BILDERBERG



PARTICIPANT LISTS

"privacy, rather than secrecy"

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

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

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

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DERBERG MEETIN

Key of Participating Countries

AUT	Austria
BEL	Belgium
BUL	Bulgaria
CAN	Canada
CHE	Switzerland
CHN	China
~	

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SWE Sweden **TUR** Turkey **UKR** Ukraine

USA United States of America

INT International Participant

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

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

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

Agenda

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

Final List of Participants^[1]

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FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman and CEO, AXA Group
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher, Der Standard Medienwelt
AUT	Cernko, Willibald	CEO, UniCredit Bank Austria AG
AUT	Faymann, Werner	Federal Chancellor
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
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CAN	Carney, Mark J.	Governor, Bank of Canada
CAN	Clark, W. Edmund	Group President and CEO, TD Bank Group
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Group
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	Chair, Torys LLP
CAN	Redford, Alison M.	Premier of Alberta
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
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Chairman, Novartis AG

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Huang, Yiping

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USA Yergin, Daniel Chairman, IHS Cambridge Energy Research Associates

Rapporteurs

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

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

Agenda

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

Final List of Participants^[2]

Honorary Chairman

BEL	Davignon, Etienne	Minister of State
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	CEO and Publisher, Standard Medien AG
AUT	Faymann, Werner	Federal Chancellor
AUT	Rothensteiner, Walter	Chairman of the Board, Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreich AG
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AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	AG
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BEL	Leysen, Thomas	Chairman, Umicore
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CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Orbinksi, James	Professor of Medicine and Political Science, University of Toronto
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CAN	Reisman, Heather	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
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	,	Senior Director, Healthcare Policy & Market Access, Oncology Business
CHE	Groth, Hans	Unit, Pfizer Europe
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CHE	Schmid, Martin	President, Government of the Canton Grisons
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CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman, Novartis AG
CHE	Witmer, Jürg	Chairman, Givaudan SA and Clariant AG
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	Eldrup, Anders	CEO, DONG Energy
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GBR	Mandelson, Peter	Member, House of Lords; Chairman, Global Counsel
GBR	Micklethwait, John	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
GBR	Osborne, George	Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Stewart, Rory	Member of Parliament
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
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INT	Daele, Frans van	Chief of Staff to the President of the European Council
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2010 - Sitges, Spain 3rd - 6th June

Agenda

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

Final List of Participants^[3]

Honorary Chairman

BEL	Davignon, Etienne	Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel
AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
AUT	Fischer, Heinz	Federal President
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
CAN	Campbell, Gordon	Premier of British Columbia
CAN	Clark, W. Edmund	President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Mansbridge, Peter	Chief Correspondent, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President and CEO, Metrolinx
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman, Novartis AG
CHE	Voser, Peter	CEO, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
CHE	Waldvogel, Francis A.	Chairman, Novartis Venture Fund
DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG
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Sutherland, Peter D.

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USA Hormats, Robert D. Under Secretary for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs

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USA Mundie, Craig J. Chief Research and Strategy Officer, Microsoft Corporation

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USA Orszag, Peter R. Director, Office of Management and Budget

USA Parker, Sean Managing Partner, Founders Fund USA Pearl, Frank H. Chairman and CEO, Perseus, LLC

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USA Rose, Charlie Producer, Rose Communications

USA Rubin, Robert E. Co-Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Secretary of the

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USA Steinberg, James B. Deputy Secretary of State

USA Summers, Lawrence H. Director, National Economic Council

USA Thiel, Peter A. President, Clarium Capital Management, LLC

USA Varney, Christine A. Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust

USA Volcker, Paul A. Chairman, Economic Recovery Advisory Board

USA West, F.J. Bing Author

USA Wolfensohn, James D. Chairman, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC

Rapporteurs

GBR Bredow, Vendeline von Business Correspondent, The Economist Business Correspondent, The Economist Business Correspondent, The Economist

2009 - Vouliagmeni, Greece 14th - 17th May

Agenda

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

Final List of Participants^[4]

Honorary Chairman

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

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

President, DONG A/S

DNK

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 ITA Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso
 ITA Prodi, Romano
 ITA Siniscalco, Domenico
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 President, Universita Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
 Former Minister of Finance; President of Notre Europe
 Chairman, Foundation for Worldwide Cooperation
 Vice Chairman, Morgan Stanley International

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General of Bilderberg Meetings

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NLD Wijers, Hans Chairman, AkzoNobel NV

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NOR Reiten, Eivind President and CEO, Norsk Hydro ASA

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PRT Pinho, Manuel Minister of Economy and Innovation

SWE Bildt, Carl Minister of Foreign Affairs

SWE Björklund, Jan Minister for Education; Leader of the Liberal Party

SWE Wallenberg, Jacob Chairman, Investor AB SWE Wallenberg, Marcus Chairman, SEB

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TUR Koç, Mustafa V. Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.

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GBR McBride, Edward Business Editor, The Economist

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

Agenda

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

Current List of Participants^[5]

Honorary Chairman

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AUT AUT AUT AUT	Bronner, Oscar Ederer, Brigitte Leitner, Wolfgang Scholten, Rudolf	Publisher, Der Standard Medienwelt CEO, Siemens AG Österreich CEO, Andritz AG Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
BEL BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	Chairman of the Board of Directors, KBC Group
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CAN	Clark, W. Edmund	Group President and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Desmarais, Jr., Paul	Chairman and co-CEO, Power Corporation of Canada
CAN	Martin, Roger	Dean, Joseph L. Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto
CAN	McKenna, Frank	Deputy Chair, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Prichard, J. Robert S.	President and CEO, Torstar Corporation
CAN	Reisman, Heather M.	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
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DEU	Ackermann, Josef	Chairman of the Management Board and the Group Executive Committee,
		Deutsche Bank AG
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DNK	Eldrup, Anders	President, DONG A/S
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ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen	
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FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, AXA Group
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Honorary Chairman, Lafarge
FRA	Jouyet, Jean-Pierre	Minister of European Affairs
FRA	Kodmani, Bassma	Director, Arab Reform Initiative
FRA	Margerie, Christophe de	CEO, Total
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute for International Relations
FRA	Ockrent, Christine	CEO, French television and radio world service
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FRA	Valls, Manuel	Member of Parliament
FRA	Védrine, Hubert	Hubert Védrine Conseil
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament
GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
GBR	McKillop, Tom	Chairman, The Royal Bank of Scotland Group
GBR	Osborne, George	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
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GRC	Diamantopoulou, Anna	Member of Parliament
GRC	Papahelas, Alexis	Journalist, Kathimerini
GRC	Papalexopoulos, Dimitri	Managing Director, Titan Cement Co.
GRC	Varvitsiotis, Thomas	Co-Founder and President, V+O Communication
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East Policy

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USA Rockefeller, David Former Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank

Rapporteurs

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

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[6]

Honorary Chairman

BEL	Davignon, Etienne	Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel
AUT	Bartenstein, Martin	Federal Minister of Economics and Labour
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AUT	Bronner, Oscar	Publisher and Editor, Der Standard
AUT	Gusenbauer, Alfred	Federal Chancellor
AUT	Nowotny, Ewald	CEO, BAWAG P.S.K.
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
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BEL	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
CAN	Butts, Gerald	Principle Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister of Ontario
CAN	Kenney, Jason	Member of Parliament
CAN	Reisman, Heather	Chair and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
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DEU	Westerwelle, Guido	Chairman, Free Democratic Party
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DNK	Federspiel, Ulrik	Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
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ESP	León Gross, Bernardino	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Grupo Santander, Ciudad Grupo
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	Jääskeläinen, Atte	Director of News, Sports and Regional Programma of YLE
FIN	Katainen, Jyrki	Minister of Finance
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija	Secretary of State, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
FRA	Barnier, Michel	Vice President of Mérieux Alliance; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs
FRA	Baverez, Nicholas	Partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
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FRA	Hermelin, Paul	CEO Capermini
FRA	Ockrent, Christine	Editor in chief, France Télévision
FRA	Parisot, Laurence	President, MEDEF
FRA	Roy, Oliver	Senior Researcher, CNRS
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament
GBR	David, George A.	Chairman, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A
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GBR	Kerr, John	Member, House of Lords; Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell PLC
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GBR	Patten, Christopher	Member, House of Lords
GBR	Taggart, Paul A.	Professor of Politics, University of Sussex
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman, Syngenta International AG
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INT	Kroes, Neelie	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Monti, Mario	President, Universita Commerciale Luigi Bocconi
INT	Rato y Figaredo, Rodrigo de	Managing Director, IMF
INT	Rehn, Olli	Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Trichet, Jean-Claude	President, Central European Bank
INT	Wolfowitz, Paul	President, The World Bank
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IRL	McDowell, Michael	Minister for Justice, Equality and Law reform
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D	Chairman, BP PLC and Chairman, Goldman Sachs International
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ITA	Elkann, John	Vice Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.

