

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
HOTEL DE BILDERBERG  
OSTERBEEK, NETHERLANDS  
29-31 May 1954

PROVISIONAL LIST  
in alphabetical order

PRESIDENT:

His Royal Highness, The Prince of The Netherlands.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

Coleman, John S.  
van Zeeland, Paul.

SECRETARY GENERAL:

Retinger, J. H.

RAPPORTEURS:

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

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Andre, Robert	France. President of the "Syndicat de Petrole".
Assheton, The Rt. Hon. Ralph	U.K. Member of Parliament, former Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Supply, Former Financial Secretary to the Treasury.
De Beaumont, G.	France. Member of Parliament
Bonvoisin, Pierre	Belgium. Banker, President of the "Banque de la Societe Generale de Belgique".
Boothy, Sir Robert	U.K. Member of Parliament.
Brauer, Max	Germany. Former Mayor and President of the Land of Hamburg
Cafiero, Raffaele	Italy. Senator.
Cisler, Walker L.	U.S.A. Public Utility Executive. President, The Detroit Edison Co. Consultant to Atomic Energy Commission and Mutual Security Agency.
Cowles, Gardner	U.S.A. Publisher.
Davies, The Rt. Hon. Clement	U.K. Member of Parliament. Former Minister. Chairman of Parliamentary Liberal Party.
Drapier, Jean	Belgium. Lawyer.
Duchet, R.	France. Member of Parliament, former Minister. Secretary General, Independents and Peasants Party.
Faure, M.	France. Member of Parliament.
Ferguson, John H.	U.S.A. Lawyer. Vice-President and Executive Director, Cttee. for a National Trade Policy. Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, Dept. of State, 1951-1953
Foster, John	U.K. Member of Parliament. Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.
Franks, The Rt. Hon. Sir Oliver	U.K. Former Ambassador in Washington. Chairman Lloyd's Bank.
Geyer, Gerhard P. Th.	Germany. Industrialist. Director General "Esso".
Gubbins, Sir Colin	U.K. Major General retd. Formerly in charge of SOE.

Healey, Denis	U.K. Member of Parliament, Former Secretary of the International Cttee. of the Labour Party.
Heinz, H. J.	U.S.A. President, H.J. Heinz Co.
Hoegh, Leif	Norway. Shipowner.
Jackson, C. D.	U.S.A. Publisher. Formerly Special Assistant to President Eisenhower 1953-1954
Jay, Nelson Dean	U.S.A. Banker. Director, J. P. Morgan & Co. Inc. New York
Kanellopoulos, P.	Greece. Member of Parliament. Minister of National Defense.
Koningsberger, V.J.	Netherlands. Professor State University Utrecht.
Kraft, Ole Bjorn	Denmark. Member of Parliament. Former Foreign Minister.
Leverkuehn, P. M. A.	Germany. Member of Parliament. Lawyer
Malagodi, Giovanni F.	Italy. Member of Parliament.
Moe, Finn	Norway. Member of Parliament. Chairman, Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Cttee. Vice-President, Council of Europe
Montgomery, Hyde H.	U.K. Member of Parliament
Motz, Roger	Belgium. Senator. Chairman of the Liberal International. Former Chairman of the Liberal Party.
Mueller, Rudolf	Germany. Lawyer.
McGhee, George C.	U.S.A. Industrialist Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern & South African Affairs, 1949-1952. U.S. Ambassador and Chief, AMERICAN Mission for Aid to Turkey, 1951-1953.
Nebolsine, George	U.S.A. Lawyer. Consultant to Department of State and Economic Cooperation Administration, 1948. Trustee U.S. Council of International Chamber of Commerce
Oosterhuis, H.	Netherlands. Member of Parliament. President of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions.

Parker, Cola G.	U.S.A. Industrialist. Member of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy (Rendall Commission).
Perkins, George W.	U.S.A. Industrialist. Assistant Sec. of State for European Affairs, 1949-1953.
Pilkington, Sir Harry	U.K. President, Federation of British Industries.
Pinay, Antoine	France. Member of Parliament. Former Prime Minister.
Pipinelis, P.	Greece. Former Foreign Minister. Former Ambassador to U.S.S.R.
Pirelli, Alberto	Italy. Industrialist. Minister of State.
Quaroni, P.	Italy. Ambassador to France. Former Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
Rosenberg, Ludwig	Germany. Chief of Department of Foreign Affairs of the Trade Unions.
Rossi, Paolo	Italy. Member of Parliament.
de Rougemont, Denis	Switzerland. Author. Director European Cultural Center
Rijkens, Paul	Netherlands. Industrialist. Chairman of Unilever N.V.
Schneider, Ernst Georg	Germany. Industrialist. President, Chamber of Commerce of Dusseldorf
Spang, Joseph P., Jr.	U.S.A. Industrialist. President, The Gillette Co.
Steenberghe, M. P. L.	Netherlands. Former Minister of Economic Affairs of the Netherlands. Director of Companies.
Teitgen, P. H.	France Vice-President of the Council of Ministers.
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark. Chief Editor, Berlingske Tidende.
Tingsten, Herbert L. G.	Sweden. Chief Editor, Dagens Nyheter.
Troeger, H.	Germany. Minister of Finance of Hesse
Valletta, Vittorio	Italy. Industrialist. President of FIAT

Voisin, Andre	France. President, "La Federation"
Waldenstrom, M.	Sweden. Industrialist.
van Walsem, H. F.	Netherlands. Industrialist. Member of the Board of Philips Industries Eindhoven.
Willems, Jean	Belgium. "Fondation Universitaire"
Williamson, Thomas	U.K. General Secretary, National Union of General and Municipal Workers.
In an advisory capacity: Vlekke, B. H. M.	Netherlands. Secretary General of the Netherlands' Society of International Affairs.

**SECRETARIAT:**

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

**GENERAL INFORMATION**

**LOCATION:**

All meetings will be held at Hotel "De Bilderberg".  
Telephone: Oosterbeek 2887.

**ACCOMODATION:**

Accommodation has been reserved at Hotel "De Bilderberg" as well as at two other hotels in the area vicinity viz. Hotel "Wolfheeze" and Hotel "'s Koonings Jaght".  
Participants will have breakfast in the hotel where they are staying.  
Lunches and dinners will be served at Hotel "De Bilderberg".  
Hotel accommodation, meals as well as transport by car from the point of arrival in Holland to the Conference and back, will be provided. Any extras will, however, be charged to the participants of the conference.

**SECRETARIES:**

At "De Bilderberg" secretaries will be made available to the participants on request to the Secretariat.

**MEETINGS:**

Saturday, 29th May	10 h. - 13 h. 15 h. - 18 h.
Sunday, 30th May	11 h. - 13 h. 15 h. - 18 h.
Monday, 31st May	10 h. - 13 h. 14.30 h. - 18 h.

For reasons of convenience only the English and French languages will be used. The conference room will be equipped for simultaneous interpretation into English and French.

**TRAVEL BUREAU:**

(including accommodation and currency exchange)

A small travel bureau with all exchange facilities will be established at Hotel "De Bilderberg." This bureau will be in charge of Miss M. Tuinman.

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
St. Simons Island Conference, USA  
15-17 February 1957

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary:

J. H. Retinger

United States Honorary Secretary:

Joseph E. Johnson

*Aron, Raymond	France
Astor, The Honorable F. D. L.	United Kingdom
Ball, George W.	United States
Berg, Fritz	Germany
Birgi, Muharrem Nuri	Turkey
Black, Eugene R.	United States
Bowie, Robert R.	United States
Bundy, McGeorge	United States
Christiansen, Hakon	Denmark
Cisler, Walker	United States
Commin, Pierre	France
Cooke, B. D.	United Kingdom
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Dewey, Thomas E.	United States
Elliot, Sir William	United Kingdom
Erler, Fritz	Germany
*Fanfani, Amintore	Italy
Ferguson, John	United States
Fulbright, J. William	United States
Garde, Jean de la	France
Gordon, Lincoln	United States
Gubbins, Sir Colin	United Kingdom
Hafstad, Lawrence R.	United States
Hauge, Jens Christian	Norway
Hays, Brooks	United States
Healey, Denis W.	United Kingdom
Heeney, Arnold D. P.	Canada
Heilperin, Michael A.	United States
Heinz, Henry J., II	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Hoffman, Paul G.	United States
Jackson, C. D.	United States
Jackson, William H.	United States
Jacobsson, Per	Sweden
Kennan, George F.	United States
Kiesinger, Kurt-Georg	Germany
Kilmuir, Viscount	United Kingdom
Kissinger, Henry A.	United States
Lieftinck, Pieter	Netherlands
Longo, Imbriani	Italy
*Malagodi, Giovanni F.	Italy
Martin, Paul	Canada
*McCloy, John J.	United States

McDonald, David J.	United States
McGhee, George C.	United States
McGill, Ralph E.	United States
*Menderes, Adnan	Turkey
Menne, Alexander W.	Germany
Mueller, Rudolf	Germany
Murphy, Robert D.	United States
Nash, Frank C.	United States
Nebolsine, George	United States
Nitze, Paul H.	United States
*Noble, Allan	United Kingdom
Patterson, Morehead	United States
Pinay, Antoine	France
Price, Don K.	United States
Roberts, Henry Lithgow	United States
Rockefeller, David	United States
van Roijen, J. H.	Netherlands
Rusk, Dean	United States
Rykens, Paul	Netherlands
Steel, J. L. S.	United Kingdom
Sulzberger, Arthur Hays	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Vorys, John M.	United States
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wilde, Frazar B.	United States
Wiley, Alexander	United States
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
Wren, W. T.	United Kingdom
van Zeeland, Paul	Belgium

IN ATTENDANCE:

de Graaff, F. A.	Netherlands
Pomian, John	United Kingdom

\*Participants who had accepted the invitation but were eventually unable to attend.

Source: Edwin M. Martin Papers; John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Buxton Conference, England

13-15 September 1958

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS [INCOMPLETE]

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary:

J. H. Retinger

United States Honorary Secretary:

Joseph E. Johnson

Abs, Herman J.	Germany
Acheson, Dean	United States
Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Ball, George W.	United States
Barbour, Walworth	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Beddington-Behrens, Sir Edward	United Kingdom
Beitz, Berthold	Germany
Berg, Fritz	Germany
Birgi, Muharrem Nuri	Turkey
Blaisse, P.A.	Netherlands
Boden, James C.	Germany
Boheman, Erik	Sweden
Brauer, Max	Germany
Burgess, W. Randolph	United States
Camu, Louis	Belgium
Carli, Guido	Italy
Case, Clifford P.	United States
Cavendish-Bentick, Victor	United Kingdom
Cochrane, Sir Ralph	United Kingdom
Dethleffsen, Erich	Germany
Erler, Fritz	Germany
Ferguson, John	United States
Gaitskell, H.T.N.	United Kingdom
Gordon, Walter L.	Canada
Grimond, Joseph	United Kingdom
Gubbins, Sir Colin	United Kingdom
Hallstein, Walther	International
Harsch, Joseph C.	United States
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Healey, Denis	United Kingdom
Heilperin, Michael A.	United States
Heinz II, H.J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Jackson, Charles D.	United States
Kilmuir, Viscount	United Kingdom
Kleffens, E.N. van	Netherlands
Knollys, Viscount	U.K.
Kraft, Ole B.	Denmark
Kristensen, Thorkil	Denmark
Malagodi, Giovanni F.	Italy
McCloy, John J.	United States



McGhee, George C.	United States
Mosely, Philip E.	United States
Motz, Roger	Belgium
Mueller, Rudolf	Germany
Neal, Alfred C.	United States
Nebolsine, George	United States
Nitze, Paul H.	United States
Ormsby-Gore, David	United Kingdom
Otten, P.F.S.	Netherlands
Pipinelis, P.N.	Greece
Pirelli, Alberto	Italy
Quaroni, Pietro	Italy
Roberts, Sir Alfred	United Kingdom
Rockefeller, David	United States
Ross, Michael	United States
Rueff, Jacques	
Rykans, Paul	Netherlands
Schmid, Carlo	Germany
Schuyler, C.V.R.	International
Steele, J.L.S.	United Kingdom
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Tiarks, Henry	United Kingdom
Vermeer, Every A.	Netherlands
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
van Zeeland, Paul	Belgium
Zellerbach, J.D.	United States

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/bildhist.htm>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Cannes Conference

29-31 March 1963

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Honorary Treasurer:

Paul Rykens

Former Chairman of the Board of Unilever

Deputy Secretary General for Europe:

Arnold T. Lamping

Former Ambassador

Agnelli, Giovanni	Vice-President, FIAT	Italy
Anderson, Robert O.	President, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies	United States
Aron, Raymond C. F.	Journalist and University Professor	France
Ball, George W.	Under Secretary of State	United States
Basset, John	Chairman and Publisher, "The Telegramme"	Canada
Baumel, Jacques	Senator; Secretary General, "Union pour la Nouvelle Republique"	France
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	Former Minister of Finance	France
Beer, Henrik	Secretary General, League of Red Cross Societies	International
Bennett, Frederic M.	Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
Berg, Fritz	President, Federation of German Industries	Germany
Birgi, M. Nuri	Ambassador to NATO	Turkey
Birrenbach, Kurt	Member of Parliament	Germany
Blaisse, Pieter A.	Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	Netherlands
Brauer, Max	Former Burgomaster of Hamburg; Member of Parliament	Germany
Callaghan, James	Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
Cavendish-Bentinck, Victor	Adviser on Foreign Affairs to Unilever	Germany
Chalandon, Albin P.H.	Director, "Banque Commerciale de Paris"	France
Chambers, S. Paul	Chairman, I.C.I. Ltd.	United Kingdom
Cisler, Walker L.	Industrialist	United States
Cleveland, Harold Van B.	Director, Atlantic Policy Studies	United States
Collado, Emilio G.	Vice President, Standard Oil Co. (N.J.)	United States
Copeland, Lamot du Pont	President of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Inc.	United States
Czernetz, Karl	Member of Parliament; Chairman Foreign Affairs Com. of the Austrian Parliament	Austria
Dahlman, Sven	Former Ambassador	Sweden
Dean, Arthur H.	International Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
De Micheli, Alighiero	Industrialist, Former Chairman Federation of Italian Industries	Italy
Duncan, James S.	Company Director	Canada
Eczacibasi, Nejat F.	President of Eczacibasi Ilaclari Ltd. Sti.	Turkey
Engen, Hans	Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Norway
Erler, Fritz	Member of Parliament	Germany
Faure, Maurice	Member of Parliament	France
Fontaine, Andre	Chief Foreign Service "Le Monde"	France

Gallagher, Cornelius E.	Congressman	United States
Gallois, Pierre M.	General	France
Gossett, William T.	Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	United States
Griffin, A. G. S.	Banker	Canada
Gubbins, Sir Colin	Industrialist	United Kingdom
Guindey, Guillaume	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements	International
Hauge, Gabriel	Vice Chairman, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	United States
Healey, Denis	Member of Parliament; Labour Party Spokesman on Defense	United Kingdom
Heath, Edward R.G.	Lord Privy Seal	United Kingdom
Heinz, Henry J. II	Chairman of the Board, Heinz Co.	United States
Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Hans-Heinrich	Secretary of State to Federal President	Germany
Hewitt, William A.	President, Deere & Company	United States
Hickenlooper, Bourke B.	Senator	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Shipowner	Norway
Jackson, Charles D.	Publisher, Life Magazine	United States
Jolles, Paul	Delegate of the Federal Council for Trade Agreements	Switzerland
Kling, Herman	Minister of Justice	Sweden
Kohnstamm, Max	Vice-President, Action Committee for a United States of Europe	International
Kraft, Ole B.	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Member of Parliament	Denmark
Lemnitzer, Lyman L.	Supreme Commander Allied Forces in Europe	International
Lennepe, Jonkheer Emile Van	Chairman, Monetary Committee E.E.C.	International
Mansholt, Sicco L.	Vice-President, E.E.C.	International
Mason, Edward S.	Professor	United States
Massigli, Rene	Ambassadeur de France	France
Mathias, Marcello G.N.D.	Ambassador to France; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs	Portugal
McGhee, George C.	Government Official	United States
Meynen, Johannes	President, A.K.U.	Netherlands
Michener, Roland	Barrister and Business Executive	Canada
Mollet, Guy	Former Prime Minister	France
Murphy, Robert D.	President, Corning Glass International	United States
Nebolsine, George	International Lawyer	United States
Nitze, Paul H.	Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Defense	United States
Nykopp, Johan	Former Ambassador; General Manager of Tampella	Finland
Peccei, Aurelio	Managing Director of Italconsult	Italy
Pedini, Mario	Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	Italy
Perkins, James A.	Vice-President of Carnegie Corporation; President-elect of Cornell University	United States
Petitpierre, Max	Former President of Swiss Confederation	Switzerland
Piette, Jacques	Civil Servant	France
Pinay, Antoine	Former Prime Minister	France
Pirelli, Alberto	Industrialist	Italy
Pleven, Rene	Member of Parliament; Former Prime Minister	France
Quaroni, Pietro	Ambassador to the U.K.	Italy
Rockefeller, David	President, Chase Manhattan Bank	United States
Samkalden, Ivo	Professor of International Law	Netherlands
Schmid, Carlo	Vice-President, Federal Parliament	Germany
Segard, Jacques	Industrialist	France
Sergent, Rene E.	Vice-President, "Syndicat General de la Construction Electrique"	France
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Managing Director, "Compagnie d'Outremer pour l'Industrie et la Finance"	Belgium
Spaak, Paul-Henry	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Belgium
Spofford, Charles M.	Lawyer; Former U.S. Representative on North Atlantic Council	United States
Stratos, Christofore	Director, Cotton Industrie "Piraiki-Patraiki"	Greece
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Editor	Denmark
Turner, Sir Mark	Managing Director, Kleinwort Benson Ltd.	United Kingdom
Uri, Pierre	Consultant for the conduct of Studies, The Atlantic Institute	International
Wallenberg, Marcus	Chairman, Federation of Swedish Industries	Sweden

Wolff von Amerongen, Otto  
Woodhouse, Christopher M.

Senior Partner, Otto Wolff Koln  
Parliamentary Secretary to the Home Office

Germany  
United Kingdom

IN ATTENDANCE:

H.R.H. Princess Beatrix	Netherlands
Braam Houckgeest, A.E.	Netherlands
Chiusano, V.	Italy
Mozer, A.	Interntional
Roy, B. le	Netherlands
Tanugi de Jongh, E.L.	France

Source: Christian A. Herter Papers; Houghton Library at Harvard University

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Williamsburg Conference, Virginia, USA  
20-22 March 1964

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson  
President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Honorary Treasurer:

Paul Rykens  
Former Chairman of the Board of Unilever

Deputy Secretary General for Europe:

Arnold T. Lamping  
Former Ambassador

Acheson, Dean	Former Secretary of State	United States
Agnelli, Giovanni	Vice-Chairman of the board and Managing Director, Fiat Co.	Italy
Ball, George W.	Under Secretary of State	United States
Baumel, Jacques	Senator, Secretary General, "Union pour la Nouvelle République,"	France
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	Former Minister of Finance	France
Beer, Henrik	Secretary General, League of Red Cross Societies	International
Bennett, Frederic M.	Member of Parliament	Germany
Berg, Fritz	President, Federation of German Industries	Germany
Birgi, M. Nuri	Ambassador to NATO	Turkey
Birrenbach, Kurt	Member of Parliament	Germany
Brauer, Max	Former Burgomaster of Hamburg; Member of Parliament	Germany
Buchan, Alastair	Director, Institute for Strategic Studies	United Kingdom
Bundy, McGeorge	Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	United States
Cabot, Louis W.	President, Cabot Corp.	United States
Cisler, Walker L.	Industrialist	United States
Collado, Emilio G.	Vice President, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey)	United States
Dean, Arthur H.	International Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
Defferre, Gaston	Department of National Assembly; Mayor of Marseille	France
Duncan, James S.	Company Director	Canada
Dundee, Lord	Minster of State for Foreign Affairs	United Kingdom
Erier, Fritz	Member of Parliament, floor leader Social-Democratic Party	Germany
Ford, Gerald R.	Congressman	United States
Frelinghuysen, Peter H.B.	Congressman	United States
Fulbright, J. William	Senator	United States
Gallois, Pierre	General, specialist in nuclear problems	France
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Banker	Canada
Gubbins, Sir Colin	Industrialist	United Kingdom
Haekkerup, Per	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Denmark
Hauge, Gabriel	President, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	United States
Healey, Denis	Member of Parliament; Labour Party Spokesman on Defense	United Kingdom
Heaney, Arnold D. P.	Former Ambassador to the United States; Chairman, International Joint Commission on Water Resources	Canada
Heinz II, Henry J.	Chairman of the board, Heinz Co.	United States
Herter, Christian A.	Former Secretary of State; Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	United States

Hoegh, Leif	Shipowner	Norway
Holifield, Chet	Congressman	United States
Jackson, Charles D.	Senior Vice President, Time, Inc.	United States
Jackson, Henry M.	Senator	United States
Javits, Jacob K.	Senator	United States
Jellicoe, Lord	First Lord of the Admiralty	United Kingdom
Kerchove d'Ousselchem, Nicolas W. de	Assistant, "Ecole des Sciences politiques et sociales"	Belgium
Kissinger, Henry A.	Associate Professor, Harvard University Center for International Affairs	United States
Kleffens, Eelco N. van	Chief Representative in the United Kingdom of the European Coal and Steel Community	International
Kundtson, Harald	General Manager, "Den Danske Landmandsbank,"	Denmark
Kohnstamm, Max	Vice president, Action Committee for a United States of Europe	International
Koster, Henri J. de	President, Federation of Netherlands Industries	Netherlands
Krapf, Franz	Chief of the Political Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,	Germany
Kuhlmann-Stumm, Knut Freiherr von	Member of Parliament; floor leader of the Free Democratic Party	Germany
La Malene, Christian de	Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	France
La Malfa, Ugo	Member of Parliament	Italy
Lange, Halvard	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Norway
Lennepe, Jonkheer Emile van	Chairman, Monetary Committee, EEC; Chairman, Working Party 3 OECD	International
Lindsay, Franklin A.	President of Itek	United States
Lipkowski, Jean de	Diplomat; Member of Parliament; Member of European Parliament	France
Litchfield Jr., Lawrence	Chairman of the board, Aluminum Co. of America [Alcoa]	United States
Lolli, Ettore	Deputy General Manager, "Banca Nazionale del Lavoro"	Italy
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Netherlands
Majonica, Ernst	Member of Parliament	Germany
Malfatti, Franco M.	Under Secretary Ministry of Industry and Commerce	Italy
Mansholt, Sicco	Vice President, EEC	International
McCloy, John J.	Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
McGhee, George C.	Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany	United States
Meynen, Johannes	Managing Director, AKU	Netherlands
Murphy, Robert D.	President, Corning Glass International	United States
Nebolsine, George	International Lawyer	United States
Nykopp, Johan	Former Ambassador; President of Tampella	Finland
Pearson, Lester B.	Prime Minister	Canada
Peccei, Aurelio	Managing Director, Italconsult	Italy
Pinay, Antoine	Former Prime Minister	France
Rockefeller, David	President, Chase Manhattan Bank	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	Economic Minister at the British Embassy to the United States; Head of the United Kingdom Treasury and Supply Delegation	United Kingdom
Scaglia, Giovanni B.	Member of Parliament; Vice Chairman, Christian Democratic Party	Italy
Schmid, Carlo	Vice President, Federal Parliament	Germany
Schweitzer, Pierre-Paul	Managing Director, International Monetary Fund	International
Shulman, Marshall	Research Associate, Russian Research Center, Harvard University; Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	United States
Smith, H. Page	Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (NATO)	International
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Managing Director, "Compagnie d'Outremer pour l'Industrie et la Finance"	Belgium
Speidel, Hans	Special Adviser on Defense Matters	Germany
Stewart, Michael	Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
Stikker, Dirk U.	Secretary General of NATO	International
Stone, Shepard	Director, International Affairs Program, Ford Foundation	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel	Chief Editor	Denmark
Umbricht, Victor H.	Former Head of Swiss Treasury and Diplomat; President, CIBA Corp., New York	Switzerland
Vittorelli, Paolo	Senator	Italy
Wallenberg, Marcus	Chairman, Federation of Swedish Industries	Sweden

Westrick, Ludger	Secretary of State, Office Federal Chancellor
Winters, Robert H.	Industrialist
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Senior Partner, Otto Wolff Koln
Wriston, Walter B.	Executive Vice President, First National City Bank
Wyndham White, Eric	Executive Secretary, GATT

Germany  
Canada  
Germany  
United States  
International

IN ATTENDANCE:

H.R.H. Princess Beatrix	Netherlands
Braam Houckgeest, Andreas E. van	Netherlands
Chiusano, Vittorino	Italy
Humelsine, Carlisle	United States
Mozer, Alfred E.	Belgium
Roy, Bertie le	Netherlands

Sources: Edwin M. Martin Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and  
<http://www.libertypost.org/cgi-bin/readart.cgi?ArtNum=33585&Disp=30>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Villa D'Este Conference, Italy

2-4 April 1965

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

J. Meynen

Deputy Secretary General for Europe:

Arnold T. Lamping

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Ansiaux, Hubert	Belgium
Arliotis, Charles C.	Greece
Athanassiades, Bodossaki	Greece
Ball, George W.	United States
Barzel, Rainer	Germany
Baumel, Jacques	France
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Benediktsson, Bjarni	Iceland
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Berg, Fritz	Germany
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Blaisse, Pieter A.	Netherlands
Brademas, John	United States
Brewster, Kingman	United States
Broggini, Gerardo	Switzerland
Brosio, Manlio	International
Bruce, David K. E.	United States
Carli, Guido	Italy
Cefis, Eugenio	Italy
Collado Emilio G.	United States
Cook, Donald C.	United States
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Deutsch, John J.	Canada
Donovan, Hedley	United States
Eczacibasi, Nejat F.	Turkey
Edinburgh, H.R.H. the Prince Philip, Duke of	United Kingdom
Emminger, Otmar	Germany
Erlar, Fritz	Germany
Geddes, Reay	United Kingdom
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Healey, Denis	United Kingdom
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Huvelin, Paul	France
Knudtzon, Harald	Denmark



Koster, Henri J. de	Netherlands
Kristensen, Thorkil	International
La Malfa, Ugo	Italy
Lecanuet, Jean	France
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	International
Lindsay, John V.	United States
Loudon, Jonkheer John H.	Netherlands
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	Netherlands
Malagodi, Giovanni F.	Italy
Marjolin, Robert E.	International
Maudling, Reginald	United Kingdom
McCloy, John J.	United States
McGhee, George C.	United States
McKinnon, Neil	Canada
Melander, Johan A.	Norway
Mountbatten of Burma, Lord	United Kingdom
Norgaard, Ivar	Denmark
Nykopp, Johan	Finland
Palme, S. Olof J.	Sweden
Pedini, Mario	Italy
Perkins, James A.	United States
Petersen, Howard	United States
Petrilli, Giuseppe	Italy
Pipinelis, Panayotis	Greece
Pirelli, Leopoldo	Italy
Portisch, Hugo	Austria
Reinhardt, Eberhard	Switzerland
Reston, James	United States
Reuss, Henry	United States
Rockefeller, David	United States
Roosa, Robert V.	United States
Rumor, Mariano	Italy
Samkalden, Ivo	Netherlands
Samuelson, Paul A.	United States
Sauve, Maurice	Canada
Schiller, Karl	Germany
Schmidt, Adolph W.	United States
Schweitzer, Pierre-Paul	International
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Stone, Shepard	United States
Taverne, Dick	United Kingdom
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Vittorelli, Paolo	Italy
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Warburg, Siegmund	United Kingdom
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Wiesbaden Conference, Germany  
2-4 April 1966

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

Johannes Meynen

Deputy Secretary General for Europe:

Arnold T. Lamping

Abs, Hermann J.	Germany
Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Aron, Raymond	France
Ball, George W.	United States
Bassetti, Piero	Italy
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Bell, David E.	United States
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Berg, Fritz	Germany
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Birrenbach, Kurt	Germany
Bowie, Robert R.	United States
Brosio, Manlio	International
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	United States
Buchan, The Hon. Alastair	United Kingdom
Cadieux, Marcel	Canada
Camu, Louis	Belgium
Cohen, Sir Andrew	United Kingdom
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Cool, Auguste P.	Belgium
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Dunton, A. Davidson	Canada
Erhard, Ludwig	Germany
Erler, Fritz	Germany
Espirito Santo Silva, Manuel R.	Portugal
Faribault, Marcel	Canada
Frankel, Max	United States
Georges-Picot, Jacques	France
Gilpatric, Roswell L.	United States
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Canada
Harris, Fred R.	United States
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Holifield, Chet	United States
Jones, Thomas V.	United States

Kleinwort, Cyril	United Kingdom
Knudtzon, Harald	Denmark
Krag, Jens O.	Denmark
Lange, Halvard	Norway
Lecanuet, Jean	France
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	Netherlands
Malfatti, Franco M.	Italy
Mason, Edward S.	United States
McCloy, John J.	United States
McCormack, James	United States
McGhee, George C.	United States
Merkle, Hans	Germany
Morse, F. Bradford	United States
Murphy, Robert D.	United States
Nykopp, Johan	Finland
O'Neill, Sir Con	United Kingdom
Pedini, Mario	Italy
Peterson, Rudolph A.	United States
Portisch, Hugo	Austria
Reuther, Walter P.	United States
Rockefeller, David	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Schmid, Carlo	Germany
Schmidt, Helmut	Germany
Schwarz, Urs	Switzerland
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Spofford, Charles M.	United States
Stoltenberg, Gerhard	Germany
Stone, Shepard	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Thoroddsen, Gunnar	Iceland
Tinbergen, Jan	Netherlands
Tuthill, John W.	United States
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wheeler, Sir Charles	United Kingdom
Winters, Robert H.	Canada
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
Woods, George D.	International
Wyndham White, Eric	International
Zijlstra, Jelle	Netherlands

IN ATTENDANCE:

Chiusano, Vittorino	Italy
Roy, Bertie le	Netherlands
Vernede, Edwin	Netherlands
Waldthausen, Michael von	Germany

Source: Edwin M. Martin Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Cambridge Conference, England  
31 March- 2 April 1967

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

Johannes Meynen

Deputy Secretary General for Europe:

Arnold T. Lamping

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Arliotis, Charles	Greece
Ball, George W.	United States
Barran, David H.	United Kingdom
Baumel, Jacques	France
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Becker, Kurt	Germany
Beebe, Frederick S.	United States
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Birrenbach, Kurt	Germany
Brosio, Manlio	International
Casanova, Jean C.	France
Cleveland, Harold van B.	United States
Cleveland, Harlan	United States
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Colonna di Paliano, Prince Guido	International
Dankert, Piet	Netherlands
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Diebold, John	United States
Eayrs, James	Canada
Edinburgh, H.R.H. The Prince Philip, Duke of	United Kingdom
Ferrari Aggradi, Mario	Italy
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Canada
Hall, Sir Arnold	United Kingdom
Hartung, Henri	France
Healey, Denis W.	United Kingdom
Heath, Edward R. G.	United Kingdom
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Hoffmann, Stanley	United States
Hogg, Quintin	United Kingdom
Holmberg, Yngve	Sweden
Hornig, Donald F.	United States
Jackson, Henry M.	United States
Kaysen, Carl	United States
Kearton, Sir Frank	United Kingdom

Knoppers, Antonie T.	United States
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Kraft, Joseph	United States
Kymmell, Jaap	Netherlands
Lefevre, Theo	Belgium
Leger, Jules	Canada
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	Netherlands
Martin, Paul	Canada
Mathias Jr., Charles McC.	United States
Matthiasen, Niels	Denmark
Maudling, Reginald	United Kingdom
McGhee, George C.	United States
McNaughton, John T.	United States
Merkle, Hans	Germany
Moyers, Bill D.	United States
Munthe, Preben	Norway
Murphy, Robert D.	United States
Netherlands, H. R. H. Prince Claus of the	Netherlands
Newhouse, John	United States
Niarchos, Stavros S.	Greece
Nogueira, Alberto Franco	Portugal
Norstad, Lauris	United States
Nykopp, Johan	Finland
Peccei, Aurelio	Italy
Perkins, James A.	United States
Pesmazoglou, John S.	Greece
Piel, Gerard	United States
Piore, Emanuel R.	United States
Pirelli, Leopoldo	Italy
Rockefeller, David	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Rostow, Eugene V.	United States
Roux, Ambroise	France
Schmidt, Helmut	Germany
Schwarz, Urs	Switzerland
Shawcross, Lord	United Kingdom
Simonet, Henri	Belgium
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Stone, Shepard	United States
Taverne, Dick	United Kingdom
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Tron, Ludovic	France
Udink, Berend J.	Netherlands
Vittorelli, Paolo	Italy
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wheeler, Sir Charles	United Kingdom
Withalm, Hermann	Austria
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany

IN ATTENDANCE:

Chiusano, Vittorino	Italy
Munby, Richard K.	United Kingdom
Roy, Bertie le	Netherlands
Schelle, Carel J. van	Netherlands
Vernede, Edwin	Netherlands

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Mont Tremblant Conference, Canada  
26-28 April 1968

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Deputy Secretary General for Europe:

Arnold T. Lamping

Observer: H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Allard, Jean V.	Canada
Bahr, Egon	Germany
Ball, George W.	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Beaton, Leonard	Canada
Belanger, Michel	Canada
Benediktsson, Bjarni	Iceland
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Berg, Fritz	Germany
Biesheuvel, Barend W.	Netherlands
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Birrenbach, Kurt	Germany
Booth, Alan R.	International
Bridgeman, Sir Maurice R.	United States
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	United States
Buchan, The Hon. Alastair F.	International
Camu, Louis	Belgium
Chambers, Sir Paul	United Kingdom
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Deming, Frederick L.	United States
Dillon, C. Douglas	United States
Dodge, William	Canada
Ford II, Henry	United States
Fouchier, Jacques de	France
Gates Jr., Thomas S.	United States
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Hartung, Henri	France
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Holmes, John W.	Canada
Jackson, Henry M.	United States
Karsten, Christian F.	Netherlands
Keener, J. Ward	United States
Kuin, Pieter	Netherlands

