

# THE GLOBAL MANIPULATORS

The Bilderberg Group... the Trilateral  
Commission... covert power groups of  
the West

by ROBERT ERINGER

"The world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes. " — Benjamin Disraeli.

"It is indeed intriguing when a prestigious collection of internationally powerful men lock themselves away for a weekend of hush-hush talks on world affairs."

This book is the first comprehensive account of the structures and influence of two little-publicized organizations, the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission.

A report of special interest to students of world affairs.



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# PART I

## The Bilderberg Group

"They did not speak of 'assassinations', for they were delicate gentlemen, and decorous. But the implications were there... They did not speak of controlling governments. They spoke of 'information' and 'guidance' to rulers."

TAYLOR CALDWELL  
Captains and the Kings

## CHAPTER ONE

# In Search of Answers

It is indeed intriguing when a prestigious collection of internationally powerful men lock themselves away for a weekend in some remote town far away from the Press to talk about world problems.

Since the late 1950s, the Bilderberg Group has been the subject of a variety of conspiracy theories. For the most part, conspiracy theories emanate from political extremist organisations, Right and Left. The "Radical-Right" view Bilderberg as an integral part of the "international Zionist-communist conspiracy". At the other end of the political spectrum, the radical Left perceive Bilderberg to be a branch of the "Rockefeller-Rothschild grand design to rule the world". For many it is less frightening to believe in hostile conspirators than it is to face the fact that no one is in control. And after all, isn't conspiracy the normal continuation of normal politics by normal means?

Conspiracy or not, the Bilderberg Group is a fascinating example of behind-the-scenes "invisible" influence-peddling in action.

Bilderbergers represent the elite and wealthy establishment of every Western nation. They include bankers, industrialists, politicians, and leaders of giant multinational corporations. Their annual meetings, which take place at a

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different location each year, go unannounced, their debates unreported, their decisions unknown.

The group certainly fits C. Wright Mills's definition of a Power Elite: "A group of men, similar in interest and outlook, shaping events from invulnerable positions behind the scenes."

I began my investigation of Bilderberg while in Washington, D.C. in the autumn of 1975. I had read bits and pieces on Bilderberg in right-wing literature and so I went directly to its source, the Liberty Lobby, an ultra-conservative political pressure group located a stone's throw from Capitol Hill. There I interviewed one E. Stanley Rittenhouse, Liberty Lobby's legislative aide. Rittenhouse solemnly explained the existence of a Jewish-communist conspiracy to rule the world by way of a "New World Order", whose eventual goal is one world government. To prove this point Rittenhouse incessantly recited passages from his handy pocket Bible and explained the evolution of this great conspiracy.

It all goes back to the Illuminati, a secret society/fraternity formed in Bavaria in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, based on the philosophical ideals of Plato. John Ruskin, "a secret disciple of the Illuminati" and a professor of art and philosophy at Oxford University in the 1870s, revived these ideals in his teachings.

The late Dr. Carroll Quigley, a distinguished professor at Georgetown University for many years, wrote in *Tragedy and Hope* that "Ruskin spoke to the Oxford undergraduates as members of the privileged ruling class ... that they were possessors of a magnificent tradition of education, beauty, rule of law, freedom, decency, and self-discipline but that this tradition could not be saved, and indeed did not deserve to be saved, unless it could be extended to the lower classes in England and to the non-English masses throughout the world".

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Cecil Rhodes, a student and devoted fan of Ruskin, "Feverishly exploited the diamond and gold fields of South Africa. With financial support from Lord Rothschild he was able to monopolise the diamond mines of South Africa as DeBeers Consolidated Mines.

"In the middle of the 1890s Rhodes had a personal income of at least a million pounds a year which he spent so freely for his mysterious purposes that he was usually overdrawn on his account. These purposes centered on his desire to federate the English-speaking peoples and to bring all habitable portions of the world under their control."

To this end, Rhodes, along with other disciples of Ruskin, formed a secret society in association with a group of Cambridge men who shared the same ideals. This society, which was later to become the original Round Table Group (better known in the 1920s as the "Cliveden Set") was formed on February 5, 1881.

According to Dr. Quigley, "This group was able to get access to Rhodes's money after his death in 1902." Under the trusteeship of Alfred (later Lord) Milner, "They sought to extend and execute the ideals that Rhodes had obtained from Ruskin.

"As governor-general of South Africa in the period 1897—1905, Milner recruited a group of young men, chiefly from Oxford and from Toynbee Hall, to assist him in organising his administration. Through his influence these men were able to win influential posts in government and international finance and became the dominant influence in British imperial and foreign affairs up to 1939. Under Milner in South Africa, they were known as Milner's Kindergarten until 1910. In 1909-1913 they organised semi-secret groups, known as Round Table Groups, in the chief British dependencies and in the United States."

It was at the Majestic Hotel in Paris in 1919 that the Round

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Table Groups of the United States and Britain emerged out from under a cloak of secrecy and officially became the (American) Council on Foreign Relations and the (British) Royal Institute for International Affairs.

To Mr. Rittenhouse and his breed of religious isolationists at Liberty Lobby, Bilderberg evolved directly from the "satanic-communist" Illuminati, and the Council on Foreign Relations - Royal Institute of International Affairs relationship.

I phoned Dr. Quigley at his office in Georgetown University's elite School of Foreign Service. A man of impeccable credentials, Quigley used *Tragedy and Hope* as a text for his courses on Western Civilisation.

Published in 1966, *Tragedy and Hope* has become a rare book to locate. Quigley apparently had trouble with his publisher over the book's distribution. The publisher claimed demand was poor. When Quigley sought and acquired the necessary demand, the publisher responded by saying that the plates had been destroyed.

In his book, 1310 pages in all, Quigley detailed how the intricate financial and commercial patterns of the West prior to 1914 influenced the development of today's world. It has been suggested that these revelations, especially in coming from a respected historian, did not amuse the higher echelons of big banking; hence a form of censorship resulted.

It is for this reason that *Tragedy and Hope*, much to Quigley's annoyance, has become the Bible of conspiracy theorists and may be found for sale only through mail order book clubs which specialise in conspiracy literature.

Quigley, in his best Boston accent, dismissed the Radical-Right interpretation as "garbage". But he was quick to add, "To be perfectly blunt, you could find yourself in trouble dealing with this subject." He explained that his career as a lecturer in the government institution circuit was all but



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ruined because of the twenty or so pages he had written about the existence of Round Table Groups. I recently studied the late Dr. Quigley's private files on the Round Table Groups at the Georgetown University library. There I discovered great substance to his findings in the form of personal correspondence and notes of interviews and conversations.

Exhausted with right-wing cries of communist conspiracy, I wrote to the embassies in Washington of each one of the countries whose citizens are involved with Bilderberg. I received only three replies. A letter from the Royal Swedish Embassy states: "Prominent Swedish businessmen in their private capacities are and have been members of the group. Swedish politicians have also - mostly as invited guests as I understand it - participated in meetings with the group. I may add that I am not aware of any official Swedish view on the Bilderberg Group." The Canadian Embassy wrote: "To our knowledge, the Canadian Government has no position with regard to this group."

I telephoned all of the embassies. Out of twenty, the only one which had any information on Bilderberg was that of the Netherlands. The official I spoke with knew very little about the group but he speculated that its purpose was to make this "a more liveable world". A diplomat at the Embassy of West Germany exclaimed, "Bilder ... What?", and he refused to believe the existence of such a group. This was a familiar response, even from many university professors of politics whom I questioned.

Mark Felt, the former Assistant Director of the FBI, had never heard of Bilderberg. Neither had Michael Moffitt of the Institute for Policy Studies and co-author of *Global Reach*.

After spotting his name on a poster advertising a seminar on the power elite, I phoned Dr. Peter David Beter, a former Counsel to the Import-Export Bank. Beter contends that Bil-

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derberg Conferences are nothing more than social occasions where prostitutes and large amounts of alcohol are enjoyed. But these days, Dr. Beter's full-time profession consists of peddling a monthly "Audio Letter" to a very gullable public. Beter was last heard by this author proclaiming that the Russians have secretly implanted nuclear missiles in the Mississippi River.

I wrote to President Gerald Ford at the White House to enquire about Bilderberg when I heard of his one-time involvement. His "Director of Correspondence" replied and stated: "The Conference does not intend that its program be secret, although in the interest of a free and open discussion, no records are kept of the meetings." (I later learned that records are indeed kept of the meetings, although they are marked "Strictly Confidential".)

I wrote to David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, to enquire about Bilderberg. An assistant wrote back and he suggested I write to "Mr. Charles Muller, a Vice President at Murden and Company, the organisation which assists with the administration of American Friends of Bilderberg, Incorporated".

I wrote to Mr. Muller and was sent the following printed message:

"In the early 1950s a number of people on both sides of the Atlantic sought a means of bringing together leading citizens, both in and out of government, for informal discussions of problems facing the Western world. Such meetings, they felt, would create a better understanding of the forces and trends affecting Western nations.

"The first meeting that brought Americans and Europeans together took place under the chairmanship of H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands at the Bilderberg Hotel in Oosterbeek, Holland, from 29th May to 31st May, 1954. Ever since, the meetings have been called Bilderberg

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### Meetings.

"Each year since its inception, Prince Bernhard has been the Bilderberg chairman. There are no 'members' of Bilderberg. Each year an invitation list is compiled by Prince Bernhard in consultation with an informal international steering committee; individuals are chosen in the light of their knowledge and standing. To ensure full discussion, an attempt is made to include participants representing many political and economic points of view. Of the 80 to 100 participants, approximately one-third are from government and politics, the others are from many fields - finance, industry, labor, education and journalism. They attend in a personal and not in an official capacity. From the beginning participants have come from North America and Western Europe, and from various international organisations. The official languages are English and French.

"The meetings take place in a different country each year. Since 1957, they have been held in many Western European countries and in North America as well.

"The discussion at each meeting is centered upon topics of current concern in the broad fields of foreign policy, world economy, and other contemporary issues. Basic groundwork for the symposium is laid by means of working papers and general discussion follows. In order to assure freedom of speech and opinion, the gatherings are closed and off the record. No resolutions are proposed, no votes taken, and no policy statements issued during or after the meetings.

"In short, Bilderberg is a high-ranking and flexible international forum in which opposing viewpoints can be brought closer together and mutual understanding furthered."

I wrote to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and received a reply from the Bureau of European Affairs at the State Department: "In the early 1950s a number of people on both sides of the Atlantic sought a means of bringing together

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leading citizens..." And so on.

I went to see Charles Muller at his Murden and Company office in New York City. He appeared to know little about Bilderberg and merely repeated information available on the printed message. It is claimed that "Government officials attend in a personal and not an official capacity". Mr. Muller was surprised to learn from me that the State Department acknowledged in a letter to Liberty Lobby that department officials Helmut Sonnenfeldt and Winston Lord attended a Bilderberg Conference at government expense in their official capacities.

I tried to obtain interviews with both Sonnenfeldt and Lord. Their secretaries channeled me through to many different offices. Finally, Francis Seidner, a public affairs advisor, advised me to mind my own business.

Back in London and armed with a list of Bildenberg participants (supplied by Liberty Lobby), I sought out and conducted an interview with Lord Roll, chairman of the S.G. Warburg Bank. Roll gave little away and he stated out-right that records of Bilderberg Conferences do not exist. (Little did he realise that I had one in my briefcase!)

I wrote to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and they replied: "Thank you for your letter enquiring about the Bilderberg Group. Unfortunately, we can find no trace of the Bilderberg Group in any of our reference works on international organisations." (Much later, I learned that the Foreign Office has on occasion paid the way for British members to attend Bilderberg Conferences.)

