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Urpilainen, Jutta	Minister of Finance
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
FRA	Béchu, Christophe	Senator, and Chairman, General Council of Maine-et-Loire
FRA	Chalendar, Pierre André de	Chairman and CEO, Saint-Gobain
FRA	Izraelewicz, Erik	CEO, Le Monde
FRA	Karvar, Anousheh	Inspector, Inter-ministerial Audit and Evaluation Office for Social, Health, Employment and Labor Policies
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Senard, Jean-Dominique	CEO, Michelin Group
GBR	Agius, Marcus	Chairman, Barclays PLC
GBR	Boles, Nick	Member of Parliament
GBR	Clarke, Ken	Member of Parliament, Lord Chancellor and Secretary of Justice
GBR	Dudley, Robert	Group Chief Executive, BP PLC
GBR	Flint, Douglas J.	Group Chairman, HSBC Holdings PLC
GBR	Kerr, John	Independent Member, House of Lords
GBR	Mandelson, Peter	Member, House of Lords; Chairman, Global Counsel
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
GBR	Rachman, Gideon	Chief Foreign Affairs Commentator, The Financial Times
GBR	Voser, Peter	CEO, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Chief Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	Giannitsis, Anastasios	Former Minister of Interior; Professor of Development and International Economics, University of Athens
GRC	Papalexopoulos, Dimitri	Managing Director, Titan Cement Co.
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy
INT	Almunia, Joaquín	Vice-President - Commissioner for Competition, European Commission
INT	Gucht, Karel de	Commissioner for Trade, European Commission
INT	Kodmani, Bassma	Member of the Executive Bureau and Head of Foreign Affairs, Syrian National Council
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Vice President, European Commission; Commissioner for Digital Agenda
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Director-General, World Trade Organization
INT	Sheeran, Josette	Vice Chairman, World Economic Forum
INT	Vimont, Pierre	Executive Secretary General, European External Action Service

INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	President, The World Bank Group
IRL	Gallagher, Paul	Former Attorney General; Senior Counsel
IRL	Noonan, Michael	Minister for Finance
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
ISR	Levite, Ariel E.	Nonresident Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
ISR	Rabinovich, Itamar	Global Distinguished Professor, New York University
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Chairman and CEO, Telecom Italia
ITA	Conti, Fulvio	CEO and General Manager, Enel S.p.A.
ITA	Elkann, John	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Gruber, Lilli	Journalist - Anchorwoman, La 7 TV
ITA	Letta, Enrico	Deputy Leader, Democratic Party (PD)
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	NLD, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Pechtold, Alexander	Parliamentary Leader, Democrats '66 (D66)
NLD	Polman, Paul	CEO, Unilever PLC
NLD	Rutte, Mark	Prime Minister
NLD	Scheffer, Paul	Professor of European Studies, Tilburg University
NOR	Andresen, Johan H.	Owner and CEO, FERD
NOR	Brandtzæg, Svein Richard	President and CEO, Norsk Hydro ASA
POL	Rostowski, Jacek	Minister of Finance
PRT	Amado, Luís	Chairman, Banco Internacional do Funchal (BANIF)
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	President and CEO, Impresa; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Moreira da Silva, Jorge	First Vice-President, Partido Social Democrata (PSD)
RUS	Chubais, Anatoly B.	CEO, OJSC RUSNANO
RUS	Ivanov, Igor S.	Associate member, Russian Academy of Science; President, Russian International Affairs Council
RUS	Kasparov, Garry	Chairman, United Civil Front (of Russia)
SWE	Bonnier, Jonas	President and CEO, Bonnier AB
SWE	Carlsson, Gunilla	Minister for International Development Cooperation
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
TUR	Babacan, Ali	Deputy Prime Minister for Economic and Financial Affairs
TUR	Berberoğlu, Enis	Editor-in-Chief, Hürriyet Newspaper
TUR	Keyman, E. Fuat	Director, Istanbul Policy Center and Professor of International Relations, Sabanci University
TUR	Koç, Mustafa	Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.
TUR	Timuray, Serpil	CEO, Vodafone Turkey
USA	Ajami, Fouad	Senior Fellow, The Hoover Institution, Stanford University
USA	Alexander, Keith B.	Commander, US Cyber Command; Director, National Security Agency
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Chairman, Evercore Partners
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	CEO and Senior Managing Director, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Daniels, Jr., Mitchell E.	Governor of Indiana
USA	DeMuth, Christopher	Distinguished Fellow, Hudson Institute

USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	National Security Advisor, The White House
USA	Evans, J. Michael	Vice Chairman, Global Head of Growth Markets, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Ferguson, Niall	Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard University
USA	Gephardt, Richard A.	President and CEO, Gephardt Group
USA	Goolsbee, Austan D.	Professor of Economics, University of Chicago Booth School of Business
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
USA	Harris, Britt	CIO, Teacher Retirement System of Texas
USA	Hoffman, Reid	Co-founder and Executive Chairman, LinkedIn
USA	Huntsman, Jr., Jon M.	Chairman, Huntsman Cancer Foundation
USA	Jacobs, KenNLD M.	Chairman and CEO, Lazard
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard
USA	Karp, Alexander	CEO, Palantir Technologies
USA	Karsner, Alexander	Executive Chairman, Manifest Energy, Inc
USA	<b>Kerry, John</b>	<b>Senator for Massachusetts</b>
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	Chairman and CEO, Alcoa
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Co-Chairman and Co-CEO, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute
USA	Krupp, Fred	President, Environmental Defense Fund
USA	Li, Cheng	Director of Research and Senior Fellow, John L. Thornton China Center, Brookings Institution
USA	Lipsky, John	Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Johns Hopkins University
USA	Liveris, Andrew N.	President, Chairman and CEO, The Dow Chemical Company
USA	Lynn, William J.	Chairman and CEO, DRS Technologies, Inc.
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Mehlman, KenNLD B.	Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Noonan, Peggy	Author, Columnist, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Orszag, Peter R.	Vice Chairman, Citigroup
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
USA	Rattner, Steven	Chairman, Willett Advisors LLC
USA	Rogoff, KenNLD S.	Professor of Economics, Harvard University
USA	Rose, Charlie	Executive Editor and Anchor, Charlie Rose
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Counselor, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
USA	Rubin, Robert E.	Co-Chair, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Schmidt, Eric E.	Executive Chairman, Google Inc.
USA	Shambaugh, David	Director, China Policy Program, George Washington University
USA	Speyer, Jerry I.	Chairman and Co-CEO, Tishman Speyer
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital / Thiel Capital
USA	Warsh, Kevin	Distinguished Visiting Fellow, The Hoover Institution, Stanford University
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman and CEO, Wolfensohn and Company
USA	Yergin, Daniel	Chairman, IHS Cambridge Energy Research Associates

#### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Bredow, Vendeline von	Business Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2011 - St. Moritz, Switzerland, 9th -12th June

## Agenda

- The Middle East: What Does Democracy Mean?
- Emerging Economies: Roles and Responsibilities
- Economic and National Security in a Digital Age
- Technological Innovation in Western Economies: Stagnation or Promise?
- The Appetite for Reform: Can Governments Deliver?
- CHE: Can It Remain Successful in the Future?
- European Union's Challenges
- A Sustainable Euro: Implications for European Economies
- China's Domestic Challenges
- China's Regional and Global Challenges
- Connectivity and the Diffusion of Power
- Current Conflict Areas
- Demographic Stresses

## Final List of Participants<sup>[4]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

**BEL** [Davignon, Etienne](#)

**Minister of State**

AUT	Bronner, Oscar	CEO and Publisher, Standard Medien AG
AUT	Faymann, Werner	Federal Chancellor
AUT	Rothensteiner, Walter	Chairman of the Board, Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreich AG
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL	Coene, Luc	Governor, National Bank of BEL
BEL	Leysen, Thomas	Chairman, Umicore
CAN	Carney, Mark J.	Governor, Bank of Canada
CAN	Clark, Edmund	President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Orbinksi, James	Professor of Medicine and Political Science, University of Toronto
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	Chair, Torys LLP
CAN	Reisman, Heather	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CHE	Brabeck-Letmathe, Peter	Chairman, Nestlé S.A.
CHE	Groth, Hans	Senior Director, Healthcare Policy & Market Access, Oncology Business Unit, Pfizer Europe
CHE	Janom Steiner, Barbara	Head of the Department of Justice, Security and Health, Canton Grisons
CHE	Kudelski, André	Chairman and CEO, Kudelski Group SA
<b>CHE</b>	<b>Leuthard, Doris</b>	<b>Federal Councillor</b>
CHE	Schmid, Martin	President, Government of the Canton Grisons
<b>CHE</b>	<b>Schweiger, Rolf</b>	<b>Member of the Swiss Council of States (Zug)</b>
CHE	Soiron, Rolf	Chairman of the Board, Holcim Ltd., Lonza Ltd.
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman, Novartis AG
CHE	Witmer, Jürg	Chairman, Givaudan SA and Clariant AG

CHN	Fu, Ying	Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
CHN	Huang, Yiping	Professor of Economics, China Center for Economic Research, Peking University
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Enders, Thomas	CEO, Airbus SAS
DEU	Löscher, Peter	President and CEO, Siemens AG
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Chief International Correspondent, Die Zeit
DEU	Steinbrück, Peer	Member of the Bundestag; Former Minister of Finance
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	CEO, DONG Energy
DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Vice President, Global Affairs, Haldor Topsøe A/S
DNK	Schütze, Peter	Member of the Executive Management, Nordea Bank AB
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	Cospedal, María Dolores de	Secretary General, Partido Popular
ESP	León Gross, Bernardino	Secretary General of the Spanish Presidency
ESP	Nin Génova, Juan María	President and CEO, La Caixa
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	Apunen, Matti	Director, Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA
FIN	Johansson, Ole	Chairman, Confederation of the Finnish Industries EK
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
FIN	Pentikäinen, Mikael	Publisher and Senior Editor-in-Chief, Helsingin Sanomat
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
FRA	Bazire, Nicolas	Managing Director, Groupe Arnault /LVMH
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman and CEO, AXA
FRA	Lévy, Maurice	Chairman and CEO, Publicis Groupe S.A.
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Roy, Olivier	Professor of Social and Political Theory, European University Institute
GBR	Agius, Marcus	Chairman, Barclays PLC
GBR	Flint, Douglas J.	Group Chairman, HSBC Holdings PLC
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
GBR	Lambert, Richard	Independent Non-Executive Director, Ernst & Young
GBR	Mandelson, Peter	Member, House of Lords; Chairman, Global Counsel
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
GBR	Osborne, George	Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Stewart, Rory	Member of Parliament
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GRC	Hardouvelis, Gikas A.	Chief Economist and Head of Research, Eurobank EFG
GRC	Papaconstantinou, George	Minister of Finance
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President, ELIAMEP
INT	Almunia, Joaquín	Vice President, European Commission; Commissioner for Competition
INT	Daele, Frans van	Chief of Staff to the President of the European Council
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Vice President, European Commission; Commissioner for Digital Agenda
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Director General, World Trade Organization
INT	Rompuy, Herman van	President, European Council
INT	Sheeran, Josette	Executive Director, United Nations World Food Programme

INT	Solana Madariaga, Javier	President, ESADEgeo Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, European Central Bank
INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	President, The World Bank Group
IRL	Gallagher, Paul	Senior Counsel; Former Attorney General
IRL	McDowell, Michael	Senior Counsel, Law Library; Former Deputy Prime Minister
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	CEO, Telecom Italia SpA
ITA	Elkann, John	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
ITA	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Eni S.p.A.
ITA	<b>Tremonti, Giulio</b>	<b>Minister of Economy and Finance</b>
NLD	Bolland, Marc J.	Chief Executive, Marks and Spencer Group PLC
NLD	Chavannes, Marc E.	Political Columnist, NRC Handelsblad; Professor of Journalism, University of Groningen
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	NLD, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	<b>Rosenthal, Uri</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
NLD	Winter, Jaap W.	Partner, De Brauw Blackstone Westbroek
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Former Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	NOR, H.R.H. Crown Prince Haakon of	
NOR	Ottersen, Ole Petter	Rector, University of Oslo
NOR	<b>Solberg, Erna</b>	<b>Leader of the Conservative Party</b>
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Ferreira Alves, Clara	CEO, Claref LDA; writer
PRT	Nogueira Leite, António	Member of the Board, José de Mello Investimentos, SGPS, SA
RUS	Mordashov, Alexey A.	CEO, Severstal
SWE	<b>Bildt, Carl</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
SWE	<b>Björling, Ewa</b>	<b>Minister for Trade</b>
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
TUR	Ciliv, Süreyya	CEO, Turkcell İletişim Hizmetleri A.S.
TUR	Gülek Domac, Tayyibe	Former Minister of State
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.S.
TUR	Pekin, Şefika	Founding Partner, Pekin & Bayar Law Firm
USA	Alexander, Keith B.	Commander, USCYBERCOM; Director, National Security Agency
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Chairman, Evercore Partners Inc.
USA	Bezos, Jeff	Founder and CEO, Amazon.com
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	George F. Baker Professor of Economics, Harvard University
USA	Hoffman, Reid	Co-founder and Executive Chairman, LinkedIn
USA	Hughes, Chris R.	Co-founder, Facebook
USA	Jacobs, Ken	Chairman & CEO, Lazard
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC

USA	Keane, John M.	Senior Partner, SCP Partners; General, US Army, Retired
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	Chairman and CEO, Alcoa
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Co-Chairman and co-CEO, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Li, Cheng	Senior Fellow and Director of Research, John L. Thornton China Center, Brookings Institution
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Orszag, Peter R.	Vice Chairman, Citigroup Global Markets, Inc.
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Rockefeller, David	Former Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank
USA	Rose, Charlie	Executive Editor and Anchor, Charlie Rose
USA	Rubin, Robert E.	Co-Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Schmidt, Eric	Executive Chairman, Google Inc.
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC
USA	Varney, Christine A.	Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust
USA	Vaupel, James W.	Founding Director, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research
USA	Warsh, Kevin	Former Governor, Federal Reserve Board
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC

**Rapporteurs**

GBR	Bredow, Vendeline von	Business Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## 2010 - Sitges, Spain, 3rd - 6th June

### Agenda

- Current Events: North Korea, Iran and Non-Proliferation
- Global Cooling: Implications of Slow Economic Growth
- The Growing Influence of Cyber Technology
- Is Financial Reform Progressing?
- US and European Fiscal and Financial Challenges
- The European Union and the Crisis of the Euro
- Promises of Medical Science
- Energy's Promises and Challenges
- Security in a Proliferated World
- Social Networking: From the Obama Campaign to the Iranian Revolution
- Europe-US: A New Approach
- Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Region
- Can We Feed the World?

### Final List of Participants<sup>[5]</sup>

#### Honorary Chairman

BEL	<a href="#">Davignon, Etienne</a>	Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
AUT	<a href="#">Fischer, Heinz</a>	<a href="#">Federal President</a>
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
CAN	<a href="#">Campbell, Gordon</a>	<a href="#">Premier of British Columbia</a>
CAN	Clark, W. Edmund	President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Mansbridge, Peter	Chief Correspondent, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President and CEO, Metrolinx
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman, Novartis AG
CHE	Voser, Peter	CEO, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
CHE	Waldvogel, Francis A.	Chairman, Novartis Venture Fund
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Enders, Thomas	CEO, Airbus SAS
DEU	Löscher, Peter	Chairman of the Board of Management, Siemens AG
DEU	<a href="#">Scholz, Olaf</a>	<a href="#">Vice Chairman, SPD</a>
DEU	Zetsche, Dieter	Chairman, Daimler AG
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	CEO, DONG Energy
DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Vice President Global Affairs, Haldor Topsøe A/S
DNK	Nyrup Rasmussen, Poul	Former Prime Minister

ESP	Alierta, César	Chairman and CEO, Telefónica
ESP	Botín, Ana P.	Executive Chairman, Banesto
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime	Managing Director, Advent International
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	Cisneros, Gustavo A.	Chairman and CEO, Cisneros Group of Companies
ESP	Entrecanales, José M.	Chairman, Acciona
ESP	León Gross, Bernardino	Secretary General, Office of the Prime Minister
ESP	Nin Génova, Juan María	President and CEO, La Caixa
ESP	Polanco, Ignacio	Chairman, Grupo PRISA
ESP	Rodríguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
ESP	Zapatero, José Luis Rodríguez	Prime Minister
FIN	Blåfield, Antti	Senior Editorial Writer, Helsingin Sanomat
FIN	Katainen, Jyrki	Minister of Finance
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
FIN	Wahlroos, Björn	Chairman, Sampo PLC
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA
FRA	Lauvergeon, Anne	Chairman of the Executive Board, AREVA
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Ramanantsoa, Bernard	Dean, HEC Paris Group
GBR	Agius, Marcus	Chairman, Barclays Bank PLC
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC.
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
GBR	Oldham, John	National Clinical Lead for Quality and Productivity
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
GBR	Williams, Shirley	Member, House of Lords
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GRC	Papaconstantinou, George	Minister of Finance
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President, ELIAMEP
INT	Almunia, Joaquín	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Gucht, Karel de	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Moyo, Dambisa F.	Economist and Author
INT	Sheeran, Josette	Executive Director, United Nations World Food Programme
INT	Solana Madariaga, Javier	Former Secretary General, Council of the European Union
INT	Stigson, Björn	President, World Business Council for Sustainable Development
INT	Tumpel-Gugerell, Gertrude	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	President, The World Bank Group
IRL	Gallagher, Paul	Attorney General
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	CEO, Telecom Italia S.p.A.
ITA	Conti, Fulvio	CEO and General Manager, Enel SpA
ITA	Elkann, John	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi

ITA	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Former Minister of Finance; President of Notre Europe
ITA	Rocca, Gianfelice	Chairman, Techint
ITA	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Eni S.p.A.
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Hommen, Jan H.M.	Chairman, ING Group
NLD	NLD, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Rinnooy Kan, Alexander H.G.	Chairman, Social and Economic Council of the NLD (SER)
NLD	Wellink, Nout	President, De Nederlandsche Bank
NOR	Brandtzæg, Svein Richard	CEO, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	Magnus, Birger	Chairman, Storebrand ASA
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Former Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Rangel, Paulo	Member, European Parliament
PRT	Teixeira dos Santos, Fernando	Minister of State and Finance
SWE	Bäckström, Urban	Director General, Confederation of Swedish Enterprise
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Minister of Foreign Affairs
SWE	Renström, Lars	President and CEO, Alfa Laval
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
TUR	Çakir, Ruşen	Journalist
TUR	Gürel, Z. Damla	Special Adviser to the President on EU Affairs
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.
TUR	Özilhan, Tuncay	Chairman, Anadolu Group
TUR	Sabancı Dinçer, Suzan	Chairman, Akbank
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Chairman, Evercore Partners Inc.
USA	Arrison, Sonia	Author and policy analyst
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	George F. Baker Professor of Economics, Harvard University
USA	Ferguson, Niall	Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard University
USA	Gates, William H.	Co-chair, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and Chairman, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Gordon, Philip H.	Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan
USA	Hormats, Robert D.	Under Secretary for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Keane, John M.	Senior Partner, SCP Partners
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	Chairman and CEO, Alcoa
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Lander, Eric S.	President and Director, Broad Institute of Harvard and MIT
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Naím, Moisés	Editor-in-Chief, Foreign Policy
USA	Orszag, Peter R.	Director, Office of Management and Budget
USA	Parker, Sean	Managing Partner, Founders Fund
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, LLC

USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Rose, Charlie	Producer, Rose Communications
USA	Rubin, Robert E.	Co-Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Schmidt, Eric	CEO and Chairman of the Board, Google
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Director, National Economic Council
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC
USA	Varney, Christine A.	Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust
USA	Volcker, Paul A.	Chairman, Economic Recovery Advisory Board
USA	West, F.J. Bing	Author
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC

**Rapporteurs**

GBR	Bredow, Vendeline von	Business Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Business Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2009 - Vouliagmeni, Greece, 14th - 17th May

## Agenda

- Governments and Markets
- After the G20: The Role of Institutions
- Protectionism: How Serious?
- Cyber-terrorism: Strategy and Policy
- Sustainability: Post-Kyoto Challenges
- Iraq: Role and Responsibilities in the Region
- Afghanistan and Pakistan
- A New Order: The USA and the World
- Lessons from a Crisis
- Challenge to Market Economies and Democracies
- Russia and China: New Imperialisms
- Current Affairs: How does Industry See the Future?

## Final List of Participants<sup>[6]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL	<a href="#">Davignon, Etienne</a>	Honorary Chairman, Bilderberg Meetings; Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel
AUT	Bronner, Osc	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
AUT	Faymann, Werner	Federal Chancellor
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
AUT	Treichl, Andreas	Chairman and CEO, Erste Group Bank AG
BEL	Coene, Luc	Vice Governor, National Bank of Belgium
BEL	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Former Ambassador to the US
CAN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Principal and Vice Chancellor, McGill University
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President and CEO, Metrolinx
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CAN	Samarasekera, Indira V.	President and Vice-Chancellor, University of Alberta
CHE	Blocher, Christoph	Former Swiss Counselor; Former Chairman and CEO, EMS-Group
CHE	Ringier, Michael	Chairman, Ringier AG
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Enders, Thomas	CEO, Airbus SAS
DEU	Klaeden, Eckart von	Foreign Policy Spokesman, CDU/CSU
DEU	<b>Koch, Roland</b>	<b>Prime Minister of Hessen</b>
DEU	Löscher, Peter	CEO, Siemens AG
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	President, DONG A/S
DNK	<b>Thorning-Schmidt, Helle</b>	<b>Leader of The Social Democratic Party</b>
DNK	Thune Andersen, Thomas	Partner and CEO, Maersk Oil

AUT	Bronner, Osc	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	Entrecanales, José Manuel	Chairman, Acciona
ESP	León Gross, Bernardino	General Director of the Presidency of the Spanish Government
ESP	<b>Moratinos Cuyaubé, Miguel A.</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
ESP	Nin Génova, Juan María	President and CEO, La Caixa
ESP	Solbes, Pedro	Vice-President of Spanish Government; Minister of Economy and Finance
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	<b>Katainen, Jyrki</b>	<b>Minister of Finance</b>
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
FIN	Rajalahti, Hanna	Managing Editor, Talouselämä
FIN	<b>Vanhanen, Matti</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
FRA	Bompard, Alexandre	CEO, Europe 1
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA
FRA	<b>Lagarde, Christine</b>	<b>Minister for the Economy, Industry and Employment</b>
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Olivennes, Denis	CEO and Editor in Chief, Le Nouvel Observateur
FRA	Oudéa, Frédéric	CEO, Société Générale
GBR	Dearlove, Richard	Master, Pembroke College, Cambridge
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
GBR	<b>Mandelson, Peter</b>	<b>Secretary of State for Business, Enterprise &amp; Regulatory Reform</b>
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
GBR	<b>Osborne, George</b>	<b>Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer</b>
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor & Chief Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	<b>Alogoskoufis, George</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
GRC	Arapoglou, Takis	Chairman and CEO, National Bank of Greece
GRC	<b>Bakoyannis, Dora</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GRC	<b>Diamantopoulou, Anna</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
GRC	Kyriacopoulos, Ulysses	Chairman and Board member of subsidiary companies of the S&B Group
GRC	Papahelas, Alexis	Journalist, Kathimerini
GRC	Papalexopoulos, Dimitris	Managing Director, Titan Cement Co. S.A.
GRC	Papathanasiou, Yannis	Minister of Economy and Finance
GRC	Stournaras, Yannis	Research Director, Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE).
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
INT	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Secretary General, NATO
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Director General, World Trade Organization
INT	Maystadt, Philippe	President, European Investment Bank
INT	Pisani-Ferry, Jean	Director, Bruegel
INT	Stigson, Björn	President, World Business Council for Sustainable Development
INT	Tanaka, Nobuo	Executive Director, IEA
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, European Central Bank
INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	President, The World Bank Group

AUT	Bronner, Osc	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman, AIB Group
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, BP PLC and Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	CEO, Telecom Italia S.p.A.
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Governor, Banca d'Italia
ITA	Elkann, John	Chairman, EXOR S.p.A.; Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
ITA	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Former Minister of Finance; President of Notre Europe
ITA	Prodi, Romano	Chairman, Foundation for Worldwide Cooperation
ITA	Siniscalco, Domenico	Vice Chairman, Morgan Stanley International
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Hirsch Ballin, Ernst M.H.	Minister of Justice
NLD	Hommen, Jan H.M.	Chairman, ING N.V.
NLD	NLD, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chief Executive, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
NLD	Wellink, Nout	President, De Nederlandsche Bank
NLD	Wijers, Hans	Chairman, AkzoNobel NV
NOR	Baksaas, Jon Fredrik	President and CEO, Telenor Group
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Former Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	Reiten, Eivind	President and CEO, Norsk Hydro ASA
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Leite, Manuela Ferreira	Leader, PSD
PRT	Pinho, Manuel	Minister of Economy and Innovation
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Minister of Foreign Affairs
SWE	Björklund, Jan	Minister for Education; Leader of the Liberal Party
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
SWE	Wallenberg, Marcus	Chairman, SEB
TUR	Babacan, Ali	Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.
TUR	Kohen, Sami	Senior Foreign Affairs Columnist, Milliyet
TUR	Sabancı Dinçer, Suzan	Chairman, Akbank
TUR	Uğur, Agah	CEO, Borusan Holding
USA	Alexander, Keith B.	Director, National Security Agency
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Chairman, Evercore Partners Inc.
USA	Boot, Max	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Eberstadt, Nicholas N.	Henry Wendt Scholar in Political Economy, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Ferguson, Niall	Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard University
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	US Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Keane, John M.	Senior Partner, SCP Partners; General, US Army, Retired

AUT	Bronner, Osc	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
USA	Kent, Muhtar	President and CEO, The Coca-Cola Company
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	President and CEO, Alcoa Inc.
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Rockefeller, David	Former Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank
USA	Rubin, Barnett R.	Director of Studies and Senior Fellow, Center for International Cooperation, New York University
USA	Sheeran, Josette	Executive Director, UN World Food Programme
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC
USA	Volcker, Paul A.	Chairman, Economic Recovery Advisory Board
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Bredow, Vendeline von	Business Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	McBride, Edward	Business Editor, The Economist



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2008 - Chantilly, Virginia, USA, 5th - 8th June

## Agenda

- Cyber-terrorism
- A Nuclear-Free World
- Managing Financial Turbulence
- US Foreign Policy Without Change
- How Serious Are the Threats on Our Economies
- Islam in Europe
- Africa
- Afghanistan, Challenge for the West
- Iran-Pakistan
- A Look at the Future
- The Mounting Threat of Protectionism
- Russia
- After Bush: The Future of US-EU Relations
- Current Affairs: US Elections

## Current List of Participants<sup>[7]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#)

Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

AUT Bronner, Oscar

Publisher, Der Standard Medienwelt

AUT Ederer, Brigitte

CEO, Siemens AG Österreich

AUT Leitner, Wolfgang

CEO, Andritz AG

AUT Scholten, Rudolf

Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan

Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group

BEL Philippe, H.R.H. Prince

CAN Adams, John

Associate Deputy Minister of National Defence and Chief of the Communications Security Establishment CAN

CAN Brodie, Ian

Chief of Staff, Prime Minister's Office

CAN Clark, W. Edmund

Group President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group

CAN Desmarais, Jr., Paul

Chairman and co-CEO, Power Corporation of CAN

CAN Martin, Roger

Dean, Joseph L. Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto

CAN McKenna, Frank

Deputy Chair, TD Bank Financial Group

CAN Prichard, J. Robert S.

President and CEO, Torstar Corporation

CAN Reisman, Heather M.

Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.

CAN Edwards, N. Murray

Vice Chairman, Canadian Natural Resources Limited

CHE Forstmoser, Peter

Professor for Civil, Corporation and Capital Markets Law, University of

CHE Spillmann, Markus

Editor-in-chief and Head Managing Board, Neue Zürcher Zeitung AG

CHE Vasella, Daniel L.

Chairman, Novartis AG

CZE [Schwarzenberg, Karel](#)

[Minister of Foreign Affairs](#)

DEU Ackermann, Josef

Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG

DEU Fischer, Joschka

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

DEU Ischinger, Wolfgang

Former Ambassador to the UK and US

DEU	Klaeden, Eckart von	Foreign Policy Spokesman, CDU/CSU
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
DEU	Perthes, Volker	Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
DNK	Bosse, Stine	CEO, TrygVesta
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	President, DONG A/S
DNK	Rose, Flemming	Editor, Jyllands Posten
DNK	Schur, Fritz H.	Fritz Schur Gruppen
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	León Gross, Bernardino	Secretary General, Office of the Prime Minister
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen	
FIN	Blåfield, Antti	Senior Editorial Writer, Helsingin Sanomat
FIN	Honkapohja, Seppo	Member of the Board, Bank of Finland
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell, PLC
FIN	Väyrynen, Raimo	Director, The Finnish Institute of International Affairs
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA Group
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Honorary Chairman, Lafarge
FRA	Jouyet, Jean-Pierre	Minister of European Affairs
FRA	Kodmani, Bassma	Director, Arab Reform Initiative
FRA	Margerie, Christophe de	CEO, Total
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Ockrent, Christine	CEO, French television and radio world service
FRA	Pérol, François	Deputy General Secretary in charge of Economic Affairs
FRA	Valls, Manuel	Member of Parliament
FRA	Védrine, Hubert	Hubert Védrine Conseil
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
GBR	McKillop, Tom	Chairman, The Royal Bank of Scotland Group
GBR	Osborne, George	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
GRC	Alogoskoufis, George	Minister of Economy and Finance
GRC	Diamantopoulou, Anna	Member of Parliament
GRC	Papahelas, Alexis	Journalist, Kathimerini
GRC	Papalexopoulos, Dimitri	Managing Director, Titan Cement Co.
GRC	Varvitsiotis, Thomas	Co-Founder and President, V+O Communication
HUN	Martonyi, János	Professor of International Trade Law; Partner, Baker & McKenzie; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
INT	Almunia, Joaquín	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G.	Secretary General, NATO
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Mandelson, Peter	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	McCreevy, Charlie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, European Central Bank

INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	President, The World Bank Group
IRL	Gallagher, Paul	Attorney General
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman, AIB Group
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	CEO, Telecom Italia Spa
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Governor, Banca d'Italia
ITA	Elkann, John	Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
ITA	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Former Minister of Finance; President of Notre Europe
<b>NLD</b>	<b>Balkenende, Jan Peter</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	NLD, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Orange, H.R.H. the Prince of	
<b>NLD</b>	<b>Timmermans, Frans</b>	<b>Minister of European Affairs</b>
NLD	Goddijn, Harold	CEO, TomTom
NOR	Clemet, Kristin	Managing Director, Civita
NOR	Mykleburst, Egil	Former Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	Vollebaek, Knut	High Commissioner on National Minorities, OSCE
POL	Kwaśniewski, Aleksander	Former President
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, Impresa, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Costa, António	Mayor of Lisbon
PRT	Rio, Rui	Mayor of Porto
RUS	Trenin, Dmitri V.	Deputy Director and Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center
<b>SWE</b>	<b>Bildt, Carl</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
SWE	Johnstone, Tom	President and CEO, AB SKF
<b>SWE</b>	<b>Olofsson, Maud</b>	<b>Minister of Enterprise and Energy; Deputy Prime Minister</b>
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
<b>TUR</b>	<b>Babacan, Ali</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
TUR	Göğüş, Zeynep	Journalist; Founder, EurActiv.com.tr
TUR	Koç, Mustafa	Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.
<b>TUR</b>	<b>Öztrak, Faik</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
TUR	Şahenk, Ferit	Chairman, Doğu Holding A.Ş.
USA	Ajami, Fouad	Director, Middle East Studies Program, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The John Hopkins University
USA	Alexander, Keith B	Director, National Security Agency
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Chairman, Evercore Partners Inc.
USA	Bernanke, Ben S.	Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	CEO and Senior Managing Director, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Crocker, Chester A.	James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies
USA	Daschle, Thomas A.	Former US Senator and Senate Majority Leader
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Partner, O'Melveny & Myers
USA	Farah, Martha J.	Director, Centre for Cognitive Neuroscience; Walter H. Annenberg Professor in the Natural Sciences, University of Pennsylvania
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research

USA	Ford, Jr., Harold E.	Vice Chairman, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.
USA	Geithner, Timothy F.	President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Gigot, Paul	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	Chairman, E&A Industries, Inc.
USA	Jacobs, Kenneth M.	Deputy Chairman, Head of Lazard U.S., Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	Chairman and COO, Alcoa
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	Vice Chairman and Special Advisor to the Chairman, Merrill Lynch
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Paulson, Jr, Henry M.	Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, LLC
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy
USA	Rice, Condoleezza	Secretary of State
USA	Rose, Charlie	Executive Editor and Anchor, Charlie Rose
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Counselor and Ziegler Distinguished Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
USA	Rubin, Barnett R.	Director of Studies and Senior Fellow, Centre for International Cooperation, New York University
USA	<b>Sanford, Mark</b>	<b>Governor of South Carolina</b>
USA	Schmidt, Eric E.	Chairman of Executive Committee and CEO, Google Inc.
USA	<b>Sebelius, Kathleen</b>	<b>Governor of Kansas</b>
USA	Shultz, George P.	Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Charles W. Eliot Professor, Harvard University
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC
USA	Vakil, Sanam	Assistant Professor of Middle East Studies, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University
USA	Weber, J. Vin	CEO, Clark & Weinstock
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman and CEO, Wolfensohn and Company
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy
USA	Rockefeller, David	Former Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank

#### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Bredow, Vendeline von	Business Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2007 - Istanbul, Turkey, 31st May - 3rd June

## Agenda

- The New World Order: Uni-Polar or Non-Polar?
- TUR and its Neighbours
- Europe and the US: Common and Conflicting Interests
- The Mood of the US
- Democracy and Populism
- Democracy in the Middle East
- TUR's Long-Term Development in Comparative Perspective
- Leadership Changes in Key European Countries [France-UK]
- Information Technology: Globalising or Tribalising Force?
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation
- The US: Cutting Issues in State-Federal Relations
- Climate Change
- Current Affairs: Capital Markets: Risks and Opportunities of Private Equity and Hedge Funds

## List of Participants<sup>[8]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#)

Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

AUT [Bartenstein, Martin](#)

[Federal Minister of Economics and Labour](#)

AUT Bronner, Oscar

Publisher and Editor, Der Standard

AUT Gusenbauer, Alfred

Federal Chancellor

AUT Nowotny, Ewald

CEO, BAWAG P.S.K.

AUT Scholten, Rudolf

Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG

BEL Daele, Frans van

Permanent Representative of BEL to NATO

BEL Philippe, H.R.H. Prince

CAN Butts, Gerald

Principle Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister of Ontario

[CAN Kenney, Jason](#)

[Member of Parliament](#)

CAN Reisman, Heather

Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.

CHE Schwab, Klaus

Executive Chairman, World Economic Forum

CHE Vasella, Daniel L.

Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG

DEU Burda, Hubert

Publisher and CEO, Hubert Burda Media Holding

DEU Döpfner, Mathias

Chairman and CEO, Axel Springer AG

DEU Klaeden, Eekart von

Foreign Policy Spokesman, CDU/CSU

DEU Kleinfeld, Klaus

President and CEO, Siemens AG

DEU Nass, Matthias

Deputy Editor, Die Zeit

DEU Perthes, Volker

Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik

DEU Schrempp, Jürgen E.

Former Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler

[DEU Westerwelle, Guido](#)

[Chairman, Free Democratic Party](#)

DNK Eldrup, Anders

President, DONG A/S

DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
DNK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Member of Parliament
ESP	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO PRISA media group
ESP	León Gross, Bernardino	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander, Ciudad Grupo
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	Jääskeläinen, Atte	Director of News, Sports and Regional Programme of YLE
FIN	Katainen, Jyrki	Minister of Finance
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija	Secretary of State, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
FRA	Barnier, Michel	Vice President of Mérieux Alliance; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
FRA	Baverez, Nicholas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA
FRA	Hermelin, Paul	CEO Capermeni
FRA	Ockrent, Christine	Editor in chief, FRA Télévision
FRA	Parisot, Laurence	President, MEDEF
FRA	Roy, Oliver	Senior Researcher, CNRS
GBR	Clarke, Ken	Member of Parliament
GBR	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A
GBR	Dearlove, Richard	Master, Pembroke College, Cambridge
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor, The Economist
GBR	Osborne, George	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Patten, Christopher	Member, House of Lords
GBR	Taggart, Paul A.	Professor of Politics, University of Sussex
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
GRC	Alogoskoufis, George	Minister of Economy and Finance
GRC	Diamantopoulou, Anna	Member of Parliament
INT	Derviş, Kemal	Administrator, UNDP
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
INT	Rato y Figaredo, Rodrigo de	Managing Director, IMF
INT	Rehn, Olli	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, Central European Bank
INT	Wolfowitz, Paul	President, The World Bank
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman, AIB Group
IRL	McDowell, Michael	Minister for Justice, Equality and Law reform
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D	Chairman, BP PLC and Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
ISR	Gilady, Eival	CEO, Portland Trust, Israel
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe
ITA	Elkann, John	Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Eni S.p.A
ITA	Siniscalco, Domenico	Managing Director and Vice Chairman, Morgan Stanley

NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	<b>Heemskerk, Frank</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Trade</b>
NLD	Hommen, Jan H.M.	Chairman, Reed Elsevier
NLD	NLD, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Tilmant, Michel	Chairman, ING N.V.
NLD	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chief Executive, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
NOR	Kreutzer, Idar	CEO, Storebrand ASA
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	Ulltveit-Moe, Jens	CEO, Umoe AS
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Beleza, Leonor	President, Champalimaud Foundation
SWE	<b>Bildt, Carl</b>	<b>Minister for Foreign Affairs</b>
SWE	<b>Borg, Anders</b>	<b>Minister of Finance</b>
SWE	Svanberg, Carl-Henric	President and CEO, Telefonaktiebolaget LM Ericsson
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
TUR	<b>Babacan, Ali</b>	<b>Minister of Economic Affairs</b>
TUR	Birand, Mehmet A.	Columnist
TUR	Boyner, Ümit N.	Member of the Executive Board, Boyner Holding
TUR	Çandar, Cengiz	Journalist, Referans
TUR	Çetin, Hikmet	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs and former NATO Senior Representative for Afghanistan
TUR	Duna, Cem	Former Ambassador to the EU
TUR	Gönensay, Emre	Professor of Economics İşik University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences; former Minister for Foreign Affairs
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.
TUR	Soysal, Ayşe	Rector, Bosphorous University
TUR	Yalçındağ, Arzuhan Doğan	President, TUSIAD
TUR	Yücaoğlu, Erkut	Chairman of the Board, MAP; Former President, TUSIAD
USA	Allison, Graham	Douglas Dillion Professor of Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
USA	Barone, Michael	Senior Writer, US News & World Report
USA	Bierbaum, Rosina M.	Professor and Dean, School of Natural Resources and Environment, University of Michigan
USA	Blankfein, Lloyd C.	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Boyd, Charles G.	President and CEO, Business Executives for National Security
USA	Bremmer, Ian	President of Eurasia Group
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Partner, O'Melveny & Myers LLP
USA	Dyson, Esther	Chairman, EDventure Holdings Inc.
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Geithner, Timothy F.	President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Gidot, Paul A.	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Grossman, Marc	Vice-Chairman The Cohen Group
USA	Haass, Richard N.	President, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Hart, Peter D.	Chairman, Peter D. Hart Research Associates
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jacobs, Ken	Deputy Chairman, Head of Lazard U.S., Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC

USA	Kent, Muhtar	President and COO, The Coca-Cola Company
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates
USA	Kovner, Bruce	Chairman, Caxton Associates LLC
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
USA	Luti, William J.	Special Assistant to the President for Defense Policy and Strategy, National Security Council
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	<b>Perry, Rick</b>	<b>Governor of Texas</b>
USA	Schmidt, Eric	Chairman of the Executive Committee and CEO, Google
USA	Scully, Robert W.	Co-President, Morgan Stanley
USA	<b>Sebelius, Kathleen</b>	<b>Governor of Kansas</b>
USA	Sheeran, Josette	Executive Director, UN World Food Programme
USA	Silverberg, Kristen	Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Organization Affairs
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University
USA	Taurel, Sidney	Chairman and CEO, Eli Lilly and Company
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management LLC
USA	Weber, Vin (J.V.)	Partner, Clark & Weinstock
USA	Wilson, Ross	Ambassador to Turkey
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC
USA	Wood, Joseph R.	Deputy Advisor to the Vice President, National Security Affairs
USA	Zelikow, Philip D.	White Burkett Miller Professor of History, University of Virginia

#### **Rapporteurs**

DEU	Bredow, Vendeline A.H. von	Business Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2006 - Ottawa, Canada, 8th - 11th June

## Agenda

- American Power and the Battle for Arab Reform
- Terrorist Movements in the Middle East
- The Challenges of Immigration
- Israel-Palestine: One Year Later
- China - the Economic and Political Landscape
- New Alignments in Asia: the Changing Strategic Landscape
- Energy: What Are the Issues
- Energy: What Does Dependence Mean?
- Russia: Quo Vadis?
- Economic Patriotism: A Real Threat?
- Current Affairs: Italy
- The Challenges of Deterrence in a Proliferating World
- Iran
- New Security Challenges for NATO, the EU: Afghanistan, Africa, ...

