

BILDERBERG: THE COLD WAR  
INTERNATIONALE

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OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions during recent months, I called the attention of our colleagues to activities of the Bilderbergers—an elite international group comprised of high Government officials, international financiers, businessmen and opinionmakers—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, E4016-8 of May 5, 1971, entitled “Bilderbergers’ Woodstock Meeting;” H3701 to H3707 of May 10, 1971, entitled “U.S. Dollar Crisis—A Dividend of Internationalism;” E4979 to E4985 of May 24, 1971, entitled “Secret Bilderberg Meeting and the Logan Act;” and E7786 to E7787 of July 16, 1971, entitled “Bilderberg Case: Reply From U.S. Attorney General’s Office.”

This exclusive international aristocracy holds highly secretive meetings annually or more often in various countries. The limited information available about what transpires at these meetings reveals that they discuss matters of vital importance which affect the lives of all citizens. Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger, who made a secret visit to Peking from July 9 to 11, 1971, and arranged for a Presidential visit to Red China, was reported to be in attendance at the most recent Bilderberg meeting held in Woodstock, Vt., April 23-25, 1971. The two points reportedly discussed at the Woodstock meeting were “the contribution of business in dealing with current problems of social instability” and “the possibility of a change of the American role in the world and its consequences.”

Following these secret discussions, which are certainly not in keeping with the Western political tradition of “open covenants openly arrived at,” the participants return to their respective countries with the general public left uninformed, notwithstanding the attendance of some news media representatives, of any of the recommendations and plans agreed upon as a result of the discussions—or for that matter even the occurrence of the meeting itself.

Because the American people have a right to know of any projections for a change in America’s role in the world and because Henry Kissinger and other Government officials and influential Americans met with high Government officials and other powerful foreign leaders, I sought to have more information about the recent Bilderberg meeting made public by raising the question to the U.S. Attorney General of a possible violation of the Logan Act by American participants and asked if the Justice Department anticipated taking any action in the matter.

The reply from the Justice Department, in effect, was that all of the elements constituting a violation of the Logan Act were present and that the Department contemplated no action but

would consider requesting an appropriate investigation if they received a specific allegation or specific information indicating a violation of the Logan Act. Apparently, the announced topics for discussion were not specific enough.

So that a specific allegation or specific information indicating a violation by American Bilderbergers of the Logan Act may be presented to the Justice Department in order to warrant an investigation, it is necessary to know more about what goes on in their secret sessions.

Additional facts relating to the Bilderberg meetings were recently brought to my attention by Eugene Pasymowski who, with Carl Gilbert in 1968, revised and updated an earlier article of theirs which first appeared in the Temple University Free Press.

The authors have provided lists of participants for six meetings plus a summary list of names of all having attended from 1954 to 1966; and a list of the month, year, and place of each of the 17 meetings held from May 1954 through April 1968. For this same period, they give names of U.S. participants who served in a capacity of honorary secretary general, chairman, cochairman, advisory committee member, or steering committee member. It is significant that every U.S. participant, without exception, who served in one of the above planning and leadership positions was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Drawing upon confidential correspondence and foreign-procured confidential documents printed by the Bilderberg secretariat, including an unpublished confidential report on Bilderberg meetings containing minutes of discussions, the authors have provided considerable heretofore little-known information about the Bilderberg meetings from the initial one in 1954 through the meeting of April 1968.

So that our colleagues may have more complete information about the secret and influential international group known as Bilderbergers, I insert in the RECORD at this point the article of Eugene Pasymowski and Carl Gilbert entitled "Bilderberg: The Cold War Internationale," including the appendices giving Bilderberg meetings, locations, and dates 1954 through 1968, the lists of Bilderberg steering committees—United States and European—and the list of Bilderberg participants 1954–68.

The material follows:

**BILDERBERG: THE COLD WAR INTERNATIONALE**

(By Eugene Pasymowski and Carl Gilbert)

In spite of the historical rivalries and conflicts of Western European nations and the entrenched tradition in the United States of isolation from Europe, the North Atlantic countries have experienced unprecedented cooperation within the past two decades. The dream of a completely united Western Europe has not yet been achieved, but the conflicts have been kept within manageable limits. The Common Market and NATO have been successful. Perhaps the present problems in Western Europe are more a product of the success of NATO rather than anything else.

This unprecedented period of cooperation is more than a product of simple "nation state" diplomacy. One of the key institutions

that has fostered unity and cooperation within the Atlantic Community beyond the old concepts of the "nation state" has been the Bilderberg Group.

**WAS IST EIN BILDERBERG?**

Oosterbeek is a small town in Eastern Holland. Three days in May 1954 transformed that town into a meeting place for the power elite of Europe and the United States. The facilities and location of the town's Hotel de Bilderberg were ideal for a very private conference.

Heading the list of dignitaries were David Rockefeller and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands. Also in attendance were prime ministers, diplomats, socialists, intelligence agency representatives, international bankers and industrialists from all of the NATO countries. The conference was named the Bilderberg Meeting.

Here the various "leaders" of the Atlantic community were collaborating, yet their popular constituencies knew nothing about the meeting. Only those directly concerned with their activities knew that the meeting even existed. Part of the explanation for this is that the host government for the conference provided top security. In addition, the key international newspapers and wire services cooperated by maintaining a press blackout on the conference.

Within the context of such tight security, one observer noted "this conference is considered so important, even the 'leaks' are watertight."

The story of Bilderberg is not just about this one meeting but rather an entire series of meetings that started in 1954 and have continued to this day. Meetings have been held at least once a year under top security at some of the most remote spots in the Atlantic countries.

A good example of press cooperation to make non-news of the Bilderberg meetings was the memorandum that Cecil King, chairman of the (English) Newspaper Proprietors Association wrote to his fellow publishers about the meeting at St. Johns College, Cambridge in 1967. According to *Private Eye*, "the memorandum 'reminded' NPA that on no account should any report or even speculation about the content of the conference be printed." This is the major explanation why the Bilderberg meetings would still come as a surprise to you. The *New York Times* has published three minor articles on the meetings and a few stories have appeared in the *Washington Post*. There has been no mention of Bilderberg in either the major weeklies or radical publications. In addition to the significant absence of press accounts, these meetings are not mentioned in any of the major scholarly works on American foreign policy and international relations. Considering the scholars and newspapermen who have attended these meetings, the situation is even more puzzling.

The people attending these meetings came from the strategic elites which dominate both the political and the socio-economic systems of the various countries. However, the public actions of these individuals would not reveal the common basis of their cooperation in private.

These meetings were an additional confirmation of the "end of ideology" between the West European ruling classes and the so-called "Socialist" opposition. Leading "Socialists" such as Hugh Gaitskill, Gaston Defferre, Guy Mollet and Fritz Erler sat down and cooperated with their alleged political and class opponents. They did not publicize these activities to the rank and file membership but rather attempted to hide their actions just as the "Socialist" government of England attempted to avoid disclosure of the biological warfare program that the Labour Government was developing. Within the context of Bilderberg, it is less surprising

to learn that many of the operations and programs of these "Socialist" parties have been paid for by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency.<sup>3</sup>

The Bilderberg Meetings have remained unknown for the past sixteen years as have the C.I.A.'s ubiquitous subsidies and activities in the democratic Socialist Left of Europe.