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SWE Borg, Anders Minister of Finance

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[7]

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AUT	Gusenbauer, Alfred	Parliamentary Leader SPÖ
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Österreichische Kontrollbank AG
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2005 - Rottach-Egern, Germany, 5th - 8th June

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[8]

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

Agenda

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

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IRL IRL	Gleeson, Dermot Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman Allied Irish Bank Group Chairman, Goldman Sachs International, Chairman, BP PLC
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ITA Ambrosetti, Alfredo Chairman, Abbrosetti Group ITA Benedetti, Rodolfo De CEO, CIR Bernabe, Franco Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe ITA ITA Bortoli, Ferrucio de CEO, RCS Libri ITA Caracciolo, Lucio Director, Limes Geopolitical Review ITA Draghi, Mario Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs ITA Galateri, Gabriele Chairman, Mediobanca Professor of Economics, Bocconi University; adviser, world bank and ITA Giavazzi, Francesco European Central bank Executive Vice Chairman, Council for the United States and Italy, Council on ITA Merlini, Cesare Foreign Relations, former director, Italian Institute for International Affairs ITA Passera, Corrado CEO, Banca Intesa SpA ITA Riotta, Gianni Editorialist, Corriere della Serra Scaroni, Paolo ITA CEO, Enel SpA ITA Siniscalo, Domenico Director General Ministry of the Economy ITA Tremonti, Giulio Minister of Economy and Finance ITA Tronchetti Provera, Marco Chairman and CEO, Pirelli SpA ITA Visco, Ignazio Foreign Affairs Manager, Banca D'Italia NLD Burgmans, Antony Chairman, Unilever NV NLD Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University **NLD** Member of Parliament, president, Parliamentary Network of the World Bank Koenders, Bert NLD Netherlands, Beatrix HM Queen of NLD Veer, Jeroen van der Chairman, Committee of Managing Directors, Royal Dutch/Shell NLD Wijers, Hans Chairman, AkzoNobel NV NOR Auser, Svein CEO, DnB NOR ASA NOR Myklebust, Egil Chairman, Scandinavian Airline System (SAS) NOR Underdal, Arild Rector, University of Oslo POL Olechowski, Andrzej Leader, Civic Platform POL Sikora, Slawomir President and CEO, Citibank Handlowy PRT Balsemao, Francisco Pinto Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, SGPS, Former Prime Minister **PRT** Lopes, Pedro M. Santana Mayor of Lisbon **PRT** Socrates, Jose Member of Parliament RUS Shevtsova, Lilia Senior Associate. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace **RUS** Yavlinsky, Grigory A. Member of Parliament **SWE** Brock, Gunnar CEO, Atlas Copco AB **SWE** Heikensten, Lars Governor, Swedish Central Bank

Chairman, SEB investments (including biotech); Chairman, W Capital **SWE** Wallenberg, Jacob

Management AB

TUR Babacan, Ali Minister of Economic Affairs

TUR Cemal, Hasan Senior Columnist, Milliyet Newspaper

TUR Dervis, Kemal Member of Parliament, former senior World bank official

TUR Chairman, Koç Holdings AS Koç, Mustafa V.

USA Boot, Max Council on foreign Relations, Features Editor, Wall Street Journal MD and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings LLC, Yale School of Management, USA

Collins, Timothy C. **Trilateral Commission**

USA Corzine, Jon S. Senator (D, New Jersey), Chairman and CEO, Goldman Sachs USA Donilon, Thomas L. Vice-President, Fannie Mae, Council on Foreign Relations
USA Edwards, John Senator (D. North Carolina), Democratic Presidential Candidate

USA Feith, Douglas J. Undersecretary for Policy, Department of Defense USA Gates, Melinda F. Co-Founder, Gates Foundation, wife of Bill Gates USA Geithner, Timothy F. President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York USA Graham, Donald E. Chairman and CEO, Washington Post Company

USA Haas, Richard N. President, Council on Foreign Relations, former Director of Policy and

Planning staff, State Department

USA Holbrooke, Richard C. Vice Chairman, Perseus, former Director, Council on Foreign Relations,

former Assistant Secretary of Stat

USA Hubbard, Allen B. President E&A Industries

USA Issacson, Walter President and CEO, Aspen Institute

USA Janow, Merit L. Professor, International Economic Law and International Affairs, Columbia

University, member of apellate body, WTO

USA Jordan, Vernon E. Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co LLC

USA Kagan, Robert Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

USA Kissinger Henry A. Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.

USA Kovner, Bruce Chairman Caxton Associates LLC, Chairman, American Enterprise Institute USA Kravis, Henry R. Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co., acquisitions financier

USA Kravis, Marie Josee Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.

USA Luti, William J. Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian

Affairs

USA Mathews, Jessica T. President, Carnegie Endowment for International War Peace

USA McDonough, William J. Chairman and CEO, Public Company Accounting Oversight Board, former

president, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

USA Mundie, Craig J. Chief Technical Officer, Advanced Strategies and Policies, Microsoft

Corporation

USA Nooyi, Indra K. President and CEO, PepsiCo Inc.

Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, former Likud policy adviser, former chair Defence Policy Board, former co-

chairman, Hollinger Digital

USA Reed, Ralph E. President, Century Strategies

USA Rockefeller, David Member JP Morgan International Council, Chairman, Council of the

Americas

USA Ross, Dennis B. Director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

USA Schnabel, Rockwell A. Ambassador to the EU
USA Strmecki, Marin J. Smith Richardson Foundation

USA Thornton, John L. Chairman, Brookings Institution, Professor, Tsinghua University

USA Yergin, Daniel Chairman, Cambridge Energy Research Associates

Rapporteurs

USA

Perle, Richard N.