A letter to one-time member Sir Paul Chambers brought this response: "I am under obligation not to disclose anything about the Bilderberg Group to anybody who is not a member of that Group. I am very sorry that I cannot help, but I am clearly powerless to do so and it would be wrong in the circumstances to say anything to you about Bilderberg." Sir

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Paul suggested I write to the Bilderberg secretariat at an address in The Hague. I did so and was again sent a copy of the standard printed message.

I had eagerly looked forward to the next Bilderberg Conference, which in 1976 was to be held in Hot Springs, Virginia. For the first time since 1954, the meeting was cancelled. The international steering committee felt it inappropriate to conduct a conference that year because permanent chairman Prince Bernhard was under such heavy public scrutiny after having been publicly disgraced for taking a bribe from the Lockheed Aircraft Company.

So my first Bilderberg Conference took place a year later, in April 1977, at the serene Devon resort of Torquay.

It is the Bilderberg custom to book a whole hotel for the weekend conference. The five-star Imperial Hotel was no exception and it, too, was emptied to accommodate over 100 Bilderberg participants. Even the Imperial's permanent guests were told to find lodgings elsewhere for the weekend.

I managed a booking at the Imperial for three nights before the Bilderbergers moved in. On a Thursday, two days before the conference was due to begin, heavy lorries appeared at the back door of the Imperial's conference hall and workmen unloaded large wooden file cabinets and sealed crates. I was not allowed access to the conference hall, despite assurances from a Bilderberg secretary that "We have nothing to hide".

At 2 am Friday morning with the night club finally closed and the Imperial asleep, I tiptoed down five flights of stairs from my room to the conference hall. To my surprise, the doors were unlocked and unguarded. I slipped into the darkened hall and inspected the locked file cabinets, glass translation booth and electronic equipment for tape-recording and translation. Having already consumed a half-dozen whiskies, I could not repulse an urge to purloin a

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mahogany and brass-plated Bilderberg gavel. It now sits atop my desk, a trophy of my research.

Like all others, I was thrown out of the hotel on the Friday to make way for American Secret Servicemen and Special Branch bodyguards. The Bilderbergers arrived later, mostly by way of a quiet entry through Exeter Airport 20 miles from Torquay. They held their hush-hush meetings and then, just as quietly, disappeared back to their respective banks, multinational corporations, and government jobs, perhaps a little more the wiser than when they arrived.

Since that time, I have gradually been able to piece the Bilderberg puzzle into shape.

## CHAPTER TWO

# The Ubiquitous Dr. Retinger

Dr. Joseph Hieronim Retinger is perhaps one of the most mysterious figures of the twentieth century. It is he who is credited with being the father of Bilderberg. He is also credited with being the motivating force behind the European League for Economic Cooperation, the European Movement, and the Council of Europe.

A compulsive intriguer and behind-the-scenes political wheeler-dealer, Retinger became known in his circles as a "grey eminence". At different times he was rumoured to have been an agent for the Socialist Internationale, the Freemasons, the Vatican, and the government of Mexico. Others saw him as an irresponsible meddler and a penniless adventurer.

Even his friends, people like former Italian diplomat Pietro Quaroni, ask, "Did we really know him?" Denis de Rougemont, head of the European Cultural Center (which Retinger founded), worked with Retinger for over thirteen years, yet he too asks, "How well did I really know him?"

But on one point they all agree: Retinger was one of the best informed people in the world. According to Sir Edward Beddington-Behrens, "His friendships in high places were extraordinary. I remember in the United States his picking up the phone and immediately making an appointment with the President; and in Europe, he had complete entree in every political circle, as a kind of right, acquired through

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trust, devotion and loyalty he inspired." Ambassador Quaroni sums up Retinger this way: "He knew everybody and how everybody stood with everybody."

Retinger was born in the Polish city of Cracow in 1888. At the age of 18 he moved to Paris where, under the watchful eye of his guardian, Count Wladyslaw Zamoyski, Retinger earned a doctor's degree in literature at the Sorbonne. He then studied psychology in Munich for a brief period before deciding to settle in London in 1911.

A Polish patriot at heart, Retinger struggled to make connections and penetrate inner government circles as his own private political agent and head of the Polish Bureau in London. He was able to make the acquaintance of Prime Minister Asquith. But Retinger acquired a reputation for being both cheeky and arrogant. He soon made many enemies; his regular invitations to functions at 10 Downing Street were ended by Lady Asquith after an occasion where Retinger, in a rage, publicly inferred that Lady Asquith was a lesbian.

During the years of World War I Retinger shuffled back and forth between London and Paris. On one spring morning in 1918 while in Paris, Retinger was summoned by M. Jules Pams, the French Interior Minister. Due to some unspecific intrigue typical of Retinger, he was ordered to leave the Allied countries or face formal expulsion. Angered, Retinger departed that very afternoon on a 4 pm train to Spain. Alone and penniless, he spent the next nine months in virtual poverty, mostly in Barcelona. In desperation, he somehow managed to secure passage on a cargo boat destined for Havana. Destitute in Cuba, Retinger took a job reading to the staff at a cigar factory.

He soon tired of Havana and moved on to Mexico where he once again involved himself in the local political intrigue of the day. Having hitched up with Luis Negrete Morones, he



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helped form a secret society made up of young Mexican patriots, called the "Action Committee". It was Retinger who later advised the Mexican Government to nationalise American-owned petroleum wells. It was Retinger who helped expose an American oilmen conspiracy to provoke a war between the United States and Mexico.

Tiring of Mexico, the ever-adventurous Retinger smuggled himself across the Rio Grande and into Texas. He boarded a train to Washington, D.C. and looked up Felix Frankfurter, apparently an old acquaintance, upon his arrival. Frankfurter fixed Retinger up with a Polish passport, but little else is known of Retinger's activities during this period.

Back in Mexico in the early 1920s, Retinger performed various secret missions for President Obregon. In 1924 he arranged the first congress of Latin American trade unions. In Retinger's memoirs there is also evidence of a secret mission to the Vatican to patch up relations between Mexico and the Church.

It was in 1924 that the concept of European unity first occurred to Dr. Retinger. With British Member of Parliament E. D. Morel, he attempted to establish a clandestine organisation with the purpose of promoting European unity. Morel died a year later so Retinger took his brainchild to Ernest Bevin. Bevin turned down the idea because he thought it "too theoretical".

Not one to give up easily, Retinger progressed with his obsession with European unity and finally, in the late 1930s, presented his idea to Sir Stafford Cripps. Sir Stafford liked the proposal and he began a book on the subject. The book was never finished due to Sir Stafford's promotion as Deputy Prime Minister to Winston Churchill.

With World War II coming on strong, Retinger in 1939 joined forces with General Sikorski and the Polish Govern-

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ment in Exile in London. He became Sikorski's most trusted political advisor.

In July 1943, Sikorski died tragically in a plane crash. Retinger teamed up with General Sir Colin Gubbins, head of the super-secret Special Operations Executive (the wartime network of unconventional warfare and behind-the-lines intelligence operations, made famous by William Stephenson's *A Man Called Intrepid*). On a mission organised by the S.O.E., Retinger, although 56 years of age, parachuted into nazi-occupied Poland to make contact with the resistance forces.

At the end of the war, Retinger, with greater passion resumed his campaign for a unified Europe. On May 8, 1946 he addressed the Royal Institute for International Affairs and warned of the impending threat to Europe from the Soviet Union. From this speech grew the idea of a European Movement.

Working closely with Paul Van Zeeland, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Paul Rijkens of Unilever, Retinger organised the First Congress of Europe at The Hague in 1948. From it sprang the Council of Europe and various national committees of the European Movement.

In July 1948 Retinger made a trip to the United States with former Belgian Prime Minister Paul Henri Spaak, Winston Churchill, and Duncan Sandys, President of the European Movement, to seek funds for the non-governmental, political activities of the European Movement. As a result of this initiative, an organisation called the American Committee on a United Europe was formed. The A.C.U.E. was officially launched during a luncheon in honour of Winston Churchill on March 29th, 1949.

Most significant about A.C.U.E. was its leadership: Its Chairman was William Donovan, former Director of the Office of Strategic Services (the wartime intelligence agency

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of the United States). Its Vice-Chairman was Allen Dulles, Director of the newly-formed Central Intelligence Agency. Its Secretary was George Franklin, then Director of the Council on Foreign Relations (and now "Coordinator" of the Trilateral Commission, examined in Part Two of this book). Its Executive Director was Thomas Braden, head of the CIA's division on international organisations.

Shortly after its inception, A.C.U.E. began to send money to the Brussels headquarters of the European Movement, of which Retinger was now Secretary General. Most of this money came from "State Department secret funds". Total secret U.S. funding of the European Movement from 1949 to 1953 was £440,000. One of the chief aims of the European Movement during this time period was the campaign to rearm Germany and to solicit support for a European Defence Community. Between 1951 and 1959 the CIA, through A.C.U.E., gave close to £1,500,000 to the European Youth Campaign, which Retinger directed.

According to John Pomian, Retinger's personal assistant from 1948 until Retinger's death in 1960. "Retinger always believed that public opinion follows the lead of certain individuals." Perhaps in this spirit, Retinger, in 1952, went back to Paul Van Zeeland and Paul Rijkens, his European Movement associates, with the suggestion of organising unofficial meetings of important people from NATO countries. The purpose he visualised for such a forum was 1) to help promote the case for European unity and 2) to form an Atlantic alliance.

Rijkens liked the idea and he arranged for Retinger to meet Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands. Bernhard, it was felt, would be the ideal figurehead for such a forum because of his royalty and apolitical standing. This is how Bernhard described his first encounter with the engaging Retinger: "Retinger came to me and told me about his worries concern-

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ing the rising tide of Anti-Americanism in Europe. I said to him, 'Yes, you're quite right. It's very bad.' Retinger said, 'Well, would you like to do something about it?' And I said, 'Of course'".

A small group of Europeans was formed. It consisted of Retinger, Bernhard, Van Zeeland, Rijkens, Pietro Quaroni and Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi from Italy, Hugh Gaitskell and Sir Colin Gubbins from Britain, Guy Mollet and Prime Minister Antoine Pinay from France, Rudolph Mueller and Max Brauer from Germany, Ambassador Panayotis Pipinelis from Greece, and Ole Bjorn Kraft from Denmark.

Italian Ambassador Quaroni explained how he was recruited by Retinger: "The two of us had been dining very pleasantly and now he was leaning slightly in his armchair, his cane between his legs, a cigarette in his mouth and a nice big glass of whiskey in front of him. His long, gnarled, nervous hands moved fitfully from his stick to his glass. I soon gathered what he was driving at, but it amused me to watch his technique at work. I must admit that his strategy was outstanding. A Pole once remarked to me, many years ago: 'Every Pole has conspiracy in his blood.' First came very vague hints concerning desirable aims; then, as I gradually caught on, a few details, then he revealed some further details, then a few names ..."

Their very first meeting was held at a small apartment in Paris on September 25th, 1952. Sitting around an old, disused ping-pong table, the Europeans agreed that it was imperative to involve the United States in their plans. And, according to Retinger's personal assistant, "It was thought preferable to keep it all as discreet as possible."

Together, Prince Bernhard and Dr. Retinger journeyed to Washington, D.C. and lobbied the support of General Walter Bedell Smith, Director of the CIA, and Charles

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Jackson, a national security assistant to President Eisenhower. An American committee was formed. Its original members included John Coleman, Chairman of the Burroughs Corporation, David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan Bank, Dean Rusk, head of the Rockefeller Foundation, Henry Heinz II, of 57 varieties fame, Joseph Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and George Ball.