Before examining the structure of Bilderberg and the development of the American section, let us first turn to the historical context that led to the creation of this unique super-national organization.

**AMERICA'S HOLY CRUSADE**

With the end of the Second World War and the death of FDR, the "internationally" minded individuals who controlled the commanding heights of the national economy and the executive branch of the government aimed at the creation of a new world order under the guidance of American leadership and the slogans of the United Nations. They warned that the mistake of isolationism of the post World War I period must not be made again. The key objective of the new American policy was the restoration of the old socio-economic systems in Europe with slightly new window dressing, containment of the Soviet Union and Communism and, in general, an attempt to make the entire world safe for American investment and influence. Under this grand strategy the United States, in a sense, would become the England of the nineteenth century in the twentieth without a direct colonial system.

This policy was to be a two-edged sword: one edge of the blade offered massive economic aid to Europe while the other created a massive military machine with atomic weapons to keep the Russians and their Communist allies in Western Europe "in their place." The first edge of the sword, despite the humanitarian rhetoric, was essentially a measure to guarantee markets for American trade that within the next two decades would lead many of the important economic institutions in Europe to be under American corporate control.

The second side of the blade could not be developed until the late 1940's and the Korean War, when the American people were made aware of the fact that the Russians were the enemy leading the forces of evil against the so-called free peoples of the world. When in 1945, the Truman Administration attempted to use atomic diplomacy to oust the Russians from Eastern Europe and applied economic pressure, the American people were not aware of the conflict. Because of the "ignorance" of the people, Truman was unable to carry off the intended massive program of keeping troops in Europe and setting up a program of universal military training to supplement the atomic bomb. Despite this failure, the administration still had a "defense" budget of thirteen billion dollars, and was able to expand the atomic weapons program.

With the program of opposition to the Soviet Union becoming public, combined with a domestic attack which employed the smear label "communist" against all those forces which opposed the Truman globalism, the "international" leadership was able to have the people accept the Cold War, the massive defense expenditures, and the rebuilding of Germany and Japan under American hegemony. The coupling of domestic reaction and foreign expansion allowed the "internationalists" to co-opt the former anti-communist isolationist Congressmen into supporting the Marshall Plan. However, this was still an uneasy alliance, and the measures to station troops in Europe had to be initiated by the President with Congressional approval coming after the fact. The one serious challenge to the "internationalists'" control of the executive branch of the government was not by the "Left," which was smashed after the Henry Wallace debacle in

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1948, but rather by the attempt of Senator Taft to win the Republican nomination in 1952. This was effectively stopped by key members of the Eastern Establishment getting Dwight D. Eisenhower to run for the Presidency. The evidence indicated that the key issue which persuaded Eisenhower to run was not the "conservative" domestic policy of Taft, but rather the refusal of Taft to change his views on international questions i.e., the Western alliance and aid to Europe.

With the defeat of Taft, American policy became locked into the globalism of the Truman Administration, and all attempts to question the policy were essentially viewed as acts of disloyalty until the 1960's, when some types of dissent came to be tolerated. The Democratic candidate in 1952 and 1956, Adlai Stevenson, presented no challenge to the basic program of the Truman Administration, and could even find kind words to say about Chiang Kai Shek. (In retrospect, it was difficult to call Stevenson a "liberal." Perhaps he was considered one because liberalism was so bankrupt.)

Instrumental in the development of the new American policy toward the world was the Council on Foreign Relations, which helped "educate" Presidents and businessmen into the virtues of Pax America. Coupled with the Council on Foreign Relations was the entire umbrella of Eastern banking and financial interests which had major investments overseas and in another era had no moral qualms of building pre-World War II Germany.<sup>4</sup> The two leading firms which supported Germany before the war were the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell and the investment banking firm of Dillon, Read and Company. From Dillon, Read came the first Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul H. Nitze and Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon; from Sullivan and Cromwell, Allen and John Foster Dulles.

The American strategy effectively rebuilt Western Europe, and all those forces which opposed the dominant socio-economic order were eliminated from power. In Greece, the prototype for the first Viet-Nam, the British Army crushed the Left, while in England the Left of the Labour Party was made impotent. In other countries, the United States Government and the business community supplied funds for the conservative parties and for the Social Democrats to aid them in purging the Communists and Socialist Left. The new empire was functioning, yet there were major problems. The European client states of America could not understand the domestic hysteria caused by the late Senator McCarthy and there was some uneasiness about rearming Germany.

In Europe it was clear that the end of ideology had occurred, i.e., the Socialist Parties had dropped all the nasty Marxist phrases and now competed with the Capitalist parties on the basis of who could make the existing systems function more effectively. There were no major differences over the NATO alliance. The bureaucratic structures of the old order and bureaucracies of the Social Democracies still had differences of style, but these disputes were minor.

In the United States the holy crusade against Communism used by the liberal Democrats to defeat Wallace had gotten out of hand. In the early 1950's the witch hunters in the Republican Party were attacking the very formulators of the Cold War Strategy with the charge of treason and being soft on Communism. In its worst forms the ultra right accused such organizations as the Council on Foreign Relations and Rockefeller of both being soft on Communism and in league with the Kremlin.<sup>5</sup>

This was part of a larger problem in America, where there was not a sufficiently large

elite which could approach world developments with a more internationally oriented frame of reference. In addition, the business community, in reaction to the New Deal, was turning its back on more sophisticated economic measures to employ at home. This situation caused Charles E. Wilson to say at a convention of the National Association of Manufacturers in the mid-1940's, "I tell you frankly that I am deeply alarmed today over the possibility that a right-wing reaction may draw some sections of capital so far away from our traditions as to imperil the entire structure of American life as we know it."

One of the key organizations in educating major sections of the business elite concerning European problems was the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and its study groups. But this was not enough. It was imperative that the American leadership understand the more sophisticated approaches and techniques of the Western European elite in order to modify domestic extremist tendencies.

With these various problems, it became clear that a new forum outside of the formal nation-state structures was necessary for the ruling elites of Western Europe and the United States to get together and clear up some of their "misunderstandings" in order to develop further means of cooperation. Such an interlocking system would permit the new transnational groupings to communicate in private and make the necessary decisions to manipulate the formal political structures on both sides of the Atlantic. Consequently, the Bilderberg Meeting was initiated to address the strategic issues of collective security.

#### MEET THE BILDERBERGERS

The first Bilderberg Meeting in Oosterbeek witnessed many of the divisions between the ideologies of the participants. Political and economic rivals were together at one meeting in the hope that at Bilderberg there could be recognition of common interests and goals of allegedly opposing political rivals between Europe and America.

The dominant fear among the European participants at the first Bilderberg Meeting was the issue of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Partly due to their misconceptions of the American political system, some of the European participants believed that America was slipping towards the political "Right" and a fascist government was in the offing. To allay these fears, C. D. Jackson addressed the Bilderberg Group. He attempted to explain how, occasionally, the American political system will create a "supercharged, emotional freak from time to time." He then made a prediction:

"Whether McCarthy dies by an assassin's bullet, or is eliminated in the normal American way of getting rid of boils on the body politic, I prophesy that by the time we hold our next meeting he will be gone from the American scene."