Lambert, Allen T.	Canada
Lendvai, Paul	Austria
Lowenthal, Richard	Germany
Lundvall, D. Bjorn H.	Sweden
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	Netherlands
Martin, Paul	Canada
Mathias, Charles McC.	United States
McLean, William F.	Canada
McNamara, Robert S.	International
Mendes-France, Pierre	France
Mommer, Karl	Germany
Moyers, Bill D.	United States
Murphy, Robert D.	United States
Netherlands, H. R. H. Prince Claus of the	Netherlands
Niarchos, Stavros S.	International
Nogueira, Alberto F.	Portugal
Nykopp, Johan A.	Finland
Olivetti, Roberto	Italy
Oppenheim, Sir Duncan M.	United Kingdom
Parizeau, Jacques	Canada
Pearson, Lester B.	Canada
Peccei, Aurelio	Italy
Perkins, James A.	United States
Pirelli, Leopoldo	Italy
Powell, J. Enoch	United Kingdom
Rasminsky, Louis	Canada
Ritchie, Ronald S.	Canada
Rockefeller, David	United States
Ronchey, Alberto	Italy
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Ryan, Claude	Canada
Ryan, John T.	United States
Sandberg, Herman W.	Netherlands
Shonfield, Andrew A.	United Kingdom
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Solvay, Jacques E.	Belgium
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Spethmann, Dieter	Germany
Spinelli, Altiero	Italy
Stille, Ugo	Italy
Stone, Shepard	United States
Taverne, Dick	United Kingdom
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Thornbrough, Albert A.	Canada
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Trudeau, Pierre E.	Canada
Turkmen, Ilter	Turkey
Umbricht, Victor D.	Switzerland
Vernon, Raymond	United States
Visser 't Hooft, Willem A.	International
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany

IN ATTENDANCE:

Roy, Bertie le	Netherlands
Thillaye, Bernard C.	Canada
Vernede, Edwin	Netherlands

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Marienlyst Conference, Denmark  
9-11 May 1969

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General For Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

Johannes Meynen

Observer: H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Albert, Michel	International
Altmann, Ruediger	Germany
Ball, George W.	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Bell, Daniel	United States
Benediktsson, Bjarni	Iceland
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Bentham van den Bergh, Godfried van	Netherlands
Berchtold, Walter	Switzerland
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Bissell, Claude	Canada
Brooke, Edward W.	United States
Cadieux, Marcel	Canada
Cariglia, Antonio	Italy
Cavazza, Fabio Luca	Italy
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Czernetz, Karl	Austria
Dahrendorf, Ralf	Germany
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Denmark, Prince Henrik of	Denmark
Duchene, L. Francois	International
Feldt, K.O.	Sweden
Fontaine, Francois	France
Green, Johannes	Denmark
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Canada
Hamilton, Denis	United Kingdom
Hamilton, Edward K.	United States
Hartling, Poul	Denmark
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Heath, Edward	United Kingdom
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Heldring, Jerome L.	Netherlands
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Janssen, Daniel	Belgium
Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	United States
Kampmann, Jens	Denmark



Keniston, Kenneth	United States
Koch, Hans H.	Denmark
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Krag, Jens O.	Denmark
Krogh, Peter F.	United States
Lange, Halvard M.	Norway
Langslet, Lars R.	Norway
Lendvai, Paul	Austria
Litten, Jens	Germany
Luchsinger, Fred	Switzerland
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	Netherlands
McKinney-Moller, Maersk	Denmark
McLuhan, Marshall	Canada
McNamara, Robert S.	International
Morse, David A.	International
Moyers, Bill D.	United States
Netherlands, Prince Claus of the	Netherlands
Nykopp, Johan A.	Finland
Ottone, Piero	Italy
Reverdin, Olivier	Switzerland
Richardson, Elliot L.	United States
Ritterbach, Manfred E.	Germany
Roberts, Sir Frank	United Kingdom
Rockefeller, David	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Rusk, Dean	United States
Sandegren, Kaare	Norway
Schleimann, Jorgen	Denmark
Schmelzer, W. K. Norbert	Netherlands
Schmidt, Helmut	Germany
Sorensen, S. O.	Denmark
Staercke, Andre de	Belgium
Stone, Shepard	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Ullmann, Marc	France
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Uri, Pierre F.	France
Vallarino Gancia, Lorenzo	Italy
Wagner, Gerrit A.	Netherlands
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Woitrin, Michel	Belgium
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
Ylvisaker, Paul	United States

#### IN ATTENDANCE

Asbeck, Henrik J. Baron van	Netherlands
Cittadini Cesi, Marchese Gian G.	Italy
Marott, Ole	Denmark
Roy, Bertie le	Netherlands
Vernede, Edwin	Netherlands

Source: Edwin M. Martin Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Bad Ragaz Conference, Sweden  
17-19 April 1970

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

Johannes Meynen

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Alliot, Michel	France
Allison, Graham	United States
Altissimo, Renato	Italy
Ashby, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Ball, George W.	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Benediktsson, Bjarni	Iceland
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Berchtold, Walter	Switzerland
Bernardini, Gilberto	Italy
Beuve-Mery, Hubert	France
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Brinkhorst, Laurens Jan	Netherlands
Brouwer, L. E. Jan	Netherlands
Brugsma, Willem L.	Netherlands
Camu, Louis	Belgium
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Cornu, Daniel	Switzerland
Culver, John C.	United States
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Deurinck, Gaston	Belgium
Drake, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Duchene, L. Francois	International
Edwards, Sir Ronald	United Kingdom
Fascell, Dante B.	United States
Faure, Edgar	France
Filion, Gerard	Canada
Froschmaier, Franz	International
Furgler, Kurt	Switzerland
Gerwig, Andreas A.	Switzerland
Giscard d'Estaing, Olivier	France
Goodpaster, Andrew J.	International
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Hattersley, Roy	United Kingdom
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Head, Ivan	Canada
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Holland, Stuart	United Kingdom
Janssen, Daniel	Belgium

Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	United States
Kaiser, Karl	Germany
Keppel, Francis	United States
King, Alexander	International
Knoppers, Antonie	United States
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Krogh, Peter F.	United States
Langslet, Lars R.	Norway
Lennep, Jonkheer Emile van	International
LePan, Douglas V.	Canada
Lesguillons, Henri	International
Levi, Arrigo	Italy
Liotard-Vogt, Pierre	Switzerland
Lipset, Seymour M.	United States
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	Netherlands
Mach, Bernard	Switzerland
Mathias Jr., Charles McC.	United States
Maudling, Reginald	United Kingdom
Meyerson, Martin	United States
Moberg, Sven	Sweden
Moyers, Bill D.	United States
Nogueira, Alberto F.	Portugal
Nykopp, Johan A.	Finland
Orvik, Nils	Norway
Price, Christopher	United Kingdom
Reinhardt, Eberhard	Switzerland
Rhodes Jr., Joseph	United States
Richardson, Elliot L.	United States
Roberts, John	Canada
Rockefeller, David	United States
Rockefeller, IV, John D.	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Schaefer, Alfred	Switzerland
Schmidheiny, Max	Switzerland
Silvers, Robert	United States
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Stoltenberg, Gerhard	Germany
Stone, Shepard	United States
Streichenberg, Georges	Switzerland
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Tschudi, Hans P.	Switzerland
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Vance, Cyrus R.	United States
Vedel, Georges	France
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Waris, Klaus	Finland
Weizsaecker, Richard Freiherr von	Germany
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany

IN ATTENDANCE:

Cittadini Cesi, Marchese Gian G.	Italy
Reutlinger, Paul	Switzerland
Roy, Bertie le	Netherlands
Vernede, Edwin	Netherlands

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Woodstock Conference, Vermont, U.S.A.  
23-25 April 1971

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Observer:

H. R. H. Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands

Allison, Graham T.	United States
Anderson, Robert O.	United States
Aumonier, Andre	France
Bahr, Egon	Germany
Ball, George W.	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Bendetsen, Karl R.	United States
Bengtsson, Ingemund	Sweden
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Bourassa, Robert	Canada
Carstens, Karl	Germany
Cartier, Raymond	France
Casserini, Karl	Switzerland
Catherwood, Sir Frederick	United Kingdom
Cittadini Cesi, Marchese Gian G.	Italy
Cockroft, John	United Kingdom
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Corson, John J.	United States
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Duchene, L-Francois	International
Dunlop, John T.	United States
Duster, Donald L.	United States
Elliott, Osborn	United States
Enckell, Ralph	Finland
Fraser, Donald M.	United States
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B.	United States
Gazzo, Emanuele	International
Glisenti, Giuseppe	Italy
Grierson, Ronald H.	United Kingdom
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Healey, Denis W.	United Kingdom
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Hughes, Thomas L.	United States
Idenburg, Peter J. A.	Netherlands
Jann, Adolf W.	Switzerland

Janssen, Daniel	Belgium
Julin, Jacob von	Finland
Kaiser, Karl	Germany
Kissinger, Henry A.	United States
Kleinwort, Sir Cyril	United Kingdom
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Kraijenhoff, Jonkheer Gualtherus	Netherlands
Lambert, Baron	Belgium
Leman, Paul H.	Canada
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	Netherlands
MacDonald, Donald S.	Canada
MacDonald, Gordon J.	United States
MacGregor, Ian K.	United States
Martinet, Gilles	France
Maudling, Reginald	United Kingdom
Merkle, Hans L.	Germany
Migone, Gian G.	Italy
Moyers, Bill	United States
Netherlands, H. R. H. Prince Claus of the	Netherlands
Ottone, Piero	Italy
Pease, Robert	United States
Perkins, James A.	United States
Piazzesi, Gianfranco	Italy
Reuss, Henry S.	United States
Riegle Jr., Donald W.	United States
Rockefeller, David	United States
Rockefeller IV, John D.	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Rotstein, Abraham	Canada
Schleimann, Jorgen	Denmark
Schroder, Gerhard	Germany
Simonet, Henri	Belgium
Slater, Joseph E.	United States
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Spoor, Andre S.	Netherlands
Stein, Howard	United States
Stevenson III, Adlai E.	United States
Stone, Shepard	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Thomson, George	United Kingdom
Tidemand, O. Grieg	Norway
Tuthill, John W.	International
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Vanistendael, August A. J.	Belgium
Vogt Jr., John W.	United States
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen	Germany
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
IN ATTENDANCE:	
Stone, Roger	United States
Vernede, Edwin	Netherlands

Source: Edwin M. Martin Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Knokke Conference, Belgium

21-23 April 1972

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

C. Frits Karsten

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Arnold, Hans	Germany
Ball, George W.	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Bergsten, C. Fred	United States
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Birrenbach, Kurt	Germany
Blumenthal, W. Michael	United States
Brimmer, Andrew	United States
Brown, Neil A.	Australia
Browne, H. John C.	United Kingdom
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	United States
Buchan, The Hon. Alastair	United Kingdom
Camps, Miriam	United States
Camu, Louis	Belgium
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	Italy
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Colombo, Umberto	Italy
Colonna di Paliano, Prince Guido	Italy
Cortier, Peter	Germany
Culver, John S.	United States
Dahrendorf, Ralf	International
David-Weill, Michel	France
Davignon, Vicomte	Belgium
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Deniau, Jean-Francois	International
Donhoff, Marion Grafın	Germany
Ducci, Roberto	Italy
Dijkgraaf, Anton F. J.	Netherlands
Espirito Santo Silva, Manuel R.	Portugal
Fleiner, Thomas	Switzerland
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Giroud, Françoise	France
Hallgrimsson, Geir	Iceland
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Hoof, Maria J. 't	Netherlands

Houghton, Amory Jr.	United States
Hughes, Thomas L.	United States
Janssen, Daniel	Belgium
Janssen, Paul E.	Belgium
Jolles, Paul	Switzerland
Kearton, The Lord	United Kingdom
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Koster, Henri J. de	Netherlands
Lambert, Baron	Belgium
Lennep, Jonkheer Emile van	International
Lever, Harold	United Kingdom
Levi, Arrigo	Italy
Loudon, Jonkheer John H.	International
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	International
MacLaren, Roy	Canada
Manning, Bayless	United States
Mathias, Charles McC. Jr.	United States
McLean, William F.	Canada
Meynen, Johannes	Netherlands
Murphy, Robert D.	United States
Netherlands, H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the	Netherlands
Netherlands, H.R.H. Prince Claus of the	Netherlands
Nogueira, Alberto Franco	Portugal
Nora, Simon	France
Norlund, Niels	Denmark
Nykopp, Johan A.	Finland
Patijn, Schelto	Netherlands
Payton, Benjamin	United States
Perkins, James A.	United States
Raynauld, Andre	Canada
Rees-Mogg, William	United Kingdom
Reverdin, Olivier	Switzerland
Riboud, Jean	France
Rockefeller, David	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Sabouret, Yves	France
Scalapino, Robert	United States
Schaetzel, Robert	United States
Schroder, Gerhard	Germany
Seip, Helge	Norway
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Solvay, Jacques	Belgium
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Stone, Shepard	United States
Summerskill, Shirley	United Kingdom
Tatu, Michel	France
Taylor, Arthur R.	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Vandeputte, Robert	Belgium
Wagner, Gerrit A.	Netherlands
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Warren, Jack H.	Canada
Westerman, Sir Alan	Australia
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
Zijlstra, Jelle	Netherlands
Zumwalt, Elmo Jr.	United States

IN ATTENDANCE:

Hulhoven, L.

Vernede, E.

Warmenhoven, J. T.

Getchell, Ch. W. Jr.

Beugel, Th-M. van der

Belgium

Netherlands

Netherlands

United States

Netherlands

Source: Edwin M. Martin Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library



**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
Saltsjöbaden Conference, Sweden  
11-13 May 1973

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

C. Frits Karsten

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Anderson, Robert O.	United States
Ball, George W.	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Bjøl, Erling	Denmark
Bjorgerd, Anders	Sweden
Boiteux, Marcel	France
Breuel, Birgit	Germany
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	United States
Bundy, William P.	United States
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	Italy
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Drake, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Ducci, Roberto	Italy
Girrotti, Raffaele	Italy
Granier de Lilliac, Rene	France
Greenhill, Sir Denis	United Kingdom
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Haagerup, Niels J.	Denmark
Hallgrimsson, Geir	Iceland
Healey, Denis	United Kingdom
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Houthuys, Jozef	Belgium
Janssen, Daniel E.	Belgium
Kersten, Otto	International
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Lapham Jr., Lewis H.	United States
Lehto, Sakari	Finland
Lennepe, Jonkheer Emile van	International
Levy, Walter J.	United States
Lied, Finn	Norway
Lombardini, Siro	Italy
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	International
Lougheed, Peter	Canada
Macdonald, Donald S.	Canada

Maudling, Reginald	United Kingdom
Merlini, Cesare	Italy
Mettler, Erich	Switzerland
Moyers, Bill D.	United States
Newhouse, John	United States
Owen, David	United Kingdom
Palme, Olof	Sweden
Perkins, James A.	United States
Philips, Frits J.	Netherlands
Ritchie, Albert E.	Canada
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Rozemond, Samuel	Netherlands
Schmidt, Helmut	Germany
Seydoux de Clausonne, Roger	France
Simon, John M.	United Kindom
Smith, Gerard C.	United States
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Sommer, Theo	Germany
Spaak, Fernand	International
Stehlin, Paul	France
Stille, Ugo	Italy
Stoltenberg, Thorvald	Norway
Stone, Shepard	United States
Strang, Gunnar	Sweden
Taverne, Richard	United Kingdom
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Udink, Berend J.	Netherlands
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Wagner, Gerrit A.	Netherlands
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wickman, Krister	Sweden
Wilson, Carroll L.	United States
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen	Germany
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany

IN ATTENDANCE:

Svensson, Nils	Sweden
Lindgren, Hugo	Sweden
Vernede, Edwin	Netherlands
Getchell Jr., Charles W.	United States

Source: Edwin M. Martin Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Megeve Conference, France

19-21 April 1974

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

C. Frits Karsten

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Aird, John B.	Canada
Allison, Graham T.	United States
Alphand, Herve	France
Andersen, K. B.	Denmark
Androsch, Hannes	Austria
Ball, George W.	United States
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S.	France
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Bergsten, C. Fred	United States
Bettiza, Enzo	Italy
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Brinkhorst, Laurens-Jan	Netherlands
Camps, Miriam	United States
Chace, James	United States
Chalandon, Albin	France
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	Italy
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Colonna di Paliano, Prince	Italy
Dahrendorf, Ralf	International
Davignon, Vicomte	Belgium
Ducci, Roberto	Italy
Dupuy, Michel	Canada
Faure, Edgar	France
Faure, Lucie	France
Fontaine, Andre	France
Giles, Frank T. R.	United Kingdom
Goodpaster, Andrew J.	International
Greenhill, The Lord	United Kingdom
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Grunwald, Henry A.	United States
Guindey, Guillaume	France
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Healey, Denis	United Kingdom
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States
Herzog, Maurice	France
Hoegh, Leif	Norway
Igler, Hans	Austria

Janssen, Daniel E.	Belgium
Jones, Aubrey	United Kingdom
Justman Jacob, Poul Louis	Netherlands
Kaiser, Karl	Germany
Kiep, Walter Leisler	Germany
Kohnstamm, Max	International
La Malfa, Giorgio	Italy
Larre, Rene	International
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	International
Leprince-Ringuet, Louis	France
Levi, Arrigo	Italy
Levy, Walter J.	United States
Liotard-Vogt, Pierre	Switzerland
Lord, Winston	United states
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	International
Malfatti, Franco Maria	Italy
Mathias, Charles McC.	United States
Mondale, Walter	United States
Monnier, Claude	Switzerland
Myrvoll, Ole	Norway
Netherlands, H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the	Netherlands
Perkins, James A.	United States
Pesmazoglu, John S.	Greece
Rippon, Geoffrey	United Kingdom
Rodgers, William	Unitd Kingdom
Rockefeller, David	United States
Rockefeller, Nelson A.	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Ronchey, Alberto	Italy
Rossi, Reino	Finland
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Sauve, Jeanne	Canada
Schleimann, Jorgen	Denmark
Schmidt, Helmut	Germany
Schroder, Gerhard	Germany
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Sommer, Theo	Germany
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	United States
Stone, Shepard	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Thompson, Gerald F.M.P.	United Kingdom
Tidemand, Otto Grieg	Norway
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wickman, Krister	Sweden
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen	Germany
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
IN ATTENDANCE:	
Getchell, Jr., Charles W.	United States
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	France
Vernede, Eduard	Netherlands
Warmenhoven, J-T.	Netherlands

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Cesme Conference, Turkey

25-27 April 1975

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman:

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Honorary Secretary General for Europe:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for the United States:

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Treasurer:

C. Frits Karsten

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Akbil, Semih	Turkey
Attali, Jacques	France
Ball, George W.	United States
Becker, Kurt	Germany
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	United States
Buckley, William F. Jr.	United States
Caglayangil, Ihsan Sabri	Turkey
Camu, Louis	Belgium
Carli, Guido	Italy
Catroux, Diomedede	France
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	Italy
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Cooper, Richard	United States
Dalma, Alfons	Austria
Dean, Arthur H.	United States
Deutsch, John J.	Canada
Dogramaci, Ihsan	Turkey
Dohnanyi, Klaus von	Germany
Ducci, Roberto	Italy
Ecevit, Bulent	Turkey
Feyzioglu, Turan	Turkey
Fitzgerald, Garret T. D.	Ireland
Forte, Francesco	Italy
Gasteyger, Curt	Switzerland
Giersch, Herbert	Germany
Gokmen, Oguz	Turkey
Gordon, Duncan L.	Canada
Goudszwaard, Johan M.	Netherlands
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada
Gysling, Erich	Switzerland
Halberstadt, Victor	Netherlands
Hall, Sir Arnold	United Kingdom
Hartman, Arthur	United States
Healey, Denis	United Kingdom
Heinz II, Henry J.	United States

Hesburgh, Theodore M.	United States
Hojdahl, Odd	Norway
Horam, John	United Kingdom
Houthuys, Jozef	Belgium
Hubner, Robert W.	United States
Igler, Hans	Austria
Inan, Kamuran	Turkey
Isik, Hasan E.	Turkey
Jakobson, Max	Finland
Janssen, Daniel E.	Belgium
Kazgan, Gulden	Turkey
Kiep, Walter Leisler	Germany
Knight, Andrew	United Kingdom
Kohnstamm, Max	International
La Malfa, Giorgio	Italy
Lambert, Baron	Belgium
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	International
Levi, Arrigo	Italy
Lorck, Karl	Norway
Lundvall, D. Bjorn H.	Sweden
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	International
Macdonald, William A.	United States
Mathias Jr., Charles McC.	United States
McCracken, Paul W.	United States
McNamara, Robert S.	International
Montbrial, Thierry de	France
Morris, Joseph	Canada
Perkins, James A.	United States
Pritchard, Joel M.	United States
Richardson, Gordon	United Kingdom
Rockefeller, David	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Roosa, Robert V.	United States
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Rumsfeld, Donald	United States
Simonet, Henri	International
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Sommer, Theo	Germany
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Stoleru, Lionel	France
Stone, Shepard	United States
Sulzberger, Cyrus L.	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Thatcher, Margaret	United Kingdom
Thygesen, J. V.	Denmark
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Tunc, Halil	Turkey
Uri, Pierre E.	France
Vaarvik, Dagfinn	Norway
Vranitzky, Franz	Austria
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wickman, Krister	Sweden
Widmer, Siegmund	Switzerland
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Germany
Yasa, Memduh	Turkey
Yasar, Selcuk	Turkey
Zijlstra, Jelle	Netherlands

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
TORQUAY CONFERENCE  
22-24 April 1977

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Home of the Hirsell, K. T.

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

William P. Bundy

HONORARY TREASURER:

C. Frits Karsten

Aaron, David	United States
Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Androsch, Hannes	Austria
Anselmi, Tima	Italy
Ball, George W.	United States
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Bennett, Jack F.	United States
Berthoin, Georges	France
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Bratteli, Trygve	Norway
Carli, Guido	Italy
Cittadini, Cesi, Il Mrchese	Italy
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Cooper, Richard N.	United States
Cot, Jean Pierre	France
Dahrendorf, Ralf	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Davignon, Vicomte Etienne	International
Dohnanyi, Klaus von	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Ducci, Roberto	Italy
Duisenberg, Willem F.	The Netherlands
Elton, Lord	United Kingdom
Finley, Murray H.	United States
Finney, Paul B.	United States
Fitzgerald, Garret	Ireland
Forte, Sir Charles	United Kingdom
Fraga Iribarne, Manuel	Spain
Glisenti, Marcella	Italy
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Canada
Guichard, Olivier	France
Hager, Wolfgang H.	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Halberstadt, Victor	The Netherlands
Hall, Sir Arnold	United Kingdom
Hallgrimsson, Geir	Iceland
Heinz, Henry J. II	United States
Henderson, R.	United Kingdom
Igler, Hans	Austria
Janssen, Daniel E.	Belgium
Johnson, Joseph E.	United States

Joseph, Sir Keith	United Kingdom
Kiep, Walther L.	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Kirkland, Joseph L.	United States
Kissinger, Henry A.	United States
Knight, Sir Arthur	United Kingdom
Kohnstamm, Max	International
LaLonde, Marc	Canada
Lambert, Baron	Belgium
Lenep, Jonkheer Emile van	International
Lever, Harold	United Kingdom
Linder, Willy	Switzerland
Liotard-Vogt, Pierre	Switzerland
Lundvall, Bjorn	Sweden
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	International
Macadam, Peter	United Kingdom
MacIntosh, Robert M.	Canada
MacLaury, Bruce K.	United States
McDonald, Alonzo L., Jr.	United States
Medeiros Ferreira, Jose de	Portugal
Miller, Joseph Irwin	United States
Montbrial, Thierry de	France
Nielsen, Sivert A.	Norway
Norlund, Niels	Denmark
Nott, John	United Kingdom
Oetker, Arend	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Orr, David A.	United Kingdom
Ortoli, Francois X.	International
Pennock, Raymond W.	United Kingdom
Regan, G. A.	Canada
Roberts, Sir Frank K.	United Kingdom
Rockefeller, David	United States
Roll, Sir Eric	United Kingdom
Rossi, Reino	Finland
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de	France
Salmon, Pierre	France
Sartori, Carlo	Italy
Schmidt, Helmut	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Shackleton, Lord	United Kingdom
Sickinghe, Jonkheer Feyo O. J.	The Netherlands
Simonet, Henri	Belgium
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Sommer, Theo	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Stavropoulos, Constantin A.	Greece
Steel, David E.C.	United Kingdom
Taylor, Arthur	United States
Terkelsen, Terkel M.	Denmark
Thurow, Lester C.	United States
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Treichl, Heinrich	Austria
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Warburg, Sir Siegmund	United Kingdom
Wickman, Krister	Sweden
Wilkins, Graham J.	United Kingdom
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Fed. Rep. of Germany



OBSERVERS:

Bjarnason, Bjorn  
Tsounis, Panayotis A.

Iceland  
Greece

IN ATTENDANCE:

Getchell, Charles W., Jr.  
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert

United States  
France

Source: 1977 Bilderberg Meeting Report; Harvard Law School Library at Harvard University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
PRINCETON CONFERENCE  
21-23 April 1978

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Home of the Hirsel, K. T.

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

William P. Bundy

HONORARY TREASURER:

C. Frits Karsten

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Andersen, K. B.	Denmark
Andreatta, Nino	Italy
Angermeyer, Joachim	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Ball, George W.	United States
Bartley, Robert L.	United States
Batenburg, Andre	The Netherlands
Bell, George B.	Canada
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Bennett, Jack	United States
Bertram, Christoph	United Kingdom
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Brekke, Tor	Norway
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	United States
Bulow, Andreas von	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Carrington, Lord	United Kingdom
Cary, Frank T.	United States
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	Italy
Close, Robert-Charles	Belgium
Collado, Emilio G.	United States
Conable, Barber B., Jr.	United States
Constancio, Vitor M. R.	Portugal
Contogeorgis, George	Greece
Davidson, Ralph P.	United States
Davignon, Vicomte	International
Dell, Edmund	United Kingdom
Diebold, William, Jr.	United States
Ducci, Roberto	Italy
Duisenberg, William F.	The Netherlands
Eekelen, Willem F. van	The Netherlands
Esambert, Bernard	France
Falldin, Thorbjorn	Sweden
Finlay, Murray H.	United States
Furgler, Kurt	Switzerland
Gasteyger, Curt	Switzerland
Geddes, Sir Reay	United Kingdom
George-Brown, Lord	United Kingdom
Greenfield, Meg	United States
Griffin, Anthony G. S.	Canada

Haggerty, Patrick E.	United States
Haig, Alexander, Jr.	International
Halberstadt, Victor	The Netherlands
Hallgrimsson, Geir	Iceland
Hansen, Rolf	Norway
Harvey-Jones, John H.	United Kingdom
Hauge, Gabriel	United States
Heinz, Henry J., II	United States
Heinz, H. John, III	United States
Herrhausen, Alfred	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Houthuys, Jef	Belgium
Igler, Hans	Austria
Johnson, Joseph E.	United States
Karber, Phillip A.	United States
Kersten, Otto	International
Kissinger, Henry A.	United States
Knight, Andrew	United Kingdom
Lambert, Baron	Belgium
Lenep, Jhr. Emile van	International
Lord, Winston	United States
Lundvall, Bjorn	Sweden
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.	International
Montbrial, Thierry de	France
Newhouse, John	United States
Norlund, Niels	Denmark
Nussbaumer, Adolf	Austria
Ostry, Sylvia	Canada
Ottone, Piero	Italy
Peterson, Peter G.	United States
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	France
Rockefeller, David	United States
Lord Roll of Ipsden	United Kingdom
Rose, Francois de	France
Rovira, Don Juan Jose	Spain
Savona, Paolo	Italy
Silvestri, Stefano	Italy
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Solomon, Anthony M.	United States
Sommer, Theo	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	United States
Sorensen, Svend O.	Denmark
Stinson, George A.	United States
Tatu, Michel	United States
Thorn, Gaston	Luxembourg
Tidemand, Otto Grieg	Norway
Tiivola, Mika	Finland
Treichl, Heinrich	Austria
Umbricht, Victor	Switzerland
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Wezsacker, Richard von	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Wharton, Clifton R., Jr.	United States
Whitman, Marina v. N.	United States
Will, George	United States
Williams, Lynn R.	United States
Wischnewski, Hans-Jurgen	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Zaimis, Andreas F.	Greece
Zysman, John	United States

OBSERVERS:

Bjarnson, Bjorn  
Zimmer-Lehmann, Georg

Iceland  
Austria

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

Austria  
United States  
Austria  
United States  
United States

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
BADEN CONFERENCE  
27-29 April 1979

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Home of the Hirsell, K. T.

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

William P. Bundy

Agnelli, Giovanni	Italy
Androsch, Hannes	Austria
Apfalter, Herlbert	Austria
Avon, The Earl of	United Kingdom
Ball, George W.	U.S.A.
Barattieri, Vittorio	Italy
Bennett, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Bertram, Christoph	International
Beullac, Christian	France
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Breuel, Birgit	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Broesigke, Tassilo	Austria
Brown, L. Dean	U.S.A.
Carras, Costa	Greece
Chafee, John H.	U.S.A.
Christophersen, Henning	Denmark
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	Italy
Constancio, Vitor M. R.	Portugal
Dallinger, Alfred	Austria
Duisenberg, Willem F.	Netherlands
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.	U.S.A.
Esambert, Bernard	France
Finney, Paul B.	U.S.A.
Fischer, Heinz	Austria
Foltz, William J.	U.S.A.
Fredericks, Wayne J.	U.S.A.
Gerber, Fritz	Switzerland
Getz Wold, Knut	Norway
Halberstadt, Victor	Netherlands
Hartman, Arthur A.	U.S.A.
Hausmann, Helmut	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Heinz, Henry J., II	U.S.A.
Herrhausen, Alfred	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Igler, Hans	Austria
Janssen, Daniel E.	Belgium
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.	U.S.A.
Kind, Christian	Switzerland
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Kreisky, Bruno	Austria
Lambert, Baron	Belgium
Lanc, Erwin	Austria
Leibenfrost, Franz J.	Austria

Lenep, Jhr. Emile van	International
Levy, Walter J.	U.S.A.
Lewis, Bernard	United Kingdom
Lewis, Flora	U.S.A.
Lundvall, D. Bjorn H.	Sweden
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	International
Macdonald, Donald S.	Canada
Macmillan, Maurice	United Kingdom
McGiffert, David E.	U.S.A.
Monod, M. Jerome	France
Montbrial, Thierry de	France
Nelissen, Roelof J.	Netherlands
Neufeld, Edward P.	Canada
Newsom, David D.	U.S.A.
Norlund, Niels	Denmark
Pahr, Willibald	Austria
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	France
Portisch, Hugo	Austria
Prinzhorn, Thomas	Austria
Rastoul, Jacques	Canada
Rockefeller, David	U.S.A.
Rohwedder, Detlev	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Roll of Ipsden, Lord	United Kingdom
Romero-Maura, Joaquin	Spain
Roosa, Robert V.	U.S.A.
Savory, Roger M.	Canada
Seilliere, Ernest A.	France
Shackleton, Lord	United Kingdom
Sheinkman, Jacob	U.S.A.
Silvestri, Stefano	Italy
Simonet, Henry F.	Belgium
Sommer, Theo	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Steel, Sir David	United Kingdom
Steen, Reiulf	Norway
Steiner, Ludwig	Austria
Taus, Josef	Austria
Taylor, Arthur R.	U.S.A.
Thorn, Gaston	Luxembourg
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Treichl, Heinrich	Austria
Tufarelli, Nicola	Ital
Ullsten, Ola	Sweden
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Vranitzky, Franz	Austria
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Williams, Franklin H.	U.S.A.
Williams, Joseph H.	U.S.A.
Wohlin, Lars	Sweden
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Ypersele de Strihou, Jacques van	Belgium

OBSERVERS:

Schoser, Franz

Schwarzenberg, Erbprinz Karl

Zimmer-Lehmann, Georg

Fed. Rep. of Germany

Austria

Austria

IN ATTENDANCE:

Cordt, Herbert

Getchell, Charles

Heine-Geldern, Thomas

Austria

U.S.A.

Austria

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
BAD AACHEN CONFERENCE  
18-20 April 1980

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Home of the Hirsell, K. T.

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE:

Ernst H. van der Beugel

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

William P. Bundy

HONORARY TREASURER:

C. Frits Karsten

Aeppli, Oswald	Switzerland
Andersen, K. B.	Denmark
Ball, George W.	U.S.A.
Baring, John F. H.	U.K.
Bartholomew, Reginald	U.S.A.
Barzini, Luigi	Italy
Bennett, Sir Frederic	U.K.
Bennett, Jack F.	U.S.A.
Benvenuto, Giorgio	Italy
Bertram, Christoph	International
Beyazit, Selahattin	Turkey
Birgi, M. Nuri	Turkey
Breuel, Birgit	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Brunner, Guido	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Bundy, McGeorge	U.S.A.
Camunas Solis, Ignacio	Spain
Carras, Costa	Greece
Chevillon, Olivier	France
Cittadini Cesi, Il Marchese	Italy
Collado, Emilio G.	U.S.A.
Cortier, Peter	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Davignon, Vicomte	International
Donahue, Thomas R.	U.S.A.
Donovan, Hedley	U.S.A.
Duisenberg, Willem F.	Netherlands
Duncan, William B.	U.K.
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.	U.S.A.
Esambert, Bernard	France
Ferro, Luigi	Italy
Finley, Murray H.	U.S.A.
Finney, Paul B.	U.S.A.
Gisling, Jean-Claude	Switzerland
Grierson, Ronald H.	U.K.
Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Canada
Grosser, Alfred	France
Grunewald, Herbert	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Halberstadt, Victor	Netherlands
Hallgrimsson, Geir	Iceland
Hausmann, Helmut	Fed. Rep. of Germany



Healey, Denis	U.K.
Heinz, Henry J., II	U.S.A.
Herrhausen, Alfred A.	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Hoven, H.F. van den	Netherlands
Huonker, Gunter	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Hurd, Douglas	U.K.
Igler, Hans	Austria
Janssen, Daniel E.	Belgium
Johnson, Joseph E.	U.S.A.
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.	U.S.A.
Kaske, Karlheinz	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Kohl, Helmut	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Kiep, Walther L.	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Kissinger, Henry A.	U.S.A.
Kohnstamm, Max	International
Knight, Andrew	U.K.
Kraft, Joseph	U.S.A.
Lambert, Baron	Belgium
Lambsdorff, Graf Otto	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Legault, Albert	Canada
Lenep, Jhr. Emile van	International
Levy, Walter J.	U.S.A.
Lord, Winston	U.S.A.
Lundvall, Bjorn	Sweden
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	International
Lutolf, Franz	Switzerland
MacDonald, Donald S.	Canada
Maconald, H. Ian	Canada
MacLaury, Bruce K.	U.S.A.
Maxwell, Judith	U.K.
Medeiros Ferreira, Jose	Portugal
Montbrial, Thierry de	France
Norlund, Niels	Denmark
Parayre, Jean-Paul	France
Perkins, James A.	U.S.A.
Pitti-Ferrandi, Robert	France
Prinz, Gerhard	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Prodi, Romano	Italy
Rockefeller, David	U.S.A.
Roll of Ipsden, Lord	U.K.
Schmidt, Gerhard	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Schmidt, Helmut	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Schwarzenberg, Furst Karl J.	Austria
Seilliere, Antoine	France
Silvestri, Stefano	Italy
Simonet, Henri F.	Belgium
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron	Belgium
Sommer, Theo	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	U.S.A.
Spethmann, Dieter	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Spinelli, Barbara	Italy
Stoel, Max van der	Netherlands
Stone, Shepard	U.S.A.
Terkelsen, Terkel	Denmark
Thomas, Franklin	U.S.A.
Thorn, Gaston	Luxembourg
Tidemand, Otto G.	Norway
Tindemans, Leo	Belgium
Treichl, Heinrich	Austria

Treverton, Gregory F.	International
Tuzo, Sir Harry	U.K.
Umbricht, Victor H.	Switzerland
Vlachos, Helen	Greece
Wallenberg, Marcus	Sweden
Waris, Klaus	Finland
Wechmar, Baron R. von	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Werring, Niels, Jr.	Norway
Williams, Joseph H.	U.S.A.
Wohlin, Lars M.	Sweden
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Fed. Rep. of Germany

RAPPORTEUR:

Getchell, Charles	U.S.A.
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OBSERVERS:

Boge, Ulf	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Schoser, Franz	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Zimmer-Lehmann, Georg	Austria

IN ATTENDANCE:

Budishin, Hans-Jorg	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Dreihann-Holenia, N.	Austria
Hoogendoorn, Anne	Netherlands

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
BÜRGENSTOCK CONFERENCE  
15-17 May 1981

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:  
Walter Scheel\*

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE:  
Victor Halberstadt\*

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:  
Paul B. Finney\*

HONORARY TREASURER:  
Willem F. Duisenberg\*

Aeppli, Oswald	Switzerland
Agnelli, Giovanni**	Italy
Andersen, Tage	Denmark
Androsch, Hannes	Austria
Ball, George W.**	U.S.A.
Balsemao, Francisco P.	Portugal
Bennett, Jack F.*	U.S.A.
Bertram, Christoph*	International
Beugel, Ernst H. van der**	Netherlands
Beyazit, Selahattin*	Turkey
Bjøl, Erling	Denmark
Black, Conrad M.	Canada
Brinkhorst, Laurens J.	Netherlands
Bundy, William P.**	U.S.A.
Camunas Solis, Ignacio	Spain
Carras, Costa*	Greece
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.*	U.S.A.
Finley, Murray H.*	U.S.A.
Fisher, Gordon N.	Canada
Flesch, Colette	Luxembourg
Ford, Robert A. D.	Canada
Frydenlund, Knut	Norway
Furer, Arthur	Switzerland
Furgler, Kurt	Switzerland
Gerber, Fritz	Switzerland
Gustafsson, Sten	Sweden
Hallgrimsson, Geir*	Ireland
Healey, Denis W.	United Kingdom
Heinz, Henry J., II**	U.S.A.
Herrhausen, Alfred*	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Horn, Tankmar	Finland
Houthuys, Josef	Belgium
Hurd, Douglas R.	United Kingdom
Hysing-Dahl, Per	Norway
Igler, Hans*	Austria
Inan, Kamran	Turkey
Iselin, F. Emmanuel	Switzerland
Janssen, Daniel E.*	Belgium
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.*	U.S.A.