The first formal conference was arranged for May 29-31 at Hotel de Bilderberg in the small Dutch town of Oosterbeek, courtesy of the Dutch Government and the American CIA.

According to Charles Jackson, "It was all very new and different. There were no reporters and security was tight with guards all over the place." Continues John Pomian, "There were about eighty participants. It was a very high-powered gathering of prominent politicians, industrialists, bankers and scholars. After three days of living together in this secluded place a certain faint but discernible bond was created. A new entity was born."

According to the Strictly Confidential record of the minutes of that first conference in 1954, it was decided that "Insufficient attention has so far been paid to long-term planning, and to evolving an international order which would look beyond the present-day crisis. When the time is ripe our present concepts of world affairs should be extended to the whole world."

Joseph Retinger continued to play an active part in the Bilderberg Conferences until his death in 1960. He lies buried in a modest grave at North Sheen Cemetery in South London.

## CHAPTER THREE

# Getting down to Business

At 10 am on Saturday, October 27th, 1979, the twenty-five member international steering committee of the Bilderberg Group assembled secretly at the London flat of Sir Frederic Bennett, the Conservative Member of Parliament for Torbay. Bennett, the Parliamentary advisor to Kleinwort Benson, merchant bankers earned his place on the steering committee through his role as Parliamentary Private Secretary to the late Reginald Maudling, an early member of Bilderberg.

The select committee gathered at Sir Frederic's flat to decide upon a new chairman. It was agreed that Walter Scheel, the former President of West Germany, would succeed the ageing Lord (Alec Douglas) Home, the former British Prime Minister, as chairman of the Bilderberg Group. Lord Home had replaced Bilderberg's long-reigning first chairman Prince Bernhard in 1976 as a result of Bernhard's public disgrace over the Lockheed affair.

In addition to selecting a chairman, the international steering committee appoints two Honourary Secretary-Generals -one for North America and the other for Europe. Dr. Ret-inger held the European post until 1960. He was succeeded by Ernst van der Beugel, at that time a veteran Dutch diplomat and President of KLM, Royal Dutch Airlines. Joseph Johnson, a former Chief of the Division of National Security

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Affairs in the U.S. State Department and later President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assumed the role of first Honourary Secretary-General for North America. He was replaced in 1976 by William Bundy, editor of the influential "Foreign Affairs" quarterly, an in-house organ of the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations. Bundy was an appropriate choice. Throughout the 1950s he worked for the CIA, where he took charge of over-all evaluation of key foreign situations. (Red-baiter Joseph McCarthy's real downfall began when he started to go after the CIA, and in particular, William Bundy, son-in-law of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson - Bundy had contributed four hundred dollars to the defense of Alger Hiss). In 1961 Bundy joined the Kennedy Administration as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense. His career since that appointment is best described by David Halberstam in *The Best and the Brightest*:

"... Bill Bundy, a classic insider's man. His name would probably be on more pieces of paper dealing with Vietnam over a seven-year period than anyone else's, yet he was the man about whom the least was known, the fewest articles written. There were no cover stories in the news magazines, no long profiles. A shadowy figure on the outside center of power... He believed in covert operations from his CIA days and believed that we were justified in what we did because the Communists inevitably were worse."

It was decided at the October 1979 meeting in Bennett's flat that Victor Halberstadt, a professor of public finance at Leyden University in Holland, would replace van der Beugel as European Secretary-General, and Paul Finney, Executive Editor of "Fortune" magazine, would replace Bundy. This transition, I am told, is designed to bring "new blood" into the organisation.

The international steering committee also decides an

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agenda for the annual conference and, according to William Bundy, selects "people who would be most useful" at handling the chosen topics of discussion, for invitations to attend the conference.

The steering committee certainly has an amazing eye for choosing guests who are on the way up. Most of the current leaders of the West have emerged from the depths of Bilderberg.

Every British Prime Minister of the past thirty years has attended Bilderberg. So have Lord Carrington, David Owen, and Sir Keith Joseph. Denis Healey was an early member of Bilderberg and he was on the steering committee long before he became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Dr. Henry Kissinger, a steering committee member, was a regular attender of Bilderberg Conferences during his days as an inconspicuous professor at Harvard University, years before he became President Nixon's Secretary of State. Former President Gerald Ford was an obscure congressman when he attended two conferences in the 1960s.

In 1961 President Kennedy staffed all the highest positions at the Departments of State and Defense with what C. D. Jackson called "Bilderberg alumni".

Those in positions of power in the administration of Jimmy Carter who have been involved with Bilderberg include Vice President Walter Mondale, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, David Aaron, deputy to Brzezinski, Senior White House Advisor Hedley Donovan, Richard Cooper, Under-secretary of State for Economic Affairs, C. Fred Bergsten, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Economic Affairs, Anthony Solomon, Deputy Secretary of State for Monetary Affairs, Graham Allison, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Planning, Alonzo MacDonald, Deputy Chief of the White House staff, David McGiffert, assistant secretary of defense for In-



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ternational Security Affairs and David Newson, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

French President Valerie Giscard d'Estaing joined Bilderberg while he was finance minister of the French Republic. So did Helmut Schmidt, who became Chancellor of West Germany only two weeks after the 1974 conference in Megeve, France that he attended.

But what goes on at Bilderberg Conferences?

There are those who have attended, such as Christopher Price, the British Labour Member of Parliament for Lewisham West, who found it "all very fatuous ... icing on the cake with nothing to do with the cake".

Renowned Canadian media expert Marshall McLuhan attended Bilderberg in 1969 and was "nearly suffocated at the banality and irrelevance". McLuhan told me that those in attendance "had not a clue concerning a world in which information moves at the speed of light", and that "they were uniformly nineteenth century minds pretending to relate to the twentieth century".

Yet George McGhee, a former U.S. Ambassador to West Germany, has said: "The Treaty of Rome, which brought the Common Market into being, was nurtured at Bilderberg meetings." He should know. He was at the Bilderberg Conference in Garmisch, West Germany in September 1955 when, according to the confidential record of that conference, "It was generally recognized that it is our common responsibility to arrive in the shortest possible time at the highest degree of integration, beginning with a common European market." And indeed, FIAT President and Bilderberg steering committee member Giovanni Agnelli once declared: "European integration is our goal. Where the politicians have failed, we industrialists hope to succeed."

A French periodical, "Diplomatiques et Financiers", has charged that the Bilderberg Group, in 1964, interfered in

## Getting down to Business

French politics. According to the article published in 1967, the Bilderbergers decided to actively support an opposition candidate to the nationalistic Charles de Gaulle. Gaston Defferre, the mayor of Marseilles and a Bilderberg participant in 1964, is the man the Bilderberg Group apparently "selected" as their candidate. De Gaulle had displeased Bilderberg by opposing Britain's entry into the Common Market. It was thought that Defferre's internationalistic outlook was more in line with Bilderberg objectives.

At the first Bilderberg Conference in 1954, C. D. Jackson began his address to the assembled participants by stating: "Whether (Joe) McCarthy dies by an assassin's bullet, or is eliminated in the normal American way of getting rid of boils on the body politic, I prophesy that by the time we hold our next meeting he will be gone from the American scene."

And indeed he was. One can see from this why authoress Phyllis Schlafly, in *A Choice Not an Echo*, called the Bilderberg Group an example of a "little clique of powerful men who meet secretly and plan events that appear to just happen".

Top Bilderberger Joseph Luns, Secretary-General of NATO, added coal to the fires that keep the radical-right hot when he said, "The slowly but steadily advancing unity of Europe is the most promising guarantee of our ideals of one world."

A serious accusation has come from the notoriously conservative William Loeb in his paper, the "Manchester Union Leader", in New Hampshire. Following the 1971 Bilderberg Conference in Woodstock, Vermont, USA, a story appeared in Loeb's newspaper which stated in part: "At a top secret conference, a presidential advisor leaked information on the proposed economic freeze to a select group of national and international figures enabling them, according to a Washington source, to profit to the tune of fifteen to twenty billion

## The Bilderberg Group

dollars. The same presidential advisor (presumably Kissinger) also revealed President Nixon's plan to visit Red China, which further enabled these figures to make commercial plans for mainland China."

Bilderberg officials vehemently insist that no conclusions are ever reached at Bilderberg Conferences. Yet the following appears on pages 56, 57 and 58 of the "Strictly Confidential" record of their second meeting (March 1955 in Barbizon, France):

"GENERAL CONCLUSIONS - It was proposed that action should be taken on the following subjects which arose out of the discussions at the Conference.

- 1 Participants in the Bilderberg Conferences would use, as much as possible, the various meetings and conferences which they attend elsewhere in order to put forward ideas and suggestions made at Bilderberg. It was hoped that particular use would be made of the press by all concerned for this purpose.
- 2 An interchange of information among participants in the conferences would be organised with regard to books and publications published in various countries, and relating to subjects discussed at the conferences.
- 3 The need to develop thorough education, with respect to our way of living, especially of teachers and clergy, as a means of checking the spread of communism in European countries and particularly in Italy and France, must be taken up.
- 4 It was hoped that the trade unions would be able to be more active in their fight against communist infiltration and propaganda. It was agreed that trade union associates and perhaps one or two other trade union leaders, should be invited by leading personalities to discuss this question.

## Getting down to Business

- 5 Arrangements would be made to keep fully informed participants in any of the Bilderberg series of conferences with regard to proceedings of such meetings as they were unable to attend.
- 6 It was proposed that a vast petition should be organised in Europe to show that democracy too has its strong backing. The proposer was asked to prepare a memorandum on this subject with recommendations as to how this petition might be organised.
- 7 It was agreed that a United States participant would supply a paper on legal measures taken by the U.S.A. to deal with organisations working for the overthrow of the constitution by violent means.
- 8 An American participant was invited to put down his views concerning the peaceful development of atomic energy in its relation to the purpose of the Bilderberg Conferences for the benefit of members of the Group.
- 9 It was unanimously decided to stimulate the organisation of a meeting between Western and Eastern thinkers and spiritual leaders and proposals for the organisation of such a meeting were entrusted to one of the participants who would be helped later by appropriate colleagues.
- 10 Conclusions regarding Economic Aid

There was general agreement that:

- (a) An accelerated rate of development of underdeveloped areas, in response to the rising expectations of their people, is completely consistent with the enlightened self-interest of the West.
- (b) Balanced development, including the stimulation of industrialisation, is equally and generally beneficial to trade and investment and to an exchange of services and skills, in an equally advantageous manner.
- (c) The under-developed countries must make their own

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plans for help and development and these plans should be checked by the helping countries which must offer all possible technical assistance in making them. (d) We have available facilities both public and private for consultation and expert advice, where it may be wanted, on a full range of financial, economic and technical matters and we can give these in the right way."

According to page 39 of the third Bilderberg Conference (September 1955, in Garmisch, West Germany):

"The discussions which took place during the three days of the conference were remarkable for the measure of agreement expressed. It was clear that participants would be able to return to their various countries enriched by a closer knowledge and understanding of the views, difficulties and hopes of so many leading personalities of countries other than their own and so better equipped to deal with their mutual problems. Participants in this conference may, in light of the concensus of opinion expressed during the discussions, be able to pass these views on to public opinion in their own spheres of influence, without disclosing their source."

In my estimation, this sums up Bilderberg brilliantly. Until I obtained the above document I didn't think it possible that a hundred people from eleven countries could achieve a concensus of opinion on anything - including the right time of day!