## List of Participants<sup>[9]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#)

Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

AUT [Bartenstein, Martin](#)

[Minister of Economies and Labour](#)

AUT Bronner, Oscar

Publisher and Editor, Der Standard

AUT [Gusenbauer, Alfred](#)

[Parliamentary Leader SPÖ](#)

AUT Scholten, Rudolf

Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Österreichische Kontrollbank AG

BEL Burda, Hubert

Publisher and CEO, Hubert Burda Media Holding GmbH & Co. KG

BEL Goldschmidt, Pierre

Former IAEA Deputy Director General & Former Head of the Department of Safeguards; Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

BEL Hansen, Jean-Pierre

CEO, Suez-Tractebel S.A.

BEL Lippens, Maurice

Chairman, FORTIS

CAN Clark, Edmund

President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group

CAN Comper, Tony

President and CEO, BMO Financial Group

CAN Crawley, Phillip

Publisher and CEO, The Globe and Mail

CAN Desmarais Jr., Paul

CEO, Power Corporation

CAN Koss, Johann O.

President and CEO, Right To Play

CAN Lloyd, Ronald S.

Chairman and CEO, Credit Suisse First Boston

CAN McKenna, Frank

Deputy Chair, Toronto Dominion Bank Financial Group

CAN Nickerson, Ken

iBinary Corp

CAN Nixon, Gordon

President and CEO, Royal Bank of CAN

CAN Prichard, J. Robert S.

President, Torstar Corporation

CAN Reisman, Heather

Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.

CAN Waugh, Richard E.

President and CEO, Bank of Nova Scotia

CHE Aigrain, Jacques

CEO, Swiss Re

CHE Kudelski, André

Chairman of the Board and CEO, Kudelski Group

CHN	Zhang, Yi	Deputy Secretary General, China Society for Strategy and Management Research
DEU	Döpfner, Mathias	Chairman of the Board of Management, Axel Springer AG
DEU	Joffe, Josef	Publisher-Editor, Die Zeit
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
DEU	<b>Pflüger, Friedberg</b>	<b>State Secretary of Defence</b>
DEU	<b>Schily, Otto</b>	<b>Former Minister of Interior Affairs; Member of Parliament; Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs</b>
DEU	Schrempp, Jürgen E.	Former Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
DEU	Schulz, Ekkehard D.	Chairman, ThyssenKrupp AG
DEU	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	President, DONG A/S
DNK	Seidenfaden, Tøger	Executive Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	<b>Leòn Gross, Bernardino</b>	<b>Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs</b>
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander, Ciudad Grupo Santander
FIN	<b>Heinäluoma, Eero</b>	<b>Minister of Finance</b>
FIN	Korkman, Sixten	Managing Director, The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy ETLA and Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
FRA	Barnier, Michel	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Corporate Vice-President, Mérieux Alliance
FRA	Bressand, Albert	Professor and Managing Director designate, Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman, Lafarge
FRA	Descoings, Richard	Director, Institut d'Études Politiques
FRA	<b>Devedjian, Patrick</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
FRA	Kerdrel, Yves de	Editor, Le Figaro
FRA	Lauvergeon, Anne	Chairman of the Executive Board, AREVA
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Pinault, François-Henri	President, Artemis; Chairman and CEO,
FRA	Roy, Oliver	Senior Researcher, French National Center for Scientific Research
GBR	Balls, Edward	Economic Secretary to the Treasury
GBR	Browne, John	Group Chief Executive, BP PLC
GBR	<b>Clarke, Kenneth</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
GBR	Kaletsky, Anatole	Editor at Large, The Times
GBR	Kerr, John	Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
GBR	<b>Osborne, George</b>	<b>Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer</b>
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor and Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	<b>Alogoskoufis, George</b>	<b>Minister of Economy and Finance</b>
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
INT	Dervis, Kemal	Administrator, UNDP
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission

INT	Kronenburg, Ed	Director of the Private Office, NATO Headquarters
INT	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
INT	Piebalgs, Andris	Commissioner, European Commission
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman, AIB Group
IRL	O'Brien, Denis	Chairman, Communicorp Group Ltd.
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, BP PLC and Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
IRN	Sariolghalam, Mahmood	Associate Professor of International Relations, School of Economic and Political Sciences, National University of Iran (Shahid Beheshti)
IRQ	Chalabi, Ahmad	Former Deputy Prime Minister
ISR	Gilady, Eival	Head of Coordination and Strategy at the Office of the Prime Minister
ITA	Barnabè, Franco	Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe
ITA	Elkann, John	Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Minister of Finance
ITA	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Eni S.p.A.
ITA	Tremonti, Giulio	Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Kleisterlee, Gerard J.	President and CEO, Royal Philips Electronics
NLD	Netherlands, M.H. the Queen of	
NLD	Verhagen, Maxime J.M.	Parliamentary Leader, Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)
NLD	Wellink, A.H.E.M.	President, De Nederlandsche Bank
NOR	Jensen, Siv	Member of Parliament
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	Norvik, Harald	Chairman & Partner, ECON Management AS
PNA	Abu-Amr, Ziad	Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council; President of the Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations; Professor of Political Science, Birzeit University
POL	Olechowski, Adnzej	Leader Civic Platform
PRT	Aguiar-Branco, José Pedro	Former Minister of Justice; Member of Parliament (PSD)
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Silva, Augusto Santos	Minister for Parliamentary Affairs
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Former Prime Minister
SWE	Reinfeldt, Fredrik	Chairman Conservative Party
SWE	Stråberg, Hans	President and CEO, AB Electrolux
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
TUR	Bagis, Egemen	Member of Parliament; Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister
TUR	Boyner, Ümit N.	Member of the Executive Board, Boyner Holding
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.S.
TUR	Köprülü, Kemal	Founding Chairman, ARI Movement
TUR	Koru, Fehmi	Senior Writer, Yeni Safek
TUR	Özel, Soli	Professor of International Relations and Political Science, Istanbul Bilgi University

USA	Ajami, Fouad	Director, Middle East Studies Program, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Partner, O'Melveny & Myers LLP
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Geithner, Timothy F.	President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Gigot, Paul A.	Editor of the Editorial Page, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, Director National Economic Council
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Kimsey, James V.	Founding CEO and Chairman Emeritus, America Online, Inc.
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Luti, William J.	Special Assistant to the President for Defense Policy and Strategy, National Security Council
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Medish, Mark C.	Partner, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Technical Officer Advanced Strategies and Policy, Microsoft Corporation
<b>USA</b>	<b>Pataki, George E.</b>	<b>Governor of New York State</b>
USA	Pearlstine, Norman	Senior Advisor, Time Warner Inc.
USA	Pei, Minxin	Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Rattner, Steven	Managing Principal, Quadrangle Group LLC
USA	Rockefeller, David	Former Member, JP Morgan International Council
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
USA	Roy, J. Stapleton	Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Sadjapour, Karim	Analyst, International Crisis Group
USA	Sant, Roger	Co-Founder and Chairman Emeritus, The AES Corporation The Summit Foundation
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Dean, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas
USA	Vinocur, John	Senior Correspondent, International Herald Tribune
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Special Envoy for the Gaza Disengagement
USA	Zelikow, Philip D.	Counselor of the Department, US Department of State
USA	Zoellick, Robert B.	Deputy Secretary of State

#### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Bredow, Vendeline A.H. von	Paris Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2005 - Rottach-Egern, Germany, 5th - 8th June

## Agenda

- What Do We Mean by Freedom?
- Development: Reflections and Perspectives
- How Can Europe and the US Work Together to Deal with Common Problems?
- Iraq
- Asia: the Geo-Strategic Challenges
- Where is Europe Going?
- Israel-Palestine
- Russia: Do the Transatlantic Partners have a Common Strategy?
- Failure of the Lisbon Agenda?
- The Non-Proliferation Treaty at Risk?
- Iran
- Current Affairs: Will the Fiscal Problems Facing Europe and the US Undermine Future Economic Performance?

## List of Participants<sup>[10]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#) Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

### Honorary Secretary General

GBR [Taylor, J. Martin](#) International Advisor, Goldman Sachs International

AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
AUT	Haselsteiner, Hans Peter	CEO, Bauholding Strabag SE (Societas Europea)
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL	Hansen, Jean-Pierre	CEO, Suez-Tractebel S.A.
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
BEL	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
CAN	Manji, Irshad	Author/Founder of "Project Ijtihad"
CAN	Mau, Bruce	Bruce Mau Design
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Ambassador to the US
CAN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Principal and Vice Chancellor, McGill University
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President, Torstar Media Group and CEO, Torstar Corporation
CAN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CHE	<a href="#">Couchepin, Pascal</a>	<a href="#">Head, Department of Home Affairs</a>
CHE	Kudelski, André	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Kudelski Group
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman, Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Burda, Hubert	Chairman of the Board of Management, Hubert Burda Media
DEU	Döpfner, Mathias	CEO, Axel Springer AG
DEU	Kleinfeld, Klaus	President and CEO, Siemens AG
DEU	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, DaimlerChrysler AG
DEU	<a href="#">Merkel, Angela</a>	<a href="#">Chairman, CDU; Chairman CDU/CSU-Fraction</a>

DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
DEU	Pflüger, Friedbert	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU Fraktion
DEU	Schily, Otto	Minister of the Interior
DEU	Schrempp , Jürgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
DEU	Schulz, Ekkehard D.	Chairman of the Executive Board, ThyssenKrupp AG
DEU	Wissmann, Matthias	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU Fraktion
DEU	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	President, DONG A/S
DNK	Hedegaard, Connie	Minister for the Environment
DNK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Chairman, Social Democratic Party
ESP	Cebrián. Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	Palacio, Loyola de	President, Council on Foreign Relations, Partido Popular
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte	Matias, Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander
ESP	Sebastián Gascón, Miguel	Chief Economic Adviser to Prime Minister
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	Liikanen, Erkki	Governor and Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Pentikäinen, Mikael	President, Sanoma Corporation
FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija H.	Director, University of Helsinki, Network for European Studies
FRA	Beytout, Nicolas	Editor-in-Chief, Le Figaro
FRA	Camus, Philippe	CEO, EADS
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman, Lafarge
FRA	Delpech, Thérèse	Director for Strategic Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission
FRA	Kouchner, Bernard	Director, "Santé et développement", CNAM
FRA	Lamy, Pascal	President, Notre Europe; Former Commissioner, European Commission
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)
FRA	Roy, Olivier	Senior Researcher, CNRS
GBR	Browne, John	Group Chief Executive, BP PLC
GBR	Kerr, John	Director, Shell, Rio Tinto, Scottish American Investment Trust
GBR	Skidelsky, Robert	Professor of Political Economy, Warwick University
GBR	Weinberg, Peter	CEO, Goldman Sachs International
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor and Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	Alogoskoufis, George	Minister of Economy and Finance
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GRC	Diamantopoulou, Anna	Member of Parliament
GRC	Papandreou, George A.	President, Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)
INT	Almunia Amann, Joaquin	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Barroso. José M. Durão	President, European Commission
INT	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Secretary General, NATO
INT	Jones, James L.	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Monti, Mario	President, Bocconi University; Former Commissioner for Competition, European Commission
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

INT	Rato y Figaredo	Rodrigo de, Managing Director, IMF
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, European Central Bank
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
IRL	Byrne, David	WHO Special Envoy on Global Communicable Diseases; Former Commissioner, European Commission
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman, AIB Group
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP PLC
ISR	Gilady, Eival	Strategic Advisor to Prime Minister Sharon
ISR	Sharansky, Natan	Former Minister for Jerusalem & Diaspora Affairs
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe
ITA	Elkann, John	Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Scaroni, Paolo	Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director, Enel S.p.A.
ITA	<b>Siniscalco, Domenico</b>	<b>Minister for Economy and Finance</b>
NLD	<b>Aartsen, Jozias J. van</b>	<b>Parliamentary Leader, Liberal Party (VVD)</b>
NLD	Docters van Leeuwen, Arthur W.H.	Chairman of the Executive Board, NLD Authority for the Financial Markets
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Tilmant, Michel	Chairman, ING N.V.
NLD	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chairman Committee of Managing Directors, Royal Dutch Shell Group
NOR	Grydeland, Bjørn T.	Ambassador to the EU
NOR	Lundestad, Geir	Director, Norwegian Nobel Institute; Secretary, Norwegian Nobel Committee
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman of the Board of Directors, SAS
PNA	<b>Abu-Amr, Ziad</b>	<b>Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council; President of the Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations; Professor of Political Science, Birzeit University</b>
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader Civic Platform
POL	Szwajcowski, Jacek	CEO, Polska Grupa Farmaceutyczna
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Guterres, António	Former Prime Minister; President, Socialist International
PRT	<b>Sarmento, Nuno Morais</b>	<b>Former Minister of State and of Presidency; Member of Parliament</b>
RUS	Nemirovskaya, Elena	Founder and Director, Moscow School of Political Studies
SVK	<b>Miklos, Ivan</b>	<b>Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance</b>
SWE	Belfrage, Erik	Senior Vice President, SEB
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Investor AB; Vice-Chairman, SEB
TUR	<b>Babacan, Ali</b>	<b>Minister of Economic Affairs</b>
TUR	Gencer, Imregul	Member of the Board, Global Investment Holding
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.S.
TUR	Ülsever, Cüneyt	Columnist, Hürriyet
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Partner, O'Melveny & Myers
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Ford, Jr., William C.	Chairman and CEO, Ford Motor Company

USA	Geithner, Timothy F.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
USA	Haass, Richard N.	President, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Director of the National Economic Council
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Keane, John M.	President, GSI, LLC; General, US Army, Retired
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Ledeen, Michael A.	American Enterprise Institute
USA	Luti, William J.	Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Medish, Mark C.	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP
USA	Mehlman, Ken NLD B.	Chairman, Republican National Committee
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, LLC
USA	Pearlstine, Norman	Editor-in-Chief, Time Inc.
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, JP Morgan International Council
USA	Rodin, Judith	President, The Rockefeller Foundation
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
USA	Vinocur, John	Senior Correspondent, International Herald Tribune
USA	Warner, Mark R.	Governor of Virginia
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	President designate, The World Bank
USA	Zakaria, Fareed	Editor, Newsweek International

#### Rapporteurs

GBR	Micklethwait, John	USA Editor, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2004 - Stresa, Italy, 3rd - 6th June

## Agenda

- Energy: The Sustainability of Current Trends
- The Rules of the Game: Towards a 21st Century Concert?
- The Prospects for Iraq
- Afghanistan, Including the Implications for Future NATO Operations in the Area
- European Geopolitics
- Health and Development
- The US Political Landscape
- Is China Changing the World?
- Current Affairs: Russia
- The Middle East: Is Stability Within Reach?
- World Economic Outlook
- Corporate Fraud: How Lethal is the Cure?

## List of Participants<sup>[11]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#) Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

### Honorary Secretary General

GBR [Taylor, J. Martin](#) International Advisor, Goldman Sachs International

AUT Scholten, Rudolf Director, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG

BEL [Dehaene, Jean-Luc](#) Former Prime Minister, Mayor of Vilvoorde

BEL Hansen, Jean-Pierre Chairman, Suez Tractebel SA

BEL Phillipe, HRH Prince

BEL Struye de Swielande, Dominique Permanent representative of Belgium, NATO

CAN [Lynch, Kevin G.](#) Deputy Minister, Department of Finance

CAN McKenna, Frank Counsel, McInnes Cooper, former premier of New Brunswick

CAN Reisman, Heather President and CEO, Indigo Books and Music Inc.

CHE Borel, Daniel Chairman, Logitech International S.A.

CHE Couchepin, Pascal Former Swiss President, Head of Home affairs Dept.

CHE Vasella, Daniel L. Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG

CHN Long, Yongtu Secretary General, Boao forum for Asia

CYP Pantelides, Leonidas Ambassador to Greece

DEU Ackermann, Josef Chairman, Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG; Member of supervisory boards Siemens AG. & Bayer AG; Director, World Trade Center Memorial Foundation

DEU Naas, Matthias Deputy Editor, Die Zeit

DEU Sandschneider, Eberhard Director, Research Institute, German Society for Foreign Policy

DEU [Schilly, Otto](#) Minister of the Interior

DEU Schrempp, Jurgen E. Chairman, DaimlerChrysler AG

DEU	Weber, Jurgen	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Lufthansa AG
DEU	Wissmann, Matthias	Member of Parliament
DEU	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman, Deutsche Post Worldnet AG; Chairman, Deutsche Telekom
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	Chairman, DONG gas company (becoming privatised) A/S
DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Ambassador to the USA
ESP	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA, former Chairman, International Press Institute
ESP	Riodriguez Inearte, Matias	Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander
ESP	Serra Rexach, Eduardo	Head, Real Institute Elcano
FIN	Lehtomaki, Paula	Minister of Foreign Trade and Development
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Speaker of Parliament; former Prime Minister
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Nokia Corporation
FRA	Beytout, Nicolas	Editor In Chief, Les Echos
FRA	Camus, Phillipe	EO, European Aeronautic Defence and Space NV
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman, AXA Insurance
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations
GBR	Browne, John	Group Chief Executive, BP PLC
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament, Deputy Chairman, British American Tobacco
GBR	Kerr, John	Director, Shell, Rio Tinto and Scottish American Investment Trust, former secretary of European Constitution Commission
GBR	Neville-Jones, Pauline	Chairman, QuinetiQ (UK privatised military research/services company), governor of the BBC, Chairman Information Assurance Advisory Council, former Chairman Joint Intelligence Committee, former Managing Director NatWest Markets
GBR	Verwaayen, Ben J. M.	CEO, British Telecom; former director, Lucent Technologies
GBR	Weinberg, Peter	CEO, Goldman Sachs International
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor/Economic Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company SA
GRC	Diamantopoulou, Anna	Member of Parliament, former European Commissioner for Social Affairs
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Commissioner for the Internal Market, European Commission, former leader of Dutch right wing Liberal Party VVD.
INT	Monti, Mario	Competition/Antitrust Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Director, European Central Bank
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, European Central Bank
INT	Vitorino, Antonio M.	Justice and Home Affairs Commissioner, European Union
INT	Vries, Gijs M. de	EU Counter Terrorism Co-ordinator
INT	Wolfenson, James D.	President, The World Bank
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman Allied Irish Bank Group
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International, Chairman, BP PLC
ISR	Barnavie, Elie	Department of General History, Tel-Aviv University
ITA	Ambrosetti, Alfredo	Chairman, Ambrosetti Group
ITA	Benedetti, Rodolfo De	CEO, CIR
ITA	Bernabe, Franco	Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe
ITA	Bortoli, Ferruccio de	CEO, RCS Libri
ITA	Caracciolo, Lucio	Director, Limes Geopolitical Review

ITA	Draghi, Mario	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs
ITA	Galateri, Gabriele	Chairman, Mediobanca
ITA	Giavazzi, FRASco	Professor of Economics, Bocconi University; adviser, world bank and European Central bank
ITA	Merlini, Cesare	Executive Vice Chairman, Council for the USA and ITA, Council on Foreign Relations, former director, Italian Institute for International Affairs
ITA	Passera, Corrado	CEO, Banca Intesa SpA
ITA	Riotta, Gianni	Editorialist, Corriere della Serra
ITA	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Enel SpA
ITA	Siniscalco, Domenico	Director General Ministry of the Economy
ITA	<b>Tremonti, Giulio</b>	<b>Minister of Economy and Finance</b>
ITA	Tronchetti Provera, Marco	Chairman and CEO, Pirelli SpA
ITA	Visco, Ignazio	Foreign Affairs Manager, Banca D'Italia
NLD	Burgmans, Antony	Chairman, Unilever NV
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University
NLD	<b>Koenders, Bert</b>	<b>Member of Parliament, president, Parliamentary Network of the World Bank</b>
NLD	NLD, Beatrix HM Queen of	
NLD	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chairman, Committee of Managing Directors, Royal Dutch/Shell
NLD	Wijers, Hans	Chairman, AkzoNobel NV
NOR	Auser, Svein	CEO, DnB NOR ASA
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Scandinavian Airline System (SAS)
NOR	Underdal, Arild	Rector, University of Oslo
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader, Civic Platform
POL	Sikora, Slawomir	President and CEO, Citibank Handlowy
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, SGPS, Former Prime Minister
PRT	Lopes, Pedro M. Santana	Mayor of Lisbon
PRT	<b>Socrates, Jose</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
RUS	<b>Yavlinsky, Grigory A.</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
SWE	Brock, Gunnar	CEO, Atlas Copco AB
SWE	Heikensten, Lars	Governor, Swedish Central Bank
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, SEB investments (including biotech); Chairman, W Capital Management AB
TUR	<b>Babacan, Ali</b>	<b>Minister of Economic Affairs</b>
TUR	Cemal, Hasan	Senior Columnist, Milliyet Newspaper
TUR	<b>Dervis, Kemal</b>	<b>Member of Parliament, former senior World bank official</b>
TUR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holdings AS
USA	Boot, Max	Council on foreign Relations, Features Editor, Wall Street Journal
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	MD and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings LLC, Yale School of Management, Trilateral Commission
USA	<b>Corzine, Jon S.</b>	<b>Senator (D, New Jersey), Chairman and CEO, Goldman Sachs</b>
USA	Donilon, Thomas L.	Vice-President, Fannie Mae, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	<b>Edwards, John</b>	<b>Senator (D. North Carolina), Democratic Presidential Candidate</b>
USA	Feith, Douglas J.	Undersecretary for Policy, Department of Defense
USA	Gates, Melinda F.	Co-Founder, Gates Foundation, wife of Bill Gates
USA	Geithner, Timothy F.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, Washington Post Company
USA	Haas, Richard N.	President, Council on Foreign Relations, former Director of Policy and Planning staff, State Department
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, former Director, Council on Foreign Relations, former Assistant Secretary of State
USA	Hubbard, Allen B.	President E&A Industries
USA	Issacson, Walter	President and CEO, Aspen Institute
USA	Janow, Merit L.	Professor, International Economic Law and International Affairs, Columbia University, member of appellate body, WTO
USA	Jordan, Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co LLC
USA	Kagan, Robert	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Kissinger Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
USA	Kovner, Bruce	Chairman Caxton Associates LLC, Chairman, American Enterprise Institute
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co., acquisitions financier
USA	Kravis, Marie Josee	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
USA	Luti, William J.	Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International War Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	Chairman and CEO, Public Company Accounting Oversight Board, former president, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Technical Officer, Advanced Strategies and Policies, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Nooyi, Indra K.	President and CEO, PepsiCo Inc.
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, former Likud policy adviser, former chair Defence Policy Board, former co-chairman, Hollinger Digital
USA	Reed, Ralph E.	President, Century Strategies
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member JP Morgan International Council, Chairman, Council of the Americas
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
USA	Schnabel, Rockwell A.	Ambassador to the EU
USA	Strmecki, Marin J.	Smith Richardson Foundation
USA	Thornton, John L.	Chairman, Brookings Institution, Professor, Tsinghua University
USA	Yergin, Daniel	Chairman, Cambridge Energy Research Associates

#### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Rachman, Gideon	Brussels Correspondent, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2003 - Versailles, France, 15th - 18th May

## Agenda

- The Middle East II: Future
- The Middle East I: Overview
- Post-Iraq: The Future of Multilateral Organisations
- Re-Energising DEU
- Post-Mortem on Iraq: Diplomatic Failure and the Foreign Policy Consequences
- Non-Proliferation
- The European Convention
- The World's Economic Problems
- Aspects of Terrorism
- Current Affairs

## List of Participants<sup>[12]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#)

Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

### Honorary Secretary General

GBR [Taylor, J. Martin](#)

Chairman WH Smith PLC; International advisor, Goldman Sachs International

AUT Becker, Erich

Chairman of the Managing Board and CEO, VA Technologie AG

AUT Scholten, Rudolf

Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG

AUT Trumpel-Gugerell, Gertrude

Vice Governor, Central Bank of Austria

BEL [Claes, Willy](#)

[Minister of State; former Secretary General of NATO 1994-1995](#)

BEL Philippe, H.R.H. Prince

Crown Prince of Belgium

CAN Black, Conrad M.

Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited

CAN Fell, Anthony S.

Chairman, RBC Dominion Securities Inc.

[CAN Harper, Stephen](#)

[Leader of the Opposition](#)

CAN MacMillan, Margaret O.

Provost, Trinity College, University of Toronto

CAN Reisman, Heather

President and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.

CAN Steyn, Mark

Journalist for various publications

CHE Kielholz, Walter B.

Former Chairman of the Board, Credit Suisse; Executive Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Swiss Re

CHE Ringier, Michael

CEO, Ringier AG

CHE Vasella, Daniel L.

Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG

DEU Burda, Hubert

Publisher and CEO, Hubert Burda Media Holding GmbH & Co.

DEU Kopper, Hilmar

Former Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG

DEU Naas, Matthias

Deputy Editor, Die Zeit

[DEU Schäuble, Wolfgang](#)

[Deputy Parliamentary Leader, CDU/CSU Group](#)

[DEU Schily, Otto](#)

[Minister of the Interior](#)

DEU Schrempp, Jurgen E.

Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler Chrysler AG

DEU Zumwinkel, Klaus

Chairman, Deutsche Post Worldnet AG

DNK	Eldrup, Anders	CEO, Danish Oil and Gas Corporation
DNK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Chairman, Social Democrat Party
DNK	Rasmussen, Anders Fogh	Prime Minister
DNK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	Kivinen, Olli	Senior Editor & Columnist, Helsingin Sanomat
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Former Prime Minister; Speaker of the Parliament
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Whalroos, Björn	President and CEO, Sampo PLC.
FRA	Adler, Alexandre	Editorial counsel, Le Figaro
FRA	Beytout, Nicolas	Editor-in-Chief, Les Echos
FRA	Bon, Michel	Honorary Chairman, FRA Telecom
FRA	Bruguière, Jean-Louis	First Vice President, Justice Department
FRA	Camus, Phillippe	CEO, European Aeronautics Defence and Space company European Aeronautics Defence and Space company (EADS)
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Copé, Jean-François	Secretary of State in charge of relations with Parliament; Government Spokesman
FRA	Gergorin, Jean-Luis	Executive Vice President, Strategic Coordination, European Aeronautics Defence and Space company (EADS)
FRA	Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry	French President 1974-81; Chairman of the Convention on the Future of Europe
FRA	Lellouche, Pierre	Vice Chairman, NATO Parliamentary Assembly
FRA	Lévy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations
FRA	Ranque, Denis	Chairman and CEO, Thales Aerospace and Defence
FRA	Riboud, Franck	Chairman and CEO, Danone Foods
FRA	Roy, Olivier	Senior Researcher, CNRS
FRA	Trichet, Jean Claude	Governor, Banque de France
FRA	Villin, Philippe	Vice Chairman, Lehman Brothers Europe
GBR	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament, former Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Gould, Philip	Public Relations Adviser to Prime Minister Blair
GBR	King, Mervyn A.	Deputy Governor, Bank of England
GBR	Williams, Gareth	Leader of the House of Lords
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor/Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	Bakoyannis, Dora	Mayor of Athens
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	Professor, University of Athens; President Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Internal Markets Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Cary, Anthony J.	Head of Christopher Patten's cabinet, EU. [Patten is European Commissioner for Enlargement]
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Trade Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Monti, Mario	Competition Commissioner, European Commission

INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Thomasso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman designate, Allied Irish Banks, p.l.c.
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP Amoco
ITA	Ambrosetti, Alfredo	Chairman, Abbrossetti Group
ITA	Bendetti, Rodolfo de	Managing Director CIR S.p.A.
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Chairman Franco Bernabe & C. S.p.A.
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Vice-Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International
ITA	Panara, Marco	Journalist, La Repubblica
ITA	Passera, Corrado	Managing Director, Banca Intesa BCI
ITA	Poli, Roberto	Chairman, Eni S.p.A.
ITA	Scaroni, Paolo	Managing Director, Enel S.p.A.
KWT	Bishara, Ahmad E.	Secretary General of Kuwait's liberal National Democratic Party
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Minister for Foreign Affairs
NLD	Kok, Wim	Former Prime Minister
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of the	
NLD	Ruys, Anthony	Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.
NLD	Veer, Jeroen van der	President, Royal Dutch Petroleum Company; Vice Chairman of the Committee of Managing Directors of Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies
NLD	Vries, Klaas de	Member of Parliament; Former Minister of the Interior
NOR	Gjedrem, Svein	Governor, Central Bank of NOR
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader, Civic Platform
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Barroso, José M. Durão	Prime Minister
PRT	Rodrigues, Eduardo Ferro	Leader of the Socialist Party; Member of Parliament
RUS	Margelov, Mikhail V.	Chairman, Committee for Foreign Affairs, Council of Federation
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
SWE	Dahlbäck, Claes	Chairman, Investor AB
SWE	Lindh, Anna	Minister for Foreign Affairs
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
TUR	Babacan, Ali	Minister of Economic Affairs
TUR	Bayar, Mehmet A.	Deputy Chairman of DYP (True Path Party)
TUR	Sanberk, Özdem	Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
USA	Bolton, John R.	Under-Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings LLC

USA	Corzine, Jon S.	Senator (D, New Jersey)
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Friedman, Thomas L.	Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times
USA	Gigot, Paul A.	Editorial page editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Haass, Richard N.	Director, Office of Policy Planning Staff, State Department
USA	Hertog, Roger	Vice-Chairman, Alliance Capital Management
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	President, E&A Industries
USA	Hubbard, R. Glenn	Russell L. Carson Professor of Economics and Finance, Columbia University
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus L.L.C.
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. L.L.C.
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; Member, Defense Policy Board; Member J.P. Morgan International Council
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Technical Officer, Advanced Strategies and Policy, Microsoft Corporation
USA	Perkovich, George	Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Member, Defense Policy Board ; Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (AEI) for Public Policy Research; member Project for a New American Century (PNAC)
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, J.P. Morgan International Council
USA	Ruggie, John	Director, Center for Business and Government, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and CEO, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Deputy Secretary of Defense, US Department of Defense
USA	Zakaria, Fareed	Editor, Newsweek International
USA	Zoellick, Robert	Principal Trade Adviser to the President

#### Rapporteurs

GBR	Micklethwait, John	USA Editor, The Economist
GBR	Rachman, Gideon	Brussels Correspondent, The Economist



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2002 - Chantilly, Virginia, USA, 30th May - 2nd June

## Agenda

- The Consequences of the War Against Terrorism
- Corporate Governance: Does Capitalism Need fixing?
- The Changing Nature of the EU Within the Western Alliance
- Have Civil Liberties Been Unnecessarily Eroded?
- The Influence of the Extreme Right
- The Middle East
- Post-Crisis Reconstruction/Nation Rebuilding
- Prospects for the World Economy
- Trade: The China Effect
- The Influence of Domestic Issues on American Foreign Policy
- Current Affairs

## Final List of Participants<sup>[13]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#)

Vice Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique

AUT [Gusenbauer, Alfred](#)

[Member of Parliament; Chairman, Social Democratic Party](#)

AUT Randa, Gerhard

Chairman and CEO, Bank Austria AG

AUT Vranitzky, Franz

Former Federal Chancellor

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan

Chairman, Almanij N.V.

BEL Lippens, Maurice

Chairman, Fortis

CAN Baillie, A. Charles

Chairman and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group

CAN Black, Conrad M.

Chairman, Telegraph Group Ltd.

CAN Courtis, Kenneth S.

International Research Council of the Center for International and Strategic Studies

CAN Frum, David

American Enterprise Institute; Former Special Assistant to President Bush

CAN Reisman, Heather

President and CEO, Indigo Books and Music Inc.

CAN Whyte, Kenneth

Editor, The National Post

CHE [Couchepin, Pascal](#)

[Federal Councillor; Head of the Federal Department of Economic Affairs](#)

CHE Kudelski, André

Chairman of the Board & CEO, Kudelski Group

CHE Vasella, Daniel L.

Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG

CZE Pehe, Jiri

Former advisor to President

DEU Ischinger, Wolfgang

Ambassador to the US

DEU Kopper, Hilmar

Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG

DEU [Polenz, Ruprecht](#)

[Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU](#)

DEU Schrempp, Jurgen E.

Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG

DEU Schulz, Ekkehard

Chairman, ThyssenKrupp AG

DEU Zumwinkel, Klaus

Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG

DNK Eldrup, Anders

Chairman of the Board of Directors, Danish Oil & Gas Consortium

DNK	Seidenfaden, Tøger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, Prisa (El Pais)
ESP	Miguel, Ramón de	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
ESP	Sofia	Queen of Spain
<b>FIN</b>	<b>Lipponen, Paavo</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Taxell, Christoffer	President and CEO, Partek Oyj
FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija H.	Director of Research, Centre for European Studies
FRA	Belot, Jean de	Editor-in-Chief, Le Figaro
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Gergorin, Jean-Louis	Executive Vice President, Strategic Coordination, EADS
FRA	Lévy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
FRA	Mo'si, Dominique	Deputy Director, French Institute of International Relations
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations
FRA	Roy, Olivier	University Professor and Researcher, CNRS
FRA	Schweitzer, Louis	Chairman and CEO, Renault S.A.
FRA	Seillière, Ernest-Antoine	Chairman and CEO, CGIP
FRA	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de FRA
GBR	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
GBR	Dahrendorf, Ralf	Member, House of Lords; Former Warden, St. Antony's College, Oxford
GBR	MacMillan, Margareth	Dean of University of Newcastle
GBR	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg Ltd.
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman WH Smith Group; Advisor Goldman Sachs
GBR	Williams, Gareth	Leader, House of Lords; Member of the Cabinet
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GRC	Papahelas, Alexis	Foreign policy columnist. TO VIMA
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Fischer, Franz	Commissioner for Agriculture & Rural Development, European Union
INT	Fortescue, Adrian	Director General, Justice and Internal Affairs, European Commission
INT	Lamy, Pascal	European Commissioner, European Union
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman BP Amoco
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International [Chairman of the Deputies of the Group of Ten, Bank of International Settlements]
ITA	Prodi, Romano	President of the European Commission
NLD	Armgard, Beatrix Wilhelmina	Queen of the Netherlands
NLD	Groenink, Rijkman W.J.	Chairman of the Board, ABN AMRO Bank N.V.
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Kist, Ewald	Chairman of the Board ING N.V.