Julien, Claude	France
Kaske, Karlheinz	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Kirkpatrick, Jeane	U.S.A.
Kissinger, Henry A.*	U.S.A.
Knight, Andrew*	United Kingdom
Kohmstamm, Max**	International
Lambert, Baron*	Belgium
Lambrias, P.	Geece
Lenep, Jhr. Emile van	International
Leonhard, Wolfgang	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Levesque, Jacques	Canada
Lewis, Flora	U.S.A.
Liesen, Klaus	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Liotard-Vogt, Pierre	Switzerland
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	International
Lutolf, Franz J.*	Switzerland
MacDonald, Donald S.*	Canada
MacLaury, Bruce K.*	U.S.A.
Mahoney, David J.	U.S.A.
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr.	U.S.A.
McColough, C. Peter	U.S.A.
Mertes, Alois	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Mills, John L.	United Kingdom
Mondale, Walter F.	U.S.A.
Montbrial, Thierry de*	France
Moursund, Tor	Norway
Muller, Paul H.	Switzerland
Netherlands, Prince Claus of the	Netherlands
Niquille, P. F.	Switzerland
Norlund, Niels*	Denmark
Oswald, Heinrich	Switzerland
Pipes, Richard	U.S.A.
Prodi, Romano*	Italy
Rockefeller, David**	U.S.A.
Rogers, Bernard W.	International
Roll of Ipsden, Lord**	United Kingdom
Seidel, Hans	Austria
Seilliere, Antoine*	France
Silvestri, Stefano*	Italy
Soames, Lord	United Kingdom
Sommer, Theo*	Fed. Rep. of Germany
Stein, Herbert	U.S.A.
Taylor, Arthur R.*	U.S.A.
Thorn, Gaston	International
Toon, Malcolm	U.S.A.
Umbricht, Victor H.**	Switzerland
Vatne, Hans	Norway
Verdonnet, Jean-Francois	Switzerland
Wallenberg, Marcus*	Sweden
Wechmar, Baron R. von	International
Werring, Niels, Jr.*	Norway
Will, George F.	U.S.A.
Wohlin, Lars	Sweden
Yankelovich, Daniel	U.S.A.
Z'Graggen, Andreas	Switzerland

RAPPORTEURS:

Getchell, Charles\*  
Winthrop, Grant F.

U.S.A.  
U.S.A.

OBSERVERS:

O'Connor, Patrick  
Schwarzenberg, Prince Karl J.

U.S.A.  
Austria

IN ATTENDANCE:

Gomes, Jose Luis  
Hartmann, Hanno  
Hoogendoorn, Anne  
McKechnie, Malcolm J.  
Muller, Charles  
Reuter, Etienne  
Roe, Raymond T.  
Stoecker, F.

Portugal  
Fed. Rep. of Germany  
Netherlands  
Canada  
U.S.A.  
Luxembourg  
U.S.A.  
Fed. Rep. of Germany

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
SANDEFJORD CONFERENCE  
14-16 May 1982

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Walter Scheel\*  
Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University

HONORARY TREASURER:

Willem F. Duisenberg\*  
President, De Nederlandsche Bank N.V.

DEN	Tage Andersen	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Archer Daniels Midland Co.
AUS	Hannes Androsch*	Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
FRG	Egon Bahr	Member of Parliament; Author Working Paper, Session II
USA	George W. Ball**	Senior Managing Director, Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc.
GRE	Maria Becket	Former Advisor to Ministers of Coordination and Foreign Affairs
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
FR	Georges Berthoin	European Chairman, The Trilateral Commission
INT	Christoph Bertram*	Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies; Author Working Paper Session II
NETH	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Political Journalist, Morgunbladid
NOR	Gro Harlem Brundtland	Member of Parliament, Former Prime Minister
AUS	Erhard Busek	Deputy Mayor of Vienna; Former Secretary General O.V.P.
GRE	Costa Carras*	Member of the Board, Union of Greek Shipowners
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Banco Urquijo
FIN	C. Fredrik K. Castren	President and Chief Executive Officer, Kymli Kymmene Oy
CAN	Jean Chretien	Minister of Justice and Attorney General
DEN	Henning Christophersen	Member of Parliament, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee
NETH	Wisse Dekker	President, Philips Gloeilampenfabrieken
CAN	Paul Desmarais	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Power Corporation of Canada
CAN	William A. Dimma	President, A.E. LePage Ltd. and Board Chairman, Polysar Ltd.
USA	Hermann F. Eilts	University Professor of International Relations, Research Professor of History and Political Science, Boston University; Author Working Paper Session III
USA	Murray H. Finley*	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
USA	Paul B. Finney*	Editorial Director, Thomson Magazines
FR	Jean Francois-Poncet	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
NOR	Knut Frydenlund	Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Evan G. Galbraith	U.S. Ambassador to France
USA	Charles Getchell*	Lawyer and Trustee
USA	Meg Greenfield	Editorial Page Editor, The Washington Post
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Managing Director, SAB-SCANIA AB
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson*	Member of Parliament, Former Prime Minister

SWI	Fritz Halm	Chairman of the Board of Directors, SIG Swiss Industrial Company; Chairman, Swiss Employers Union
USA	Robert A. Hanson	President and Chief Operating Officer, Deere & Company
USA	Henry J. Heinz II**	Chairman of the Board, H.J. Heinz Company; President, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen*	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank AG
DEN	Erik Hoffmeyer	Chairman of the Board of Governors, Denmark's Nationalbank
USA	Karen E. House	Washington Correspondent, The Wall Street Journal
UK	Robin Ibbs	Executive Director, Imperial Chemical Industries; Former Head, Central Policy Review Staff, Cabinet Office
AUS	Hans Igler*	Partner, Schoeller & Co. Bankaktiengesellschaft
CAN	H.N.R. Jackman	Chairman of the Board, The Empire Life Insurance Company
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
UK	Elie Kedourie	Professor of Politics, University of London; Author Working Paper Session III
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University
UK	Andrew Knight*	Editor, The Economist
FRG	Helmut Kohl	Chairman, CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Former President, European University Institute at Florence
FR	Philippe Lagayette	Directeur de Cabinet, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance; Author Working Paper Session IV
BEL	Baron Lambert*	Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.
FRG	Otto L. Graf Lambsdorff	Minister of Economics
INT	Jacques de Larosiere	Managing Director, I.M.F.
UK	Nigel Lawson	Member of Parliament, Secretary of State for Energy
INT	Emile van Lennep	Secretary General, O.E.C.D.
GRE	G.P. Livanos	Member of the Board, Union of Greek Shipowners
USA	Winston Lord*	President, Council on Foreign Relations
INT	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	Secretary General, N.A.T.O.
SWI	Franz Lutolf*	General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
CAN	Donald S. MacDonald	Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury*	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	David J. Mahoney	Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Norton Simon Inc.
FR	Jacques Maisonrouge	Chairman of the Board, I.B.M. World Trade Corporation
POR	Rogério Martins	Chairman, "Simapre" Investment Company; Former Secretary of State of Industry
NETH	Hans A.F.M.O. van Mierlo	Minister of Defense
FR	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
NOR	Tor Moursund	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Christiania Bank og Kreditkasse
NOR	Einar Fr. Nagell-Erichsen	Managing Director, Aftenposten/Schibstedgruppen
NETH	Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
CAN	James R. Nininger	President, The Conference Board of Canada
DEN	Niels Norlund*	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
IT	Piero Ostellino	Columnist, Corriere della Sera
INT	Sylvia Ostry	Head, Department of Economics and Statistics, O.E.C.D.; Author Working Paper Session IV
UK	David Owen	Joint Leader of the Social Democratic Party, Member of Parliament, Former Foreign Secretary
TUR	Haluk Ozgul	Ambassador of Turkey in Norway
USA	Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.	Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Author Working Paper Session II
USA	Richard Pipes	Senior Staff Member, National Security Council (Baird Professor of History, Harvard University, on leave)
FRG	Karl Otto Pohl	President, Deutsche Bundesbank
IT	Romano Prodi*	Professor of Industrial Economics, University of Bologna
USA	James Roche	Senior Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State
USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe

IT	Virginio Rognoni	Minister of Internal Affairs
UK	Lord Roll of Ipsden**	Chairman, S. G. Warburg & Co. Ltd.
USA	Robert V. Roosa	Senior Partner, Brown Brothers Harriman & Company
UK	Sir John Sainsbury*	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
FR	E. Antoine Seilliere	Director General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
IT	Stefano Silvestri*	Deputy Director, Institute of International Affairs
USA	William E. Simon	Chairman, Crescent Diversified Ltd.; Former Secretary of the Treasury; Author Working Paper Session IV
BEL	Henri F. Simonet	Member of Parliament; Author Working Paper Session I
NOR	Anders C. Sjaastad	Minister of Defense
NOR	Hermod Skanland	Deputy Governor of the Bank of Norway
UK	Lord Soames	
FRG	Theo Sommer*	Publisher, Die Zeit
NETH	Andre S. Spoor	Editor-in-Chief, NRC Handelsblad
NOR	Thorvald Stoltenberg	Member of the International Secretariat of the Federation of Trade Unions
USA	Robert S. Strauss	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former U.S. Special Trade Representative for Trade Negotiations
NOR	Svenn Stray	Minister of Foreign Affairs
SWE	Bjorn Svedberg	President, Telefonaktiebolaget LM Ericsson
NOR	Otto Grieg Tidemand	Shipowner; Former Minister of Defense
TUR	Metin Toker	Columnist, Milliyet Newspaper
SWI	Victor H. Umbricht**	Mediator, East African Community; Member of the Board of Ciba-Geigy Ltd.
POR	Alexandre de Azeredo Vaz Pinto	President, The Institute of Foreign Investment; Former Minister of Commerce
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
USA	Ben J. Wattenberg	Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Author Working Paper Session I
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
USA	Joseph H. Williams*	Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, The Williams Companies
NOR	Kaare Willoch	Prime Minister
SWE	Lars Wohlin	Governor, Swedish Federal Bank
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.
FRG	Manfred Worner	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU; Author Working Paper Session I

#### OBSERVERS:

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

#### IN ATTENDANCE:

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

#### RAPORTEURS:

USA	Charles Getchell
USA	Grant F. Winthrop

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group



BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
CHÂTEAU MONTEBELLO CONFERENCE  
13-15 May 1983

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Walter Scheel\*  
Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University

HONORARY TREASURER:

Willem F. Duisenberg\*  
President, De Nederlandsche Bank N.V.

IT	Umberto Agnelli	Chairman, FIAT Auto S.p.A.; Vice-Chairman and Managing Director IFI (Istituto Finanziario Industriale)
DEN	Tage Andersen	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company
AUS	Hannes Androsch*	Chairman of the Management Board, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
USA	Hans H. Angermueller	Vice Chairman, Citibank, N.A.
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Undersecretary of State
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Prime Minister ad Interim
FR	Raymond Barre	Former Prime Minister; Member of the National Assembly
IT	Piero Bassetti	President, Bassetti S.p.A.; Chairman of Chamber of Commerce
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Senior Vice President & Director, EXXON Corporation
INT	Georges Berthoin	European Chairman, The Trilateral Commission
NETH	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
USA	Seweryn Bialer	Director, Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University
TUR	M. Nuri Birgi	Former Ambassador to NATO
CAN	Lise Bissonette	Editor-in-Chief, Le Devoir
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Political Journalist, Morgunbladid
NOR	Halvdan Bjorum	Chairman of the Board, A/S Elektrisk Bureau
CAN	Conrad M. Black	Chairman, Argus Corporation, Ltd.
NOR	Gro Harlem Brundtland	Parliamentary Leader, Labour Party
USA	William P. Bundy**	Editor-in-Chief, Foreign Affairs
GRE	Costa Carras*	Member of the Board, Union of Greek Shipowners
UK	Lord Carrington	Former Foreign Minister; Leader Conservative Party, House of Lords
SPA	Jaime Carvajal y Urquijo	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Banco Urquijo
FIN	Fredrik Castren	President and Chief Executive Officer, Kymi Kymmene Oy; Chairman of the Confederation of Finnish Industries
SPA	Juan Luis Cebrian	Editor-in-Chief, El Pais
DEN	Henning Christophersen	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance
INT	A. W. Clausen	President, The World Bank
USA	Kenneth W. Dam	Deputy Secretary of State
INT	Vicomte Etienne Davignon	Vice President, Commission of the European Communities
USA	James Dobbins	Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
USA	Thomas R. Donahue	Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO
USA	Elizabeth Drew	Journalist

SWE	Kjell-Olof Feldt	Minister of Finance
SWE	Anders Ferm	Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Sweden to the United Nations
USA	Murray H. Finley*	President, Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union
USA	Charles Getchell*	Partner, Gray & Wendell (Attorneys-at-Law)
POR	Bernardino Gomes	Vice Chairman, Foundation for International Relations
FR	Alain Gomez	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Thomson Group
CAN	Anthony G.S. Griffin**	Director of Companies
USA	Henry Anatole Grunwald	Editor-in-Chief, TIME, Inc.
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Managing Director, SAAB-SCANIA AB
USA	Arthur A. Hartman	U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
SWI	Hans Heckmann	General Manager, Union Bank of Switzerland
USA	Henry J. Heinz II**	Chairman, H.J. Heinz Company; President, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen*	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
USA	Stanley Hoffmann	Chairman, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
USA	Robert Hormats	Vice President, Goldman Sachs & Company
BEL	Jozef Houthuys	President, Confederation of the Christian Unions
AUS	Peter Jankowitsch	Deputy Secretary General for Foreign Affairs
BEL	Daniel E. Janssen*	Chairman, Federation of Belgian Enterprises; Chairman Executive Committee, U.C.B., S.A.
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Srauss, Hauer & Feld; Former President, National Urban League
USA	David Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State
UK	Andrew Knight*	Editor, The Economist
BEL	Baron Lambert*	Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert, S.A.
FRG	Otto L. Graf Lambsdorff	Minister of Economic Affairs
INT	Alexandre Lamfalussy	Assistant General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
CAN	Gilles Lamontagne	Minister of Defense
INT	Emile van Lennep	Secretary-General, OECD
BEL	Andre Leysen	Chairman of the Board, AGFA-GEVAERT Group
USA	Winston Lord*	President, The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
NETH	Ruud F.M. Lubbers	Prime Minister
INT	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	Secretary-General, NATO
SWI	Franz Lutolf*	General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
CAN	Donald S. Macdonald*	Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy
CAN	Allan J. MacEachen	Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	David Mahoney	Chairman of the Board, Norton Simon Inc.
FR	Jacques Maisonrouge	Chairman of the Board, I.B.M. World Trade Corporation
POR	Rogério Martins	Chairman, Simopre; Former Secretary of State for Industry
CAN	Leighton W. McCarthy	President, McCarthy Securities Ltd.
USA	R. Daniel McMichael	Administrative Agent, Scaife Family Charitable Trusts
FRG	Alois Mertes	Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
FR	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
IT	Mario Monti*	Professor of Monetary Theory and Policy, University of Bocconi, Milan; President, SUERF
CAN	William D. Mulholland	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bank of Montreal
DEN	Niels Norlund	Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende
SWE	Clas-Erik Odhner	Economist at the Swedish Trade Union Confederation
NETH	Coen J. Oort*	Member of the Board, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.
IRE	Anthony J.F. O'Reilly	President and Chief Executive Officer, H.J. Heinz Company
GRE	John D. Paleocrassas	Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Coordination; Secretary-General of NEA Democratic Party
USA	Richard Perle	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy
CAN	Alfred Powis	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Noranda Mines Ltd.
SWI	Raymond Probst	Secretary of State, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs
CAN	Jacques Rastoul	Executive Director, Canadian Institute of International Affairs
USA	John P. Roche	Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
UK	Lord Roll of Ipsden**	Chairman, S.G. Warburg & Co. Ltd.
UK	Evelyn de Rothschild	Chairman, N.M. Rothschild & Sons Ltd.
FRG	Volker Ruhe	Deputy Leader, Parliamentary Party CDU/CSU; Spokesman on Foreign and Security Policy
UK	Sir John Sainsbury*	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
NETH	Willem E. Scherpenhuijsen Rom	Chairman of the Board of Managing Directors, Nederlandsche Middenstandsbank N.V.
FRG	Helmut Schmidt	Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
FR	Antoine Seilliere*	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
NOR	Anders C. Sjaastad	Minister of Defense
FRG	Theo Sommer*	Publisher, Die Zeit
AUS	Josef Taus	Managing Partner, Constantia Industrieverwaltungsges. m.b.H.
CAN	C.G.E. Theriault	Vice-Chief of the Defense Staff
CAN	Pierre Elliott Trudeau	Prime Minister
TUR	Ilter Turkmen	Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors, The Federal Reserve System
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
SWE	Hans Werthen	Chairman, Ericsson and Electrolux Group
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.; Chairman, German Federation of Chambers of Industry and Commerce
SPA	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs at the Office of the Prime Minister
IT	Paolo Zannoni*	Director, Department Political Analysis, FIAT S.p.A.

#### IN ATTENDANCE:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
CHÂTEAU MONTEBELLO CONFERENCE  
11-13 May 1984

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Walter Scheel\*  
Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University

HONORARY TREASURER:

Conrad J. Oort\*  
Member of the Board, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.

NOR	Henrik Aasarod	President, Norwegian Seamen's Union
USA	Kenneth L. Adelman	Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Department of State
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	President, FIAT S.p.A.
TUR	Yildirim Akturk	Former Under Secretary of State, Planning Organization
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman of the Board, Archer-Daniels Midland Co., Inc.
AUS	Hannes Androsch*	Chairman of the Managing Board, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Finance
USA	Hans H. Angermueller	Vice Chairman of the Board, Citicorp
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under Secretary of State
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Former Prime Minister; Director "Jornal Expresso"
UK	John F.H. Baring	Chairman, Baring Brothers & Co. Ltd.
NETH	H.M. Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands	
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
USA	C. Fred Bergsten	Director, Institute for International Economics; Former Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of the Treasury
FRG	Christoph Bertram	Political Editor, "Die Zeit"; Former Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London
NETH	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Political Editor, "Morgunbladid"
USA	Nicholas Brady	Chairman, Dillon, Read & Co., Inc.; Former U.S. Senator (New Jersey)
CAN	Albert A. Breton	Professor of Economics, Institute for Policy Analysis, University of Toronto
USA	William P. Bundy**	Editor, "Foreign Affairs"
USA	Richard R. Burt	Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs
USA	Louis W. Cabot	Chairman of the Board, The Cabot Corporation
GRE	Angelos Canellopoulos	Vice President, "Titan" Cement Co., S.A.; Member of the Board, Union of Greek Industries
GRE	Costa Carras*	Member of the Board, Union of Greek Shipowners
UK	Lord Carrington	Secretary-General-designate NATO
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman, Banco Hispano Industrial
FRA	Jean-Pierre Chevenement	Member of the National Assembly; President of CERES; Former Minister of Industry
NETH	H.R.H. Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
CAN	W. Harriet Critchley	Associate Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science, University of Calgary

INT	Vicomte Etienne Davignon	Vice President, Commission of the European Communities
NETH	Wisse Dekker	President, Philips' Gloeilampenfabrieken N.V.
CAN	L.A. Delvoie	Chairman, Task Force Work Group, Prime Minister's Task Force on East-West Relations and International Security
CAN	David A. Dodge	Assistant Deputy Minister, Strategic Planning, Department of Employment and Immigration
UK	James Eberle	Director, The Royal Institute of International Affairs
DEN	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Thomas O. Enders	U.S. Ambassador to Spain
IRE	Garret Fitzgerald	Prime Minister
LUX	Colette Flesch	Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Murray H. Finley*	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union AFL-CIO
NETH	Max Geldens	Director, McKinsey & Company Inc.
USA	Charles Getchell*	Partner, Gray & Wendell (Attorneys-at-Law); Rapporteur, Bilderberg Meetings
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board, Saab-Scania AB
ICE	Geir Hallgrímsson*	Minister of Foreign Affairs
CAN	Charles H. Hantho	President and Chief Executive officer, C-I-L Inc.
NOR	H.R.H. Crown Prince Harald of Norway	
UK	Denis W. Healey	Member of Parliament
USA	Henry J. Heinz II**	Chairman of the Board, H.J. Heinz Company, Inc.
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen*	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
UK	Michael Heseltine	Secretary of State for Defence
AUS	Gerald Hinteregger	Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
USA	John J. Horan	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Merck & Co., Inc.
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board of the Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador of Finland to the U.S.
BEL	Daniel E. Janssen*	Chairman of the Executive Committee, U.C.B., S.A.
SWI	Robert A. Jeker	President of the Executive Board, Credit Suisse
SWE	Lennart Johansson	President and Group Executive, AB SKF; Vice Chairman of the Federation of Swedish Industries
USA	Vernon E. Jordan*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
FRG	Karlheinz Kaske	President and Chief Executive Officer, Siemens A.G.
GRE	Louka T. Katseli	Scientific Director, Centre of Planning and Economic Research
USA	David T. Kearns	President and Chief Executive Officer, Xerox Corporation
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University
UK	Andrew Knight*	Editor, "The Economist"
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Former President, European University Institute, Florence
NOR	Kare Kristiansen	Minister of Petroleum and Energy
BEL	Baron Lambert*	Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.
FRG	Otto Graf Lambsdorff	Minister of Economic Affairs
INT	Emile van Lennep	Secretary-General, O.E.C.D.
USA	Flora Lewis	Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times, Paris Bureau
BEL	Andre Leysen	Chairman, Federation of Belgian Enterprises; Chairman, Agfa-Gevaert Group
SWE	Assar Lindbeck	Professor of International Economics, University of Stockholm
USA	Winston Lord*	President, The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
NETH	Aarnout A. Loudon	President Board of Management, AKZO NV
INT	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	Secretary-General, NATO
SWI	Franz Lutolf*	General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
CAN	Donald S. Macdonald*	Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy; Chairman, Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury*	President, The Brookings Institution
USA	David J. Mahoney	David Mahoney Ventures
SPA	Miguel Angel Martinez	Member of Parliament and Vice President, Foreign Affairs Committee
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	United States Senator (Maryland)
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique

ITA	Mario Monti*	Professor of Monetary Theory and Policy, University of Bocconi, Milan; President, SUERF
SWE	Curt Nicolin	Chairman of the Swedish Employers' Confederation
DEN	Niels Norlund*	Editor-in-Chief, "Berlingske Tidende"
FRA	Christine Ockrent	Editor-in-Chief, "Antenne II"
SWE	Clas-Erick Odhner	Head of the Research Section of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation
INT	Robert O'Neill	Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
SWE	Olof Palme	Prime Minister
POR	Andre Goncalves Pereira	Professor of International Law, University of Lisbon; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	William B. Quandt	Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution
UK	John M. Raisman	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Shell U.K.
USA	Alice M. Rivlin	Director Economic Studies Program, The Brookings Institution; Former Director, the Congressional Budget Office
USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
UK	Lord Roll of Ipsden**	Chairman, S.G. Warburg & Co.
UK	Sir John Sainsbury*	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
SPA	Juan Tomas de Salas	Editor, Cambio 16 and Diario 16
AUS	Wolfgang Schussel	Secretary General, Austrian Economic Federation
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere*	Director-General, Compagnie d'Industrie et de Participations
USA	Marshall D. Shulman	Director, W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University
USA	Joseph J. Sisco	Partner, Sisco Associates; Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs
FRG	Theo Sommer*	Publisher, "Die Zeit"
DEN	Poul J. Svanholm	President and Group Chief Executive, United Breweries Ltd.
SWE	Stig Synnergren	Principal Aide-de-Camp to the King; Former Supreme Commander
TUR	Sarik Tara	Chairman, ENKA Group of Companies
FRG	Horst Teltschik	Head of Department Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Chancellor's Office
SWE	Anders Thunborg	Minister of Defense
NOR	Otto Grieg Tidemand	Shipowner, Former Minister of Defense
POR	Emilio Rui Vilar	Vice Governor, Bank of Portugal
SWE	Peter Wallenberg	Vice Chairman, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
SWE	Hans Werthen	Chairman, AB Electrolux
USA	John C. Whitehead	Senior Partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co., Inc.
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

RAPORTEURS:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
RYE BROOK CONFERENCE  
10-12 May 1985

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University

ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	President, FIAT S.p.A.
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
NOR	Johan H. Andresen	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Tiedemann Group
AUS	Hannes Androsch*	Chairman of the Managing Board, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Finance
USA	Hans H. Angermueller	Vice Chairman, Citibank, N.A.
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under Secretary of State
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Former Prime Minister; Director, "Jornal Expresso"
CAN	Thomas J. Bata	Chairman, Bata Ltd.
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
NOR	Eivinn Berg	Ambassador and Permanent Representative, Norwegian Delegation to NATO; Former State Secretary
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
USA	John C. Bierwirth	Chairman, Grumman Corporation
TUR	M. Nuri Birgi	Ambassador at Large
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, "Morgunbladid"
CAN	Conrad M. Black	Chairman, Argus Corporation, Ltd.
USA	Bill Bradley	U.S. Senator, New Jersey
USA	Nicholas F. Brady	Chairman, Dillon, Read & Company, Inc.; Former U.S. Senator (New Jersey)
USA	Zbigniew Brzezinski	Herbert Lehman Professor of Government, Columbia University; Former Assistant to President Carter for National Security Affairs
USA	William P. Bundy**	Former Editor, "Foreign Affairs"
USA	Louis W. Cabot	Chairman, Cabot Corporation
ITA	Umberto Cappuzzo	Chief of Staff, Italian Army
GRE	Costa Carras*	Member of the Board, Greek Shipping Cooperation Committee
FRA	Helene Carrere D'encausse	Professor, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris; Professor of History and Political Science of the Soviet Union at the Sorbonne
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo*	Chairman, Banco Hispano Industrial
SWI	Kaspar V. Cassani	Senior Vice President, IBM Corporation; Chairman, IBM World Trade EMEA Corporation
SPA	Juan Luis Cebrian	Director and Editor-in-Chief, "El Pais"
INT	A. W. Clausen	President, The World Bank
POR	Jose Manuel Torres Couto	Secretary-General, General Trade Union UGT
FRG	Ralf Dahrendorf	Professor, Konstanz University (School of Social Sciences)
USA	Kenneth W. Dam	Deputy Secretary of State
BEL	Etienne Davignon	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities
USA	Murray H. Finley*	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO
IRE	Garret Fitzgerald	Prime Minister of the Irish Republic
FRA	Jean Francois-Poncet	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
FRA	Michel Francois-Poncet	Chairman, Paribas North America
USA	Charles Getchell*	Partner, Gray & Wendell; Rapporteur Bilderberg Meetings

FRA	Michel Giraud	Senator; President, Regional Council of Ile de France
USA	Donald Gregg	Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs
USA	William E. Griffith	Professor, Political Science Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
CAN	Franklyn Griffiths	Professor, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board, Saab-Scania AB
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson*	Minister of Foreign Affairs
SWI	Hans Heckmann	Executive Vice President, Member of the Executive Board, Union Bank of Switzerland
USA	Henry J. Heinz II**	Chairman, H.J. Heinz Company, Inc.
SWE	Mats Hellstroem	Minister for Foreign Trade
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen*	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
USA	John J. Horan	Chairman, Merck & Company, Inc.
USA	Robert Hormats	Director, Goldman Sachs International Corporation; Former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, The Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the U.S.
UK	Martin W. Jacomb	Vice Chairman, Kleinwort, Benson Limited
BEL	Daniel E. Janssen*	Member Executive Committee, Solvay & Cie, S.A.
USA	James R. Jones	U.S. Congressman, Oklahoma
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld; Former President, National Urban League
GRE	Basil Kafiris	Governor, Agricultural Bank of Greece
FRG	Karl Kaiser	Director, Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs
TUR	Jak V. Kamhi	Chairman of the Board, Profilo Holding A.S.
UK	Geoffrey C. Kent	Chairman and Chief Executive, Imperial Group, PLC
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University
UK	Andrew Knight*	Editor, "The Economist"
INT	Emile Van Lennep	Former Secretary-General, OECD
UK	Lord Lever of Manchester	Former Cabinet Minister and Financial Secretary; Former Member of Parliament
LIE	H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam von Liechtenstein	
NET	Hans B. Van Liemt	Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, D.S.M.
POR	Ernani Rodrigues Lopes	Minister of Finance
USA	Winston Lord*	President, The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
CAN	Donald S. Macdonald	Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy; Chairman, Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada
CAN	Roy MacLaren	President, CB Media Ltd. and Publisher, Canadian Business; Former Member of Parliament and Minister of National Revenue
USA	Bruce K. MacLaury*	President, The Brookings Institution
FRA	Jacques Maisonrouge	Vice Chairman, Liquid Air Corporation
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.*	U.S. Senator, Maryland
FRG	Alois Mertes	Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
ITA	Mario Monti*	Professor of Monetary Theory and Policy and Director of the Institute of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
SWI	Felicien Morel	Director of Finance, Canton of Fribourg; Former M.P.
DEN	Niels Norlund*	Editor-in-Chief, "Berlingske Tidende"
TUR	Osman Olcay	Ambassador to NATO; Former Foreign Minister
INT	Robert O'Neill	Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
INT	Jean-Claude Paye	Secretary-General, OECD
USA	Richard Perle	Assistant Secretary for International Security Policy, U.S. Department of Defense
USA	Leland S. Prussia	Chairman, Bank of America
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	U.S. Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic
USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
UK	Lord Roll of Ipsden**	Chairman, S. G. Warburg & Co., Ltd.
ITA	Guido Rossi	Lawyer
NET	H. Onno Ruding	Minister of Finance, Chairman of the Interim Committee of the IMF



ITA	Giovanni Sartori	Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, Columbia University
USA	Richard M. Scammon	Director, Elections Research Center
ITA	Mario Schimberni	President, Montedison
USA	Brent Scowcroft	Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates; Former Member of President's General Advisory Committee on Arms Control
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere*	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations
UK	Patrick Sheehy	Chairman, BAT Industries, PLC
SPA	Javier Solana Madariaga	Minister of Culture
FRG	Theo Sommer*	Publisher, "Die Zeit"
USA	Herbert Stein	Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
UK	Norman Tebbit	Secretary of Trade and Industry; Member of Parliament, Member of the Prime Minister's Cabinet
CAN	Pierre Elliott Trudeau	Former Prime Minister
SWI	Victor Umbricht**	Member of the Advisory Board, Ciba-Geigy Ltd.; Mediator, East African Community
NET	Joop M. Den Uyl	Parliamentary Leader, Labour Party; Former Prime Minister
AUS	Franz Vranitzky	Minister of Finance
UK	Mark Weinberg	Chairman, Hambro Life Assurance, PLC
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Senior Partner, Wilh. Wilhelmsen
USA	John C. Whitehead	Chairman, International Advisory Board, Goldman Sachs & Co., Inc.
FRG	Norbert Wiczorek	Member of Parliament
USA	James D. Wolfensohn	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Board of Management, Otto Wolff A.G.
CAN	Bernard Wood	Director, North-South Institute
FRG	Manfred Worner	Minister of Defense
USA	Edwin H. Yeo III	Managing Director, Morgan Stanley & Company, Inc., former Under Secretary of the Treasury
UK	Lord Young of Graffham	Minister without Portfolio; Member Prime Minister's Cabinet
ITA	Paolo Zannoni*	Director, Department of Political Analysis, FIAT S.p.A.

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

RAPPORTEURS:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Committee

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
GLENEAGLES CONFERENCE  
25-27 April 1986

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Roll of Ipsden\*  
Joint Chairman, S.G. Warburg & Co., Ltd.