At the Bilderberg Conference of 1956 in Fredensborg, Denmark, it was concluded by participants that the West must "keep in mind the neccessity to maintain our security arrangements alive and strong. Lenin is always a dominant force in the USSR and he taught communists that the big historical questions can only be resolved through violence".

There was general concern that Western influence in the

## Getting down to Business

UN would decline because of the enlarged membership - "The changes arising from the entry of new members to the UN means that the West can no longer count on an automatic majority and will encounter a growing difficulty in obtaining support."

It was generally agreed that "much tighter economic cooperation is necessary in the West to respond to a situation in which the communist bloc's economic force is in rapid growth while its consumption is less than half the West's". Stronger political, economic and cultural links were called for among NATO countries.

It was also decided that "immediate priority be given to the pacification of the Arab-Israel dispute, followed by economic development, as much in Israel as in the Arab countries".

In addition, "a remarkable and encouraging amount of agreement emerged on a common (American and European) policy towards China". It was agreed that the West could not allow Nationalist China (Formosa) to fall under communist domination.

Seventeen years later in 1974, the Bilderberg Group celebrated their 20th meeting with a conference in Megeve, France. But there was no party atmosphere: the mood was somber and the theme seemed to be their lack of accomplishment. One participant observed that Bilderberg had seemed to lose its sense of direction. The confidential record of that year notes that "very little had been achieved in the way of cooperation on monetary affairs, external relations or defense".

Several members laid the blame for the European stalemate on France. A German participant, probably Helmut Schmidt, accused France of hypocrisy: preaching the unification of Europe and practicing Capetian nationalism. According to the German, "It's like castrating a fellow and then

## The Bilderberg Group

wondering why he speaks in a high voice."

Anthony Griffin, a Canadian member of the steering committee and Chairman of the Home Oil Company, was very pessimistic. He forecast that the oil crisis (of '73) was just the first phase of a larger crisis, to be marked by increasing shortages and bigger struggles for the control of resources. He suggested that this might be followed by a destructive hyperinflation which, he pointed out, would be one of the great moral failures of the West, as history had shown that no country was likely to survive as a democracy when its annual inflation rate reached twenty per-cent.

At this writing, the inflation rate has reached nineteen percent. Although the insight of Bilderberg members back in 1974 is commendable, their inability to deal with the problem of inflation casts doubt on how effective the Bilderberg Group really is. It appears to me that even if the Bilderberg Group has set out to control the economy of the West, their efforts would surely be frustrated by the normal bureaucratic process which goes into decision-making.

Conversely, if, as in the Kennedy Administration (and like most present governments in the West), all of the top spots in the State and Defense Departments are filled by "Bilderberg alumni", it stands to reason that these "Bilderberg alumni" are now in a position to implement policy on which they helped form a "concensus of opinion" at Bilderberg Conferences years earlier. In essence, this is how the Bilderberg system of influence works best.

Lord Home was once asked if the Bilderberg Group had accomplished very much over the years. "Why of course," came his reply. "Why do you think we keep coming back?"

## CHAPTER FOUR

# Bilderberg and the Media

"If the Bilderberg Group is not a conspiracy of some sort, it is conducted in such a way as to give a remarkably good imitation of one."

These are the words of C. Gordon Tether, published on May 6th, 1975 in "Lombard", a prestigious and influential column which he wrote daily for the (London) Financial Times. It was to be Tether's last reference to the Bilderberg Group in the FT. All subsequent articles mentioning Bilderberg were barred from appearing in his finance and banking column by the editorial management.

The last of such articles, reprinted here in part, was written for the edition of March 3rd, 1976. It was censored by the FT editor Max Henry (Fredy) Fisher.

Tether was finally dismissed by the FT in August 1976 after a censorship battle which raged for well over two years. "Lombard", which Tether created and which has earned a place in the Guinness Book of Records for being the longest running daily column in the British Press, is now written by different specialists from the FT's staff. There is no hint of Bilderberg these days.

It is perhaps significant to note that FT editor Fisher is a member of the Trilateral Commission, an organisation closely related to Bilderberg, which is examined in Part II of this book.



## The Bilderberg Group

In fact, most editors of the "establishment" Press in Britain, Europe, and the United States have attended Bilderberg Conferences. Some are even members of the international steering committee which governs Bilderberg.

Included among them are William Rees-Mogg, editor of "The Times", Frank Giles, foreign editor of the "Sunday Times", and Andrew Knight, editor of "The Economist". The biggest newspapers in Europe are represented: Germany - "Die Zeit" (Theo Sommer); France - "La Monde" (Michel Tatu); Italy- "La Stampa" (Carlo Sartori); Denmark - "Berlingske Tidende" (Niels Norlund).

From the United States, Hedley Donovan, Henry Grunwald, and Ralph Davidson of "Time" have attended Bilderberg Conferences. So have Osborn Eliot, former editor of "Newsweek", and Arthur Sulzberger of the "New York Times". Joseph Kraft, James Reston, Joseph Harsch, George Will, and Flora Lewis, prominent political columnists of sound reputation, have all at one time or another participated in the conferences.

All of them journalistic heavies, yet barely a word has ever been whispered about Bilderberg in any of the organs of the international "establishment" Press. Conservative columnist William F. Buckley, who attended the Bilderberg Conference of 1975, summed it all up in a column he wrote six months later: "Guests of the Bilderberg Society are bound by the same rules as members of the Bilderberg Society - not to write about the proceedings." Needless to say, Buckley has not been invited back to Bilderberg.

A good example of press cooperation to make non-news of the Bilderberg Conferences was the memorandum that Cecil King, then chairman of IPC, wrote to his fellow publishers about the Bilderberg meeting in Cambridge, England in 1967. It reminded them that on no account should any report or even speculation about the content of the conference be

## Bilderberg and the Media

The purpose of including editors and columnists from the "establishment" Press in Bilderberg appears to be threefold:

- 1 They certainly have very worthwhile opinions on world affairs and on important public issues which they no doubt contribute to Bilderberg proceedings.
- 2 They can see to it that Bilderberg is kept out of the pages of their respective newspapers and magazines - i.e. Gordon Tether and the Financial Times.
- 3 Most important of all - they, of all Bilderbergers, are in the best position to, according to the confidential Bilderberg record, "pass (Bilderberg) views on to public opinion in their own spheres of influence."

Portions of the column by C. Gordon Tether which the Financial Times refused to print:

"Whatever the conclusions reached by the committee which the Dutch Government has very sensibly set up to inquire into the charge that Prince Bernhard was a recipient of Lockheed largesse, one thing is certain. It is that the affair will breathe new life into that long-smouldering controversy over the role that the Bilderberg group and its clandestine get-togethers play in world economics and business affairs.

"The Bilderbergers have always insisted upon clothing their comings and goings in the closest secrecy. Until a few years back, this was carried to such lengths that their annual conclave went entirely unmarked in the world's Press. In the more recent past, the veil has been raised to the extent of letting it be known that the meetings were taking place. But the total ban on the reporting of what went on has remained in force.

"It naturally has to be accepted that the Prince did not take

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bribes from Lockheed unless and until the investigating body has proved otherwise. But this does not alter the fact there that is a strong suggestion in what has emerged so far that he was involved in some degree in the "wheeling and dealing" processes which have evidently played an extremely important part in the international fight for aircraft business.

"There is no difficulty in seeing that this does not prove anything so far as the Bilderberg group is concerned. But it would be hardly surprising if the fact that light of this kind has been thrown on the activities of its top man was not seized upon as supporting evidence by those who maintain that Bilderbergism is an unseen force of great significance in world affairs that we ought to know a lot more about.

"Any conspiratologists who has the Bilderbergers in his sights will proceed to ask why it is that, if there is so little to hide, so much effort is devoted to hiding it."

## CHAPTER FIVE

# Crossroads; Murden and Company The Ditchley Foundation

The Bilderberg Group's North American headquarters in New York City, aptly called "American Friends of Bilderberg, Incorporated", is located on the third floor of a smart Manhattan townhouse at 39 East 51st Street. It exists under the auspices of a self-proclaimed "public relations firm" called Murden and Company.

Significantly, one of Murden and Company's "clients" in the past has been the Trilateral Commission (see Part II). In a letter dated June 1977, Charles Muller, chief executive of Murden and Company, wrote that "for a period of time we counseled the Trilateral Commission about the organisation and distribution of publications and on communications".

In addition to its relationship with the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission, Murden and Company "undertakes special assignments of varying sorts". One of these assignments, according to Muller's letter, "was the establishment, in 1966, of the Center for Inter-American Relations to fill a need for more active communications between Latin America and the United States private sector. It is serving a particularly useful role in the educational and cultural areas". (It sounds like the establishment of the Center for Inter-American Relations was a direct result of a Bilderberg consensus in 1955, when it was agreed to "develop thorough

## The Bilderberg Group

education, with respect to our way of living, as a means of checking the spread of communism". Not only was the Center established by Bilderberg's front company, but it should come as little surprise that the Honourary Chairman, Chairman, and Vice-Chairman of the Center are David Rockefeller, Emilio Collado, and Arthur Taylor, who are all three members of Bilderberg's international steering committee.)

The late Forrest Dozier Murden formed Murden and Company in 1962. From 1954 to 1959 he had assisted Henry Ford II, first as special liason with foundations and international organisations, and then as manager of public and government relations of Ford International.

Murden then went to work as a government relations counselor to what was then the Exxon corporation before setting up Murden and Company.

Exxon and the Ford Foundation were for many years the chief benefactors of the Bilderberg Group.

It was in 1975 that Murden and Company officially became American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc. In this capacity, Murden and Company supplies the electronic translation and taping equipment used at Bilderberg Conferences.

American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc. is registered in the United States as a charity and may therefore solicit tax-free contributions for Bilderberg from corporations and private individuals.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Murden and Company is that it is also the American Ditchley Foundation. This foundation, in coordination with the British Ditchley Foundation, sponsors select, Bilderberg-like gatherings at Ditchley Park, a remote estate of over a thousand acres in the Oxfordshire countryside. Ditchley is only seventy-five miles from London, on the edge of the Cotswolds and barely a mile off the road from Oxford to Stratford-on-Avon. The 250

## Crossroads; Murden and Company

year-old house is equipped with modern conference rooms, interpretation circuits and closed-circuit televisions. It is elegantly decorated with valuable antiques and priceless paintings.

Ditchley Park has been a center of intrigue since it was purchased in 1933 by Ronald Tree, who was Minister of Information Duff Cooper's advisor on American affairs. Tree made the estate available to Prime Minister Winston Churchill during the early years of World War II when it was feared that Chequers could be a target for German bombers.

During these years Ditchley became a meeting place and retreat for British and American leaders. Roosevelt emissary Harry Hopkins was Churchill's guest at Ditchley in January 1941 for discussion on troop morale; details of the Lend-Lease program were worked out amid the serene surroundings of Ditchley.

David Wills, of the Wills tobacco family, bought Ditchley Park in 1953, and he established the tax-exempt foundation in February 1958, "ideally to enhance better understanding of world problems".

The first Anglo-American Ditchley Conference took place in 1962, the same year that Murden and Company was established in New York City.

Presidential advisors, senators, bankers and businessmen from the United States gather frequently at Ditchley to meet with their British counter-parts, but their quiet comings and goings through nearby Kidlington Airport are rarely reported by the Press.

The palatial manor is regularly used for high-level weekend conferences by officials from the Home Office, diplomats from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and for private meetings of British, European, and international political leaders.