Ambassador George McGhee noted that "the really bad misunderstanding between Europeans and Americans were dissipated at the first Bilderberg. Since then there has never been a sharp division between us and Europe."

The participants of the first Bilderberg Meeting recognized the usefulness of gathering the NATO elite in one place. Hence, the Bilderberg Group collectively agreed to continue meeting on an annual basis.

The authors have obtained from several foreign sources confidential documents printed by the Bilderberg Secretariat. They include historical sketches on the group, several minutes of discussions by participants, lists of participants for six meetings plus a summary list of all that have attended Bilderberg from 1954 to 1966. All the documents are quite illuminating, revealing much concerning the structure and ideology of the NATO elite.

The historical report illustrates the development of an organization structure which coordinates the effort of both the American and European power elite. Two years after the first Bilderberg Meeting a Steering Committee was formed, consisting of thirty-nine members (fifteen from the United States). The Steering Committee is "composed of persons who have proved particularly valuable to Bilderberg."<sup>6</sup> In 1959 the Advisory Committee, an inner core group of the Steering Committee, was formed. Its *raison d'être* was "to ensure a still closer cooperation and understanding between members of the Steering Committee on both sides of the Ocean." All the Americans on the Steering Committee are members or officers of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in New York City, an organization that has a more than symbiotic relation with the Rockefeller-Standard Oil empire. It is understandable then, that the American members of the Steering Committee have been associated with many aspects of the Rockefeller financial, industrial and political empire. Indeed, four members of the Steering Committee were also members of the National Finance Group of the "Nelson Rockefeller for President Committee." No Goldwaterites are Bilderbergers!

The best represented industry at Bilderberg is banking. The presidents of the Chase Manhattan Bank, David Rockefeller, and the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, Gabriel Hauge, are both Steering Committee members. Walter B. Wriston, president of the First National City Bank (James Rockefeller is Chairman), has been a Bilderberg participant. Three directors of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company have been participants at Bilderberg and one of them, Robert D. Murphy, chairman of Corning Glass International, is on the Steering Committee. Although a traditional rival of the "Rockefeller banks," the du Pont-Roosevelt founded Chemical Bank. New York Trust Company has had one of its directors participate in four Bilderberg Meetings. Within this context it is understandable that the present Secretary of the Treasury and former chairman of the board of Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company in Chicago, David Kennedy, appeared at a recent meeting.

A disproportionate share of the participants at the Bilderberg Meeting in Mont Tremblant, Canada, were international bankers. The list included: Wilfrid S. Baumgartner, honorary governor, Banque de France; Louis Camu, president, Banque de Bruxelles; C. Douglas Dillon, president of Dillon, Read and Company and former Secretary of the Treasury; Allen T. Lambert, chairman and president, the Toronto Dominion Bank; Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank; Louis Rasminsky, governor, Bank of Canada; Baron Edmond de Rothschild of the House of Rothschild; and Marcus Wallenberg, vice-chairman, Stockholms Enskilda Bank and a member of the Bilderberg Steering Committee.

The industrialists from both sides of the Atlantic are equally impressive. Officers and directors representing General Motors, Standard Oil (N.J.), Ford, General Electric, du Pont, Alcoa and Allied Chemical were able to confer with their "competitors" in Europe. Likewise, European industrialists represented such giants as Royal Dutch Shell, Fiat, Pirelli, August Thyssen-Hütte A.G., I.C.I., K.L.M., Unilever, Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., to name but a few.

#### LOBBY LAWYERS' UNDISCIPLINED POWER

"Lobby lawyers, fixers for a fee" as one Washington columnist calls them<sup>7</sup> are regular participants at Bilderberg. Two members of the Steering Committee, George Ball and Arthur Dean are of particular interest to anyone interested in studying the dynamics of international jurisprudence and diplomacy.

Until 1961, Ball was a partner in the firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Ball, a firm

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with intimate establishment entrees. With the advent of the "New Frontier" Ball joined with other "Bilderberg Alumni",<sup>10</sup> as C. D. Jackson termed them, to dominate the highest policy-making levels within the Kennedy Administration.

In his book *The Discipline of Power* Ball underscored his diplomatic orientation stating "... ways and means must be found to reshape the structure of power to permit a more effective sharing of world responsibilities." For Ball and his Bilderberg colleagues these were not hollow words. Ball and Marcus Wallenberg, vice-chairman of the Stockholms Enskilda Bank, together advanced the interests of a joint American-Swedish combine, the Grangesberg industrial complex. The president of Grangesberg was Bo Hammarskjöld, brother of the late Secretary General of the United Nations. Bo relied on the financial support of Wallenberg and the legal footwork of Ball's law firm to "reshape the structure of power" in the Congo. The prize was mineral-rich Katanga Province whose mining industry was under control of Societe Generale Belgique. Utilizing a United Nations "rescue mission" the Bilderbergers achieved their imperialist designs, forcing the Belgian interests to grant major concessions to the Rockefeller and Swedish Grangesberg industrial complex.<sup>11</sup>

Lobbying lawyer Arthur Dean has been co-chairman of the Bilderberg Group since 1957, while also serving on the Steering Committee. Since 1929, he has been a partner in the Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, whose senior partners were Allen and John Foster Dulles. Through the liaison work of Dr. Gerhart A. Westrich, Hitler's financial agent, and S & C's representative in Europe, the law firm during the 1930's acquired as clients three of the largest German cartels including I. G. Farben.<sup>12</sup> Allen Dulles maintained, until 1944, a directorship of the Schroeder Trust Company in New York City, part of the banking empire of Baron Kurt von Schroeder. The Baron was instrumental in the accession to power of Adolph Hitler, channeling almost unlimited funds into the Nazi regime. For his generous devotion to the Fatherland, the Baron was made SS Gruppenfuhrer, the equivalent of general.<sup>13</sup> It is less surprising that under the cochairmanship of Mr. Dean, the Bilderberg Meetings have invited many German members of banking and industrial combines that were collaborators before and during the war with the Nazis as well as English Schroeder interests.

When they were in the government, many of the American members of the Bilderberg played instrumental roles in sabotaging the denazification program in Germany after the war by limiting the prosecutions and in helping to free many of the convicted economic leaders of the Reich.

#### PHILANTHROPIC MISANTHROPE

Recently more attention has been given to the tax-exempt foundations, universities and "research" organizations and their relation to the national power structure. The linkages between these institutions and national policy formation have become increasingly more evident. The dimensions of this have been well documented in the case of the CIA and its use of foundations as conduits of funds for some of its covert activities.