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Executive Director, The Center for Asian Pacific Affairs, The Asia Foundation

SWE	Carl Johan Aaberg	Under-Secretary of State
NOR	Torvild Aakvaag	Director General, Norsk Hydro A/S
UK	Antony A. Acland	Permanent Under Secretary of State and Head of the Diplomatic Service; Ambassador-Designate to Washington
ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	President, Fiat S.p.A.
DEN	Tage Andersen*	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
AUS	Hannes Androsch*	Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Minister of Finance; Former Vice Chancellor
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under Secretary of State
FRG	Martin Bangemann	Minister of Economic Affairs
UK	John F.H. Baring	Chairman, Baring Brothers & Co., Ltd.
USA	Robert L. Bartley	Editor, "The Wall Street Journal"
ICE	Einar Benediktsson	Ambassador to the United Kingdom
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
CAN	Conrad M. Black*	Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.
UK	Lord Boardman	Chairman, National Westminster Bank PLC
USA	Nicholas F. Brady*	Chairman, Dillon, Reed & Co., Inc.; Former U.S. Senator (New Jersey)
NETH	Hans van den Broek	Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Richard R. Burt	U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany
TUR	Yavus Canevi	Governor of the Central Bank
GRE	Costa Carras*	Director of Companies
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo*	Chairman, Banco Hispano Industrial
USA	John H. Chafee	U.S. Senator (Rhode Island)
FRA	Alain Chevalier	Chairman, Moet Hennessy
USA	Henry F. Cooper, Jr.	Deputy U.S. Negotiator, Defense and Space Group
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Vice President, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
FRA	David Dautresme	General Partner, Lazard Freres & Cie.
BEL	Etienne Davignon*	Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of the European Communities
USA	Robert A. Day, Jr.	Chairman, Trust Company of the West
NETH	Willem F. Duisenberg	President, De Nederlandsche Bank NV
UK	John L. Egan	Chairman and Chief Executive, Jaguar PLC
USA	Daniel J. Evans	U.S. Senator (Washington)
USA	Murray H. Finley*	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
CAN	Barbara Frum	Host of "The Journal" (Television Program of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)
CAN	Allan E. Gotlieb	Ambassador to the United States

UK	Lord Greenhill of Harrow	Former Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Director of companies
CAN	Anthony G.S. Griffin**	Director of Companies
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
ICE	Geir Hallgrímsson*	Governor of the Central Bank; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Arthur A. Hartman	Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
UK	Denis W. Healey	Member of Parliament; Opposition Spokesman on Foreign Affairs
USA	Henry J. Heinz II**	Chairman of the Board, H.J. Heinz Company, Inc.
UK	Lord Home of the Hirsel	Former Prime Minister; Former Chairman of Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Arnold L. Horelick	Director, The Rand/UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior
USA	Robert D. Hormats	Director, Goldman Sachs International Corporation; Former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs
AUS	Hans Igler	Partner, Schoeller & Co. Banaktiengesellschaft
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the United States
SWI	Robert A. Jeker	President of the Executive Board, Credit Suisse
UK	Simon Jenkins	Political Editor, "The Economist"
SWI	Paul R. Jolles	Chairman of the Board, Nestle S.A.; Former State Secretary for Foreign Economic Affairs
USA	David T. Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; Former Secretary of State
FRG	Hans Klein	Member of Parliament for the CDU/CSU; Spokesman on Foreign Affairs
UK	Andrew Knight*	Chief Executive, "The Daily Telegraph"
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Former President, European University Institute
BEL	Leon J.G. Lambert	Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.
INT	Alexandre Lamfalussy	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
LIE	H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam von Liechtenstein	
SWI	Franz J. Lutolf	General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
ITA	Antonio Maccanico	General Secretary, Office of the President of the Italian Republic
CAN	Donald S. MacDonald*	Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy
GRE	Stephanos Manos	Member of Parliament
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.*	U.S. Senator (Maryland)
POR	Leonardo Mathias	Ambassador to the United States
USA	Donald F. McHenry	University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Affairs, Georgetown University; Former Ambassador to the United Nations
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for Monetary and Financial Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
NETH	H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands	
NETH	H.R.H. Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
ITA	Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa	Deputy Director General, Banca d'Italia
UK	Michael Palliser	Chairman, Samuel Montagu & Co. (Holdings) Limited; Chairman of the Council, International Institute for Strategic Studies
USA	Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.	President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.
DEN	Herbert Pundik	Editor-in-Chief, "Politiken"
UK	Robert P. Reid	Chairman, Shell UK Ltd.
UK	Malcolm Rifkind	Secretary of State for Scotland
FRA	Michel Rocard	Member of Parliament (Socialist Party)
SPA	Mariano Rubio	Governor, Bank of Spain
ITA	Renato Ruggiero	General Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
UK	John Sainsbury	Chairman, J. Sainsbury PLC
CAN	Jeanne Sauve	Governor General of Canada
ITA	Gaetano Scardocchia	Editor, "La Stampa"
FRG	Walter Scheel	Former President; Former Chairman of Bilderberg Meetings
FRG	Helmut Schmidt	Former Chancellor
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations

UK	Patrick Sheehy	Chairman, .A.T. Industries PLC
POR	Artur Santos Silva	Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury; Former Vice President, Bank of Portugal; President, Banco Portugues de Investimento
UK	John Smith	Member of Parliament (Labour Party)
FRG	Theo Sommer*	Publisher, "Die Zeit"
ITA	Luigi Spaventa	Professor of Economics, University of Rome
UK	David Steel	Member of Parliament, Leader of the Liberal Party
BEL	Frank Swaelen	President, Christian Democratic Party
TUR	Seyfi Tashan	Managing Director, Foreign Policy Institute
NOR	Nils Morten Udgaard	Deputy Secretary, Prime Minister's Office
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
FRG	Angelika E.C. Volle	Research Fellow, Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Auswartige Politik (German Society for Foreign Affairs)
AUS	Franz Vranitzky	Federal Minister of Finance
UK	H.R.H. The Prince of Wales	
NOR	Nils Werring, Jr.*	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
USA	John C. Whitehead	Deputy Secretary of State
DEN	Nils Wilhjelm	Minister of Industry
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steel Workers of America
USA	Frank G. Wisner	Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Department of State
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Board of Management and Chief Executive Officer, Otto Wolff A.G.
SPA	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
UK	Lord Young of Graffham	Secretary of State for Employment
ITA	Paolo Zannoni*	Vice President, Defense Systems, Fiat USA, Inc.

OBSERVER:

AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	Managing Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
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RAPPORTEUR:

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Wood, Struthers and Winthrop Management Corporation
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IN ATTENDANCE:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Committee

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
VILLA D'ESTE CONFERENCE  
24-26 April 1987

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Roll of Ipsden\*  
Joint Chairman, S.G. Warburg & Co., Ltd.

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE U.S.A.:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Executive Director, The Center for Asian Pacific Affairs, The Asia Foundation

HONORARY TREASURER:

Conrad J. Oort\*  
Member of the Board, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.;  
Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	President, Fiat S.p.A.
TUR	Gunduz Aktan	Adviser to the Prime Minister, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
USA	Paul A. Allaire	President, Xerox Corporation
DEN	Tage Andersen	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
AUS	Hannes Androsch	Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Minister of Finance; Former Vice Chancellor
UK	Michael R. Angus	Chairman, Unilever PLC
NOR	Nils J. Astrup	Chairman of the Board, Fearnley & Eger A/S
FRG	Egon Bahr	Member of Parliament; General Secretary of the SPD
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under-Secretary of State
FRA	Edouard Balladur	Minister of State; Minister of Economics, Finance and Privatization
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	Director, Jornal Expresso; Former Prime Minister
CAN	Thomas J. Bata, Sr.	Chairman, Bata Limited
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
FRG	Christoph Bertram	Diplomatic Correspondent, "Die Zeit"
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
CAN	Conrad M. Black*	Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.
USA	Richard R. Burt	Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany
ITA	Luigi Caligaris	Author and Defence Correspondent
ITA	Guido Carli	Senator; Former Governor, Banca d'Italia
GRE	Costa Carras*	Director of Companies
INT	Lord Carrington	Secretary General, NATO
SPA	Juan Luis Cebrian	Director and Editor-in-Chief, "El Pais"
ITA	Carlo A. Ciampi	Governor, Banca d'Italia
ITA	Francesco Cingano	Chairman, Banca Commerciale Italiana
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Richard G. Darman	Managing Director, Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc.; Former Deputy Secretary, Department of the Treasury
BEL	Etienne Davignon*	Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of the European Communities
INT	Arthur Dunkel	Director General, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

CAN	Fredrik S. Eaton	President and Chief Executive Officer, Eaton's of Canada Limited
DEN	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Murray H. Finley*	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
IRE	Garret FitzGerald	Former Prime Minister
USA	John S. Foster, Jr.	Vice President, TRW Inc.
ITA	Raul Gardini	Chairman, Ferruzzi S.p.A.
UK	Paul Girolami	Chairman, Glaxo Holdings PLC
USA	Maynard W. Glitman	Negotiator on Intermediate Range Nuclear Arms
CAN	Anthony G.S. Griffin**	Director of Companies
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
ICE	Geir Hallgrímsson*	Governor, Central Bank of Iceland; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
AUS	Helmut H. Haschek	Chairman of the Board, Osterreichische Kontrollbank A.G.
SWI	Hans Heckmann	Executive Vice President and Member of the Executive Board, Union Bank of Switzerland
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen*	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
SWI	Paul R. Jolles	Chairman of the Board, Nestle S.A.; Former State Secretary for Foreign Economic Affairs
USA	Thomas V. Jones	Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Northrop Corporation
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Professor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; Former Secretary of State
NETH	Cor J. Van Der Klugt	President, N.V. Philips' Gloeilampenfabrieken
UK	Andrew Knight*	Chief Executive, "The Daily Telegraph"
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Former President, European University Institute
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharriere	Vice President, L'Oreal
BEL	Leon J. G. Lambert	Chairman, Groupe Bruxelles Lambert S.A.
INT	Emile van Lennep	Former Secretary General, OECD
LIE	H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam of Liechtenstein	
USA	Winston Lord	Ambassador to the People's Republic of China
SWI	Frantz J. Lutolf*	General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.*	Former U.S. Senator
POR	Jose Eduardo Moniz	Director of Information, RTP (Portuguese Television)
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
ITA	Mario Monti*	Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for Monetary and Financial Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
NETH	H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands	
NETH	H.R.H. Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
ICE	David Oddsson	Mayor of Reykjavik
POR	Fernando Faria de Oliveira	Executive Vice President, IPE
GRE	Ioannis Papantoniou	Under-Secretary, Ministry of National Economy
FRA	Francois Perigot	Chairman of the National Council, Patronat Francais
AUS	Hugo Portisch	Publicist
USA	Charles H. Price II	Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
ITA	Romano Prodi	Chairman, IRI
ITA	Franco Reviglio	Chairman, ENI
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
INT	Bernard W. Rogers	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
ITA	Cesare Romiti	Chief Executive Officer, Fiat S.p.A.
ITA	Renato Ruggiero	General Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
SPA	Julian Santamaria	Ambassador to the United States of America
ITA	Gaetano Scardocchia	Editor, "La Stampa"
DEN	Jorgen Schleimann	Managing Director and Chief Executive, TV 2
FRA	E. Antoine Seilliere*	Director-General, Compagnie Generale d'Industrie et de Participations

FRG	Theo Sommer*	Publisher, "Die Zeit"
BEL	Antoinette Spaak	Minister of State; Former Chairman, FDF (Federation des Francophones)
FRA	Hubert Vedrine	Former Foreign Policy Adviser to the President
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
NETH	Joris J. C. Voorhoeve	Parliamentary Leader of the VVD
AUS	Franz Vranitzky	Federal Chancellor
NETH	Lo C. van Wachem	President, Royal Dutch Petroleum Company
UK	William Waldegrave	Minister for the Environment, Countryside and Planning
SWE	Peter Wallenberg	Vice Chairman, Skandinaviska Enskilda
CAN	Norman E. Webster	Editor-in-Chief, "The Globe and Mail"
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
USA	John C. Whitehead	Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Brayton Wilbur, Jr.	Executive Vice President, Wilbur Ellis Company
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steel Workers of America
NOR	Kare I. Willoch	Member of Parliament; Former Prime Minister
USA	James D. Wolfensohn*	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
SPA	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
TUR	Zekeriya Yildirim	Governor of the Central Bank
ITA	Paolo Zannoni*	Vice President, Defence Systems, Fiat USA, Inc.
SWE	Hans L. Zetterberg	Editor-in-Chief, "Svenska Dagbladet"

OBSERVER:

AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	Managing Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
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RAPPORTEUR:

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Wood, Struthers and Winthrop Management Corporation
-----	-------------------	---

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Committee

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
TELFs-BUCHEN CONFERENCE  
3-5 June 1988

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Roll of Ipsden\*  
President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE U.S.A.:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University

HONORARY TREASURER:

Conrad J. Oort\*  
Member of the Board, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.;  
Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	President, Fiat S.p.A.
DEN	Tage Andersen*	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
GRE	Andreas Andrianopoulos	Mayor of Piraeus; Former Minister of Culture
AUS	Hannes Androsch	Former Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein; Former Minister of Finance; Former Vice Chancellor
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under-Secretary of State
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	Director, Jornal Expresso; Former Prime Minister
SPA	Enrique Baron	Vice President, European Parliament; President, European Movement; Former Minister of Transport
USA	Jack F. Bennett	Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
NETH	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, "Morgunbladid"
CAN	Conrad M. Black*	Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.
USA	Shirley Temple Black	Foreign Affairs Officer, Department of State; Former Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana
SWI	Franz Blankart	State Secretary for External Economic Affairs, Federal Department of Public Economy
TUR	Ali Bozer	Minister of State
USA	Nicolas F. Brady	Co-Chairman, Dillon, Read & Co., Inc. Former U.S. Senator (Republican, New Jersey)
NETH	Hans van den Broek	Minister for Foreign Affairs
FRA	Francois Bujon de L'Estang	Minister Plenipotentiary; Former Adviser for Diplomatic Affairs, Defence and Cooperation in the Cabinet of Mr. Jacques Chirac
SWE	Staffan Burenstam Linder	President, Stockholm School of Economics; Former Minister of Trade; Former Member of Parliament
GRE	Costa Carras*	Director of Companies
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
SPA	Juan Luis Cebrian	Director and Editor-in-Chief, "El Pais"
CAN	Marshall A. Cohen	President, Olympia & York Enterprises Limited
POR	Vitor M. R. Constancio	Leader of the Socialist Party; Former Governor, Banco de Portugal; Former Secretary



		of State for Budget and Planning
UK	James Craig	Director General, The Middle East Association
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
BEL	Etienne Davignon*	Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of the European Communities
FRA	Gerard Eskenazi	President, Pargesa Holding S.A.
USA	Daniel J. Evans	U.S. Senator (Republican, Washington State)
USA	Thomas S. Foley	U.S. Representative (Democrat, Washington State)
FRA	Jean A. Francois-Poncet	Senator; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	John R. Galvin	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
USA	Katharine Graham	Chairman, The Washington Post Company
CAN	Anthony G.S. Griffin**	Director of Companies
USA	Henry A. Grunwald	Ambassador to Austria; Former Editor-in-Chief, Time, Inc.
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
ICE	Geir Hallgrimsson*	Governor, Central Bank of Iceland; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
AUS	Helmut H. Haschek	Chairman of the Board, Osterreichische Kontrollbank A.G.
INT	Francois Heisbourg	Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies
FRG	Alfred Herrhausen*	Managing Director, Deutsche Bank A.G.
AUS	Friedrich Hoess	Ambassador to the United States of America
USA	Karen Elliott House	Foreign Editor, "The Wall Street Journal"
USA	William G. Hyland	Editor, "Foreign Affairs"
AUS	Hans Iglar	Partner, Schoeller Co. Bankaktiengesellschaft
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
AUS	Peter Jankowitsch*	Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the National Assembly; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Nancy Landon Kassebaum	U.S. Senator (Republican, Kansas)
USA	David T. Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
UK	John Keegan	Military Historian; Defence Correspondent, "The Daily Telegraph"
USA	Lane Kirkland	President, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
AUS	Thomas Klestil	Secretary General, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs
UK	Andrew Knight*	Chief Executive, "The Daily Telegraph"
FRG	Helmut Kohl	Federal Chancellor
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Former President, European University Institute
USA	Pedro Pablo Kuczynski	Co-Chairman, First Boston International
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharriere	Director and First Executive Vice President, L'Oreal
ITA	Giorgio La Malfa	National Secretary, PRI (Italian Republican Party)
INT	Alexandre Lamfalussy	General Manager, Bank for International Settlements
USA	Drew Lewis	Chairman, Union Pacific Corporation
BEL	Andre Leysen	Chairman of the Board, Gevaert N.V.; Vice Chairman, UNICE (Union of Industrial and Employers Confederations of Europe)
SWI	Franz J. Lutolf*	General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
CAN	Donald S. MacDonald*	Senior Partner, McCarthy & McCarthy
NETH	Floris A. Maijers	Chairman of the Board of Management, Unilever N.V.
INT	Stephen N. Marris	Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics; Former Economic Adviser to the Secretary General, OECD
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
ITA	Mario Monti	Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan; Vice Chairman, Banca Commerciale Italiana
USA	Rupert Murdoch	Chairman, News America Publishing
NETH	Her Majesty The Queen of the Netherlands	
NETH	His Royal Highness Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
AUS	Anton Osond	Chairman of the Board of Management, Osterreichische Investitionskredit A.G.

GRE	Theodoros Pangalos	Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	Jean-Claude Paye	Secretary General, OECD
USA	Donald E. Petersen	Chairman, Ford Motor Company
POR	Francisco Lucas Pires	Member of the European Parliament; Former Leader of the Christian Democrats
NOR	Inger E. Prebensen	President, A/S Kjobmandsbanken
UK	Lord Prior	Chairman, GEC plc; Former Secretary of State for Emploment for Northern Ireland
CAN	Grant L. Reuber	Deputy Chairman, Bank of Montreal
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
USA	James D. Robinson III	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, American Express Company
USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
FRA	Olivier Roy	University Professor and Researcher, CNRS (Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques)
USA	Charles S. Sanford, Jr.	Chariman, Bankers Trust Company
TUR	Rustu Saracoglu	Governor, Central Bank of Turkey
AUS	Guido Schmidt-Chiari	Chairman of the Managing Board of Directors, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
UK	David G. Scholey	Chairman, S.G. Warburg Group plc
USA	Brent Scowcroft	Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; Former Assistant to President Ford for National Security Affairs
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
USA	Gary G. Sick	Visiting Scholar, Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University
CAN	Gordon S. Smith	Permanent Representative and Ambassador, Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council
FRG	Theo Sommer*	Editor-in-Chief, "Die Zeit"
ITA	Ugo Stille	Editor-in-Chief, "Corriere della Sera"
FIN	Ilkka Suominen	Minister of Trade and Industry
FRG	Horst Teltschik	Head of the Directorate-General for Foreign and Intra-German Relations, Development Policy and External Security, Federal Chancellery
SWE	Anders Thunborg	Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.; Former Minister of Defence
DEN	Niels Thygesen	Professor of Economics, Universit of Copenhagen
AUS	Friedrich Verzetnitsch	President, Austrian Trade Union
FRG	Karsten D. Voigt	Member of Parliament; SPD Spokesman on Foreign Affairs; Member, SPD Party Leadership
USA	Paul A. Volcker	Chairman, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.; Former Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
AUS	Franz Vranitzky	Federal Chancellor
UK	William Waldegrave	Minister of State for Housing and Planning, Department of the Environment
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
USA	Lynn R. Williams*	International President, United Steel Workers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn*	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
USA	Walter B. Wriston	Former Chairman, Citibank
SPA	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister
SPA	Emilio de Ybarra y Clurruca	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Banco de Bilbao
ITA	Paolo Zannoni*	President, Fiat Washington, Inc.
AUS	Georg Zimmer-Lehmann	Senior Advisor to the Managing Board of Director, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

RAPPOREUR:

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Wood, Struthers and Winthrop Management Corporation
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IN ATTENDANCE:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
LA TOJA CONFERENCE  
12-14 May 1989

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Roll of Ipsden\*  
President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

CHAIRMAN DESIGNATE:

Lord Carrington  
Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*  
Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE U.S.A.:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*  
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University

HONORARY TREASURER:

Conrad J. Oort\*  
Member of the Board, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.;  
Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
DEN	Tage Andersen*	Managing Director and Chief Executive, Den Danske Bank
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
UK	Paddy Ashdown	Member of Parliament; Leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under-Secretary of State
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	Professor of Mass Communication, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, SOJORNAL; Former Prime Minister
NETH	Relus ter Beek	Member of Parliament; Labour Party Spokesman on International Affairs
CAN	Michel F. Belanger	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, National Bank of Canada
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Former Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
USA	Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr.	U.S. Senator (Democrat, Texas)
NETH	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, "Morgunbladid"
CAN	Conrad M. Black*	Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.
SWE	Hans Blix	Director General, The International Atomic Energy Agency
SPA	Miguel Boyer Salvador	Chairman, Cartera Central; Former Minister of Economy and Finance
TUR	Ali Bozer	Deputy Prime Minister
ITA	Enrico Braggiotti	Chairman of the Board, Banca Commerciale Italiana
USA	Willard C. Butcher	Chairman, The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A.
GRE	Costa Carras*	Director of Companies
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo*	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
SPA	Juan Luis Cebrian	Chief Executive Officer, PRISA (El Pais)
TUR	Ismail Cem	Member of Parliament (Social Democratic Populist Party)
USA	Charles H. Dallara	Assistant Secretary Designate of the Treasury for International Affairs
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Vic President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
FRG	Herta Daubler-Gmelin	Member of Parliament; Deputy Chairwoman, SPD

BEL	Etienne Davignon*	Director, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Member of the Commission of European Communities
SPA	Guillermo de la Dehesa	Chief Executive, Banco Pastor; Former Secretary of State for Economy and Finance
DEN	Aage Deleuran	Editor-in-Chief, "Berlingske Tidende"
CAN	Marie-Josée Drouin	Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
INT	Arthur Dunkel	Director General, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
FIN	Casimir Ehrnrooth	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Kymmene Corporation
USA	William T. Esrey	President and Chief Executive Officer, United Telecommunications, Inc. and U.S. Sprint
LUX	Colette Flesch	Chairman, Democratic Party; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	John R. Galvin	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
ITA	Raoul Gardini	Chairman, Ferruzzi Group
UK	Timothy J. Garton Ash	St. Antony's College, Oxford; Foreign Editor, "The Spectator"
FRG	Michaela Geiger	Member of Parliament; CDU/CSU Foreign Policy Spokesman
SPA	Felipe Gonzalez	Prime Minister
SPA	Fernando I. Gonzalez Laxe	Chairman, Government of Galicia
CAN	Allan E. Gotlieb	William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies, The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University
USA	Maurice R. Greenberg	President, American International Group, Inc.
USA	William E. Griffith	Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
INT	Francois Heisbourg	Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi*	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
AUS	Peter Jankowitsch*	Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, Austrian National Assembly; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	Thomas H. Kean	Governor of the State of New Jersey
SWI	Christian H. Kind	Foreign Editor, "Neue Zurcher Zeitung"
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
UK	Andrew Knight*	Chief Executive, The Daily Telegraph plc
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
AUS	Josef Krainer	Governor of Styria
SWI	Alex Krauer	Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharriere*	Director and First Executive Vice President, L'Oreal
NETH	Cees J. A. van Lede	President, Federation of Netherlands Industries VNO
SWI	Franz J. Lutolf*	Former General Manager and Member of the Executive Board, Swiss Bank Corporation
POR	Rui Machete	Chairman, Constitutional Revision Parliamentary Commission; President, Portuguese-American Foundation; Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice
CAN	Paul D. Manson	Chief of the Defence Staff
SPA	Carlos March Delgado	Chairman, Banco Urquijo Unyon; Vice Chairman, Juan March Foundation
BEL	Wilfred Martens	Prime Minister
USA	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.*	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
ITA	Mario Monti*	Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan; Vice Chairman, Banca Commerciale Italiana
NETH	Her Majesty The Queen of the Netherlands	
NETH	His Royal Highness Prince Claus of the Netherlands	
ITA	Filippo M. Pandolfi	Vice President, Commission of the European Communities
GRE	Theodore Papalexopoulos	Former Chairman, Union of Greek Industries
UK	Cecil Parkinson	Secretary of State for Energy
USA	Norman Pearlstine	Managing Director, "The Wall Street Journal"
UK	Rupert L. Pennant-Rea	Editor, "The Economist"

SPA	Jesus de Polanco	Chairman, TIMON Group; Chairman, PRISA (El Pais)
USA	S. Ichtiague Rasool	Chief Scientist of Global Change, NASA
USA	William K. Reilly	Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
USA	David Rockefeller, Sr.**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	David Rockefeller, Jr.	Chairman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund
NETH	H. Onno Ruding	Minister of Finance; Chairman of the Interim Committee of the IMF
POR	Jorge Sampaio	Secretary General, Partido Socialista
CAN	Jeanne Sauve	Governor General of Canada
FRA	Louis Schweitzer	Financial Director, Regie Nationale des Usines Renault
GRE	Michael J. Scoullos	President, European Environmental Bureau
USA	John S. R. Shad	Chairman, Drexel Burnham Lambert Group
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
ICE	Hordur Sigurgestsson	President and Chief Executive Officer, The Iceland Steamship Co. Ltd.
UK	John Smith	Member of Parliament; Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
NOR	Lucy C. Smith	Professor of Law, University of Oslo
BEL	Jacques E. Solvay	Chairman, Solvay & Cie S.A.
FRG	Theo Sommer*	Editor-in-Chief, "Die Zeit"
SPA	Her Majesty The Queen of Spain	
SPA	His Majesty The King of Spain	
USA	Lesley R. Stahl	National Affairs Correspondent, CBS News
USA	Robert S. Strauss	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law)
IRE	Peter D. Sutherland	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities; Member, Action Committee for Europe; Chairman Designate, Allied Irish Banks
FRG	Klaus Topfer	Federal Minister for the Environment
USA	Gorge J. Vojta	Executive Vice President, Bankers Trust Company
AUS	Franz Vranitzky	Federal Chancellor
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
USA	John C. Whitehead	Former Deputy Secretary of State
DEN	Nils Wilhjelm	Minister of Industry
USA	Lynn R. Williams*	International President, United Steel Workers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn*	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
SPA	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
SPA	Emilio de Ybarra y Churruca	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Bilbao Vizcaya
ITA	Paolo Zannoni*	President, Fiat Washington, Inc.

RAPPORTEUR:

USA	Grant F. Winthrop	Director, Milbank Wilson Winthrop
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IN ATTENDANCE:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
GLEN COVE CONFERENCE  
10-13 May 1990

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Carrington\*

Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:

Victor Halberstadt\*

Professor of Public Finance, Leyden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE U.S.A.:

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.\*

Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University

HONORARY TREASURER:

Conrad J. Oort\*

Adviser to the Board of Management, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.;

Professor of Money and Banking, University of Limburg

ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
SWE	Anders Aslund	Professor and Director, Institute of Soviet and East European Economics, Stockholm School of Economics
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under-Secretary of State
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	Professor of Mass Communication, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, SOJORNAL; Former Prime Minister
CAN	Thomas J. Bata	Chairman, Bata Limited
USA	Jack F. Bennett*	Former Director and Senior Vice President, Exxon Corporation; Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
FRG	Christoph Bertram*	Diplomatic Correspondent, "Die Zeit"
NETH	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Director of Companies
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Assistant Editor-in-Chief, "Morgunbladid"
CAN	Conrad M. Black	Chairman, Argus Corporation Ltd.
UK	Baroness Blackstone	Master, Birkbeck College, University of London; Opposition Spokesman on Education, House of Lords
ITA	Enrico Braggiotti	Chairman of the Board, Banca Commerciale Italiana
USA	William P. Bundy**	Former Editor, "Foreign Affairs"
CAN	Derek H. Burney	Ambassador to the United States of America
USA	Richard R. Burt	Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms with the Soviet Union
GRE	Costa Carras*	Director of Companies
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo*	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
SPA	Juan Luis Cebrian	Chief Executive Officer, PRISA (El Pais)
FRA	Jean-Pierre Chevenement	Minister of Defence
GRE	Efthimios Christodoulou	Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Gerald L. Curtis	Professor of Political Science and Director of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University
UK	Ralf Dahrendorf	Warden, St. Antony's College, Oxford
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State

BEL	Etienne Davignon*	Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities
UK	Ian Hay Davison	Chairman, Laing & Cruickshank
USA	Robert A. Day	Chairman, Trust Company of the West
DEN	Aage Deleuran*	Editor-in-Chief, "Berlingske Tidende"
POR	Joao de Deus Pinheiro	Minister for Foreign Affairs
NOR	Per Ditlev-Simonsen	Minister of Defence
USA	James F. Dobbins	Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State
CAN	Marie-Josée Drouin*	Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
CAN	Fredrik S. Eaton	Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer, The T. Eaton Company Ltd.
USA	William T. Esrey	Chairman and CEO, U.S. Sprint; Chairman, President and CEO, United Telecommunications, Inc.
SPA	Oscar Fanjul	Chairman, Instituto Nacional de Hidrocarburos; Chairman, Repsol S.A.
USA	Thomas S. Foley	Speaker of the House of Representatives
CAN	R. Donald Fullerton	Chairman, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
INT	John R. Galvin	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
ITA	Raoul Gardini	Chairman, Ferruzzi Group
FRG	Peter Glotz	Member of Parliament (SPD)
USA	Marshall I. Goldman	Kathryn W. Davis Professor of Soviet Economics, Wellesley College; Associate Director, Russian Research Center, Harvard University
USA	Katharine Graham	Chairman, The Washington Post Company
USA	Maurice R. Greenberg	President, American International Group, Inc.
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board, SAAB-SCANIA AB
POR	Antonio Guterres	Member of Parliament; Chief Whip of the Socialist Party
ICE	Geir Hallgrímsson*	Governor, Central Bank of Iceland; Former Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
FRG	Helmut Haussmann	Minister of Economic Affairs
NOR	Johan Jorgen Holst	Director, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs; Former Minister of Defence
UK	Robert B. Horton	Chairman, BP Company plc
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi*	Member of the Management Board, Union Bank of Finland; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
TUR	Erdal Inonu	President, Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP)
SWI	Klaus Jacobi	State Secretary for Foreign Affairs
AUS	Peter Jankowitsch*	Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, Austrian National Assembly; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	David T. Kearns	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
FRA	Claude de Kemoullaria	Senior Adviser, Groupe Paribas; Chairman, Paribas Nederland; Former Ambassador to the Netherlands and Chief Representative to the United Nations
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
UK	Andrew Knight*	Executive Chairman, News International
SWI	Alex Krauer*	Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharrière*	Director and First Executive Vice President, L'Oreal
UK	Nigel Lawson	Member of Parliament; Former Chancellor of the Exchequer
BEL	Wilfried Martens	Prime Minister
USA	Charles McC. Mathias*	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
FRG	Andreas Meyer-Landrut	State Secretary, Office of the Federal Parliament
USA	Gertrude G. Michelson	Senior Vice President, External Affairs, R.H. Macy & Co., Inc.
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
ITA	Mario Monti*	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
FRA	Pierre Morel	Representative to the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva
NETH	H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands	
USA	Norman Pearlstine	Managing Editor, "The Wall Street Journal"
CAN	David R. Peterson	Premier of Ontario
ITA	Romano Prodi	Chairman of the Scientific Committee, NOMISMA
USA	Lee R. Raymond	President, Exxon Corporation

USA	David Rockefeller **	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
UK	Lord Roll of Ipsden**	President, S.G. Warburg Group plc
NETH	H. Onno Ruding	Former Minister of Finance; Former Chairman of the Interim Committee, International Monetary Fund
ITA	Renato Ruggiero	Minister of Foreign Trade
USA	Jeffrey Sachs	Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade, Harvard University; Research Associate, National Bureau of Economic Research
DEN	Ole Scherfig	Director of Companies
USA	Richard Schifter	Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of State
SWI	Wolfgang Schurer	Chairman, MS Management Service AG
FRA	Philippe Seguin	Deputy to the National Assembly; Mayor of Epinal; Former Minister of Social Affairs and Employment
SPA	Narcis Serra	Minister of Defence
USA	John S. R. Shad	Chairman, Drexel Burnham Lambert Group
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
NETH	Marjanne Sint	President, Dutch Labour Party (PvdA)
FRG	Theo Sommer	Editor-in-Chief, "Die Zeit"
USA	George Soros	President, Soros Fund Management
FIN	Kalevi Sorsa	Speaker of the Parliament; Former Prime Minister
SPA	H.M. The Queen of Spain	
USA	Robert S. Strauss	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	John H. Sununu	Chief of Staff to the President
IRE	Peter D. Sutherland	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities; Chairman, Allied Irish Banks Group
AUS	Josef Taus	Member of the National Assembly (OVP); Member of the Board, Management Trust Holding AG
FRG	Horst Teltschik	Head of the Directorate-General for Foreign and Intra-German Relations Development Policy and External Security, Federal Chancellery
USA	Franklin A. Thomas	President, The Ford Foundation
SWE	Bertil Torekull	Editor-in-Chief, "Svenska Dagbladet"
USA	The Vice President of the United States	
BEL	Alfons Verplaetse	Governor, National Bank of Belgium
FRA	Philippe Villin	Vice-President du Directoire et Directeur General, "Figaro;" President Directeur General, "France-Soir"
AUS	Franz Vranitzky	Federal Chancellor
UK	William A. Waldegrave	Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
USA	John C. Whitehead*	Former Deputy Secretary of State
DEN	Nils Wilhjelm	President, Industrial Mortgage Fund; Former Minister of Industry
USA	Lynn R. Williams*	International President, United Steelworkers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn*	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
NETH	Karel van Wolferen	Publicist
FRG	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Otto Wolff A.G.
USA	Paul Wolfowitz	Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
INT	Manfred Worner	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SPA	Juan A. Yanez-Barnuevo	Director, Department of International Affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister
TUR	Mesut Yilmaz	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
ITA	Paolo Zannoni*	Senior Vice President, Defence and Space, Fiat S.p.A.
GRE	Constantine D. Zepos	Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations



OBSERVER:

NETH H.R.H. The Prince of Orange

RAPPORTEUR:

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

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

Source: George W. Ball Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University

Bilderberg Meetings  
Baden-Baden, Germany  
6-9 June 1991

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

Lord Carrington  
Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

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Victor Halberstadt  
Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR U.S.A.:

Theodore L. Eliot Jr.  
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University

HONORARY TREASURER:

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

ITA	Giovanni Agnelli**	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
USA	Paul Allaire	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
USA	George W. Ball**	Former Under-Secretary of States
POR	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	Professor of Mass Communication, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, Sojornal sarl; Former Prime Minister
USA	Robert L. Bartley	Editor, The Wall Street Journal
GER	Christoph Bertram*	Diplomatic Correspondent, "Die Zeit"
NETH	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and Canada
TUR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Member of Parliament, Independence Party
DEN	Ritt Bjerregaard	Labour Member of Parliament; Chairman of the Labour Group
CAN	Conrad M. Black*	Chairman, The Daily Telegraph plc
USA	Robert D. Blackwill	Lecturer in Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Former member National Security Council
GER	Klaus Blech	Ambassador to U.S.S.R.
USA	Michael J. Boskin	Chairman, President's Council of Economic Advisers
GER	Birgit Breuel	Chairman of the Board, Treuhandanstalt
UK	Gordon Brown	Member of Parliament (Labour Party); Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry
NOR	Arne Olav Brundtland	Senior Research Fellow, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
BEL	Jean-Louis Cadioux	Deputy Director-General for Foreign Affairs, European Community
ITA	Giampiero Cantoni	Chairman, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro
GRE	Costa Carras*	Director of Companies
SPA	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo*	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
USA	John H. Chafee	Senator (Republican, Rhode Island)
USA	Bill D. Clinton	Governor of Arkansas
FRA	Bertrand Collomb	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Lafarge Coppee
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Vice President, Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation; Former Deputy Secretary of State
BEL	Etienne Davignon*	Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities
DEN	Aage Deleuran*	Editor-in-Chief, "Berlingske Tidende"
GER	Werner H. Dieter	Chairman of the Board, Mannesmann A.G.