The Ditchley Foundation leases the house for private con-

## The Bilderberg Group

ferences and although it claims to have no political objectives, these facilities are only available to "organisations whose purposes are related to those of the Foundation".

Special Branch officers from Thames Valley are occasionally called in for "protection duties" at Ditchley Conferences. It is curious that these duties are organised directly by M15, the British Security Service.

The Board of Governors at Ditchley includes former Bilderberg chairman Lord Home, Bilderberg steering committee members Lord Roll and Henry Heinz II, and at least twelve other Bilderbergers. The chairman of the Ditchley Programme Committee is George Franklin, who is mentioned in Chapter Two as being the Coordinator of the Trilateral Commission.

The Ditchley Foundation conference programme for 1980 was as follows:

March 7-9 The Environment for North-South Trade.

March 28-30 Extraterritorial Application of National Laws  
Regulating Business Activities.

April 11-13 Legislators: NATO, Its Authority and Future.

May 9-11 The Role of the Dollar as an International Currency.

June 6-8 The Media and Developing Countries.

June 20-22 Access to Middle Eastern Oil.

September 12-14 Nuclear Energy: Safety, Development and  
Alternative Strategies.

October 3-5 The Prospects for Religion.

October 17-19 Higher Education in the 1980s and 90s.

October 31/2 Nov. The Balance of Power in the Pacific.

November 14-16 Industrial Development: The Environment and  
Society.

December 5-7 A Defence Issue.



Above: The late Dr. Carroll Quigley, author of *Tragedy and Hope*.  
Right: A sketch of Joseph Retinger (by Felix Topolski).





Left: The final resting place of Joseph Retinger - North Sheen Cemetry in South London (photo by Robert Eringerj.

Above: Hotel de Bilderberg in Oosterbeek, the Netherlands — site of the first Bilderberg Conference in May 1954 ( photo by Jeff Acopian ).  
Below: "A Luncheon at Claridges" by Felix Topolski - an early Bilderberg meeting in progress. From left to right: Sir Colin Gubbins, Otto Wolff von Amerongen, Reginald Maudling, Prince Bernhard and Hugh Gaitskell.



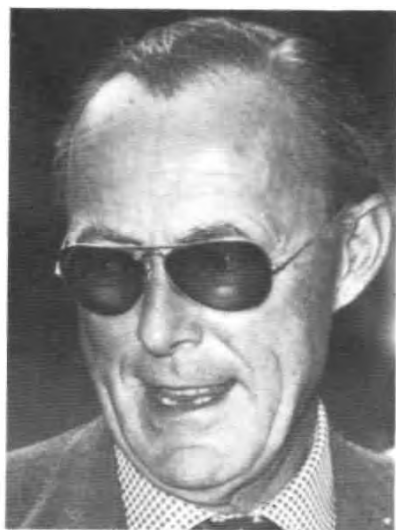


Above: The Ditchley estate in Enstone, home of the Ditchley Foundation and site of Ditchley conferences (photo by Robert Eringer).

Below left: Bilderberg headquarters, at Smidswater 1, The Hague (photo by

Jeff Acopian).

Below right: The entrance to Murden and Company alias American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc. alias American Ditchley Foundation, at 39 East 51st Street in New York City (photo by Robert Eringer).



Above left: Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, Chairman of Bilderberg from 1954 until 1976 (Popper Foto). Above right: Walter Scheel, former President of West Germany and current Bilder-

berg Chairman (Popper Foto). Below: Lord Home of the Hirsel, former Tory Prime Minister and Chairman of Bilderberg from 1977 until 1980.

# Part I Appendix

## BILDERBERG CONFERENCES

- 1 May 1954, Oosterbeek, the Netherlands
- 2 March 1955, Barbizon, France
- 3 Sept. 1955, Garmisch, Germany
- 4 May 1956, Fredensborg, Denmark
- 5 Feb. 1957, St. Simon's Island, Georgia, USA
- 6 Oct. 1957, Fiuggi, Italy
- 7 Sept. 1958, Buxton, England
- 8 Sept. 1959 Yesikoy, Turkey
- 9 May 1960, Burgenstock, Switzerland
- 10 April 1961, St. Castin, Canada
- 11 May 1962, Saltsjobaden, Sweden
- 12 May 1963, Cannes, France
- 13 March 1964, Williamsburg, Virginia, USA
- 14 April 1965, Villa d'este, Italy
- 15 March 1966, Wiesbaden, Germany
- 16 April 1967, Cambridge, England
- 17 April 1968, Mont Tremblant, Canada
- 18 April 1969, Marienlyst, Denmark
- 19 April 1970, Bad Ragaz, Switzerland
- 20 April 1971, Woodstock, Vermont, USA
- 21 April 1972 Knokke, Belgium
- 22 May 1973, Saltsjobaden, Sweden
- 23 April 1974, Megeve, France
- 24 April 1975, Cesme, Turkey
- 25 April 1977, Torquay, England
- 26 April 1978, Princeton, New Jersey, USA

## The Bilderberg Group

27 April 1979, Baden, Austria

28 April 1980, Aachen, Germany

29 May 14-17 1981, Lucerne, Switzerland (Planned)

### OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BILDERBERG, INC.

President and Treasurer: HENRY HEINZ II Secretary: PAUL FINNEY  
Assistant Secretary: CHARLES MULLER Directors: JACK  
BENNETT, DAVID ROCKEFELLER, ARTHUR TAYLOR

## *Bilderberg Meetings*

### MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE (as from April 20,1980)

Chairman:

Walter Scheel

Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany Honorary  
Secretary General for Europe:

Victor Halberstadt

Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University Honorary Secretary  
General for the United States:

Paul B. Finney

Executive Editor, Fortune Magazine

## Part I Appendix

### Treasurer.

Willem F. Duinsenberg

Dep. Chairman Executive Board, Central Rabo Bank

Former Minister of Finance Austria

Hans Iglar

President, Federation of Austrian Industrialists Belgium

Daniel Janssen\*

Chairman, Belgian Federation of Chemical Industries

Baron Lambert\*

Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert, S. A. Canada

Donald S. Macdonald

Senior partner, McCarthy & McCarthy Denmark

Niels NØrlund

Editor-in-Chief, "Berlingske Tidende" France

Thierry de Montbrial\*

Director, French Institute of International Relations;

Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique

Ernest-Antoine Seilliere

Dep. Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie Federal

Republic of Germany

Alfred Herrhausen

Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.

Theo Sommer\*

Editor-in-Chief, "Die Zeit" Greece

Costa Carras

Member of the Board, Union of Greek Shipowners International

Christoph Bertram

Director, the International Institute for Strategic Studies

## The Bilderberg Group

### Italy

Romano Prodi

Professor of Industrial Economics, University of Bologna

Former Minister of Industry

Stefano Silvestri

Vice-Director, Institute International Affairs Norway

Niels Werring, Jr.

Senior partner, Wilhelm Wilhelmsen

President of the Norwegian Shipowners Association Sweden

Bjorn Lundvall

Managing Director Telefonaktiebolaget LM ERICSSON Switzerland

Franz J. Lutolf

General Manager and member of the Executive Board,

Swiss Bank Corporation Turkey

Selahattin Beyazit

Director of Companies United Kingdom

Alistair Frame

Dept. Chairman and Chief Executive of Rio Tinto Zinc

Andrew Knight

Editor, "The Economist" United States of America

Jack F. Bennett

Director and Senior Vice President, EXXON Corporation

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.

Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Murray H. Finley

President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

President, National Urban League

Henry A. Kissinger\*

Former Secretary of State

## Part I Appendix

Winston Lord\*

President, Council of Foreign Relation, Inc.

Bruce K. MacLaury\*

President, The Brookings Institution

Arthur R. Taylor\* Managing Partner, Arthur Taylor & Company

Marina vN. Whitman\*

Vice President and Chief Economist, General Motors Corporation

Joseph H. Williams

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, the Williams Companies

Charles W. Getchell, Jr.

Rapporteur

\* Member, Trilateral Commission

### LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE FIRST BILDERBERG CONFERENCE IN MAY, 1954

Chairman: Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands

Vice-Chairman: John Coleman and Paul Van Zeeland

Rapporteurs:

George Ball, U.S.A.

Etienne de la Vallee Poussin, Belgium

Barry Bingham, U.S.A.

H. M. Hirschfield, the Netherlands

Hugh Gaitskell, U.K.

David Rockefeller, U.S.A.

Paul Nitze, U.S.A.

J. D. Zellerbach, U.S.A.

Participants:

Robert Andre, France

Ralph Assheton, U.K.



## The Bilderberg Group

G. de Beaumont, France  
Pierre Bonvoisin, Belgium  
Sir Robert Boothby, U.K.  
Max Brauer, Germany  
Irving Brown, U.S.A.  
Raffaele Cafiero, Italy  
Walker Cisler, U.S.A.  
Gardner Cowles, U.S.A.  
Clement Davies, U.K.  
Jean Drapier, Belgium  
R. Duchet, France  
M. Faure, France  
John Ferguson, U.S.A.  
John Foster, U.K.  
Sir Oliver Franks, U.K.  
G. P. Geyer, Germany  
Sir Colin Gubbins, U.K.  
Denis Healey, U.K.  
Henry Heinz, U.S.A.  
Leif Hoegh, Norway  
H. Montgomery Hyde, U.K.  
Charles Jackson, U.S.A.  
Nelson Jay, U.S.A.  
P. Kanellopoulos, Greece  
V. J. Koningsberger, the Netherlands  
Ole Bjorn Kraft, Denmark  
P. Leverkuehn, Germany  
Giovanni Malagodi, Italy  
Finn Moe, Norway  
Roger Motz, Belgium  
Rudolph Mueller, Germany  
George McGhee, U.S.A.  
George Nebolsine, U.S.A.  
H. Oosterhuis, the Netherlands  
Cola Parker, U.S.A.  
George Perkins, U.S.A. Sir Harry Pilkington, U.K.

Part I Appendix

Alberto Pirelli, Italy  
Ludwig Rosenberg, Germany  
Paolo Rossi, Italy  
Denis de Rougemont, Switzerland  
Paul Rijkens, the Netherlands  
Ernst Schneider, Germany  
W. F. Schnitzler, Germany  
Joseph Spang, U.S.A.  
M. Steenberghe, the Netherlands  
Terkel Terkelsen, Denmark  
Herbert Tingsten, Sweden  
H. Troeger, Germany  
Vittorio Valetta, Italy  
Andre Voisin, France  
M. Waldenstrom, Sweden  
H. F. van Walsem, the Netherlands  
Jean Willems, Belgium  
Tom Williamson, U.K.

# PART II

## The Trilateral Commission

"In my view, the Trilateral commission represents a skilled, coordinated effort to seize control and consolidate the four centres of power - political, monetary, intellectual, and ecclesiastical."

Senator Barry Goldwater With  
No Apologies

## CHAPTER ONE

# The Plot Thickens

In October 1977 I travelled to Bonn, West Germany to cover the annual conference of the Trilateral Commission. It was their fourth conference and although a good many well known men and women were taking part, I found myself to be the only foreign journalist on hand for the event.

The luxurious Hotel Bristol had been transformed into a fortress for the duration of the conference, complete with German Federal Intelligence Officers patrolling the hotel's roof armed to the hilt. They were there to ensure that only members of the elite commission be allowed access to the Bristol and its normally public facilities.