The CIA, unlike the F.B.I., is not a monolithic organization with a single leadership elite but rather since its creation under the National Security Act of 1947 has represented ideologies of both New Deal Liberalism and militant anti-Communism. After World War II, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), an emergency planning and espionage agency created by FDR during the war, was to be dissolved. However, with the creation of the

CIA in 1947, a significant number of OSS staff made a lateral move into CIA who then formed a core group within CIA. Their ideology was one of corporate liberal internationalism, the theme of the New Deal. Added to this group were members of wartime military intelligence agencies, a group that shared an ideology of militant, theistic anti-Communism. Their perception of the world was one of Christianity assuming the burden of fighting the "holy war" against the Zionist "conspiracy" on one front and atheistic Communism on the other. Thus an inherent ideological conflict within CIA became an impediment to the agency's policy-making function. This is illustrated by the funding pattern CIA implemented in its program of subsidies to organizations.

Articles in the *Nation*, *Ramparts* and the *Washington Post* have documented the affiliation of foundations and organizations with international operations to the covert activities of the CIA. The subsidized organizations had a liberal ideology which was a good "cover" for the spy agency. An interesting question is whether or not the "right wing" group within the CIA engaged in similar operations. One would assume that the liberal faction of CIA was deeply committed to the support of the National Student Association (NSA) and the African American Institute (AAI). AAI is of particular interest because the conduit foundation used to channel funds into it was the Rubicon Foundation. Rubicon is the family foundation of the Hadley family. Many members of the Hadley family are trustees of Rubicon, one being Morris Hadley. He is a trustee of the Carnegie Corporation and a partner in the Rockefeller-Standard Oil law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy. McCloy was chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank and a Bilderberg participant.

For fourteen years the National Student Association received its CIA money via the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA).<sup>14</sup> President of FYSA is Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., who is a director of Corning Glass Works and trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation. Amory Houghton, Jr., is a trustee of FYSA and is board chairman of Corning Glass Works. Another director of Corning Glass Works is Robert D. Murphy. Murphy is chairman of Corning Glass International and is a member of the Bilderberg Steering Committee.

Murphy is also on the President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities, commonly known as the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (FIAB).<sup>15</sup> With Murphy on the FIAB have been William L. Langer, a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and William O. Baker, a trustee of the Rockefeller Institute. Edward L. Ryerson, another trustee of the Carnegie Endowment, was also a member of the FIAB during the Eisenhower Administration. With Ryerson on the FIAB was former Secretary of Defense, Robert A. Lovett, a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Lovett is a partner with Averell Harriman in Brown Brothers, Harriman and Company. President Nixon's latest appointment to the FIAB was Nelson Rockefeller, David Rockefeller's brother.

John Foster Dulles had been the chairman of the board of both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, whose past president was Alger Hiss. Joseph E. Johnson, the Secretary General of the American Bilderberg Group, former chief of international security affairs in the State Department and director of the Council on Foreign Relations is now CEIP president. Given the inter-relationships between these two foundations, one must conclude that, in terms of the foreign policy "establishment," this is where it's at."

The Carnegie Endowment for International

Peace has spent its earnings supporting the Bilderberg Group as well as the Foreign Policy Association and Brookings Institution. In attendance at Bilderberg Meetings have been two trustees and one staff member of the Foreign Policy Association (FPA) which is housed (rent free) in the New York City headquarters building of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The Brookings Institution, located in Washington, D.C., has been represented at Bilderberg by two trustees and its chairman Eugene R. Black former president of the World Bank, a trustee of the Ford Foundation and a member of the boards of both Harvard University and Johns Hopkins University. Black is a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank, American Express Co., International Telephone & Telegraph, Communications Satellite Corp., Royal Dutch Petroleum and The Atlantic Council. Both Brookings and the FPA have a significant input into foreign policy analysis. Brookings in particular advises the State and Defense Departments and the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Rockefeller Foundation is located in the Time-Life Building, of which the Rockefellers own 55%. The Foundation's assets are \$854 million. Add to this \$210 million tucked away in another tax exempt organization, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and a "cool" billion dollars are safe from ever being taxed. Dean Rusk, former president of the Rockefeller Foundation and Secretary of State, was until 1961 a member of the Bilderberg Steering Committee.

The Ford Foundation has done three times as well with total assets of three billion dollars and has played an equally significant role within the Bilderberg Group. Ford made a moderately successful attempt to extend the concept of "Encuentros Siglo XX" in the mid-1960's. Patterned along the Bilderberg model, Encuentros Meetings have focused their attention on Latin America.<sup>16</sup>

Among the leading foundations the Ford Foundation has had the largest representation at Bilderberg Meetings. McGeorge Bundy, president of the foundation, has participated in several meetings while the former chairman of the foundation, John J. McCloy, has attended one meeting. A former president of the foundation, Paul G. Hoffman, is presently administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, a trustee of the University of Chicago and a member of the Business Council. Don K. Price, Dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and trustee of the Rand Corporation, is a vice-president of the Ford Foundation. Both Hoffman and Price have been Bilderberg participants. Shepard Stone, former director of international affairs at Ford and now president of the International Association for Cultural Freedom is a Bilderberg Steering Committee member.

From the various foundations that Andrew Carnegie created there have been eleven trustees attending Bilderberg Meetings of which five are members of the Steering Committee. The Asia Foundation which is a major CIA conduit foundation has three trustees and its president, Robert Blum, involved with the Bilderberg Group's conference.

The university as a strategic institution within American society provides both the technical manpower and the ideological justification of warfare-welfare state capitalism. Since the legal and political power of the university system clearly rests in the hands of the ruling class it follows that as an institution the university's primary function is to serve the interest of wealth and power rather than free inquiry. Aside from the myriad of schools that serve essentially parochial power structures, it is the handful of elite universities that supply the academic mercenaries for the prosecution of the Cold War. These mercenaries form the academic procession to Bilderberg each year. They have included the presidents, trustees and

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faculty members of Harvard, M.I.T., John Hopkins, University of Chicago, Columbia, Yale and Cornell, to name a few. The last three mentioned universities had their presidents, Andrew Cordier, Kingman Brewster, Jr., and James Perkins respectively, as Bilderberg participants.

One of Harvard's "overseers", David Rockefeller, is a member of the Bilderberg Steering Committee and also manages to be a life trustee of the University of Chicago and chairman of the Rockefeller University. Another overseer of Harvard is C. Douglas Dillon, a Bilderberg participant and a trustee of the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA). Four other Bilderbergers are also IDA trustees, one being James Perkins, president of Cornell University and a trustee of the Rand Corporation, the leading military "think tank" in the United States. Other Rand trustees at Bilderberg have been Lauris Norstad, chairman of Owens-Corning Fiberglass; Philip E. Mosley, director of the European Institute at Columbia University; and Don K. Price, dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

#### THE AMERICAN PRESS

The key media of mass communications have been well represented at the Bilderberg meetings. The major newspaper of record, the *New York Times*, has sent several key individuals to the conferences. The list included the late Arthur Hays Sulzberger, C. L. Sulzberger, James Reston, Max Frankel and Thomas Wicker. The chairman of the board of the *Washington Post*, Frederick S. Beebe, has attended one meeting. C. D. Jackson of Time, Inc. played an important role in the early Bilderberg Meetings, Gardner Cowles of Cowles publications (*Look* magazine) has been at several, and in addition, such newsmen as Joseph Kraft and Joseph C. Harsch have attended. From this description of the strategic elites represented at Bilderberg and their interrelationships, let us now turn to the actual meetings and their effect on the political process.