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

DERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[10]

Honorary Chairman

Vice Chairman, Suez-Tractebel BEL Davignon, Etienne

Honora	ry Secretary General	
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman WH Smith PLC; International advisor, Goldman Sachs International
AUT	Becker, Erich	Chairman of the Managing Board and CEO, VA Technologie AG
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
AUT	Trumpel-Gugerell, Gertrude	Vice Governor, Central Bank of Austria
BEL	Claes, Willy	Minister of State; former Secretary General of NATO 1994-1995
BEL	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	Crown Prince of Belgium
CAN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited
CAN	Fell, Anthony S.	Chairman, RBC Dominion Securities Inc.
CAN	Harper, Stephen	Leader of the Opposition
CAN	MacMillan, Margaret O.	Provost, Trinity College, University of Toronto
CAN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
CAN	Steyn, Mark	Journalist for various publications
CHE	Kielholz, Walter B.	Former Chairman of the Board, Credit Suisse; Executive Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Swiss Re
	Display Mishael	OFO Disciss AO

CHE CEO, Ringier AG Ringier, Michael

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

DEU Burda, Hubert Publisher and CEO, Hubert Burda Media Holding GmbH & Co. DEU Kopper, Hilmar Former Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG

DEU Naas, Matthias Deputy Editor, Die Zeit

DEU Deputy Parliamentary Leader, CDU/CSU Group Schäuble, Wolfgang

DEU	Schily, Otto	Minister of the Interior
DEU	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler Chrysler AG
DEU	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman, Deutsche Post Worldnet AG
520	Zamminos, raduo	Chairman, Bodicone i dol Wohand.
DNK	Eldrup, Anders	CEO Daniah Oil and Cas Corneration
	• •	CEO, Danish Oil and Gas Corporation
DNK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Chairman, Social Democrat Party
DNK	Rasmussen, Anders Fogh	Prime Minister
DNK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken
ESP	Cebrián, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
ESP	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
ESP	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
FIN	Kivinen, Olli	Senior Editor & Columnist, Helsingin Sanomat
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Former Prime Minister; Speaker of the Parliament
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
FIN	Whalroos, Björn	·
LIIN	Wilailoos, Bjoili	President and CEO, Sampo PLC.
ED 4		
FRA	Adler, Alexandre	Editorial counsel, Le Figaro
FRA	Beytout, Nicolas	Editor-in-Chief, Les Echos
FRA	Bon, Michel	Honorary Chairman, France Telecom
FRA	Bruguière, Jean-Louis	First Vice President, Justice Department
FRA	Camus, Phillipe	CEO, European Aeronautics Defence and Space company European
	•	Aeronautics Defence and Space company (EADS)
FRA	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
FRA	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
FRA	Copé, Jean-François	Secretary of State in charge of relations with Parliament; Government
		Spokesman
FRA	Gergorin, Jean-Luis	Executive Vice President, Strategic Coordination, European Aeronautics Defence and Space company (EADS)
		French President 1974-81; Chairman of the Convention on the Future of
FRA	Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry	Europe
FRA	Lellouche, Pierre	Vice Chairman, NATO Parliamentary Assembly
FRA	Lévy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
FRA	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations
FRA	Ranque, Denis	Chairman and CEO, Thales Aerospace and Defence
FRA	Riboud, Franck	Chairman and CEO, Danone Foods
		Senior Researcher, CNRS
FRA	Roy, Olivier	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
FRA	Trichet, Jean Claude	Governor, Banque de France
FRA	Villin, Philippe	Vice Chairman, Lehman Brothers Europe
GBR	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
GBR	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament, former Chancellor of the Exchequer
GBR	Gould, Philip	Public Relations Adviser to Prime Minister Blair
GBR	King, Mervyn A.	Deputy Governor, Bank of England
GBR	Williams, Gareth	Leader of the House of Lords
GBR	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor/Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
	·	
GRC	Bakoyannis, Dora	Mayor of Athens
GRC	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
		Professor, University of Athens; President Hellenic Foundation for European
GRC	Tsoukalis, Loukas	and Foreign Policy
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Internal Markets Commissioner, European Commission
INT	Cary, Anthony J.	Head of Christopher Patten's cabinet, EU. [Patten is European
	•	•

Commissioner for Enlargement]

INT Lamy, Pascal Trade Commissioner, European Commission
 INT Monti, Mario Competition Commissioner, European Commission
 INT Padoa-Schioppa, Thomasso Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

INT Schwab, Klaus President, World Economic Forum

INT Wolfensohn, James D. President, The World Bank

IRL Gleeson, Dermot Chairman designate, Allied Irish Banks, p.l.c.

IRL Sutherland, Peter D. Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman,

BP Amoco

ITA Ambrosetti, Alfredo Chairman, Abbrosetti Group
ITA Bendetti, Rodolfo de Managing Director CIR S.p.A.

ITA Bernabè, Franco Chairman Franco Bernabe & C. S.p.A.

ITA Draghi, Mario Vice-Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International

ITA Panara, Marco Journalist, La Republica

ITA Passera, Corrado Managing Director, Banca Intesa BCI

ITA Poli, Roberto Chairman, Eni S.p.A.

ITA Scaroni, Paolo Managing Director, Enel S.p.A.

KWT Bishara, Ahmad E. Secretary General of Kuwait's liberal National Democratic Party

NLD Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former honorary Secretary

General of Bilderberg Meetings

NLD Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de Minister for Foreign Affairs
NLD Kok, Wim Former Prime Minister

NLD Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of the

NLD Ruys, Anthony Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.

NLD Veer, Jeroen van der President, Royal Dutch Petroleum Company; Vice Chairman of the

NLD Vries, Klaas de Committee of Managing Directors of Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies

Member of Parliament; Former Minister of the Interior

NOR Gjedrem, Svein Governor, Central Bank of Norway NOR Myklebust, Egil Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA

POL Olechowski, Andrzej Leader, Civic Platform

PRT Balsemão, Francisco Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman

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

PRT Barroso, José M. Durão Prime Minister

PRT Rodrigues, Eduardo Ferro Leader of the Socialist Party; Member of Parliament

RUS Margelov, Mikhail V. Chairman, Committee for Foreign Affairs, Council of Federation Shevtsova, Lilia Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

SWE Dahlbäck, Claes Chairman, Investor AB
SWE Lindh, Anna Minister for Foreign Affairs

SWE Wallenberg, Jacob Chairman of the Board, Skandinavivska Enskilda Banken

TUR Babacan, Ali Minister of Economic Affairs

TUR Bayar, Mehmet A. Deputy Chairman of DYP (True Path Party)

TUR Sanberk, Özdem Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

USA Bolton, John R. Under-Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security
USA Collins, Timothy C. Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings LLC

USA Corzine, Jon S. Senator (D, New Jersey)

USA Donilon, Thomas E. Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae

USA Feldstein, Martin S. President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research

USA Friedman, Thomas L. Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times
USA Gigot, Paul A. Editorial page editor, The Wall Street Journal

USA Haass, Richard N. Director, Office of Policy Planning Staff, State Department

USA Hertog, Roger Vice-Chairman, Alliance Capital Management

USA Hubbard, Allan B. President, E&A Industries

USA Hubbard, R. Glenn Russell L. Carson Professor of Economics and Finance, Columbia

University

USA Johnson, James A. Vice Chairman, Perseus L.L.C.

USA Jordan Jr., Vernon E. Senior Managing Director, Lazard Freres & Co. L.L.C.

USA Kissinger, Henry A. Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; Member, Defense Policy Board;

Member J.P. Morgan International Council

USA Kravis, Henry R. Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.

USA Kravis, Marie-Joseé Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.

USA Mundie, Craig J. Chief Technical Officer, Advanced Strategies and Policy, Microsoft

Corporation

USA Perkovich, George Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Member, Defense Policy Board; Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (AEI) for Public Policy Research; member Project for a New

American Century (PNAC)

USA Rockefeller, David Member, J.P. Morgan International Council

USA Ruggie, John Director, Center for Business and Government, Kennedy School of

Government, Harvard University

USA Steinberg, James B. Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings

Institution

USA Thornton, John L. President and CEO, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.

USA Wolfowitz, Paul Deputy Secretary of Defense, US Department of Defense

USA Zakaria, Fareed Editor, Newsweek International

USA Zoellick, Robert Principal Trade Adviser to the President

Rapporteurs

USA

Perle, Richard N.