When the limousine carrying FIAT President Giovanni Agnelli arrived at the Bristol's front entrance, I could not resist the temptation to raise my Minox and snap photographs from across the road. Bad move. I lowered my camera just in time to catch sight of two Bonn policemen, fully armed with sub-machineguns, coming my way. They instructed me, with the wave of their weapons, to start marching towards a parked police van. Seated inside the van, I was questioned for over an hour about my possible motivations for being interested in Giovanni Agnelli, the Bristol Hotel, and the Trilateral Commission. I justified my presence by producing a series of Press cards, which they carefully studied before escorting me back to my hotel.

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Such strict security is perhaps understandable owing to Germany's terrorist problems at that time. But what struck me as fascinating was the secrecy which surrounded the affair. I was not even permitted the conference participant list.

"Journalists are just not welcome here," said one of the conference organisers, adding, "We can tell you nothing -this is very private, so please go away."

The idea of a Trilateral Commission began in 1971 as a response by prominent members of the "foreign policy establishment" in the United States to President Nixon's new strategies toward detente with the Soviet Union and closer relations with Red China. It was felt that these new initiatives were taking priority over America's relationships with her allies and that Nixon's new policies would severely weaken the Western alliance.

Among those most concerned were Zbigniew Brzezinski, then head of the Russian Studies Department at Columbia University, Henry Owen, then director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution - a Washington, D.C.-based "think-tank", and Chase Manhattan chairman David Rockefeller.

In his book, *Between Two Ages*, (published in 1970) Brzezinski had called for "A community of Developed Nations" in order to "contain the global tendencies toward chaos ... if the world is to respond effectively to the increasing serious crisis that in different ways now threatens both the advanced world and the Third World... From an American standpoint, the more important and promising changes in the years to come will have to involve Europe and Japan".

The Brookings Institution financed Brzezinski's studies into his concept of "Trilateralism". The result was Brzezinski's Tripartite Studies, which proposed a community of developed nations to strengthen the world economic community, - an advanced nations club - made up of North

## The Trilateral Commission

America, Western Europe, and Japan, the three spheres.

The idea was that the "best brains in the world", meaning bankers, industrialists, academics and politicians from the three spheres, would privately "collect and synthesise the knowledge that would enable a new generation to rebuild the conceptual framework of foreign and domestic foreign policies" - a meeting of the minds with the specific intention of influencing the foreign and economic policies of the world.

Brzezinski presented his Tripartite Studies to David Rockefeller. Being an old hand at private international forums, and realising their tremendous value, Rockefeller was delighted with the project. He tossed the idea around at several Chase Manhattan board meetings and saw to it that Brzezinski was invited to the next Bilderberg Conference. There in April 1972 in the small Belgian town of Knokke, Rockefeller proposed the formation of a Trilateral Commission. Bilderberg participants responded enthusiastically and urged him to press forward with the plan.

Assisted by Brzezinski, Rockefeller began recruiting members for his new society. In May 1972 he sent his closest friend and college chum George Franklin, the Executive Director of the Council on Foreign Relations, on a trip to Europe to, according to an internal commission memo, "explore there both degree of interest and possible participants."

The following month, in June, Rockefeller and Franklin teamed up and journeyed together to Japan on a similar mission.

By early July a Trilateral Planning Group had been formed. The group's first secret rendezvous was convened at David Rockefeller's mansion in Pocantico Hills, New York on July 23 and 24, 1972. In addition to Rockefeller, Brzezinski and Owen, the participants at this stage included Henry Owen, McGeorge Bundy, Robert Bowie, C. Fred

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Bergsten, Bayless Manning, Karl Carstens, Guido Colonna di Paliano, Francois Duchene, Rene Foch, Max Kohnstamm, Kiichi Miyazawa, Saburo Ikita, and Tadashi Yama-moto.

The group strongly agreed to go ahead with the project.

Rockefeller provided the initial financial support necessary from out of his own pocket until late 1972 when tax free grants were obtained from the Kettering Foundation.

In January 1973 the designated commission Chairmen, Gerard Smith for North America, Max Kohnstamm for Europe, and Takeshi Watanabe for Japan, met in Tokio for consultations with Brzezinski and Franklin, who had by then been appointed, respectively, Director and North American Secretary. According to a commission memo, the approval for such a commission had now been obtained from "the highest political and financial circles".

In February 1973 other foundations, including the Ford Foundation, were called upon to share some of the commission's costs. They responded generously.

By May 1973 the selection of the three Executive Committees of the commission had been completed:

### United States

I. W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America  
Harold Brown, President, California Institute of Technology  
Patrick Haggerty, Chairman, Texas Instruments  
Edwin Reischauer, Harvard University Professor and former  
Ambassador to Japan David Rockefeller, Chairman, Chase  
Manhattan Bank William Roth, Roth Properties William  
Scranton, former Governor of Pennsylvania Paul Warnke,  
Partner, Clifford, Warnke, Class, McIlwain &  
Finney

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### Europe

Klaus Dieter Arndt, Member of the (German) Bundestag

Kurt Birrenbach, Member of the Bundestag

Francesco Compagna, Member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies

Marc Eyskens, Commissary General of the Catholic University in Louvain

Mary Robinson, Member of the Senate of the Irish Republic

Otto Grieg Tidemand, Shipowner, former Norwegian Minister of Defense; former Minister of Economic Affairs

Sir Kenneth Younger, former Director of the Royal Institute for International Affairs

Sir Philip de Zulueta, Chief Executive, Antony Gibbs and Sons (Merchant bankers)

### Japan

Chujiro Fujino, President, Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha

Yukitaka Haraguchi, President, All Japan Metal Mine

Laborer's Union Kazushige Hirasawa, Editorial Writer, The

Japan Times Yusuke Kashiwagi, Vice President, Bank of Tokio

Kiichi Miyazawa, Member of the Diet Kinhide Mushakoji,

Professor, Sophia University Saburo Okita, President, The

Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund Ryuji Takeuchi, former

Ambassador to the United States

The Trilateral Commission was officially launched on July 1st, 1973. The membership selection process had been completed and seventy-five men and women from each sphere of the Trilateral triangle assumed their new roles as Trilateral Commissioners. They included Jimmy Carter, then Governor of Georgia, John B. Anderson, a member of the House of Representatives, Hedley Donovan, then Editor-in-Chief



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of Time, Inc., the late Reginald Maudling, Sir Eric (now Lord) Roll, Alistair Burnet, then Editor of The Economist, FIAT President Giovanni Agnelli, and Raymond Barre, former (French) Vice President of the Commission of European Communities.

At a meeting among North American members which took place in New York City on October 15 and 16, David Rockefeller noted that "private citizens are often able to act with greater flexibility than governments in the search for new and better forms of international cooperation".

At the first formal meeting of the Trilateral Commission's Executive Committee, held in Tokio on October 21, 22 and 23, there was a general agreement on the following statement:

"It will be the purpose of the Trilateral Commission to generate the will to respond in common with the opportunities and challenge that we confront and to assume the responsibilities that we face.

"The Commission will seek to promote among Japanese, West Europeans and North Americans the habit of working together on problems of mutual concern, to seek to obtain a shared understanding of these complex problems, and to devise and disseminate proposals of general benefit.

"The cooperation we seek involves a sustained process of consultation and mutual education, with our countries coming closer together to meet common needs. To promote such cooperation, the Commission will undertake an extensive program of trilateral policy studies, and will cooperate with existing private institutions as appropriate."

There are four fundamental differences between the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission:

1 Bilderberg is bilateral and does not involve the Japanese.

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2 Bilderberg is ad hoc while the Commission maintains a formal membership.

3 Bilderberg is primarily concerned with East-West political relations while the Trilateral Commission seems more interested in North-South economic relations.

4 Unlike Bilderberg, the Trilateral Commission publishes a quarterly journal, called "Triologue", available on request from the Commission's North American headquarters at 345 East 46th Street, in New York City. (The Commission's European headquarters is far more mysterious: it is located deep inside the executive offices of the French Electricity Board at 151 Boulevard Hausmann in Paris. The connection here being that the former chairman of the French Electricity Board, Paul Delouvrier, is presently on the Commission's Executive Committee. Until 1977, the Commission's European headquarters had been at the Centre for Contemporary European Studies at the University of Sussex in England.)

The Commission does not attempt to hide the formal proposals that they recommend to governments. Copies of their Task Force Reports, or "Triangle Papers", are available to the public on request. However, few people are aware of the existence of a Trilateral Commission and even fewer realise how simple it is to obtain Commission documents. For years, conspiracy-oriented newsletters of the Right and Left have been peddling Trilateral "secrets" which were obtained directly from the Commission!

Perhaps one of the more interesting studies to emanate from the Commission was *The Crisis of Democracy*, published in book form by the Commission in 1975. This proposes that what the West needs most "is a greater degree of moderation in democracy". The chief author of *The Crisis of Democracy*, Samuel Huntington, is now the Coordinator of Security Planning at the National Security Council.

The very first Trilateral Commission task force report

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called for renovating the world monetary system. According to the Commission's own literature, "one of the monetary task force recommendations, the coordinated sale of official gold into private markets and the use of the resulting 'capital gains' for development assistance, has been partially realised in the sale of a portion of the gold holdings of the International Monetary Fund." The monetary task force was led by Richard Cooper, then Professor of Economics at Yale University. Cooper is now the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

Another important task force report titled "Energy: Managing the Transition" made recommendations for managing the transition to higher cost energy. Its American author, John Sawhill, has since been appointed Deputy Secretary of the Department of Energy.

C. Fred Bergsten, who helped prepare a task force report on "The Reform of International Institutions" in 1976, is now Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs.

Many of the original members of the Trilateral Commission are now in positions of power where they are able to implement policy recommendations of the Commission; recommendations that they, themselves, prepared on behalf of the Commission.

It is for this reason that the Commission has acquired a reputation for being the Shadow Government of the West.

## CHAPTER TWO

# The Candidacy and Presidency of Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter was a charter member of the Trilateral Commission. He was invited to join over lunch with David Rockefeller and Zbigniew Brzezinski at London's Connaught Hotel in October 1972.

Rockefeller and Brzezinski had been in London, booked at the Connaught, for talks with British Trilateralists and to recruit new members.

It was elder statesman Averill Harriman, the former Governor of New York, who had suggested to Rockefeller that Carter was good presidential material. So when news came that Carter, then the Governor of Georgia, was en route to London on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce to solicit foreign business for the state of Georgia, Rockefeller extended a luncheon invitation. (Carter used J. Paul Austin's private jet for his international business trips. Austin is the chairman of the Coca-Cola Company whose world headquarters are located in Atlanta, Georgia.)

According to Brzezinski, "We were impressed that Carter had opened up trade offices for the State of Georgia in Brussels and Tokio. That seemed to fit perfectly into the concept of the Trilateral."

Lunch in London wasn't Carter's first encounter with Rockefeller. Shortly after Carter had been elected Governor

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of Georgia in 1971 he phoned Rockefeller to say that Georgia sold a lot of bonds to New York and that he therefore wanted to come up and meet some New York bankers.

Carter proved to be a dedicated Trilateral Commissioner, never missing a meeting, and noting in his autobiography, *Why Not the Best?*, that the Commission provided him "with a splendid learning opportunity".

During his campaign for President, Carter boasted of his Commission membership whenever the subject of his experience in foreign affairs arose. He freely admitted to being educated in the field of foreign policy by the Commission. In a speech to the Foreign Policy Association of New York in June 1976 Carter stressed the need for increased cooperation between Japan, Western Europe, and North America. "We must," he said, "replace balance-of-power politics with world order politics" - which is, of course, the basic theme of Trilateralism.