#### BILDERBERG FORMAT AND AGENDA

The meetings are held for three days in rather remote locations offering many of the major comforts of life. With the exception of the Prince's family and possible staff, the participants in the conference are all male. At the conference the participants are housed in one location (usually a hotel) and are protected by a vast security network. The format of the meeting has the participants seated in alphabetical order. Prince Bernhard sits at the center of a large table in the front of the room, flanked by officials of the organization. With the aid of red-yellow-green traffic light device that indicates time limits, the Prince chairs the meeting. It is the rule that each speaker has to limit his remarks to five minutes, but this rule is obeyed at the discretion of the Prince. One important speaker at a recent conference spoke for over fifteen minutes without being interrupted. The discussions are organized around previously arranged topics, and a few background papers are sent to each participant. Over the years the topics discussed have centered around the political, economic, and military problems of the Atlantic alliance. The issues of the third world and the question of underdevelopment have been discussed at Bilderberg. Despite the inclusion of the problem of the third world, one participant who is an expert in this area indicated that the participants were not really interested. The following are the agenda's from two Bilderberg Conferences:

#### 1963

I. The balance of power in light of recent international developments. This item will cover changes in power relations—political, economic and military—between the Communist and Western countries and inside each group.

II. Trade relations between the U.S.A. and

Europe in the light of the negotiations for Britain's entry into the Common Market.

III. Trade relations between the Western world and the developing countries.

#### 1967

I. (a) Do the basic concepts of Atlantic cooperation remain valid for the evolving world situation? (b) If not, what concepts could take their place?

II. The technological gap between America and Europe with special reference to American investments in Europe.

To really understand the discussions, one has to understand more than the place of the individuals in their respective power structures. Despite the amount of real and potential power presented at Bilderberg, the people attending usually do not make blatant displays. Their rhetoric is one of moderation. Despite the position of some people, they seem not to understand their role. The late A. H. Sulzberger wrote in his notes from the 1957 conference:

"As a newspaperman, I feel like the little man who wasn't there, and since I am not an economist, and have never received a government check except as a 2nd Lieutenant of Field Artillery—I don't know quite why I am here. I am possibly like the parachuter who when asked by his superior officer if he liked to jump replied, 'No, but I like to associate with people who do.'"

Some participants are clearly out of place at these meetings. One wealthy European who more properly is a member of the jet set was obviously bored since the topics did not include making money or women. The private nature of the talks allow speakers to make remarks that would best be said in private. For example, at the Cambridge conference, Mr. Robert Murphy made the remark that article two of the NATO treaty was "window dressing."

"The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them" (text of article two, NATO Treaty).

Within the narrow political limitations on the invitations, i.e., "anyone who belongs to a country that believes in defending Western ethical and cultural values, and himself shares these ideals" the political debate can be quite varied. In the discussion of point one at the 1967 meeting, one report indicated, "that 98 interventions (speeches) occurred among 72 speakers, consisting of 86 different positions, the number of conflicting positions is greater than the number of speakers but not all the speakers managed to defend the same position twice." However, this division took place before the Russian actions in Czechoslovakia and the winds of detente were changing the Cold War images of the world.

The conferences are many things to different people. Some individuals who are on the Steering Committee have been at nearly every one. While some others have found the meeting slightly interesting, but could never imagine going to another since it would be so boring. The discussions at Bilderberg are limited in scope since some participants are still afraid to make known their opinions and the people invited generally share a common point of view. Some participants who do not believe in German reunification have been afraid to make their views known during discussions on Germany. The American delegation to Bilderberg seem to be the most monolithic as compared to other countries. Individuals

Footnotes at end of article,

that have major moral objections to Vietnam or NATO policy have never been invited. One key official on the American Steering who is a president of a major foundation that is ostensibly dedicated "to hasten the abolition of international war..." said he would never invite Linus Pauling to a Bilderberg Meeting because of Pauling's manner in objecting to the war in Vietnam during a conference sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.<sup>19</sup> While making the statement this member of the Steering Committee could not find the time to raise any moral objections to the activity of the American military forces in Vietnam.

The participants are invited because they are known to the Steering Committee through similar activities and life style. The backbone of the American group seems to have been the vast Rockefeller interests, which have been consistently hawkish on most questions of foreign policy. In the Eisenhower period and the early sixties, these individuals that were part of this web of interests were more concerned about developing new weapons, testing atomic bombs, and increasing the defense expenditures, i.e., the myth of negotiating from strength. This program meant trying to convince the American people that radiation from atomic weapons was not a major health hazard and atomic warfare was a method to defend freedom, i.e., "the willingness to engage in nuclear war, when necessary is part of the price of our freedom."<sup>20</sup>

Within this type of thinking, the major advances in policy that the Bilderberg Meetings have created have been in the area of European integration directly contributing to the Treaty of Rome and the Common Market.<sup>21</sup> The major stress of the Bilderberg conferences has been in pushing increased cooperation, and unity within the Atlantic Community.

Towards this end the Bilderberg Group has involved itself directly in the domestic politics of the NATO countries. Of special interest to the Bilderberg Group during their 1963 meeting was the issue of French President de Gaulle's opposition to the British entry into the Common Market. It has been charged by one French periodical that the following year the Group, meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia, decided to intervene in French politics.<sup>22</sup>

Faced with the problem of a nationalist heading France, the Bilderbergers chose to actively support an opposition candidate to de Gaulle. The Group selected as their candidate a participant of the 1964 Bilderberg Conference, "socialist" mayor of Marseilles, Gaston Defferre. They viewed Defferre as possessing a more correct internationalist orientation that would be consistent with the broad objectives of the Bilderberg Group.

American graduates of the Bilderberg Meetings have played important roles in the making of American policy. This has been particularly evident in the Kennedy Administration, where Bilderberg "alumni" included Dean Rusk, George W. Ball, George McGhee, Walt Whitman Rostow, McGeorge Bundy, Arthur Dean and Paul Nitze. These individuals have all played a consistent role in stressing the hard line and seem unaware of the dangers of the "military industrial complex."

In understanding the importance of Bilderberg, it is important to remember that this is not just a series of meetings. All the people who have attended the conferences get annual reports, and have almost automatic entree into additional contacts with fellow participants. To help this process along, the organization provides up to date addresses of all participants in the meetings. Hence, Bilderberg has contributed to the creation of a transnational or international group. Perhaps Bilderberg has been more important in creating new forms of organization beyond economic cooperation.

Bilderberg participants comprise a self-

conscious elite which takes the position that "political decisions of great magnitude are rarely understood by the public at large,"<sup>23</sup> hence, the Bilderberg group has become a intervening factor that has helped maintain the Atlantic Community. Unfortunately the more basic issue of peace in the world and disarmament have not been aided by the Bilderberg group. Against the madness of the arms race and atomic weapons, the agents for peace have been the anti-war groups and such international conferences as Pugwash.<sup>24</sup>

The political limitations placed on the Bilderberg Meetings has meant that individuals and groups seeking significant change in the Atlantic Community that would have either brought the world closer to peace or limit the military industrial complex were not invited. Compare the function and membership of the Bilderberg Meetings with the Pugwash Conferences sponsored by Cyrus Eaton. The Bilderberg Meetings are a place where the sophisticated members of the ruling elites and their retainers can meet and do their thing.