GBR Micklethwait, John United States Editor, The Economist
GBR Rachman, Gideon Brussels Correspondent, The Economist

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

2002 - Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A, 30th May - 2nd June

Agenda

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

Final List of Participants^[11]

Davignon, Etienne

Honorary Chairman

BEL

522	Bavignon, Easimo	viso orialiman, occiolo conordio do Bolgiquo
AUT	Gusenbauer, Alfred	Member of Parliament; Chairman, Social Democratic Party
AUT	Randa, Gerhard	Chairman and CEO, Bank Austria AG
AUT	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij N.V.
BEL	Lippens, Maurice	Chairman, Fortis
CAN	Baillie, A. Charles	Chairman and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
CAN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Ltd.
CAN	Courtis, Kenneth S.	International Research Council of the Center for International and Strategic Studies
CAN	Frum, David	American Enterprise Institute; Former Special Assistant to President Bush
CAN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books and Music Inc.
CAN	Whyte, Kenneth	Editor, The National Post
CHE	Couchepin, Pascal	Federal Councillor; Head of the Federal Department of Economic Affairs
CHE	Kudelski, André	Chairman of the Board & CEO, Kudelski Group
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
CZE	Pehe, Jiri	Former advisor to President
DEU	Ischinger, Wolfgang	Ambassador to the US
DEU	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
DEU	Polenz, Ruprecht	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU
DEU	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
DEU	Schulz, Ekkehard	Chairman, ThyssenKrupp AG

Vice Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique

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

Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary NLD Halberstadt, Victor General of Bilderberg Meetings NLD Kist, Ewald Chairman of the Board ING N.V. NLD Kleisterlee, Gerard J. President and CEO, Royal Philips Elecronics NOR Bernander, John G. Director General, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation NOR Myklebust, Egil Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA **NOR** Stoltenberg, Jens Leader of the Opposition (Social Democratic Party) Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman of PRT Balsemão, Francisco Pinto IMPRESA, S.G.P.S. **PRT** Borges, António Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs **PRT** Ferreira, Elisa Guimarães Member of Parliament, Former Minister of Planning RUS Shevtsova, Lilia Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center **SWE** Johansson, Leif Volvo **SWE** Pagrotsky, Leif **Trade Minister SWE** Treschow, Michael Chairman, Ericsson **SWE** Wallenberg, Jacob Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken **SWE** Wallenberg, Marcus CEO of Investor **TUR** Minister of Economic Affairs Dervis, Kemal TUR Özaydinlí, Bulend CEO, Koç Holding A.S. **TUR** Sanberk, Özdem Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation USA Allaire, Paul A. Former Chairman and CEO, Xerox Corporation USA Bergsten, C. Fred Director, Institute for International Economics USA Boyd, Charles G. President and CEO, Business Executives for National Security USA Dam, Kenneth W. Deputy Secretary, US Department of Treasury USA David-Weill, Michel A. Chairman, Lazard Frères & Co. **USA** Deutch, John M. Institute Professor, MIT USA Dinh, Viet D. Assistant Attorney General for Office of Policy Development USA Dodd, Christopher J. Senator (D. Connecticut) USA Donilon, Thomas E. Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae USA Eizenstat, Stuart Covington & Burling USA President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research Feldstein, Martin S. **USA** Foley, Thomas S. Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld USA Gigot, Paul A. Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal USA Glickman, Dan Former sec, of Agriculture; Former Rep. (D. Kan) USA

Graham, Donald E. Washington Post

USA Greenspan, Alan Chairman, Federal Reserve System

USA Hills, Carla A. Chairman and CEO, Hills & Company, International Consultants

Associate Editor, The Washington Post USA Hoagland, Jim

President, E&A Industries USA Hubbard, Allan B. **USA** Hutchison, Kay Bailey Senator (Republican, Texas)

James, Charles A. USA Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust

USA Johnson, James A. Vice Chairman, Perseus, L.L.C.

USA Jordan Jr., Vernon E. Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC

USA Kissinger, Henry A. Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc. USA Krauthammer, Charles Columnist, The Washington Post

USA Kravis, Henry R. Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.

USA Senior Fellow - Hudson Institute Inc. Kravis, Marie-Josée

USA LaFalce, John J. Congressman (Democrat, New York)

USA Leschly, Jan Chairman & CEO, Care Capital LLC

USA Lewis, Bernard Professor of Mideast Studies at Princeton University
USA Mathews, Jessica T. President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

USA McAuliffe, Terry Chairman, Democratic National Committee

USA McDonough, William J. President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

USA Mitchell, Andrea Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondant, NBC News
USA Moskow, Michael H. President, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
USA Parisiliti, Andrew Foreign Affairs advisor to Chuck Hagel (R-Neb)

USA Pearl, Frank H. Chairman and CEO, Perseus, L.L.C.

USA Perle, Richard N. Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

USA Prestowitz Jr., Clyde V. President, Economic Strategy Institute
USA Racicot, Mark Chairman, Republican National Committee

USA Raines, Franklin D. Chairman and CEO, Fannie Mae

USA Rattner, Steven Managing Principal, Quadrangle Group LLC USA Rockefeller, David Member, JP Morgan International Council

USA Rose, Charlie Producer, Rose Communications

USA Rumsfeld, Donald H. Secretary of Defense

USA Sheinkman, Jack Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Bank

USA Siegman, Henry Council on Foreign Relations

USA Soros, George Chairman, Soros Fund Management

USA Steinberg, James B. Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program

USA Summers, Lawrence H. President, Harvard University

USA Thoman, G. Richard Senior Advisor, Evercore Partners Inc.

USA Thornton, John L. President and co-CEO, The Goldman Sachs Group Inc.
USA Vink, Lodewijk J. R. de Chairman, Global Health Care Partners; Credit Suisse First

Rapporteurs

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

In Attendance

NLD Banck Maja Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings

USA Farren, Michael J. Vice President of External Affairs, Xerox Corporation; Adviser, American

Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.

USA Lee, Steven S. Local Organizer 2002

LDERBERG MEETING

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[12]

Davignon, Etienne

Honorary Chairman

BEL

Honorary Secretary General				
GBR	Taylor, J. Martin	Chairman WH Smith PLC; International advisor, Goldman Sachs International		

Commission of the European Communities

Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the

AUT	Raidl, Claus J	CEO and Director, Böhler Uddeholm AG	

AUT	Scholten, Rudolf, A.	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Osterreichische Kontrollbank
AUT	Schollen, Rudon, A.	A.C.

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanii NV

CAN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman and C.E.O., Hollinger International, Inc.; Chairman, Telegraph	
CAN	Diack, Colliau IVI.	Group Ltd	

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

CAN Lord. Bernard Prime Minister of New Brunswick

CAN MacMillan, Margaret O. Editor, International Journal, Canadian Institute of International Affairs

Vice-President for Research and International Relations, University of CAN Monroe-Blum, Heather

Toronto CAN Editor-in-Chief, The National Post Whyte, Kenneth

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

CHE

Ospel, Marcel President & Group Chief Executive, Union Bank Of Switzerland AG

CHE Vasella, Daniel L. Chairman & C.E.O., Novartis AG

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

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

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

GBR Micklethwait, John United States Editor, The Economist
GBR Wooldridge, Adrian D. Foreign Corespondent, The Economist

BILDERBERG MEETING

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[13]

Honorary Chairman

Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the **BEL** Davignon, Etienne

Commission of the European Communities

Honorary Secretary General

Chairman WH Smith PLC; International advisor, Goldman Sachs **GBR** Taylor, J. Martin

International

Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein **AUT** Hampel, Erich

The High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina; EU chief negotiator **AUT** Petritsch, Wolfgang

at the Kosovo peace talks in Rambouillet and Paris

Member of the board of executive directors, Öesterreichische Kontrollbank AUT Scholten, Rudolf

AUT Vranitzky, Franz Former Federal Chancellor

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanij NV BEL Janssen, Daniel E. Chairman, Solvay SA **BEL** Lippens, Maurice Chairman, FORTIS Bank

BEL Schoutheete de Tervarent, Ph de Former permanant representative of Belgium to the EU

CAN Asper, Israel Chairman, CanWest Capital Group Inc.