Slowly but surely, Carter began to arise from nowhere in the presidential sweepstakes. Virtually unheard of by the American public, Carter took the nation by surprise when he won the Iowa State Caucus in 1975. Overnight, people were asking, "Jimmy Who?". Although the media focused almost all its weight in trying to answer that question, no one seemed to think it important to mention Carter's membership in the Trilateral Commission.

Carter's sudden rise to fame was not without some important inside help. *Time Magazine*, whose Editor-in-Chief was Trilateral Commissioner Hedley Donovan, throughout 1975 published advertising in other large circulation magazines for its own promotion which looked just like first class PR for Jimmy Carter. At the first formal Trilateral Commission conference in 1975 Brzezinski took the rostrum and praised Carter as "one political leader with the courage to speak forthrightly on the issues".

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Dr. Peter Bourne, Carter's deputy campaign chief, has said, "David and Zbig both agreed from the start that Carter was the ideal candidate to build on."

Brzezinski assumed the role as Carter's exclusive foreign policy tutor and in this capacity became Carter's top speech-writer.

Once elected, Carter rewarded the Polish-born Brzezinski for his efforts by appointing him Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

And if that wasn't enough, Carter filled practically all of the major policy posts in the United States with Trilateral Commissioners creating, in effect, a "Trilateral Administration". Jimmy Carter, President Walter Mondale, Vice President Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State Harold Brown, Secretary of Defense W. Michael Blumenthal, Treasury Secretary Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Advisor Warren Christopher, Deputy Secretary of State Anthony Solomon, Deputy Secretary of State for Monetary

Affairs Richard Cooper, Under Secretary of State for Economic

Affairs C. Fred Bergsten, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Economic Affairs Andrew Young, Ambassador to the United Nations Robert Bowie, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Richard Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary of State for East

Asian and Pacific Affairs Graham Allison, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Planning Lucy Benson, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance Samuel Huntington, Coordinator of Security Planning at the

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National Security Council John Sawhill, Deputy Secretary of Energy Paul Volker, Chairman, Board of Governors, U.S. Federal Reserve System Hedley Donovan, Senior White House Advisor Lloyd Cutler, Counsel to the President Sol Linowitz, Panama Treaty Negotiator and now Middle

East Negotiator Henry Owen, Economic Advisor for the London Summit Leonard Woodcock, U.S. Permanent Representative to

Peking Paul Warnke, Director, Arms Control and Disarmament

Agency Gerard Smith, Ambassador-at-Large for Nuclear Issues Elliot Richardson, U.S. Representative to UN Law of the Sea Conference Richard Gardner, Ambassador to Italy

"Coming from Georgia," explained Rockefeller to the Los Angeles Times, "Carter had very little international exposure. Carter found in Trilateral a lot of very able people representing different areas and points of view that he needed in government."

In retrospect, it is remarkable that the following statement was circulated to all members of the Trilateral Commission in 1973: "The Trilateral Commission is created for a three year period and is expected to complete its mission in 1976."

So, did the Trilateral Commission use Jimmy Carter, seeing him as the man who would stand up for their global interests, or was it the other way around: did Jimmy Carter use the Trilateral Commission?

According to retired CIA official Miles Copeland, a man with close connections to the Carter Administration, Carter "played along with the Commission, seeing it as a way of

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winning over the business community".

In his speech accepting the Democratic nomination, Carter condemned "unholy, self-perpetuating alliances that have been formed between money and politics". Without mentioning the Trilateral Commission by name, Carter spoke of "a political and economic elite who have shaped decisions and never had to account for mistakes nor to suffer from injustice. When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job. When deprivation results from a confused welfare system, they never go without food or a place to sleep. When the public schools are inferior or torn by strife, their children go to exclusive private schools. And when the bureaucracy is bloated and confused, the powerful always manage to discover and occupy niches of special influence and privilege."

Rockefeller must have wondered then what sort of monster he had helped create. By 1978 Rockefeller was already thinking about a new president for 1980.

Once safely in the White House, Carter appears to have turned his back on the resident Trilateralists in his administration in favour of seeking the bulk of his advice from Almighty God, his wife Rosalynn, and the "Georgia Mafia", in that order.

It is interesting to note that during Carter's presidential campaign, the "Georgia Mafia" - Hamilton Jordan, Jody Powell, Stu Eizenstat, and Charles Kirbo - deeply distrusted Carter's involvement with Brzezinski, Rockefeller, and the rest of the Commission. In fact, in the midst of the campaign, Jordan had said to the Press, "If after the inauguration you find Cy Vance as Secretary of State and Zbigniew Brzezinski as head of National Security, then I would say that we failed, and I'd quit."

Carter had apparently reassured Jordan and the others that they would run the country and not Brzezinski and the



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other Trilateralists. Miles Copeland explained to me how the system would work at the White House: "Carter would call in Brzezinski, Vance, and the others one by one, formally listen to their proposals, then dismiss them. After they left, Carter, Jordan, and Powell would pal around with their feet up on the tables and decide what to do."

Using people in order to achieve his campaign ends was not an entirely new technique for Carter. He had done the same thing while running for Governor of Georgia in 1970. To the white voters of Georgia he portrayed himself as a red-neck segregationist and in this way was even able to obtain endorsements from the likes of George Wallace and Lester Maddox. Meanwhile, Carter secretly went around to a group of black leaders in Atlanta and reportedly told them, "You won't like my campaign, but you'll be proud of my record as Governor if you support me." Once the red-neck stance got him elected, Carter turned full circle and went on to become the most civil-rights minded governor the South has ever seen.

Carter whirled a full 180 degrees on advice from his Trilateralists when, in April 1978, he made the controversial decision not to deploy the neutron bomb for NATO forces.

The April 17, 1978 edition of Newsweek magazine carried a full page editorial by Theo Sommer (Editor-in-Chief of Die Zeit, the West Germany daily newspaper) denouncing Carter's decision as "irrational" and "sloppy". Sommer described Carter as "elusive, contradictory and exasperating as ever", and he concluded by declaring that Carter "seems bent on proving to the world that it is possible to lose friends without influencing one's enemies ... a dangerous erosion of confidence".

Very strong words. Especially in coming from Theo Sommer, a most dedicated member of both the Trilateral Commission and the international steering committee of

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Bilderberg.

According to confidential Bilderberg papers from their April 1978 conference in Princeton, New Jersey, many members lashed out at "the inept remarks by President Carter in Europe" and they voiced their "uneasiness" over the Carter foreign policy.

Carter displeased Rockefeller and the Trilateralists even further when he refused to continue supporting the Shah of Iran while civil war raged and threatened to tear Iran apart. Rockefeller's financial interests in Iran are mammoth.

According to a recent Commission study, "Our peoples need a wartime psychology to fight this (energy) war against ourselves."

If David Rockefeller really believes this, perhaps he helped create the tense, indignant mood now prevailing in the United States. Surely he and Dr. Kissinger, now on the Commission's Executive Committee, should have realised that in bringing the ailing Shah of Iran into the United States the Iranians would become irrational with anger. Although the CIA reported that it would be a terrible mistake to accept the Shah, Rockefeller and Kissinger strongly persisted until the Shah was finally admitted, and the hostage crisis was sparked off at the American Embassy in Tehran. If nothing more, this is at least a good example of how unelected private citizens are able to exercise their will in a manner which effects the whole world.

## CHAPTER THREE

# Mr. Rockefeller, Chairman of the Establishment

The only real difference between Joseph Retinger and David Rockefeller is that while Retinger was always penniless, Rockefeller has always been a billionaire. They both recognised the potential of private international forums for influencing public opinion and policy issues. But whereas Retinger's motivation for such forums was never commercial gain, Rockefeller's chief motivation appears to be corporate profits.

The youngest of the five sons of John D. Rockefeller II, Davis is the undisputed, unelected and self-appointed head of the international corporate and financial community. He is one of the few original Bilderbergers still attending conferences and he is indeed one of the driving forces behind its continuation. He is the founder, and current chairman, of the Trilateral Commission. And his specialty has always been international banking.

As Chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, Rockefeller supervises the huge Rockefeller Interest Group. At the core of the Group are seven financial institutions: four banks (three in New York, one in Chicago) and three insurance companies (all in New York).

They consist of:

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- 1 Chase Manhattan (the Chase is probably the most powerful bank on earth. Overseas operations include more than one hundred branches scattered throughout the world and business with 6,000 correspondent banks.)
- 2 First National City Bank
- 3 Chemical Bank
- 4 First National Bank of Chicago
- 5 Metropolitan Life
- 6 Equitable
- 7 New York Life

The total assets of all seven core financial institutions, as of 1969, were 113 billion dollars; these days Chase alone is worth 65 billion dollars.

In addition, the Rockefeller Group exerts working control, through stock ownership, of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of Indiana, Mobil Oil, and Marathon Oil.

Through the Chase and his other New York banks, Rockefeller maintains a controlling interest, through leading stock ownership, in twenty-three huge billion dollar corporations. These include:

Pan American Airways  
Eastern Airline  
United Airlines  
International Business Machines  
American Telephone and Telegraph  
Allied Chemicals  
Anaconda Copper  
Columbia Broadcasting System  
Atlantic Richfield  
Honeywell  
CPC International

## Mr. Rockefeller, Chairman of the Establishment

Safeway Motorola Borden  
Kimberly Clark Domino

All told, the Rockefeller Financial Group, through stock ownership and/or interlocking directorships from the seven core financial institutions, control 20 per-cent of all U.S. banking (60 per-cent of all banking in New York), 20 percent of all American industry, half of the U.S. oil industry, and more than 25 per-cent of private U.S. investment in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

In Vietnam, IBM's electric battlefield signaled planes overhead and tanks powered by Standard Oil pounded away on the ground, Pan American flew soldiers in and out. Back at Room 5600 at One Chase Manhattan Plaza in New York City, David Rockefeller was heard to say: "It's a sacrifice we have to make for democracy."

Educated at Harvard and the London School of Economics, Rockefeller went into banking in 1946 as an assistant manager in the foreign department at Chase Manhattan. He quickly worked his way upward until, by 1960, he was appointed President of the Chase. His ultimate promotion, Chairman of the Board, came in 1968.

In 1947 Rockefeller was elected to membership in the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations, described by columnist Joseph Kraft as "a private New York organisation which most Americans have never heard of. It has been the seat of some basic government decisions, has set the context for many more, and has repeatedly served as a recruiting ground for ranking officials".

Referred to by some as "The government in exile" and "The Rockefeller foreign office", the Council is located at 58

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East 68th Street in the Harold Pratt House, a four-storey mansion donated to the Council by David Rockefeller's father.

According to Kraft in the July 1958 issue of Harpers magazine, "It is undeniable that the Council, acting as a corporate body, has influenced American policy with wide ranging effects upon the average citizen. Set against the total public, the Council can hardly be called a representative body; its active membership is, by force of circumstance, Eastern; and, by any reckoning, either rich or successful. Its transactions are remote from public scrutiny."

Rockefeller became committed to the Council and has looked upon it as his most important activity aside from the Chase. According to Peter Collier and David Horowitz, in a book called *The Rockefellers*, "The Council gave David an insider's view of the unfolding events of America's international policies. If there was a political crisis in the oil regions of the Middle East, Secretary of State Dulles (also a member) would brief his fellow Council members on developments."

The Council is wholly dependent on grants from foundations, corporations and individuals. In 1964 Rockefeller gave 500,000 dollars to the Council, perhaps as a token of his appreciation.

In 1972 Rockefeller was elected to the position he sought most: Chairman of the Council, and virtually, Chairman of the Board of the Establishment.