NOR	Per Ditlev-Simonsen	Managing Director, Sverre Ditlev-Simonsen & Co.
CAN	Marie-Josée Drouin*	Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
INT	Arthur Dunkel	Director General G.A.T.T.
FIN	Aatos Erkko	Publisher, "Helsingin Sanomat"
USA	Dianne Feinstein	Former Mayor of San Francisco
UK	Lawrence D. Freedman	Head of Department of War Studies, King's College
CAN	Lysiane Gagnon	Journalist, La Presse
INT	John R. Galvin	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
SWI	Fritz Gerber	Chairman of the Board, F. Hoffmann-La Roche AG
USA	Katharine Graham	Chairman, The Washington Post Company
USA	Maurice R. Greenberg	Chairman, American International Group, Inc.
CAN	Anthony G.S. Griffin**	Director of Companies
SWE	Sten Gustafsson*	Chairman of the Board of Directors, AB Astra
USA	Richard N. Haass	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council
TUR	Vahit M. Halefoglu	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
UK	Christopher Hogg	Chairman, Courtaulds plc
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi*	Managing Director, Council of Economic Organizations in Finland; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
FRA	Claude Imbert	Chief Editor, "Le Point"
AUS	Peter Jankowitsch*	Minister of State in charge of European Integration and Development Cooperation
SWE	Lars Jonung	Professor of Economics and Economic Policy at Stockholm School of Economics
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
NETH	Ben Knapen	Editor-in-Chief, NRC Handelsblad
UK	Andrew Knight*	Executive Chairman, News International plc
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
GER	Hilmar Kopper*	Spokesman of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank A.G.
NETH	Pieter Korteweg	President and Chief Executive Officer of the Board Committee of the Robeco Group
SWI	Alex Krauer*	Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited
FRA	Marc Ladreit de Lacharrière*	Chairman, Fimalac
GER	Kurt J. Lauk	Vice Chairman of the Management Board, Audi A.G.
FRA	Andre Levy-Lang	Chairman, Compagnie Financiere de Paribas
NETH	Ruud F.M. Lubbers	Prime Minister
BEL	Wilfried Martens	Prime Minister
USA	Charles McC. Mathias*	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
USA	Jack F. Matlock, Jr.	Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
ITA	Gianni De Michelis	Minister of Foreign Affairs
PORT	Carlos A.P.V. Monjardino	President of the Fundacao Oriente
FRA	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
ITA	Mario Monti*	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
NETH	Her Majesty The Queen of the Netherlands	
FRA	Michel Noir	Mayor of Lyon, Ex-Secretary of State for Foreign Trade
ICE	David Oddsson	Prime Minister
TUR	Tugay Ozceri	Under Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
GRE	John D. Paleocrassas	Minister of Finance
POR	Carlos Pimenta	Member of the European Parliament, Former Secretary of State for Environment
GER	Karl Otto Pohl	President, Deutsche Bundesbank
CAN	John Polanyi	Professor of Chemistry, University of Toronto
SPA	Jordi Pujol	President, Generalitat de Catalunya
USA	William B. Quandt	Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution
SWE	Bo C E Ramfors	Managing Director and Group Chief Executive of Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, Board member of several companies
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway*	President, The Atlantic Council of the United States
SWI	Michael Ringier	Publisher, Chairman of the Board of Ringier Inc.

USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
UK	Lord Roll of Ipsden**	President, S.G. Warburg Group plc
ITA	Renato Ruggiero	Chief Negotiator G.A.T.T.
GER	Volker Ruhe	General Secretary Parliamentary Party CDU
GER	Heinz J.H. Ruhnau	Chairman of the Board, Deutsche Lufthansa A.G.
AUS	Guido Schmidt-Chiari	Chairman of the Managing Board Creditanstalt Bankverein
SPA	Narcis Serra	Deputy Prime Minister
USA	John S.R. Shad	Director and Philanthropist
USA	Thomas W. Simons, Jr.	Ambassador to Poland
UK	John Smith*	Member of Parliament (Labour Party); Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
GER	Theo Sommer	Editor-in-Chief, "Die Zeit"
SPA	Her Majesty The Queen of Spain	
BEL	Guy Spitaels	Chairman Socialist Party, Minister of State
INT	Helga Steeg	Executive Director, International Energy Agency
IRE	Peter D. Sutherland*	Former Member, Commission of the European Communities; Chairman, Allied Irish Banks Group
GER	Erwin Teufel	Prime Minister of Baden-Wutemberg
AUS	Franz Vranitzky	Federal Chancellor
INT	Henning Wegener	Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NOR	Niels Werring, Jr.*	Chairman of the Board, Wilh. Wilhelmsen Limited A/S
USA	John C. Whitehead*	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Brayton Wilbur, Jr.	President and Chief Executive Officer, Wilbur-Ellis Company
USA	Lawrence D. Wilder	Governor of Virginia
DEN	Nils Wilhjelm	President, Industrial Mortgage Fund; Former Minister of Industry
USA	Lynn R. Williams	International President, United Steelworkers of America
CAN	Michael H. Wilson	Minister of Industry, Science and Technology and International Trade
USA	James D. Wolfensohn*	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
GER	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen GmbH
INT	Manfred Worner	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
UK	Patrick Wright	Permanent Under Secretary of State and Head of the Diplomatic Service
GRE	Minos Zombanakis	Chairman, Group for International Study and Evaluation

#### Observer

NETH H.R.H. The Prince of Orange

#### Rapporteur

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

#### In Attendance

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

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Bilderberg Meetings  
Evian-les-Bains, France  
21-24 May 1992

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Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

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Victor Halberstadt  
Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University

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Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

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USA	Lloyd M. Bentsen	U.S. Senator (Democrat, Texas)
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NL	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and Canada
TR	Selahattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
D	Kurt Biedenkopf	Prime Minister of Saxony
S	Carl Bildt	Prime Minister
USA	James H. Billington	Librarian of Congress
CDN	Conrad M. Black*	Chairman, The Daily Telegraph plc
NL	Maarten C. Brands	Professor of Modern and Theoretical History, University of Amsterdam
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BG	Lord Griffiths of Fforestfach	Adviser, Goldman Sachs International Ltd.; Former Prime Minister's Policy Unit
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GB	Denis W. Healey	Former Defence Secretary; Former Finance Minister
N	Westye Hoegh	Shipowner, Leif Hoegh & Co. ASA
USA	Karen Elliott House	Vice President/International, Dow Jones & Co., Inc.
SF	Jaakko Iiloniemi	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
F	Philippe Jaffre	Chief Executive Officer, Credit Agricole
A	Peter Jankowitsch*	Member of Parliament; Former Foreign Minister
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (Attorneys-at-Law); Former President, National Urban League
B	Paul de Keersmaecker	Former Minister of European Affairs
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USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
GB	Andrew Knight	Executive Chairman, News International Plc
SF	Jarl Kohler	President, Central Association of Finnish Forest Industries
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
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CH	Alex Krauer*	Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited
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USA	Philip L. Martin	Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of California at Davis
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I	Mario Monti*	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
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BG	Lord Roll of Ipsden**	President, S.G. Warburg Group plc

I	Sergio Romano	Columnist, "La Stampa"; Former Ambassador of Italy to U.S.A.
I	Renato Ruggiero*	Member of the Board, Fiat S.p.A.
D	Volker Ruhe	Minister of Defence
GR	Andonis Samaras	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
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E	Narcis Serra I Serra	Deputy Prime Minister of the Spanish Government
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC
USA	Sally A. Shelton	Senior Fellow, Georgetown University; Former U.S. Ambassador to Grenada and the Eastern Caribbean
CDN	Jeffrey Simpson	National Affairs Columnist, The Globe and Mail
D	Theo Sommer	Editor-in-Chief, "Die Zeit"
E	H.M. The Queen of Spain	
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GB	Lord Weidenfeld	Publisher
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INT	Manfred Worner	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
I	Paolo Zannoni	Vice President International Activities; Representative for Fiat S.p.A. in the Russian Federation

#### Observer

B H.R.H. Prince Philippe

#### Rapporteur

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

#### In Attendance

NL Maja Banck Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings  
F Felicia Cavasse LPF Communication; Local Organizer 1992  
GR Stephan Farrant Managing Director, Newsfront Naftiliaki; Local Organizer 1993  
USA Charles Muller President, Murden and Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg Inc.

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
**VOULIAGMENI CONFERENCE**  
April 22-25, 1993

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

**CHAIRMAN:**

Peter Carrington

Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

**HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPE AND CANADA:**

Victor Halberstadt

Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University, Netherlands

**HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR U.S.A.**

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.

Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S. Ambassador

I	Giovanni Agnelli**	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
USA	Paul A. Allaire	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
GB	Barbara Amiel	Columnist, Sunday Times
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
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P	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	Chairman, Soujornal sarl; Former Prime Minister
S	Percy Barnevik*	President and C.E.O., ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
D	Christoph Bertram*	Diplomatic Correspondent, "Die Zeit"; Former Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
NL	Ernst H. van der Beugel**	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary-General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and Canada
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GB	Tony Blair	Member of Parliament (Shadow Home Secretary, Labour)
N	Erik G. Braathens	Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer, Braathens SAFE
IRL	Conor Brady	Editor, The Irish Times
GB	Rodric Braithwaite	Foreign Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister
P	Nuno Brederode Santos	Member of the Socialist Party; Columnist, Expresso
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TR	Huseyin E. Celem	Ambassador to Greece
GB	Kenneth Clarke	Home Secretary
GR	Yannis S. Costopoulos	Chairman, Credit Bank
CDN	Kenneth S. Courtis	First Vice President, Deutsche Bank Capital Markets Asia Ltd., Tokyo
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, University of Chicago Law School; Former Deputy Secretary of State
E	Guillermo de la Dehesa	Chief Executive, Banco Pastor
F	Patrick Divedjian	Member of Parliament (UDF, Hauts de Seine)
CDN	Marie-Josée Drouin*	Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
INT	Arthur Dunkel	Director General, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
DK	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Member of Parliament
E	Carlos Ferrer Salat	Chairman UNICE (The European Employers Federation)
USA	Stephen Friedman	Senior Partner and Chairman, Goldman Sachs & Co.



USA	John R. Galvin	John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security Studies, U.S. Military Academy, West Point; Former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
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TR	Talat S. Halman	Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Literature, New York University
USA	James Hoagland	Associate Editor/Senior Foreign Correspondent, The Washington Post
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SF	Jaakko Iloniemi*	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
A	Peter Jankowitsch*	Chairman, Joint Parliamentary Committee Austria-EC; Former Foreign Minister
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D	Josef Joffe	Foreign Editor, Suddeutsche Zeitung
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Senior Partner, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
CH	Jakob Kellenberger	State Secretary for Foreign Affairs
USA	Lane Kirkland	President AFL-CIO
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USA	Henry R. Kravis	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
A	Paul Lendvai	Director, Austrian International Radio
USA	Samuel W. Lewis	Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State
GR	George P. Livanos	Shipowner
GR	John C. Lyras	Vice Chairman, Union of Greek Shipowners
CDN	Donald S. MacDonald	Senior Partner, McCarthy Tetrault; Former Minister of Finance
NL	Floris A. Maijers	Chairman of the Board, Unilever N.V.
GR	Stefanos Manos	Minister of National Economy
B	Wilfried Martens	Minister of State; Former Prime Minister
USA	Charles McC. Mathias*	Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican, Maryland)
CDN	Barbara McDougall	Secretary of State for External Affairs
INT	Karel van Miert	E.C. Commissioner
GR	Constantine Mitsotakis	Prime Minister
F	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
I	Mario Monti*	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
USA	William E. Odom	Director of National Security Studies, The Hudson Institute; Former Director, National Security Agency
P	Fernando Faria de Oliveira	Minister of Trade and Tourism
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GB	David Owen	E.C. Mediator, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia
NL	H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands	
GR	Theodoros Pangalos	Spokesman for Foreign Affairs, Socialist Party
GR	Michalia G. Papaconstantinou	Minister for Foreign Affairs
GR	Theodore Papalexopoulos	Deputy Chairman, Titan Cement Company SA
GR	Michael C. Peraticos	Chairman, Pegasus Ocean Services
USA	Larry Pressler	Senator (Republican, South Dakota)
CH	David de Pury*	Chairman of the Board of BBC Brown Bovari Ltd. and Co-Chairman of ABB Asea Brown Bovei Group
GB	William Rees-Mogg	Chairman, Broadcasting Standards Council; Chairman, The American Trading Company Ltd.; Former Editor, The Times
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DK	Chresten W. Reves	President and C.E.O., Berlingske Tidende
USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Sharon Percy Rockefeller	President and C.E.O., WETA TV & FM
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I	Renato Ruggiero*	Member of the Board, Fiat S.p.A.; Former Minister of Trade
D	Volker Ruhe	Minister of Defence

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D	Lothar Spath	Chief Executive Officer, Jenoptik; Former Prime Minister of Baden-Wurtemberg
I	Barbara Spinelli	Editorialist and European Correspondant, La Stampa, Paris
INT	Helga Steeg	Executive Director, International Energy Agency
IRL	Peter D. Sutherland*	Chairman, Allied Irish Banks plc; Former Member, Commission of the European Communities
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I	Marco Tronchetti Provera	Executive Vice President and C.E.O, Pirelli S.p.A.
GR	Thanos M. Verermis	Professor of Political History, University of Athens; Director, Hellenic Foundation for Defence and Foreign Policy
GR	Themistocles Vokos	Chairman, The Seatrade Organisation
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USA	Lynn R. Williams*	International President, United Steelworkers of America
USA	James D. Wolfensohn*	President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
D	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman and C.E.O. of Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen GmbH
INT	Manfred Worner	Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
USA	Casimir A. Yost*	Executive Director, The Asia Foundation's Center for Asian Pacific Affairs

#### Observer

B H.R.H. Prince Philippe

#### Rapporteur

USA Grant F. Winthrop

USA Alice Victor

Partner, Milbank Winthrop & Co.

Executive Assistant to David Rockefeller, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

#### In Attendance

NL Maja Banck

GR Stephan Farrant

SF Mirja Lehtinen

USA Charles Muller

Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings

Managing Director, Newsfront Naftiliaki; Local Organizer 1993

Local Organizer 1994

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

\* Member of the Steering Committee

\*\* Member of the Advisory Group

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Bilderberg Meetings  
Helsinki, Finland  
June 2-5 1994

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman:

Peter Carrington

Former Chairman of the Board, Christie's Intl. plc.; Former Secretary General of NATO

Honorary Secretary-General for Europe and Canada:

Victor Halberstadt

Professor of Public Economics, University of Leiden, Netherlands

Honorary Secretary-General for U.S.A.:

Casimir A. Yost

Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington

**Participants**

I	Giovanni Agnelli	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
I	Umberto Agnelli	Chairman, IFIL
SF	Krister Ahlstrom	President and CEO, Ahlstrom Group
SF	Esko Aho	Prime Minister
SF	Martti Ahtisaari	President of the Republic of Finland
USA	Paul A. Allaire	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
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P	Francisco Pinto Balsemao	Professor of Mass Communications, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, Sojornal Sarl; Former Prime Minister
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P	Jose Manuel Durao Barroso	Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Douglas J. Bennet	Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations
S	Hans Bergstrom	Political Editor, Dagens Nyheter
I	Franco Bemabe	Managing Director, Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI)
D	Cristoph Bertram	Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit; former director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
NL	Ernst H. van der Beugel	Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and Canada
TR	Selahttin Beyazit	Director of Companies
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D	Birgit Breuel	Chairman, Treuhandanstalt
GR	Costa Carras	Director of Companies
E	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
I	Innocenzo Cipolletta	Director General, Confindustria
B	Willy Claes	Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	E. Gerald Corrigan	Former President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	Ramon C. Cortines	Chancellor, New York City Board of Education
CH	Flavio Cotti	Federal Councilor and Minister for Foreign Affairs
GB	Percy Cradock	Former Ambassador to China; Former foreign policy adviser to the Prime Minister
USA	Kenneth W. Dam	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, University of Chicago Law School; Former Deputy Secretary of State
B	Etienne Davignon	Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the EC
I	Mario Draghi	Director General, Ministry of the Treasury

CDN	Marie-Josée Drouin	Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
FIN	Georg Ehrnrooth	President and CEO, Metra Corp.
DK	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Member of Parliament; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Mike Espy	Secretary of Agriculture
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USA	James J. Florio	Former Governor of New Jersey
USA	Stephen Friedman	Chairman, Goldman Sachs & Co.
USA	Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	Chairman, IBM Corp.
USA	Katharine Graham	Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Washington Post Co.
FIN	Sirkka Hamalainen	Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland
GB	Nicholas Henderson	Former Ambassador to Poland, Germany, France and the U.S.
NL	Cor A.J. Herkstroter	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell
N	Westye Hoegh	Chairman of the board, Leif Hoegh & Co. AS; President, Norwegian Shipowners' Association
USA	Robert E. Hunter	U.S. Representative to NATO
B	Jan Huyghebaert	Chairman, Almanij-Krediebank Group
FIN	Jaako Ihamuotila	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Neste Corp.
FIN	Jaakko Iloniemi	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the U.S.
L	Pierre Jaans	General Manager, Institut Monetaire Luxembourgeois
F	Philippe Jaffre	Chairman and CEO, Elf Aquitaine
FIN	Max Jakobson	Consultant; Former Ambassador to the UN and Sweden
A	Peter Jankowitsch	Ambassador to the OECD; Former Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Vernon E. Jordan Jr.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Henry Kissinger	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
GB	Andrew Knight	Chairman, News International plc
TR	Rahmi M. Koc	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Koc Holding A.S.
FIN	Jarl Kohler	President, Finnish Forest Industries Federation
INT	Max Kohnstamm	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
D	Hilmar Kopper	Spokesman of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank A.G.
NL	Pieter Korteweg	President and CEO, Robeco Group; Honorary Treasurer of Bilderberg Meetings
A	Max Kothbauer	Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
USA	Peter F. Krogh	Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
S	Stig Larsson	President and Director General, Swedish Railways
F	Andre Levy-Lang	Chairman, Banque Paribas
NL	Ruud F.M. Lubbers	Prime Minister
CDN	Roy MacLaren	Minister for International Trade
USA	Charles W. Maynes	Editor, Foreign Policy
CDN	Frank McKenna	Premier of New Brunswick
USA	David McLaughlin	President, the Aspen Institute
F	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations, Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
I	Mario Monti	Rector and Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan
NL	Her Majesty The Queen of the Netherlands	
USA	Joseph S. Nye Jr.	Chairman, National Intelligence Council
ICE	David Oddsson	Prime Minister
PL	Andrzej Olechowski	Minister of Foreign Affairs
FIN	Jorma Ollila	President and CEO, Nokia Corp.
USA	Thomas R. Pickering	U.S. Ambassador to Russia
CH	David de Pury	Chairman, BBC Brown Boveri Ltd. and Co-Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Group
F	Jean-Bernard Raimond	Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
E	Rodrigo de Rato Figaredo	Parliamentary Leader of the Minority Group (Partido Popular)
USA	Rozanne L. Ridgway	Co-Chair, Atlantic Council of the United States; (Vice Director of the Office for Management and Budget of the White House)
USA	David Rockefeller	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
GB	Eric Roll	President, S.G. Warburg Group plc
I	Renato Ruggiero	Executive Vice-Chairman, International Advisory Board, Fiat S.p.A.;

		Former Minister of Trade
D	Volker Rühle	Minister of Defense
USA	Robert A. Scalapino	Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley
CH	Stephan Schmidheiny	Chairman, ANOVA Holdings Ltd.; Former Chairman, Business Council for Sustainable Development
D	Jürgen E. Schrempp	CEO, Daimler-Benz-Luft-und-Raumfahrt Holding AG
CH	Wolfgang Schurer	Chairman, MS Management Service AG
USA	Brent Scowcroft	Former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
DK	Toger Seidenfaden	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken A/S
USA	Jack Sheinkman	President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO-CLC
USA	George Soros	President, Soros Fund Management
E	Her Majesty The Queen of Spain.	
USA	James B. Steinberg	Director of Policy Planning Staff, State Department
N	Thorvald Stoltenberg	Co-Chairman, International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Former Minister of Defense
D	Jurgen Strube	Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors, BASF AG
IRL	Peter D. Sutherland	Director General, GATT; Former Member, Commission of the European Community; Former Chairman, Allied Irish Banks plc
GB	J. Martin Taylor	Chief Executive, Barclays Bank plc
CDN	William Thorsell	Editor, The Globe and Mail
P	Miguel Veiga	Lawyer
FIN	Gerhard M. H. Wendt	President, Kone Corp.
CDN	Peter G. White	Chairman of Unimedia; Former Head of the Prime Minister's office
USA	John C. Whitehead	Former Deputy Secretary of State
USA	Frank G. Wisner	Under Secretary for Policy, Department of Defense
USA	James D. Wolfensohn	President and CEO, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
D	Otto Wolff von Amerongen	Chairman and CEO, Otto Wolff GmbH
USA	Paul D. Wolfowitz	Dean, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University
USA	Mortimer B. Zuckerman	Editor, <i>U.S. News and World Report</i>

#### **Rapporteurs:**

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

#### **In Attendance:**

NL	Maja Banck	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings.
SF	Mirja Jarimo-Lehtinen	Local Organizer, 1994.
CH	Margrit Markstaller	
USA	Charles W. Muller	President, Murden & Co.; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/1994.htm>

Bilderberg Meetings  
Zurich, Switzerland  
8-11 June 1995

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman:

Peter Carrington

Former Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc.; Former Secretary General, NATO

Honorary Secretary-General for Europe and Canada:

Victor Halberstadt

Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University, Netherlands

Honorary Secretary-General for U.S.A.:

Casimir A. Yost

Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

**Participants**

CH	Josef Ackermann	President of the Executive Board, Credit Suisse
I	Giovanni Agnelli**	Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
I	Umberto Agnelli*	Chairman, IFIL S.p.A.
SF	Martti Ahtisari	President of the Republic of Finland
USA	Paul A. Allaire*	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
P	Luis Mira Amaral	Minister of Industry and Energy
USA	Dwayne O. Andreas	Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.
P	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, Sojornal sarl; Former Prime Minister
S	Percy Barnevik*	President and C.E.O., ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
F	Claude Bebear	Chairman and CEO, AXA Group
USA	Lloyd M. Bentsen	Partner, Verner Liipfert Bernhard McPherson and Hand, Chartered; Former Secretary of the Treasury
D	Cristoph Bertram*	Diplomatic Correspondent, <i>Die Zeit</i> ; Former Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies
TR	Selhattin Beyazit*	Director of Companies
ICE	Bjorn Bjarnason	Minister of Culture and Education
INT	Ritt Bjerregaard	Commissioner, European Communities
CDN	Conrad M. Black*	Chairman, The Telegraph plc
TR	Cem Boyner	Chairman, New Democracy Movement
INT	Hans van den Broek	Commissioner, European Communities
GB	E. John P. Browne	Chief Executive Officer, BP Exploration Company Ltd.
USA	John H. Bryan	Chairman and CEO, Sara Lee Corporation
GR	Costas Carras*	Director of Companies
P	Maria Carrilho	Professor of Sociology
E	Jaime Carvajal Urquijo*	Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento
B	Adriana Cerretelli	Correspondent in Brussels, "IL SOLE/24 Ore"
TR	Hikmet Cetin	Deputy Prime Minister; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	Willy Claes	Secretary General of NATO
USA	Jon S. Corzine	Chairman and Senior Partner, Goldman Sachs & Co.
CH	Flavio Cotti	Minister for Foreign Affairs
GR	Theodore A. Couloumbis	President, Greek Foreign Policy Institute
CDN	Devon G. Cross	Head of the Donner Canadian Foundation
INT	Jose Cutileiro	Secretary General, Western European Union
USA	Kenneth W. Dam*	Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, University of Chicago Law School; Former Deputy Secretary of State
B	Etienne Davignon*	Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the

		Commission of the European Communities
USA	Lynn E. Davis	Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, Department of State
CH	Jean-Pascal Delamuraz	Vice-President of the Federal Council; Minister of Economy
I	Mario Draghi	Director General, Ministry of the Treasury
CDN	Marie-Josée Drouin*	Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
D	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Chairman Liberal Party; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Thomas S. Foley	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld; Former Speaker of the House of Representatives
CH	Walter Frehner	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Swiss Bank Corporation
USA	Thomas L. Friedman	Foreign Affairs Columnist, <i>The New York Times</i>
CH	Fritz Gerber	Chairman and CEO, F. Hoffman-La Roche & Co., A.G.
USA	David R. Gergen	Visiting Professor, The Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University; Senior Fellow, The Aspen Institute
IRL	Dermot Gleeson	Attorney General of Ireland
B	John J. Goossens	President and CEO, Belgacom
CDN	Allen E. Gotlieb	Former Ambassador to the United States of America
GB	David Hannay	Permanent Representative, U.K. Mission to the United Nations
SF	Jukka Harmaja	President and CEO, Enso-Gutzeit Oy
CH	Hans Heckman	Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Union Bank of Switzerland
N	Westye Hoegh*	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co. AS; President, Norwegian Shipowners' Association
USA	Richard C. Holbrooke	Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State
SF	Jaakko Iloniemi*	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
F	Phillipe Jaffre	Chairman and CEO, Elf Aquitaine
B	Daniel E. Janssen	Chairman of the Executive Committee, Solvay S.A.
USA	Peter Jennings	Anchor and Senior Editor, ABC News <i>World News Tonight</i>
USA	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.*	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Peter R. Kann	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Dow Jones & Company, Inc.; Publisher, <i>The Wall Street Journal</i>
D	Hans-Peter Keitel	Chairman of the Board, Hochtief AG
USA	Robert M. Kimmitt	Managing Director, Lehman Brothers Inc.; Former Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs
USA	Henry A. Kissinger*	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
CDN	Ralph P. Klein	Premier of Alberta
GB	Andrew Knight*	Non Executive Director, News Corporation
INT	Max Kohnstamm**	Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
D	Hilmar Kopper*	Spokesman of the Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank AG
NL	Pieter Korteweg*	President and CEO, Robeco Group; Honorary Treasurer of Bilderberg Meetings
A	Max Kothbauer*	Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt Bankverein
CH	Alex Krauer	Chairman and Managing Director, Ciba-Geigy Limited
USA	William Kristol	Chairman, Project for the Republican Future
D	Karl F. Lamers	Member of Parliament (Spokesman for Foreign Affairs, CDU/CSU)
GB	Norman Lamont	Member of Parliament; Former Chancellor of the Exchequer; Director of N.M. Rothschild
F	Andre Levy-Lang*	Chairman of the Board of Management, Banque Paribas
E	Francisco Luzon Lopez	Chairman and CEO, Argentaria
A	Alexander R. Maculan	Chairman, Maculan Holding AG
USA	Serif Mardin	Chairman, Department Islamic Studies, American University, Washington, D.C.
SF	Bjorn Mattsson	President and CEO, Cultor, Ltd.
CH	Helmut O. Maucher	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nestle Ltd.
F	Thierry de Montbrial*	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
CDN	J. Fraser Mustard	President, Canadian Institute for Advanced Research
NL	Her Majesty The Queen of the Netherlands	
PL	Andrej Olechowski	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
GR	George A. Papandreou	Minister of Education

USA	Arno A. Penzias	Vice President Research, AT&T Bell Laboratories
D	Hans-Fredeich von Ploetz	State Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
CDN	J. Robert Pritchard	President, University of Toronto
CH	David de Pury*	Chairman, BBC Brown Boveri Ltd. and Co-Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Group
GB	Giles H. Radice	Member of Parliament; Chairman of the European Movement
USA	David Rockefeller**	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
GB	Eric Roll**	President, S.G. Warburg Group plc
GB	Emma Rothschild	Director, Centre for History and Economics; Fellow, Kings College, Cambridge University
INT/I	Renato Ruggiero*	Director General, World Trade Organization; Former Minister of Trade
F	Francoise Sampermans	Chairman, Groupe Express
ICE	Stephan E. Schmidheiny	Chairman, ANOVA Holdings Ltd.
D	Jurgen Schrempp	Chairman, Daimler Benz AG
CH	Wolfgang Schurer	Chairman, MS Management Service AG
INT	Klaus Schwab	President, World Economic Forum
USA	Nancy E. Soderberg	Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
GB	H. Dennis Stevenson	Chairman of SRU Group and the Tate Gallery
N	Thorvald Stoltenberg	Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia
IRL	Peter D. Sutherland*	Former Director General, World Trade Organization; Former member, Commission of the European Communities
S	His Majesty The King of Sweden	
GB	J. Martin Taylor	Chief Executive, Barclays Bank plc
F	Jean-Claude Trichet	Governor, Banque de France
E	Federico Trillo Figueroa	Vice President and Member of Parliament (Partido Popular)
S	Ines Uusmann	Minister of Transport and Communication
D	Gunther Verheugen	Secretary General, Social Democratic Party
FIN	Pertti Voutilainen	President, Merita Bank Ltd.
A	Franz Vranitsky	Federal Chancellor
NL	Karel Vuursteen	Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.
GB	William A. Waldegrave	Secretary of State, Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
NL	Jacques Wallage	Parliamentary Leader PvdA (Labour Party)
USA	Stanley A. Weiss	Chairman, Business Executives for National Security, Inc.
USA	John C. Whitehead*	Former Deputy Secretary of State
INT/USA	James D. Wolfensohn*	President, The World Bank; Former President and Chief Executive Officer, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
D	Otto Wolff von Amerongen**	Chairman and C.E.O. of Otto Wolff GmbH
USA	Paul Wolfowitz	Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

\*Member of the Steering Committee

\*\*Member of the Advisory Group

#### **Rapporteurs:**

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

#### **IN ATTENDANCE:**

NL	Maja Banck	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
CDN	Mary Alice Carroll	Local Organizer 1996
CH	Margrit Markstaller	Local Organizer 1995
USA	Charles Muller	President, Murden and Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Toronto, Canada  
May 30 - June 2, 1996

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### CHAIRMAN:

GB Carrington, Peter Former Chairman of the Board, Christie's International plc; Former Secretary General, NATO

### Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada:

NL Victor Halberstadt Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University

### Honorary Secretary General for U.S.A.:

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

### PARTICIPANTS:

I Agnelli, Giovanni Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.  
FIN Ahtisaari, Martti President of the Republic of Finland  
USA Allaire, Paul A. Chairman, Xerox Corporation  
USA Andreas, Dwayne Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company  
S Aslund, Anders Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
CDN Axworthy, Lloyd Minister for Foreign Affairs  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister  
S Barnevik, Percy President and Chief Executive Officer, ABB Asca Brown Boveri Ltd.  
USA Bentsen, Lloyd M. Former Secretary of the Treasury; Partner, Verner Liipferi Bernhard McPherson and Hand, Chartered  
I Bernabe, Franco Managing Director and CEO, Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi  
D Bertram, Christoph Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit; Former Director International Institute for Strategic Studies  
TR Beyazit, Selahattin Director of Companies  
INT Bildt, Carl The High Representative  
CDN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph plc  
NL Bolkenstein, Frits Parliamentary Leader VVD (Liberal Party)  
INT Bottelier, Piefer P. Chief of Mission, The World Bank, Resident Mission in China  
USA Bryan, John H. Chairman and CEO, Sara Lee Corporation  
USA Buckley, Jr., William F. Editor-at-Large, National Review  
GR Carras, Costa Director of Companies  
D Cartellieri, Ulrich Member of the Board, Deutsche Bank, A.G.  
E Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento  
CDN Chretien, Jean Prime Minister  
F Collomb, Bertrand Chairman and CEO, Lafarge  
USA Corzine, Jon S. Senior Partner and Chairman, Goldman Sachs & Co.  
CH Cotti, Flavio Minister for Foreign Affairs  
USA Dam, Kenneth W. Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, The University of Chicago Law School  
GR David, George Chairman, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.  
B Davignon, Etienne Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities  
CDN Drouin, Marie-Josée Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada  
CDN Eaton, Fredrik S. Chairman, Executive Committee, Eaton's of Canada  
DK Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe Member of Parliament  
TR Ercel, Gazi Governor, Central Bank of Turkey  
USA Feldstein, Martin S. President, National Bureau of Economic Research  
INT Fischer, Stanley First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund

CDN	Flood, A.L.	Chairman, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
USA	Freeman, Jr., Chas. W.	Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security; Chairman of the Board, Projects International Associates, Inc.
GB	Garton Ash, Timothy	Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford
USA	Gigot, Paul	Washington Columnist, The Wall Street Journal
TR	Gonensay, Emre	Minister for Foreign Affairs
CDN	Gotlieb, Allan E.	Former Ambassador to the United States of America
CDN	Griffin, Anthony G.S.	Honorary Chairman and Director, Guardian Group
CDN	Harris, Michael	Premier of Ontario
D	Haussmann, Helmut	Member of Parliament, Free Democratic Party
N	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co. A.S.A.; Former President, Norwegian Shipowners' Association
USA	Holbrooke, Richard	Former Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs
B	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij-Krediet-bank Group
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
GB	Job, Peter	Chief Executive, Reuters Holding PLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
F	Jospin, Lionel	First Secretary of the Socialist Party; Former Ministre d'Etat
A	Karner, Dietrich	Chairman of the Managing Board, Erste Allgemeine-Generali Aktiengesellschaft
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates; Inc.
GB	Knight, Andrew	Non Executive Director, News Corporation
INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Senior Fellow, European Policy Centre, Brussels; Former Secretary General, Action Committee for Europe; Former President, European University Institute
A	Kothbauer, Max	Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
D	Lauk, Kurt	Member of the Board, Veba A.G.
F	Lellouche, Pierre	Foreign Affairs spokesman, Rassemblement pour la Republique
F	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Banque Paribas
USA	Lord, Winston	Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
P	Marante, Margarida	TV Journalist
CDN	Martin, Paul	Minister of Finance
USA	Matlock, Jack F.	Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
B	Maystadt, Philippe	Vice-Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Foreign Trade
USA	McHenry, Donald F.	Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Affairs, Georgetown University
NL	Melkert, Ad P.W.	Minister for Social Affairs and Employment
GB	Monks, John	General Secretary, Trades Union Congress (TUC)
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
INT	Monti, Mario	Commissioner, European Communities
NL	Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands	
USA	Nunn, Sam	Senator (D, Georgia)
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Bank Handlowy W. Warszawie S.A.; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
CDN	Ostry, Sylvia	Chairman, Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto
GR	Pangalos, Theodoros G.	Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Perry, William J.	Secretary of Defense
N	Petersen, Jan	Parliamentary Leader, Conservative Party
USA	Podhoretz, Norman	Editor, Commentary
CH	Pury, David de	Director of Companies; Former Co-Chairman of the ABB Group and former Ambassador for Trade Agreements
GB	Rifkind, Malcolm	Foreign Secretary
GB	Robertson, Simon	Chairman, Kleinwort Benson Group plc
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
CDN	Rogers, Edward S.	President and CEO, Rogers Communications, Inc.
GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Advisor, SBC Warburg
INT	Ruggiero, Renato	Director General, World Trade Organization; Former Minister of Trade
S	Sahlin, Mona	Member of Parliament
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler-Benz AG

INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken A/S
USA	Sheinkman, Jack	Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Bank
CH	Sommaruga, Cornelio	President, International Committee of the Red Cross
USA	Soros, George	President, Soros Fund Management
E	Her Majesty the Queen of Spain	
USA	Stephanopoulos, George	Senior Advisor to the President
D	Strubo, Jurgen	CEO, BASF Aktiengesellschaft
H	Suranyi, Gyorgy	President, National Bank of Hungary
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Former Director General, GATT and WTO
NL	Tabaksnlat, Morris	Chairman of the Board, Unilever N.V.
GB	Taylor, J. Martin	Chief Executive, Barclays Bank plc
USA	Trotman, Alexander J.	Chairman, Ford Motor Company
I	Veltroni, Valter	Editor, L'Unita
P	Vitorino, Antonio	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence
D	Voschherau, Henning	Mayor of Hamburg
A	Vranitzky, Franz	Federal Chancellor
NL	Vuursteen, Karel	Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.
S	Wallenberg, Marcus	Executive Vice President, Investor AB
USA	Weiss, Stanley A.	Chairman, Business Executives for National Security, Inc.
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Former Deputy Secretary of State
CDN	Wilson, L. R.	Chairman, President and CEO, BCE Inc.
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank; Former President and CEO, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
D	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies; Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
E	Yanez-Barnuovo, Juan A.	Permanent Representative of Spain to the UN

#### OBSERVERS:

NL	Orange, H.R.H. the Prince of
B	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince

#### RAPPORTEURS:

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

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/bildlist.htm>

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
PineIsle Resort near Atlanta, U.S.A.  
June 12-15, 1997

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

**Chairman:**

GB Carrington, Peter  
Former Secretary General, NATO; Former Chairman of the Board, Christies International plc

**Honorary Secretary General:**

NL Victor Halberstadt  
Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University

I Agnelli, Giovanni  
Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.