CAN Black, Conrad Chair, Telegraph Group Ltd.

CAN Frum, David Columnist, National Post Newspaper

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

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

Visiting Proffessor, European Studies, Centre for European Studies, DEU Betz, Hans-Georg

Columbia and New York Universities

DEU Cromme, Gerhard Chairman of the Executive Board, Thyssen Krupp AG DEU Kopper, Hilmar Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG

DEU Deputy Editor, Die Zeit Nass, Matthias

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

DNK Andersen, Bodil Nyboe Governor, Central Bank of Denmark

DNK Rasmussen, Anders Fogh Chairman, Liberal Party
DNK Seidenfaden, Tøger Editor-in-Chief, Politiken

ESP Aguirre y Gil de Biedma, EsperenzaPresident, The Spanish Senate
ESP Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías Executive Vice Chairman, BSCH

FIN Lipponen, Paavo Prime Minister

FIN Ollila, Jorma Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation

FRA Collomb, Bertrand Chairman and CEO, Lafarge FRA Lévy-Lang, André Former Chairman, Paribas

FRA Montbrial, Thierry de Director, French Institure of International Relations
FRA Strauss-Kahn, Dominique Former Minister of Finance; Professor, University of Paris

FRA Trichet, Jean-Claude Governor, Banque de France

GBR Buchanan, Robin WT Senior Partner, Bain & Co Inc.

GBR Clarke, Kenneth Member of Parliament

GBR Roll, Eric Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg

GBR Wolf, Martin Associated Editor/Economics Commentator The Financial Times

GRC David, George A. Chairman of the Board, Hellenic Bottling Company SA

GRC Diamandouros, P Nikiforos National Ombudsman
GRC Papandreou, George A. Minister for Foreign Affairs

INT Avery, Graham Chief Adviser for Enlargement, European Community

INT Bildt, Carl Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Balkans, United Nations

INTFréchette, LouiseDeputy Secretary-General, United NationsINTLamy, PascalCommissioner, European Commission

INT Moore, Mike Director-General, WTO

INT Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank Solana Madariaga, Javier Secretary General, Council of the European Union

INT Wolfensohn, James D President, The World Bank (USA)

IRL Bruton, John Leader of Fine Gael

IRL Sutherland, Peter D. Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP Amoco PLC

ITA Agnelli, Giovanni Honorary Chairman, Fiat SpA.

ITA Agnelli, Umberto Chairman, IFIL - Finanziaria di Partecipazioni SpA.

ITA Ambrosetti, Alfredo Ambrosetti Group

ITA Bernabè, Franco Special Representative of Italy for Reconstruction Initiatives in the Balkans

ITAFresco, PaoloChairman, Fiat SpAITARiotta, GianniDeputy Editor, La Stampa

ITA Ruggiero, Renato Vice-Chairman, Schroder Salomon Smith Barney; Chairman, Schroder

Salomon Smith Barney Italy

ITA Tremonti, Giulio Member of the Finance Commission, Chamber of Deputies

KSV Surroi, Veton Publisher, KOHA Ditore

NLD Benschop, Dick State Secretary for European Affairs

NLD H.M. the Queen of the Netherlands

NLD Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary-

General of Bilderberg Meetings

NLD Veer, Jeroen van der Group managing director, Royal Dutch/Shell group of companies; designate

President of Royal Dutch Petroleum Company

NOR Hambro, Christian Director-General, Research Council of Norway

NOR Reiten, Eivind Executive Vice-President, Corporate Management, Norsk Hydro SA

PRT Balsemão, Francisco Pinto Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman,

IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.

PRT Gouveia, Teresa Patrício Member of Parliament (PSD)

SWE Barnevik, Percy Chairman, Investor AB

SWE Johansson, Leif President and CEO, Volvo AB

SWE Pagrotsky, Leif Minister of Trade

SWE Petersson, Lars-Eric President and CEO, Skandia

SWE Wallenberg, Jacob Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken

TUR Çolakoglu, Nuri Chairman and CEO, NTV

TUR Kayhan, Muharrem Vice-Chairman of the Board, Söktas, Former President, Tusiad

USA Allaire, Paul Chairman of the board of Directors and CEO, Xerox Corporation

USA Deutch, John M. Institute Professor, MIT; Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency

USA Dodd, Christopher J. Senator (Democrat, Connecticut)

USA Donilon, Thomas E. Senior Vice-President, General Counsel and Secretary, FannieMae

USA Dyson, Esther Chairman, EDventure Holdings Inc.
USA Graham, Donald E. Publisher, The Washington Post
USA Hagel, Chuck Senator (Republican, Nebraska)
USA Hutchison, Kay Bailey Senator (Republican, Texas)

USA Johnson, James A. Chairman and CEO, Johnson Capital Partners
USA Jordan Jr, Vernon E. Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC

USA Kissinger, Henry A. Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.

USA Kravis, Henry R. Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.

USA Kravis, Marie-Josée Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.

USA Mathews, Jessica T. President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

USA McDonough, William J. President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

USA Richardson, Bill Secretary of Energy

USA Rockefeller, David Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Council

USA Soros, George Chairman, Soros Fund Management

USA Steinberg, James B. Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
USA Tarullo, Daniel K. Visiting Profesor of Law, Georgetown University Law centre

USA Thornton, John L. President and CEO, Goldman Sachs Group Inc.

USA Vink, Lodewijk JR de Chairman, President and CEO, Warner-Lambert Company

USA Wolfowitz, Paul Dean, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The John Hopkins

University

Rapporteurs

GBR Micklethwait, John United States Editor, The Economist
GBR Wooldridge, Adrian D. Foreign Corespondent, The Economist

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[14]

Honorary Chairman

CZE

Zantovsky, Michael

BEL	Davignon,	Etienne	Chairman.	Société	Générale (de Belgique
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Honorary Secretary General

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NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University		
AUT	Randa, Gerhard	CEO and Chairman, Bank Austria AG.		
AUT	Schenz, Richard	CEO and Chairman of the Board, OMV AG		
AUT	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG.		
AUT	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor		
AUT	Zimmermann, Norbert	Chairman, Berndorf AG		
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij N.V.		
BUL	Kamov, Nikolai	Member of Parliament		
CAN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited		
CAN	Chastelain, John A.D. de	Chairman, Independent International Commission on Decommissioning.		
CAN	Godsoe, Peter C.	Chairman and CEO, Bank of Nova Scotia		
CAN	Herrndorf, Peter A.	Former Chairman and CEO, TV Ontario; Senior Visiting Fellow, University of Toronto.		
CAN	MacLaren, Roy	High Commissioner for Canada in Britain		
CAN	MacMillan, Margaret O.	Editor, International Journal		
CHE	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turretini & Co. Ltd.		
CHE	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG.		

Senate

Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Secutiry, Czech

DEU Ischinger, Wolfgand State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

DEU Kopper, Hilmar Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank A.G.