NLD	Kleisterlee, Gerard J.	President and CEO, Royal Philips Electronics
NOR	Bernander, John G.	Director General, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA
NOR	<b>Stoltenberg, Jens</b>	<b>Leader of the Opposition (Social Democratic Party)</b>
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman of IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.
PRT	Borges, António	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs
PRT	<b>Ferreira, Elisa Guimarães</b>	<b>Member of Parliament, Former Minister of Planning</b>
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center
SWE	Johansson, Leif	Volvo
SWE	<b>Pagrotsky, Leif</b>	<b>Trade Minister</b>
SWE	Treschow, Michael	Chairman, Ericsson
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
SWE	Wallenberg, Marcus	CEO of Investor
TUR	<b>Dervis, Kemal</b>	<b>Minister of Economic Affairs</b>
TUR	Özaydinlí, Bulend	CEO, Koç Holding A.S.
TUR	Sanberk, Özdem	Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Former Chairman and CEO, Xerox Corporation
USA	Bergsten, C. Fred	Director, Institute for International Economics
USA	Boyd, Charles G.	President and CEO, Business Executives for National Security
USA	Dam, Ken	Deputy Secretary, US Department of Treasury
USA	David-Weill, Michel A.	Chairman, Lazard Frères & Co.
USA	Deutch, John M.	Institute Professor, MIT
USA	Dinh, Viet D.	Assistant Attorney General for Office of Policy Development
USA	<b>Dodd, Christopher J.</b>	<b>Senator (D. Connecticut)</b>
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae
USA	Eizenstat, Stuart	Covington & Burling
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Foley, Thomas S.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld
USA	Gigot, Paul A.	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Glickman, Dan	Former sec, of Agriculture; Former Rep. (D. Kan)
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Washington Post
USA	Greenspan, Alan	Chairman, Federal Reserve System
USA	Hills, Carla A.	Chairman and CEO, Hills & Company, International Consultants
USA	Hoagland, Jim	Associate Editor, The Washington Post
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	President, E&A Industries
USA	<b>Hutchison, Kay Bailey</b>	<b>Senator (Republican, Texas)</b>
USA	James, Charles A.	Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Krauthammer, Charles	Columnist, The Washington Post
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow - Hudson Institute Inc.
USA	<b>LaFalce, John J.</b>	<b>Congressman (Democrat, New York)</b>
USA	Leschly, Jan	Chairman & CEO, Care Capital LLC
USA	Lewis, Bernard	Professor of Mideast Studies at Princeton University

USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McAuliffe, Terry	Chairman, Democratic National Committee
USA	McDonough, William J.	President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Mitchell, Andrea	Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondant, NBC News
USA	Moskow, Michael H.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
USA	Parisiliti, Andrew	Foreign Affairs advisor to Chuck Hagel (R-Neb)
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Prestowitz Jr., Clyde V.	President, Economic Strategy Institute
USA	Racicot, Mark	Chairman, Republican National Committee
USA	Raines, Franklin D.	Chairman and CEO, Fannie Mae
USA	Rattner, Steven	Managing Principal, Quadrangle Group LLC
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, JP Morgan International Council
USA	Rose, Charlie	Producer, Rose Communications
USA	Rumsfeld, Donald H.	Secretary of Defense
USA	Sheinkman, Jack	Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Bank
USA	Siegman, Henry	Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Soros, George	Chairman, Soros Fund Management
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	President, Harvard University
USA	Thoman, G. Richard	Senior Advisor, Evercore Partners Inc.
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and co-CEO, The Goldman Sachs Group Inc.
USA	Vink, Lodewijk J. R. de	Chairman, Global Health Care Partners; Credit Suisse First

#### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Micklethwait, John	USA Editor, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

#### **In Attendance**

NLD	Banck Maja-Polderman	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Farren, Michael J.	Vice President of External Affairs, Xerox Corporation; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.
USA	Lee, Steven S.	Local Organizer 2002

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2001 - Stenungsund, Sweden, 24th - 27th June

## Agenda

- European Security Defence Identity and Transatlantic Security - I
- Consequences of the Italian Elections
- What Does EU Enlargement Mean for the EU and the Rest of the World?
- Productivity in Europe and the USA - Is the Gap Widening?
- Putin's Russia
- What Can the World Do About the Middle East?
- The New US Administration
- European Security Defence Identity and Transatlantic Security - II
- The Rise of China: Its Impact on Asia and the World
- Policies for Trade Development and Economic Growth
- What Should Governments Do About Food Quality?
- Current Affairs

## List of Participants<sup>[14]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#)

Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

### Honorary Secretary General

GBR [Taylor, J. Martin](#)

Chairman WH Smith PLC; International advisor, Goldman Sachs International

AUT Raidl, Claus J

CEO and Director, Böhler Uddeholm AG

AUT Scholten, Rudolf, A.

Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Österreichische Kontrollbank AG

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan

Chairman, Almanij NV

CAN Black, Conrad M.

Chairman and C.E.O., Hollinger International, Inc.; Chairman, Telegraph Group Ltd.

CAN Hunkin, John

Chairman and C.E.O., Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce

CAN Lord, Bernard

Prime Minister of New Brunswick

CAN MacMillan, Margaret O.

Editor, International Journal, Canadian Institute of International Affairs

CAN Monroe-Blum, Heather

Vice-President for Research and International Relations, University of Toronto

CAN Whyte, Kenneth

Editor-in-Chief, The National Post

CHE Couchepin, Pascal

Minister of Economic Affairs; Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Public Economy, (Swiss Federal Councillor)

CHE Ospel, Marcel

President & Group Chief Executive, Union Bank Of CHE AG

CHE Vasella, Daniel L.

Chairman & C.E.O., Novartis AG

CZE Pehe, Jiri

Director, New York University, Prague; former advisor to President Havel

DEU Burda, Hubert

Publisher, Burda Verlag (magazines) media

DEU Kopper, Hilmar

Chairman of Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank A.G.

DEU Mosdorf, Siegmund

Secretary of State for Economics and Technology

DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
DEU	Schrempp, Jürgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and C.E.O., Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen GmbH.
DNK	Andersen, Bodil Nyboe	Governor, Central Bank of Denmark
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	Permanant Secretary, Ministry of Finance; Danish government representative to SAS (airlines)
DNK	Seidenfaden, Tøger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
ESP	Cebrián, Juan L.	VC, Sogecable, S.A. (TV Broadcasting); CEO PRISA (El Pais)
ESP	Miguel, Ramon de	Secretary of State for European Affairs
ESP	Rodrigues Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
ESP	Spain, Her Majesty the Queen of	
FIN	Heinonen, Olli-Pekka	Minister of Transport and Communications
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Prime Minister
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and C.E.O., Nokia Corporation; Member of the board of directors, Ford Motor Company and UPM-Kymmene
FIN	Virkkunen, Janne	Senior Editor-in-Chief, Helsingin Sanomat
FRA	Beytout, Nicolas	Editor-in-Chief, Les Echos
FRA	Bon, Michel	Chairman and CEO of France Télécom
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge; Director, Total Fina Elf Group (petroleum & chemicals), Atco; Supervisory Board, Allianz; Board of Directors, Credit Commercial de France
FRA	Lévy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations
FRA	Nallet, Henri	International Secretary, Socialist Party
FRA	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
GBR	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
GBR	Pragnell, Michael P.	CEO Syngenta AG; Director, AstraZeneca PLC
GBR	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg Ltd
GBR	Siedentop, Larry A.	Fellow of Keble College & lecturer on political philosophy at Oxford University; Author of Democracy in Europe
GBR	Sieghart, Mary Ann	Editorial writer and assistant editor, Times of London
GBR	Wolf, Martin	Associated Editor/Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company SA.
GRC	Manos, Stephanos	Member of the Greek Parliament & Former Minister of National Economy; President of the Liberal Party
INT	Courtis, Kenneth S.	Vice President for Asia of Goldman Sachs, (Japan) Inc.; International Research Council of the Center for International and Strategic Studies (CSIS) in Washington and Economic Strategy Institute in Washington.
INT	Fischler, Franz	E.U. Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development, European Commission
INT	Lamy, Pascal	EU, European Trade Commissioner
INT	Monti, Mario	European Commissioner for Competition
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank; President of the International Center for Monetary & Banking Studies; Member of the G-7 & G-20 Deputies; Chairman of the G-10 Committee on Payments & Settlement Systems
INT	Robertson, George	Secretary General, NATO
IRL	Bruton, John	Former Prime Minister of Ireland; Vice Chairperson of the EPP and CDI

IRL	Cox, Pat	President of the Liberal Democrat Group (ELDR), European Parliament.
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Chairman, Franco Bernabè Group; International Board of the World Economic Forum; Special Representative of the Government of ITA to the Balkan, Board member of Peres Center for Peace
ITA	Draghi, Mario	President of the Economic and Financial Committee, Council of the EU - Director General, Ministry of the Treasury
ITA	Gros-Pietro, Gian Maria	Chairman, ENI S.p.A.
ITA	Riotta, Gianni	Co-Editor, La Stampa
NLD	Burgmans, Antony	C.E.O, Unilever NV
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University; former Honorary Secretary of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Hoeven, Cees H. van der	President, Koninklijke Ahold nv
NLD	Melkert, Ad P.W.	Parliamentary Leader PvdA
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Orange, H.R.H. the Prince of	
NOR	Bergesen Jr. Finn	Administrative director, NHO (Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry)
NOR	Heyerdahl, Jens P.	Group president and CEO, Orkala ASA
NOR	Høegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co ASA
PNA	Nashashibi, Mohammed	Former Roving Ambassador of the Arab League; Finance Minister for Palestine Authority; Author
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Former presidential candidate; Leader, Civic Platform
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman of IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.
PRT	Martins, Guilherme. d'Oliveira	Minister of Presidency
PRT	Moura, Vasco Graça	Member, European Parliament; 1st Vice President, Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Carnegie Endowment for International Misery, Visiting Professor, University of California at Berkeley & Cornell University
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	Chairman, Investor AB and ABB (Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.)
SWE	Hedelius, Tom C.	Chairman, Svenska Handelsbanken; Vice Chairman of the Board, Ericsson
SWE	Johansson, Leif	President and C.E.O., AB Volvo
SWE	Padgrotsky, Leif	Minister of Trade
SWE	Ramqvist, Lars	Chairman & C.E.O., Ericsson; Board member, Skandia & Volvo
SWE	Treschcow, Michael	President and C.E.O., Electrolux Group AB
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
SWE	Wallenberg, Marcus	President and C.E.O, Investor AB; Vice Chairman of the Board, Ericsson
TUR	Erçel, Gazi	Merkez Bank; former governor Central Bank of Turkey
TUR	Sanberk, Özdem	Turkish Ambassador to the U.K.; Director General, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Chairman of the board of directors and CEO, Xerox Corporation; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Dam, Kenneth S.	Deputy Secretary designate at US Department of the Treasury; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Dodd, Christopher J.	Senator, Democratic Party, Connecticut; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Executive Vice President, Law and Policy, FannieMae; member, Council on Foreign Relations

USA	Eisenhower, Susan	Tufts University, Asst. Director, Communications and Media Studies; President, the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute
USA	Feldstein, Martin	Professor of economics at Harvard University; President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research.; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Glickman, Dan	Former Secretary of Agriculture; Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld L.L.P.
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
USA	Hagel, Chuck	<b>Senator, Republican, Nebraska</b>
USA	Johnson, James A.	Johnson Capital; Vice-Chairman Perseus, LLC; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Freres & co LLC; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.; Former Secretary of State; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Kravis, Marie Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
USA	Lewis, Bernard	Emeritus Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Moskow, Michael H.	President , Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman & C.E.O of Perseus LLC; Founder & Chairman, Rappahannock Investment Company and Counterpoint Press
USA	Perle, Richard N.	USA. Perle, Richard N. - Resident Fellow, The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Chairman and chief executive officer, Hollinger Digital, Inc.; Director, Jerusalem Post; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Prestowitz Jr., Clyde V.	Founder & President, Economic Strategy Institute; former senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment
USA	Rattner, Steven	Investment Banker, Director and Managing Principal Quandrangle Group; US Treasury advisory committee on IMF matters; "old hand" at Davos meetings of the World Economic Forum; Chairman of New York Channel 13; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman of the International Advisory Committee, Chase Manhattan Bank; Member JPMorgan International Council; Founder and Honorary Chairman of the Trilateral Commission; member, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Thornton, John L.	Director, Ford Motor Co.; President and co-CEO, Goldman Sachs & co Inc.; member, Council on Foreign Relations and the Brookings Institution

#### Rapporteurs

GBR	Micklethwait, John	USA Editor, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## 2000 - Brussels, Belgium, 1st - 3rd June

### Agenda

- The New Economy and its Effects on Society
- Globalisation under Threat: the Way forward for the WTO
- US Elections: State of Play and Foreign Policy Consequences
- Cleaning up the Balkans
- EU Enlargement and its Implications for Geo-Political Balance
- The European Far Right - Is there a Threat?
- Current Affairs

### List of Participants<sup>[15]</sup>

#### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#) Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

#### Honorary Secretary General

GBR [Taylor, J. Martin](#) Chairman WH Smith PLC; International advisor, Goldman Sachs International

AUT	Hampel, Erich	Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
AUT	Petritsch, Wolfgang	The High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina; EU chief negotiator at the Kosovo peace talks in Rambouillet and Paris
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the board of executive directors, Österreichische Kontrollbank AG
AUT	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij NV
BEL	Janssen, Daniel E.	Chairman, Solvay SA
BEL	Lippens, Maurice	Chairman, FORTIS Bank
BEL	Schoutheete de Tervarent, Ph de	Former permanent representative of Belgium to the EU
CAN	Asper, Israel	Chairman, CanWest Capital Group Inc.
CAN	Black, Conrad	Chair, Telegraph Group Ltd.
CAN	Frum, David	Columnist, National Post Newspaper
CHE	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini & Co Ltd.
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
DEU	Betz, Hans-Georg	Visiting Professor, European Studies, Centre for European Studies, Columbia and New York Universities
DEU	Cromme, Gerhard	Chairman of the Executive Board, Thyssen Krupp AG
DEU	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
DNK	Andersen, Bodil Nyboe	Governor, Central Bank of Denmark
DNK	<a href="#">Rasmussen, Anders Fogh</a>	<a href="#">Chairman, Liberal Party</a>

DNK	Seidenfaden, Tøger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
ESP	Aguirre y Gil de Biedma, Esperanza	President, The Spanish Senate
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, BSCH
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Prime Minister
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Lévy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations
FRA	Strauss-Kahn, Dominique	Former Minister of Finance; Professor, University of Paris
FRA	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
GBR	Buchanan, Robin WT	Senior Partner, Bain & Co Inc.
GBR	Clarke, Ken	Member of Parliament
GBR	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg
GBR	Wolf, Martin	Associated Editor/Economics Commentator The Financial Times
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company SA
GRC	Diamandouros, P Nikiforos	National Ombudsman
GRC	Papandreou, George A.	Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	Avery, Graham	Chief Adviser for Enlargement, European Community
INT	Bildt, Carl	Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Balkans, United Nations
INT	Fréchette, Louise	Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Moore, Mike	Director-General, WTO
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
INT	Solana Madariaga, Javier	Secretary General, Council of the European Union
INT	Wolfensohn, James D	President, The World Bank (USA)
IRL	Bruton, John	Leader of Fine Gael
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP Amoco PLC
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Honorary Chairman, Fiat SpA.
ITA	Agnelli, Umberto	Chairman, IFIL - Finanziaria di Partecipazioni SpA.
ITA	Ambrosetti, Alfredo	Ambrosetti Group
ITA	Bernabè, Franco	Special Representative of ITA for Reconstruction Initiatives in the Balkans
ITA	Fresco, Paolo	Chairman, Fiat SpA
ITA	Riotta, Gianni	Deputy Editor, La Stampa
ITA	Ruggiero, Renato	Vice-Chairman, Schroder Salomon Smith Barney; Chairman, Schroder Salomon Smith Barney Italy
ITA	Tremonti, Giulio	Member of the Finance Commission, Chamber of Deputies
KSV	Surroi, Veton	Publisher, KOHA Ditore
NLD	Benschop, Dick	State Secretary for European Affairs
NLD	H.M. the Queen of the Netherlands	
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary-General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Veer, Jeroen van der	Group managing director, Royal Dutch/Shell group of companies; designate President of Royal Dutch Petroleum Company

NOR	Hambro, Christian	Director-General, Research Council of Norway
NOR	Reiten, Eivind	Executive Vice-President, Corporate Management, Norsk Hydro SA
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.
PRT	Gouveia, Teresa Patrício	Member of Parliament (PSD)
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	Chairman, Investor AB
SWE	Johansson, Leif	President and CEO, Volvo AB
SWE	Pagrotsky, Leif	Minister of Trade
SWE	Petersson, Lars-Eric	President and CEO, Skandia
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
TUR	Çolakoglu, Nuri	Chairman and CEO, NTV
TUR	Kayhan, Muharrem	Vice-Chairman of the Board, Söktas, Former President, Tusiad
USA	Allaire, Paul	Chairman of the board of Directors and CEO, Xerox Corporation
USA	Deutch, John M.	Institute Professor, MIT; Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency
USA	Dodd, Christopher J.	Senator (Democrat, Connecticut)
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Senior Vice-President, General Counsel and Secretary, FannieMae
USA	Dyson, Esther	Chairman, EDventure Holdings Inc.
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Publisher, The Washington Post
USA	Hagel, Chuck	Senator (Republican, Nebraska)
USA	Hutchison, Kay Bailey	Senator (Republican, Texas)
USA	Johnson, James A.	Chairman and CEO, Johnson Capital Partners
USA	Jordan Jr, Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Richardson, Bill	Secretary of Energy
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Council
USA	Soros, George	Chairman, Soros Fund Management
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
USA	Tarullo, Daniel K.	Visiting Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law centre
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and CEO, Goldman Sachs Group Inc.
USA	Vink, Lodewijk JR de	Chairman, President and CEO, Warner-Lambert Company
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The John Hopkins University
<b>Rapporteurs</b>		
GBR	Micklethwait, John	USA Editor, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1999 - Hotel Caesar Park Penha Longa, Sintra, Portugal, 3rd - 6th June

## Agenda

- Kosovo
- The US Political Scene
- Current Controversies: Genetics and the Life Sciences
- Redesigning the International Financial Architecture
- The Social and Political Impacts on Emerging Markets of Recent Economic Events
- NATO's future
- The Relationship between Information Technology and Economic Policy
- Current Events
- Russia's Foreign Policy
- How Durable is the Current Rosy Complexion of European Politics

## List of Participants<sup>[16]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

BEL [Davignon, Etienne](#) Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique

### Honorary Secretary General

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

AUT	Randa, Gerhard	CEO and Chairman, Bank Austria AG.
AUT	Schenz, Richard	CEO and Chairman of the Board, OMV AG
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG.
AUT	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
AUT	Zimmermann, Norbert	Chairman, Berndorf AG
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij N.V.
BUL	<a href="#">Kamov, Nikolai</a>	<a href="#">Member of Parliament</a>
CAN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited
CAN	Chastelain, John A.D. de	Chairman, Independent International Commission on Decommissioning.
CAN	Godsoe, Peter C.	Chairman and CEO, Bank of Nova Scotia
CAN	Herrndorf, Peter A.	Former Chairman and CEO, TV Ontario; Senior Visiting Fellow, University of Toronto.
CAN	MacLaren, Roy	High Commissioner for CAN in Britain
CAN	MacMillan, Margaret O.	Editor, International Journal
CHE	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turretini & Co. Ltd.
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG.
CZE	Zantovsky, Michael	Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security, Czech Senate
DEU	<a href="#">Ischinger, Wolfgang</a>	<a href="#">State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs</a>
DEU	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank A.G.
DEU	Nass, Mathias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit

DEU	Perger, Werner A.	Political Correspondent, Die Zeit
DEU	Scharping, Rudolf	Minister of Defence
DEU	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler Chrysler AG.
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
DNK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
ESP	Aguirre y Gil de Biedma, Esperanza	President, The Spanish Senate
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, BSCH
ESP	Solbes Mira, Pedro	Member of Parliament, Socialist Party
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Vanhala, Matti	Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland
FIN	Vartia, Pentti	Managing Director, Research Institute of the Finnish Economy (ETLA)
FRA	Boucher, Eric Le	Chief Editor, International, Le Monde
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Mestrallet, Gérard	Chairman of the Executive Board and CEO, Suez Lyonnaise des Eaux
FRA	Moïsi, Dominique	Deputy Director, IFRI
FRA	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament
GBR	Mandelson, Peter	Member of Parliament
GBR	Porrit, Jonathon	Programme Director, Forum for the Future
GBR	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, Warburg Dillon Read
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Formerly Chief Executive, Barclays PLC
GBR	Wolf, Martin	Associate Editor and Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.
GRC	Kranidiotis, Yannis	Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs
GRC	Veremis, Thanos M.	Professor of Political History, University of Athens; President of Eliamep
HUN	Surányi, György	President, National Bank of Hungary
ICE	Oddsson, David	Prime Minister
INT	Fischer, Stanley	First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
INT	Issing, Otmar	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
INT	Liikanen, Erkki	Member of the EC.
INT	Monti, Mario	Commissioner of the EC
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
ITA	Agnelli, Umberto	Chairman, IFIL - Finanziaria di Partecipazioni SpA.
ITA	Bernabé Franco	Managing Director and CEO, Telecom Italia
ITA	Fresco, Paolo	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Giavazzi, FRASco	Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Profumo, Alessandro	CEO, Credito Italiano
NLD	Grave, Frank H.G. de	Minister of Defense
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of	
NLD	Scheepbouwer, Ad J.	Chairman and CEO, TNT Post Group

NLD	Waal, Lodewijk J. de	Chairman, Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions (FNV)
NOR	Clemet, Kristin	Deputy Director General, Confederation of Business and Industry
NOR	Hegge, Per Egil	Editor, Aftenposten
NOR	Høegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Høegh & Co. SAS; Former President, Norwegian Shipowners' Association
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman Central Europe Trust
PRT	<b>Amaral, Joaquim Freitas do Amaral</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
PRT	Balsemão, Francisco Pinto	Professor os Communication Science, New University; Chairman, Impresa, S.G.P.S.
PRT	<b>Cravinho, João Cardona G.</b>	<b>Minister for Infrastructure, Planning and Territorial Administration</b>
PRT	<b>Grilo, Eduardo C. Marçal</b>	<b>Minister of Education</b>
PRT	Mello, Vasco de	Vice Chairman and CEO, Grupo José de Mello
PRT	Nabo, Francisco Murteira	President and CEO, Portugal Telecom
PRT	Salgado, Ricardo E.S.	President and CEO, Grupo Espírito Santo
PRT	<b>Sampaio, Jorge</b>	<b>President of Portugal</b>
PRT	Santos, Nicolau	Editor-in-Chief, Expresso
PRT	Silva, Artur Santos	President and CEO, BPI Group
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Carnegie Moscow Center
RUS	Trenin, Dmitri V.	Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center
SWE	Aslund, Anders	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	Chairman, Investor AB
SWE	<b>Bildt, Carl</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
SWE	Hedelius, Tom C.	Chairman, Svenska Handelsbanken
SWE	Rojas, Mauricio	Associate Professor of Economic History, Lund University; Director of Timbro's Centre for Welfare Reform.
SWE	Rosengren, Björn	Minister for Industry, Employment and Communication
TUR	Erçel, Gazi	Governor, Central Bank of Turkey
TUR	Ergin, Sedat	Ankara Bureau Chief, Hürriyet
TUR	Kıraç, Suna	Vice-Chairman of the Board, Koç Holding A.S.
TUR	Yücaoglu, Erkut	Chairman, Tusiad
UKR	<b>Mityukov, Ihor</b>	<b>Minister of Finance</b>
USA	Allaire, Paul	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	<b>Bayh, Evan</b>	<b>Senator (D. Indiana)</b>
USA	Boyd, Charles G.	Executive Director, National Security Study Group
USA	Corzine, Jon S.	Retired Senior Partner, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	<b>Dodd, Christopher J.</b>	<b>Senator (D. Connecticut)</b>
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Attorney-at-Law, O'Melveney & Meyers
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Publisher, The Washington Post
USA	<b>Hagel, Chuck</b>	<b>Senator (R. Nebraska)</b>
USA	Hoagland, Jim	Associate Editor, The Washington Post
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Ambassador to the UN designate
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Leschly, Jan	CEO, Smith Kline Beecham PLC

USA	Mathews Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	President Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	McGinn, Richard A.	Chairman and CEO, Lucent Technologies
USA	Rattner, Steven	Deputy Executive, Lazard Freres & Co., LLC
USA	Richardson, Bill	Secretary of Energy
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Shapiro, Robert B.	Chairman and CEO, Monsanto Company
USA	Thoman, G. Richard	President and CEO, Xerox Corporation
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and co-COO, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.
USA	Tyson, Laura d'Andrea	Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley

**Rapporteurs**

GBR	Micklethwait, John	Business Editor, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1998 - Turnberry Hotel, Ayrshire, Scotland, 14th - 17th May

## Agenda

- Current Events
- What Will be the Consequences of EMU?
- Is there Room for one Transatlantic Market Place?
- Military Implications of the Growing Technological Disparity between the USA and Europe
- To what Extent Will Enlargement Redefine NATO's Relationship with Russia?
- Is Europe's Social Model Dead?
- A Review of the Crisis in Kosovo and Albania: the Role of the UN
- In the Light of the Asian Crisis should the World's Financial System be Reformed?
- The Implications of the New India Nuclear Weapon Program
- Turkey's Role in the Western Alliance

## Final List of Participants<sup>[17]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

AUT Puhringer, Othmar

Chairman of Managing Board, VA-Technologie AG

AUT Randa, Gerhard

Chairman of the Managing Board, Bank of Austria

AUT Vranitzky, Franz

Former Federal Chancellor

BEL Davignon, Etienne

Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL Goossens, John

President and CEO, Belgacom

BEL Vits, Mia de

General Secretary, ABVV-FGTB

CAN Black, Conrad

Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN Chretien, Raymond A.J.

Ambassador to the U.S.

CAN Dion, Stephane

Queens Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs

CAN MacMillan, Margaret

Editor, International Journal, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, University of Toronto

CAN **Manning, Preston**

**Leader of the Reform Party**

CHE Pury, David de

Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini and Co. Ltd.

CHE Vasella, Daniel

CEO Novartis

CZE Kovanda, Karel

Head of Mission to the Czech Republic to NATO and the WEU

DEU Bertram, Christoph

Director, Foundation Science and Policy, Former Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit

DEU Burda, Hubert

Chairman, Burda Media

DEU Engelen-Kefer, Ursula

Deputy Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB

DEU Ishinger, Wolfgang

Political Director, Foreign Office

DEU Issing, Otmar

Member of the Board, Deutsche Bundesbank

DEU Kopper, Hilmar

Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank A.G.



DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Zie Deit
DEU	Schremp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler Benz A.G.
DEU	<b>Wissmann, Matthias</b>	<b>Federal Minister for Transport</b>
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
DNK	Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe	Chairman, Liberal Party
DNK	<b>Lykketoft, Mogens</b>	<b>Minister of Finance</b>
DNK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken A/S
ESP	<b>Almunia Amann, Joaquin</b>	<b>Secretary General, Socialist Party</b>
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime	Chairman, Dresdner Kleinwort Benson S.A.
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Vice-Chairman, Banco de Santander
FIN	<b>Lipponen, Paavo</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	President and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Virkkunen, Janne	Senior Editor in Chief, Helsingin Sanomat
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Gregorin, Jean-Louis	Member of the Board of Directors, Matra Hachette
FRA	Guetta, Bernard	Editor in Chief, Le Nouvel Observateur
FRA	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Paribas
GBR	Browne, John	Group Chief Executive, British Petroleum Company PLC
GBR	Buchanon, Robin	Senior Partner, Bain and Company Inc. UK
GBR	<b>Clarke, Kenneth</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
GBR	Grierson, Ronald	Former Vice Chairman, GEC
GBR	<b>Hague, William J.</b>	<b>Leader of the Opposition</b>
GBR	Hannay, David	Prime Ministers Personal Envoy for TUR; Former Permanent Representative to the United Nations
GBR	Hogg, Christopher	Chairman, Reuters Group PLC
GBR	Jenkins, Michael	Vice Chairman, Dresdner Kleinwort Benson
GBR	Kaletsky, Anatole	Associate Editor, The Times
GBR	Purves, William	Group Chairman, HSBC Holdings PLC.
GBR	Robertson, George	Secretary of State for Defence
GBR	Roll, Eric	Senior Advisor, SBC Warburg Dillon Read
GBR	Rothschild, Evelyn de	Chairman, N M Rothschild and Sons
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Group Chief Executive, Barclays PLC.
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.
GRC	<b>Karamanlis, Kostas A.</b>	<b>Leader of the Opposition</b>
GRC	Papandreou, George A.	Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	Bonino, Emma	Member of the European Commission
INT	Brittan, Leon	Vice President of the European Commission
INT	Courtis, KenNetherland S.	First Vice President, Research Dept., Deutsche Bank Asia Pacific
INT	Crockett, Andrew	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
INT	Fischer, Stanley	First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Senior Consultant, The European Policy Center
INT	Prendergast, Kieran	Under-Secretary General for Political Affairs, United Nations
INT	Solana Madariaga, Javier	Secretary General, NATO
INT	<b>Vries, Gijs M. de</b>	<b>Leader of the Liberal Group, European Parliament</b>
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, the World Bank

IRL	<b>Bruton, John</b>	<b>Leader of Fine Gael</b>
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, British Petroleum Company PLC.
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Bernabe, Franco	Managing Director, ENI S.p.A.
ITA	Cavalchini, Luigi G.	Permanent Representative to the European Union
ITA	Masera, Rainer S.	Director General, I.M.I. S.p.A.
ITA	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Chairman, CONSOB
ITA	Siniscalco, Domenico	Professor of Economics; Director of Fondazione ENI Enrico Mattei
NLD	Beugel, Ernst H van der	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and CAN
NLD	Hoeven, Cees H. van der	President, Royal Ahold
NLD	Korteweg, Pieter	President and CEO, Robeco Group
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. Queen of the	
NOR	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh and Co. A.S.A.; Former President, Norwegian Shipowners Association
NOR	Storvik, Kjell	Governor, Bank of Norway
NOR	Udgaard, Nils M.	Foreign Editor, Aftenposten
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman, Central Europe Trust, Poland
POL	<b>Suchoka, Hanna</b>	<b>Minister of Justice</b>
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Coutinho, Vasco Pereira	Chairman, IPC Holding
PRT	Horta e Costa, Miguel	Vice-President, Portugal Telecom
PRT	<b>Sousa, Marcelo Rebelo de</b>	<b>Leader of the PSD Party</b>
RUS	Chubais, Anatoli B.	Former First Vice Prime Minister; Chairman RAO EES
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd
SWE	Wallengerg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
TUR	Bayar, Ugur	Chairman, Privatization Administration
TUR	<b>Cem, Ismail</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
TUR	Gezgin Eris, Meral	President IKV (Economic Development Foundation)
TUR	Kirac, Suna	Vice Chairman of the Board, Koc Holding A.S.
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Deutch, John M.	Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dept. of Chemistry. Former Director General, Central Intelligence Agency; Former Deputy Secretary of Defence
USA	Donilon, Thomas	Partner, O'Melveny & Myers; Former Assistant Secretary of State, and Chief of Staff, U.S. Department of State.
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research Inc.
USA	Forester, Lynn	President and CEO, FirstMark Holdings Inc.
USA	Gadiesh, Orit	Chairman of the Board, Bain and Company Inc.
USA	Grossman, Marc	Assistant Secretary, US Department of State
USA	Hoagland, Jim	Associate Editor, The Washington Post
USA	Hoge, Jr., James F.	Editor, Foreign Affairs
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Former Assistant Secretary for European Affairs; Vice Chairman, CS First Boston
USA	Johnson, James A.	Chairman and CEO, FannieMae

USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
USA	Leschly, Jan	CEO SmithKline Beecham PLC.
USA	Matthews, Jessica Tuchman	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Prestowitz, Clyde V.	President, Economic Strategy Institute
USA	Rhodes, William R.	Vice Chairman, CitiBank, N.A.
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Deputy Secretary for International Affairs, US Department of the Treasury
USA	Thoman, G. Richard	President and CEO, Xerox Corporation
USA	Vink, Lodewijk J.R. de	President and CEO, Warner Lambert Company
USA	<b>Whitman, Christine Todd</b>	<b>Governor of New Jersey</b>
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
USA	Yost, Casimir A.	Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington

#### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Micklethwait, John	Business Editor, The Economist
GBR	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1997 - Pine Isle Resort near Atlanta, USA, 12th - 15th June

## Agenda

- Will NATO's Enlargement Affect the Transatlantic Alliance?
- Do the World's Energy Needs Prevent Sustainable Development?
- Growth through Productivity Improvement: a Threat to Western Social Cohesion?
- Peacekeeping: Assessments and Prospects-Bosnia, Albania, Cyprus
- Status Report on American Foreign Policy
- How Should the West Look at China?
- Corporate Survival: Breaking with Tradition in Governance
- EMU's Consequences Assuming it Goes Ahead
- The Return of the European Left: Sign of Innovation or Reaction?
- Relationship of the West to Islam
- World Bank Update

## List of Participants<sup>[18]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

AUT Kothbauer, Max. Director of Companies

AUT Mitterbauer, Peter Chairman, Miba AG

AUT Vranitzky, Franz Former Federal Chancellor

BEL Davignon, Etienne Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL [Donnea, Francois](#) Former Minister of Defense; Mayor of Brussels; Member of Parliament

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan. Chairman, Almanij-Kredietbank Groep

CAN Bassett, Isabel Parliamentary Assistant to the Ministry of Finance, Government of Ontario

CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC.

CAN Frum, David Political Commentator

CAN Munroe-Blum, Heather Vice-President, Research and International Relations, University of Toronto

CAN Sabia, Maureen Corporate Director and President, Maureen Sabia International

CHE Butler, Hugo Editor in Chief, Neue Zurcher Zeitung

CHE [Cotti, Flavio](#) Federal Councillor and Minister for Foreign Affairs

CHE Pury, David de Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini & Co. Ltd.

DEU Burda, Hubert Chairman, Burda Media

DEU Cartellieri, Ulrich Member of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG.

DEU Issing, H.C. Otmar Member of the Board, Deutsche Bundesbank

DEU Nass, Matthias Managing Editor, Die Zeit

DEU Schrempp, Jurgen E. Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler-Benz AG.

DEU Wolff von Amerongen, Otto Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH

DNK	Andersen, Bodil Nyboe	Governor, Central Bank of Denmark
DNK	Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe	Chairman, Liberal Party
DNK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken A/S
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo	Jaime Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Vice Chairman, Banco de Santander
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the USA
FIN	Niinisto, Sauli V.	Minister of Finance
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	President and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Gergorin, Jean-Louis	Member of the Board of Directors, Deputy to the Chairman Strategic Coordination, Matra Hachette
FRA	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Banque Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
GBR	Browne, E. John P.	Group Chief Executive, The British Petroleum Company PLC
GBR	Buchanan, Robin W.T.	Senior Partner, Bain & Company
GBR	Cranborne, Robert M.J.C.	Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords
GBR	Hutton, Will	Editor, The Observer
GBR	Jacobi, Mary Jo	Head of Group Public Affairs, HSBC Holdings PLC; Former US Assistant Secretary of Commerce
GBR	Mabro, Robert E.	Director, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies
GBR	Robertson, Simon	Former Chairman, Kleinwort Benson Group PLC
GBR	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, SBC Warburg
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin.	Chief Executive, Barclays PLC
GBR	Villeneuve, Andre-Francois H.	Executive Director, Reuters Group Holdings PLC
GBR	Yahuda, Michael B.	Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics
GRC	Carras, Costa	Director of Companies
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.
GRC	Kiranidiotis, Yannis	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs
HUN	Bokros, Lajos	Senior Adviser, The World Bank
HUN	Suryanyi, György	President, National Bank of Hungary
ICE	Oddsson, David	Prime Minister
INT	Bildt, Carl	The High Representative
INT	Johnston, Donald J.	Secretary-General, OECD.
INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
INT	Vries, Gijs M. de	Chairman, Liberal Group, European Parliament
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
IRL	Quinn, Lochlann	Chairman, Allied Irish Bank Group
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Former Director General, GATT and WTO.
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Agnelli, Umberto	Chairman, IFIL S.p.A.
ITA	Rossella, Carlo	Editor, Editrice La Stampa S.p.A. F. Roy, Olivier. University Professor and Researcher, Laboratoire Monde Iranien, CNRS

ITA	Silvestri, Stefano	Vice President, Istituto Affari Internazionali; former Undersecretary of Defence
NLD	Bergh, Maarten A. van den	Group Managing Director, Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies
NLD	Beugel, Ernst H. van der	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and CAN
NLD	Korteweg, Pieter.	President and CEO, Robeco Group.
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of the	
NLD	Wijffels, Herman H.F.	Chairman of the Executive Board, Rabobank Nederland
NOR	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co. ASA; Former President, Norwegian Shipowners' Association
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Chief Executive, Norsk Hydro
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman, Central Europe Trust, Poland
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Borges, Antonio Dean	INSEAD
PRT	Galvao Teles, Jose M.	Lawyer, Member of the Social Party, Member of the Council of State
PRT	Salgado, Ricardo	Espirito Santo President and CEO, Banco Espirito Santo
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
SWE	Svedberg, Bjorn	President and CEO, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
SWE	Wallenberg, Marcus	Executive Vice President, Investor AB.
TUR	Beyazit, Selahattin	Director of Companies
TUR	Bilgin, Dinc	Chairman of the Board, Sabah Yayincilik A.S.
TUR	Ercel, Gazi	Governor Central Bank of TUR
TUR	Erguder, Ustun	Rector, Bosporus University
TUR	Tara, Sinan	Vice President, Enka Construction & Ind. Inc.
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Armacost, Michael H.	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	Bartley, Robert L.	Editor, Wall Street Journal
USA	Bentsen, Lloyd M.	Former Secretary of the Treasury, partner, Verner Liipfert Bernhard, McPherson and Hand
USA	Berger, Samuel R.	Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
USA	Bergsten, C. Fred	Director, Institute for International Economics
USA	Bernstein Richard	Book Critic, New York Times
USA	Bryan, John H.	Chairman and CEO, Sara Lee Corporation
USA	Corzine, Jon S.	Chairman and CEO, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Dam, Kenneth W.	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, The University of Chicago Law School
USA	Gadiesh, Orit	Chairman of the Board, Bain & Company Inc.
USA	Gerstner, Jr, Louis V.	Chairman, IBM Corporation
USA	Hamilton, Lee H.	Congressman (D, Indiana.)
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Former Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Vice chairman, CS First Boston
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law.)
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Lewis, William W.	Director of McKinsey Global Institute, McKinsey & Company
USA	McDonough, William J.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Nunn, Sam	Former Senator (D, Georgia.)
USA	Page Jr., John M.	Chief Economist, Middle East and North Africa Region, The World Bank

USA	Powell, Colin L.	Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Rockefeller, Sharon Percy	President and CEO, WETA-TV and FM (PBS.)
USA	Sheinkman, Jack	Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Bank
USA	Stahl, Lesley R.	National Affairs Correspondent, CBS News
USA	Stephanopoulos, George	Visiting Professor, Columbia University, Former Senior Advisor to the President for Policy and Strategy
USA	Vogel, Ezra F.	Henry Ford II Professor of Social Sciences, Harvard University
USA	Volcker, Paul A.	Chairman, BT Wolfensohn
USA	Weiss, Stanley A.	Chairman, Business Executives for National Security, Inc.
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul Dean	Nitze School of Advanced International Studies; Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
USA	Yost, Casimir A.	Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1996 - CIBC Leadership Centre, Toronto, Canada, 30th May - 2nd June

## Agenda

- Status Report on the Alliance
- Former Yugoslavia
- Russia: Political Forces and Economic Prospects
- Europe: the Politics of EU Enlargement
- Has Europe's Economy Run out of Steam?
- Will the Enlarged Union Survive EMU's Success or Failure?
- The US Agenda
- The Israeli Election
- How and How Much can the Western World Grow Economically?
- WTO and World Bank: Briefing
- Where is China Going?