#### "L'EMINENCE GRISE"

Generally regarded as the "gray eminence"<sup>25</sup> of European diplomatic circles, Joseph H. Retinger contributed much towards the intrigues of secret negotiations and organization of power at the highest levels of statecraft. The eulogies bestowed upon him after his death in 1960 affirmed the notion that "he knew almost everyone that (sic) mattered in Europe and the United States." "I remember," recalled Sir Edward Beddington-Behrens, "in the United States his (Retinger) picking up the telephone and immediately making an appointment with the President; and in Europe, he had complete entree in every political circle, as a kind of right, acquired through trust, devotion, and loyalty he inspired."<sup>26</sup> Such a view was not shared by all in Europe, however.

Given an anti-Catholic tradition in European political circles, the "gray eminence" evoked suspicion within certain quarters. He was viewed as an agent of the Vatican in liaison between the Pope and the Father General of the Jesuit Order, the "White" and "Black eminences" respectively.<sup>27</sup> Although such allegations may be rejected out of hand, it must be recognized that Retinger contributed to and was a strategic catalyst for many of the major diplomatic and political initiatives occurring within Western European circles. His most significant contribution was the founding of the European Movement, which was directly responsible for the creation of the Council of Europe.<sup>28</sup> Retinger's commitment towards the development of European unity after World War II, had its roots early in his political career.

During his youth in Cracow, Poland and later at the Sorbonne, where he was awarded a doctorate, Retinger identified himself with the policies of the Vatican as well as advancing his vision of a unified Europe. He once proposed to Premier Georges Clemenceau a plan, the goal of which was to foster unity

in Eastern Europe. Retinger argued that a unified and durable political structure would be best achieved by merging the states of Austria, Hungary and Poland into a tripartite monarchy under the guidance of the Jesuits. Recognizing the Catholic tradition in all three nations, he reasoned that such a religious heritage could form the base for a viable political structure. Clemenceau suspected Retinger of being an agent of what appeared a Vatican-inspired plan and immediately rejected the notion.<sup>29</sup>

During the same period, Retinger's intrigues included eleven trips to Mexico where initially he was instrumental in the organization of trade unions in the mid-1920's. Utilizing his extraordinary facility of operating effectively with personages of conflicting ideologies and social class, Retinger gained the confidence of the Mexican Government. Retinger was critical of capitalism before the coming of the welfare state and consequently formulated a plan to nationalize the United States oil interests in Mexico. The Mexican Government was so receptive to the concept that it charged Retinger with the mission of engaging in secret negotiations with Washington on the oil question.<sup>30</sup>

During World War II, Retinger held the post of political aide to General Sikorski and also served as the representatives to the Soviet Union from the London based Polish Government in Exile.

His most spectacular feat during the war was a clandestine mission to Poland in August, 1944. At the age of 58 he parachuted into Nazi occupied territory. West of Warsaw, successfully executing the mission on the eve of Polish liberation from the Germans, in spite of the fact that he incurred permanent physical disability from the jump.<sup>31</sup>

He delivered several million dollars to the Polish partisans as well as securing an operating governmental unit for the Polish Government in exile, to prevent the Soviets from instituting a Communist Regime in Warsaw in the wake of the German retreat. Although the Soviet Army was encamped along the Eastern bank of the Vistula River and within close proximity of Warsaw, the Russians chose to do nothing. Left without Russian military support, the Poles engaged in armed struggle against the Nazi war machine for two months.

By mid-century, Retinger had engaged in a career that was to merit the credentials and stature of a statesman appropriately titled the "gray eminence" of Europe. His early "leftist" views opened the doors of the anti-communist socialist leaders while his church connection gave him entree into Catholic parties of the political center. Yet his most consuming vision of a united Europe, a concept shared only by intellectuals and a handful of statesmen, was less a reality than ever. After the war, Retinger added an additional factor to his equation for unity: America. However, the political realities in Europe and its concomitant anti-Americanism were, in Retinger's mind, the seeds for a conflict that would engulf Europe "... within three months to three years." Consequently, he re-

newed with even greater zeal his refocused plan for the development of an "Atlantic Community." Towards this end he sought out a potential ally and a key member of the House of Orange Nassau, H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.

It was Retinger who approached Prince Bernhard in 1952 with a novel concept, a conference that would bring together leaders of the NATO community in a very private meeting conducted in an "off the cuff" manner. No reporters would be permitted to attend and no public statements concerning topics discussed would be made by any of the participants. It was believed that such an environment would allow the participants to engage in a more "meaningful dialogue" than would be possible in an open international meeting. On a grand scale, this meeting would implement group dynamics techniques to formulate a low keyed international "T" group, whose purpose was to sensitize the less "enlightened" of its membership towards the new transnational diplomacy of the Cold War.

Retinger's idea obtained immediate endorsement by Prince Bernhard. A nucleus of ten Europeans was formed to study the possibility of arriving at a concrete plan for the meeting. Having accomplished this in September, 1952, Bernhard then proceeded to establish a corresponding group in America where he found many members of the Truman Administration, including Averell Harriman, particularly receptive to the idea. However, it was not until the newly elected Republican administration took office that the American counterpart was established. General Walter Bedell Smith, director of CIA, and C. D. Jackson, then special assistant to the President and later publisher of *LIFE* magazine, were instrumental in aiding Bernhard. When John S. Coleman, president of Burroughs Corporation, was elected its chairman, the American group was officially created. When both the European and American groups met in formal conference at the Hotel de Bilderberg, they adopted the name of the hotel, calling themselves the "Bilderberg Group."

#### BILDERBERG MEETINGS HELD SINCE 1954

May 1954, Oosterbeek, Netherlands.  
March 1955, Barbizon, France.  
September 1955, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany.  
May 1956, Fredensborg, Denmark.  
February 1957, St. Simons Island, United States.  
October 1957, Fluggi, Italy.  
September 1958, Buxton, United Kingdom.  
September 1959, Yesilkoy, Switzerland.  
May 1960, Bergenstock, Switzerland.  
April 1961, Quebec, Canada.  
May 1962, Saltsjobaden, Sweden.  
March 1963, Cannes, France.  
March 1964, Williamsburg, Virginia, United States.  
April 1965, Como, Italy.  
March 1966, Weisbaden, W. Germany.  
March 1967, Cambridge, England.  
April 1968, Mont Tremblant, Canada.

Footnotes at end of article.