DEU Nass, Mathias Deputy Editor, Die Zeit

DEU Perger, Werner A. Political Correspondent, Die Zeit

DEU Scharping, Rudolf Minister of Defence

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

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

DNK Seidenfaden, Toger Editor-in-Chief, Politiken

ESP Aguirre y Gil de Biedma, EsperenzaPresident, The Spanish Senate
ESP Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias Executive Vice Chairman, BSCH
ESP Solbes Mira, Pedro Member of Parliament, Socialist Party

FIN Ollila, Jorma Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation

FIN Vanhala, Matti Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland

FIN Vartia, Pentti Managing Director, Research Institute of the Finnish Economy (ETLA)

FRA Boucher, Eric Le Chief Editor, International, Le Monde

FRA Collomb, Bertrand Chairman and CEO, Lafarge

FRA Mestrallet, Gérard Chairman of the Executive Board and CEO, Suez Lyonnaise des Eaux

FRA Moïsi, Dominique Deputy Director, IFRI

FRA Trichet, Jean-Claude Governor, Banque de France

GBR Clarke, Kenneth Member of Parliament GBR Mandelson, Peter Member of Parliament

GBR Porrit, Jonathon Programme Director, Forum for the Future
GBR Roll, Eric Senior Adviser, Warburg Dillon Read
GBR Taylor, J. Martin Formerly Chief Executive, Barclays PLC

GBR Wolf, Martin Associate Editor and Economics Commentator, The Financial Times

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

GRC Kranidiotis, Yannos Alternate Minister for Foreign Affairs

GRC Veremis, Thanos M. Professor of Political History, University of Athens; President of Eliamep

HUN Surányi, György President, National Bank of Hungary

ICE Oddsson, David Prime Minister

INT Fischer, Stanley First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund INT Issing, Otmar Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

INT Liikanen, Erkki Member of the EC.
INT Monti, Mario Commissioner of the EC

INT Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

INT Wolfensohn, James D. President, The World Bank

ITA Agnelli, Umberto Chairman, IFIL - Finanziaria di Partecipazioni SpA.

ITA Bernabé Franco Managing Director and CEO, Telecom Italia

ITA Fresco, Paolo Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.

ITA Giavazzi, Francesco Professor of Economics, Bocconi University, Milan

ITA Profumo, Alessandro CEO, Credito Italiano

NLD Grave, Frank H.G. de Minister of Defense NLD Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of NLD Scheepbouwer, Ad J. Chairman and CEO, TNT Post Group NLD Waal, Lodewik J. de Chairman, Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions (FNV) NOR Clemet. Kristin Deputy Director General, Confederation of Business and Industry **NOR** Hegge, Per Egil Editor, Aftenposten Chairman of the Board, Leif Höegh & Co. SAS; Former President, NOR Höegh, Westye Norwegian Shipowners' Association POL Chairman Central Europe Trust Olechowski, Andrzej **PRT** Amaral, Joaquim Freitas do Amaral Member of Parliament Professor os Communication Science, New University; Chairman, Impresa, **PRT** Balsemão, Francisco Pinto S.G.P.S. **PRT** Cravinho, João Cardona G. Minister for Infrastructure, Planning and Territorial Administration PRT Grilo, Eduardo C. Marçal Minister of Education **PRT** Mello, Vasco de Vice Chairman and CEO, Grupo José de Mello **PRT** Nabo, Francisco Murteira President and CEO, Portugal Telecom PRT Salgado, Ricardo E.S. President and CEO, Grupo Espírito Santo PRT Sampaio, Jorge President of Portugal **PRT** Santos, Nicolau Editor-in-Chief, Expresso **PRT** Silva, Artur Santos President and CEO, BPI Group **RUS** Shevtsova, Lilia Carnegie Moscow Center **RUS** Trenin, Dmitri V. Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center **SWE** Aslund, Anders Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace **SWE** Barnevik, Percy Chairman, Investor AB **SWE** Bildt, Carl Member of Parliament **SWE** Hedelius, Tom C. Chairman, Svenska Handelsbanken Associate Professor of Economic History, Lund University; Director of **SWE** Rojas, Mauricio Timbro's Centre for Welfare Reform. **SWE** Minister for Industry, Employment and Communication Rosengren, Björn **TUR** Erçel, Gazi Governor, Central Bank of Turkey **TUR** Ergin, Sedat Ankara Bureau Chief, Hürriyet **TUR** Kiraç, Suna Vice-Chairman of the Board, Koç Holding A.S. **TUR** Chairman, Tusiad Yücaoglu, Erkut **UKR** Mityukov, Ihor Minister of Finance **USA** Allaire, Paul Chairman, Xerox Corporation USA Bayh, Evan Senator (D. Indiana) USA Boyd, Charles G. Executive Director, National Security Study Group USA Corzine, Jon S. Retired Senior Partner, Goldman Sachs & Co. USA Dodd, Christopher J. Senator (D. Connecticut) USA Donilon, Thomas E. Attorney-at-Law, O'Melveney & Meyers

USA Feldstein, Martin S. President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research USA Graham, Donald E. Publisher, The Washington Post USA Hagel, Chuck Senator (R. Nebraska)

USA Associate Editor, The Washington Post Hoagland, Jim USA Holbrooke, Richard C. Ambassador to the UN designate

USA Jordan Jr., Vernon E. Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law) USA Kissinger, Henry A. Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
USA Kravis, Marie-Josée Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
USA Leschly, Jan CEO, Smith Kline Beecham PLC

USA Mathews Jessica T. President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

USA McDonough, William J. President Federal Reserve Bank of New York
USA McGinn, Richard A. Chairman and CEO, Lucent Technologies
USA Rattner, Steven Deputy Executive, Lazard Freres & Co., LLC

USA Richardson, Bill Secretary of Energy

USA Rockefeller, David Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee

USA Shapiro, Robert B. Chairman and CEO, Monsanto Company USA Thoman, G. Richard President and CEO, Xerox Corporation

USA Thornton, John L. President and co-COO, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.

USA Tyson, Laura d'Andrea Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley

Rapporteurs

GBR Micklethwait, John Business Editor, The Economist

GBR Wooldridge, Adrian D. Foreign Corespondent, The Economist

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

Final List of Participants^[15]

Hanaramı	Chairman
Honorary	Chairman

GBR	Carrington, Peter	Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO			
Honora	Honorary Secretary General				
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University			
AUT	Puhringer, Othmar	Chairman of Managing Board, VA-Technologie AG			
AUT	Randa, Gerhard	Chairman of the Managing Board, Bank of Austria			
AUT	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor			
BEL	Davignon, Etienne	Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities			
BEL	Goossens, John	President and CEO, Belgacom			
BEL	Vits, Mia de	General Secretary, ABVV-FGTB			
CAN CAN	Black, Conrad Chretien, Raymond A.J.	Chairman, The Telegraph PLC Ambassador to the U.S.			
CAN	Dion, Stephane	Queens Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs			
CAN	MacMillan, Margaret	Editor, International Journal, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, University of Toronto			
CAN	Manning, Preston	Leader of the Reform Party			
OHE	Dura David da	Obsimus de Dun Distat Turnstini and Ca 14d			
CHE	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini and Co. Ltd.			
CHE	Vasella, Daniel	CEO Novartis			
CZE	Kovanda, Karel	Head of Mission to the Czech Republic to NATO and the WEU			
DEU	Bertram, Christoph	Director, Foundation Science and Policy, Former Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit			
DEU	Burda, Hubert	Chairman, Burda Media			
DEU	Engelen-Kefer, Ursula	Deputy Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB			

Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB

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Secretary General, NATO

INT

Solana Madariaga, Javier

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

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USA Kravis, Marie-Josee Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute Inc.
USA Leschly, Jan CEO SmithKline Beecham PLC.

USA Matthews, Jessica Tuchman President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

USA McDonough, William J. President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

USA Prestowitz, Clyde V. President, Economic Strategy Institute

USA Rhodes, William R. Vice Chairman, CitiBank, N.A.

USA Rockefeller, David Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee
USA Summers, Lawrence H. Deputy Secretary for International Affairs, US Department of the Treasury

USA Thoman, G. Richard President and CEO, Xerox Corporation

USA Vink, Lodewijk J.R. de President and CEO, Warner Lambert Company

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GBR Wooldridge, Adrian D. Foreign Corespondent, The Economist

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[16]

Honorary Chairman

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Schrempp, Jurgen E.