I Agnelli, Umberto  
Chairman, IFIL S.p.A.

USA Allaire, Paul A.  
Chairman, Xerox Corporation

DK Andersen, Bodil Nyboe  
Governor, Central Bank of Denmark

USA Armacost, Michael H.  
President, The Brookings Institution

P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto  
Professor of Communication Science, University, Lisbon;  
Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister

S Barnevik, Percy  
Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.

USA Bartley, Robert L.  
Editor, Wall Street Journal

CDN Bassett, Isabel  
Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance, Government of Ontario

USA Bentsen, Lloyd M.  
Former Secretary of the Treasury; Partner, Verner Liipfert Bernhard McPherson and Hand, Chartered

USA Berger, Samuel R.  
Assistant to the President for Security Affairs

NL Bergh, Maarten A. van den  
Group Managing Director, Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies

USA Bergsten, C. Fred  
Director, Institute for International Economics

USA Bernstein, Richard  
Book Critic, New York Times

NL Beugel, Ernst H. van der  
Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former  
Honorary Secretary General of Meetings for Europe and Canada

TR Beyazit, Selahattin  
Director of Companies

INT Bildt, Carl  
The High Representative

TR Bilgin, Dinc  
Chairman of the Board, Sabah A.S.

CDN Black, Conrad M.  
Chairman, The Telegraph plc

H Bokros, Lajos  
Senior Adviser, The World Bank

P Borges, Antonio  
Dean, INSEAD

GB Browne, E. John P.  
Group Chief Executive, The British Petroleum Company p.l.c.

USA Bryan, John H.  
Chairman and CEO, Sara Lee Corporation

GB Buchanan, Robin W.T.  
Senior Partner, Bain & Company

D Burda, Hubert  
Chairman, Burda Media

CH Butler, Hugo  
Editor in Chief, Neue Zurcher Zeitung

GR Carras, Costa  
Director of Companies

D Cartellieri, Ulrich  
Member of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG

E Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime  
Chairman and General Manager, Iberfomento

F Collomb, Bertrand  
Chairman and CEO, Lafarge

USA Corzine, Jon S.  
Chairman and CEO, Goldman Sachs & Co.

CH Cotti, Flavio  
Federal Councillor and Minister for Foreign Affairs

GB Cranborne, Robert M.J.C.  
Leader of the Opposition in the House Lords

USA Dam, Kenneth W.  
Max Pam Professor of American and Foreign Law, The University of Chicago  
Law School

GR David, George A.  
Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Company S.A.

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

B Donnea, Francois X. de  
Former Minister of Defense; Mayor of Brussels; Member of Parliament

DK	Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe	Chairman, Liberal Party
TR	Ercel, Gazi	Governor, Central Bank of Turkey
TR	Erguder, Ustun	Rector, Bosporus University
CDN	Frum, David	Political Commentator
USA	Gadiesh, Orit	Chairman of the Board, Bain & Company Inc.
P	Galvao Teles, Jose M.	Lawyer, Member of the Social Party, Member of the Council of State
F	Gergorin, Jean-Louis	Member of the Board of Directors, to the Chairman Strategic Matra Hachette
USA	Gerstner, Jr., Louis V.	Chairman, IBM Corporation
USA	Hamilton, Lee H.	Congressman (D, Indiana)
N	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co. ASA; Former President, Norwegian Shipowners' Association
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs; Vice Chairman, CS First
GB	Hutton, Will	Editor, The Observer
B	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij-Kredietbank Groep
FIN	Iloniemi, Jaakko	Managing Director, Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies; Former Ambassador to the United States of America
D	Issing, H.C. Otmar	Member of the Board, Deutsche
GB	Jacobi, Mary Jo	Head of Group Public Affairs, HSBC Holdings plc; Former US Assistant Secretary of Commerce
INT	Johnston, Donald J.	Secretary-General, OECD
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
NL	Korteweg, Pieter	President and CEO, Robeco Group
A	Kothbauer, Max	Director of Companies
GR	Kiranidiotis, Yannos	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs
F	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Banque Paribas
USA	Lewis, William W.	Director of McKinsey Global Institute, McKinsey & Company
GB	Mabro, Robert E.	Director, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies
USA	McDonough, William J.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
A	Mitterbauer, Peter	Chairman, Miba AG
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Professor of Economics, Ecole Polytechnique
CDN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Vice-President, Research and International Relations, University of Toronto
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chief Executive, Norsk Hydro
D	Nass, Matthias	Managing Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, Her Majesty the Queen of the	
FIN	Niinisto, Sauli V.	Minister of Finance
USA	Nunn, Sam	Former Senator (D, Georgia)
ICE	Oddsson, David	Prime Minister
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman, Central Europe Trust, Poland
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	President and CEO, Nokia Corporation
USA	Page, Jr., John M.	Chief Economist, Middle East and Africa Region, The World Bank
USA	Powell, Colin L.	Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
CH	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini & Co. Ltd.
IRL	Quinn, Lochlann	Chairman, Allied Irish Bank Group
GB	Robertson, Simon	Former Chairman, Kleinwort Benson Group plc
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA	Rockefeller, Sharon Percy	President and CEO, WETA-TV and FM (PBS)
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Vice Chairman, Banco de Santander
GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, SBC Warburg
I	Rossella, Carlo	Editor, Editrice La Stampa S.p.A.
F	Roy, Olivier	University Professor and Researcher, Laboratoire Monde Iranien, CNRS
CDN	Sabia, Maureen	Corporate Director and President, Maureen Sabia International
P	Salgado, Ricardo Espirito Santo	President and CEO, Banco Espirito
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler-Benz AG
INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken A/S
USA	Sheinkman, Jack	Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated

I	Silvestri, Stefano	Vice President, Istituto Affari Internazionali; former Undersecretary of Defense
USA	Stahl, Lesley R.	National Affairs Correspondent, CBS
USA	Stephanopoulos, George	Visiting Professor, Columbia; Former Senior Advisor to the President for Policy and Strategy
H	Suryanyi, Gyorgy	President, National Bank of Hungary
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Sachs International; Former Director General, GATT and WTO
S	Svedberg, Bjorn	President and CEO, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
TR	Tara, Sinan	Vice President, Enka Construction & Ind. Inc.
GB	Taylor, J. Martin	Chief Executive, Barclays PLC
GB	Villeneuve, Andre-Francois H.	Executive Director, Reuters Group Holdings plc
USA	Vogel, Ezra F.	Henry Ford II Professor of Social Sciences, Harvard University
USA	Volcker, Paul A.	Chairman, BT Wolfensohn
A	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
INT	Vries, Gijs M. de	Chairman, Liberal Group, European Parliament
S	Wallenberg, Marcus	Executive Vice President, Investor AB
USA	Weiss, Stanley A.	Chairman, Business Executives for National Security, Inc
USA	Whitehead, John C.	Former Deputy Secretary of State
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
D	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies; Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
NL	Wijffels, Herman H.F.	Chairman of the Executive Board, Rabobank Nederland
GB	Yahuda, Michael B.	Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics
USA	Yost, Casimir A.	Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/1997.htm>

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
Turnberry Hotel, Ayrshire, Scotland  
May 14-17, 1998

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN:

GB Carrington, Peter Former Chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL:

NL Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University

PARTICIPANTS:

I Agnelli, Giovanni Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.  
USA Allaire, Paul A. Chairman, Xerox Corporation  
E Almunia Amann, Joaquin Secretary General, Socialist Party  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister  
S Barnevik, Percy Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.  
TR Bayar, Ugur Chairman, Privatization Administration  
I Bernabe, Franco Managing Director, ENI S.p.A.  
D Bertram, Christoph Director, Foundation Science and Policy, Former Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit  
NL Beugel, Ernst H. van der Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings for Europe and Canada  
CDN Black, Conrad Chairman, The Telegraph plc  
INT Bonino, Emma Member of the European Commission  
INT Brittan, Leon Vice President of the European Commission  
GB Browne, John Group Chief Executive, British Petroleum Company plc  
IRL Bruton, John Leader of Fine Gael  
GB Buchanan, Robin Senior Partner, Bain and Company Inc. UK  
D Burda, Hubert Chairman, Burda Media  
E Carvajal Urquijo, Jaime Chairman, Dresdner Kleinwort Benson S.A. (Spain)  
I Cavalchini, Luigi G. Permanent Representative to the European Union  
TR Cem, Ismail Minister of Foreign Affairs  
CDN Chretien, Raymond A.J. Ambassador to the U.S.  
RUS Chubais, Anatoli B. Former First Vice Prime Minister; Chairman RAO EES  
GB Clarke, Kenneth Member of Parliament  
F Collomb, Bertrand Chairman and CEO, Lafarge  
INT Courtis, Kenneth S. First Vice President, Research Department, Deutsche Bank Asia Pacific  
P Coutinho, Vasco Pereira Chairman, IPC Holding  
INT Crockett, Andrew General Manager, Bank for International Settlements  
GR David, George A. Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.  
B Davignon, Etienne Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities  
USA Deutch, John M. Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dept. of Chemistry; Former Director, Central Intelligence Agency; Former Deputy Secretary of Defense  
CDN Dion, Stephane Queens Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs  
USA Donilon, Thomas Partner, O'Melveny & Myers; Former Assistant Secretary of State, and Chief of Staff, U.S. Department of State.  
DK Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe Chairman, Liberal Party  
D Engelen-Kefer, Ursula Deputy Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB  
USA Feldstein, Martin S. President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research Inc.  
INT Fischer, Stanley First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund  
USA Forester, Lynn President and CEO, FirstMark Holdings Inc.

USA	Gadiesh, Orit	Chairman of the Board, Bain and Company Inc.
F	Gregorin, Jean-Louis	Member of the Board of Directors, Matra Hachette
TR	Gezgin Eris, Meral	President IKV (Economic Development Foundation)
B	Goossens, John	President and CEO, Belgacom
GB	Grierson, Ronald	Former Vice Chairman, GEC
USA	Grossman, Marc	Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of State
F	Guetta, Bernard	Editor in Chief, Le Nouvel Observateur
GB	Hague, William	Leader of the Opposition
GB	Hannay, David	Prime Ministers' Personal Envoy for Turkey; Former Permanent Representative to the United Nations
USA	Hoagland, Jim	Associate Editor, The Washington Post
N	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh and Co. A.S.A.; Former President, Norwegian Shipowners Association
NL	Hoeven, Cees H. van der	President, Royal Ahold
USA	Hoge, Jr., James F.	Editor, Foreign Affairs
GB	Hogg, Christopher	Chairman, Reuters Group plc
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Former Assistant Secretary for European Affairs; Vice Chairman, CS First Boston
P	Horta e Costa, Miguel	Vice-President, Portugal Telecom
D	Ishinger, Wolfgang	Political Director, Foreign Office
D	Issing, Otmar	Member of the Board, Deutsche Bundesbank
GB	Jenkins, Michael	Vice Chairman, Dresdner Kleinwort Benson
USA	Johnson, James A.	Chairman and CEO, Fannie Mae
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
GB	Kaletsky, Anatole	Associate Editor, The Times
GR	Karamanlis, Kostas A.	Leader of the Opposition
TR	Kirac, Suna	Vice Chairman of the Board, Koc Holding A.S.
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
INT	Kohnstamm, Max	Senior Consultant, The European Policy Center
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank A.G.
NL	Korteweg, Pieter	President and CEO, Robeco Group
CZ	Kovanda, Karel	Head of Mission to the Czech Republic to NATO and the WEU
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josee	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
USA	Leschly, Jan	CEO, SmithKline Beecham plc.
F	Levy-Lang, Andre	Chairman of the Board of Management, Paribas
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Prime Minister
DK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Minister of Finance
CDN	MacMillan, Margaret	Editor, International Journal, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, University of Toronto
CDN	Manning, Preston	Leader of the Reform Party
I	Masera, Rainer S.	Director General, I.M.I. S.p.A.
USA	Matthews, Jessica Tuchman	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
D	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Zie Deit
NL	Netherlands, Her Majesty Queen of the	
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman, Central Europe Trust, Poland
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	President and CEO, Nokia Corporation
I	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Chairman, CONSOB
GR	Papandreou, George A.	Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs
INT	Prendergast, Kieran	Under-Secretary General for Political Affairs, United Nations
USA	Prestowitz, Clyde V.	President, Economic Strategy Institute
A	Puhringer, Othmar	Chairman of Managing Board, VA-Technologie AG
GB	Purves, William	Group Chairman, HSBC Holdings plc.
CH	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini and Co. Ltd.
A	Randa, Gerhard	Chairman of the Managing Board, Bank of Austria
USA	Rhodes, William R.	Vice Chairman, CitiBank, N.A.
GB	Robertson, George	Secretary of State for Defence
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Vice-Chairman, Banco de Santander



GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Advisor, SBC Warburg Dillon Read
GB	Rothschild, Evelyn de	Chairman, N.M. Rothschild and Sons
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler Benz A.G.
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken A/S
I	Siniscalco, Domenico	Professor of Economics; Director of Fondazione ENI Enrico Mattei
INT	Solana Madariaga, Javier	Secretary General, NATO
P	Sousa, Marcelo Rebelo de	Leader of the PSD Party
N	Storvik, Kjell	Governor, Bank of Norway
PL	Suchoka, Hanna	Minister of Justice
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Deputy Secretary for International Affairs, U.S. Department of the Treasury
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, British Petroleum Company plc.
GB	Taylor, J. Martin	Group Chief Executive, Barclays plc.
USA	Thoman, G. Richard	President and CEO, Xerox Corporation
N	Udgaard, Nils M.	Foreign Editor, Aftenposten
CH	Vasella, Daniel	CEO Novartis
USA	Vink, Lodewijk J.R. de	President and CEO, Warner Lambert Company
FIN	Virkkunen, Janne	Senior Editor in Chief, Helsingin Sanomat
B	Vits, Mia de	General Secretary, ABVV-FGTB
A	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
INT	Vries, Gijs M. de	Leader of the Liberal Group, European Parliament
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
USA	Whitman, Christine Todd	Governor of New Jersey
D	Wissmann, Matthias	Federal Minister for Transport
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, the World Bank
D	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
USA	Yost, Casimir A.	Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington

RAPPOORTEURS:

GB	Micklethwait, John	Business Editor, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/1998.htm>

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**  
**Hotel Caesar Park Penha Longa**  
**Sintra, Portugal**  
**June 3-6, 1999**

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

**Honorary Chairman**

B Davignon, Etienne Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique

**Honorary Secretary General**

NL Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University

**Participants**

I Agnelli, Umberto Chairman, IFIL – Fianziaria di Partecipazioni S.p.A.  
E Aguirre y Gil de Biedma, Esperanza President of the Spanish Senate  
USA Allaire, Paul A. Chairman, Xerox Corporation  
P Amaral, Joaquim F. do Member of Parliament  
S Aslund, Anders Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon;  
Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister  
S Barnevik, Percy Chairman, Investor AB  
USA Bayh, Evan Senator (Democrat, Indiana)  
I Bernabe, Franco Managing Director and CEO, Telecom Italia  
S Bildt, Carl Member of Parliament  
CDN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited  
USA Boyd, Charles G. Executive Director, National Security Study Group  
CDN Chastelain, John A.D. de Chairman, Independent International Commission on Decommissioning.  
GB Clarke, Kenneth Member of Parliament  
N Clemet, Kristin Deputy Director General, Confederation of Business and Industry.  
F Collomb, Bertrand Chairman and CEO, Lafarge  
USA Corzine, Jon S. Retired Senior Partner, Goldman Sachs & Co.  
P Cravinho, João Cardona G. Minister for Infrastructure, Planning and Territorial Administration  
GR David, George A. Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.  
USA Dodd, Chistopher J. Senator (Democrat, Connecticut)  
USA Donilon, Thomas E. Attorney-at-Law, O'Melveny & Myers  
TR Ercel, Gazi Governor, Central Bank of Turkey  
TR Ergin, Sedat Ankara Bureau Chief, Hürriyet  
USA Feldstein, Martin S. President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research  
INT Fischer, Stanley First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund  
I Fresco, Paolo Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.  
I Giavazzi, Francesco Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan  
CDN Godsoe, Peter C. Chairman and CEO, Bank of Nova Scotia  
USA Graham, Donald E. Publisher, The Washington Post  
NL Grave, Frank H.G. de Minister of Defence  
P Grilo, Eduardo C. Marcal Minister of Education  
USA Hagel, Chuck Senator (Republican, Nebraska)  
S Hedelius, Tom C. Chairman, Svenska Handelsbanken  
N Hegge, Per Egil Editor, Aftenposten  
CDN Herrndorf, Peter A. Former Chairman and CEO, TV Ontario; Senior Visiting Fellow,  
University of Toronto  
USA Hoagland, Jim Associate Editor, The Washington Post  
N Höegh, Westye Chairman of the Board, Leif Höegh & Co. SAS; Former President,  
Norwegian Shipowners' Association  
USA Holbrooke, Richard C. Ambassador to the UN designate  
B Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanij N.V.

INT	Issing, Otmar	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank.
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)
BG	Kamov, Nikolai	Member of Parliament
TR	Kirac, Suna	Vice-Chairman of the Board, Koç Holding A.S.
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank A.G.
GR	Kranidiotis, Yannis	Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA	Leschly, Jan	CEO, Smith Kline Beecham p.l.c.
INT	Liikanen, Erkki	Member of the European Commission
CDN	MacLaren, Roy	High Commissioner for Canada in Britain
CDN	MacMillan, Margaret O.	Editor, International Journal
GB	Mandelson, Peter	Member of Parliament
USA	Mathews Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA	McGinn, Richard A.	Chairman and CEO, Lucent Technologies
P	Mello, Vasco de	Vice Chairman and CEO, Grupo José de Mello
UKR	Mityukov, Ihor	Minister of Finance
F	Moïsi, Dominique	Deputy Director, IFRI
INT	Monti, Mario	Member of the European Commission
P	Nabo, Francisco Murteira	President and CEO, Portugal Telecom
D	Nass, Mathias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, Her Majesty the Queen of the	
ICE	Oddsson, David	Prime Minister
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Chairman Central Europe Trust
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
D	Perger, Werner A.	Political Correspondent, Die Zeit
GB	Porrit, Jonathon	Programme Director, Forum for the Future
I	Profumo, Alessandro	CEO, Credito Italiano
CH	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turretini & Co. Ltd.
A	Randa, Gerhard	CEO and Chairman, Bank Austria AG
USA	Rattner, Steven	Deputy Executive, Lazard Freres & Co., LLC
USA	Richardson, Bill	Secretary of Energy
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, BSCH
S	Rojas, Mauricio	Associate Professor of Economic History, Lund University; Director of Timbro's Centre for Welfare Reform
GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, Warburg Dillon Read
S	Rosengren, Björn	Minister for Industry, Employment and Communication
P	Salgado, Ricardo E.S.	President and CEO, Grupo Espírito Santo
P	Sampaio, Jorge	President of Portugal
P	Santos, Nicolau	Editor-in-Chief, Expresso
NL	Scheepbouwer, Ad J.	Chairman and CEO, TNT Post Group
A	Schenz, Richard	CEO and Chairman of the Board, OMV AG
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG.
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
USA	Shapiro, Robert B.	Chairman and CEO, Monsanto Company
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Carnegie Moscow Center
P	Silva, Artur Santos	President and CEO, BPI Group
E	Solbes Mira, Pedro	Member of Parliament, Socialist Party
H	Suranyi, Gyorgy	President, National Bank of Hungary
GB	Taylor, J. Martin	Former Chief Executive, Barclays PLC
USA	Thoman, G. Richard	President and CEO, Xerox Corporation
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and Co-COO, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.
RUS	Trenin, Dmitri V.	Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center
F	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France

USA	Tyson, Laura D' Andrea	Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley
FIN	Vanhala, Matti	Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland
FIN	Vartia, Pentti	Managing Director, Research Institute of the Finnish Economy (ETLA)
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
GR	Veremis, Thanos M.	Professor of Political History, University of Athens; President of Eliamep
A	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
NL	Waal, Lodewijk J. de	Chairman, Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions (FNV)
GB	Wolf, Martin	Associate Editor and Economics Commentator, The Financial Times.
INT/USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
D	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
TR	Yücaoglu, Erkut	Chairman, Tusiad
CZ	Zantovsky, Michael	Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security, Czech Senate
A	Zimmermann, Norbert	Chairman, Berndorf AG

#### Rapporteurs

GB	Micklethwait, John	New York Bureau Chief, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

#### In Attendance

NL	Banck, Maja	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
P	Estarreja, Joao A.	Local Organiser 1999 Conference
USA	Farren, Michael J.	Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.
A	Kastner, Diemut	Local Organiser 2000 Conference

Source: [http://www.prisonplanet.com/the\\_bilderberg\\_papers.html](http://www.prisonplanet.com/the_bilderberg_papers.html)

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Brussels, Belgium

1-3 June 2000

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman:

B Etienne Davignon Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique

### Honorary Secretary General:

GB J. Martin Taylor Chairman, WH Smith Group PLC, International Adviser, Goldman Sachs International

I Agnelli, Giovanni Honourary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.  
I Agnelli, Umberto Chairman, IFIL - Finanziaria di Partecipazioni S.p.A.  
E Aguirre y Gil de Biedma, Esperanza President, The Spanish Senate  
USA Allaire, Paul Chairman of the Board of Directors and CEO, Xerox Corporation  
I Ambrosetti, Alfredo Ambrosetti Group  
DK Andersen, Bodil Nyboe Governor, Central Bank of Denmark  
CDN Asper, Israel Chairman, CanWest Capital Group Inc.  
INT Avery, Graham Chief Adviser for Enlargement, European Community  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.  
S Barnevik, Percy Chairman, Investor AB  
NL Benschop, Dick State Secretary for European Affairs  
I Bernabè, Franco Special Representative of Italy for Reconstruction Initiatives in the Balkans  
D Betz, Hans-Georg Visiting Professor, European Studies, Centre for European Studies, Columbia and New York Universities  
INT Bildt, Carl Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Balkans, United Nations  
CDN Black, Conrad Chair, Telegraph Group Ltd.  
IRL Bruton, John Leader of Fine Gael (Opposition Party)  
GB Buchanan, Robin W.T. Senior Partner, Bain & Co Inc.  
GB Clarke, Kenneth Member of Parliament (Conservative)  
TR Colakoglu, Nuri Chairman and CEO, NTV  
F Collomb, Bertrand Chairman and CEO, Lafarge  
D Cromme, Gerhard Chairman of the Executive Board, Thyssen Krupp AG  
GR David, George A. Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.  
USA Deutch, John M. Institute Professor, MIT; Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.)  
GR Diamandouros, P. Nikiforos National Ombudsman  
USA Dodd, Christopher J. Senator (Democrat, Connecticut)  
USA Donilon, Thomas E. Senior Vice-President, General Counsel and Secretary, FannieMae  
USA Dyson, Esther Chairman, EDventure Holdings Inc.  
INT Fréchette, Louise Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations  
I Fresco, Paolo Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.  
CDN Frum, David Columnist, National Post Newspaper  
P Gouveia, Teresa Patrício Member of Parliament (PSD)  
USA Graham, Donald E. Publisher, The Washington Post  
USA Hagel, Chuck Senator (Republican, Nebraska)  
NL Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary-General of Bilderberg Meetings  
N Hambro, Christian Director-General, Research Council of Norway  
A Hampel, Erich Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein  
USA Hutchison, Kay Bailey Senator (Republican, Texas)  
B Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanij NV  
B Janssen, Daniel E. Chairman, Solvay SA  
S Johansson, Leif President and CEO, Volvo AB

USA	Johnson, James A.	Chairman and CEO, Johnson Capital Partners
USA	Jordan Jr, Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
TR	Kayhan, Muharrem	Vice-Chairman of the Board, Söktas, Former President, Tusiad
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Commissioner, European Commission
F	Lévy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
B	Lippens, Maurice	Chairman, FORTIS Bank
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Prime Minister
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations
INT	Moore, Mike	Director-General, WTO
D	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Queen Beatrix	Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands and of the House of Orange
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
S	Pagrotsky, Leif	Minister of Trade
GR	Papandreou, George A.	Minister for Foreign Affairs
S	Petersson, Lars-Eric	President and CEO, Skandia
A	Petritsch, Wolfgang	The High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina; EU chief negotiator at the Kosovo peace talks in Rambouillet and Paris
CH	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini & Co Ltd.
DK	Rasmussen, Anders Fogh	Chairman, Liberal Party
N	Reiten, Eivind	Executive Vice-President, Corporate Management, Norsk Hydro SA
USA	Richardson, Bill	Secretary of Energy
I	Riotta, Gianni	Deputy Editor, La Stampa
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Council
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, BSCH
GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg
I	Ruggiero, Renato	Vice-Chairman, Schroder Salomon Smith Barney; Chairman, Schroder Salomon Smith Barney Italy
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
B	Schoutheete de Tervarent, Ph. de	Former Permanent Representative of Belgium to the EU
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
INT	Solana Madariaga, Javier	Secretary General, Council of the European Union
USA	Soros, George	Chairman, Soros Fund Management
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
F	Strauss-Kahn, Dominique	Former Minister of Finance; Professor, University of Paris
KS	Surroi, Veton	Publisher, KOHA Ditore
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP Amoco PLC
USA	Tarullo, Daniel K.	Visiting Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law centre
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and CEO, Goldman Sachs Group Inc.
I	Tremonti, Giulio	Member of the Finance Commission, Chamber of Deputies
F	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
NL	Veer, Jeroen van der	Group managing director, Royal Dutch/Shell group of companies; designate President of Royal Dutch Petroleum Company
USA	Vink, Lodewijk J. R. de	Chairman, President and CEO, Warner-Lambert Company
A	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
GB	Wolf, Martin	Associated Editor/Economics Commentator
INT/USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
D	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and CEO of Otto Wolff GmbH
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The John Hopkins University

**Rapporteurs:**

GB Mickelthwait, R. John  
GB Wooldridge, Adrian D.

United States Editor, The Economist  
Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

**List of Abbreviations**

A Austria  
B Belgium  
CH Switzerland  
CDN Canada  
D Germany  
DK Denmark  
E Spain  
F France  
FIN Finland  
GB Great Britain  
GR Greece  
INT International  
I Italy  
IRL Ireland  
KS Kosovo  
N Norway  
NL Netherlands  
P Portugal  
S Sweden  
TR Turkey  
USA United States of America

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2000.htm>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Stenungsund, Sweden

24-27 May 2001

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Honorary Chairman:

B Davignon, Etienne Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique

Honorary Secretary General:

GB Taylor, J. Martin Chairman WH Smith PLC; International Advisor, Goldman Sachs International

USA Allaire, Paul A. Chairman of the Board of Directors and CEO, Xerox Corporation  
DK Andersen, Bodil Nyboe Governor, Central Bank of Denmark  
GB Balls, Ed Chief Economic Adviser, Spads, HM Treasury  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University of Lisbon; Chairman, Impresa SGPS; Former Prime Minister  
S Barnevik, Percy Chairman, Investor AB and ABB (Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.)  
N Bergesen Jr., Finn Administrative Director, NHO (Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry)  
I Bernabe, Franco Chairman, Franco Bernabè Group; International Board of the World Economic Forum; Special Representative of the Government of Italy to the Balkan, Board member of Peres Center for Peace (President - Uri Savir)  
F Beytout, Nicolas Editor-in-Chief, Les Echos  
CDN Black, Conrad M. Chairman and CEO, Hollinger International, Inc.; Chairman, Telegraph Group Ltd.  
F Bon, Michel Chairman and CEO of France Télécom  
IRL Bruton, John Former Prime Minister of Ireland; Vice Chairperson of the EPP and CDI  
D Burda, Hubert Publisher, Burda Verlag (magazines)  
NL Burgmans, Antony C.E.O, Unilever NV  
E Cebrian, Juan Luis VC, Sogecable, S.A. (TV Broadcasting); CEO PRISA (El Pais)  
F Collomb, Bertrand Chairman and CEO, Lafarge; Director, Total Fina Elf Group (petroleum & chemicals), Atco; Supervisory Board, Allianz; Board of Directors, Credit Commercial de France  
CH Couchepin, Pascal Minister of Economic Affairs; Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Public Economy, (Swiss Federal Councillor)  
INT Courtis, Kenneth S. Vice President for Asia of Goldman Sachs, (Japan) Inc.; International Research Council of the Center for International and Strategic Studies (CSIS) in Washington and Economic Strategy Institute in Washington.  
IRL Cox, Pat President of the Liberal Democrat Group (ELDR), European Parliament  
USA Dam, Kenneth W. Deputy Secretary designate at U.S. Department of the Treasury  
B Davignon, Etienne Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities  
GR David, George A. Chairman, Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.  
USA Dodd, Christopher J. Senator, Democratic Party, Connecticut  
USA Donilon, Thomas E. Executive Vice President, Law and Policy, Fannie Mae  
I Draghi, Mario President of the Economic and Financial Committee, Council of the EU; Director General, Ministry of the Treasury  
USA Eisenhower, Susan Tufts University, Asst. Director, Communications and Media Studies; President, the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute  
DK Eldrup, Anders Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance; Danish government representative to SAS  
TR Ercel, Gazi Merkez Bank; Former Governor, Central Bank of Turkey  
USA Feldstein, Martin Professor of Economics at Harvard University; President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research  
INT Fischler, Franz E.U. Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development, European Commission  
USA Glickman, Dan Former Secretary of Agriculture; Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLP  
USA Graham, Donald E. Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company  
I Gros-Pietro, Gian Maria Chairman, ENI S.p.A.



USA	Hagel, Chuck	Senator, Republican, Nebraska
NL	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Public Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
S	Hedelius, Tom C.	Chairman, Svenska Handelsbanken; Vice Chairman of the Board, Ericsson
FIN	Heinonen, Olli-Pekka	Minister of Transport and Communications
N	Heyerdahl, d.y., Jens P.	Group President and CEO, Orkala ASA
N	Hoegh, Westye	Chairman of the Board, Leif Hoegh & Co ASA
NL	Hoeven, Cees H. van der	President, Koninklijke Ahold nv
CDN	Hunkin, John	Chairman and C.E.O., Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
B	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij NV
S	Johansson, Leif	President and C.E.O., AB Volvo
USA	Johnson, James A.	Johnson Capital; Vice-Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan Jr., Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. LLC
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.; Former Secretary of State
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank A.G.
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
INT	Lamy, Pascal	European Trade Commissioner
F	Levy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
USA	Lewis, Bernard	Emeritus Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Prime Minister
CDN	Lord, Bernard	Prime Minister of New Brunswick
CDN	MacMillan, Margaret O.	Editor, International Journal, Canadian Institute of International Affairs
GR	Manos, Stephanos	Member of the Greek Parliament & Former Minister of National Economy; President of the Liberal Party
P	Martins, Guilherme d'Oliveira	Minister of Presidency
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
NL	Melkert, Ad P.W.	Parliamentary Leader PvdA, (Labour Party)
E	Miguel, Ramon de	Secretary of State for European Affairs
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations
INT	Monti, Mario	European Commissioner for Competition
D	Mosdorf, Siegmur	Secretary of State for Economics and Technology
USA	Moskow, Michael H.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
P	Moura, Vasco Graça	Member, European Parliament; 1st Vice President, Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport
CDN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Vice-President for Research and International Relations, University of Toronto
F	Nallet, Henri	International Secretary, Socialist Party
ISR	Nashashibi, Mohammed	Former Roving Ambassador of the Arab League; Finance Minister for Palestine Authority; Author
D	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, Her Majesty the Queen of The	
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Former presidential candidate; Leader, Civic Platform
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and C.E.O., Nokia Corporation; Member of the board of directors, Ford Motor Company and UPM-Kymmene
NL	Orange, His Royal Highness the Prince of	
CH	Ospel, Marcel	President and Group Chief Executive, Union Bank Of Switzerland AG
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank; President of the International Center for Monetary and Banking Studies; Member of the G-7 & G-20 Deputies; Chairman of the G -10 Committee on Payments and Settlement Systems
S	Padgrotsky, Leif	Minister of Trade
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman & CEO of Perseus LLC; Founder & Chairman, Rappahannock Investment Company and Counterpoint Press
CZ	Pehe, Jiri	Director, New York University, Prague; former advisor to President Havel
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Hollinger Digital, Inc.; Director, Jerusalem Post
GB	Pragnell, Michael P.	CEO Syngenta AG; Director, AstraZeneca plc
USA	Prestowitz Jr., Clyde V.	Founder & President, Economic Strategy Institute; former senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment

A	Raidl, Claus J.	CEO and Director, Böhler Uddeholm AG
S	Ramqvist, Lars	Chairman and CEO, Ericsson; Board member, Skandia & Volvo
USA	Rattner, Steven	Investment Banker, Director and Managing Principal Quandrangle Group; US Treasury advisory committee on IMF matters; Chairman of New York Channel 13
I	Riotta, Gianni	Co-Editor, La Stampa
INT	Robertson, George	Secretary General, NATO
USA	Rockefeller, David	Chairman of the International Advisory Committee, Chase Manhattan Bank; Member, JPMorgan International Council; Founder and Honorary Chairman of the Trilateral Commission
E	Rodrigues Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg Ltd.
TR	Sanberk, Özdem	Turkish Ambassador to the U.K.; Director General, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
D	Schrempp, Jürgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Visiting Professor, University of California at Berkeley & Cornell University
USA/GB	Siedentop, Larry A.	Fellow of Keble College & lecturer on political philosophy at Oxford University; Author of Democracy in Europe
GB	Sieghart, Mary Ann	Editorial writer and assistant editor, Times of London
E	Spain, Her Majesty the Queen of	
GB	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, WH Smith PLC, International Adviser, Goldman Sachs International
USA	Thornton, John L.	Director, Ford Motor Co.; President and co-CEO, Goldman Sachs & Co. Inc.
S	Treschcow, Michael	President and C.E.O., Electrolux Group AB
F	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman & C.E.O., Novartis AG
FIN	Virkkunen, Janne	Senior Editor-in-Chief, Helsingin Sanomat
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
S	Wallenberg, Marcus	President and C.E.O, Investor AB; Vice Chairman of the Board, Ericsson
CDN	Whyte, Kenneth	Editor-in-Chief, The National Post
GB	Wolf, Martin	Associated Editor/Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
D	Wolff von Amerongen, Otto	Chairman and C.E.O., Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen GmbH.
Rapporteurs		
GB	Micklethwait, R. John	United States Editor, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2001.htm>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A.