Three American Presidents, Kennedy, Nixon, and Carter offered Rockefeller a cabinet job as Treasury Secretary. Rockefeller refused each time. He is content to remain behind the scenes, where he is probably more powerful yet less susceptible to public criticism.

When not attending Chase board meetings or taking the chair at one of his hush-hush international conferences,

## Mr. Rockefeller, Chairman of the Establishment

Rockefeller spends his time circling the globe in his private Grumman Gulfstream jet and dropping in on world leaders to offer advice. It's been said that Rockefeller keeps a card file of 35,000 "personal friends" in high places around the world.

Collecting beetles has been Rockefeller's lifetime hobby. His private collection is believed to be the best in the world. There are two species named for him: *Armaeodera Rockefelleri* and *Cicindela Rockefelleri*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# Rock's Under Bush

Shortly after briefing President-elect Jimmy Carter on the world situation at Carter's home in Plains, Georgia in early January 1977, George Bush tendered his resignation as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, effective January 20th, the day the new President assumed office. (A resignation of this sort is customary for those appointed by the outgoing administration.)

Several weeks later Bush received an invitation from David Rockefeller to join the Trilateral Commission. He readily accepted.

When I interviewed him in April 1979 at his hotel suite in Washington, D.C., Bush told me that he found the Commission to be a "very worthwhile organisation. I happen to believe that the relationship between our European allies, Japan, and North America, which are the three laterals, is very important. I happen to believe in these alliances and I want to see them strengthened."

If Bush enjoyed the Commission, the Commission's founder and boss certainly enjoyed Bush. On March 20th, 1979 Bush met privately with David Rockefeller and other bankers in New York City. Either he convinced them of his Trilateral convictions or they impressed upon him the sort of man they were looking for to replace Jimmy Carter as President in 1980. One thing is certain. Bush walked away from



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the meeting with a cheque for 1,000 dollars signed by David Rockefeller, with promises of more to come. (Rockefeller later helped organise a Bush for President fund-raising dinner at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City.)

While a Trilateral Commissioner, Bush attended two Commission conferences, in Bonn and Washington, D.C., and several smaller meetings among North American members. He resigned his membership in October 1978, three months before the official formation of the Bush for President Committee.

Carter appears to have known the score: when he was asked back in 1978 who he would least like to run against, Carter had replied ... "George Bush". And later when Bush, in Carter's own footsteps, "arose from nowhere", an aide to Carter told Anthony Holden, the Washington correspondent for *The Observer*, "He's playing our game very cleverly. We'll have to invent some new rules."

The aide was referring to much more than the similarity of the Bush campaign to the Carter campaign tactics of 1975, shuttling back and forth tirelessly between Iowa and New Hampshire.

Rockefeller cleverly recognised Bush's presidential potential. The temper of the United States has been growing more conservative. The American public is beginning to realise that it pulled out the eyes of the CIA and then blamed it for being blind. All of this looked terribly good for Bush who, as early as 1976, had said: "We need to strengthen our intelligence instead of tearing it down. I think the American people inevitably understand that I'm correct on that, and whether it's good politics or bad, I plan to work for a strengthened CIA." - a view most compatible with the spirit of 1980.

Bush's father, the late Prescott Bush, a U.S. Senator from Connecticut for ten years, had been a full partner in Brown

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Brothers, Harriman, the prestigious New York investment bankers. (When the Trilateral Commission met at the Institute of Directors in Pall Mall, London in March 1980, the directory board at the Institute billed the event as a "Brown Brothers, Harriman" convention.)

Although George Bush made his fortune, in the 1950s, as a Texan oil tycoon (he founded Zapata Petroleum), he retains his East Coast contacts. For the first time in years, the East Coast Establishment and the Texas Oil Establishment could agree on a candidate. Moreover, Bush had been a very popular director at the CIA and he could count on their support as well. (William Colby, the man Bush replaced as CIA's director in 1975, has contributed to the Bush campaign.)

All of this greatly impressed Rockefeller. According to Miles Copeland, a retired CIA official close to the Bush campaign, "David really thought Bush could win."

Everything looked good for Bush. Employing the Carter campaign strategy, he won the Iowa State Caucus and overnight emerged from a fifty-to-one outsider to a chief Republican contender. His victory took the nation by surprise. While everyone was asking, "George Who?" the media didn't think to ask David Rockefeller. Bush's two year membership in the Trilateral Commission eluded everyone.

Then things began to go drastically wrong for George Bush. William Loeb, the tyrannical owner/publisher of the Manchester Union Leader, New Hampshire's only statewide newspaper, got wind of Bush's one-time affiliation with the Commission. Being a staunch supporter of former California Governor Ronald Reagan, the one other chief Republican contender, Loeb began publishing a series of page one editorials which denounced Bush as being the stooge of that "liberal" establishment of "one worlders", the Trilateral Commission. In one, he wrote, "It is quite clear that this

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group of extremely powerful men is out to control the world." Even Reagan jumped in on the Loeb/Union Leader bandwagon. When asked if he thought if the Commission wielded too much power, Reagan replied, "Yes, it does."

Everywhere Bush campaigned in New Hampshire the locals would raise their hands high and ask about the Trilateral Commission. Inevitably, the conservative voters of New Hampshire gave Reagan a stunning victory. Bush was shaken by the sheer enormity of his defeat.

George Bush was not to recover. Campaigning in the South, he encountered the same problem. The Florida Conservative Union advertised in all of the major newspapers that "The same people who gave you Jimmy Carter now want to give you George Bush". According to Time Newsweek, and the Washington Post, the Trilateral Commission had become a real issue. And it was costing Bush thousands of votes.

At this writing, Rockefeller, according to Miles Copeland, is "running Bush for Vice President".

The White House has an uncanny ability to age even the healthiest of Presidents. For Ronald Reagan, sixty-nine years of age at this writing, there seems little chance of surviving eight years in office. If Reagan is elected President, the best way to succeed him will be through the Vice President's office.

It is fascinating to note that the only other presidential candidate to "arise from nowhere" in 1980 was Illinois Congressman John B. Anderson. Anderson has been a member of the Trilateral Commission since its creation.

If Trilateral Commission membership is to be the new criteria for "arising from nowhere" in presidential politics, the faces to watch in elections to come are those of Senator John Culver, Congressman John Brademas, Illinois Governor Jim Thompson, and Donald Fraser, the Mayor of Minneapolis.

# CONCLUSION

In concluding this short book, I should like to re-emphasize that I am not a conspiracy buff; in looking at the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission I do not see bogey men trying to control the world. Nor do I perceive any Grand Design or Master Plan for one world government.

What I do see are groups of informed, concerned individuals who believe it their duty, and perhaps even their right, to help shape public opinion and who believe that the best way to do so is behind locked doors.

Although it is a good thing when world leaders can meet and resolve their problems, the question inevitably arises: what is being said that warrants such privacy, and more important, how does this fit in with the Western concept of free world democracy?

This book has attempted to demonstrate that while conspiracy theories need not be taken seriously, the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission should. It is clear that they have become the intermediate filter between foundations-corporations-universities-personal wealth and government policy-makers, and their importance in this capacity should not be under-estimated.



Above left: The complex at 345 East 46th Street in New York City which houses Trilateral Commission headquarters (photo by Robert Eringer). Above right: Bilderberg-Trilateral boss and Chase Manhattan chief David Rockefeller. Chairman of the Establishment./Topper

Foto).  
Below: The complex at 151 Boulevard Hausmann in Paris which houses the European office of the Trilateral Commission within the offices of the French Electricity Board.



Above: Zbigniew Brzezinski — He conceived the Trilateral Commission in his “Tripartite Studies” and became the Commission’s first Director (*Popper Foto*).  
Right: President Carter — telling them who’s boss as he accepts the Democratic nomination in July 1976 (*Popper Foto*).



Above: Republican George Bush, on the "rise from nowhere" following the stunning victory in Iowa (Popper Foto). Below: Congressman John Anderson, yet

another Trilateral Commissioner to "arise from nowhere" in the presidential sweepstakes (Popper Foto).

# Dialogue

## COMMISSION RECOMMENDS COOPERATION WITH OIL-EXPORTERS, PROPOSES NEW AID AGENCY, CONSULTS WITH FORD AND KISSINGER

"The international system is undergoing a drastic transformation through a number of crises. Worldwide inflation reflects, transmits and magnifies the tensions of many societies, while the difficulties produced by the abrupt change in oil prices are accompanied by the entry of major new participants onto the world scene.

"Confrontations in an attempt to maintain the under-

lying assumptions of the old system could lead to a general breakdown. On the other hand, creative policies to adapt it to the new partners and conditions could extend the area of effective cooperation more widely than ever before. Such cooperation must be based on the principle of equality. This is the core of any future political understanding."



Members of the Executive Committee meeting with President Ford about Trilateral Commission recommendations. From the President's left, they are as follows: David Rockefeller, Chairman, The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.Y.; Zbigniew Brzezinski, Director, The Trilateral Commission; Robert W. Roemer, G.C., Bremer & Associates; Tadashi Yamashita, Japanese Secretary of The Trilateral Commission; George S. Franklin, North American Secretary, The Trilateral Commission; Francois Duchesne, European Deputy Chairman, The Trilateral Commission; Kazuoji Niizawa, Radio-TV news commentator, Japan Broadcasting Inc.; Haruki Kuroki, President, California Institute of Technology; Chuzo Fujita, President, Mitsubishi Corporation; Cesare Merlini, Director, Italian Institute for International Affairs; Gerard C. Smith, North American Chairman, The Trilateral Commission; Mary T. W. Robinson, Member of the Senate of the Irish Republic; Umberto Colombo, Director of the Committee for Scientific Policy, CERN; Jean-Luc Poper, P.C., President, Interneco, Ltd.; Georges Berthoin, former Chief Representative of the Commission of the European Community to the U.K.; Max Kalmstein, European Chairman, The Trilateral Commission; Nobuko Uchida, former Ambassador of Japan to the United States; Marc Epstein, Comptroller General of the Catholic University of Louvain; Elliot L. Richardson, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Studies, Smithsonian Institution; Otto Sving, Tidemand, former Norwegian Minister of Defense and Minister of Economic Affairs; Lord Patrick Gordon Walker, former British Foreign Secretary.

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Chairman Secretary Editor

Above: Front page from the Winter 1974-75 issue of Dialogue - The photo depicts members of Trilateral's Executive Committee meeting with President Ford about Trilateral Commission recommendations.



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### TRILATERAL COMMISSION CONFERENCES

- 1 May 1975, Kyoto
- 2 May 1976, Ottawa
- 3 January 1977, Tokio
- 4 October 1977, Bonn
- 5 June 1978, Washington, D.C.
- 6 April 1979, Tokio
- 7 March 1980, London
- 8 March 29-31 1981, Washington D.C. (Planned)

**WITNESSES**

HOW DID YOU GET YOUR JOB IN THE STATE DEPT.?



I WAS WRONG ON VET-NAM.



HOW DID YOU GET YOUR JOB IN THE JUSTICE DEPT.?



I WAS WRONG ON CIVIL RIGHTS.



HOW DID YOU GET YOUR JOB IN HOUSING?



I WAS WRONG ON THE CITIES.



IF YOU WERE WRONG WHY WERE YOU APPOINTED?



WE ARE MEMBERS OF THE CLUB.



WHAT CLUB?



THE RIGHT CLUB.



MADE UP OF GRADUATES OF THE RIGHT UNIVERSITIES WHO WENT INTO THE RIGHT CORPORATIONS WHO MADE THE RIGHT CONTACTS.



THEN WHY WERE YOU WRONG ON THE ISSUES?



NOT BY ACCIDENT.