GBR	Carrington, Peter	Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former Secretary General, NATO
Honora	ry Secretary General	, ,
NLD	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University
AUT	Kothbauer, Max.	Director of Companies
AUT	Mitterbauer, Peter	Chairman, Miba AG
AUT	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
BEL	Davignon, Etienne	Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities
BEL	Donnea, Francois	Former Minister of Defense; Mayor of Brussels; Member of Parliament
BEL	Huyghebaert, Jan.	Chairman, Almanij-Kredietbank Groep
CAN	Bassett, Isabel	Parliamentary Assistant to the Ministry of Finance, Government of Ontario
CAN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, The Telegraph PLC.
CAN	Frum, David	Political Commentator
CAN	Munroe-Blum, Heather	Vice-President, Research and International Relations, University of Toronto
CAN	Sabia, Maureen	Corporate Director and President, Maureen Sabia International
CHE	Butler, Hugo	Editor in Chief, Neue Zurcher Zeitung
CHE	Cotti, Flavio	Federal Councillor and Minister for Foreign Affairs
CHE	Pury, David de	Chairman, de Pury Pictet Turrettini & Co. Ltd.
DEU	Burda, Hubert	Chairman, Burda Media
DEU	Cartellieri, Ulrich	Member of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG.
DEU	Issing, H.C. Otmar	Member of the Board, Deutsche Bundesbank
DEU	Nass, Matthias	Managing Editor, Die Zeit

Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler-Benz AG.

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USA Nunn, Sam Former Senator (D, Georgia.)

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USA Powell, Colin L. Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

USA Rockefeller, David Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee

USA Rockefeller, Sharon Percy President and CEO, WETA-TV and FM (PBS.)
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USA Stahl, Lesley R. National Affairs Correspondent, CBS News

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USA Volcker, Paul A. Chairman, BT Wolfensohn

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USA Whitehead, John C. Former Deputy Secretary of State

USA Wolfowitz, Paul Dean Nitze School of Advanced International Studies; Former Under Secretary of

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USA Yost, Casimir A. Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service,

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BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

Final List of Participants^[17]

Honorary Chairman

GBR Carrington, Peter Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former

Secretary General, NATO

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Honorary Secretary General for USA

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AUT Kothbauer, Max Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

AUT Vranitzky, Franz Federal Chancellor

BEL Davignon, Etienne Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman

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

BEL Maystadt, Philippe Vice-Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Foreign Trade

CAN Axworthy, Lloyd Minister for Foreign Affairs

CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN Chretien, Jean Prime Minister

CAN Drouin, Marie-Josee Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
CAN Eaton, Fredrik S. Chairman, Executive Committee, Eaton's of Canada
CAN Flood, A.L. Chairman, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
CAN Gotlieb, Allan E. Former Ambassador to the United States of America
CAN Griffin, Anthony G.S. Honorary Chairman and Director, Guardian Group

CAN Harris, Michael Premier of Ontario
CAN Martin, Paul Minister of Finance

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

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

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USA Sheinkman, Jack Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Bank

USA Soros, George President, Soros Fund Management
USA Stephanopoulos, George Senior Advisor to the President
USA Trotman, Alexander J. Chairman, Ford Motor Company

USA Weiss, Stanley A. Chairman, Business Executive for National Security, Inc.

USA Whitehead, John C. Former Deputy Secretary of State

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USA Victor, Alice Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[18]

Chairman

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Secretary General, NATO

Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University

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AUT Vranitsky, Franz Federal Chancellor

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BEL Davignon, Etienne Executive Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique; Former Vice Chairman

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BEL Goossens, John J. President and CEO, Belgacom

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CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN Cross, Devon G. Head of the Donner Canadian Foundation
CAN Drouin, Marie-Josee Executive Director, Hudson Institute of Canada
CAN Gotlieb, Allen E. Former Ambassador to the United States of America

CAN Klein, Ralph P. Premier of Alberta

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

CAN Pritchard, J. Robert President, University of Toronto

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

Secretary of State, Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food

GBR

Waldegrave, William A.

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

Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company, Inc.

Secretary of the Treasury

Partner, Verner Liipfert Bernhard McPherson and Hand, Chartered; Former

USA

USA

Andreas, Dwayne O.

Bentsen, Lloyd M.

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

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

USA Dam, Kenneth W. Max Pam Proessor of American and Foreign Law, University of Chicago

Law School; Former Deputy Secretary of State

USA Davis, Lynn E. Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs,

Department of State

USA Foley, Thomas S. Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld; Former Speaker of the House

of Representatives

USA Friedman, Thomas L. Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times

USA Gergen, David R. Visiting Professor, The Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke

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USA Holbrooke, Richard C. Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State

USA Jennings, Peter Anchor and Senior Editor, ABC News World News Tonight

USA Jordan Jr., Vernon E. Senior Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, (Attorneys-at-Law)
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Publisher, The Wall Street Journal

USA Kimmitt, Robert M. Managing Director, Lehman Brothers Inc.; Former Under-Secretary of State

for Political Affairs

USA Kissinger, Henry A. Former Secretary of State; Chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc.

USA Kristol, William Chairman, Project for the Republican Future

USA Mardin, Serif Chairman, Department Islamic Studies, American University, Washington,

D.C.

USA Penzias, Arno A. Vice President Research, AT&T Bell Laboratories

USA Rockefeller, David Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee

USA Soderberg, Nancy E. Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs USA Weiss, Stanley A. Chairman, Business Executives for National Security, Inc.

USA Whitehead, John C. Former Deputy Secretary of State

USA Wolfowitz, Paul Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; Dean, Nitze School of

Advanced International Studies

Rapporteurs

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

BILDERBERG MEETING

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[19]

Chairman

Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former **GBR** Carrington, Peter

Secretary General, NATO

Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University

Honorary Secretary General for USA

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

University, Washington D.C.

AUT Jankowitsch, Peter Ambassador to the OECD; Former Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

AUT Kothbauer, Max Deputy Chairman, Creditanstalt-Bankverein

BEL Claes, Willy Minister of Foreign Affairs

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

Commission of the EC

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanij-Krediebank Group

CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

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

CAN MacLaren, Roy Minister for International Trade CAN McKenna, Frank Premier of New Brunswick CAN Thorsell, William Editor, The Globe and Mail

CAN White, Peter G. Chairman of Unimedia; Former Head of the Prime Minister's office

Federal Councilor and Minister for Foreign Affairs CHE Cotti, Flavio

Chairman, BBC Brown Boveri Ltd. and Co-Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Pury, David de CHE

Boveri Group

Chairman, ANOVA Holdings Ltd.; Former Chairman, Business Council for CHE Schmidheiny, Stephan

Sustainable Development

CHE Schurer, Wolfgang Chairman, MS Management Service AG

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

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

USA Krogh, Peter F. Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

USA Maynes, Charles W. Editor, Foreign Policy

USA McLaughlin, David President, the Aspen Institute

USA Nye Jr., Joseph S. Chairman, National Intelligence Council

USA Pickering, Thomas R. U.S. Ambassador to Russia

USA Ridgway, Rozanne L. Co-Chair, Atlantic Council of the United States; (Vice Director of the Office

for Management and Budget of the White House)

USA Rockefeller, David Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee

Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus, University of

California, Berkeley

USA Scowcroft, Brent Former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

USA Sheinkman, Jack President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO-CLC

USA Soros, George President, Soros Fund Management

USA Steinberg, James B. Director of Policy Planning Staff, State Department

USA Whitehead, John C. Former Deputy Secretary of State

USA Wisner, Frank G. Under Secretary for Policy, Department of Defense USA Wolfensohn, James D. President and CEO, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

USA Wolfowitz, Paul D. Dean, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University USA Zuckerman, Mortimer B. Editor, U.S. News and World Report

Rapporteurs

USA Winthrop, Grant F. Partner, Milbank Winthrop & Co.