## Final List of Participants<sup>[19]</sup>

### Honorary Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA Yost, Casimir A. Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

AUT Karner, Dietrich Chairman of the Managing Board, Erste Allgemeine-Generali Aktiengesellschaft

AUT Kothbauer, Max Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

AUT Vranitzky, Franz Federal Chancellor

BEL Davignon, Etienne Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanij-Krediet-bank Group

BEL [Maystadt, Philippe](#) Vice-Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Foreign Trade

CAN [Axworthy, Lloyd](#) Minister for Foreign Affairs

CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN [Chretien, Jean](#) Prime Minister

CAN Drouin, Marie-Josée Executive Director, Hudson Institute of CAN

CAN Eaton, Fredrik S. Chairman, Executive Committee, Eaton's of CAN

CAN Flood, A.L. Chairman, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce

CAN Gottlieb, Allan E. Former Ambassador to the USA of America

CAN Griffin, Anthony G.S. Honorary Chairman and Director, Guardian Group

CAN [Harris, Michael](#) Premier of Ontario

CAN [Martin, Paul](#) Minister of Finance

CAN Ostry, Sylvia Chairman, Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto

CAN Rogers, Edward S. President and CEO, Rogers Communications, Inc.

CAN Wilson, L.R. Chairman, President and CEO, BCE Inc.



CHE	Cotti, Flavio	Minister for Foreign Affairs
CHE	Pury, David	Director of Companies; Former Co-Chairman of the ABB Group and former Ambassador for Trade Agreements
CHE	Sommaruga, Cornelio	President, International Committee of the Red Cross
DEU	Bertram, Christoph	Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit; Former Director International Institute for Strategic Studies
DEU	Cartellieri, Ulrich	Member of the Board, Deutsche Bank, A.G.
DEU	Hausmann, Helmut	Member of Parliament, Free Democratic Party
DEU	Lauk, Kurt	Member of the Board, Veba A.G.
DEU	Schrempp, Jurgen F.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler-Benz AG
DEU	Strubo, Jurgen	CEO, BASF Aktiengesellschaft
DEU	Voschherau, Henning	Mayor of Hamburg
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
DNK	Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe	Member of Parliament
DNK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief Politiken A/S
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	H.M. the Queen of Spain	
ESP	Yanez-Barnuovo, Juan A.	Permanent Representative of Spain to the UN
FIN	Ahtisaari, Martti	President of the Republic of Finland
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Jospin, Lionel	First Secretary of the Socialist Party; Former Ministre d'Etat
FRA	Lellouche, Pierre	Foreign Affairs spokesman, Rassemblement pour la Republique
FRA	Levy Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Banque Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
GBR	Carras, Costa	Director of Companies
GBR	Garton Ash, Timothy	Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford
GBR	Job, Peter	Chief Executive, Reuters Holding PLC
GBR	Knight, Andrew	Non Executive Director, News Corporation
GBR	Monks, John	General Secretary, Trades Union Congress (TUC)
GBR	Rifkind, Malcolm	Foreign Secretary
GBR	Robertson, Simon	Chairman, Kleinwort Benson Group PLC
GBR	Roll, Eric	Senior Advisor, SBC Warburg
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chief Executive, Barclays Bank PLC
GRC	David, George	Chairman, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.
GRC	Pangalos, Theodoros G.	Minister for Foreign Affairs
HUN	Suranyi, György	President, National Bank of Hungary
INT	Bildt, Carl	The High Representative
INT	Bottelier, Piefer P.	Chief of Mission, The World Bank, Resident Mission in China
INT	Fischer, Stanley	First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Senior Fellow, European Policy Centre, Brussels; Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
INT	Monti, Mario	Commissioner, European Communities

INT	Ruggiero, Renato	Director General, World Trade Organization; Former Minister of Trade
INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	resident, The World Bank; Former President and CEO, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Former Director General, GATT and WTO
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Bernabe, Frasco	Managing Director and CEO, Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi
ITA	Veltroni, Valter	Editor, L'Unita
NLD	Bolkenstein, Frits	Parliamentary Leader VVD (Liberal Party)
NLD	Melkert, Ad P.W.	Minister for Social Affairs and Employment
NLD	NLD, H.M. the Queen of the	
NLD	Tabaksnlat, Morris	Chairman of the Board, Unilever N.V.
NLD	Vuursteen, Karel	Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.
NOR	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co. A.S.A.; Former President, Norwegian Shipowners' Association
NOR	Petersen, Jan	Parliamentary Leader, Conservative Party
POL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Bank Handlowy W. Warszawie S.A.; Former minister for Foreign Affairs
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco	Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Marante, Margarida	TV Journalist
PRT	Vitorino, Antonio	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence
SWE	Åslund, Anders	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	President and Chief Executive Officer, ABB Asca Brown Boveri Ltd.
SWE	Sahlin, Mona	Member of Parliament
SWE	Wallenberg, Marcus	Executive Vice President, Investor AB
TUR	Beyazit, Selahattin	Director of Companies
TUR	Ercel, Gazi	Governor, Central Bank of Turkey
TUR	Gonensay, Emre	Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Andreas, Dwayne	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company
USA	Bentsen, Lloyd M.	Former Secretary of the Treasury; Partner, Verner Liipferi Bernhard McPherson and Hand, Chartered
USA	Bryan, John H.	Chairman and CEO, Sara Lee Corporation
USA	Buckley Jr., William F.	Editor-at-Large, National Review
USA	Corzine, Jon S.	Senior Partner and Chairman, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Dam, Ken	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, The University of Chicago Law School
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Freeman Jr., Chas. W.	Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security; Chairman of the Board, Projects International Associates, Inc.
USA	Gigot, Paul	Washington Columnist, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Holbrooke, Richard	Former Assistant Secretary for European Affairs
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.

USA	Lord, Winston	Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
USA	Matlock, Jack F.	Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
USA	McHenry, Donald F.	Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Affairs, Georgetown University
USA	<b>Nunn, Sam</b>	<b>Senator (D-GA.)</b>
USA	Perry, William J.	Secretary of Defense
USA	Podhoretz, Norman	Editor, Commentary
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Sheinkman, Jack	Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Bank
USA	Soros, George	President, Soros Fund Management
USA	Stephanopoulos, George	Senior Advisor to the President
USA	Trotman, Alexander J.	Chairman, Ford Motor Company
USA	Weiss, Stanley A.	Chairman, Business Executive for National Security, Inc.
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul Dean	Nitze School of Advanced International Studies; Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

#### **Observers**

NLD	Orange, H.R.H. the Prince of
BEL	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince

#### **Rapporteurs**

GBR	Micklethwait, John	Business Editor, The Economist
USA	Victor, Alice	Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1995 - Zurich, Switzerland, 8th - 11th June

## Agenda

- What is NATO Supposed to Do?
- Is There Work for All?
- Atomization of Society: Impact on Political Behaviour of New Technology
- Looking [Back] at Washington
- Current Events: Turkey and the Atlantic Alliance
- Is There Still a North Atlantic Community?
- Should the European Union Integrate Further, and Why?
- Our Agendas for WTO and World Bank
- Current Events: Former Yugoslavia
- Peacekeeping in an UNstable World
- Lessons of the New Currency Crises
- Practical Steps Towards Better Global Governance and Rules

## List of Participants<sup>[20]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Yost, Casimir A.](#) Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

AUT Kothbauer, Max Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt Bankverein

AUT Maculan, Alexander R. Chairman, Maculan Holding AG

AUT [Vranitsky, Franz](#) Federal Chancellor

BEL Cerretelli, Adriana Correspondent in Brussels, IL SOLE/24 Ore

BEL Davignon, Etienne Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL Goossens, John J. President and CEO, Belgacom

BEL Janssen, Daniel E. Chairman of the Executive Committee, Solvay S.A.

CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN Cross, Devon G. Head of the Donner Canadian Foundation

CAN Drouin, Marie-Josée Executive Director, Hudson Institute of CAN

CAN Gotlieb, Allen E. Former Ambassador to the USA of America

CAN [Klein, Ralph P.](#) Premier of Alberta

CAN Mustard, J. Fraser President, Canadian Institute for Advanced Research

CAN Pritchard, J. Robert President, University of Toronto

CHE Ackermann, Josef President of the Executive Board, Credit Suisse

CHE [Cotti, Flavio](#) Minister for Foreign Affairs

CHE [Delamuraz, Jean-Pascal](#) Vice-President of the Federal Council; Minister of Economy

CHE Frehner, Walter Chairman of the Board of Directors, Swiss Bank Corporation

CHE	Gerber, Fritz	Chairman and CEO, F. Hoffman-La Roche & Co., A.G.
CHE	Heckman, Hans	Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Union Bank of Switzerland
CHE	Krauer, Alex	Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited
CHE	Maucher, Helmut O.	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nestle Ltd.
CHE	Pury, David de	Chairman, BBC Brown Boveri Ltd. and Co-Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Group
CHE	Schurer, Wolfgang	Chairman, MS Management Service AG
DEU	Bertram, Cristoph	Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit; Former Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
DEU	Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe	Chairman Liberal Party; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
DEU	Keitel, Hans-Peter	Chairman of the Board, Hochtief AG
DEU	Kopper, Hilmar	Spokesman of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Lamers, Karl F.	Member of Parliament (Spokesman for Foreign Affairs, CDU/CSU)
DEU	Ploetz, Hans-Fredeich von	State Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
DEU	Schrempp, Jurgen	Chairman, Daimler Benz AG
DEU	Verheugen, Gunther	Secretary General, Social Democratic Party
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and C.E.O. of Otto Wolff GmbH
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Lopez, Francisco Luzon	Chairman and CEO, Argentaria
ESP	Trillo, Figueroa, Federico	Vice President and Member of Parliament (Partido Popular)
FIN	Ahtisarri, Martti	President of the Republic of Finland
FIN	Harmaja, Jukka	President and CEO, Enso-Gutzeit Oy
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FIN	Mattsson, Bjorn	President and CEO, Cultor, Ltd.
FIN	Voutilainen, Pertti	President, Merita Bank Ltd.
FRA	Bebear, Claude	Chairman and CEO, AXA Group
FRA	Jaffre, Phillipe	Chairman and CEO, Elf Aquitaine
FRA	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Banque Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Sampermans, Francoise	Chairman, Groupe Express
FRA	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
GBR	Browne, E. John P.	Chief Executive Officer, BP Exploration Company Ltd.
GBR	Hannay, David	Permanent Representative, U.K. Mission to the United Nations
GBR	Knight, Andrew	Non Executive Director, News Corporation
GBR	Lamont, Norman	Member of Parliament; Former Chancellor of the Exchequer; Director of N.M. Rothschild
GBR	Radice, Giles H.	Member of Parliament; Chairman of the European Movement
GBR	Roll, Eric	President, S.G. Warburg Group PLC
GBR	Rothschild, Emma	Director, Centre for History and Economics; Fellow, Kings College, Cambridge University
GBR	Stevenson, H. Dennis	Chairman of SRU Group and the Tate Gallery
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chief Executive, Barclays Bank PLC
GBR	Waldegrave, William A.	Secretary of State, Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
GRC	Carras, Costas	Director of Companies
GRC	Couloumbis, Theodore A.	President, Greek Foreign Policy Institute
GRC	Papandreou, George A.	Minister of Education

ICE	Bjarnason, Bjorn	Minister of Culture and Education
ICE	Schmidheiny, Stephan E.	Chairman, ANOVA Holdings Ltd.
INT	Bjerregaard, Ritt	Commissioner, European Communities
INT	Broek, Hans van den	Commissioner, European Communities
INT	Claes, Willy	Secretary General of NATO
INT	Cutileiro, Jose	Secretary General, Western European Union
INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
INT	Ruggiero, Renato	Director General, World Trade Organization; Former Minister of Trade
INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank; Former President and Chief Executive Officer, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Attorney General of Ireland
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Former Director General, World Trade Organization; Former member, Commission of the European Communities
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Agnelli, Umberto	Chairman, IFIL S.p.A.
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Director General, Ministry of the Treasury
NLD	Korteweg, Pieter	President and CEO, Robeco Group; Honorary Treasurer of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	NLD, H.M. The Queen of	
NLD	Vuursteen, Karel	Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.
NLD	Wallage, Jacques	Parliamentary Leader PvdA (Labour Party)
NOR	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co. AS; President, Norwegian Shipowners Association
NOR	Stoltenberg, Thorvald	Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia
POL	Olechowski, Andrej	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
PRT	Amaral, Luis Mira	Minister of Industry and Energy
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, Sojornal sarl; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Carrilho, Maria	Professor of Sociology
SWE	Barnevick, Percy	President and C.E.O., ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
SWE	SWE, H.M. The King of	
SWE	Uusmann, Ines	Minister of Transport and Communication
TUR	Beyazit, Selhattin	Director of Companies
TUR	Boyner, Cem	Chairman, New Democracy Movement
TUR	Cetin, Hikmet	Deputy Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Andreas, Dwayne O.	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	Bentsen, Lloyd M.	Partner, Verner Liipfert Bernhard McPherson and Hand, Chartered; Former Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Bryan, John H.	Chairman and CEO, Sara Lee Corporation
USA	Corzine, Jon S.	Chairman and Senior Partner, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Dam, Ken	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, University of Chicago Law School; Former Deputy Secretary of State

USA	Davis, Lynn E.	Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, Department of State
USA	Foley, Thomas S.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld; Former Speaker of the House of Representatives
USA	Friedman, Thomas L.	Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times
USA	Gergen, David R.	Visiting Professor, The Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University; Senior Fellow, The Aspen Institute
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State
USA	Jennings, Peter	Anchor and Senior Editor, ABC News World News Tonight
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Kann, Peter R.	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Dow Jones & Company, Inc.; Publisher, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Kimmitt, Robert M.	Managing Director, Lehman Brothers Inc.; Former Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
USA	Kristol, William	Chairman, Project for the Republican Future
USA	Mardin, Serif	Chairman, Department Islamic Studies, American University, Washington, D.C.
USA	Penzias, Arno A.	Vice President Research, AT&T Bell Laboratories
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Soderberg, Nancy E.	Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
USA	Weiss, Stanley A.	Chairman, Business Executives for National Security, Inc.
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

**Rapporteurs**

USA	Rauch, Rudolph S.	Managing Director, The Metropolitan Opera Guild
USA	Victor, Alice	Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## 1994 - Helsinki, Finland, 2nd - 5th June

### Agenda

- Redefinition of the Atlantic Relationship in a Time of Change
- The Changing Face and Perspective of America
- Europe - Cohesion or Confusion
- Economic Instabilities Ahead
- Jobs, Where Are They and How Will The West Create Them
- The Political Challenges of Islamic Fundamentalism
- Russia - How Will Its Internal Evolution Affect Its External Behaviour
- GATT: Risks Ahead
- The Issue of Non-Proliferation: North Korea
- China - The Consequences of Convulsion or Stability

### List of Participants<sup>[21]</sup>

#### Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

#### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

#### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Yost, Casimir A.](#) Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

AUT Jankowitsch, Peter

Ambassador to the OECD; Former Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

AUT Kothbauer, Max

Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

BEL [Claes, Willy](#)

[Minister of Foreign Affairs](#)

BEL Davignon, Etienne

Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the EC

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan

Chairman, Almanij-Krediebank Group

CAN Black, Conrad M.

Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN Drouin, Marie-Josee

Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada

[CAN MacLaren, Roy](#)

[Minister for International Trade](#)

[CAN McKenna, Frank](#)

[Premier of New Brunswick](#)

CAN Thorsell, William

Editor, The Globe and Mail

CAN White, Peter G.

Chairman of Unimedia; Former Head of the Prime Minister's office

[CHE Cotti, Flavio](#)

[Federal Councilor and Minister for Foreign Affairs](#)

CHE Pury, David de

Chairman, BBC Brown Boveri Ltd. and Co-Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Group

CHE Schmidheiny, Stephan

Chairman, ANOVA Holdings Ltd.; Former Chairman, Business Council for Sustainable Development

CHE Schurer, Wolfgang

Chairman, MS Management Service AG

DEU Bertram, Cristoph

Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit; former director, International Institute for Strategic Studies

DEU Breuel, Birgit

Chairman, Treuhandanstalt



DEU	Kopper, Hilmar	Spokesman of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank A.G.
DEU	Rühe, Volker	Minister of Defense
DEU	Schrempp, Jürgen E.	CEO, Daimler-Benz-Luft-und-Raumfahrt Holding AG
DEU	Strube, Jürgen	Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors, BASF AG
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO, Otto Wolff GmbH
DNK	Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe	Member of Parliament; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
DNK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken A/S
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Rato Figaredo, Rodrigo de	Parliamentary Leader of the Minority Group (Partido Popular)
ESP	Spain, Her Majesty The Queen of	
FIN	Ahlstrom, Krister	President and CEO, Ahlstrom Group
FIN	Aho, Esko	Prime Minister
FIN	Ahtisaari, Martti	President of the Republic of Finland
FIN	Ehrnrooth, Georg	President and CEO, Metra Corp.
FIN	Hamalainen, Sirkka	Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland
FIN	Ihamuotila, Jaako	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Neste Corp.
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the U.S.
FIN	Jakobson, Max	Consultant; Former Ambassador to the UN and SWE
FIN	Kohler, Jarl	President, Finnish Forest Industries Federation
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	President and CEO, Nokia Corp.
FIN	Wendt, Gerhard M. H.	President, Kone Corp.
FRA	Fabius, Laurent	Member of Parliament; Former Prime Minister; Former Chairman of Parliament
FRA	Jaffre, Philippe	Chairman and CEO, Elf Aquitaine
FRA	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman, Banque Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations, Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Raimond, Jean-Bernard	Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
GBR	Cradock, Percy	Former Ambassador to China; Former foreign policy adviser to PM
GBR	Henderson, Nicholas	Former Ambassador to Poland, Germany, France and the U.S.
GBR	Knight, Andrew	Chairman, News International PLC
GBR	Roll, Eric	President, S.G. Warburg Group PLC
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chief Executive, Barclays Bank PLC
GRC	Arsenis, Gerasimos	Minister of Defense
GRC	Carras, Costa	Director of Companies
ICE	Oddsson, David	Prime Minister
INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Director General, GATT; Former Member, Commission of the European Community; Former Chairman, Allied Irish Banks PLC
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Agnelli, Umberto	Chairman, IFIL
ITA	Ambrosetti, Alfredo	Chairman, Ambrosetti Group
ITA	Bemabe, Franco	Managing Director, Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI)

ITA	Cipolletta, Innocenzo	Director General, Confindustria
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Director General, Ministry of the Treasury
ITA	Monti, Mario	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Ruggiero, Renato	Executive Vice-Chairman, International Advisory Board, Fiat S.p.A.; Former Minister of Trade
LUX	Jaans, Pierre	General Manager, Institut Monetaire Luxembourgeois
NLD	Beugel, Ernst H. van der	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and CAN
NLD	Herkstroter, Cor A.J.	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell
NLD	Korteweg, Pieter	President and CEO, Robeco Group; Honorary Treasurer of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	<b>Lubbers, Ruud F.M.</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
NLD	NLD, H.M. The Queen of	
NOR	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the board, Leif Hoegh & Co. AS; President, Norwegian Shipowners Association
NOR	Stoltenberg, Thorvald	Co-Chairman, International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Former Minister of Defense
POL	<b>Olechowski, Andrzej</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Mass Communications, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, Sojornal Sarl; Former Prime Minister
PRT	<b>Barroso, Jose Manuel Durao</b>	<b>Minister for Foreign Affairs</b>
PRT	Veiga, Miguel	Lawyer
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	President and CEO, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
SWE	Bergstrom, Hans	Political Editor, Dagens Nyheter
SWE	Larsson, Stig	President and Director General, Swedish Railways
TUR	Alp, Ali Hikmet	Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Turkey to the CSCE
TUR	Beyazit, Selahtin	Director of Companies
TUR	Koc, Rahmi M.	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Koc Holding A.S.
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Andreas, Dwayne O.	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	Bennet, Douglas J.	Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations
USA	Corrigan, E. Gerald	Former President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Cortines, Ramon C.	Chancellor, New York City Board of Education
USA	Dam, Ken	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, University of Chicago Law School; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Espy, Mike	Secretary of Agriculture
USA	Florio, James J.	Former Governor of New Jersey
USA	Friedman, Stephen	Chairman, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Gerstner Jr., Louis V.	Chairman, IBM Corp.
USA	Graham, Katharine	Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Washington Post Co.
USA	Hunter, Robert E.	U.S. Representative to NATO
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Krogh, Peter F.	Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
USA	Maynes, Charles W.	Editor, Foreign Policy
USA	McLaughlin, David	President, the Aspen Institute
USA	Nye Jr., Joseph S.	Chairman, National Intelligence Council
USA	Pickering, Thomas R.	U.S. Ambassador to Russia

USA	Ridgway, Rozanne L.	Co-Chair, Atlantic Council of the USA; (Vice Director of the Office for Management and Budget of the White House)
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Scalapino, Robert A.	Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley
USA	Scowcroft, Brent	Former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
USA	Sheinkman, Jack	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO-CLC
USA	Soros, George	President, Soros Fund Management
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Director of Policy Planning Staff, State Department
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Wisner, Frank G.	Under Secretary for Policy, Department of Defense
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	President and CEO, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul D.	Dean, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University
USA	Zuckerman, Mortimer B.	Editor, U.S. News and World Report

**Rapporteurs**

USA	Winthrop, Grant F.	Partner, Milbank Winthrop & Co.
USA	Victor, Alice	Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1993 - Vouliagmeni, nr Athens, Greece, 22nd - 25th April

## Agenda

- What Kind of Europe Will the U.S. Have to Deal With?
- Current Events: Former Yugoslavia
- Restoring Confidence in Leadership and Institutions
- Prospects for Global Trade
- U.S. Domestic Policy Concerns
- The Outlook for Japan's Economy
- Cost of Indifference Toward the Former Soviet Union
- Current Events: ITA
- Foreign Policy Concerns of the Clinton Administration
- Crisis Management

## List of Participants<sup>[22]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA Eliot Jr., Theodore L. Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

AUT Jankowitsch, Peter Chairman, Joint Parliamentary Committee Austria-EC; Former Foreign Minister

AUT Lendvai, Paul Director, Austrian International Radio

AUT Vranitzky, Franz Federal Chancellor

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanij-Kreditbank Group

**BEL Martens, Wilfried** **Minister of State; Former Prime Minister**

BEL Schoutheete de Tervarent, Phillippe de Permanent Representative of Belgium to the European Communities

CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN Courtis, Ken/NLD S. First Vice President, Deutsche Bank Capital Markets Asia Ltd., Tokyo

CAN Drouin, Marie-Josée Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada

CAN Griffin, Anthony G. S. Director of Companies

CAN MacDonald, Donald S. Senior Partner, McCarthy Tetrault; Former Minister of Finance

**CAN McDougall, Barbara** **Secretary of State for External Affairs**

CHE Jeker, Robert A. Managing Director of the Stephan Schmidheiny Holdings

CHE Kellenberger, Jakob State Secretary for Foreign Affairs

CHE Pury, David de Chairman of the Board of BBC Brown Bovari Ltd. and Co-Chairman of ABB Asea Brown Bovei Group

DEU Bertram, Christoph Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit; Former Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies

DEU Cartellieri, Ulrich Member of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank AG

DEU	Joffe, Josef	Foreign Editor, Suddeutsche Zeitung
DEU	Reitzle, Wolfgang	Member of the Board, BMW AG
DEU	<b>Ruhe, Volker</b>	<b>Minister of Defence</b>
DEU	Sommer, Theo	Editor in Chief, Die Zeit
DEU	Spath, Lothar	Chief Executive Officer, Jenoptik; Former Prime Minister of Baden-Wurtemberg
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and C.E.O. of Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen GmbH
DNK	<b>Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
DNK	Reves, Chresten W.	President and C.E.O., Berlingske Tidende
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Cebrian, Juan Luis	Chief Executive Officer, PRISA (El Pais)
ESP	Dehesa, Guillermo de la	Chief Executive, Banco Pastor
ESP	Ferrer Salat, Carlos	Chairman UNICE (The European Employers Federation)
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FIN	Kohler, Jarl	President, Finnish Forestry Industries Federation
FIN	Koroma, Johannes	Director General, Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employers
FRA	d'Orcival, Francois	Editor, Valgurs Actuelles
FRA	<b>Divedjian, Patrick</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (UDF, Hauts de Seine)</b>
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Schweitzer, Louis	Chairman and C.E.O., Renault S.A.
GBR	Amiel, Barbara	Columnist, Sunday Times
GBR	<b>Blair, Tony</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (Shadow Home Secretary, Labour)</b>
GBR	Braithwaite, Rodric	Foreign Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister
GBR	<b>Clarke, Kenneth</b>	<b>Home Secretary</b>
GBR	Knight, Andrew	Executive Chairman, News International PLC
GBR	Owen, David	E.C. Mediator, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia
GBR	Rees-Mogg, William	Chairman, Broadcasting Standards Council; Chairman, The American Trading Company Ltd.; Former Editor, The Times
GBR	Roll, Eric	President S.G. Warburg Group PLC
GBR	Sheehy, Patrick	Chairman B.A.T. Industries
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chief Executive, Courtaulds Textiles PLC
GRC	Argyros, Stelios	Chairman, Federation of Greek Industries
GRC	Carras, Costa	Director of Companies
GRC	Costopoulos, Yannis S.	Chairman, Credit Bank
GRC	Hadjieleftheriadis, Gregory	Vice-President, Eletson Corporation
GRC	Livanos, George P.	Shipowner
GRC	Lyras, John C.	Vice Chairman, Union of Greek Shipowners
GRC	<b>Manos, Stefanos</b>	<b>Minister of National Economy</b>
GRC	<b>Mitsotakis, Constantine</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
GRC	Pangalos, Theodoros	Spokesman for Foreign Affairs, Socialist Party
GRC	<b>Papaconstantinou, Michalia G.</b>	<b>Minister for Foreign Affairs</b>
GRC	Papalexopoulos, Theodore	Deputy Chairman, Titan Cement Company SA
GRC	Peraticos, Michael C.	Chairman, Pegasus Ocean Services
GRC	Verermis, Thanos M.	Professor of Political History, University of Athens; Director, Hellenic Foundation for Defence and Foreign Policy
GRC	Vokos, Themistocles	Chairman, The Seatrade Organisation

ICE	Bjarnason, Bjorn	Member of Parliament
ICE	Sigurdsson, Jon	Minister of Trade and Industry
INT	Dunkel, Arthur	Director General, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
INT	Miert, Karel van	E.C. Commissioner
INT	Steeg, Helga	Executive Director, International Energy Agency
INT	Worner, Manfred	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
IRL	Brady, Conor	Editor, The Irish Times
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Allied Irish Banks PLC; Former Member, Commission of the European Communities
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Monti, Mario	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Ruggiero, Renato	Member of the Board, Fiat S.p.A.; Former Minister of Trade
ITA	Spinelli, Barbara	Editorialist and European Correspondant, La Stampa, Paris
ITA	Tronchetti Provera, Marco	Executive Vice President and C.E.O, Pirelli S.p.A.
NLD	Beugel, Ernst H. van der	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary-General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and CAN
NLD	Brinkman, Elco	Parliamentary Leader of CDA (Christian Democrats)
NLD	Kok, Wim	Minister of Finance, Deputy Prime Minister
NLD	Korteweg, Pieter	President and CEO, Robeco Group; Honorary Treasurer of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Maijers, Floris A.	Chairman of the Board, Unilever N.V.
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. The Queen of	
NOR	Braathens, Erik G.	Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer, Braathens SAFE
NOR	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co. AS
NOR	Werring Jr., Niels	Director, Wilh. Wilhelmson Limited A/S
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Chairman, Soujournal sarl; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Brederode Santos, Nuno	Member of the Socialist Party; Columnist, Expresso
PRT	Oliviera, Fernando Faria de	Minister of Trade and Tourism
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	President and C.E.O., ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Prime Minister
TUR	Beyazit, Selahattin	Director of Companies
TUR	Celem, Huseyin E.	Ambassador to Greece
TUR	Halman, Talat S.	Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Literature, New York University
TUR	Saracoglu, Rusdu	Govenor, Central Bank of Turkey
USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Andreas, Dwayne O.	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	Ball, George W.	Former Under-Secretary of State
USA	Dam, Ken	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, University of Chicago Law School; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Friedman, Stephen	Senior Partner and Chairman, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Galvin, John R.	John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security Studies, U.S. Military Academy, West Point; Former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
USA	Hoagland, James	Associate Editor/Senior Foreign Correspondent, The Washington Post
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)

USA	Kirkland, Lane	President AFL-CIO
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Lewis, Samuel W.	Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State
USA	Mathias, Charles McC.	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
USA	Odom, William E.	Director of National Security Studies, The Hudson Institute; Former Director, National Security Agency
USA	Pressler, Larry	Senator (Republican, South Dakota)
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Rockefeller, Sharon Percy	President and C.E.O., WETA TV & FM
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Chairman, AEA Investors, Inc.; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Williams, Lynn R.	International President, United Steelworkers of America
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
USA	Yost, Casimir A.	Executive Director, The Asia Foundation Center for Asian Pacific Affairs

**Rapporteurs**

USA	Winthrop, Grant F.	Partner, Milbank Winthrop & Co.
USA	Victor, Alice	Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1992 - Evian-les-Bains, France, 21st - 24th May

## Agenda

- Prospects for the former Soviet Republics
- What should be done for Eastern Europe
- Whither the USA?
- The World economy
- Wither Europe?
- Soviet Union: the view from Moscow
- The migration issue
- The evolving west/west relationship

## List of Participants<sup>[23]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

AUT [Jankowitsch, Peter](#)

**Member of Parliament; Former Foreign Minister**

AUT Neisser, Heinrich

Chairman, Parliamentary Group of the Austrian People's Party (OVP) in the Austrian National Assembly

AUT [Scholten, Rudolph](#)

**Federal Minister for Education and Culture**

BEL Davignon, Etienne

Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of European Communities

BEL Goossens, John J.

Managing Director, Alcatel Bell

BEL Keersmaecker, Paul de

Former Minister of European Affairs

CAN Black, Conrad M.

Chairman, The Daily Telegraph PLC

CAN Drouin, Marie-Josée

Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada

CAN [MacLaren, Roy](#)

**President, CB Media Ltd.; Publisher, Canadian Business; Member of Parliament; Former Minister of State (Finance)**

CAN Pattison, James

Chairman, President and C.E.O., Jim Pattison Group Inc.

CAN Simpson, Jeffrey

National Affairs Columnist, The Globe and Mail

CAN Spector, Norman

Former Chief of Staff, Office of the Prime Minister

CHE Krauer, Alex

Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited

CHE Maucher, Helmut O.

Chairman and C.E.O., Nestle S.A.

CHE Pury, David de

Chairman of the Board of BBC Brown Boveri Ltd. and Co-Chairman of ABB Asea Brown Boveri Group

DEU Bertram, Christoph

Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit

DEU [Biedenkopf, Kurt](#)

**Prime Minister of Saxony**

DEU Breuel, Birgit

Chairman of the Board, Treuhandanstalt

DEU Kopper, Hilmar

Spokesman of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank A.G.



DEU	Reitzle, Wolfgang	Member of the Board, BMW AG
DEU	Ruhe, Volker	Minister of Defence
DEU	Sommer, Theo	Editor-in-Chief, Die Zeit
DNK	Deleuran, Aage	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
DNK	Wilhjelm, Nils	Managing Director, The Industrial Mortgage Fund; Former Minister of Industry
ESP	Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime	Chairman and General Mnager, Iberfomento
ESP	Rato Figaredo, Rodrigo de	Parliamentary Leader of the Minority Group (Partido Popular)
ESP	Serra I Serra, Narcis	Deputy Prime Minister of the Spanish Government
ESP	Spain, H.M. The Queen of	
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FIN	Kohler, Jarl	President, Central Associaton of Finnish Forest Industries
FIN	Sundqvist, Ulf L.	Chairman, Social Democratic Party
FRA	Arnault, Bernard	Chairman of the Management Board, L.V.M.H.
FRA	Beregovoy, Pierre	Prime Minister
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Cairman and Executive Officer, Lafarge Coppee
FRA	Floch-Prigent, Loik le	Chairman, Societe Nationale Elf-Aquitaine
FRA	Jaffre, Philippe	Chief Executive Officer, Credit Agricole
FRA	Kemoularia, Claude de	Senior Adviser, Groupe Paribas; Former Chief Representative to the United Nations
FRA	Ladreit de Lacharriere, Marc	Chairman, FIMILAC
FRA	Lagayette, Philippe	First Deputy Governor, Banque de France
FRA	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Morel, Pierre	Diplomatic Adviser, Presidency of the Republic
FRA	Riboud, Antoine	Chairman, Societe B.S.N. Danone
FRA	Sapin, Michel	Minister of Economy and Finance
FRA	Seilliere, Ernest-Antoine	Chairman, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
FRA	Toubon, Jacques	Member of Parliament; Former General Secretary of the RPR
FRA	Vedrine, Hubert	Secretary General and Spokesman, Presidency of the Republic
FRA	Villin, Philippe	Vice President, Figaro
GBR	Brittan, Leon	Vice President of the European Commission
GBR	Grierson, Ronald H.	Former Vice Chairman of General Electric Company
GBR	Healey, Denis W.	Former Defence Secretary; Former Finance Minister
GBR	Knight, Andrew	Executive Chairman, News International PLC
GBR	Lord Griffiths of Fforestfach	Adviser, Goldman Sachs International Ltd.; Former Prime Minister's Policy Unit
GBR	Roll, Eric	President, S.G. Warburg Group PLC
GBR	Lord Weidenfeld	Publisher
GRC	Carras, Costa	Director of Companies
GRC	Samaras, Andonis	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	Jean Monnet Professor, University of Athens; president, Hellenic Centre for European Studies (EKEM)
ICE	Oddsson, David	Prime Minister
INT	Dunkel, Arthur	Director General, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
INT	Galvin, John R.	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE

INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
INT	Lamfalussy, Alexandre	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
INT	Steeg, Helga	Executive Director, International Energy Agency
IRL	McDowell, Michael	Chairman of the Progressive Democrat Party
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities; Chairman, Allied Irish Bank Group
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Monti, Mario	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Romano, Sergio	Columnist, La Stampa; Former Ambassador of ITA to USA
ITA	Ruggiero, Renato	Member of the Board, Fiat S.p.A.
NLD	Beugel, Ernst H. van der	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and Canada
NLD	Brands, Maarten C.	Professor of Modern and Theoretical History, University of Amsterdam
NLD	Korteweg, Pieter	President and C.E.O. of the Robeco Group; Honorary Treasurer of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Lubbers, Ruud F.M.	Prime Minister
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. The Queen of	
NOR	Hoegh, Westye	Shipowner, Leif Hoegh & Co. ASA
NOR	Werring Jr., Niels	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Chairman, Sojornal sarl; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Barreto, Antonio	Professor of Sociology, University of Lisbon; Former Minister of Agriculture
PRT	Carneiro, Roberto	Former Minister of Education; Consultant to the World Bank
SWE	Aslund, Anders	Professor and Director, Institute of East European Economics, Stockholm School of Economics
SWE	Barnevik, Percy	President and C.E.O., ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Prime Minister
SWE	Gustafsson, Sten	Chairman of the Board of Directors, AB Astra
TUR	Beyazit, Selahattin	Director of Companies
TUR	Gonensay, Emre	Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister
USA	Allaire, Paul	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Andreas, Dwayne O.	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	Ball, George W.	Former Under-Secretary of States
USA	Bentsen, Lloyd M.	U.S. Senator (Democrat, Texas)
USA	Billington, James H.	Librarian of Congress
USA	Chafee, John H.	U.S. Senator (Republican, Rhode Island)
USA	Dam, Ken	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Day, Robert A.	Chairman, Trust Company of the West
USA	Esrey, William T.	Chairman, President and C.E.O., Sprint
USA	Furlaud, Richard M.	Director, Bristol-Myers Squibb Company
USA	Gergen, David R.	Editor-at-Large, U.S. News and World Report
USA	Habib, Philip C.	Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution; Former Under Secretary of State
USA	House, Karen Elliott	Vice President/International, Dow Jones & Co., Inc.
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	Kendall, Donald M.	Former Chairman and C.E.O., Pepsico, Inc.

USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Martin, Philip L.	Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of California at Davis
USA	Mathias, Charles McC.	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
USA	<b>Pell, Claiborne</b>	<b>Senator (Democrat, Rhode Island)</b>
USA	Ridgway, Rozanne L.	President, The Atlantic Council of the USA
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Sheinkman, Jack	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
USA	Shelton, Sally A.	Senior Fellow, Georgetown University; Former U.S. Ambassador to Grenada and the Eastern Caribbean
USA	Strauss, Robert S.	U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation
USA	Volcker, Paul A.	Chairman, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.; Former Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Chairman, AEA Investors, Inc.; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Williams, Lynn R.	International President, United Steelworkers of America
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and C.E.O. of Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen GmbH
INT	Worner, Manfred	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
ITA	Zannoni, Paolo	Vice President International Activities; Representative for Fiat S.p.A. in the Russian Federation

#### **Observers**

BEL Philippe, H.R.H. Prince

#### **Rapporteurs**

USA Winthrop, Grant F.

Partner, Milbank Winthrop & Co.

USA Victor, Alice

Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

#### **In Attendance**

NLD Banck, Maja-Polderman

Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings

FRA Cavasse, Felicia

LPF Communication; Local Organizer 1992

GRC Farrant, Stephan

Managing Director, Newsfront Naftiliaki; Local Organizer 1993

USA Muller, Charles

President, Murden and Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg Inc.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## 1991 - Baden-Baden, Germany, 6th - 9th June

### Agenda

- Eastern Europe: economic prospects
- Developments in the Soviet Union: political and economic impact on the Alliance
- The Middle East: political fallout and future prospects
- Economic and financial threats to the Alliance
- The practical agenda for the Alliance
- Do we have the institutions to deal with the agenda?
- Recent developments in Yugoslavia
- The situation in South-Africa
- The Treuhand experience

### List of Participants<sup>[24]</sup>

#### Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

#### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

#### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

AUT Jankowitsch, Peter Minister of State in charge of European Integration and Development Cooperation

AUT Schmidt-Chiari, Guido Chairman of the Managing Board Creditanstalt Bankverein

AUT **Vranitzky, Franz** **Federal Chancellor**

BEL Cadieux, Jean-Louis Deputy Director-General for Foreign Affairs, European Community

BEL Davignon, Etienne Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL **Martens, Wilfried** **Prime Minister**

BEL **Spitaels, Guy** **Chairman Socialist Party, Minister of State**

CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Daily Telegraph PLC

CAN Drouin, Marie-Josée Executive Director, Hudson Institute of CAN

CAN Gagnon, Lysiane Journalist, La Presse

CAN Griffin, Anthony G.S. Director of Companies

CAN Polanyi, John Professor of Chemistry, University of Toronto

CAN Wilson, Michael H. Minister of Industry, Science and Technology and International Trade

CHE Gerber, Fritz Chairman of the Board, F. Hoffmann-La Roche AG

CHE Krauer, Alex Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited

CHE Ringier, Michael Publisher, Chairman of the Board of Ringier Inc.