United States Bilderberg participants	Council on Foreign relations	Bilderberg meetings						
		1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968
Honorary Secretary General (United States): Joseph E. Johnson.	Member, Director.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Chairman: 1954-55: John S. Coleman.	Member.....	X						

United States Bilderberg participants	Council on Foreign Relations	Bilderberg meetings						
		1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968
Cochairman: 1955-57:								
Dean Rusk.....	do.....	X	X				X	
Gen. Walter Bedell Smith.	do.....							
Cochairman: 1957-present:								
Arthur H. Dean.....	Member, Director.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry J. Heinz II.....	Member.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

United States Bilderberg participants	Council on Foreign relations	Bilderberg meetings						
		1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968
<b>Advisory Committee:</b>								
Henry J. Heinz II.....	do.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
George Nebolsine.....	do.....	X	X	X				
<b>Steering Committee:</b>								
George W. Ball (resigned 1961).....	do.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Emilio G. Collado.....	do.....			X	X	X	X	X
Gardner Cowles.....	do.....	X				X	X	X
Arthur H. Dean.....	Member, Director.....	X	X	X	X		X	X
John H. Ferguson.....	Member.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gabriel Hauge.....	Member, Treasurer.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry J. Heinz II.....	Member.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

United States Bilderberg participants	Council on Foreign relations	Bilderberg meetings						
		1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968
C. D. Jackson.....	do.....	X	X	X	X			
Robert D. Murphy.....	do.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
George Nebolsine.....	do.....	X	X	X	X			
David Rockefeller.....	Member, Vice President.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dean Rusk (resigned 1961).....	Member.....	X	X			X		
Gen. Walter Bedell Smith.....	do.....							
Shepard Stone.....	do.....				X	X	X	X
James D. Zellerback.....	do.....	X						

<sup>1</sup> Cumulative list for period 1954-66.

European Bilderberg Participants	Bilderberg meetings						
	1955	1957	1963	1964	1966 <sup>1</sup>	1967	1968
<b>Chairman:</b> H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.....							
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Honorary Secretary General for Europe:</b>							
Joseph H. Retinger (1954-60).....	X	X					
Ernst H. van der Beugel (1960-68).....			X	X	X	X	X
<b>Honorary Treasurer:</b>							
Paul Rykens (1954-64).....	X	X	X	X			
Johannes Meynen (1964-68).....			X	X	X	X	
<b>Deputy Secretary General for Europe:</b> Arnold T. Lamping (1960-68).....							
			X	X	X	X	X
<b>Advisory Committee:</b>							
Rudolf Mueller, Germany.....	X	X				X	
Pietro Quaroni, Italy.....	X	X	X	X		X	
Paul Rykens, Netherlands.....	X	X	X	X			
<b>Steering Committee:</b>							
Agnelli, Giovanni, Italy.....			X	X	X	X	X
Airey, Sir Terence, United Kingdom.....	X						
Arlottis, Charles C., Greece.....						X	X
Baumgartner, Wilfrid S., France.....			X	X			X
Bennett, Sir Frederic, United Kingdom.....			X	X			X
Birgi, M. Nuri, Turkey.....		X	X	X			X
Boveri, Walter E., Switzerland.....					X		X

  

European Bilderberg Participants	Bilderberg meetings						
	1955	1957	1963	1964	1966 <sup>1</sup>	1967	1968
Cavendish-Bentnick, Victor, United Kingdom.....	X		X			X	
Christiansen, Hakon, Denmark.....		X					
Duncan, James S., Canada.....			X	X	X		
Erlar, Fritz, Germany.....		X					
Fanfani, Amatore, Italy.....			X				
Hag e, Jens C., Norway.....		X					
Healey, Dennis W., United Kingdom.....		X		X		X	X
Hoegh, Leif, Norway.....		X		X			X
van Kleffens, Felco N., E.C.S.C.....			X	X			
Maudling, Reginald, United Kingdom.....						X	
Mueller, Rudolf, Germany.....		X					
Quaroni, Pietro, Italy.....		X	X			X	
Rykens, Paul, Netherlands.....		X	X	X			
Sarmiento Rodrigues, Manuel M., Portugal.....						X	
Schmid, Carlo, Germany.....		X		X			
Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron, Belgium.....			X	X			
Taverne, Dick, United Kingdom.....						X	X
Terkelsen, Terkel M., Denmark.....		X	X	X			
Valletta, Vittorio, Italy.....						X	X
Wallenberg, Marcus, Sweden.....			X	X		X	X
Wolff von Amerongen, Otto, Germany.....		X	X	X		X	X

<sup>1</sup> Cumulative list for period 1954-66.

Bilderberg participants	Bilderberg meetings						
	1955	1957	1963	1964	1966 <sup>1</sup>	1967	1968
<b>Australia:</b> Officer, Sir Keith.....							
	X					X	
<b>Austria:</b>							
Czernetz, Karl.....			X			X	
Lendavi, Paul.....							X
Molden, Fritz P.....	X						
Portish, Hugo.....							
Thurn, Max.....						X	
Withalm, Hermann.....						X	
Zimmer-Lehmann, Georg.....						X	
Withalm, Herman.....						X	
<b>Belgium:</b>							
Ansiaux, Hubert.....						X	
Bauwens, Marcel.....							X
Becu, Omer L.....		X					
Boël, Baron Rene.....							
Bonoisin, Baron Pierre.....		X					
Camu, Louis.....							X
Cool, Auguste P.....							
Dehousse, Fernand.....							
Drapier, Jean.....		X					
Fayat, Henri.....							
Guillaume, Baron J.....		X					
Kerchove d'Ousseighem, Nicolas W. de.....				X	X		
Lefevre, Theo.....						X	
Motz, Roger.....		X					
Ryckmans, Pierre.....		X					
Segers, Paul W.....						X	
Simonet, Henri.....						X	
Solvay, Jacques.....							X
Spaak, Paul Henri.....			X				
Vallee Poussin, Etienne de la.....		X					
Willems, Jean.....							
Zeeland, Viscomte Paul van.....		X					
<b>Canada:</b>							
Allard, J. V.....							X
Bassett, John W. H.....				X			
Beaton, Leonard.....							X
Belanger, Michel.....							
Bruce, Fraser W.....		X					
Cadieux, Marcel.....							
Coldwell, M. J.....							
Davidson, Ian D.....							
Deutsch, John J.....							
Dodge, William.....							X
Duncan, James S.....				X	X		
Dunton, A. Davidson.....						X	
Dupuy, Pierre.....		X					
Eayrs, James.....						X	
Faribault, Marcel.....						X	
Fleming, Donald M.....						X	
Foulkes, Charles.....						X	

  

Bilderberg participants	Bilderberg meetings						
	1955	1957	1963	1964	1966 <sup>1</sup>	1967	1968
Gibson, J. Douglas.....							X
Gordon, Walter L.....							X
Griffin, Anthony G. S.....			X	X		X	X
Heeney, Arnold D. P.....		X					
Holmes, John W.....							X
Lambert, Allen T.....							X
Lamontagne, Maurice.....				X			
Leger, Jules.....							X
Lesage, Jean.....						X	
Marchand, Jean.....						X	X
Martin, Paul.....		X					
McKinnon, Neil.....						X	
McLean, William F.....							X
Michener, Roland.....			X			X	
Molson, Hartland de M.....							X
Parizeau, Jacques.....					X	X	
Pearson, Lester B.....							X
Rasminsky, Louis.....							X
Ritchie, Ronald S.....							X
Robertson, Norman A.....		X				X	
Ronning, Chester A.....							X
Ryan, Claude.....						X	
Sauve, Maurice.....							X
Stanfield, Robert L.....						X	
Stone, Thomas.....		X					
Thornbrough, Albert A.....							X
Wilgress, Dana.....						X	
Winters, Robert H.....					X		
<b>Denmark:</b>							
Axel of Denmark, H. R. H. Prince.....		X					
Christiansen, Hakon.....			X				
Haekkerup, Per.....					X	X	
Knudtzon, Harald.....					X		
Kraft, Ole B.....		X		X			
Krag, Jens O.....					X		
Matthiasen, Neils.....						X	X
Sorensen, Svend O.....						X	X
Norgaard, Ivar.....						X	
Finland: Nykopp, Johan.....					X		X
<b>France:</b>							
Andre, Robert.....		X				X	
Aron, Raymond.....						X	
Baumel, Jacques.....				X	X		X
de Baumont, Guerin.....		X					
Bourbon Busset, Comte de.....						X	
Brutelle, Georges.....							X
Casanova, Jean C.....							X
Chalanden, Albin.....							X
Clement-Cuzin, Rene.....		X				X	
Commin, Pierre.....			X				
Croissillier, Francois.....						X	

Footnotes at end of table.