USA Victor, Alice Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[20]

Chairman

GBR Carrington, Peter Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former

Secretary General, NATO

Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University

Honorary Secretary General for USA

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

Ambassador

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

Minister

AUT Lendvai, Paul Director, Austrian International Radio

AUT Vranitzky, Franz Federal Chancellor

BEL Huyghebaert, Jan Chairman, Almanij-Kreditbank Group

BEL Martens, Wilfried Minister of State: Former Prime Minister

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

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CAN Black, Conrad M. Chairman, The Telegraph PLC

CAN Courtis, Kenneth S. First Vice President, Deutsche Bank Capital Markets Asia Ltd., Tokyo

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

CAN Griffin, Anthony G. S. Director of Companies

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

CAN McDougall, Barbara Secretary of State for External Affairs

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

CHE Kellenberger, Jakob State Secretary for Foreign Affairs

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

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

SHAPE

USA Hoagland, James Associate Editor/Senior Foreign Correspondent, The Washington Post
USA Jordan Jr., Vernon E. Senior Partner, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP (Attorneys-at-Law)

USA Kirkland, Lane President AFL-CIO

USA Kravis, Henry R. Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA Lewis, Samuel W. Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State

USA Mathias, Charles McC. Partner, Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Former U.S. Senator (Republican,

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USA Odom, William E. Director of National Security Studies, The Hudson Institute; Former Director,

National Security Agency

USA Pressler, Larry Senator (Republican, South Dakota)

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Rockefeller, Sharon Percy President and C.E.O., WETATV & FM

USA Whitehead, John C. Chairman, AEA Investors, Inc.; Former Deputy Secretary of State

USA Williams, Lynn R. International President, United Steelworkers of America

USA Wolfensohn, James D. President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

USA Yost, Casimir A. Executive Director, The Asia Foundation Center for Asian Pacific Affairs

Rapporteurs

USA

USA

USA Winthrop, Grant F. Partner, Milbank Winthrop & Co.

USA Victor, Alice Executive Assistant, Rockefeller Financial Services, Inc.

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[21]

Chairman

GBR Carrington, Peter Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former

Secretary General, NATO

Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

NLD Halberstadt, Victor Professor of Economics, Leiden University

Honorary Secretary General for USA

LISA Fliot Ir Theodore I	Dean Emeritus, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Former U.S.
--------------------------	--

Ambassador

AUT Jankowitsch, Peter Member of Parliament; Former Foreign Minister

AUT Neisser, Heinrich Chairman, Parliamentary Group of the Austrian People S Party (OVP) in the

Austrian National Assembly

AUT Scholten, Rudolph Federal Minister for Education and Culture

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

Commission of European Communities

BEL Goossens, John J. Managing Director, Alcatel Bell
BEL Keersmaeker, Paul de Former Minister of European Affairs

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

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

CAN MacLaren, Roy President, CB Media Ltd.; Publisher, Canadian Business; Member of

Parliament; Former Minister of State (Finance)

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

CAN Simpson, Jeffrey National Affairs Columnist, The Globe and Mail
CAN Spector, Norman Former Chief of Staff, Officce of the Prime Minister

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CHE Pury, David de Chairman of the Board of BBC Brown Boveri Ltd. and Co-Chairman of ABB

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DEU Bertram, Christoph Diplomatic Correspondent, Die Zeit

DEU Biedenkopf, Kurt Prime Minister of Saxony

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USA Ridgway, Rozanne L. President, The Atlantic Council of the United States

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USA Whitehead, John C. Chairman, AEA Investors, Inc.; Former Deputy Secretary of State

USA Williams, Lynn R. International President, United Steelworkers of America

USA Wolfensohn, James D. President, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

DEU Wolff von Amerongen, Otto Chairman and C.E.O. of Otto Wolff Industrieberatung und Beteiligungen

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ITA Zannoni, Paolo Vice President International Activities; Representative for Fiat S.p.A. in the

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GRC Farrant, Stephan Managing Director, Newsfront Naftiliaki; Local Organizer 1993

USA Muller, Charles President, Murden and Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg

Inc.

BILDERBERG MEETING

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

Agenda

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

List of Participants^[22]

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Former chairman of the Board, Christies International PLC; Former **GBR** Carrington, Peter

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Honorary Secretary General for Europe and Canada

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Honorary Secretary General for USA

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

Ambassador

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

Cooperation

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

AUT Federal Chancellor Vranitzky, Franz

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

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

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BEL Martens, Wilfried Prime Minister

BEL Spitaels, Guy Chairman Socialist Party, Minister of State

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

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

CAN Gagnon, Lysiane Journalist, La Presse CAN Griffin, Anthony G.S. **Director of Companies**

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

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USA Rockefeller, David Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank International Advisory Committee

USA Director and Philanthropist Shad, John S.R. **USA** Simons Jr., Thomas W. Ambassador to Poland

USA Former Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead, John C.

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USA Wilder, Lawrence D. Governor of Virginia

USA International President, United Steelworkers of America Williams, Lynn R.

President, James D. Wolffensohn, Inc. USA Wolfensohn, James D.

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FRA Cavasse, Felicia Organizer, 1992 Conference

First Vice President, Deutsche Bank A.G.; Organizer, 1991 Conference DEU Dicke, Gunther W.F.

FRA Morali, Veronique Organizer, 1992 Conference

President, Murden & Company; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, **USA** Muller, Charles W.

Inc.

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

The Logan Act

§ 953. Private correspondence with foreign governments.

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

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

House of Commons - Code of Conduct

IV. General Principles of Conduct

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

Selflessness

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

Integrity

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

Objectivity

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

Accountability

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

Openness

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

Honesty

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

Leadership

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

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Sources for List of Participants

- [1] 2012 Final Participant List <u>www.bilderbergmeetings.org</u> (Official Bilderberg website)
- [2] 2011 Final Participant List www.bilderbergmeetings.org (Official Bilderberg website)
- [3] 2010 Final Participant List www.bilderbergmeetings.org (Official Bilderberg website)
- [4] 2009 Final Participant List www.bilderberg.org/Bilderberg2009.pdf (Official Bilderberg Press Release)
- [5] 2008 Current Participant List www.bilderberg.org/bbpl2008.pdf (Official Bilderberg Press Release)
- [6] 2007 Final Participant List <u>www.bilderberg.org/bilderberg2007.pdf</u> (Official Bilderberg Press Release)
- [7] 2006 List of Participants www.bilderberg.org/2006.htm#list
- [8] 2005 List of Participants http://www.publicintelligence.net/2005-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [9] 2004 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/2004-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [10] 2003 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/2003-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [11] 2002 Final Participant List Jim Tucker's Bilderberg Diary 225-228 ISBN 0-9745484-2-1 (Official List)
- [12] 2001 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/2001-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [13] 2000 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/2000-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [14] 1999 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/1999-bilderberg-participant-list/
- [15] 1998 Final Participant List Jim Tucker's Bilderberg Diary 223-225 ISBN 0-9745484-2-1 (Official List)
- [16] 1997 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/1997-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [17] 1996 Final Participant List Jim Tucker's Bilderberg Diary 221-223 ISBN 0-9745484-2-1 (Official List)
- [18] 1995 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/1995-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [19] 1994 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/1994-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [20] 1993 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/1993-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [21] 1992 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/1992-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/
- [22] 1991 List of Participants www.publicintelligence.net/1991-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/

Front cover quotes

"privacy, rather than secrecy" - Martin Wolf - Financial Times - http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/3773019.stm

"The objectives of the Association are to promote the study of, and public education in international affairs" - The Bilderberg Association, Charity Registration Number 272706, Annual Reports and Accounts 2012 pg 2

"I think, first and foremost, it's a form of self enrichment" - Bilderberg People: Elite power and consensus in world affairs pg 174 ISBN 978-0-415-57635-2

"I got to 'breathe the air'. I learned alot" - Mehmet Ali Birand - Bilderberg People: Elite power and consensus in world affairs pg 168 ISBN 978-0-415-57635-2

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

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This document is dedicated to the memory of James P. Tucker Jr.

Without whom, much Bilderberg information would never have entered the public domain.