DEU Bertram, Christoph Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit

DEU Blech, Klaus Ambassador to U.S.S.R.

DEU	Breuel, Birgit	Chairman of the Board, Treuhandanstalt
DEU	Dieter, Werner H.	Chairman of the Board, Mannesmann A.G.
DEU	Kopper, Hilmar	Spokesman of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank A.G.
DEU	Lauk, Kurt J.	Vice Chairman of the Management Board, Audi A.G.
DEU	Pohl, Karl Otto	President, Deutsche Bundesbank
DEU	<b>Ruhe, Volker</b>	<b>General Secretary Parliamentary Party CDU</b>
DEU	Ruhnau, Heinz J.H.	Chairman of the Board, Deutsche Lufthansa A.G.
DEU	Sommer, Theo	Editor-in-Chief, Die Zeit
DEU	<b>Teufel, Erwin</b>	<b>Prime Minister of Baden-Wutemberg</b>
DEU	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen GmbH
<b>DNK</b>	<b>Bjerregaard, Ritt</b>	<b>Labour Member of Parliament; Chairman of the Labour Group</b>
DNK	Deleuran, Aage	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
DNK	Wilhjelm, Nils	President, Industrial Mortgage Fund; Former Minister of Industry
ESP	Carvajal, Urquijo Jaime	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Pujol, Jordi	President, Generalitat de Catalunya
ESP	<b>Serra, Narcis</b>	<b>Deputy Prime Minister</b>
ESP	Spain, H.M. The Queen of	
FIN	Erkko, Aatos	Publisher, Helsingin Sanomat
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Council of Economic Organizations in Finland; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Lafarge Coppee
FRA	Imbert, Claude	Chief Editor, Le Point
FRA	Ladreit de Lacharriere, Marc	Chairman, Fimalac
FRA	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman, Compagnie Financiere de Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Noir, Michel	Mayor of Lyon, Ex-Secretary of State for Foreign Trade
<b>GBR</b>	<b>Brown, Gordon</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (Labour Party); Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry</b>
GBR	Freedman, Lawrence D.	Head of Department of War Studies, Kings College
GBR	Hogg, Christopher	Chairman, Courtaulds PLC
GBR	Knight, Andrew	Executive Chairman, News International PLC
GBR	Roll, Eric	President, S.G. Warburg Group PLC
<b>GBR</b>	<b>Smith, John</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (Labour Party); Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer</b>
GBR	Wright, Patrick	Permanent Under Secretary of State and Head of the Diplomatic Service
GRC	Carras, Costa	Director of Companies
<b>GRC</b>	<b>Paleocrassas, John D.</b>	<b>Minister of Finance</b>
GRC	Zombanakis, Minos	Chairman, Group for International Study and Evaluation
<b>ICE</b>	<b>Bjarnason, Bjorn</b>	<b>Member of Parliament, Independence Party</b>
<b>ICE</b>	<b>Oddsson, David</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
INT	Dunkel, Arthur	Director General G.A.T.T.
INT	Galvin, John R.	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
INT	Steeg, Helga	Executive Director, International Energy Agency

INT	Wegener, Henning	Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
INT	Worner, Manfred	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
IRE	Sutherland, Peter D.	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities; Chairman, Allied Irish Banks Group
ITA	Agnelli, Giovanni	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Cantoni, Giampiero	Chairman, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro
ITA	Michelis, Gianni De	Minister of Foreign Affairs
ITA	Monti, Mario	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Ruggiero, Renato	Chief Negotiator G.A.T.T.
NLD	Beugel, Ernst H. van der	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and CAN
NLD	Knapen, Ben	Editor-in-Chief, NRC Handelsblad
NLD	Korteweg, Pieter	President and Chief Executive Officer of the Board Committee of the Robeco Group
NLD	Lubbers, Ruud F.M.	Prime Minister
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. The Queen of	
NOR	Brundtland, Arne Olav	Senior Research Fellow, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
NOR	Ditlev-Simonsen, Per	Managing Director, Sverre Ditlev-Simonsen & Co.
NOR	Werring Jr., Niels	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Mass Communication, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, Sojornal sarl; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Monjardino, Carlos A.P.V.	President of the Fundacao Oriente
PRT	Pimenta, Carlos	Member of the European Parliament, Former Secretary of State for Environment
SWE	Gustafsson, Sten	Chairman of the Board of Directors, AB Astra
SWE	Jonung, Lars	Profesor of Economics and Economic Policy at Stockholm School of Economics
SWE	Ramfors, Bo C.E.	Managing Director and Group Chief Executive of Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, Board member of several companies
TUR	Beyazit, Selahattin	Director of Companies
TUR	Halefoglu, Vahit M.	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
TUR	Ozceri, Tugay	Under Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
USA	Allaire, Paul	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Ball, George W.	Former Under-Secretary of States
USA	Bartley, Robert L.	Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Blackwill, Robert D.	Lecturer in Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Former member National Security Council
USA	Boskin, Michael J.	Chairman, President's Council of Economic Advisers
USA	Chafee, John H.	Senator (Republican, Rhode Island)
USA	Clinton, Bill D.	Governor of Arkansas
USA	Dam, KenNLD W.	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Feinstein, Dianne	Former Mayor of San Francisco
USA	Graham, Katharine	Chairman, The Washington Post Company
USA	Greenberg, Maurice R.	Chairman, American International Group, Inc.
USA	Haass, Richard N.	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League

USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Mathias, Charles McC.	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
USA	Matlock Jr., Jack F.	Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
USA	Quandt, William B.	Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution
USA	Ridgway, Rozanne L.	President, The Atlantic Council of the USA
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Shad, John S.R.	Director and Philanthropist
USA	Simons Jr., Thomas W.	Ambassador to Poland
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Wilbur Jr., Brayton	President and Chief Executive Officer, Wilbur-Ellis Company
USA	Wilder, Lawrence D.	Governor of Virginia
USA	Williams, Lynn R.	International President, United Steelworkers of America
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

#### Observers

NLD	H.R.H. The Prince of Orange	
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#### Rapporteurs

USA	Winthrop, Grant F.	Partner, Milbank Winthrop & Co.
USA	Victor, Alice	Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

#### In Attendance

NLD	Banck, Maja	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
FRA	Cavasse, Felicia	Organizer, 1992 Conference
DEU	Dicke, Gunther W.F.	First Vice President, Deutsche Bank A.G.; Organizer, 1991 Conference
FRA	Morali, Veronique	Organizer, 1992 Conference
USA	Muller, Charles W.	President, Murden & Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

**1990 - Glen Cove, New York, USA, 10th-13th May**

## Agenda

- The new Soviet (Dis)Union
- Strategy issues
- Economic relations with Eastern Europe
- Can Western values be applied universally?
- Germany
- The future of NATO and the European Community
- Japan: political changes

## List of Participants<sup>[25]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Carrington, Peter](#) Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD Oort, Conrad J Adviser to the Board of Management, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.; Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

AUS Peter Jankowitsch Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, Austrian National Assembly; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs

AUS Josef Taus Member of the National Assembly (OVP); Member of the Board, Management Trust Holding AG

AUS **Franz Vranitzky** **Federal Chancellor**

BEL Etienne Davignon Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL **Wilfried Martens** **Prime Minister**

BEL Alfons Verplaetse Governor, National Bank of Belgium

CAN Thomas J. Bata Chairman, Bata Limited

CAN Conrad M. Black Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.

CAN Derek H. Burney Ambassador to the USA of America

CAN Marie-Josée Drouin Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada

CAN Fredrik S. Eaton Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer, The T. Eaton Company Ltd.

CAN R. Donald Fullerton Chairman, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce

CAN **David R. Peterson** **Premier of Ontario**

CHE **Klaus Jacobi** **State Secretary or Foreign Affairs**

CHE Alex Krauer Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited

CHE Wolfgang Schurer Chairman, MS Management Service AG



DEN	Aage Deleuran	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
DEN	Ole Scherfig	Director of Companies
DEN	Nils Wilhjelm	President, Industrial Mortgage Fund; Former Minister of Industry
ESP	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Juan Luis Cebrian	Chief Executive Officer, PRISA (El Pais)
ESP	Oscar Fanjul	Chairman, Instituto Nacional de Hidrocarburos; Chairman, Repsol S.A.
ESP	<b>Narcis Serra</b>	<b>Minister of Defence</b>
ESP	H.M. The Queen of Spain	
ESP	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
FIN	<b>Kalevi Sorsa</b>	<b>Speaker of the Parliament; Former Prime Minister</b>
FRA	<b>Jean-Pierre Chevenement</b>	<b>Minister of Defence</b>
FRA	Claude de Kemoularia	Senior Adviser, Groupe Paribas; Chairman, Paribas Nederland; Former Ambassador to the NLD and Chief Representative to the United Nations
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharriere	Director and First Executive Vice President, L'Oreal
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Pierre Morel	Representative to the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva
FRA	Philippe Seguin	Deputy to the National Assembly; Mayor of Epinal; Former Minister of Social Affairs and Employment
FRA	Philippe Villin	Vice-President du Directoire et Directeur General, Figaro; President Directeur General, France-Soir
FRG	Christoph Bertram	Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit
FRG	<b>Peter Glotz</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (SPD)</b>
FRG	<b>Helmut Haussmann</b>	<b>Minister of Economic Affairs</b>
FRG	<b>Andreas Meyer-Landrut</b>	<b>State Secretary, Office of the Federal Parliament</b>
FRG	Theo Sommer	Editor-in-Chief, Die Zeit
FRG	Horst Teltschik	Head of the Directorate-General for Foreign and Intra-German Relations Development Policy and External Security, Federal Chancellery
FRG	Otto Wolff von Ameronge	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
GBR	<b>Baroness Blackstone</b>	<b>Master, Birkbeck College, University of London; Opposition Spokesman on Education, House of Lords</b>
GBR	Ralf Dahrendorf	Warden, St. Antony's College, Oxford
GBR	Ian Hay Davison	Chairman, Laing & Cruickshank
GBR	Robert B. Horton	Chairman, BP Company plc
GBR	Andrew Knight	Executive Chairman, News International
GBR	<b>Nigel Lawson</b>	<b>Member of Parliament; Former Chancellor of the Exchequer</b>
GBR	Lord Roll of Ipsden	President, S.G. Warburg Group plc
GRE	Costa Carras	Director of Companies
GRE	<b>Efthimios Christodoulou</b>	<b>Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs</b>
GRE	Constantine D. Zepos	Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, Morgunbladid
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson	Governor, Central Bank of Iceland; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	John R. Galvin	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
INT	Manfred Worner	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

IRE	Peter D. Sutherland	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities; Chairman, Allied Irish Banks Group
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Enrico Braggiotti	Chairman of the Board, Banca Commerciale Italiana
ITA	Raoul Gardini	Chairman, Ferruzzi Group
ITA	Mario Monti	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Romano Prodi	Chairman of the Scientific Committee, NOMISMA
ITA	<b>Renato Ruggiero</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Trade</b>
ITA	Paolo Zannoni	Senior Vice President, Defence and Space, Fiat S.p.A.
NLD	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
NLD	H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands	
NLD	H. Onno Ruding	Former Minister of Finance; Former Chairman of the Interim Committee, International Monetary Fund
NLD	<b>Marjanne Sint</b>	<b>President, Dutch Labour Party (PvdA)</b>
NLD	Karel van Wolferen	Publicist
NOR	<b>Per Ditlev-Simonsen</b>	<b>Minister of Defence</b>
NOR	Johan Jorgen Holst	Director, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs; Former Minister of Defence
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Professor of Mass Communication, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, SOJORNAL; Former Prime Minister
POR	<b>Joao de Deus Pinheiro</b>	<b>Minister for Foreign Affairs</b>
POR	<b>Antonio Guterres</b>	<b>Member of Parliament; Chief Whip of the Socialist Party</b>
SWE	Anders Aslund	Professor and Director, Institute of Soviet and East European Economics, Stockholm School of Economics
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
SWE	Bertil Torekull	Editor-in-Chief, Svenska Dagbladet
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	<b>Erdal Inonu</b>	<b>President, Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP)</b>
TUR	Mesut Yilmaz	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	George W. Ball	Former Under-Secretary of State
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Former Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
USA	William P. Bundy	Former Editor, Foreign Affairs
USA	Richard R. Burt	Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms with the Soviet Union
USA	Gerald L. Curtis	Professor of Political Science and Director of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University
USA	Ken NLD W. Dam	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Robert A. Day	Chairman, Trust Company of the West
USA	James F. Dobbins	Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State
USA	William T. Esrey	Chairman and CEO, U.S. Sprint; Chairman, President and CEO, United Telecommunications, Inc.

<b>USA</b>	<b>Thomas S. Foley</b>	<b>Speaker of the House of Representatives</b>
USA	Marshall I. Goldman	Kathryn W. Davis Professor of Soviet Economics, Wellesley College; Associate Director, Russian Research Center, Harvard University
USA	Katharine Graham	Chairman, The Washington Post Company
USA	Maurice R. Greenberg	President, American International Group, Inc.
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	David T. Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Charles McC. Mathias	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
USA	Gertrude G. Michelson	Senior Vice President, External Affairs, R.H. Macy & Co., Inc.
USA	Norman Pearlstine	Managing Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Lee R. Raymond	President, Exxon Corporation
USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Jeffrey Sachs	Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade, Harvard University; Research Associate, National Bureau of Economic Research
USA	Richard Schifter	Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of State
USA	John S. R. Shad	Chairman, Drexel Burnham Lambert Group
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
USA	George Soros	President, Soros Fund Management
USA	Robert S. Strauss	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	John H. Sununu	Chief of Staff to the President
USA	Franklin A. Thomas	President, The Ford Foundation
<b>USA</b>	<b>The Vice President of the USA</b>	
USA	John C. Whitehead	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steelworkers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
USA	Paul Wolfowitz	Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

#### **Observer**

NLD H.R.H. The Prince of Orange

#### **Rapporteur**

USA Grant F. Winthrop Partner, Milbank Wilson Winthrop, Inc.

#### **In Attendance**

NLD Saskia ten Asbroek Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings  
FRG Gunther F. W. Dicke First Vice President, Deutsche Bank AG; Organizer, 1991 Conference  
USA Charles W. Muller President, Murden and Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## 1989 - La Toja, Spain 12th-14th May

### Agenda

- Domestic developments in Eastern Europe: policy implications for the West
- Can the Alliance be sustained by military and arms control issues alone?
- The long-term economic design of the E.C.: European sovereignty?
- Current events: U.S.-Soviet relations
- Greater political and monetary union of Europe: European sovereignty?
- Global relationships: surpluses, deficits, and protectionism
- Environmental constraints

### List of Participants<sup>[26]</sup>

#### Chairman

GBR [Lord Roll of Ipsden](#) President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

#### Chairman Designate

GBR [Lord Carrington](#) Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

#### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

#### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

#### Honorary Treasurer

NLD Oort, Conrad J Adviser to the Board of Management, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.; Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

AUS Peter Jankowitsch Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, Austrian National Assembly; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs

AUS Josef Krainer Governor of Styria

AUS Franz Vranitzky Federal Chancellor

BEL Etienne Davignon Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of European Communities

BEL Wilfred Martens Prime Minister

BEL Jacques E. Solvay Chairman, Solvay & Cie S.A.

CAN Michel F. Belanger Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, National Bank of Canada

CAN Conrad M. Black Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.

CAN Marie-Josée Drouin Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada

CAN Allan E. Gotlieb William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies, The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

CAN Paul D. Manson Chief of the Defence Staff

CAN Jeanne Sauvé Governor General of Canada

CHE	Christian H. Kind	Foreign Editor, Neue Zurcher Zeitung
CHE	Alex Krauer	Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited
CHE	Franz J. Lutolf	Former General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
DEN	Tage Andersen	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
DEN	Aage Deleuran	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
DEN	Nils Wilhelm	Minister of Industry
ESP	Miguel Boyer Salvador	Chairman, Cartera Central; Former Minister of Economy and Finance
ESP	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Juan Luis Cebrian	Chief Executive Officer, PRISA (El Pais)
ESP	Guillermo de la Dehesa	Chief Executive, Banco Pastor; Former Secretary of State for Economy and Finance
ESP	Felipe Gonzalez	Prime Minister
ESP	Fernando I. Gonzalez Laxe	Chairman, Government of Galicia
ESP	Carlos March Delgado	Chairman, Banco Urquijo Unyon; Vice Chairman, Juan March Foundation
ESP	Jesus de Polanco	Chairman, TIMON Group; Chairman, PRISA (El Pais)
ESP	Her Majesty The Queen of Spain	
ESP	His Majesty The King of Spain	
ESP	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
ESP	Emilio de Ybarra y Churruca	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Bilbao Vizcaya
FIN	Casimir Ehrnrooth	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Kymmene Corporation
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharriere	Director and First Executive Vice President, L'Oreal
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Louis Schweitzer	Financial Director, Regie Nationale des Usines Renault
FRG	Herta Daubler-Gmelin	Member of Parliament; Deputy Chairwoman, SPD
FRG	Michaela Geiger	Member of Parliament; CDU/CSU Foreign Policy Spokesman
FRG	Theo Sommer	Editor-in-Chief, Die Zeit
FRG	Klaus Topfer	Federal Minister for the Environment
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
GBR	Paddy Ashdown	Member of Parliament; Leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats
GBR	Timothy J. Garton Ash	St. Antony's College, Oxford; Foreign Editor, The Spectator
GBR	Andrew Knight	Chief Executive, The Daily Telegraph plc
GBR	Cecil Parkinson	Secretary of State for Energy
GBR	Rupert L. Pennant-Rea	Editor, The Economist
GBR	John Smith	Member of Parliament; Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
GRE	Costa Carras	Director of Companies
GRE	Theodore Papalexopoulos	Former Chairman, Union of Greek Industries
GRE	Michael J. Scoullas	President, European Environmental Bureau
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, Morgunbladid
ICE	Hordur Sigurgestsson	President and Chief Executive Officer, The Iceland Steamship Co. Ltd.
INT	Arthur Dunkel	Director General, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

INT	John R. Galvin	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
INT	Francois Heisbourg	Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
IRE	Peter D. Sutherland	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities; Member, Action Committee for Europe; Chairman Designate, Allied Irish Banks
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Enrico Braggiotti	Chairman of the Board, Banca Commerciale Italiana
ITA	Raoul Gardini	Chairman, Ferruzzi Group
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan; Vice Chairman, Banca Commerciale Italiana
ITA	Filippo M. Pandolfi	Vice President, Commission of the European Communities
ITA	Paolo Zannoni	President, Fiat Washington, Inc.
LUX	Colette Flesch	Chairman, Democratic Party; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
NLD	Relus ter Beek	Member of Parliament; Labour Party Spokesman on International Affairs
NLD	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
NLD	Cees J. A. van Lede	President, Federation of Netherlands Industries VNO
NLD	Her Majesty The Queen of the Netherlands	
NLD	His Royal Highness Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
NLD	H. Onno Ruding	Minister of Finance; Chairman of the Interim Committee of the IMF
NOR	Lucy C. Smith	Professor of Law, University of Oslo
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
PRT	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Professor of Mass Communication, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, SOJORNAL; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Rui Machete	Chairman, Constitutional Revision Parliamentary Commission; President, Portuguese-American Foundation; Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice
PRT	Jorge Sampaio	Secretary General, Partido Socialista
SWE	Hans Blix	Director General, The International Atomic Energy Agency
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	Ali Bozer	Deputy Prime Minister
TUR	Ismail Cem	Member of Parliament (Social Democratic Populist Party)
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	George W. Ball	Former Under-Secretary of State
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Former Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
USA	Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr.	U.S. Senator (Democrat, Texas)
USA	Willard C. Butcher	Chairman, The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A.
USA	Charles H. Dallara	Assistant Secretary Designate of the Treasury for International Affairs
USA	Ken W. Dam	Vic President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	William T. Esrey	President and Chief Executive Officer, United Telecommunications, Inc. and U.S. Sprint

USA	Maurice R. Greenberg	President, American International Group, Inc.
USA	William E. Griffith	Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	<b>Thomas H. Kean</b>	<b>Governor of the State of New Jersey</b>
USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
USA	Norman Pearlstine	Managing Director, The Wall Street Journal
USA	S. Ichtiaque Rasool	Chief Scientist of Global Change, NASA
USA	William K. Reilly	Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
USA	David Rockefeller, Sr.	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	David Rockefeller, Jr.	Chairman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund
USA	John S. R. Shad	Chairman, Drexel Burnham Lambert Group
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
USA	Lesley R. Stahl	National Affairs Correspondent, CBS News
USA	Robert S. Strauss	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Gorge J. Vojta	Executive Vice President, Bankers Trust Company
USA	John C. Whitehead	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steel Workers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

**Rapporteur**

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Milbank Wilson Winthrop
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**In Attendance**

SPA	Julio C. Abreu	Director General, Central de Congresos; Organizer, 1989 Conference
NLD	Saskia ten Asbroek	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Charles W. Muller	President, Murden & Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## 1988 - Telfs-Buchen, Austria, 3rd-5th June

### Agenda

- What can be done with the world economy: alternative scenarios
- How to handle a world awash with public and private debt?
- The German question revisited
- The new information era
- Briefing on the Moscow summit
- The impact of glasnost
- Future strategy of the Alliance
- The Gulf and Afghanistan

### List of Participants<sup>[27]</sup>

#### Chairman

GBR [Lord Roll of Ipsden](#) President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

#### Chairman Designate

GBR [Lord Carrington](#) Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

#### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

#### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

#### Honorary Treasurer

NLD Oort, Conrad J Adviser to the Board of Management, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.; Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

AUS	Hannes Androsch	Former Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Minister of Finance; Former Vice Chancellor
AUS	Helmut H. Haschek	Chairman of the Board, Osterreichische Kontrollbank A.G.
AUS	Friedrich Hoess	Ambassador to the USA of America
AUS	Hans Igler	Partner, Schoeller Co. Bankaktiengesellschaft
AUS	Peter Jankowitsch	Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the National Assembly; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
AUS	<b>Thomas Klestil</b>	<b>Secretary General, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs</b>
AUS	Anton Osond	Chairman of the Board of Management, Osterreichische Investitionskredit A.G.
AUS	Guido Schmidt-Chiari	Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
AUS	Friedrich Verzetnitsch	President, Austrian Trade Union
AUS	<b>Franz Vranitzky</b>	<b>Federal Chancellor</b>
AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	Senior Advisor to the Managing Board of Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
BEL	Etienne Davignon	Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of the European Communities
BEL	Andre Leysen	Chairman of the Board, Gevaert N.V.; Vice Chairman, UNICE (Union of Industrial and Employers Confederations of Europe)



CAN	Conrad M. Black	Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.
CAN	Marshall A. Cohen	President, Olympia & York Enterprises Limited
CAN	Anthony G.S. Griffin	Director of Companies
CAN	Donald S. MacDonald	Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy
CAN	Grant L. Reuber	Deputy Chairman, Bank of Montreal
CAN	Gordon S. Smith	Permanent Representative and Ambassador, Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council
CHE	Franz Blankart	State Secretary for External Economic Affairs, Federal Department of Public Economy
CHE	Franz J. Lutolf	General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
DEN	Tage Andersen	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
DEN	Niels Thygesen	Professor of Economics, University of Copenhagen
ESP	Enrique Baron	Vice President, European Parliament; President, European Movement; Former Minister of Transport
ESP	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
ESP	Juan Luis Cebrian	Director and Editor-in-Chief, El Pais
ESP	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister
ESP	Emilio de Ybarra y Clurruca	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Banco de Bilbao
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FIN	<b>Ilkka Suominen</b>	<b>Minister of Trade and Industry</b>
FRA	Francois Bujon de L'Estang	Minister Plenipotentiary; Former Adviser for Diplomatic Affairs, Defence and Cooperation in the Cabinet of Mr. Jacques Chirac
FRA	Gerard Eskenazi	President, Pargesa Holding S.A.
FRA	<b>Jean A. Francois-Poncet</b>	<b>Senator; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs</b>
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharriere	Director and First Executive Vice President, L'Oreal
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Olivier Roy	University Professor and Researcher, CNRS (Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques)
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
FRG	<b>Helmut Kohl</b>	<b>Federal Chancellor</b>
FRG	Theo Sommer	Editor-in-Chief, Die Zeit
FRG	Horst Teltschik	Head of the Directorate-General for Foreign and Intra-German Relations, Development Policy and External Security, Federal Chancellery
FRG	<b>Karsten D. Voigt</b>	<b>Member of Parliament; SPD Spokesman on Foreign Affairs; Member, SPD Party Leadership</b>
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
GBR	James Craig	Director General, The Middle East Association
GBR	John Keegan	Military Historian; Defence Correspondent, The Daily Telegraph
GBR	Andrew Knight	Chief Executive, The Daily Telegraph
GBR	Lord Prior	Chairman, GEC plc; Former Secretary of State for Employment for Northern Ireland
GBR	David G. Scholey	Chairman, S.G. Warburg Group plc
GBR	<b>William Waldegrave</b>	<b>Minister of State for Housing and Planning, Department of the Environment</b>

GRE	Andreas Andrianopoulos	Mayor of Piraeus; Former Minister of Culture
GRE	Costa Carras	Director of Companies
GRE	Theodoros Pangalos	Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, Morgunbladid
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson	Governor, Central Bank of Iceland; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	John R. Galvin	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
INT	Francois Heisbourg	Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Former President, European University Institute
INT	Alexandre Lamfalussy	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
INT	Stephen N. Marris	Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics; Former Economic Adviser to the Secretary General, OECD
INT	Jean-Claude Paye	Secretary General, OECD
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli	President, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Giorgio La Malfa	National Secretary, PRI (Italian Republican Party)
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan; Vice Chairman, Banca Commerciale Italiana
ITA	Ugo Stille	Editor-in-Chief, Corriere della Sera
ITA	Paolo Zannoni	President, Fiat Washington, Inc.
NLD	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Emeritus Proessor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
NLD	Hans van den Broek	Minister for Foreign Affairs
NLD	Floris A. Majjers	Chairman of the Board of Management, Unilever N.V.
NLD	Her Majesty The Queen of the NLD	
NLD	His Royal Highness Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
NOR	Inger E. Prebensen	President, A/S Kjobmandsbanken
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
PRT	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Director, Jornal Expresso; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Vitor M. R. Constancio	Leader of the Socialist Party; Former Governor, Banco de Portugal; Former Secretary of State for Budget and Planning
PRT	Francisco Lucas Pires	Member of the European Parliament; Former Leader of the Christian Democrats
SWE	Staffan Burenstam Linder	President, Stockholm School of Economics; Former Minister of Trade; Former Member of Parliament
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
SWE	Anders Thunborg	Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.; Former Minister of Defence
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	Ali Bozer	Minister of State
TUR	Rustu Saracoglu	Governor, Central Bank of Turkey
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	George W. Ball	Former Under-Secretary of State
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
USA	Shirley Temple Black	Foreign Affairs Officer, Department of State; Former Ambassador to the

		Republic of Ghana
USA	Nicolas F. Brady	Co-Chairman, Dillon, Read & Co., Inc. Former U.S. Senator (Republican, New Jersey)
USA	Ken NLD W. Dam	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Daniel J. Evans	U.S. Senator (Republican, Washington State)
USA	Thomas S. Foley	U.S. Representative (Democrat, Washington State)
USA	Katharine Graham	Chairman, The Washington Post Company
USA	Henry A. Grunwald	Ambassador to Austria; Former Editor-in-Chief, Time, Inc.
USA	Karen Elliott House	Foreign Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	William G. Hyland	Editor, Foreign Affairs
USA	Nancy Landon Kassebaum	U.S. Senator (Republican, Kansas)
USA	David T. Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Lane Kirkland	President, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA	Pedro Pablo Kuczynski	Co-Chairman, First Boston International
USA	Drew Lewis	Chairman, Union Pacific Corporation
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
USA	Rupert Murdoch	Chairman, News America Publishing
USA	Donald E. Petersen	Chairman, Ford Motor Company
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
USA	James D. Robinson III	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, American Express Company
USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Charles S. Sanford, Jr.	Chairman, Bankers Trust Company
USA	Brent Scowcroft	Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; Former Assistant to President Ford for National Security Affairs
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
USA	Gary G. Sick	Visiting Scholar, Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.; Former Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steel Workers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
USA	Walter B. Wriston	Former Chairman, Citibank

#### Rapporteur

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Wood, Struthers and Winthrop Management Corporation
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#### In Attendance

SPA	Julio C. Abreu	Director General, Central de Congresos; Organizer 1989 Conference
NLD	Saskia ten Asbroek	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
AUS	Diemut Kastner	Public Relations Department, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Organizer 1988 Conference
USA	Charles W. Muller	President, Murden & Company

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1987 - Villa D'este, Italy, 24<sup>th</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- Strategy toward the U.S.S.R.
- Policy toward trade and protectionism
- The public sector and economic growth
- Current events: China
- The arms control debate

## List of Participants<sup>[28]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Lord Roll of Ipsden](#) President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD Oort, Conrad J. Adviser to the Board of Management, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.; Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

AUS Hannes Androsch Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Minister of Finance; Former Vice Chancellor

AUS Helmut H. Haschek Chairman of the Board, Osterreichische Kontrollbank A.G.

AUS Hugo Portisch Publicist

AUS **Franz Vranitzky** **Federal Chancellor**

BEL Etienne Davignon Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL Leon J. G. Lambert Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.

BEL **Antoinette Spaak** **Minister of State; Former Chairman, FDF (Federation des Francophones)**

CAN Thomas J. Bata, Sr. Chairman, Bata Limited

CAN Conrad M. Black Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.

CAN Fredrik S. Eaton President and Chief Executive Officer, Eaton's of Canada Limited

CAN Anthony G.S. Griffin Director of Companies

CAN Norman E. Webster Editor-in-Chief, The Globe and Mail

CHE Hans Heckmann Executive Vice President and Member of the Executive Board, Union Bank of Switzerland

CHE Paul R. Jolles Chairman of the Board, Nestle S.A.; Former State Secretary for Foreign Economic Affairs

CHE Frantz J. Lutolf General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation

DEN Tage Andersen Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank

DEN	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Minister for Foreign Affairs
DEN	Jorgen Schleimann	Managing Director and Chief Executive, TV 2
ESP	Juan Luis Cebrian	Director and Editor-in-Chief, El Pais
ESP	Julian Santamaria	Ambassador to the USA of America
ESP	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the USA of America
FRA	Edouard Balladur	Minister of State; Minister of Economics, Finance and Privatization
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharriere	Vice President, L'Oreal
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Francois Perigot	Chairman of the National Council, Patronat Francais
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
FRA	Hubert Vedrine	Former Foreign Policy Adviser to the President
FRG	Egon Bahr	Member of Parliament; General Secretary of the SPD
FRG	Christoph Bertram	Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
FRG	Theo Sommer	Publisher, Die Zeit
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
GBR	Michael R. Angus	Chairman, Unilever PLC
GBR	Paul Girolami	Chairman, Glaxo Holdings PLC
GBR	Andrew Knight	Chief Executive, The Daily Telegraph
GBR	William Waldegrave	Minister for the Environment, Countryside and Planning
GRE	Costa Carras	Director of Companies
GRE	Ioannis Papantoniou	Under-Secretary, Ministry of National Economy
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson	Governor, Central Bank of Iceland; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
ICE	David Oddsson	Mayor of Reykjavik
INT	Lord Carrington	Secretary General, NATO
INT	Arthur Dunkel	Director General, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Former President, European University Institute
INT	Emile van Lennep	Former Secretary General, OECD
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
IRE	Garret FitzGerald	Former Prime Minister
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli	President, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Luigi Caligaris	Author and Defence Correspondent
ITA	Guido Carli	Senator; Former Governor, Banca d'Italia
ITA	Carlo A. Ciampi	Governor, Banca d'Italia
ITA	FRAsco Cingano	Chairman, Banca Commerciale Italiana
ITA	Raul Gardini	Chairman, Ferruzzi S.p.A.
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for Monetary and Financial Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Romano Prodi	Chairman, IRI

ITA	Franco Reviglio	Chairman, ENI
ITA	Cesare Romiti	Chief Executive Officer, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Renato Ruggiero	General Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
ITA	Gaetano Scardocchia	Editor, La Stampa
ITA	Paolo Zannoni	Vice President, Defence Systems, Fiat USA, Inc.
LIE	H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam of Liechtenstein	
NLD	Cor J. Van Der Klugt	President, N.V. Philips Gloeilampenfabrieken
NLD	H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands	
NLD	H.R.H. Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
NLD	Joris J. C. Voorhoeve	Parliamentary Leader of the VVD
NLD	Lo C. van Wachem	President, Royal Dutch Petroleum Company
NOR	Nils J. Astrup	Chairman of the Board, Fearnley & Eger A/S
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
NOR	Kare I. Willoch	Member of Parliament; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Director, Jornal Expresso; Former Prime Minister
PRT	Jose Eduardo Moniz	Director of Information, RTP (Portuguese Television)
PRT	Fernando Faria de Oliveira	Executive Vice President, IPE
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
SWE	Peter Wallenberg	Vice Chairman, Skandinaviska Enskilda
SWE	Hans L. Zetterberg	Editor-in-Chief, Svenska Dagbladet
TUR	Gunduz Aktan	Adviser to the Prime Minister, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	Zekeriya Yildirim	Governor of the Central Bank
USA	Paul A. Allaire	President, Xerox Corporation
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	George W. Ball	Former Under-Secretary of State
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
USA	Richard R. Burt	Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany
USA	Ken W. Dam	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Richard G. Darman	Managing Director, Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc.; Former Deputy Secretary, Department of the Treasury
USA	Murray H. Finley	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
USA	John S. Foster, Jr.	Vice President, TRW Inc.
USA	Maynard W. Glitman	Negotiator on Intermediate Range Nuclear Arms
USA	Thomas V. Jones	Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Northrop Corporation
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; Former Secretary of State
USA	Winston Lord	Ambassador to the People's Republic of China
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	Former U.S. Senator
USA	Charles H. Price II	Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
USA	<b>John C. Whitehead</b>	<b>Deputy Secretary of State</b>
USA	Brayton Wilbur, Jr.	Executive Vice President, Wilbur Ellis Company
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steel Workers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

**Observer**

AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	Managing Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
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**Rapporteur**

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Wood, Struthers and Winthrop Management Corporation
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**In Attendance**

ITA	Alfredo Ambrosetti	President, Studio Ambrosetti; Organizer 1987 Conference
NLD	Saskia ten Asbroek	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Charles W. Muller	President, Murden and Company
ITA	Alessandro Vanzetto	External Relations, Fiat S.p.A.

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1986 - Gleneagles, Scotland, 25<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- The Soviet Union under Gorbachev: foreign policy implications.
- The Western global response to the Soviet challenge
- The fragmentation of the world economy: debt, currency disorder, protectionism, uneven growth
- Current events: terrorism
- South Africa

## List of Participants<sup>[29]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Lord Roll of Ipsden](#) President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

AUS Hannes Androsch Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Minister of Finance; Former Vice Chancellor

AUS Hans Igler Partner, Schoeller & Co. Banaktiengesellschaft

AUS **Franz Vranitzky** **Federal Minister of Finance**

BEL Etienne Davignon Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of the European Communities

BEL Leon J.G. Lambert Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.

BEL **Frank Swaelen** **President, Christian Democratic Party**

CAN Conrad M. Black Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.