30 May – 2 June 2002

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

B Davignon, Etienne

Vice Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique

### Participants

USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Former Chairman and CEO, Xerox Corporation
CDN	Baillie, A. Charles	Chairman and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
GB	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
P	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.
F	Belot, Jean de	Editor-in-Chief, Le Figaro
USA	Bergsten, C. Fred	Director, Institute for International Economics
N	Bernander, John G.	Director General, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation
CDN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Commissioner, European Commission
P	Borges, António	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs
USA	Boyd, Charles G.	President and CEO, Business Executives for National Security
F	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
E	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO, Prisa (El Pais)
F	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
CH	Couchepin, Pascal	Federal Councillor; Head of the Federal Department of Economic Affairs
GB	Dahrendorf, Ralf	Member, House of Lords; Former Warden, St. Antony's College, Oxford
USA	Dam, Kenneth W.	Deputy Secretary, US Department of Treasury
GR	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
USA	David-Weill, Michel A.	Chairman, Lazard Frères & Co.
TR	Dervis, Kemal	Minister of Economic Affairs
USA	Deutch, John M.	Institute Professor, MIT
USA	Dinh, Viet D.	Assistant Attorney General for Office of Policy Development
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae
I	Draghi, Mario	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International
USA	Eizenstat, Stuart	Covington & Burling
DK	Eldrup, Anders	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Danish Oil & Gas Consortium
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
P	Ferreira, Elisa Guimarães	Member of Parliament, Former Minister of Planning
USA	Foley, Thomas S.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld
INT	Fortescue, Adrian	Director General, Justice and Internal Affairs, European Commission
CDN	Frum, David	American Enterprise Institute; Former Special Assistant to President Bush
F	Gergorin, Jean-Louis	Executive Vice President, Strategic Coordination, EADS
USA	Gigot, Paul A.	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Greenspan, Alan	Chairman, Federal Reserve System
NL	Groenink, Rijkman W.J.	Chairman of the Board, ABN AMRO Bank N.V.
A	Gusenbauer, Alfred	Member of Parliament; Chairman, Social Democratic Party
NL	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Hills, Carla A.	Chairman and CEO, Hills & Company, International Consultants
USA	Hoagland, Jim	Associate Editor, The Washington Post
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	President, E&A Industries
USA	Hutchison, Kay Bailey	Senator (Republican, Texas)
B	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij N.V.
D	Ischinger, Wolfgang	Ambassador to the US
USA	James, Charles A.	Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC

USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
NL	Kist, Ewald	Chairman of the Board ING N.V.
NL	Kleisterlee, Gerard J.	President and CEO, Royal Philips Electronics
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
USA	Krauthammer, Charles	Columnist, The Washington Post
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow - Hudson Institute Inc.
CH	Kudelski, André	Chairman of the Board & CEO, Kudelski Group
USA	LaFalce, John J.	Congressman (Democrat, New York)
USA	Leschly, Jan	Chairman & CEO, Care Capital LLC
F	Levy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
B	Lippens, Maurice	Chairman, Fortis
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McAuliffe, Terry	Chairman, Democratic National Committee
USA	McDonough, William J.	President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
E	Miguel, Ramón de	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
USA	Mitchell, Andrea	Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, NBC News
F	Moisi, Dominique	Deputy Director, French Institute of International Relations
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations
USA	Moskow, Michael H.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA
FIN	Ollia, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
CDN	Ostry, Sylvia	Distinguished Research Fellow, Center for International Studies, University of Toronto
TR	Ozaydinli, Bulend	CEO, Koç Holding A.S.
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
GR	Papahelas, Alexis	Foreign policy columnist. TO VIMA
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
D	Polenz, Ruprecht	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU
USA	Prestowitz, Jr., Clyde V.	President, Economic Strategy Institute
USA	Racicot, Mark	Chairman, Republican National Committee
USA	Raines, Franklin D.	Chairman and CEO, Fannie Mae
A	Randa, Gerhard	Chairman and CEO, Bank Austria AG
USA	Rattner, Steven	Managing Principal, Quadrangle Group LLC
CDN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books and Music Inc.
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, JP Morgan International Council
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg Ltd.
USA	Rose, Charlie	Producer, Rose Communications
F	Roy, Olivier	University Professor and Researcher, CNRS
USA	Rumsfeld, Donald H.	Secretary of Defense
TR	Sanberk, Özdem	Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
D	Schulz, Ekkehard	Chairman, ThyssenKrupp AG
F	Schweitzer, Louis	Chairman and CEO, Renault S.A.
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
F	Seilliere, Ernest-Antoine	Chairman and CEO, CGIP
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center
USA	Siegman, Henry	Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Soros, George	Chairman, Soros Fund Management
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program
N	Stoltenberg, Jens	Leader of the Opposition (Social Democratic Party)
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	President, Harvard University
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman BP Amoco
FIN	Taxell, Christoffer	President and CEO, Partek Oyj
USA	Thoman, G. Richard	Senior Advisor, Evercore Partners Inc.
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and co-CEO, The Goldman Sachs Group Inc.

FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija H.	Director of Research, Centre for European Studies
S	Treschow, Michael	Chairman, Ericsson
F	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
USA	Vink, Lodewijk J. R. de	Chairman, Global Health Care Partners; Credit Suisse First
A	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
CDN	Whyte, Kenneth	Editor, The National Post
GB	Williams, Gareth	Leader, House of Lords; Member of the Cabinet
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
D	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG

#### Rapporteurs

GB	Micklethwait, R. John	United States Editor, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

#### In Attendance

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

Source: 2002 Bilderberg Meeting Report, Library of Congress

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Versaille, France

15-18 May 2003

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

B Davignon, Etienne

Vice-Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique

### Honorary Secretary General

GB Taylor, J. Martin

Chairman WH Smith PLC; International Advisor, Goldman Sachs International

F	Adler, Alexandre	Editorial Counsel, Le Figaro
I	Ambrosetti, Alfredo	Chairman Ambrosetti Group
TR	Babacan, Ali	Minister of Economic Affairs
GR	Bakoyannis, Dora	Mayor of Athens
GB	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
P	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
P	Barroso, José M. Durão	Prime Minister
TR	Bayar, Mehmet A.	Deputy Chairman of DYP (True Path Party)
A	Becker, Erich	Chairman of the Managing Board and CEO, VA Technologie AG
I	Bendetti, Rodolfo de	Managing Director CIR S.p.A.
I	Bernabe, Franco	Chairman Franco Bernabe & C. S.p.A.
F	Beytout, Nicolas	Editor-in-Chief, Les Echos
KW	Bishara, Ahmad E.	Secretary General of Kuwait's Liberal National Democratic Party
CDN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Internal Markets Commissioner, European Commission
USA	Bolton, John R.	Under-Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security
F	Bon, Michel	Honorary Chairman, France Telecom
F	Bruguière, Jean-Louis	First Vice President, Justice Department
D	Burda, Hubert	Publisher and CEO, Hubert Burda Media Holding GmbH & Co.
F	Camus, Phillipe	CEO, European Aeronautics Defence and Space company European Aeronautics Defence and Space Company (EADS)
INT	Cary, Anthony J.	Head of Christopher Patten's Cabinet, EU. [Patten is European Commissioner for Enlargement]
F	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
E	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
B	Claes, Willy	Minister of State
GB	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament; former Chancellor of the Exchequer
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings LLC
F	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
F	Copé, Jean-François	Secretary of State in charge of relations with Parliament; Government Spokesman
USA	Corzine, Jon S.	Senator (D, New Jersey)
S	Dahlbäck, Claes	Chairman, Investor AB
GR	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae
I	Draghi, Mario	Vice-Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International
DK	Eldrup, Anders	CEO, Danish Oil and Gas Corporation
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
CDN	Fell, Anthony S.	Chairman, RBC Dominion Securities Inc.
USA	Friedman, Thomas L.	Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times
F	Gergorin, Jean-Luis	Executive Vice President, Strategic Coordination, European Aeronautics Defence and Space Company (EADS)
USA	Gigot, Paul A.	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
F	Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry	French President (1974-1981); Chairman of the Convention on the Future of Europe

N	Gjedrem, Svein	Governor, Central Bank of Norway
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman designate, Allied Irish Banks, p.l.c.
GB	Gould, Philip	Public Relations Adviser to Prime Minister Blair
USA	Haass, Richard N.	Director, Office of Policy Planning Staff, State Department
NL	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
CDN	Harper, Stephen	Leader of the Opposition
USA	Hertog, Roger	Vice-Chairman, Alliance Capital Management
NL	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	President, E&A Industries
USA	Hubbard, R. Glenn	Russell L. Carson Professor of Economics and Finance, Columbia University
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. L.L.C.
CH	Kielholz, Walter B.	Former Chairman of the Board, Credit Suisse; Executive Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Swiss Re
GB	King, Mervyn A.	Deputy Governor, Bank of England
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; Member, Defense Policy Board; Member, J.P. Morgan International Council
FIN	Kivinen, Olli	Senior Editor & Columnist, Helsingin Sanomat
NL	Kok, Wim	Former Prime Minister
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Former Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Trade Commissioner, European Commission
F	Lellouche, Pierre	Vice Chairman, NATO Parliamentary Assembly
F	Levy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
S	Lindh, Anna	Minister for Foreign Affairs
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Former Prime Minister; Speaker of the Parliament
DK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Chairman, Social Democrat Party
CDN	MacMillan, Margaret O.	Provost, Trinity College, University of Toronto
RUS	Margelov, Mikhail V.	Chairman, Committee for Foreign Affairs, Council of Federation
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)
INT	Monti, Mario	Competition Commissioner, European Commission
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Technical Officer, Advanced Strategies and Policy, Microsoft Corporation
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA
D	Naas, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of the	
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader, Civic Platform
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
I	Panara, Marco	Journalist, La Repubblica
I	Passera, Corrado	Managing Director, Banca IntesaBCI
USA	Perkovich, George	Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Member, Defense Policy Board; Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (AEI) for Public Policy Research; Member, Project for a New American Century (PNAC)
B	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
I	Poli, Roberto	Chairman, Eni S.p.A.
F	Ranque, Denis	Chairman and CEO, Thales Aerospace and Defence
DK	Rasmussen, Anders Fogh	Prime Minister
CDN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
F	Riboud, Franck	Chairman and CEO, Danone Foods
CH	Ringier, Michael	CEO, Ringier AG
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, J.P. Morgan International Council
P	Rodrigues, Eduardo Ferro	Leader of the Socialist Party; Member of Parliament
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
F	Roy, Olivier	Senior Researcher, CNRS
USA	Ruggie, John	Director, Center for Business and Government, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

NL	Ruys, Anthony	Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.
TR	Sanberk, Özdem	Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
I	Scaroni, Paolo	Managing Director, Enel S.p.A.
D	Schäuble, Wolfgang	Deputy Parliamentary Leader, CDU/CSU Group
D	Schily, Otto	Minister of the Interior
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler Chrysler AG
INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
E	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution
CDN	Steyn, Mark	Journalist for various publications
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP Amoco
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and CEO, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.
F	Trichet, Jean Claude	Governor, Banque de France
GR	Tsoukalis, Loukas	Professor, University of Athens; President Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy
A	Trumpel-Gugerell, Gertrude	Vice Governor, Central Bank of Austria
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
NL	Veer, Jeroen van der	President, Royal Dutch Petroleum Company; Vice Chairman of the Committee of Managing Directors of Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies
F	Villin, Philippe	Vice Chairman, Lehman Brothers Europe
NL	Vries, Klaas de	Member of Parliament (Labour); Former Minister of the Interior
FIN	Whalroos, Björn	President and CEO, Sampo plc.
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
GB	Williams, Gareth	Leader of the House of Lords
GB	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor/Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
USA/INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Deputy Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense
USA	Zakaria, Fareed	Editor, Newsweek International
USA	Zoellick, Robert	Principal Trade Adviser to the President
D	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman, Deutsche Post Worldnet AG
Rapporteurs		
GB	Micklethwait, R. John	United States Editor, The Economist
GB	Rachman, Gideon	Brussels Correspondent, The Economist

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2003.htm>



# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Stresa, Italy  
3-6 June 2004

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

B Davignon, Etienne Vice-Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

### Honorary Secretary General

GB Taylor, J. Martin International Adviser, Goldman Sachs International

N Auser, Svein CEO, DnB NOR ASA  
D Ackermann, Josef Chairman, Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG  
I Ambrosetti, Alfredo Chairman, Abbrosetti Group  
TR Babacan, Ali Minister of Economic Affairs  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, SGPS, Former Prime Minister  
ISR Barnavie, Elie Department of General History, Tel-Aviv University  
I Benedetti, Rodolfo De CEO, CIR  
I Bernabe, Franco Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe  
F Beytout, Nicolas Editor In Chief, Les Echos  
INT Bolkestein, Frits Commissioner for the Internal Market, European Commission  
USA Boot, Max Features Editor, Wall Street Journal  
CH Borel, Daniel Chairman, Logitech International S.A.  
I Bortoli, Ferruccio de CEO, RCS Libri  
S Brock, Gunnar CEO, Atlas Copco AB  
GB Browne, John Group Chief Executive, BP plc  
NL Burgmans, Antony Chairman, Unilever NV  
F Camus, Phillipe CEO, European Aeronautic Defence and Space NV  
I Caracciolo, Lucio Director, Limes Geopolitical Review  
F Castries, Henri de Chairman, AXA Insurance  
E Cebrian, Juan Luis CEO, PRISA; Former Chairman, International Press Institute  
TR Cemal, Hasan Senior Columnist, Milliyet Newspaper  
GB Clarke, Kenneth Member of Parliament (Con.); Deputy Chairman, British American Tobacco  
USA Collins, Timothy C. Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings LLC  
USA Corzine, Jon S. Senator (D, New Jersey); Former Chairman and CEO, Goldman Sachs  
CH Couchepin, Pascal Former Swiss President; Head of Home Affairs Department  
GR David, George A. Chairman, Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.  
B Dehaene, Jean-Luc Former Prime Minister; Mayor of Vilvoorde  
TR Dervis, Kemal Member of Parliament; former senior World Bank official  
GR Diamantopoulou, Anna Member of Parliament; Former European Commissioner for Social Affairs  
USA Donilon, Thomas E. Vice-President, Fannie Mae  
I Draghi, Mario Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs  
USA Edwards, John Senator (D. North Carolina), Democratic Presidential Candidate  
DK Eldrup, Anders Chairman, DONG A/S  
DK Federspiel, Ulrik Ambassador to the USA  
USA Feith, Douglas J. Undersecretary for Policy, Department of Defense  
I Galateri, Gabriele Chairman, Mediobanca  
USA Gates, Melinda F. Co-Founder, Gates Foundation  
USA Geithner, Timothy F. President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York  
I Giavazzi, Francesco Professor of Economics, Bocconi University; Adviser, World Bank and European Central Bank  
IRL Gleeson, Dermot Chairman, Allied Irish Bank Group  
USA Graham, Donald E. Chairman and CEO, Washington Post Company  
USA Haass, Richard N. President, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Director of Policy and Planning Staff, State Department  
NL Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University

B	Hansen, Jean-Pierre	Chairman, Suez Tractabel S.A.
S	Heikensten, Lars	Governor, Swedish Central Bank
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Hubbard, Allen B.	President E&A Industries
USA	Isaacson, Walter	President and CEO, Aspen Institute
USA	Janow, Merit L.	Professor, International Economic Law and International Affairs, Columbia University
USA	Jordan, Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. LLC
USA	Kagan, Robert	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
GB	Kerr, John	Director, Shell, Rio Tinto, Scottish American Investment Trust
USA	Kissinger Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.
TR	Koc, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koc Holdings A.S.
NL	Koenders, Bert (AG)	Member of Parliament; President, Parliamentary Network of the World Bank
USA	Kovner, Bruce	Chairman Caxton Associates LLC, Chairman, American Enterprise Institute
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie Josee	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
FIN	Lehtomaki, Paula	Minister of Foreign Trade and Development
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Speaker of Parliament
CHN	Long, Yongtu	Secretary General, Boao Forum for Asia
P	Lopes, Pedro M. Santana	Mayor of Lisbon
USA	Luti, William J.	Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
CDN	Lynch, Kevin G.	Deputy Minister, Department of Finance
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McDonough, William J.	Chairman and CEO, Public Company Accounting Oversight Board; Former President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
CDN	McKenna, Frank	Counsel, McInnes Cooper; Former Premier of New Brunswick
I	Merlini, Cesare	Executive Vice Chairman, Council for the United States and Italy; Former Director, Italian Institute for International Affairs
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations
INT	Monti, Mario	Competition Commissioner, European Commission
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Technical Officer, Advanced Strategies and Policies, Microsoft Corporation
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Scandinavian Airline System (SAS)
D	Naas, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, Beatrix H.M.	Queen of The
GB	Neville-Jones, Pauline	Chairman, QuinetiQ; Governor of the BBC; Chairman, Information Assurance Advisory Council; Former Chairman, Joint Intelligence Committee; Former Managing Director NatWest Markets
USA	Nooyi, Indra K.	President and CEO, PepsiCo Inc.
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader, Civic Platform
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Nokia Corporation
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Director, European Central Bank
CY	Pantelides, Leonidas	Ambassador to Greece
I	Passera, Corrado	CEO, Banca Intesa S.p.A.
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; former Likud policy adviser; former Chair, Defence Policy Board; former Co-Chairman, Hollinger Digital
B	Phillipe, H.R.H. Prince	
USA	Reed, Ralph E.	President, Century Strategies
CDN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books and Music Inc.
I	Riotta, Gianni	Editorialist, Corriere della Serra
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, JP Morgan International Council; Chairman, Council of the Americas
E	Rodriguez Inearte, Matias	Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
D	Sandschneider, Eberhard	Director, Research Institute, German Society for Foreign Policy
I	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Enel S.p.A.
D	Schilly, Otto	Minister of the Interior
USA	Schnabel, Rockwell A.	Ambassador to the EU
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG

E	Serra Rexach, Eduardo	Head, Real Institute Elcano
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
PL	Sikora, Slawomir	President and CEO, Citibank Handlowy
I	Siniscolo, Domenico	Director General Ministry of the Economy
P	Socrates, Jose	Member of Parliament
USA	Strmecki, Marin J.	Smith Richardson Foundation
B	Struye de Swielande, Dominique	Permanent Representative of Belgium, NATO
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP plc
USA	Thornton, John L.	Chairman, Brookings Institution; Professor, Tsinghua University
I	Tremonti, Giulio	Minister of Economy and Finance
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, European Central Bank
I	Tronchetti Provera, Marco	Chairman and CEO, Pirelli S.p.A.
N	Underdal, Arild	Rector, University of Oslo
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
NL	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chairman, Committee of Managing Directors, Royal Dutch/Shell
GB	Verwaayen, Ben J. M.	CEO, British Telecom; Former Director, Lucent Technologies
I	Visco, Ignazio	Foreign Affairs Manager, Banca D'Italia
INT	Vitorino, Antonio M.	Justice and Home Affairs Commissioner, European Union
INT	Vries, Gijs M. de	EU Counter Terrorism Coordinator
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, SEB Investments; Chairman, West Capital Management AB
D	Weber, Jurgen	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Lufthansa AG
GB/USA	Weinberg, Peter	CEO, Goldman Sachs International
NL	Wijers, Hans	Chairman, AkzoNobel NV
D	Wissmann, Matthias	Member of Parliament
GB	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor/Economic Commentator, The Financial Times
INT/USA	Wolfenson, James D.	President, The World Bank
RUS	Yavlinsky, Grigory A.	Member of Parliament
USA	Yergin, Daniel	Chairman, Cambridge Energy Research Associates
D	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman, Deutsche Post Worldnet AG
 Rapporteurs		
GB	Rachman, Gideon	Brussels Correspondent, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2004.htm>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Rottach-Egern, Germany

5-8 May 2005

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

B Davignon, Etienne Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

### Honorary Secretary General

GB Taylor, J. Martin International Advisor, Goldman Sachs International

NL Aartsen, Jozias J. van Parliamentary Leader, Liberal Party (VVD)  
PNA Abu-Amr, Ziad Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council; President of the Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations; Professor of Political Science, Birzeit University

D Ackermann, Josef Chairman, Group Executive Committee. Deutsche Bank AG  
INT Almunia Amann Joaquin Commissioner, European Commission  
GR Alogoskoufis, George Minister of Economy and Finance  
TR Babacan, Ali Minister of Economic Affairs  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister  
INT Barroso, José M. Durão President, European Commission  
S Belfrage, Erik Senior Vice President, SEB  
I Bernabe, Franco Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe  
F Beytout, Nicolas Editor-in-Chief, Le Figaro  
A Bronner, Oscar Publisher and Editor, Der Standard  
GB Browne, John Group Chief Executive, BP plc  
D Burda, Hubert Chairman of the Board of Management, Hubert Burda Media  
IRL Byrne, David WHO Special Envoy on Global Communicable Diseases; Former Commissioner, European Commission

F Camus, Philippe CEO, EADS  
F Castries, Henri de Chairman of the Board, AXA  
E Cebrian, Juan Luis CEO, PRISA  
USA Collins, Timothy C. Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC  
F Collomb, Bertrand Chairman, Lafarge  
CH Couchepin, Pascal Head, Department of Home Affairs  
GR David, George A. Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.  
F Delpuch, Thérèse Director for Strategic Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission  
GR Diamantopoulou, Anna Member of Parliament  
NL Docters van Leeuwen, Arthur W.H. Chairman of the Executive Board, Netherlands Authority for the Financial Markets

USA Donilon, Thomas E. Partner, O'Melveny & Myers  
D Döpfner, Mathias CEO, Axel Springer AG  
DK Eldrup, Anders President, DONG A/S  
I Elkann, John Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.  
USA Feldstein, Martin S. President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research  
USA Ford, Jr., William C. Chairman and CEO, Ford Motor Company  
USA Geithner, Timothy F. President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York  
TR Gencer, Imregul Member of the Board, Global Investment Holding  
ISR Gilady, Eival Strategic Advisor to Prime Minister Sharon  
IRL Gleeson, Dermot Chairman, AIB Group  
USA Graham, Donald E. Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company  
N Grydeland, Bjørn T. Ambassador to the EU  
P Guterres, António Former Prime Minister; President, Socialist International  
USA Haass, Richard N. President, Council on Foreign Relations  
NL Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University  
B Hansen, Jean-Pierre CEO, Suez-Tractebel S.A.  
A Haselsteiner, Hans Peter CEO, Bauholding Strabag SE (Societas Europea)

DK	Hedegaard, Connie	Minister for the Environment
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus LLC
INT	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Secretary General, NATO
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Director of the National Economic Council
B	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus LLC
INT	Jones, James L.	Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Keane, John M.	President, GSI, LLC; General, US Army, Retired
GB	Kerr, John	Director, Shell, Rio Tinto, Scottish American Investment Trust
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
D	Kleinfeld, Klaus	President and CEO, Siemens AG
TR	Koç, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koç Holding A.S.
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, DaimlerChrysler AG
F	Kouchner, Bernard	Director, “Santé et développement”, CNAM
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
CH	Kudelski, André	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Kudelski Group
F	Lamy, Pascal	President, Notre Europe; Former Commissioner, European Commission
USA	Ledeen, Michael A.	American Enterprise Institute
FIN	Liikanen, Erkki	Governor and Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland
N	Lundestad, Geir	Director, Norwegian Nobel Institute; Secretary, Norwegian Nobel Committee
USA	Luti, William J.	Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
DK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Chairman, Social Democratic Party
CDN	Manji, Irshad	Author/Founder of “Project Ijtihad”
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
CDN	Mau, Bruce	Bruce Mau Design
CDN	McKenna, Frank	Ambassador to the US
USA	Medish, Mark C.	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP
USA	Mehlman, Kenneth B.	Chairman, Republican National Committee
D	Merkel, Angela	Chairman, CDU; Chairman CDU/CSU-Fraktion
SVK	Miklos, Ivan	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)
INT	Monti, Mario	President, Bocconi University; Former Commissioner for Competition, European Commission
CDN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Principal and Vice Chancellor, McGill University
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman of the Board of Directors, SAS
D	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
RUS	Nemirovskaya, Elena	Founder and Director, Moscow School of Political Studies
NL	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of The	
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader Civic Platform
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
E	Palacio, Loyola de	President, Council on Foreign Relations, Partido Popular
GR	Papandreou, George A.	President, Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, LLC
USA	Pearlstine, Norman	Editor-in-Chief, Time Inc.
FIN	Pentikäinen, Mikael	President, Sanoma Corporation
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
D	Pflüger, Friedbert	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU Fraktion
B	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
CDN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President. Torstar Media Group and CEO, Torstar Corporation
INT	Rato y Figaredo, Rodrigo de	Managing Director, IMF
CDN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, JP Morgan International Council
USA	Rodin, Judith	President, The Rockefeller Foundation
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander

USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
F	Roy, Olivier	Senior Researcher, CNRS
P	Sarmento, Nuno Morais	Former Minister of State and of Presidency; Member of Parliament
I	Scaroni, Paolo	Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director, Enel S.p.A.
D	Schily, Otto	Minister of the Interior
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
D	Schrempp, Jürgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
D	Schulz, Ekkehard D.	Chairman of the Executive Board, ThyssenKrupp AG
E	Sebastián Gascón, Miguel	Chief Economic Adviser to Prime Minister
ISR	Sharansky, Natan	Former Minister for Jerusalem & Diaspora Affairs
I	Siniscalco, Domenico	Minister for Economy and Finance
GB	Skidelsky, Robert	Professor of Political Economy, Warwick University
E	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP p.l.c.
PL	Szwajkowski, Jacek	CEO, Polska Grupa Farmaceutyczna
FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija H.	Director, University of Helsinki, Network for European Studies
NL	Tilmant, Michel	Chairman, ING N.V.
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, European Central Bank
TR	Ülsever, Cüneyt	Columnist, Hürriyet
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
NL	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chairman Committee of Managing Directors, Royal Dutch Shell Group
USA	Vinocur, John	Senior Correspondent, International Herald Tribune
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Investor AB; Vice-Chairman, SEB
USA	Warner, Mark R.	Governor of Virginia
GB	Weinberg, Peter	CEO, Goldman Sachs International
D	Wissmann, Matthias	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU Fraktion
GB	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor and Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
INT/USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	President designate, The World Bank
USA	Zakaria, Fareed	Editor, Newsweek International
D	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG

### Rapporteurs

GB	Micklethwait, R. John	United States Editor, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2005.htm>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Ottawa, Canada

8-11 June 2006

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

B Davignon, Etienne Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

### Participants

PNA Abu-Amr, Ziad Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council; President of the Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations; Professor of Political Science, Birzeit University  
P Aguiar-Branco, Jose Pedro Former Minister of Justice; Member of Parliament (PSD)  
CH Aigrain, Jacques CEO, Swiss Re  
USA Ajami, Fouad Director, Middle East Studies Program, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University  
GR Alogoskoufis, George Minister of Economy and Finance  
TR Bagis, Egemen Member of Parliament; Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister  
GB Balls, Edward Economic Secretary to the Treasury  
P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister  
F Barnier, Michel Former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Corporate Vice-President, Merieux Alliance  
A Bartenstein, Martin Minister of Economics and Labour  
I Bernabe, Franco Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe  
S Bildt, Carl Former Prime Minister  
TR Boyner, Umit N. Member of the Executive Board, Boyner Holding  
F Bressand, Albert Professor and Managing Director designate, Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University  
A Bronner, Oscar Publisher and Editor, Der Standard  
GB Browne, John Group Chief Executive, BP plc  
B Burda, Hubert Publisher and CEO, Hubert Burda Media Holding GmbH & Co. KG  
F Castries, Henri de Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA  
E Cebrian, Juan Luis CEO, PRISA  
IRQ Chalabi, Ahmad Former Deputy Prime Minister  
CDN Clark, Edmund President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group  
GB Clarke, Kenneth Member of Parliament  
USA Collins, Timothy C. Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC  
F Collomb, Bertrand Chairman, Lafarge  
CDN Comper, Tony President and CEO, BMO Financial Group  
CDN Crawley, Phillip Publisher and CEO, The Globe and Mail  
GR David, George A. Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.  
INT Dervis, Kemal Administrator, UNDP  
F Descoings, Richard Director, Institut d'Etudes Politiques  
CDN Desmarais, Jr., Paul CEO, Power Corporation  
F Devedjian, Patrick Member of Parliament  
USA Donilon, Thomas E. Partner, O'Melveny & Myers LLP  
D Dopfner, Mathias Chairman of the Board of Management, Axel Springer AG  
DK Eldrup, Anders President, DONG A/S  
I Elkann, John Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.  
USA Feldstein, Martin S. President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research  
USA Geithner, Timothy F. President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York  
USA Gigot, Paul A. Editor of the Editorial Page, The Wall Street Journal  
ISR Gilady, Eival Head of Coordination and Strategy at the Office of the Prime Minister  
IRL Gleeson, Dermot Chairman, AIB Group  
B Goldschmidt, Pierre Former IAEA Deputy Director General and Former Head of the Department of Safeguards; Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
A Gusenbauer, Alfred Parliamentary Leader SPO  
NL Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of

B	Hansen, Jean-Pierre	Bilderberg Meetings
FIN	Heinaluoma, Eero	CEO, Suez-Tractebel S.A.
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Minister of Finance
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
		Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, Director National Economic Council
N	Jensen, Siv	Member of Parliament
D	Joffe, Josef	Publisher-Editor, Die Zeit
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. LLC
GB	Kaletsky, Anatole	Editor at Large, The Times
F	Kerdrel, Yves de	Editor, Le Figaro
GB	Kerr of Kinlochard, John	Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell plc
USA	Kimsey, James V.	Founding CEO and Chairman Emeritus, American Online, Inc.
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates
NL	Kleisterlee, Gerard J.	President and CEO, Royal Philips Electronics
TR	Koc, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koc Holding A.S.
TR	Koprulu, Kemal	Founding Chairman, ARI Movement
FIN	Korkman, Sixten	Managing Director, The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy ETLA and Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA
TR	Koru, Fehmi	Senior Writer, Yeni Safak
CDN	Koss, Johann O.	President and CEO, Right to Play
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Kronenburg, Ed	Director of the Private Office, NATO Headquarters
CH	Kudelski, Andre	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Kudelski Group
F	Lauvergeon, Anne	Chairman of the Executive Board, AREVA
E	Leon Gross, Bernardino	Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
B	Lippens, Maurice	Chairman, FORTIS
CDN	Lloyd, Ronald S.	Chairman and CEO, Credit Suisse First Boston
USA	Luti, William J.	Special Assistant to the President for Defense Policy and Strategy, National Security Council
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
CDN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, Toronto Dominion Bank Financial Group
USA	Medish, Mark C.	Partner, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
INT	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Technical Officer Advanced Strategies and Policy, Microsoft Corporation
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
D	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of The	
CDN	Nickerson, Ken	iBinary Corp
CDN	Nixon, Gordon	President and CEO, Royal Bank of Canada
N	Norvik, Harald	Chairman & Partner, ECON Management AS
IRL	O'Brien, Denis	Chairman, Communicorp Group Ltd.
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader Civic Platform
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell plc
GB	Osborne, George	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
TR	Ozel, Soli	Professor of International Relations and Political Science, Istanbul Bilgi University
I	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Minister of Finance
USA	Pataki, George E.	Governor of New York State
USA	Pearlstine, Norman	Senior Advisor, Time Warner Inc.
USA	Pei, Minxin	Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
D	Pfluger, Friedbert	State Secretary of Defence
INT	Piebalgs, Andris	Commissioner, European Commission
F	Pinault, Francois-Henri	President, Artemis; Chairman and CEO, PPR Group
CDN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President, Torstar Corporation



USA	Rattner, Steven	Managing Principal, Quadrangle Group LLC
S	Reinfeldt, Fredrik	Chairman, Conservative Party
CDN	Reisman, Heather	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
USA	Rockefeller, David	Former Member, JP Morgan International Council
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander, Ciudad Grupo Santander
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
F	Roy, Olivier	Senior Researcher, French National Center for Scientific Research
USA	Roy, J. Stapleton	Managing Director, Kissinger Associate, Inc.
USA	Sadjapour, Karim	Analyst, International Crisis Group
USA	Sant, Roger	Co-Founder and Chairman Emeritus, The AES Corporation The Summit Foundation
IRN	Sariolghalam, Mahmood	Associate Professor of International Relations, School of Economic and Political Sciences, National University of Iran (Shahid Beheshti)
I	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Eni S.p.A.
D	Schily, Otto	Former Minister of Interior Affairs; Member of Parliament; member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Former Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
D	Schulz, Ekkehard D.	Chairman, ThyssenKrupp AG
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Executive Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
P	Silva, Augusto Santos	Minister for Parliamentary Affairs
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Dean, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas
S	Straberg, Hans	President and CEO, AB Electrolux
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, BP plc and Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
I	Tremonti, Giulio	Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies
GR	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
NL	Verhagen, Maxime J.M.	Parliamentary Leader, Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)
USA	Vinocur, John	Senior Correspondent, International Herald Tribune
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
CDN	Waugh, Richard E.	President and CEO, Bank of Nova Scotia
NL	Wellink, A.H.E.M.	President, De Nederlandsche Bank
GB	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor and Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Special Envoy for the Gaza Disengagement
USA	Zelikow, Philip D.	Counselor of the Department, US Department of State
CHN	Zhang, Yi	Deputy Secretary General, China Society for Strategy and Management Research
USA	Zoellick, Robert B.	Deputy Secretary of State
D	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG

### Rapporteurs

GB	Bredow, Vendeline von	Paris Correspondent, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2006.htm>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Istanbul, Turkey

31 May – 3 June 2007

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

B Davignon, Etienne

Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel

USA Allison, Graham

Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

GR Alogoskoufis, George

Minister of Economy and Finance

TR Babacan, Ali

Minister of Economic Affairs

P Balsemao, Francisco Pinto

Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister

F Barnier, Michel

Vice President of Merieux Alliance, Former Minister for Foreign

USA Barone, Michael

Senior Writer, US News & World Report

A Bartenstein, Martin

Federal Minister of Economics and Labour

F Baverez, Nicolas

Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP

P Belcza Leonor

President, Champalimaud Foundation

I Bernabe, Franco

Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe

USA Bierbaum, Rosina M.