CAN Barbara Frum Host of The Journal (Television Program of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)

CAN Allan E. Gotlieb Ambassador to the USA

CAN Anthony G.S. Griffin Director of Companies

CAN Donald S. MacDonald Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy

CAN Jeanne Sauve Governor General of Canada

CHE Robert A. Jeker President of the Executive Board, Credit Suisse

CHE Paul R. Jolles Chairman of the Board, Nestle S.A.; Former State Secretary for Foreign Economic Affairs

CHE Franz J. Lutolf General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation

DEN Tage Andersen Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank

DEN Herbert Pundik Editor-in-Chief, Politiken

DEN **Nils Wilhjelm** **Minister of Industry**



ESP	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman, Banco Hispano Industrial
ESP	Mariano Rubio	Governor, Bank of Spain
ESP	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the USA
FRA	Alain Chevalier	Chairman, Moët Hennessy
FRA	David Dautresme	General Partner, Lazard Freres & Cie.
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	<b>Michel Rocard</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (Socialist Party)</b>
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
FRG	<b>Martin Bangemann</b>	<b>Minister of Economic Affairs</b>
FRG	Hans Klein	Member of Parliament for the CDU/CSU; Spokesman on Foreign Affairs
FRG	Walter Scheel	Former President; Former Chairman of Bilderberg Meetings
FRG	Helmut Schmidt	Former Chancellor
FRG	Theo Sommer	Publisher, Die Zeit
FRG	Angelika E.C. Volle	Research Fellow, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Society for Foreign Affairs)
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Board of Management and Chief Executive Officer, Otto Wolff A.G.
GBR	Antony A. Acland	Permanent Under Secretary of State and Head of the Diplomatic Service; Ambassador-Designate to Washington
GBR	John F.H. Baring	Chairman, Baring Brothers & Co., Ltd.
GBR	Lord Boardman	Chairman, National Westminster Bank PLC
GBR	John L. Egan	Chairman and Chief Executive, Jaguar PLC
GBR	Lord Greenhill of Harrow	Former Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Director of companies
GBR	<b>Denis W. Healey</b>	<b>Member of Parliament; Opposition Spokesman on Foreign Affairs</b>
GBR	Lord Home of the Hirsel	Former Prime Minister; Former Chairman of Bilderberg Meetings
GBR	Simon Jenkins	Political Editor, The Economist
GBR	Andrew Knight	Chief Executive, The Daily Telegraph
GBR	Michael Palliser	Chairman, Samuel Montagu & Co. (Holdings) Limited; Chairman of the Council, International Institute for Strategic Studies
GBR	Robert P. Reid	Chairman, Shell UK Ltd.
GBR	<b>Malcolm Rifkind</b>	<b>Secretary of State for Scotland</b>
GBR	John Sainsbury	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
GBR	Patrick Sheehy	Chairman, .A.T. Industries PLC
GBR	<b>John Smith</b>	<b>Member of Parliament (Labour Party)</b>
GBR	<b>David Steel</b>	<b>Member of Parliament, Leader of the Liberal Party</b>
GBR	H.R.H. The Prince of Wales	
GBR	<b>Lord Young of Graffham</b>	<b>Secretary of State for Employment</b>
GRE	Costa Carras	Director of Companies
GRE	<b>Stephanos Manos</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
ICE	Einar Benediktsson	Ambassador to Great Britain
ICE	Geir Hallgrímsson	Governor of the Central Bank; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Former President, European University Institute

INT	Alexandre Lamfalussy	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli	President, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Antonio Maccanico	General Secretary, Office of the President of the Italian Republic
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for Monetary and Financial Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa	Deputy Director General, Banca d'Italia
ITA	Renato Ruggiero	General Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
ITA	Gaetano Scardocchia	Editor, La Stampa
ITA	Luigi Spaventa	Professor of Economics, University of Rome
ITA	Paolo Zannoni	Vice President, Defense Systems, Fiat USA, Inc.
LIE	H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam von Liechtenstein	
NLD	Hans van den Broek	Minister for Foreign Affairs
NLD	Willem F. Duisenberg	President, De Nederlandsche Bank NV
NLD	H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands	
NLD	H.R.H. Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
NOR	Torvild Aakvaag	Director General, Norsk Hydro A/S
NOR	Nils Morten Udgaard	Deputy Secretary, Prime Minister's Office
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
PRT	Leonardo Mathias	Ambassador to the USA
PRT	Artur Santos Silva	Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury; Former Vice President, Bank of Portugal; President, Banco Portugues de Investimento
SWE	Carl Johan Aaberg	Under-Secretary of State
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	Yavus Canevi	Governor of the Central Bank
TUR	Seyfi Tashan	Managing Director, Foreign Policy Institute
USA	George W. Ball	Former Under Secretary of State
USA	Robert L. Bartley	Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
USA	Nicholas F. Brady	Chairman, Dillon, Reed & Co., Inc.; Former U.S. Senator (New Jersey)
USA	Richard R. Burt	U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of DEU
USA	John H. Chafee	U.S. Senator (Rhode Island)
USA	Henry F. Cooper, Jr.	Deputy U.S. Negotiator, Defense and Space Group
USA	Ken NLD W. Dam	Vice President, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Robert A. Day, Jr.	Chairman, Trust Company of the West
USA	Daniel J. Evans	U.S. Senator (Washington)
USA	Murray H. Finley	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
USA	Arthur A. Hartman	Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
USA	Henry J. Heinz II	Chairman of the Board, H.J. Heinz Company, Inc.
USA	Arnold L. Horelick	Director, The Rand/UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior
USA	Robert D. Hormats	Director, Geoldman Sachs International Corporation; Former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs
USA	David T. Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation

USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; Former Secretary of State
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	U.S. Senator (Maryland)
USA	Donald F. McHenry	University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Affairs, Georgetown University; Former Ambassador to the United Nations
USA	Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.	President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
USA	John C. Whitehead	Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steel Workers of America
USA	Frank G. Wisner	Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Department of State

**Observer**

AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	Managing Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
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**Rapporteur**

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Wood, Struthers and Winthrop Management Corporation
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**In Attendance**

ITA	Alfredo Ambrosetti	President, Studio Ambrosetti; Organizer 1987 Conference
NLD	Saskia ten Asbroek	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
GBR	Alec S. Donkin	Organizer, 1986 Conference
USA	Charles W. Muller	President, Murden and Company

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1985 - Rye Brook, New York, USA 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- Divergent social and economic trends in the Atlantic World
- How should the West deal with the Soviet Bloc?
- The Strategic Defense Initiative
- How should the West deal with developing countries?
- Current events: the U.S. Budget and the European perspective
- Operating the Alliance

## List of Participants<sup>[30]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Lord Roll of Ipsden](#) President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

AUS Hannes Androsch Chairman of the Managing Board, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Finance

AUS **Franz Vranitzky** **Minister of Finance**

BEL Etienne Davignon Former Member, Commission of the European Communities

BEL Daniel E. Janssen Member Executive Committee, Solvay & Cie, S.A.

CAN Thomas J. Bata Chairman, Bata Ltd.

CAN Conrad M. Black Chairman, Argus Corporation, Ltd.

CAN Franklyn Griffiths Professor, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto

CAN Donald S. Macdonald Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy; Chairman, Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for CAN

CAN Roy MacLaren President, CB Media Ltd. and Publisher, Canadian Business; Former Member of Parliament and Minister of National Revenue

CAN Pierre Elliott Trudeau Former Prime Minister

CAN Bernard Wood Director, North-South Institute

CHE Kaspar V. Cassani Senior Vice President, IBM Corporation; Chairman, IBM World Trade EMEA Corporation

CHE Hans Heckmann Executive Vice President, Member of the Executive Board, Union Bank of Switzerland

CHE Felicien Morel Director of Finance, Canton of Fribourg; Former M.P.

CHE Victor Umbricht Member of the Advisory Board, Ciba-Geigy Ltd.; Mediator, East African Community

DEN Niels Norlund Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende

ESP Jaime Carvajal Urquijo Chairman, Banco Hispano Industrial

ESP	Juan Luis Cebrian	Director and Editor-in-Chief, El Pais
ESP	Javier Solana Madariaga	Minister of Culture
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, The Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the U.S.
FRA	Helene Carrere D'encausse	Professor, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris; Professor of History and Political Science of the Soviet Union at the Sorbonne
FRA	Jean Francois-Poncet	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
FRA	Michel Francois-Poncet	Chairman, Paribas North America
FRA	Michel Giraud	Senator; President, Regional Council of Ile de FRA
FRA	Jacques Maisonrouge	Vice Chairman, Liquid Air Corporation
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
FRG	Ralf Dahrendorf	Professor, Konstanz University (School of Social Sciences)
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
FRG	Karl Kaiser	Director, Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs
FRG	Alois Mertes	Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
FRG	Theo Sommer	Publisher, Die Zeit
FRG	Norbert Wieczorek	Member of Parliament
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.
FRG	Manfred Worner	Minister of Defense
GBR	Martin W. Jacomb	Vice Chairman, Kleinwort, Benson Limited
GBR	Geoffrey C. Kent	Chairman and Chief Executive, Imperial Group, PLC
GBR	Andrew Knight	Editor, The Economist
GBR	Lord Lever of Manchester	Former Cabinet Minister and Financial Secretary; Former Member of Parliament
GBR	Lord Roll of Ipsden	Chairman, S. G. Warburg & Co., Ltd.
GBR	Patrick Sheehy	Chairman, BAT Industries, PLC
GBR	Norman Tebbit	Secretary of Trade and Industry; Member of Parliament, Member of the Prime Minister's Cabinet
GBR	Mark Weinberg	Chairman, Hambro Life Assurance, PLC
GBR	Lord Young of Graffham	Minister without Portfolio; Member Prime Minister's Cabinet
GRE	Costa Carras	Member of the Board, Greek Shipping Cooperation Committee
GRE	Basil Kafiris	Governor, Agricultural Bank of Greece
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, Morgunbladid
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson	Minister of Foreign Affairs
INT	A. W. Clausen	President, The World Bank
INT	Emile Van Lennep	Former Secretary-General, OECD
INT	Robert O'Neill	Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
INT	Jean-Claude Paye	Secretary-General, OECD
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
IRE	Garret Fitzgerald	Prime Minister of the Irish Republic
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli	President, FIAT S.p.A.
ITA	Umberto Cappuzzo	Chief of Staff, Italian Army
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Monetary Theory and Policy and Director of the Institute of

		Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
ITA	Guido Rossi	Lawyer
ITA	Giovanni Sartori	Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, Columbia University
ITA	Mario Schimberni	President, Montedison
ITA	Paolo Zannoni	Director, Department of Political Analysis, FIAT S.p.A.
LIE	H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam von Liechtenstein	
NLD	Hans B. Van Liemt	Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, D.S.M.
NLD	H. Onno Ruding	Minister of Finance, Chairman of the Interim Committee of the IMF
NLD	Joop M. Den Uyl	Parliamentary Leader, Labour Party; Former Prime Minister
NOR	Johan H. Andresen	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Tiedemann Group
NOR	Eivinn Berg	Ambassador and Permanent Representative, Norwegian Delegation to NATO; Former State Secretary
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
PRT	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Former Prime Minister; Director, Jornal Expresso
PRT	Jose Manuel Torres Couto	Secretary-General, General Trade Union UGT
PRT	Ernani Rodrigues Lopes	Minister of Finance
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Chairman of the Board, Saab-Scania AB
SWE	Mats Hellstroem	Minister for Foreign Trade
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	M. Nuri Birgi	Ambassador at Large
TUR	Jak V. Kamhi	Chairman of the Board, Profilo Holding A.S.
TUR	Osman Olcay	Ambassador to NATO; Former Foreign Minister
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
USA	Hans H. Angermueller	Vice Chairman, Citibank, N.A.
USA	George W. Ball	Former Under Secretary of State
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
USA	John C. Bierwirth	Chairman, Grumman Corporation
USA	Bill Bradley	U.S. Senator, New Jersey
USA	Nicholas F. Brady	Chairman, Dillon, Read & Company, Inc.; Former U.S. Senator (New Jersey)
USA	Zbigniew Brzezinski	Herbert Lehman Professor of Government, Columbia University; Former Assistant to President Carter for National Security Affairs
USA	William P. Bundy	Former Editor, Foreign Affairs
USA	Louis W. Cabot	Chairman, Cabot Corporation
USA	Ken NLD W. Dam	Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Murray H. Finley	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO
USA	Charles Getchell	Partner, Gray & Wendell; Rapporteur Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Donald Gregg	Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs
USA	William E. Griffith	Professor, Political Science Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
USA	Henry J. Heinz II	Chairman, H.J. Heinz Company, Inc.
USA	John J. Horan	Chairman, Merck & Company, Inc.
USA	Robert Hormats	Director, Goldman Sachs International Corporation; Former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs
USA	James R. Jones	U.S. Congressman, Oklahoma
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld; Former President, National

		Urban League
USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Former Secretary of State; Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University
USA	Winston Lord	President, The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	U.S. Senator, Maryland
USA	Richard Perle	Assistant Secretary for International Security Policy, U.S. Department of Defense
USA	Leland S. Prussia	Chairman, Bank of America
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	U.S. Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic
USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Richard M. Scammon	Director, Elections Research Center
USA	Brent Scowcroft	Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates; Former Member of President's General Advisory Committee on Arms Control
USA	Herbert Stein	Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
USA	John C. Whitehead	Chairman, International Advisory Board, Goldman Sachs & Co., Inc.
USA	James D. Wolfensohn	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
USA	Edwin H. Yeo III	Managing Director, Morgan Stanley & Company, Inc., former Under Secretary of the Treasury

#### **In Attendance**

GBR	John Hennings	Organizer, 1986 Conference; Former High Commissioner in Singapore
USA	Charles W. Muller	President, Murden and Company
AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehman	Managing Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

#### **Rapporteurs**

USA	Charles Getchell	Partner, Gray & Wendell
USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Communications and Public Relations Consultant

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1984 - Saltsjöbaden, Sweden, 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- Western Power and the Middle East: A Case Study in Atlantic Relationships
- The State of Arms Control Negotiations
- Future Employment Trends in the Industrialized Democracies
- Discussion of Current Events
- The Soviet Union, the West and the Third World – A Case Study: Central America

## List of Participants<sup>[31]</sup>

### Chairman

DEU [Walter Scheel](#) Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD Oort, Conrad J Adviser to the Board of Management, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.; Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

AUS Hannes Androsch Chairman of the Managing Board, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Finance

AUS **Gerald Hinteregger** **Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

AUS Wolfgang Schussel Secretary General, Austrian Economic Federation

BEL Daniel E. Janssen Chairman of the Executive Committee, U.C.B., S.A.

BEL Baron Lambert Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.

BEL Andre Leysen Chairman, Federation of Belgian Enterprises; Chairman, Agfa-Gevaert Group

CAN Albert A. Breton Professor of Economics, Institute for Policy Analysis, University of Toronto

CAN W. Harriet Critchley Associate Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science, University of Calgary

CAN L.A. Delvoie Chairman, Task Force Work Group, Prime Minister's Task Force on East-West Relations and International Security

CAN David A. Dodge Assistant Deputy Minister, Strategic Planning, Department of Employment and Immigration

CAN Charles H. Hantho President and Chief Executive officer, C-I-L Inc.

CAN Donald S. Macdonald Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy; Chairman, Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for CAN

CHE Robert A. Jeker President of the Executive Board, Credit Suisse

CHE Franz Lutolf General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation



DEN	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Minister of Foreign Affairs
DEN	Niels Norlund	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
DEN	Poul J. Svanholm	President and Group Chief Executive, United Breweries Ltd.
ESP	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman, Banco Hispano Industrial
ESP	Miguel Angel Martinez	Member of Parliament and Vice President, Foreign Affairs Committee
ESP	Juan Tomas de Salas	Editor, Cambio 16 and Diario 16
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board of the Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador of Finland to the U.S.
FRA	Jean-Pierre Chevenement	Member of the National Assembly; President of CERES; Former Minister of Industry
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Christine Ockrent	Editor-in-Chief, Antenne II
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere	Director-General, Compagnie d'Industrie et de Participations
FRG	Christoph Bertram	Political Editor, Die Zeit; Former Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
FRG	Karlheinz Kaske	President and Chief Executive Officer, Siemens A.G.
FRG	Otto Graf Lambsdorff	Minister of Economic Affairs
FRG	Theo Sommer	Publisher, Die Zeit
FRG	Horst Teltschik	Head of Department Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Chancellor's Office
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.
GBR	John F.H. Baring	Chairman, Baring Brothers & Co. Ltd.
GBR	Lord Carrington	Secretary-General-designate NATO
GBR	James Eberle	Director, The Royal Institute of International Affairs
GBR	Denis W. Healey	Member of Parliament
GBR	Michael Heseltine	Secretary of State for Defence
GBR	Andrew Knight	Editor, The Economist
GBR	John M. Raisman	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Shell U.K.
GBR	Lord Roll of Ipsden	Chairman, S.G. Warburg & Co.
GBR	Sir John Sainsbury	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
GRE	Angelos Canellopoulos	Vice President, Titan Cement Co., S.A.; Member of the Board, Union of Greek Industries
GRE	Costa Carras	Member of the Board, Union of Greek Shipowners
GRE	Louka T. Katseli	Scientific Director, Centre of Planning and Economic Research
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Political Editor, Morgunbladid
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson	Minister of Foreign Affairs
INT	Vicomte Etienne Davignon	Vice President, Commission of the European Communities
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Former President, European University Institute, Florence
INT	Emile van Lennep	Secretary-General, O.E.C.D.
INT	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	Secretary-General, NATO
INT	Robert O'Neill	Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
IRE	Garret Fitzgerald	Prime Minister

ITA	Giovanni Agnelli	President, FIAT S.p.A.
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Monetary Theory and Policy, University of Bocconi, Milan; President, SUERF
LUX	Colette Flesch	Minister of Foreign Affairs
NLD	H.M. Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands	
NLD	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
NLD	H.R.H. Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
NLD	Wisse Dekker	President, Philips' Gloeilampenfabrieken N.V.
NLD	Max Geldens	Director, McKinsey & Company Inc.
NLD	Aarnout A. Loudon	President Board of Management, AKZO NV
NOR	Henrik Aasarod	President, Norwegian Seamen's Union
NOR	H.R.H. Crown Prince Harald of Norway	
NOR	Kare Kristiansen	Minister of Petroleum and Energy
NOR	Otto Grieg Tidemand	Shipowner, Former Minister of Defense
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
PRT	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Former Prime Minister; Director Jornal Expresso
PRT	Andre Goncalves Pereira	Professor of International Law, University of Lisbon; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
PRT	Emilio Rui Vilar	Vice Governor, Bank of Portugal
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Chairman of the Board, Saab-Scania AB
SWE	Lennart Johansson	President and Group Executive, AB SKF; Vice Chairman of the Federation of Swedish Industries
SWE	Assar Lindbeck	Professor of International Economics, University of Stockholm
SWE	Curt Nicolin	Chairman of the Swedish Employers' Confederation
SWE	Clas-Erick Odhner	Head of the Research Section of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation
SWE	Olof Palme	Prime Minister
SWE	Stig Synnergren	Principal Aide-de-Camp to the King; Former Supreme Commander
SWE	Anders Thunborg	Minister of Defense
SWE	Peter Wallenberg	Vice Chairman, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
SWE	Hans Werthen	Chairman, AB Electrolux
TUR	Yildirim Akturk	Former Under Secretary of State, Planning Organization
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	Sarik Tara	Chairman, ENKA Group of Companies
USA	Ken NLD L. Adelman	Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Department of State
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman of the Board, Archer-Daniels Midland Co., Inc.
USA	Hans H. Angermueller	Vice Chairman of the Board, Citicorp
USA	George W. Ball	Former Under Secretary of State
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
USA	C. Fred Bergsten	Director, Institute for International Economics; Former Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of the Treasury
USA	Nicholas Brady	Chairman, Dillon, Read & Co., Inc.; Former U.S. Senator (New Jersey)
USA	William P. Bundy	Editor, Foreign Affairs
USA	Richard R. Burt	Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs
USA	Louis W. Cabot	Chairman of the Board, The Cabot Corporation

USA	Thomas O. Enders	U.S. Ambassador to Spain
USA	Murray H. Finley	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union AFL-CIO
USA	Charles Getchell	Partner, Gray & Wendell (Attorneys-at-Law); Rapporteur, Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Henry J. Heinz II	Chairman of the Board, H.J. Heinz Company, Inc.
USA	John J. Horan	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Merck & Co., Inc.
USA	Vernon E. Jordan	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	David T. Kearns	President and Chief Executive Officer, Xerox Corporation
USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Former Secretary of State; Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University
USA	Flora Lewis	Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times, Paris Bureau
USA	Winston Lord	President, The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	David J. Mahoney	David Mahoney Ventures
USA	<b>Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.</b>	<b>USA Senator (Maryland)</b>
USA	William B. Quandt	Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution
USA	Alice M. Rivlin	Director Economic Studies Program, The Brookings Institution; Former Director, the Congressional Budget Office
USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Marshall D. Shulman	Director, W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University
USA	Joseph J. Sisco	Partner, Sisco Associates; Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs
USA	John C. Whitehead	Senior Partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co., Inc.

#### **In Attendance**

SWE	Kai Hammerich	Senior Vice President, Saab-Scania AB; Supervisor Swedish Conference
GBR	John Hennings	Former High Commissioner in Singapore
NLD	Anne Hoogendoorn	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Charles Muller	Assistant Secretary, American Friends of Bilderberg; President, Murden & Co.

#### **Rapporteurs**

USA	Charles Getchell	Partner, Gray & Wendell (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Communications and Public Relations Consultant

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1983 - Montebello, Canada 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- East-West relations: constraints, detente or confrontation
- Issues in medium-term prospects for growth in the world economy:
- Protectionism and employment
- Risks in banking and finance
- Discussion of current events.

## List of Participants<sup>[32]</sup>

### Chairman

DEU [Walter Scheel](#) Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD [Willem F. Duisenberg](#) President, De Nederlandsche Bank N.V.

AUS Hannes Androsch Chairman of the Management Board, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

AUS Peter Jankowitsch Deputy Secretary General for Foreign Affairs

AUS Josef Taus Managing Partner, Constantia Industrieverwaltungsges. m.b.H.

BEL Jozef Houhuys President, Confederation of the Christian Unions

BEL Daniel E. Janssen Chairman, Federation of Belgian Enterprises; Chairman Executive Committee, U.C.B., S.A.

BEL Baron Lambert Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert, S.A.

BEL Andre Leysen Chairman of the Board, AGFA-GEVAERT Group

CAN Lise Bissonette Editor-in-Chief, Le Devoir

CAN Conrad M. Black Chairman, Argus Corporation, Ltd.

CAN Anthony G.S. Griffin Director of Companies

CAN **Gilles Lamontagne** **Minister of Defense**

CAN Donald S. Macdonald Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy

CAN Allan J. MacEachen Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs

CAN Leighton W. McCarthy President, McCarthy Securities Ltd.

CAN William D. Mulholland Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bank of Montreal

CAN Alfred Powis Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Noranda Mines Ltd.

CAN Jacques Rastoul Executive Director, Canadian Institute of International Affairs

CAN C.G.E. Theriault Vice-Chief of the Defense Staff

CAN **Pierre Elliott Trudeau** **Prime Minister**

CHE Hans Heckmann General Manager, Union Bank of Switzerland

CHE Franz Lutolf General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank

		Corporation
CHE	Raymond Probst	Secretary of State, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs
DEN	Tage Andersen	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
DEN	Henning Christophersen	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance
DEN	Niels Norlund	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
ESP	Jaime Carvajal y Urquijo	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Banco Urquijo
ESP	Juan Luis Cebrian	Editor-in-Chief, El Pais
ESP	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs at the Office of the Prime Minister
FIN	Fredrik Castren	President and Chief Executive Officer, Kymi Kymmene Oy; Chairman of the Confederation of Finnish Industries
FRA	Raymond Barre	Former Prime Minister; Member of the National Assembly
FRA	Alain Gomez	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Thomson Group
FRA	Jacques Maisonrouge	Chairman of the Board, I.B.M. World Trade Corporation
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	Antoine Seilliere	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
FRG	Otto L. Graf Lambsdorff	Minister of Economic Affairs
FRG	Alois Mertes	Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
FRG	Volker Ruhe	Deputy Leader, Parliamentary Party CDU/CSU; Spokesman on Foreign and Security Policy
FRG	Helmut Schmidt	Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
FRG	Theo Sommer	Publisher, Die Zeit
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.; Chairman, German Federation of Chambers of Industry and Commerce
GBR	Lord Carrington	Former Foreign Minister; Leader Conservative Party, House of Lords
GBR	Andrew Knight	Editor, The Economist
GBR	Lord Roll of Ipsden	Chairman, S.G. Warburg & Co. Ltd.
GBR	Evelyn de Rothschild	Chairman, N.M. Rothschild & Sons Ltd.
GBR	Sir John Sainsbury	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
GRE	Costa Carras	Member of the Board, Union of Greek Shipowners
GRE	John D. Paleocrassas	Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Coordination; Secretary-General of NEA Democratic Party
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Political Journalist, Morgunbladid
INT	Georges Berthoin	European Chairman, The Trilateral Commission
INT	A. W. Clausen	President, The World Bank
INT	Vicomte Etienne Davignon	Vice President, Commission of the European Communities
INT	Alexandre Lamfalussy	Assistant General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
INT	Emile van Lennep	Secretary-General, OECD
INT	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	Secretary-General, NATO
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
IRE	Anthony J.F. O'Reilly	President and Chief Executive Officer, H.J. Heinz Company

ITA	Umberto Agnelli	Chairman, FIAT Auto S.p.A.; Vice-Chairman and Managing Director IFI (Istituto Finanziario Industriale)
ITA	Piero Bassetti	President, Bassetti S.p.A.; Chairman of Chamber of Commerce
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Monetary Theory and Policy, University of Bocconi, Milan; President, SUERF
ITA	Paolo Zannoni	Director, Department Political Analysis, FIAT S.p.A.
NLD	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
NLD	<b>Ruud F.M. Lubbers</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>
NLD	Coen J. Oort	Member of the Board, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.
NLD	Willem E. Scherpenhuijsen	Former Chairman of the Board of Managing Directors, Nederlandsche Middenstandsbank N.V.
NOR	Halvdan Bjorum	Chairman of the Board, A/S Elektrisk Bureau
NOR	<b>Gro Harlem Brundtland</b>	<b>Parliamentary Leader, Labour Party</b>
NOR	<b>Anders C. Sjaastad</b>	<b>Minister of Defense</b>
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
PRT	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Prime Minister ad Interim
PRT	Bernardino Gomes	Vice Chairman, Foundation for International Relations
PRT	Rogério Martins	Chairman, Simopre; Former Secretary of State for Industry
SWE	<b>Kjell-Olof Feldt</b>	<b>Minister of Finance</b>
SWE	Anders Ferm	Ambassador, Permanent Mission of SWE to the United Nations
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Managing Director, SAAB-SCANIA AB
SWE	Clas-Erik Odhner	Economist at the Swedish Trade Union Confederation
SWE	Hans Werthen	Chairman, Ericsson and Electrolux Group
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	M. Nuri Birgi	Former Ambassador to NATO
TUR	<b>Ilter Turkmen</b>	<b>Minister of Foreign Affairs</b>
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company
USA	Hans H. Angermueller	Vice Chairman, Citibank, N.A.
USA	George W. Ball	Former Undersecretary of State
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Senior Vice President & Director, EXXON Corporation
USA	Seweryn Bialer	Director, Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University
USA	William P. Bundy	Editor-in-Chief, Foreign Affairs
USA	Ken NLD W. Dam	Deputy Secretary of State
USA	James Dobbins	Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
USA	Thomas R. Donahue	Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO
USA	Elizabeth Drew	Journalist
USA	Murray H. Finley	President, Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union
USA	Charles Getchell	Partner, Gray & Wendell (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Henry Anatole Grunwald	Editor-in-Chief, TIME, Inc.
USA	Arthur A. Hartman	U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
USA	Henry J. Heinz II	Chairman, H.J. Heinz Company; President, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.
USA	Stanley Hoffmann	Chairman, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
USA	Robert Hormats	Vice President, Goldman Sachs & Company
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld; Former President, National Urban League
USA	David Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation

USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Former Secretary of State
USA	Winston Lord	President, The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	David Mahoney	Chairman of the Board, Norton Simon Inc.
USA	R. Daniel McMichael	Administrative Agent, Scaife Family Charitable Trusts
USA	Richard Perle	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy
USA	John P. Roche	Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors, The Federal Reserve System

#### **In Attendance**

AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	Managing Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
CAN	Tom Axworthy	Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister
CAN	Joseph Caron	Secretariat of Privy Council Office (Foreign and Defense Policy)
CAN	Robert Fowler	Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet (Foreign and Defense Policy)
CAN	Ted Johnson	Executive Assistant to the Prime Minister
CAN	Kenzie MacKinnon	Executive Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs
CAN	Jim Mitchell	Department of External Affairs (Policy Analysis)
CAN	Michael Phillips	Senior Departmental Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs
CAN	Bernard C. Thillaye	Director, Strategic Policy Planning, Department of National Defense
FRG	Hennecke Graf von Bassowitz	Assistant to Mr. Scheel
FRG	Hans-Henning Blomeyer	Head, Office of Mr. Mertes
FRG	Ulf Boge	Head, Office of Mr. Scheel
FRG	Thomas Hertz	Head, Office of Graf Lambsdorff
FRG	Reinhardt Sturmer	Assistant to Mr. Schmidt
INT	Michael Dallas	Head, Office of General Rogers
NLD	Anne Hoogendoorn	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
POR	Jose P. Luiz Gomes	Diplomatic Advisor to Prime Minister ad interim Balsemao
SWE	Kai Hammerich	Senior Vice President, SAAB SCANIA AB
TUR	Baki Ilkin	Personal Assistant to Mr. Turkmen
USA	Charles W. Muller	President, Murden & Co.
USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Joint Raporteur, Bilderberg Meetings

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1982 - Sandefjord, Norway 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- Divergent policies and attitudes in the North Atlantic Community
- What can arms control achieve?
- Middle East: Issues at stake
- Economic issues: dogmas and realities
- Discussion of Current events:
- The Falkland Islands Crisis
- East-West Relations: Poland, Trade, and Finance

## List of Participants<sup>[33]</sup>

### Chairman

DEU [Walter Scheel](#) Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Eliot Jr., Theodore L.](#) Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD [Willem F. Duisenberg](#) President, De Nederlandsche Bank N.V.

AUS Hannes Androsch Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

AUS Erhard Busek Deputy Mayor of Vienna; Former Secretary General O.V.P.

AUS Hans Iglar Partner, Schoeller & Co. Bankaktiengesellschaft

BEL Baron Lambert Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.

BEL **Henri F. Simonet** **Member of Parliament; Author Working Paper Session I**

CAN **Jean Chretien** **Minister of Justice and Attorney General**

CAN Paul Desmarais Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Power Corporation of CAN

CAN William A. Dimma President, A.E. LePage Ltd. and Board Chairman, Polysar Ltd.

CAN H.N.R. Jackman Chairman of the Board, The Empire Life Insurance Company

CAN Donald S. MacDonald Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy

CAN James R. Nininger President, The Conference Board of CAN

DEN Tage Andersen Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank

DEN **Henning Christophersen** **Member of Parliament, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee**

DEN Erik Hoffmeyer Chairman of the Board of Governors, DNKs Nationalbank

DEN Niels Norlund Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende

CHE Fritz Halm Chairman of the Board of Directors, SIG Swiss Industrial Company; Chairman, Swiss Employers Union

CHE Franz Lutolf General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation

CHE Victor H. Umbricht Mediator, East African Community; Member of the Board of Ciba-Geigy Ltd.



ESP	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Banco Urquijo
FIN	C. Fredrik K. Castren	President and Chief Executive Officer, Kymli Kymmene Oy
FRA	Georges Berthoin	European Chairman, The Trilateral Commission
FRA	Jean Francois-Poncet	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
FRA	Philippe Lagayette	Directeur de Cabinet, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance; Author Working Paper Session IV
FRA	Jacques Maisonrouge	Chairman of the Board, I.B.M. World Trade Corporation
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere	Director General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
FRG	Egon Bahr	Member of Parliament; Author Working Paper, Session II
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank AG
FRG	Helmut Kohl	Chairman, CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group
FRG	Otto L. Graf Lambsdorff	Minister of Economics
FRG	Karl Otto Pohl	President, Deutsche Bundesbank
FRG	Theo Sommer	Publisher, Die Zeit
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.
FRG	Manfred Worner	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU; Author Working Paper Session I
GBR	Robin Ibbs	Executive Director, Imperial Chemical Industries; Former Head, Central Policy Review Staff, Cabinet Office
GBR	Elie Kedourie	Professor of Politics, University of London; Author Working Paper Session III
GBR	Andrew Knight	Editor, The Economist
GBR	Nigel Lawson	Member of Parliament, Secretary of State for Energy
GBR	David Owen	Joint Leader of the Social Democratic Party, Member of Parliament, Former Foreign Secretary
GBR	Lord Roll of Ipsden	Chairman, S. G. Warburg & Co. Ltd.
GBR	Sir John Sainsbury	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
GBR	Lord Soames	
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Political Journalist, Morgunbladid
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson	Member of Parliament, Former Prime Minister
INT	Christoph Bertram	Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies; Author Working Paper Session II
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Former President, European University Institute at Florence
INT	Jacques de Larosiere	Managing Director, I.M.F.
INT	Emile van Lennep	Secretary General, O.E.C.D.
INT	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	Secretary General, N.A.T.O.
INT	Sylvia Ostry	Head, Department of Economics and Statistics, O.E.C.D.; Author Working Paper Session IV
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
ITA	Piero Ostellino	Columnist, Corriere della Sera
ITA	Romano Prodi	Professor of Industrial Economics, University of Bologna
ITA	Virginio Rognoni	Minister of Internal Affairs
ITA	Stefano Silvestri	Deputy Director, Institute of International Affairs
NLD	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies

NLD	Wisse Dekker	President, Philips Gloeilampenfabrieken
NLD	Hans A.F.M.O. van Mierlo	Minister of Defense
NLD	Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
NLD	Andre S. Spoor	Editor-in-Chief, NRC Handelsblad
NOR	Gro Harlem Brundtland	Member of Parliament, Former Prime Minister
NOR	Knut Frydenlund	Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
NOR	Tor Moursund	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Christianla Bank og Kreditkasse
NOR	Einar Fr. Nagell-Erichsen	Managing Director, Aftenposten/Schibstedgruppen
NOR	Anders C. Sjaastad	Minister of Defense
NOR	Hermod Skanland	Deputy Governor of the Bank of Norway
NOR	Thorvald Stoltenberg	Member of the International Secretariat of the Federation of Trade Unions
NOR	Svenn Stray	Minister of Foreign Affairs
NOR	Otto Grieg Tidemand	Shipowner; Former Minister of Defense
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
NOR	Kaare Willoch	Prime Minister
PRT	Rogério Martins	Chairman, Simapre Investment Company; Former Secretary of State of Industry
PRT	Alexandre de Azeredo Vaz Pinto	President, The Institute of Foreign Investment; Former Minister of Commerce
SWE	Sten Gustafsson	Managing Director, SAB-SCANIA AB
SWE	Bjorn Svedberg	President, Telefonaktiebolaget LM Ericsson
SWE	Lars Wohlin	Governor, Swedish Federal Bank
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit	Director of Companies
TUR	Haluk Ozgul	Ambassador of Turkey in Norway
TUR	Metin Toker	Columnist, Milliyet Newspaper
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Archer Daniels Midland Co.
USA	George W. Ball	Senior Managing Director, Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc.
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
USA	Hermann F. Eilts	University Professor of International Relations, Research Professor of History and Political Science, Boston University; Author Working Paper Session III
USA	Murray H. Finley	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
USA	Paul B. Finney	Editorial Director, Thomson Magazines
USA	Evan G. Galbraith	U.S. Ambassador to France
USA	Charles Getchell	Lawyer and Trustee
USA	Meg Greenfield	Editorial Page Editor, The Washington Post
USA	Robert A. Hanson	President and Chief Operating Officer, Deere & Company
USA	Henry J. Heinz II	Chairman of the Board, H.J. Heinz Company; President, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.
USA	Karen E. House	Washington Correspondent, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	Henry A. Kissinger	Former Secretary of State; Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University
USA	Winston Lord	President, Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	David J. Mahoney	Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Norton Simon Inc.
USA	Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.	Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Author Working Paper Session II
USA	Richard Pipes	Senior Staff Member, National Security Council (Baird Professor of History,

		Harvard University, on leave)
USA	James Roche	Senior Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State
USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Robert V. Roosa	Senior Partner, Brown Brothers Harriman & Company
USA	William E. Simon	Chairman, Crescent Diversified Ltd.; Former Secretary of the Treasury; Author Working Paper Session IV
USA	Robert S. Strauss	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former U.S. Special Trade Representative for Trade Negotiations
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
USA	Ben J. Wattenberg	Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Author Working Paper Session I
USA	Joseph H. Williams	Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, The Williams Companies

#### **Observers**

CAN	Bernard C. Thillaye	Director, Strategic Policy Planning, Department of National Defense
AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	General Manager of Creditanstalt-Bankverein

#### **In Attendance**

ITA	Carlos Aritario	Personal Advisor to Minister Rognoni
CAN	Jacques Demers	Special Advisor, Officer of the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada
FRG	Hanno Hartmann	Assistant to Mr. Walter Scheel
NLD	Anne Hoogendoorn	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
FRG	R.K. Lochner	Accompanying Mr. Helmut Kohl as interpreter
USA	Charles Muller	Assistant Secretary, American Friends of Bilderberg; President, Murden & Co.
FRG	Guido Peruzzo	Assistant to the Minister of Economics
INT	Gianni Ravasio	Assistant to Mr. Gaston Thorn
FRG	Rudiger von Rosen	Head, President's Office, Deutsche Bundesbank
FRG	Folkmar Stoecker	Assistant to Mr. Walter Scheel
FRG	Horst Teltschik	Head, Office of Mr. Helmut Kohl

#### **Rapporteurs**

USA	Charles Getchell
USA	Grant F. Winthrop

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1981 - Burgenstock, Switzerland 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- What should Western policy be toward the Soviet Union in the 1980's?
  - Changes in the Soviet Union
  - Assessing Soviet Intentions
  - Arms Negotiations and the Military Balance
- Obstacles to effective coordination of Western policies
  - Internal Stresses and Strains
  - The Need for Consultation
  - The Middle East
- How can the Western economies put their house in order?
  - President Reagan's Economic Program
  - The State's Growing Share of the National Product
  - The Decline in Productivity and Economic Growth
  - Political Aspects
- Panel on Current International Economic Issues
  - East-West Economic Relations
  - Energy
  - Japan's Performance
  - Trade and Protectionism
  - Interest Rates and Exchange Rates
  - Recycling and Debts
  - The North-South Dialogue
  - International Economic Cooperation
- Discussion of Current Events
  - Foreign Policy Prospects Under the New U.S. Administration
  - Analyzing the French Election Results
  - Crises Outside the NATO Area

## List of Participants<sup>[34]</sup>

### Chairman

DEU [Walter Scheel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Halberstadt, Victor](#) Professor of Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA Paul B. Finney

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD [Willem F. Duisenberg](#) President, De Nederlandsche Bank N.V.

Androsch, Hannes AUT  
Iglar, Hans AUT  
Seidel, Hans AUT

Houthuys, Josef BEL  
Janssen, Daniel E. BEL  
Lambert, Baron BEL

Black, Conrad M.	CAN
Fisher, Gordon N.	CAN
Ford, Robert A. D.	CAN
Levesque, Jacques	CAN
MacDonald, Donald S.	CAN
Aeppli, Oswald	CHE
Furer, Arthur	CHE
Furgler, Kurt	CHE
Gerber, Fritz	CHE
Iselin, F. Emmanuel	CHE
Liotard-Vogt, Pierre	CHE
Lutolf, Franz J.	CHE
Muller, Paul H.	CHE
Niquille, P. F.	CHE
Oswald, Heinrich	CHE
Umbricht, Victor H.	CHE
Verdonnet, Jean-Francois	CHE
Z'Graggen, Andreas	CHE
Andersen, Tage	DNK
Bjol, Erling	DNK
Norlund, Niels	DNK
Camunas Solis, Ignacio	ESP
Horn, Tankmar	FIN
Julien, Claude	FRA
Montbrial, Thierry de	FRA
Seilliere, Antoine	FRA
Herrhausen, Alfred	FRG
Kaske, Karlheinz	FRG
Leonhard, Wolfgang	FRG
Liesen, Klaus	FRG
Mertes, Alois	FRG
Sommer, Theo	FRG
Healey, Denis W.	GBR
Hurd, Douglas R.	GBR
Knight, Andrew	GBR
Mills, John L.	GBR
Roll of Ipsden, Lord	GBR
Soames, Lord	GBR
Carras, Costa	GRC
Lambrias, P.	GRC
Bertram, Christoph	INT
Kohmstamm, Max	INT
Lennepe, Jhr. Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	INT

Rogers, Bernard W.	INT
Thorn, Gaston	INT
Wechmar, Baron R. von	INT
Hallgrimsson, Geir	IRL
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Prodi, Romano	ITA
Silvestri, Stefano	ITA
Flesch, Colette	LUX
Beugel, Ernst H. van der	NLD
Brinkhorst, Laurens J.	NLD
NLD, Prince Claus of the	NLD
Frydenlund, Knut	NOR
Hysing-Dahl, Per	NOR
Moursund, Tor	NOR
Vatne, Hans	NOR
Werring, Niels, Jr.	NOR
Balsemao, Francisco P.	PRT
Gustafsson, Sten	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Wohlin, Lars	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Inan, Kamran	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Bennett, Jack F.	USA
Bundy, William P.	USA
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.	USA
Finley, Murray H.	USA
Heinz, Henry J., II	USA
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.	USA
Kirkpatrick, Jeane	USA
Kissinger, Henry A.	USA
Lewis, Flora	USA
MacLaury, Bruce K.	USA
Mahoney, David J.	USA
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr.	USA
McColough, C. Peter	USA
Mondale, Walter F.	USA
Pipes, Richard	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Stein, Herbert	USA
Taylor, Arthur R.	USA
Toon, Malcolm	USA
Will, George F.	USA
Yankelovich, Daniel	USA

**Rapporteurs**

Getchell, Charles	USA
Winthrop, Grant F.	USA

**Observers**

O'Connor, Patrick	USA
Schwarzenberg, Prince Karl J.	AUT

**In Attendance**

Gomes, Jose Luis	PRT
Hartmann, Hanno	FRG
Hoogendoorn, Anne	NLD
McKechnie, Malcolm J.	CAN
Muller, Charles	USA
Reuter, Etienne	LUX
Roe, Raymond T.	USA
Stoecker, F.	FRG

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1980 - Aachen, Germany 18<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

### America and Europe: Past, Present, and Future

- **Political Aspects**
  - Iran
  - Afghanistan
  - Relations Among the Allies: Communication, Understanding, Leadership
  - Division of Labor
  - The Current American Mood
  - The Political Evolution of Europe
  - The Alliance and The Third World
  - The Arab-Israeli Conflict
- **Security Aspect**
  - The Present Military Situation of NATO
  - Strategic Issues
  - The Need for Stronger Conventional Forces
  - Security Threats Outside the Alliance Area
  - The Question of Political Will
- **Economic Aspect**
  - The Management of Our Economies
  - Monetary Relations
  - Energy Considerations and the Impact of the Oil Price Increases
  - The Less-Developed Countries
  - Trade Relations

### List of Participants<sup>[35]</sup>

#### Chairman

GBR [Lord Home of the Hirsel, K. T.](#)

#### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

#### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [William P. Bundy](#)

#### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Igler, Hans	AUT
Schwarzenberg, Furst Karl J.	AUT
Treichl, Heinrich	AUT
Janssen, Daniel E.	BEL
Lambert, Baron	BEL
Simonet, Henri F.	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL
Tindemans, Leo	BEL



Griffin, Anthony G.S.	CAN
Legault, Albert	CAN
MacDonald, Donald S.	CAN
Maconald, H. Ian	CAN
Aeppli, Oswald	CHE
Gisling, Jean-Claude	CHE
Lutolf, Franz	CHE
Umbricht, Victor H.	CHE
Andersen, K. B.	DNK
Norlund, Niels	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel	DNK
Camunas Solis, Ignacio	ESP
Waris, Klaus	FIN
Chevillon, Olivier	FRA
Esambert, Bernard	FRA
Grosser, Alfred	FRA
Montbrial, Thierry de	FRA
Parayre, Jean-Paul	FRA
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	FRA
Seilliere, Antoine	FRA
Breuel, Birgit	FRG
Brunner, Guido	FRG
Cortier, Peter	FRG
Grunewald, Herbert	FRG
Hausmann, Helmut	FRG
Herrhausen, Alfred A.	FRG
Huonker, Gunter	FRG
Kaske, Karlheinz	FRG
Kohl, Helmut	FRG
Kiep, Walther L.	FRG
Lambsdorff, Graf Otto	FRG
Prinz, Gerhard	FRG
Schmidt, Gerhard	FRG
Schmidt, Helmut	FRG
Sommer, Theo	FRG
Spethmann, Dieter	FRG
Wechmar, Baron R. von	FRG
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	FRG
Baring, John F. H.	GBR
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Duncan, William B.	GBR
Grierson, Ronald H.	GBR
Healey, Denis	GBR
Hurd, Douglas	GBR
Knight, Andrew	GBR
Maxwell, Judith	GBR

Roll of Ipsden, Lord	GBR
Tuzo, Sir Harry	GBR
Carras, Costa	GRC
Vlachos, Helen	GRC
Hallgrimsson, Geir	ICE
Bertram, Christoph	INT
Davignon, Vicomte	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Lennep, Jhr. Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	INT
Treverton, Gregory F.	INT
Barzini, Luigi	ITA
Benvenuto, Giorgio	ITA
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	ITA
Ferro, Luigi	ITA
Prodi, Romano	ITA
Silvestri, Stefano	ITA
Spinelli, Barbara	ITA
Thorn, Gaston	LUX
Duisenberg, Willem F.	NLD
Halberstadt, Victor	NLD
Hoven, H.F. van den	NLD
Stoel, Max van der	NLD
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Werring, Niels, Jr.	NOR
Medeiros Ferreira, Jose	PRT
Lundvall, Bjorn	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Wohlin, Lars M.	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Bartholomew, Reginald	USA
Bennett, Jack F.	USA
Bundy, McGeorge	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Donahue, Thomas R.	USA
Donovan, Hedley	USA
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.	USA
Finley, Murray H.	USA
Finney, Paul B.	USA
Heinz, Henry J., II	USA

Johnson, Joseph E.	USA
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.	USA
Kissinger, Henry A.	USA
Kraft, Joseph	USA
Levy, Walter J.	USA
Lord, Winston	USA
MacLaury, Bruce K.	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Thomas, Franklin	USA
Williams, Joseph H.	USA

**Rapporteur**

Getchell, Charles	USA
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**Observers**

Boge, Ulf	FRG
Schoser, Franz	FRG
Zimmer-Lehmann, Georg	AUT

**In Attendance**

Budishin, Hans-Jorg	FRG
Dreihann-Holenia, N.	AUT
Hoogendoorn, Anne	NLD

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1979 - Baden, Austria 27<sup>th</sup> – 29<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- **The present international monetary situation and its consequences for world economic cooperation**
  - The Bretton Woods System and the Role of the Dollar
  - Exchange Rates: Fixed or Floating?
  - “Stateless Currency” and the Euromarkets
  - The European Monetary System
  - What Future for the I.M.F.?
  - Multilateral Cooperation and Harmonization
  - Monetary Implications of the Oil Situation
  
- **The implications of instability in the Middle East and Africa for the Western world.**
  - The Iranian Revolution
  - The Arab-Israeli Conflict
  - TUR: Again the Sick Man
  - The Oil Imbroglia
  - Islam, the Third World, and the West
  - Security Considerations
  - The Republic of South Africa and Namibia
  - Rhodesia-Zimbabwe
  - Economic Considerations
  
- **Other current issues bearing on European-American relations**
  - Relations with the Communist Powers
  - “The German Question”
  - The Austrian Example
  - Transatlantic Moods and Attitudes

## List of Participants<sup>[36]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Lord Home of the Hirsel, K. T.](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [William P. Bundy](#)

Androsch, Hannes	AUT
Apfalter, Herlbert	AUT
Broesigke, Tassilo	AUT
Dallinger, Alfred	AUT
Fischer, Heinz	AUT
Igler, Hans	AUT
Kreisky, Bruno	AUT
Lanc, Erwin	AUT
Leibenfrost, Franz J.	AUT
Pahr, Willibald	AUT
Portisch, Hugo	AUT
Prinzhorn, Thomas	AUT
Steiner, Ludwig	AUT

Taus, Josef	AUT
Treichl, Heinrich	AUT
Vranitzky, Franz	AUT
Janssen, Daniel E.	BEL
Lambert, Baron	BEL
Simonet, Henry F.	BEL
Ypersele de Strihou, Jacques van	BEL
Macdonald, Donald S.	CAN
Neufeld, Edward P.	CAN
Rastoul, Jacques	CAN
Savory, Roger M.	CAN
Gerber, Fritz	CHE
Kind, Christian	CHE
Umbricht, Victor H.	CHE
Christophersen, Henning	DNK
Norlund, Niels	DNK
Romero-Maura, Joaquin	ESP
Beullac, Christian	FRA
Esambert, Bernard	FRA
Monod, M. Jerome	FRA
Montbrial, Thierry de	FRA
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	FRA
Seilliere, Ernest A.	FRA
Breuel, Birgit	FRG
Hausmann, Helmut	FRG
Herrhausen, Alfred	FRG
Rohwedder, Detlev	FRG
Sommer, Theo	FRG
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	FRG
Avon, The Earl of	GBR
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Lewis, Bernard	GBR
Macmillan, Maurice	GBR
Roll of Ipsden, Lord	GBR
Shackleton, Lord	GBR
Steel, Sir David	GBR
Carras, Costa	GRC
Bertram, Christoph	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Lenep, Jhr. Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	INT

Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Barattieri, Vittorio	ITA
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	ITA
Silvestri, Stefano	ITA
Tufarelli, Nicola	ITA
Thorn, Gaston	LUX
Duisenberg, Willem F.	NLD
Halberstadt, Victor	NLD
Nelissen, Roelof J.	NLD
Getz Wold, Knut	NOR
Steen, Reiulf	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Constancio, Vitor M. R.	PRT
Lundvall, D. Bjorn H.	SWE
Ullsten, Ola	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Wohlin, Lars	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Brown, L. Dean	USA
Chafee, John H.	USA
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.	USA
Finney, Paul B.	USA
Foltz, William J.	USA
Fredericks, Wayne J.	USA
Hartman, Arthur A.	USA
Heinz, Henry J., II	USA
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.	USA
Levy, Walter J.	USA
Lewis, Flora	USA
McGiffert, David E.	USA
Newsom, David D.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Roosa, Robert V.	USA
Sheinkman, Jacob	USA
Taylor, Arthur R.	USA
Williams, Franklin H.	USA
Williams, Joseph H.	USA
<b>Observers</b>	
Schoser, Franz	FRG
Schwarzenberg, Erbprinz Karl	AUT
Zimmer-Lehmann, Georg	AUT

**In Attendance**

Cordt, Herbert	AUT
Getchell, Charles	USA
Heine-Geldern, Thomas	AUT

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1978 - Princeton, New Jersey, USA 21<sup>st</sup> – 23<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- **Western defense with its political implications.**
  - An Overview of the Alliance Today
  - The General Evolution of East-West Relations
  - Crises Outside the Alliance Area
  - The Current Military Balance
  - Theater Nuclear Systems and the Neutron Bomb
  - Consultation and Mutual Understanding
  - Political and Economic Strains Within the Alliance
  - Détente and Arms Control
- **The changing structure of production and trade: consequences for the Western industrialized countries.**
  - The Role of the State in Structural Adaptation
  - Structural Change and Economic Growth
  - Implications for Employment, and the Role of Labor
  - Trade Policy
  - The Need for Monetary Stability
- **Current Problems in European-American Relations**

## List of Participants<sup>[37]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Lord Home of the Hirsel, K. T.](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [William P. Bundy](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Igler, Hans	AUT
Nussbaumer, Adolf	AUT
Treichl, Heinrich	AUT

Close, Robert-Charles	BEL
Houthuys, Jef	BEL
Lambert, Baron	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL

Bell, George B.	CAN
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	CAN
Ostry, Sylvia	CAN

Furgler, Kurt	CHE
Gasteyger, Curt	CHE
Umbricht, Victor	CHE



Andersen, K. B.	DNK
Norlund, Niels	DNK
Sorensen, Svend O.	DNK
Rovira, Don Juan Jose	ESP
Tiivola, Mika	FIN
Esambert, Bernard	FRA
Montbrial, Thierry de	FRA
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	FRA
Rose, Francois de	FRA
Angermeyer, Joachim	FRG
Bulow, Andreas von	FRG
Herrhausen, Alfred	FRG
Sommer, Theo	FRG
Weizsacker, Richard von	FRG
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen	FRG
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	FRG
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Bertram, Christoph	GBR
Carrington, Lord	GBR
Dell, Edmund	GBR
Geddes, Sir Reay	GBR
George-Brown, Lord	GBR
Harvey-Jones, John H.	GBR
Knight, Andrew	GBR
Lord Roll of Ipsden	GBR
Contogeorgis, George	GRC
Zaimis, Andreas F.	GRC
Hallgrimsson, Geir	ICE
Davignon, Vicomte	INT
Haig, Alexander, Jr.	INT
Kersten, Otto	INT
Lennep, Jhr. Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Andreatta, Nino	ITA
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	ITA
Ducci, Roberto	ITA
Ottone, Piero	ITA
Savona, Paolo	ITA
Silvestri, Stefano	ITA
Thorn, Gaston	LUX

Batenburg, Andre	NLD
Duisenberg, William F.	NLD
Eekelen, Willem F. van	NLD
Halberstadt, Victor	NLD
Brekke, Tor	NOR
Hansen, Rolf	NOR
Tidemand, Otto Grieg	NOR
Constancio, Vitor M. R.	PRT
Falldin, Thorbjorn	SWE
Lundvall, Bjorn	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Bartley, Robert L.	USA
Bennett, Jack	USA
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	USA
Cary, Frank T.	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Conable, Barber B., Jr.	USA
Davidson, Ralph P.	USA
Diebold, William, Jr.	USA
Finlay, Murray H.	USA
Greenfield, Meg	USA
Haggerty, Patrick E.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heinz, Henry J., II	USA
Heinz, H. John, III	USA
Johnson, Joseph E.	USA
Karber, Phillip A.	USA
Kissinger, Henry A.	USA
Lord, Winston	USA
Newhouse, John	USA
Peterson, Peter G.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Solomon, Anthony M.	USA
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	USA
Stinson, George A.	USA
Tatu, Michel	USA
Wharton, Clifton R., Jr.	USA
Whitman, Marina v. N.	USA
Will, George	USA
Williams, Lynn R.	USA
Zysman, John	USA
<b>Observers</b>	
Bjarnson, Bjorn	ICE
Zimmer-Lehmann, Georg	AUT

**In Attendance**

Cordt, Herbert	AUT
Getchell, Charles	USA
Heine-Geldern, Thomas	AUT
Muller, Charles W.	USA
Winthrop, Grant F.	USA

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1977 - Torquay, UK 22<sup>nd</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- **North American and Western European attitudes towards:**
  - The future of the mixed economies in the Western democracies
  - The Third World's demand for restructuring the world order and the political implications of these attitudes

## List of Participants<sup>[38]</sup>

### Chairman

GBR [Lord Home of the Hirsel, K. T.](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [William P. Bundy](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Androsch, Hannes	AUT
Igler, Hans	AUT
Treichl, Heinrich	AUT
Janssen, Daniel E.	BEL
Lambert, Baron	BEL
Simonet, Henri	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	CAN
LaLonde, Marc	CAN
MacIntosh, Robert M.	CAN
Regan, G. A.	CAN
Linder, Willy	CHE
Liotard-Vogt, Pierre	CHE
Umbricht, Victor H.	CHE
Norlund, Niels	DNK
Sorensen, Svend O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK
Fraga Iribarne, Manuel	ESP
Rossi, Reino	FIN

Berthoin, Georges	FRA
Cot, Jean Pierre	FRA
Guichard, Olivier	FRA
Montbrial, Thierry de	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA
Salmon, Pierre	FRA
Dahrendorf, Ralf	FRG
Dohnanyi, Klaus von	FRG
Hager, Wolfgang H.	FRG
Kiep, Walther L.	FRG
Oetker, Arend	FRG
Schmidt, Helmut	FRG
Sommer, Theo	FRG
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	FRG
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Elton, Lord	GBR
Forte, Sir Charles	GBR
Hall, Sir Arnold	GBR
Henderson, R.	GBR
Joseph, Sir Keith	GBR
Knight, Sir Arthur	GBR
Lever, Harold	GBR
Macadam, Peter	GBR
Nott, John	GBR
Orr, David A.	GBR
Pennock, Raymond W.	GBR
Roberts, Sir Frank K.	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Shackleton, Lord	GBR
Steel, David E.C.	GBR
Warburg, Sir Siegmund	GBR
Wilkins, Graham J.	GBR
Stavropoulos, Constantin A.	GRC
Hallgrimsson, Geir	ICE
Davignon, Vicomte Etienne	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	INT
Ortoli, Francois X.	INT
Fitzgerald, Garret	IRL
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Anselmi, Tima	ITA
Carli, Guido	ITA
Cittadini, Cesi, Il Mrchese	ITA
Ducci, Roberto	ITA
Glisenti, Marcella	ITA

Sartori, Carlo	ITA
Duisenberg, Willem F.	NLD
Halberstadt, Victor	NLD
Sickinghe, Jonkheer Feyo O. J.	NLD
Bratteli, Trygve	NOR
Nielsen, Sivert A.	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Medeiros Ferreira, Jose de	PRT
Lundvall, Bjorn	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Wickman, Krister	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Aaron, David	USA
Ball, George W.	USA
Bennett, Jack F.	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Cooper, Richard N.	USA
Finley, Murray H.	USA
Finney, Paul B.	USA
Heinz, Henry J. II	USA
Johnson, Joseph E.	USA
Kirkland, Joseph L.	USA
Kissinger, Henry A.	USA
MacLaury, Bruce K.	USA
McDonald, Alonzo L., Jr.	USA
Miller, Joseph Irwin	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Taylor, Arthur	USA
Thurow, Lester C.	USA
<b>Observers</b>	
Bjarnason, Bjorn	ICE
Tsounis, Panayotis A.	GRC
<b>In Attendance</b>	
Getchell, Charles W., Jr.	USA
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	FRA

# **BILDERBERG MEETINGS**

**1976 – No Official Conference Held**

**Agenda: N/A**

**List of Participants<sup>[39]</sup>**

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1975 – Golden Dolphin Hotel, Cesme, Turkey, 25<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> July

## Agenda

- Inflation: its economic, social and political implications
- Recent international political developments:
- The present status and prospects to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and the effect on relations among NATO members
- Other recent developments affecting the relations among NATO countries

## List of Participants<sup>[40]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Dalma, Alfons	AUT
Igler, Hans	AUT
Vranitzky, Franz	AUT

Camu, Louis	BEL
Houthuys, Jozef	BEL
Janssen, Daniel E.	BEL
Lambert, Baron	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL

Deutsch, John J.	CAN
Gordon, Duncan L.	CAN
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	CAN
Morris, Joseph	CAN

Gasteyger, Curt	CHE
Gysling, Erich	CHE
Widmer, Siegmund	CHE

Becker, Kurt	DEU
Dohnanyi, Klaus von	DEU
Giersch, Herbert	DEU
Kiep, Walter Leisler	DEU
Sommer, Theo	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	DEU



Sorensen, Svend O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK
Thygesen, J. V.	DNK
Jakobson, Max	FIN
Attali, Jacques	FRA
Catroux, Diomedé	FRA
Montbrial, Thierry de	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA
Stoleru, Lionel	FRA
Uri, Pierre E.	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Hall, Sir Arnold	GBR
Healey, Denis	GBR
Horam, John	GBR
Knight, Andrew	GBR
Richardson, Gordon	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Thatcher, Margaret	GBR
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	INT
McNamara, Robert S.	INT
Simonet, Henri	INT
Fitzgerald, Garret T. D.	IRL
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Carli, Guido	ITA
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	ITA
Ducci, Roberto	ITA
Forte, FRASco	ITA
La Malfa, Giorgio	ITA
Levi, Arrigo	ITA
Goudszwaard, Johan M.	NLD
Halberstadt, Victor	NLD
Zijlstra, Jelle	NLD
Hojdahl, Odd	NOR
Lorck, Karl	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Vaarvik, Dagfinn	NOR
Lundvall, D. Bjorn H.	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Wickman, Krister	SWE

Akbil, Semih	TUR
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Caglayangil, Ihsan Sabri	TUR
Dogramaci, Ihsan	TUR
Ecevit, Bulent	TUR
Feyzioglu, Turan	TUR
Gokmen, Oguz	TUR
Inan, Kamuran	TUR
Isik, Hasan E.	TUR
Kazgan, Gulden	TUR
Tunc, Halil	TUR
Yasa, Memduh	TUR
Yasar, Selcuk	TUR

Ball, George W.	USA
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	USA
Buckley, William F. Jr.	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Cooper, Richard	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Hartman, Arthur	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Hesburgh, Theodore M.	USA
Hubner, Robert W.	USA
Macdonald, William A.	USA
Mathias Jr., Charles McC.	USA
McCracken, Paul W.	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Pritchard, Joel M.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Roosa, Robert V.	USA
Rumsfeld, Donald	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Sulzberger, Cyrus L.	USA

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1974 – Hotel Mont d’Arbois, Megeve, France, 19<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> April

## Agenda

- Prospects for the Atlantic world

## List of Participants<sup>[41]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Androsch, Hannes AUT  
Iglar, Hans AUT

Davignon, Vicomte BEL  
Janssen, Daniel E. BEL  
Snoy et d’Oppuers, Baron BEL

Aird, John B. CAN  
Dupuy, Michel CAN  
Griffin, Anthony G. S. CAN  
Sauve, Jeanne CAN

Liotard-Vogt, Pierre CHE  
Monnier, Claude CHE  
Umbricht, Victor H. CHE

Kaiser, Karl DEU  
Kiep, Walter Leisler DEU  
Schmidt, Helmut DEU  
Schroder, Gerhard DEU  
Sommer, Theo DEU  
Sommer, Theo DEU  
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen DEU  
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto DEU

Andersen, K. B. DNK  
Schleimann, Jorgen DNK  
Terkelsen, Terkel M. DNK

Rossi, Reino	FIN
Alphand, Herve	FRA
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Chalandon, Albin	FRA
Faure, Edgar	FRA
Faure, Lucie	FRA
Fontaine, Andre	FRA
Guindey, Guillaume	FRA
Herzog, Maurice	FRA
Leprince-Ringuet, Louis	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Giles, Frank T. R.	GBR
Greenhill, The Lord	GBR
Healey, Denis	GBR
Jones, Aubrey	GBR
Rippon, Geoffrey	GBR
Rodgers, William	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Thompson, Gerald F.M.P.	GBR
Pesmazoglu, John S.	GRC
Dahrendorf, Ralf	INT
Goodpaster, Andrew J.	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Larre, Rene	INT
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Bettiza, Enzo	ITA
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	ITA
Colonna di Paliano, Prince	ITA
Ducci, Roberto	ITA
La Malfa, Giorgio	ITA
Levi, Arrigo	ITA
Malfatti, Franco Maria	ITA
Ronchey, Alberto	ITA
Brinkhorst, Laurens-Jan	NLD
Justman Jacob, Poul Louis	NLD
NLD, H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Myrvoll, Ole	NOR
Tidemand, Otto Grieg	NOR
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Wickman, Krister	SWE

Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR

Allison, Graham T.	USA
Ball, George W.	USA
Bergsten, C. Fred	USA
Camps, Miriam	USA
Chace, James	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Grunwald, Henry A.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Levy, Walter J.	USA
Lord, Winston	USA
Mathias, Charles McC.	USA
Mondale, Walter	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Rockefeller, Nelson A.	USA
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	USA
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA

**In Attendance**

Getchell, Jr., Charles W.	USA
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	FRA
Vernede, Eduard	NLD
Warmenhoven, J-T.	NLD

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1973 – Saltsjöbaden, Sweden, 11<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- The possibilities of the development of a European energy policy, and the consequences of European-North American relations.
- Conflicting expectations concerning the European Security Conference.

## List of Participants<sup>[42]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Houthuys, Jozef	BEL
Janssen, Daniel E.	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL

Griffin, Anthony G. S.	CAN
Lougheed, Peter	CAN
Macdonald, Donald S.	CAN
Ritchie, Albert E.	CAN

Mettler, Erich	CHE
Umbricht, Victor H.	CHE

Breuel, Birgit	DEU
Schmidt, Helmut	DEU
Sommer, Theo	DEU
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	DEU

Bjol, Erling	DNK
Haagerup, Niels J.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK

Lehto, Sakari	FIN
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Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Boiteux, Marcel	FRA
Granier de Lilliac, Rene	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA

Seydoux de Clausonne, Roger	FRA
Stehlin, Paul	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Drake, Sir Eric	GBR
Greenhill, Sir Denis	GBR
Healey, Denis	GBR
Maudling, Reginald	GBR
Owen, David	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Simon, John M.	GBR
Taverne, Richard	GBR
Hallgrimsson, Geir	ICE
Kersten, Otto	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Lennepe, Jonkheer Emile van	INT
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	INT
Spaak, Fernand	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	ITA
Ducci, Roberto	ITA
Girotti, Raffaele	ITA
Lombardini, Siro	ITA
Merlini, Cesare	ITA
Stille, Ugo	ITA
Philips, Frits J.	NLD
Rozemond, Samuel	NLD
Udink, Berend J.	NLD
Wagner, Gerrit A.	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Lied, Finn	NOR
Stoltenberg, Thorvald	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Bjorgerd, Anders	SWE
Palme, Olof	SWE
Strang, Gunnar	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Wickman, Krister	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Anderson, Robert O.	USA
Ball, George W.	USA
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	USA
Bundy, William P.	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA

Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Lapham Jr., Lewis H.	USA
Levy, Walter J.	USA
Moyers, Bill D.	USA
Newhouse, John	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Smith, Gerard C.	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Wilson, Carroll L.	USA

**In Attendance**

Svensson, Nils	SWE
Lindgren, Hugo	SWE
Vernede, Edwin	NLD
Getchell Jr., Charles W.	USA



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1972 – Knokke, Belgium, 21<sup>st</sup> – 23<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- The state of the Western community in the light of changing relationships among the non-communist industrialized countries and the impact of changing power relationships in the Far East on Western security

## List of Participants<sup>[43]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Camu, Louis	BEL
Davignon, Vicomte	BEL
Janssen, Daniel	BEL
Janssen, Paul E.	BEL
Lambert, Baron	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL
Solvay, Jacques	BEL
Vandeputte, Robert	BEL

Griffin, Anthony G. S.	CAN
MacLaren, Roy	CAN
McLean, William F.	CAN
Raynauld, Andre	CAN
Warren, Jack H.	CAN

Fleiner, Thomas	CHE
Jolles, Paul	CHE
Reverdin, Olivier	CHE
Umbricht, Victor H.	CHE

Arnold, Hans	DEU
Birrenbach, Kurt	DEU
Cortier, Peter	DEU
Donhoff, Marion Grafyn	DEU
Schroder, Gerhard	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	DEU

Norlund, Niels	DNK
----------------	-----

Sorensen, Svend O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK
Nykopp, Johan A.	FIN
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
David-Weill, Michel	FRA
Giroud, Francoise	FRA
Nora, Simon	FRA
Riboud, Jean	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA
Sabouret, Yves	FRA
Tatu, Michel	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Browne, H. John C.	GBR
Buchan, The Hon. Alastair	GBR
Kearton, The Lord	GBR
Lever, Harold	GBR
Rees-Mogg, William	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Summerskill, Shirley	GBR
Hallgrimsson, Geir	ICE
Dahrendorf, Ralf	INT
Deniau, Jean-Francois	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Lennepe, Jonkheer Emile van	INT
Loudon, Jonkheer John H.	INT
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	ITA
Colombo, Umberto	ITA
Colonna di Paliano, Prince Guido	ITA
Ducci, Roberto	ITA
Levi, Arrigo	ITA
Dijkgraaf, Anton F. J.	NLD
Hooft, Maria J. ¶t	NLD
Koster, Henri J. de	NLD
Meynen, Johannes	NLD
NLD, H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the	NLD
NLD, H.R.H. Prince Claus of the	NLD
Patijn, Schelto	NLD
Wagner, Gerrit A.	NLD
Zijlstra, Jelle	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Seip, Helge	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR

Brown, Neil A.	OZ
Westerman, Sir Alan	OZ
Espirito Santo Silva, Manuel R.	PRT
Nogueira, Alberto Franco	PRT
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Bergsten, C. Fred	USA
Blumenthal, W. Michael	USA
Brimmer, Andrew	USA
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	USA
Camps, Miriam	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Culver, John S.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Houghton, Amory Jr.	USA
Hughes, Thomas L.	USA
Manning, Bayless	USA
Mathias, Charles McC. Jr.	USA
Murphy, Robert D.	USA
Payton, Benjamin	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Scalapino, Robert	USA
Schaetzel, Robert	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Taylor, Arthur R.	USA
Zumwalt, Elmo Jr.	USA
<b>In Attendance</b>	
Hulhoven, L.	BEL
Vernede, E.	NLD
Warmenhoven, J. T.	NLD
Getchell, Ch. W. Jr.	USA
Beugel, Th-M. van der	NLD

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1971 – Woodstock, Vermont, USA, 23<sup>st</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- The contribution of business in dealing with current problems of social instability
- The possibility of a change of the American role in the world and its consequences

## List of Participants<sup>[44]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? C. Frits Karsten

Janssen, Daniel	BEL
Lambert, Baron	BEL
Simonet, Henri	BEL
Vanistendael, August A. J.	BEL

Bourassa, Robert	CAN
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	CAN
Leman, Paul H.	CAN
MacDonald, Donald S.	CAN
Rotstein, Abraham	CAN

Casserini, Karl	CHE
Jann, Adolf W.	CHE
Umbricht, Victor H.	CHE

Bahr, Egon	DEU
Carstens, Karl	DEU
Kaiser, Karl	DEU
Merkle, Hans L.	DEU
Schroder, Gerhard	DEU
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	DEU

Schleimann, Jorgen	DNK
Sorensen, Svend O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK

Enckell, Ralph	FIN
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Julin, Jacob von	FIN
Aumonier, Andre	FRA
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Cartier, Raymond	FRA
Martinet, Gilles	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Catherwood, Sir Frederick	GBR
Cockroft, John	GBR
Grierson, Ronald H.	GBR
Healey, Denis W.	GBR
Kleinwort, Sir Cyril	GBR
Maudling, Reginald	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Thomson, George	GBR
Duchene, L-Francois	INT
Gazzo, Emanuele	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Tuthill, John W.	INT
Cittadini Cesi, Marchese Gian G.	ITA
Glisenti, Giuseppe	ITA
Migone, Gian G.	ITA
Ottone, Piero	ITA
Piazzesi, Gianfranco	ITA
Idenburg, Peter J. A.	NLD
Kraijenhoff, Jonkheer Gualtherus	NLD
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	NLD
NLD, H. R. H. Prince Claus of the	NLD
Spoor, Andre S.	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Tidemand, O. Grieg	NOR
Bengtsson, Ingemund	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Beyazit, Selahattin	TUR
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Allison, Graham T.	USA
Anderson, Robert O.	USA
Ball, George W.	USA
Bendetsen, Karl R.	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Corson, John J.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Dunlop, John T.	USA
Duster, Donald L.	USA

Elliott, Osborn	USA
Fraser, Donald M.	USA
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Hughes, Thomas L.	USA
Kissinger, Henry A.	USA
MacDonald, Gordon J.	USA
MacGregor, Ian K.	USA
Moyers, Bill	USA
Pease, Robert	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Reuss, Henry S.	USA
Riegle Jr., Donald W.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Rockefeller IV, John D.	USA
Slater, Joseph E.	USA
Stein, Howard	USA
Stevenson III, Adlai E.	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Vogt Jr., John W.	USA

**In Attendance**

Stone, Roger	USA
Vernede, Edwin	NLD

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1970 – Hotel Quellenhof, Bad Ragaz, Switzerland 17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- Future Function of the University in our Society.
- Priorities in Foreign Policy.

## List of Participants<sup>[45]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? Johannes Meynen

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1969 – Marienlyst, Denmark, 9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- Elements of instability in Western society
- Conflicting attitudes within the Western world towards relations with the USSR and the other Communist states of Eastern Europe in the light of recent events

## List of Participants<sup>[46]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Honorary Treasurer

??? Johannes Meynen

Czernetz, Karl AUT  
Lendvai, Paul AUT

Janssen, Daniel BEL  
Staercke, Andre de BEL  
Woitrin, Michel BEL

Bissell, Claude CAN  
Cadieux, Marcel CAN  
Griffin, Anthony G.S. CAN  
McLuhan, Marshall CAN

Berchtold, Walter CHE  
Luchsinger, Fred CHE  
Reverdin, Olivier CHE  
Umbricht, Victor H. CHE

Altmann, Ruediger DEU  
Dahrendorf, Ralf DEU  
Litten, Jens DEU  
Ritterbach, Manfred E. DEU  
Schmidt, Helmut DEU  
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto DEU

Denmark, Prince Henrik of DNK  
Green, Johannes DNK  
Hartling, Poul DNK  
Kampmann, Jens DNK



Koch, Hans H.	DNK
Krag, Jens O.	DNK
McKinney-Moller, Maersk	DNK
Schleimann, Jorgen	DNK
Sorensen, S. O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK
Nykopp, Johan A.	FIN
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Fontaine, Francois	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA
Ullmann, Marc	FRA
Uri, Pierre F.	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Hamilton, Denis	GBR
Heath, Edward	GBR
Roberts, Sir Frank	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Benediktsson, Bjarni	ICE
Albert, Michel	INT
Duchene, L. Francois	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
McNamara, Robert S.	INT
Morse, David A.	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Cariglia, Antonio	ITA
Cavazza, Fabio Luca	ITA
Ottone, Piero	ITA
Vallarino Gancia, Lorenzo	ITA
Benthem van den Bergh, Godfried van	NLD
Heldring, Jerome L.	NLD
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	NLD
NLD, Prince Claus of the	NLD
Schmelzer, W. K. Norbert	NLD
Wagner, Gerrit A.	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Lange, Halvard M.	NOR
Langslet, Lars R.	NOR
Sandegren, Kaare	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Feldt, K.O.	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR

Ball, George W.	USA
Bell, Daniel	USA
Brooke, Edward W.	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Hamilton, Edward K.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	USA
Keniston, Ken	NLD
Krogh, Peter F.	USA
Moyers, Bill D.	USA
Richardson, Elliot L.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Rusk, Dean	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Ylvisaker, Paul	USA

**In Attendance**

Asbeck, Henrik J. Baron van	NLD
Cittadini Cesi, Marchese Gian G.	ITA
Marott, Ole	DNK
Roy, Bertie le	NLD
Vernede, Edwin	NLD

**Observer**

NLD	H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands
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# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1968 – Mont Tremblant, Canada, 26<sup>th</sup> – 28<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- The relations between the West and the Communist countries
- Internationalization of business

## List of Participants<sup>[47]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Deputy Secretary General for Europe

??? Arnold T. Lamping

Lendvai, Paul AUT

Camu, Louis BEL

Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron BEL

Solvay, Jacques E. BEL

Allard, Jean V. CAN

Beaton, Leonard CAN

Belanger, Michel CAN

Dodge, William CAN

Griffin, Anthony G. S. CAN

Holmes, John W. CAN

Lambert, Allen T. CAN

Martin, Paul CAN

McLean, William F. CAN

Parizeau, Jacques CAN

Pearson, Lester B. CAN

Rasminsky, Louis CAN

Ritchie, Ronald S. CAN

Ryan, Claude CAN

Thornbrough, Albert A. CAN

Trudeau, Pierre E. CAN

Umbricht, Victor D. CHE

Bahr, Egon DEU

Berg, Fritz DEU

Birrenbach, Kurt DEU

Lowenthal, Richard DEU

Mommer, Karl	DEU
Spethmann, Dieter	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	DEU
Sorensen, Svend O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK
Nykopp, Johan A.	FIN
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Fouchier, Jacques de	FRA
Hartung, Henri	FRA
Mendes-FRA, Pierre	FRA
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Chambers, Sir Paul	GBR
Oppenheim, Sir Duncan M.	GBR
Powell, J. Enoch	GBR
Shonfield, Andrew A.	GBR
Taverne, Dick	GBR
Benediktsson, Bjarni	ICE
Booth, Alan R.	INT
Buchan, The Hon. Alastair F.	INT
McNamara, Robert S.	INT
Niarchos, Stavros S.	INT
Visser 't Hooft, Willem A.	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Olivetti, Roberto	ITA
Peccei, Aurelio	ITA
Pirelli, Leopoldo	ITA
Ronchey, Alberto	ITA
Spinelli, Altiero	ITA
Stille, Ugo	ITA
Biesheuvel, Barend W.	NLD
Karsten, Christian F.	NLD
Kuin, Pieter	NLD
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	NLD
NLD, H. R. H. Prince Claus of the	NLD
Sandberg, Herman W.	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Nogueira, Alberto F.	PRT
Lundvall, D. Bjorn H.	SWE
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR

Turkmen, Ilter	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Bridgeman, Sir Maurice R.	USA
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Deming, Frederick L.	USA
Dillon, C. Douglas	USA
Ford II, Henry	USA
Gates Jr., Thomas S.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Jackson, Henry M.	USA
Keener, J. Ward	USA
Mathias, Charles McC.	USA
Moyers, Bill D.	USA
Murphy, Robert D.	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Ryan, John T.	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Vernon, Raymond	USA

**In Attendance**

Roy, Bertie le	NLD
Thillaye, Bernard C.	CAN
Vernede, Edwin	NLD

**Observer**

NLD	H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands
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# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1967 – Cambridge, England, 31<sup>st</sup> March – 2<sup>nd</sup> April

## Agenda

- Do the basic concepts of Atlantic cooperation remain valid for the evolving world situation? If not, what concepts could take their place?
- The technological gap between America and Europe with special reference to American involvement in Europe

## List of Participants<sup>[48]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#)

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Deputy Secretary General for Europe

??? Arnold T. Lamping

### Honorary Treasurer

??? [Johannes Meynen](#)

Withalm, Hermann	AUT
Lefevre, Theo	BEL
Simonet, Henri	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL
Eayrs, James	CAN
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	CAN
Leger, Jules	CAN
Martin, Paul	CAN
Schwarz, Urs	CHE
Becker, Kurt	DEU
Birrenbach, Kurt	DEU
Merkle, Hans	DEU
Schmidt, Helmut	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	DEU
Matthiasen, Niels	DNK
Sorensen, Svend O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK
Nykopp, Johan	FIN
Baumel, Jacques	FRA

Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Casanova, Jean C.	FRA
Hartung, Henri	FRA
Roux, Ambroise	FRA
Tron, Ludovic	FRA
Barran, David H.	GBR
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Edinburgh, H.R.H. The Prince Philip, Duke of	GBR
Hall, Sir Arnold	GBR
Healey, Denis W.	GBR
Heath, Edward R. G.	GBR
Hogg, Quintin	GBR
Kearton, Sir Frank	GBR
Maudling, Reginald	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Shawcross, Lord	GBR
Taverne, Dick	GBR
Wheeler, Sir Charles	GBR
Arliotis, Charles	GRC
Niarchos, Stavros S.	GRC
Pesmazoglou, John S.	GRC
Brosio, Manlio	INT
Colonna di Paliano, Prince Guido	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Ferrari Aggradi, Mario	ITA
Peccei, Aurelio	ITA
Pirelli, Leopoldo	ITA
Vittorelli, Paolo	ITA
Dankert, Piet	NLD
Kymmell, Jaap	NLD
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	NLD
Netherlands, H. R. H. Prince Claus of the	NLD
Udink, Berend J.	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Munthe, Preben	NOR
Tidemand, Otto G.	NOR
Nogueira, Alberto Franco	PRT
Holmberg, Yngve	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA

Beebe, Frederick S.	USA
Cleveland, Harold van B.	USA
Cleveland, Harlan	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Diebold, John	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Hoffmann, Stanley	USA
Hornig, Donald F.	USA
Jackson, Henry M.	USA
Kaysen, Carl	USA
Knoppers, Antonie T.	USA
Kraft, Joseph	USA
Mathias Jr., Charles McC.	USA
McGhee, George C.	USA
McNaughton, John T.	USA
Moyers, Bill D.	USA
Murphy, Robert D.	USA
Newhouse, John	USA
Norstad, Lauris	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Piel, Gerard	USA
Piore, Emanuel R.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Rostow, Eugene V.	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA

**In Attendance**

Chiusano, Vittorino	ITA
Munby, Richard K.	GBR
Roy, Bertie Ie	NLD
Schelle, Carel J. van	NLD
Vernede, Edwin	NLD



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1966 – Wiesbaden, Germany, 25<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> March

## Agenda

- Should NATO be reorganized, and if so how?
- The future of world economic relations especially between industrial and developing countries.