Professor and Dean, School of Natural Resources and Environment, University of Michigan

S Bildt, Carl

Minister for Foreign Affairs

TR Birand, Mehmet A.

Columnist

USA Blankfein, Lloyd C.

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Goldman Sachs & Co.

S Borg, Anders

Minister of Finance

USA Boyd, Charles G.

President and CEO, Business Executives for National Security

TR Boyner, Umit N.

Member of the Executive Board, Boyner Holding

USA Bremmer, Ian

President, Eurasia Group

A Bronner, Oscar

Publisher and Editor, Der Standard

D Burda, Hubert

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

CDN Butts, Gerald

Principal Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister of Ontario

TR Candar, Cengiz

Journalist, Referans

F Castries, Henri de

Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA

E Cebrian, Juan Luis

CEO, PRISA

TR Cetin, Hikmet

Former Minister for Foreign Affairs and former NATO Senior Representative for Afghanistan

GB Clarke, Kenneth

Member of Parliament

USA Collins, Timothy C.

Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC

B Daele, Frans van

Permanent Representative of Belgium to NATO

GR David, George A.

Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.

GB Dearlove, Richard

Master, Pembroke College, Cambridge

INT Dervis, Kemal

Administrator, UNDP

GR Diamantopoulou, Anna

Member of Parliament

USA Donilon, Thomas E.

Partner, O'Melveny & Myers LLP

D Dopfner, Mathias

Chairman and CEO, Axel Springer AG

TR Duna, Cem

Former Ambassador to the EU

USA Dyson, Esther

Chairman, EDventure Holdings, Inc.

DK Eldrup, Anders

President, DONG A/S

I Elkann, John

Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.

DK Federspiel, Ulrik

Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

USA Feldstein, Martin S.

President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research

USA Geithner, Timothy F.

President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

USA Gigot, Paul A.

Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal

ISR Gilady, Eival

CEO, Portland Trust, Israel

IRL Gleeson, Dermot

Chairman, AIB Group

TR	Gonensay, Emre	Professor of Economics Isik University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences; former Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Grossman, Marc	Vice-Chairman, The Cohen Group
A	Gusenbauer, Alfred	Federal Chancellor
USA	Haass, Richard N.	President, Council on Foreign Relations
NL	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Hart, Peter D.	Chairman, Peter D. Hart Research Associates
NL	Heemskerk, Frank	Minister of Foreign Trade
F	Hermelin, Paul	CEO, Capgemini
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
NL	Hommen, Jan H.M.	Chairman, Reed Elscvier
FIN	Jaaskelainen, Atte	Director of News, Sports and Regional Programma of YLE
USA	Jacobs, Kenneth	Deputy Chairman, Head of Lazard U.S., Lazard Freres & Co., LLC
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. LLC
FIN	Katainen, Jyrki	Minister of Finance
CDN	Kenney, Jason	Member of Parliament
USA	Kent, Muhtar	President and COO, The Coca-Cola Company
GB	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell plc
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates
D	Kladden, Eckart von	Foreign Policy Spokesman, CDU/CSU
D	Kleinfeld, Klaus	President and CEO, Siemens AG
TR	Koc, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koc Holding A.S.
USA	Kovner, Bruce	Chairman, Caxton Associates, LLC
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josee	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
N	Kreutzer, Idar	CEO, Storebrand ASA
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
E	Leon Gross, Bernardino	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
USA	Luti, William J.	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Defense Policy and Strategy, National Security Council
DK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Member of Parliament
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
IRL	McDowell, Michael	Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform
GB	Micklethwait, R. John	Editor, The Economist
INT	Monti, Mario	President, Universita Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
D	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, H.M., the Queen of The	
A	Nowotny, Ewald	CEO, BAWAG P.S.K.
F	Ockrent, Christine	Editor in chief, France Television
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell plc
GB	Osborne, George	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
F	Parisot, Laurence	President, MEDEF
GB	Patten, Christopher	Member, House of Lords
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
USA	Perry, Rick	Governor of Texas
D	Perthes, Volker	Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
B	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
INT	Rato y Figaredo, Rodrigo	Managing Director, IMF
INT	Rehn, Olli	Commissioner, European Commission
CDN	Reisman, Heather	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander, Ciudad Grupo
F	Roy, Olivier	Senior Researcher, CNRS
I	Scaroni, Paolo	CEO, Eni S.p.A.
USA	Schmidt, Eric	Chairman of the Executive Committee and CEO, Google
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG

D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Former Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler
CH	Schwab, Klaus	Executive Chairman, World Economic Forum
USA	Scully, Robert W.	Co-President, Morgan Stanley
USA	Sebelius, Kathleen	Governor of Kansas
USA	Sheeran, Josette	Executive Director, UN World Food Programme
USA	Silverberg, Kristen	Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Organization Affairs
I	Siniscalco, Domenico	Managing Director and Vice Chairman, Morgan Stanley
TR	Soysal, Ayse	Rector, Bosphorus University
E	Spain, H.M., the Queen of	
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, BP plc and Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
S	Svanberg, Carl-Henric	President and CEO, Telefonaktiebolaget LM Ericsson
GB	Taggart, Paul A.	Professor of Politics, University of Sussex
USA	Taurel, Sidney	Chairman and CEO, Eli Lilly and Company
GB	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC
FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija	Secretary of State, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
NL	Tilmant, Michel	Chairman, ING N.V.
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, Central European Bank
N	Ulltveit-Moe, Jens	CEO, Umoe AS
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
NL	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chief Executive, Royal Dutch Shell plc
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
USA	Weber, Vin (J.V.)	Partner, Clark & Weinstock
D	Westerwelle, Guido	Chairman, Free Democratic Party
USA	Wilson, Ross	Ambassador to Turkey
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC
INT	Wolfowitz, Paul	President, The World Bank
USA	Wood, Joseph R.	Deputy Advisor to the Vice President, National Security Affairs
TR	Yalcindag, Arzuhan Dogan	President, TUSIAD
TR	Yucaoglu, Erkut	Chairman of the Board, MAP, Former President, TUSIAD
USA	Zelikow, Philip D.	White Burkett Miller Professor of History, University of Virginia

### Rapporteurs

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

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2007.htm#Maximus>

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Chantilly, Virginia, USA

5-8 June 2008

## CURRENT LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

BEL	Davignon, Etienne	Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
CAN	Adams, John	Associate Deputy Minister of National Defence and Chief of the Communications Security Establishment Canada
USA	Ajami, Fouad	Director, Middle East Studies Program, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University
USA	Alexander, Keith B.	Director, National Security Agency
INT	Almunia, Joaquín	Commissioner, European Commission
GRC	Alogoskoufis, George	Minister of Economy and Finance
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Chairman, Evercore Partners Inc.
TUR	Babacan, Ali	Minister of Foreign Affairs
NLD	Balkenende, Jan Peter	Prime Minister
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
ITA	Bernabe, Franco	CEO, Telecom Italia Spa
USA	Bernanke, Ben S.	Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Minister of Foreign Affairs
FIN	Blafield, Antti	Senior Editorial Writer, Helsingin Sanomat
DNK	Bosse, Stine	CEO, TrygVesta
CAN	Brodie, Ian	Chief of Staff, Prime Minister's Office
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA
ESP	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
CAN	Clark, Edmund	President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament
NOR	Clemet, Kristin	Managing Director, Civita
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Honorary Chairman, Lafarge
PRT	Costa, António	Mayor of Lisbon
USA	Crocker, Chester A.	James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies
USA	Daschle, Thomas A.	Former US Senator and Senate Majority Leader
CAN	Desmarais, Jr., Paul	Chairman and co-CEO, Power Corporation of Canada
GRC	Diamantopoulou, Anna	Member of Parliament
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Partner, O'Melveny & Myers
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Governor, Banca d'Italia
AUT	Ederer, Brigitte	CEO, Siemens AG Österreich
CAN	Edwards, N. Murray	Vice Chairman, Candian Natural Resources Limited
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	President, DONG A/S
ITA	Elkann, John	Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
USA	Farah, Martha J.	Director, Center for Cognitive Neuroscience; Walter H. Annenberg Professor in the Natural Sciences, University of Pennsylvania
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
DEU	Fischer, Joschka	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Ford, Jr., Harold E.	Vice Chairman, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.
CHE	Forstmoser, Peter	Professor for Civil, Corporation and Capital Markets Law, University of Zurich
IRL	Gallagher, Paul	Attorney General
USA	Geithner, Timothy F.	President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

USA	Gigot, Paul	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman, AIB Group
NLD	Goddijn, Harold	CEO, TomTom
TUR	Gogus, Zeynep	Journalist; Founder, EurActiv.com.tr
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
FIN	Honkapohja, Seppo	Member of the Board, Bank of Finland
INT	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Secretary General, NATO
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	Chairman, E & A Industries, Inc.
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
DEU	Ischinger, Wolfgang	Former Ambassador to the UK and US
USA	Jacobs, Kenneth	Deputy Chairman, Head of Lazard U.S., Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
SWE	Johnstone, Tom	President and CEO, AB SKF
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
FRA	Jouyet, Jean-Pierre	Minister of European Affairs
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell plc.
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
DEU	Klaeden, Eckart von	Foreign Policy Spokesman, CDU/CSU
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	President and COO, Alcoa
TUR	Koc, Mustafa	Chairman, Koç Holding A.S.
FRA	Kodmani, Bassma	Director, Arab Reform Initiative
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
POL	Kwasniewski, Aleksander	Former President
AUT	Leitner, Wolfgang	CEO, Andritz AG
ESP	Leon Gross, Bernardino	Secretary General, Office of the Prime Minister
INT	Mandelson, Peter	Commissioner, European Commission
FRA	Margerie, Christophe de	CEO, Total
CAN	Martin, Roger	Dean, Joseph L. Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto
HUN	Martonyi, János	Professor of International Trade Law; Partner, Baker & McKenzie; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
INT	McCreevy, Charlie	Commissioner, European Commission
USA	McDonough, William J.	Vice Chairman and Special Advisor to the Chairman, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Financial Group
GBR	McKillop, Tom	Chairman, The Royal Bank of Scotland Group
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
ITA	Monti, Mario	President, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Former Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of the	
FRA	Ockrent, Christine	CEO, French television and radio world service
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell plc
SWE	Olofsson, Maud	Minister of Enterprise and Energy; Deputy Prime Minister
NLD	Orange, H.R.H. the Prince of	
GBR	Osborne, George	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
TUR	Oztrak, Faik	Member of Parliament
ITA	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Former Minister of Finance; President of Notre Europe
GRC	Papahelas, Alexis	Journalist, Kathimerini
GRC	Papalexopoulos, Dimitris	CEO, Titan Cement Co. S.A.
USA	Paulson, Jr., Henry M.	Secretary of the Treasury
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, LLC
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
FRA	Pérol, François	Deputy General Secretary in charge of Economic Affairs

DEU	Perthes, Volker	Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
BEL	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President and CEO, Torstar Corporation
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
USA	Rice, Condoleezza	Secretary of State
PRT	Rio, Rui	Mayor of Porto
USA	Rockefeller, David	Former Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander
USA	Rose, Charlie	Producer, Rose Communications
DNK	Rose, Flemming	Editor, Jyllands Posten
USA	Ross, Dennis B.	Counselor and Ziegler Distinguished Fellow, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
USA	Rubin, Barnett R.	Director of Studies and Senior Fellow, Center for International Cooperation, New York University
TUR	Sahenk, Ferit	Chairman, Dogus Holding A.S.
USA	Sanford, Mark	Governor of South Carolina
USA	Schmidt, Eric	Chairman of the Executive Committee and CEO, Google
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
DNK	Schur, Fritz H.	Fritz Schur Gruppen
CZE	Schwarzenberg, Karel	Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Sebelius, Kathleen	Governor of Kansas
USA	Shultz, George P.	Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
CHE	Spillmann, Markus	Editor-in-Chief and Head Managing Board, Neue Zürcher Zeitung AG
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	Charles W. Eliot Professor, Harvard University
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC
NLD	Timmermans, Frans	Minister of European Affairs
RUS	Trenin, Dmitri V.	Deputy Director and Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, European Central Bank
USA	Vakil, Sanam	Assistant Professor of Middle East Studies, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
FRA	Valls, Manuel	Member of Parliament
GRC	Varvitsiotis, Thomas	Co-Founder and President, V + O Communication
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
FIN	Väyrynen, Raimo	Director, The Finnish Institute of International Affairs
FRA	Vedrine, Hubert	Hubert Védrine Conseil
NOR	Vollebaek, Knut	High Commissioner on National Minorities, OSCE
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
USA	Weber, J. Vin	CEO, Clark & Weinstock
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	President, The World Bank Group

### Rapporteurs

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

### Abbreviations

AUT Austria	DNK Denmark	HUN Hungary	PRT Portugal
BEL Belgium	ESP Spain	INT International	POL Poland
CHE Switzerland	FRA France	IRL Ireland	RUS Russia
CAN Canada	FIN Finland	ITA Italy	SWE Sweden
CZE Czech Republic	GBR Great Britain	NOR Norway	TUR Turkey
DEU Germany	GRC Greece	NLD Netherlands	USA United States of America

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
Vouliagmeni, Greece  
14-17 May 2009  
FINAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

**Honorary Chairman**

BEL	Davignon, Etienne	Honorary Chairman, Bilderberg Meetings; Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
USA	Alexander, Keith B.	Director, National Security Agency
GRC	Alogoskoufis, George	Member of Parliament
USA	Altman, Roger C.	Chairman, Evercore Partners Inc.
GRC	Arapoglou, Takis	Chairman and CEO, National Bank of Greece
TUR	Babacan, Ali	Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister
GRC	Bakoyannis, Dora	Minister of Foreign Affairs
NOR	Baksaas, Jon Fredrik	President and CEO, Telenor Group
PRT	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
FRA	Baverez, Nicolas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
ITA	Bernabe, Franco	CEO, Telecom Italia S.p.A.
SWE	Bildt, Carl	Minister of Foreign Affairs
SWE	Bjorklund, Jan	Minister for Education; Leader of the Liberal Party
CHE	Blocher, Christoph	Former Swiss Counselor; Former Chairman and CEO, EMS-Group
FRA	Bompard, Alexandre	CEO, Europe 1
USA	Boot, Max	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA
ESP	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
BEL	Coene, Luc	Vice Governor, National Bank of Belgium
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings, LLC
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
GBR	Dearlove, Richard	Master, Pembroke College, Cambridge
GRC	Diamantopoulou, Anna	Member of Parliament
ITA	Draghi, Mario	Governor, Banca d'Italia
USA	Eberstadt, Nicholas N.	Henry Wendt Scholar in Political Economy, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	President, DONG A/S
ITA	Elkann, John	Chairman, EXOR S.p.A.; Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
DEU	Enders, Thomas	CEO, Airbus SAS
ESP	Entrecanales, Jose Manuel	Chairman, Acciona
AUT	Faymann, Werner	Federal Chancellor
USA	Ferguson, Niall	Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard University
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman, AIB Group
USA	Graham, Donald E.	Chairman and CEO, The Washington Post Company
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
NLD	Hirsch Ballin, Ernst M.H.	Minister of Justice
USA	Holbrooke, Richard C.	U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan
NLD	Hommen, Jan H.M.	Chairman, ING N.V.
INT	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Secretary General, NATO
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. LLC
FIN	Katainen, Jyrki	Minister of Finance
USA	Keane, John M.	Senior Partner, SCP Partners; General, US Army, Retired
USA	Kent, Muhtar	President and CEO, The Coca-Cola Company
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell plc
DEU	Klaeden, Eckart von	Foreign Policy Spokesman, CDU/CSU
USA	Kleinfeld, Klaus	President and CEO, Alcoa Inc.



TUR	Koc, Mustafa V.	Chairman, Koc Holding A.S.
DEU	Koch, Roland	Prime Minister of Hessen
TUR	Kohen, Sami	Senior Foreign Affairs Columnist, Milliyet
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josee	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
GRC	Kyriacopoulos, Ulysses	Chairman and Board member of subsidiary companies of the S&B Group
FRA	Lagarde, Christine	Minister for the Economy, Industry and Employment
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Director General, World Trade Organization
PRT	Leite, Manuela Ferreira	Leader, PSD
ESP	Leon Gross, Bernardino	General Director of the Presidency of the Spanish Government
DEU	Loscher, Peter	CEO, Siemens AG
GBR	Mandelson, Peter	Secretary of State for Business, Enterprise & Regulatory Reform
INT	Maystadt, Philippe	President, European Investment Bank
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Former Ambassador to the U.S.
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
ITA	Monti, Mario	President, Universita Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
ESP	Moratinos Cuyaube, Miguel A.	Minister of Foreign Affairs
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation
CAN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Principal and Vice Chancellor, McGill University
NOR	Myklebust, Egil	Former Chairman of the Board of Directors SAS, Norsk Hydro ASA
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NLD	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of the	
ESP	Nin Genova, Juan Maria	President and CEO, La Caixa
FRA	Olivennes, Denis	CEO and Editor in Chief, Le Nouvel Observateur
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell pic
GBR	Osborne, George	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
FRA	Oudea, Frederic	CEO, Societe Generale
ITA	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Former Minister of Finance; President of Notre Europe
GRC	Papahelas, Alexis	Journalist, Kathimerini
GRC	Papalexopoulos, Dimitris	Managing Director, Titan Cement Co. S.A.
GRC	Papathanasiou, Yannis	Minister of Economy and Finance
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
BEL	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
PRT	Pinho, Manuel	Minister of Economy and Innovation
INT	Pisani-Ferry, Jean	Director, Bruegel
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President and CEO, Metrolinx
ITA	Prodi, Romano	Chairman, Foundation for Worldwide Cooperation
FIN	Rajalahti, Hanna	Managing Editor, Talouselama
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
NOR	Reiten, Eivind	President and CEO, Norsk Hydro ASA
CHE	Ringier, Michael	Chairman, Ringier AG
USA	Rockefeller, David	Former Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank
USA	Rubin, Barnett R.	Director of Studies and Senior Fellow, Center for International Cooperation, New York University
TUR	Sabancı Dincer, Suzan	Chairman, Akbank
CAN	Samarasekera, Indira V.	President and Vice-Chancellor, University of Alberta
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
USA	Sheeran, Josette	Executive Director, UN World Food Programme
ITA	Siniscalco, Domenico	Vice Chairman, Morgan Stanley International
ESP	Solbes, Pedro	Vice-President of Spanish Government; Minister of Economy and Finance
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Deputy Secretary of State
INT	Stigson, Bjorn	President, World Business Council for Sustainable Development
GRC	Stournaras, Yannis	Research Director, Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE)
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman, BP plc and Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
INT	Tanaka, Nobuo	Executive Director, IEA
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG

USA	Thiel, Peter A.	President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC
DNK	Thorning-Schmidt, Helle	Leader of The Social Democratic Party
DNK	Thune Andersen, Thomas	Partner and CEO, Maersk Oil
AUT	Treichl, Andreas	Chairman and CEO, Erste Group Bank AG
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, European Central Bank
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
TUR	Ugur, Agah	CEO, Borusan Holding
FIN	Vanhanen, Matti	Prime Minister
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
NLD	Veer, Jeroen van der	Chief Executive, Royal Dutch Shell plc
USA	Volcker, Paul A.	Chairman, Economic Recovery Advisory Board
SWE	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman, Investor AB
SWE	Wallenberg, Marcus	Chairman, SEB
NLD	Wellink, Nout	President, De Nederlandsche Bank
NLD	Wijers, Hans	Chairman, AkzoNobel NV
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor & Chief Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
USA	Wolfensohn, James D.	Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
INT	Zoellick, Robert B.	President, The World Bank Group

### **Rapporteurs**

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

AUT	Austria
BEL	Belgium
CHE	Switzerland
CAN	Canada
DEU	Germany
DNK	Denmark
ESP	Spain
FRA	France
FIN	Finland
GBR	Great Britain
GRC	Greece
INT	International
IRL	Ireland
ITA	Italy
NOR	Norway
NLD	Netherlands
PRT	Portugal
SWE	Sweden
TUR	Turkey
USA	United States of America

Source: <http://www.conspiracyarchive.com/NWO/bilderberg-members-2009-press-release.pdf>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

A = Austria  
B = Belgium  
CDN = Canada  
CH = Switzerland  
CZ = Czech Republic  
D = Germany  
DK = Denmark  
E = Spain  
F = France  
GB = Great Britain  
GB = Great Britain  
GR = Greece  
I = Italy  
ICE = Iceland  
INT = International  
IRL = Ireland  
L = Luxembourg  
N = Norway  
NL = Netherlands  
P = Portugal  
S = Sweden  
SF = Finland  
SVK = Slovakia  
TR = Turkey  
USA = United States of America

BG = Bulgaria  
CHN = Red China  
CY = Cyprus  
FIN = Finland  
H = Hungary  
IRN = Iran  
IRQ = Iraq  
ISR = Israel  
KW = Kuwait  
PNA = Palestine National Authority  
PL = Poland  
RUS = Russia  
UKR = Ukraine

UK = United Kingdom (Great Britain)  
FRG = Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)  
LUX = Luxembourg  
NETH = Netherlands  
POR = Portugal  
SWE = Sweden  
SWI = Switzerland

**BILDERBERG MEETINGS**

P.O. Box 3017  
2301 DA LEIDEN  
The Netherlands

Phone +31 71 5280 521  
Fax +31 71 5280 522

# AGENDAS OF THE BILDERBERG MEETINGS

## May 29-31, 1954 - Bilderberg Hotel, Oosterbeek, The Netherlands

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

## March 18-20, 1955 - Barbizon, France

- I. Communist infiltration in various Western countries.
- II. Western policy towards the uncommitted peoples:
  - a) Political and ideological aspects;
  - b) Economic aspects.

## September 23-25, 1955 - Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany

- I. Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty.
- II. The reunification of Germany.
- III. European unity.
- IV. The industrial aspects of atomic energy.
- V. Economic problems:
  - a) East-West trade;
  - b) The political aspects of convertibility;
  - c) Expansion of international trade.

## May 11-13, 1956 - Fredenborg, Denmark

- I. The causes of the growth of anti-Western blocks, in particular in the United Nations.
- II. The role played by anti-colonialism in the relations between Asians and Westerners.
- III. A common approach by the Western world towards China and the emergent nations of South and East Asia.
- IV. The Communist campaign for political subversion or control of the newly emancipated countries of Asia.
- V. How best the West can meet Asian requirements in the technical and economic fields.

## February 15-17, 1957 - St. Simons Island, Georgia

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

## October 4-6, 1957 - Fiuggi, Italy

- I. Modern weapons and disarmament in relations to Western security.
  - a) The impact of technological progress in armaments I strategy and diplomacy;
  - b) Limitation of armaments and its effects on N.A.T.O.
- II. Are existing political and economic mechanisms within the Western Community adequate?

## September 13-15, 1958 - Palace Hotel, Buxton, England

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

## September 18-20, 1959 - Yesilkoy, Turkey

- I. Unity and Division in Western Policy:
  - a) What are the positive and negative implications of recent strategic developments for the West?
  - b) What are the Western objectives in international economic development and how can we achieve them?
  - c) What are the elements in the evolving picture in tropical Africa that may affect Western unity?

May 28-29, 1960 - Burgenstock, Switzerland

- I. State of the world situation after the failure of the Summit Conference.
- II. New political and economic developments in the Western world:
  - a) The economic organization of Europe;
  - b) The attitude of the United States and problems of non-European countries.

April 21-23, 1961 – St. Castin, Canada

- I. What initiatives are required to bring about a new sense of leadership and direction within the Western community?
  - a) The role of N.A.T.O. in the world policy of the member countries;
  - b) The role and control of nuclear weapons within N.A.T.O.
- II. The implications for Western unity of changes in the relative economic strength of the United States and Western Europe.

May 18-20, 1962 - Saltsjobaden, Sweden

- I. The political implications for the Atlantic Community of its members' policies in the United Nations:
  - a) Concerning relations with the developing countries.
  - b) Concerning possible changes in the role and authority of the United Nations.
- II. Implications for the Atlantic Community of prospective developments in:
  - a) The European Common Market;
  - b) The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

May 29-31, 1963 - Cannes, France

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

March 20-22, 1964 - Williamsburg, Virginia, USA

The consequences for the Atlantic Alliance of:

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

April 2-4, 1965 - Villa D'Este, Lake Como, Italy

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

March 25-27, 1966 - Wiesbaden, Germany

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

March 31-April 2, 1967 - Cambridge, England

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

April 26-28, 1968 - Mont Tremblant, Canada

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

May 9-11, 1969 - Marienlyst, Denmark

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

April 17-19, 1970 - Bad Ragaz, Switzerland

- I. Future function of the university in our society
- II. Priority in foreign policy

April 23-25, 1971 - Woodstock, Vermont, USA

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

April 21-23, 1972 - Knokke, Belgium

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

May 11-13, 1973 - Saltsjobaden, Sweden

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

April 19-21, 1974 - Hotel Mont d'Arbois, Megeve, France

- I. Prospects for the Atlantic world

April 25-27, 1975 - Golden Dolphin Hotel, Cesme, Turkey

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

April 22-24, 1977 - Torquay, England

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

April 21-23, 1978 - Princeton, New Jersey, USA

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

April 27-29, 1979 – Baden, Austria

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

April 18-20, 1980 - Aachen, Germany

America and Europe: Past, Present, and Future

I. Political Aspects

- A. Iran
- B. Afghanistan
- C. Relations Among the Allies: Communication, Understanding, Leadership
- D. Division of Labor
- E. The Current American Mood
- F. The Political Evolution of Europe
- G. The Alliance and The Third World
- H. The Arab-Israeli Conflict

II. Security Aspect

- A. The Present Military Situation of NATO
- B. Strategic Issues
- C. The Need for Stronger Conventional Forces
- D. Security Threats Outside the Alliance Area
- E. The Question of Political Will

III. Economic Aspect

- A. The Management of Our Economies
- B. Monetary Relations
- C. Energy Considerations and the Impact of the Oil Price Increases
- D. The Less-Developed Countries
- E. Trade Relations

May 14-17, 1981 - Burgenstock, Switzerland

I. What should Western policy be toward the Soviet Union in the 1980's?

- A. Changes in the Soviet Union
- B. Assessing Soviet Intentions
- C. Arms Negotiations and the Military Balance

II. Obstacles to effective coordination of Western policies

- A. Internal Stresses and Strains
- B. The Need for Consultation
- C. The Middle East

III. How can the Western economies put their house in order?

- A. President Reagan's Economic Program
- B. The State's Growing Share of the National Product
- C. The Decline in Productivity and Economic Growth
- D. Political Aspects

IV. Panel on Current International Economic Issues

- A. East-West Economic Relations
- B. Energy
- C. Japan's Performance
- D. Trade and Protectionism
- E. Interest Rates and Exchange Rates
- F. Recycling and Debts
- G. The North-South Dialogue
- H. International Economic Cooperation

V. Discussion of Current Events

- A. Foreign Policy Prospects Under the New U.S. Administration
- B. Analyzing the French Election Results
- C. Crises Outside the NATO Area



May 14-16, 1982 - Sandefjord, Norway

Tensions in European-American Relations

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

May 13-15, 1983 - Montebello, Canada

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

May 11-13, 1984 - Saltsjobaden, Sweden

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

May 10-12, 1985 - Rye Brook, New York, USA

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

April 25-27, 1986 - Gleneagles, Scotland

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

April 24-26, 1987 - Villa D'Este, Italy

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

June 3-5, 1988 - Telfs-Buchen, Austria

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

May 12-14, 1989 - La Toja, Spain

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

May 11-13, 1990 - Rockefeller owned hotel, Glen Cove, New York, USA

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

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

- I. Eastern Europe: economic prospects
- II. Developments in the Soviet Union: political and economic impacts on the Alliance
- III. The Middle East: political fallout and future prospects
- IV. Current Events: German Economic Reconciliation: the Treuhand Experience
- V. The Practical Agenda for the Alliance
- VI. Do we have the institutions to deal with the agenda?
- VII. Economic and financial threats to the Alliance
- VIII. Current Events: South Africa
- IX. Current Events: Yugoslavia

May 21-24, 1992 - Evian-Les-Bains, France

- I. Prospects for the former Soviet republics
- II. What should be done for Eastern Europe?
- III. Whither America?
- IV. The world economy
- V. Whither Europe?
- VI. Remarks of Pierre Beregovoy, Prime Minister of France
- VII. Soviet Union: the view from Moscow
- VIII. Current Events: Yugoslavia
- IX. The migration issue
- X. The evolving West/West relationship

April 22-25, 1993 - Vouliagmeni, Greece

- I. What kind of Europe will the U.S. have to deal with?
- II. Current events: Former Yugoslavia
- III. Restoring confidence in leadership and institutions
- IV. Prospects for Global Trade
- V. U.S. domestic policy concerns
- VI. The outlook for Japan's economy
- VII. Cost of indifference toward the former Soviet Union
- VIII. Current events: Italy
- IX. Foreign policy concerns of the Clinton Administration
- X. Crisis management

June 2-5, 1994 - Helsinki, Finland

- I. Redefinition of the Atlantic relationship in a time of change
- II. The changing face and perspective of America
- III. Europe – Cohesion or Confusion?
- IV. Economic instability ahead
- V. Jobs, where are they and how will the West create them?
- VI. The political changes of Islamic Fundamentalism
- VII. Russia - How will its internal evolution affect its external behavior?
- VIII. GATT: Risk ahead
- IX. Current events: North Korea
- X. China - The consequences of convulsion or stability

June 8-11, 1995 - Burgenstock, Switzerland

- I. What is NATO supposed to do?
- II. Is there work for all?
- III. Atomization of society: Impact on political behavior of new technology
- IV. Looking (Back) at Washington
- V. Current events: Turkey and the Atlantic Alliance
- VI. Is there still a North Atlantic Community?
- VII. Should the European Union integrate further, and why?
- VIII. Our agendas for WTO and World Bank
- IX. Current events: Former Yugoslavia
- X. Peacekeeping in an UNstable World
- XI. Lessons of the New Currency Crises
- XII. Practical steps towards a better Global Governance and Rules

May 30 - June 2, 1996 - King City, Ontario, Canada

- I. Status Report on the Alliance
- II. Former Yugoslavia
- III. Russia: Political Forces and Economic Prospects
- IV. Europe: the Politics of EU Enlargement
- V. Has Europe's Economy Run Out of Steam?
- VI. Will the Enlarged Union Survive EU's Success or Failure?
- VII. The U.S. Agenda
- VIII. The Israeli Election
- IX. How and How Much Can the Western World Grow Economically?
- X. WTO and the World Bank: Briefing
- XI. Where is China Going?

June 12-15, 1997 - Lake (Sidney) Lanier Island, near Atlanta, Georgia, USA

- Racial Harmony
- World Without Borders
- Most Favored Nation (MFN) for China
- European Union
- American Union

May 14-18, 1998, Turnberry, Scotland

- The Atlantic Relationship in a time of change
- NATO
- Asian Crisis
- European Monetary Union
- Growing Military Disparity
- Japan
- Multilateral Organizations
- Europe's Social Model
- EU/ US Market Place

June 3-6, 1999 - Sintra, Portugal

- I. Kosovo
- II. The US Political Scene
- III. Current Controversies: Genetics and the Life Sciences
- IV. Redesigning the International Financial Architecture
- V. The Social and Political Impacts on Emerging Markets of Recent Economic Events
- VI. NATO's Future
- VII. The Relationship between Information Technology and Economic Policy
- VIII. Current Events
- IX. Russia's Foreign Policy
- X. How Durable is the Current Rosy Complexion of European Politics?

June 1-4, 2000 - Hotel Chateau du Lac at Genval, Belgium

- US Elections
- Globalization
- New Economy
- The Balkans
- EU Enlargement
- The European Far Right

May 24-28, 2001- Stenungsbaden, Sweden (near Gothenburg, Sweden)

- Defense
- China/Japan
- Russia
- Europe
- Productivity
- Agriculture
- Middle-East
- Globalization

May 30 - June 2, 2002 – Westfields Marriott Hotel, Chantilly, Virginia, USA

- I. The Consequences of the War Against Terrorism
- II. Corporate Governance: Does Capitalism Need Fixing?
- III. The Changing Nature of the EU Within the Western Alliance
- IV. Have Civil Liberties Been Unnecessarily Eroded?
- V. The Influence of the Extreme Right
- VI. The Middle East
- VII. Current Affairs
- VIII. Post-Crisis Reconstruction/Nation Rebuilding
- IX. Prospects for the World Economy
- X. Trade: The China Effect
- XI. The Influence of Domestic Issues on American Foreign Policy

May 15-18, 2003 – Versailles, France

- European-American relations
- Iraq
- The Middle East after Terrorism
- Non-Proliferation
- The European Convention
- Economic Problems

June 3-6, 2004 – Stresa, Italy

European American relations  
U.S. Politics  
Iraq  
The Middle East  
European Geopolitics  
NATO  
China  
Economic Problems  
Energy

May 5-8, 2005 – Rottach-Egern, Germany

European-American relations  
Iran  
Iraq  
The Middle East  
Non-Proliferation  
Asia  
Economic Problems  
Russia

June 8-11, 2006 – Ottawa, Canada

European-American relations  
Energy  
Russia  
Iran  
The Middle East  
Asia  
Terrorism  
Immigration

May 31 - June 3, 2007 – Istanbul, Turkey

(NOT AVAILABLE)

June 5-8, 2008 – Westfields Marriott Hotel, Chantilly, Virginia, USA

Nuclear-free World  
Cyber Terrorism  
Africa  
Russia  
Finance  
Protectionism  
U.S.-EU Relations  
Afghanistan and Pakistan  
Islam  
Iran

May 14-17, 2009 – Vouliagmeni, Greece

Financial Crisis  
Governments and Markets  
Role of Institutions  
Market Economies and Democracies  
Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan  
U.S. and the World  
Cyberterrorism  
New Imperialisms  
Protectionism  
Post-Kyoto Challenges