## List of Participants<sup>[49]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Deputy Secretary General for Europe

??? Arnold T. Lamping

### Honorary Treasurer

??? [Johannes Meynen](#)

Portisch, Hugo	AUT
Camu, Louis	BEL
Cool, Auguste P.	BEL
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	BEL
Cadieux, Marcel	CAN
Dunton, A. Davidson	CAN
Faribault, Marcel	CAN
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	CAN
Winters, Robert H.	CAN
Schwarz, Urs	CHE
Abs, Hermann J.	DEU
Berg, Fritz	DEU
Birrenbach, Kurt	DEU
Erhard, Ludwig	DEU
Eler, Fritz	DEU
Merkle, Hans	DEU
Schmid, Carlo	DEU
Schmidt, Helmut	DEU
Stoltenberg, Gerhard	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	DEU
Knudtzon, Harald	DNK

Krag, Jens O.	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	DNK
Nykopp, Johan	FIN
Aron, Raymond	FRA
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Georges-Picot, Jacques	FRA
Lecanuet, Jean	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Buchan, The Hon. Alastair	GBR
Cohen, Sir Andrew	GBR
Kleinwort, Cyril	GBR
O'Neill, Sir Con	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	GBR
Wheeler, Sir Charles	GBR
Thoroddsen, Gunnar	ICE
Brosio, Manlio	INT
Woods, George D.	INT
Wyndham White, Eric	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Bassetti, Piero	ITA
Malfatti, Franco M.	ITA
Pedini, Mario	ITA
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	NLD
Tinbergen, Jan	NLD
Zijlstra, Jelle	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Lange, Halvard	NOR
Espirito Santo Silva, Manuel R.	PRT
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Bell, David E.	USA
Bowie, Robert R.	USA
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Frankel, Max	USA
Gilpatric, Roswell L.	USA
Harris, Fred R.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA

Holifield, Chet	USA
Jones, Thomas V.	USA
Mason, Edward S.	USA
McCloy, John J.	USA
McCormack, James	USA
McGhee, George C.	USA
Morse, F. Bradford	USA
Murphy, Robert D.	USA
Peterson, Rudolph A.	USA
Reuther, Walter P.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Spofford, Charles M.	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA
Tuthill, John W.	USA

**In Attendance:**

Chiusano, Vittorino	ITA
Roy, Bertie le	NLD
Vernede, Edwin	NLD
Waldthausen, Michael von	DEU

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1965 – Villa D’Este, Lake Como, Italy, 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> April

## Agenda

- Monetary Co-operation in the Western World.
- The State of the Atlantic Alliance.

## List of Participants<sup>[50]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

### Deputy Secretary General for Europe

??? Arnold T. Lamping

### Honorary Treasurer

??? [Johannes Meynen](#)

Portisch, Hugo AUT

Ansiaux, Hubert BEL

Snoy et d’Oppuers, Baron BEL

Deutsch, John J. CAN

Griffin, Anthony G. S. CAN

McKinnon, Neil CAN

Sauve, Maurice CAN

Broggini, Gerardo CHE

Reinhardt, Eberhard CHE

Barzel, Rainer DEU

Berg, Fritz DEU

Emminger, Otmar DEU

Erlar, Fritz DEU

Schiller, Karl DEU

Wolff von Amerongen, Otto DEU

Knudtzon, Harald DNK

Norgaard, Ivar DNK

Terkelsen, Terkel M. DNK

Nykopp, Johan FIN

Baumel, Jacques	FRA
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	FRA
Huvelin, Paul	FRA
Lecanuët, Jean	FRA
Bennett, Sir Frederic	GBR
Edinburgh, H.R.H. the Prince Philip, Duke of	GBR
Geddes, Reay	GBR
Healey, Denis	GBR
Maudling, Reginald	GBR
Mountbatten of Burma, Lord	GBR
Taverne, Dick	GBR
Warburg, Siegmund	GBR
Arliotis, Charles C.	GRC
Athanassiades, Bodossaki	GRC
Pipinelis, Panayotis	GRC
Benediktsson, Bjarni	ICE
Brosio, Manlio	INT
Kristensen, Thorkil	INT
Lennepe, Jonkheer Emile van	INT
Marjolin, Robert E.	INT
Schweitzer, Pierre-Paul	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Carli, Guido	ITA
Cefis, Eugenio	ITA
La Malfa, Ugo	ITA
Malagodi, Giovanni F.	ITA
Pedini, Mario	ITA
Petrilli, Giuseppe	ITA
Pirelli, Leopoldo	ITA
Rumor, Mariano	ITA
Vittorelli, Paolo	ITA
Blaisse, Pieter A.	NLD
Koster, Henri J. de	NLD
Loudon, Jonkheer John H.	NLD
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	NLD
Samkalden, Ivo	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Melander, Johan A.	NOR
Palme, S. Olof J.	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Birgi, M. Nuri	TUR
Eczacibasi, Nejat F.	TUR

Ball, George W.	USA
Brademas, John	USA
Brewster, Kingman	USA
Bruce, David K. E.	USA
Collado Emilio G.	USA
Cook, Donald C.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Donovan, Hedley	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	USA
Lindsay, John V.	USA
McCloy, John J.	USA
McGhee, George C.	USA
Perkins, James A.	USA
Petersen, Howard	USA
Reston, James	USA
Reuss, Henry	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Roosa, Robert V.	USA
Samuelson, Paul A.	USA
Schmidt, Adolph W.	USA
Stone, Shepard	USA

**In Attendance**

H.R.H. Princess Beatrix	NLD
Braam Houckgeest, A. Egbert van	NLD
Cesi, Marchese Jean Gaspare Cittadini	ITA
Chiusano, Vittorino	ITA
Roy, Bertie le	NLD
Vernede, Edwin	NLD

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1964 – Williamsburg, Virginia, USA, 20<sup>th</sup> – 22<sup>nd</sup> March

## Agenda

### The consequences for the Atlantic Alliance of:

- apparent changes in the Communist world:
  - Soviet internal developments;
  - the Communist Bloc.
- possible changes in the attitude of the USSR to the West.
- recent developments within the Western world.
  - Political
    - how the Atlantic nations should organize themselves;
    - attitudes towards relations with the Communist countries including China.
  - Military
    - NATO strategy;
    - sharing of responsibility for nuclear deterrent.
  - Economic
    - recent developments in the Common Market notably in relation to agriculture and their impact
    - UN Conference on trade and development, GATT/Kennedy Round;
    - International Finance:
      - balance of payments adjustment and capital markets;
      - liquidity and further evolution of the international monetary structure.
    - East-West trade:
      - trade with the USSR and European satellites;
      - trade with Communist China and Cuba;
      - trading rules and restrictions of credits;
      - coordination of Atlantic Community policy.

## List of Participants<sup>[51]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#) President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### Deputy Secretary General for Europe

??? Arnold T. Lamping Former Ambassador

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD Paul Rykens Former Chairman of the Board of Unilever

Kerchove d'Ousselchem, Nicolas W. de Assistant, Ecole des Sciences politiques et sociales BEL

Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron Managing Director, Compagnie d'Outremer pour l'Industrie et la Finance BEL

Duncan, James S. Company Director CAN

Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Banker	CAN
Heeney, Arnold D. P.	Former Ambassador to the USA; Chairman, International Joint Commission on Water Resources	CAN
Pearson, Lester B.	Prime Minister	CAN
Winters, Robert H.	Industrialist	CAN
Umbricht, Victor H.	Former Head of Swiss Treasury and Diplomat; President, CIBA Corp., New York	CHE
Bennett, Frederic M.	Member of Parliament	DEU
Berg, Fritz	President, Federation of German Industries	DEU
Birrenbach, Kurt	Member of Parliament	DEU
Brauer, Max	Former Burgomaster of Hamburg; Member of Parliament	DEU
Erier, Fritz	Member of Parliament, floor leader Social-Democratic Party	DEU
Krapf, Franz	Chief of the Political Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,	DEU
Kuhlmann-Stumm, Knut Freiherr von	Member of Parliament; floor leader of the Free Democratic Party	DEU
Majonica, Ernst	Member of Parliament	DEU
Schmid, Carlo	Vice President, Federal Parliament	DEU
Speidel, Hans	Special Adviser on Defense Matters	DEU
Westrick, Ludger	Secretary of State, Office Federal Chancellor	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Senior Partner, Otto Wolff Koln	DEU
Haekkerup, Per	Minister of Foreign Affairs	DNK
Kundtzon, Harald	General Manager, Den Danske Landmandsbank,	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel	Chief Editor	DNK
Nykopp, Johan	Former Ambassador; President of Tampella	FIN
Baumel, Jacques	Senator, Secretary General, Union pour la Nouvelle République,	FRA
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	Former Minister of Finance	FRA
Defferre, Gaston	Department of National Assembly; Mayor of Marseille	FRA
Gallois, Pierre	General, specialist in nuclear problems	FRA
La Malene, Christian de	Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	FRA
Lipkowski, Jean de	Diplomat; Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	FRA
Pinay, Antoine	Former Prime Minister	FRA
Buchan, Alastair	Director, Institute for Strategic Studies	GBR
Dundee, Lord	Minster of State for Foreign Affairs	GBR
Gubbins, Sir Colin	Industrialist	GBR
Healey, Denis	Member of Parliament; Labour Party Spokesman on Defense	GBR
Jellicoe, Lord	First Lord of the Admiralty	GBR
Roll, Sir Eric	Economic Minister at the British Embassy to the USA; Head of the GBR Treasury and Supply Delegation	GBR
Stewart, Michael	Member of Parliament	GBR
Beer, Henrik	Secretary General, League of Red Cross Societies	INT
Kleffens, Eelco N. van	Chief Representative in the GBR of the European Coal and Steel Community	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	Vice president, Action Committee for a USA of Europe	INT
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	Chairman, Monetary Committee, EEC; Chairman, Working Party 3 OECD	INT
Mansholt, Sicco	Vice President, EEC	INT
Schweitzer, Pierre-Paul	Managing Director, International Monetary Fund	INT
Smith, H. Page	Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (NATO)	INT



Stikker, Dirk U.	Secretary General of NATO	INT
Wyndham White, Eric	Executive Secretary, GATT	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	Vice-Chairman of the board and Managing Director, Fiat Co.	ITA
La Malfa, Ugo	Member of Parliament	ITA
Lolli, Ettore	Deputy General Manager, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro	ITA
Malfatti, Franco M.	Under Secretary Ministry of Industry and Commerce	ITA
Peccei, Aurelio	Managing Director, Italconsult	ITA
Scaglia, Giovanni B.	Member of Parliament; Vice Chairman, Christian Democratic Party	ITA
Vittorelli, Paolo	Senator	ITA
Koster, Henri J. de	President, Federation of NLD Industries	NLD
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	Minister of Foreign Affairs	NLD
Meynen, Johannes	Managing Director, AKU	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	Shipowner	NOR
Lange, Halvard	Minister of Foreign Affairs	NOR
Wallenberg, Marcus	Chairman, Federation of Swedish Industries	SWE
Birgi, M. Nuri	Ambassador to NATO	TUR
Acheson, Dean	Former Secretary of State	USA
Ball, George W.	Under Secretary of State	USA
Bundy, McGeorge	Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	USA
Cabot, Louis W.	President, Cabot Corp.	USA
Cisler, Walker L.	Industrialist	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	Vice President, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey)	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	International Lawyer and Diplomat	USA
Ford, Gerald R.	Congressman	USA
Frelinghuysen, Peter H.B.	Congressman	USA
Fulbright, J. William	Senator	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	President, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	USA
Heinz II, Henry J.	Chairman of the board, Heinz Co.	USA
Herter, Christian A.	Former Secretary of State; Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	USA
Holifield, Chet	Congressman	USA
Jackson, Charles D.	Senior Vice President, Time, Inc.	USA
Jackson, Henry M.	Senator	USA
Javits, Jacob K.	Senator	USA
Kissinger, Henry A.	Associate Professor, Harvard University Center for International Affairs	USA
Lindsay, Franklin A.	President of Itek	USA
Litchfield Jr., Lawrence	Chairman of the board, Aluminum Co. of America [Alcoa]	USA
McCloy, John J.	Lawyer and Diplomat	USA
McGhee, George C.	Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany	USA
Murphy, Robert D.	President, Corning Glass International	USA
Nebolsine, George	International Lawyer	USA
Rockefeller, David	President, Chase Manhattan Bank	USA
Shulman, Marshall	Research Associate, Russian Research Center, Harvard University; Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	USA
Stone, Shepard	Director, International Affairs Program, Ford Foundation	USA
Wriston, Walter B.	Executive Vice President, First National City Bank	USA

**In Attendance:**

H.R.H. Princess Beatrix	NLD
Braam Houckgeest, Andreas E. van	NLD
Chiusano, Vittorino	ITA
Humelsine, Carlisle	USA
Mozer, Alfred E.	BEL
Roy, Bertie le	NLD

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1963 – Cannes, France, 29<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> May

## Agenda

- The balance of power in the light of recent international developments. (This item will cover changes in power relations – political, economic and military – between the Communist and Western countries and inside each group).
- Trade relations between the USA and Europe in the light of the negotiations for Britain's entry into the Common Market.
- Trade relations between the Western world and the developing countries (tariffs, quotas, commodity arrangements, etc.).

## List of Participants<sup>[52]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#) President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### Deputy Secretary General for Europe

??? Arnold T. Lamping Former Ambassador

### Honorary Treasurer

NLD Paul Rykens Former Chairman of the Board of Unilever

Czernetz, Karl	Member of Parliament; Chairman Foreign Affairs Com. of the Austrian Parliament	AUT
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron Spaak, Paul-Henry	Managing Director, Compagnie d'Outremer pour l'Industrie et la Finance Minister of Foreign Affairs	BEL BEL
Basset, John	Chairman and Publisher, The Telegramme	CAN
Duncan, James S.	Company Director	CAN
Griffin, A. G. S.	Banker	CAN
Michener, Roland	Barrister and Business Executive	CAN
Jolles, Paul	Delegate of the Federal Council for Trade Agreements	CHE
Petitpierre, Max	Former President of Swiss Confederation	CHE
Berg, Fritz	President, Federation of German Industries	DEU
Birrenbach, Kurt	Member of Parliament	DEU
Brauer, Max	Former Burgomaster of Hamburg; Member of Parliament	DEU
Cavendish-Bentinck, Victor	Adviser on Foreign Affairs to Unilever	DEU
Erlar, Fritz	Member of Parliament	DEU
Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Hans-Heinrich	Secretary of State to Federal President	DEU

Schmid, Carlo	Vice-President, Federal Parliament	DEU
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Senior Partner, Otto Wolff Koln	DEU
Kraft, Ole B.	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Member of Parliament	DNK
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Editor	DNK
Nykopp, Johan	Former Ambassador; General Manager of Tampella	FIN
Aron, Raymond C. F.	Journalist and University Professor	FRA
Baumel, Jacques	Senator; Secretary General, Union pour la Nouvelle Republique	FRA
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	Former Minister of Finance	FRA
Chalandon, Albin P.H.	Director, Banque Commerciale de Paris	FRA
Faure, Maurice	Member of Parliament	FRA
Fontaine, Andre	Chief Foreign Service Le Monde	FRA
Gallois, Pierre M.	General	FRA
Massigli, Rene	Ambassadeur de FRA	FRA
Mollet, Guy	Former Prime Minister	FRA
Piette, Jacques	Civil Servant	FRA
Pinay, Antoine	Former Prime Minister	FRA
Pleven, Rene	Member of Parliament; Former Prime Minister	FRA
Segard, Jacques	Industrialist	FRA
Sergent, Rene E.	Vice-President, Syndicat General de la Construction Electrique	FRA
Bennett, Frederic M.	Member of Parliament	GBR
Callaghan, James	Member of Parliament	GBR
Chambers, S. Paul	Chairman, I.C.I. Ltd.	GBR
Gubbins, Sir Colin	Industrialist	GBR
Healey, Denis	Member of Parliament; Labour Party Spokesman on Defense	GBR
Heath, Edward R.G.	Lord Privy Seal	GBR
Turner, Sir Mark	Managing Director, Kleinwort Benson Ltd.	GBR
Woodhouse, Christopher M.	Parliamentary Secretary to the Home Office	GBR
Stratos, Christofore	Director, Cotton Industrie Piraiki-Patraiki	GRC
Beer, Henrik	Secretary General, League of Red Cross Societies	INT
Guindey, Guillaume	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements	INT
Kohnstamm, Max	Vice-President, Action Committee for a USA of Europe	INT
Lemnitzer, Lyman L.	Supreme Commander Allied Forces in Europe	INT
Lennep, Jonkheer Emile Van	Chairman, Monetary Committee E.E.C.	INT
Mansholt, Sicco L.	Vice-President, E.E.C.	INT
Uri, Pierre	Consultant for the conduct of Studies, The Atlantic Institute	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	Vice-President, FIAT	ITA
De Micheli, Alighiero	Industrialist, Former Chairman Federation of Italian Industries	ITA
Peccei, Aurelio	Managing Director of Italconsult	ITA
Pedini, Mario	Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	ITA
Pirelli, Alberto	Industrialist	ITA
Quaroni, Pietro	Ambassador to the U.K.	ITA
Blaisse, Pieter A.	Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	NLD
Meynen, Johannes	President, A.K.U.	NLD
Samkalden, Ivo	Professor of International Law	NLD

Engen, Hans	Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	NOR
Hoegh, Leif	Shipowner	NOR
Mathias, Marcello G.N.D.	Ambassador to FRA; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs	PRT
Dahlman, Sven	Former Ambassador	SWE
Kling, Herman	Minister of Justice	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	Chairman, Federation of Swedish Industries	SWE
Birgi, M. Nuri	Ambassador to NATO	TUR
Eczacibasi, Nejat F.	President of Eczacibasi Ilaclari Ltd. Sti.	TUR
Anderson, Robert O.	President, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies	USA
Ball, George W.	Under Secretary of State	USA
Cisler, Walker L.	Industrialist	USA
Cleveland, Harold Van B.	Director, Atlantic Policy Studies	USA
Collado, Emilio G.	Vice President, Standard Oil Co. (N.J.)	USA
Copeland, Lamot du Pont	President of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Inc.	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	International Lawyer and Diplomat	USA
Gallagher, Cornelius E.	Congressman	USA
Gossett, William T.	Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	Vice Chairman, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	USA
Heinz, Henry J. II	Chairman of the Board, Heinz Co.	USA
Hewitt, William A.	President, Deere & Company	USA
Hickenlooper, Bourke B.	Senator	USA
Jackson, Charles D.	Publisher, Life Magazine	USA
Mason, Edward S.	Professor	USA
McGhee, George C.	Government Official	USA
Murphy, Robert D.	President, Corning Glass International	USA
Nebolsine, George	International Lawyer	USA
Nitze, Paul H.	Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Defense	USA
Perkins, James A.	Vice-President of Carnegie Corporation; President-elect of Cornell University	USA
Rockefeller, David	President, Chase Manhattan Bank	USA
Spofford, Charles M.	Lawyer; Former U.S. Representative on North Atlantic Council	USA

**In Attendance:**

H.R.H. Princess Beatrix	NLD
A.E. Braam Houckgeest	NLD
V. Chiusano	ITA
A. Mozer	INT
B. le Roy	NLD
E.L. Tanugi de Jongh	FRA

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1962 – Soltsjöbaden, Stockholm, Sweden, 18<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> May

## Agenda

- The political implications for the Atlantic Community of its member policies in the United Nations.
  - Concerning relations with the developing countries.
  - Concerning possible changes in the role and authority of the United Nations
- Implications for the Atlantic Community of prospective developments
  - In the European Common Market
  - In the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

## List of Participants<sup>[53]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD [Ernst H. van der Beugel](#)

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#) President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### Deputy Secretary General for Europe

??? Arnold T. Lamping Former Ambassador

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

**1961 – St. Castin, Canada, 21th - 23rd**

## **Agenda**

- What initiatives are required to bring about a new sense of leadership and direction within the Western community?
- The implications for Western unity of changes in the relative economic strength of the United States Western Europe

## **List of Participants<sup>[54]</sup>**

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

**1960 – Burgenstock, Lucerne, Switzerland 28<sup>th</sup> - 29th May**

## **Agenda**

- State of the world situation after the failure of the summit conference.
- New Political and Economic developments in the western world.
  - discussions about the economic organization of Europe and the speeding-up of the Common Market
  - the attitude of the United States, and the problems of non-European states, especially the developing countries.

## **List of Participants<sup>[55]</sup>**



# **BILDERBERG MEETINGS**

**1959 – Yesilkoy, Turkey, 18<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> September**

## **Agenda**

- Review of developments since the last Conference
- Unity and division in Western policy

**List of Participants<sup>[56]</sup>**

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1958 – Palace Hotel, Buxton, England 29<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> May

## Agenda

- The future of N.A.T.O. Defense.
- Western economic co-operation, with special reference to the political consequences of the existence of separate currency areas within the Western world and to the Soviet economic challenge in the underdeveloped countries.
- The Western approach to Soviet Russia and Communism.

## List of Participants<sup>[57]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#) President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### Honorary Treasurer

??? [J. H. Retinger](#) Former Chairman of the Board of Unilever

Rueff, Jacques

Camu, Louis BEL  
Motz, Roger BEL  
van Zeeland, Paul BEL

Gordon, Walter L. CAN

Abs, Herman J. DEU  
Beitz, Berthold DEU  
Berg, Fritz DEU  
Boden, James C. DEU  
Brauer, Max DEU  
Dethleffsen, Erich DEU  
Erlar, Fritz DEU  
Mueller, Rudolf DEU  
Schmid, Carlo DEU  
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto DEU

Kraft, Ole B. DNK  
Kristensen, Thorkil DNK  
Terkelsen, Terkel M. DNK

Baumgartner, Wilfrid S. FRA

Beddington-Behrens, Sir Edward GBR  
Cavendish-Bentick, Victor GBR  
Cochrane, Sir Ralph GBR  
Gaitskell, H.T.N. GBR  
Grimond, Joseph GBR

Gubbins, Sir Colin	GBR
Healey, Denis	GBR
Kilmuir, Viscount	GBR
Knollys, Viscount	GBR
Ormsby-Gore, David	GBR
Roberts, Sir Alfred	GBR
Steele, J.L.S.	GBR
Tiarks, Henry	GBR
Pipinelis, P.N.	GRC
Hallstein, Walther	INT
Schuyler, C.V.R.	INT
Agnelli, Giovanni	ITA
Carli, Guido	ITA
Malagodi, Giovanni F.	ITA
Pirelli, Alberto	ITA
Quaroni, Pietro	ITA
Blaisse, P.A.	NLD
Kleffens, E.N. van	NLD
Otten, P.F.S.	NLD
Rykans, Paul	NLD
Vermeer, Every A.	NLD
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Boheman, Erik	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Birgi, Muharrem Nuri	TUR
Acheson, Dean	USA
Ball, George W.	USA
Barbour, Walworth	USA
Burgess, W. Randolph	USA
Case, Clifford P.	USA
Ferguson, John	USA
Harsch, Joseph C.	USA
Hauge, Gabriel	USA
Heilperin, Michael A.	USA
Heinz II, H.J.	USA
Jackson, Charles D.	USA
McCloy, John J.	USA
McGhee, George C.	USA
Mosely, Philip E.	USA
Neal, Alfred C.	USA
Nebolsine, George	USA
Nitze, Paul H.	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Ross, Michael	USA
Zellerbach, J.D.	USA

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1957 – St. Simons Island, Georgia, 15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> February

## Agenda

- Nationalism and neutralism as disruptive factors inside Western Alliances.
- The Middle East.
- The European policy of the Alliance, with special reference to the problems of Eastern Europe, German reunification, and military strategy.

## List of Participants<sup>[58]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#)

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Honorary Secretary General for USA

USA [Joseph E. Johnson](#)

President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### Honorary Secretary

??? [J. H. Retinger](#)

Former Chairman of the Board of Unilever

van Zeeland, Paul BEL

Heeney, Arnold D. P. CAN

Martin, Paul CAN

Berg, Fritz DEU

Erlor, Fritz DEU

Kiesinger, Kurt-Georg DEU

Menne, Alexander W. DEU

Mueller, Rudolf DEU

Wolff von Amerongen, Otto DEU

Christiansen, Hakon DNK

Terkelsen, Terkel M. DNK

Commin, Pierre FRA

Garde, Jean de la FRA

Pinay, Antoine FRA

Astor, The Honorable F. D. L. GBR

Cooke, B. D. GBR

Elliot, Sir William GBR

Gubbins, Sir Colin GBR

Healey, Denis W. GBR

Kilmuir, Viscount GBR

Steel, J. L. S. GBR

Wren, W. T. GBR

Longo, Imbriani	ITA
Lieftinck, Pieter	NLD
van Roijen, J. H.	NLD
Rykens, Paul	NLD
Hauge, Jens Christian	NOR
Hoegh, Leif	NOR
Jacobsson, Per	SWE
Wallenberg, Marcus	SWE
Birgi, Muharrem Nuri	TUR
Ball, George W.	USA
Black, Eugene R.	USA
Bowie, Robert R.	USA
Bundy, McGeorge	USA
Cisler, Walker	USA
Dean, Arthur H.	USA
Dewey, Thomas E.	USA
Ferguson, John	USA
Fulbright, J. William	USA
Gordon, Lincoln	USA
Hafstad, Lawrence R.	USA
Hays, Brooks	USA
Heilperin, Michael A.	USA
Heinz, Henry J., II	USA
Hoffman, Paul G.	USA
Jackson, C. D.	USA
Jackson, William H.	USA
Kennan, George F.	USA
Kissinger, Henry A.	USA
McDonald, David J.	USA
McGhee, George C.	USA
McGill, Ralph E.	USA
Murphy, Robert D.	USA
Nash, Frank C.	USA
Nebolsine, George	USA
Nitze, Paul H.	USA
Patterson, Morehead	USA
Price, Don K.	USA
Roberts, Henry Lithgow	USA
Rockefeller, David	USA
Rusk, Dean	USA
Sulzberger, Arthur Hays	USA
Vorys, John M.	USA
Wilde, Frazar B.	USA
Wiley, Alexander	USA
<b>In Attendance</b>	
de Graaff, F. A.	NLD
Pomian, John	GBR

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## 1956 – Fredensborg, Denmark, 11-13 May

### Agenda

- The attitude towards Communism and the Soviet Union.
- The attitude towards dependent areas and peoples overseas.
- The attitude towards economic policies and problems.
- The attitude towards European integration and the European Defence Community.
- Communist infiltration in various Western countries.
- The Uncommitted Peoples:
  - Political and ideological aspects;
  - Economic aspects.
  - Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty.
  - The political and strategic aspects of atomic energy.
  - The reunification of Germany.
  - European unity.
  - The industrial aspects of atomic energy.
- Economic problems:
  - East-West trade.
  - The political aspects of convertibility.
  - Expansion of international trade.

### List of Participants<sup>[59]</sup>

#### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#)

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

**1955 – Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, 23rd - 25th September**

## **Agenda**

- Review of events since the Barbizon Conference.
- Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.III. The political and strategic aspects of atomic energy.
- The reunification of Germany.
- European unity.
- The industrial aspects of atomic energy.
- Economic problems:
  - East-West trade
  - The political aspects of convertibility
  - Expansion of international trade.

## **List of Participants<sup>[60]</sup>**

### **Chairman**

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#)

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

**1955 – Barbizon , France, 18<sup>th</sup> - 20th March**

**Agenda: Unknown**

**List of Participants<sup>[61]</sup>**

**Chairman**

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#)

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

1954 – Bilderberg Hotel, Oosterbeek, The Netherlands, 29<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> May

## Agenda

- The attitude towards communism and the Soviet Union.
- The attitude towards dependent areas and people overseas.
- The attitude towards economic policies and problems.
- The attitude towards European integration and the European Defense Community.

## List of Participants<sup>[62]</sup>

### Chairman

NLD [Prince Bernhard](#) H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

### Vice-Presidents

BEL [Paul van Zeeland](#) Former Prime Minister of Belgium, president of Committee on Refugees

??? John S. Coleman

### Secretary General

POL [J. H. Retinger](#) Founder of the European Movement

Pierre Bonvoisin	BEL	Banker, President of the "Banque de la Societe Generale de Belgique".
Jean Drapier	BEL	Lawyer.
Roger Motz	BEL	Senator. Chairman of the Liberal International. Former Chairman of the Liberal Party.
Jean Willems	BEL	"Fondation Universitaire"
Denis de Rougemont	CHE	Author. Director European Cultural Center
Max Brauer	DEU	Former Mayor and President of the Land of Hamburg
Gerhard P. Th. Geyer	DEU	Industrialist. Director General "Esso".
<b>P. M. A. Leverkuehn</b>	<b>DEU</b>	<b>Member of Parliament. Lawyer</b>
Rudolf Mueller	DEU	Lawyer.
Ludwig Rosenberg	DEU	Chief of Department of Foreign Affairs of the Trade Unions.
<b>H. Troeger</b>	<b>DEU</b>	<b>Minister of Finance of Hesse.</b>
<b>Ole Bjorn Kraft</b>	<b>DNK</b>	<b>Member of Parliament. Former Foreign Minister.</b>
Terkel M. Terkelsen	DNK	Chief Editor, Berlingske Tidende.
Robert Andre	FRA	President of the "Syndicat de Petrole".
<b>G. De Beaumont</b>	<b>FRA</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
<b>R. Duchet</b>	<b>FRA</b>	<b>Member of Parliament, former Minister. Secretary General, Independents and Peasants Party.</b>
<b>M. Faure</b>	<b>FRA</b>	<b>Member of Parliament.</b>
<b>Antoine Pinay</b>	<b>FRA</b>	<b>Member of Parliament. Former Prime Minister.</b>
H. P. Teitgen	FRA	Vice-President of the Council of Ministers.
Andre Voisin	FRA	President, "La Federation".
The Rt. Hon. Ralph Assheton	GBR	Member of Parliament, former Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Supply, Former Financial Secretary to the Treasury.
Sir Robert Boothy	GBR	Member of Parliament.

The Rt. Hon. Clement Davies	GBR	U.K. Member of Parliament. Former Minister. Chairman of Parliamentary Liberal Party
John Foster	GBR	Member of Parliament. Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.
The Rt. Hon. Sir Oliver Franks	GBR	Former Ambassador in Washington. Chairman Lloyd's Bank.
Sir Colin Gubbins	GBR	Major General retd. Formerly in charge of SOE.
Denis Healey	GBR	Member of Parliament, Former Secretary of the International Cttee. of the Labour Party.
Hyde H. Montgomery	GBR	Member of Parliament.
Sir Harry Pilkington	GBR	President, Federation of British Industries.
Thomas Williamson	GBR	General Secretary, National Union of General and Municipal Workers.
P. Kanellopoulos	GRC	Member of Parliament. Minister of National Defense.
P. Pipinelis	GRC	Former Foreign Minister. Former Ambassador to U.S.S.R.
Raffaele Cafiero	ITA	Senator
Giovanni F. Malagodi	ITA	Member of Parliament.
Alberto Pirelli	ITA	Industrialist. Minister of State.
P. Quaroni	ITA	Ambassador to FRA. Former Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
Paolo Rossi	ITA	Member of Parliament.
Vittorio Valletta	ITA	Industrialist. President of FIAT.
V. J. Koningsberger	NLD	Professor State University Utrecht.
H. Oosterhuis	NLD	Member of Parliament. President of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions.
M. P. L. Steenberghe	NLD	Former Minister of Economic Affairs of the Netherlands. Director of Companies.
H. F. van Walsem	NLD	Industrialist. Member of the Board of Philips Industries Eindhoven.
In an advisory capacity: B. H. M. Vlekke	NLD	Secretary General of the Netherlands' Society of International Affairs.
Leif Hoegh	NOR	Shipowner.
Finn Moe	NOR	Member of Parliament. Chairman, Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Cttee. Vice-President, Council of Europe
Herbert L. G. Tingsten	SWE	Chief Editor, Dagens Nyheter.
Walker L. Cisler	USA	Public Utility Executive. President, The Detroit Edison Co. Consultant to Atomic Energy Commission and Mutual Security Agency
Gardner Cowles	USA	Publisher.
John H. Ferguson	USA	Lawyer. Vice-President and Executive Director, Cttee. for a National Trade Policy. Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, Dept. of State, 1951-1953
H. J. Heinz	USA	President, H.J. Heinz Co.
C. D. Jackson	USA	Publisher. Formerly Special Assistant to President Eisenhower 1953-1954
Nelson Dean Jay	USA	Banker. Director, J. P. Morgan & Co. Inc. New York.
George C. McGhee	USA	Industrialist. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern & South African Affairs, 1949-1952. U.S. Ambassador and Chief, American Mission for Aid to Turkey, 1951-1953.
George Nebolsine	USA	Lawyer. Consultant to Department of State and Economic Cooperation Administration, 1948. Trustee U.S. Council of International Chamber of Commerce.
Cola G. Parker	USA	Industrialist. Member of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy (Rendall Commission).
George W. Perkins	USA	Industrialist. Assistant Sec. of State for European Affairs, 1949-1953.
Paul Rijkens	USA	Industrialist. Chairman of Unilever N.V.
Ernst Georg Schneider	USA	Industrialist. President, Chamber of Commerce of Dusseldorf

Joseph P., Jr. Spang                      USA      Industrialist. President, The Gillette Co.

**Rapporteurs:**

Etienne de la Vallee Poussin	BEL	Senator
Guy Mollet	FRA	Member of Parliament. Former Deputy Prime Minister. Secretary General of the Socialist Party
The Rt. Hon. H. T. N. Gaitskell	GBR	Member of Parliament, Former Chancellor of the Exchequer
Alcide de Gasperi	ITA	Member of Parliament, former Prime Minister
H. M. Hirschfeld	NLD	Former High Commission of the Netherlands' Government in Indonesia. Director of Companies.
<a href="#">George W. Ball</a>	USA	Lawyer
<a href="#">George Barry Bingham</a>	USA	Newspaper publisher, Chief of Mission to France, Economic Cooperation Administration, 1949-1950
<a href="#">Paul H. Nitze</a>	USA	President, Foreign Service Educational Foundation. Director, Policy Planning Staff, Dept. of State, 1950-1953.
<a href="#">David Rockefeller</a>	USA	Banker. Senior Vice-President, The Chase National Bank.
<a href="#">J.D. Zellerbach</a>	USA	Industrialist. Member of U.S. Delegation, General Assembly of United Nations, 1953. Chief, ECA Special Mission to Italy, 1948-1950.

**Secretariat:**

Director:            W. Veenstra  
Secretaries:        E. G. Focke  
                          G. E. Overweg  
                          J. Pomian

## **The Logan Act**

### **§ 953. Private correspondence with foreign governments.**

Any citizen of the USA, wherever he may be, who, without authority of the USA, directly or indirectly commences or carries on any correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government or any officer or agent thereof, with intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign government or of any officer or agent thereof, in relation to any disputes or controversies with the USA, or to defeat the measures of the USA, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.

This section shall not abridge the right of a citizen to apply himself, or his agent, to any foreign government, or the agents thereof, for redress of any injury which he may have sustained from such government or any of its agents or subjects.

## **House of Commons - Code of Conduct**

### **IV. General Principles of Conduct**

In carrying out their parliamentary and public duties, Members will be expected to observe the following general principles of conduct identified by the Committee on Standards in Public Life in its First Report as applying to holders of public office. These principles will be taken into account when considering the investigation and determination of any allegations of breaches of the rules of conduct in Part V of the Code.

#### ***Selflessness***

Holders of public office should take decisions solely in terms of the public interest. They should not do so in order to gain financial or other material benefits for themselves, their family, or their friends.

#### ***Integrity***

Holders of public office should not place themselves under any financial or other obligation to outside individuals or organisations that might influence them in the performance of their official duties.

#### ***Objectivity***

In carrying out public business, including making public appointments, awarding contracts, or recommending individuals for rewards and benefits, holders of public office should make choices on merit.

#### ***Accountability***

Holders of public office are accountable for their decisions and actions to the public and must submit themselves to whatever scrutiny is appropriate to their office.

#### ***Openness***

Holders of public office should be as open as possible about all the decisions and actions that they take. They should give reasons for their decisions and restrict information only when the wider public interest clearly demands.

#### ***Honesty***

Holders of public office have a duty to declare any private interests relating to their public duties and to take steps to resolve any conflicts arising in a way that protects the public interest.

#### ***Leadership***

Holders of public office should promote and support these principles by leadership and example.

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#### Front cover quotes

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**Front cover image:** Hotel de Bilderberg, Oosterbeek - conference room table

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**This document is dedicated to the journalistic work of Daniel Estulin, Tony Gosling, James P. Tucker Jr., Charlie Skelton, Ian Richardson, Andrew & Nada Kakabadse, Luke Rudkowski and the team at We Are Change, Alex Jones and his excitable Prison Planet team, the numerous Bilderberg hunters all over the world and the few Bilderberg insiders willing to place Bilderberg documents into the public domain.**



**A N O N Y M O U S**