Bilderberg participants	Bilderberg meetings						
	1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968
<b>France—Continued</b>							
Da La Garde, Jean			X				
Defferre, Gaston				X			
Dreyfus, Pierre					X		
Duchet, Roger		X					
Duhamel, Jacques							X
Faure, Maurice		X					
Fontaine, Andre			X				
Fouchier, Jacques de							X
Gallois, Pierre M.				X			
Georges-Picot, Jacques					X		
Gisard d'Estaing, Valery							X
Guichard, Baron Olivier					X		
Guindey Guillaume					X		
Hartung, Henri						X	X
Huvelin, Paul						X	
Lagarde, Comte Jean de							
La Malene, Christian de				X			
Lecanuet, Jean							
Letourneau, Jean		X					
Lipkowski, Jean de				X			
Marjolin, Andre		X					
Massigli, Rene			X				
Mauvais, Andre		X					
Mendes-France, Pierre							X
Mollet, Guy		X		X			
Morisot, Georges							
Partrat, Antoine		X					
Piette, Jacques		X		X			
Pinay, Antoine		X		X			
Pléven, Rene			X				
Pompidou, Georges							
Rothschild, Baron Edmond de							X
Roux, Ambroise						X	
Rueff, Jacques							
Segard, Jacques			X				
Sergent, Rene			X				
Tanugi de Jongh, E. L.							
Teigen, Pierre-Henri						X	
Tron, Ludovic							
Uri, Pierre E.							
Villiers, Georges							
Voisin, Andre		X					
Yrissou, Henri							
<b>Germany:</b>							
Abs, Herman					X		
Bahr, Egon							X
Barzel, Rainer					X		
Becker, Kurt						X	
Beitz, Berthold					X		
Berg, Fritz		X	X	X			
Birrenbach, Kurt				X		X	
Boden, Hans C.							
Brauer, Max		X		X			
Dethlefsen, Erich							
Eckardt, Felix von							
Emminger, Otmar							
Erhard, Ludwig							
Falkenheim, Ernst G. P.							
Geyer, Gerhard		X					
Gross, Herbert		X					
Hallstein, Walter		X					
Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Hans-Heinrich			X				
Heyn, Rolf		X					
Kiesinger, Kurt-George		X	X				
Krapf, Franz				X			
Kuhlmann-Stumm, Knut Freiherr von				X			
Leverkuehn, P. M. A.		X					
Lowenthal, Richard							X
Majonica, Ernst				X			
Mehner, Klaus							
Mehne, Alexander W.		X	X				
Mommer, Karl							
Merkel, Hans						X	
Mueller-Armack, Alfred							
Rosenberg, Ludwig		X					
Ruge, Friedrich							
Schiller, Karl							
Schmidt, Helmut						X	
Schneider, Ernst Georg		X					
Sohl, Hans-Gunther		X					
Speidel, Hans				X			
Springer, Sr., Axel C.							X
Sternberger, Dolf		X					
Stollenberg, Gerhard							X
Strauss, Franz-Joseph			X				
Troeger, Heinrich		X					
Westrick, Ludwig				X			
<b>Greece:</b>							
Athanassiades, Bodoasski							
Kanellopoulos, Penayotis		X					
Niarchos, Stavros S.						X	X
Pipinelis, Panayotis		X					
Pesmazoglou, John S.						X	
Stratos, Christofore							
<b>Iceland:</b>							
Benediktsson, Bjarni							X
Thoroddson, Gunnar							
<b>International:</b>							
Beer, Henrik (Red Cross)				X	X		
Booth, Alan R. (World Council of Churches)							X
Brosio, Manlio (NATO)						X	
Dunlap, Clarence R. (S.H.A.P.E.)							
Ismay, the Lord (NATO)		X					
Kohnstamm, Max (A.C.U.S.E.)			X	X			
<b>Bilderberg participants</b>							
<b>Bilderberg meetings</b>							
1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968	
<b>Kristensen, Thorkil (O.E.C.D.)</b>							
Lemnitzer, Gen. Lyman L. (S.H.A.P.E.)							X
Lieftnick, Pieter (IMF-IBRD)							
Mansholt, Sicco L. (E.E.C.)		X					
Marjolin, Robert E. (E.E.C.)			X	X			
Puget, Andre (S.H.A.P.E.)							
Rey, Jean (E.E.C.)							X
Schuyler, C. V. R. (S.H.A.P.E.)							
Schweitzer, Pierre-Paul (IMF)							
Southard jr., Frank A. (IMF)							
Stikker, Dirk U. (NATO)							
Thurston, Raymond (NATO)							
Visser 't Hooft, Willem A. (World Council of churches)							X
Woods, George D. (IBRD)							
Wyndham White, Eric (GATT)							
Wyndham Webb, Sir Clifton							
<b>Italy:</b>							
Agnelli, Giovanni							X
Anzilotti, Enrico							
Bassetti, Piero							
Cafiero, Raffaele		X					
Carli, Guido							
Cefis, Eugenio							
Chiusano, V.							
De Micheli, Alighiero							
Ferrari Aggradi, Mario							
La Malfa, Ugo							
Lolli, Ettore							
Longo, Imbriani		X	X				
Malagodi, Giovanni							
Malfatti, Franco M.							
Messeri, Girolamo							
Olivetti, Roberto							
Pastore, Giulio		X					
Peccei, Aurelio							
Pedini, Mario							
Petrilli, Giuseppe							
Pirelli, Alberto		X					
Pirelli, Leopoldo							
Ronchey, Alberto							
Rossi, Paolo		X					
Rumor, Mariano							
Saraceno, Pasquale							
Scaglia, Giovanni Battista							
Scarpa, Gino		X					
Spinelli, Altiero							
Stille, Ugo							
Vittorelli, Paolo							
<b>Netherlands:</b>							
Aukes, Albert G.							
Beyen, J. Willem							
Biesheuvel, Barend W.							
Blaisse, Peter A.							
Boon, Hendrik N.							
Dankert, Piet							
Hirschfeld, H. M.		X					
Kapteyn, P. J.							
Karsten, Christian F.							
Koninsberger, V. J.		X					
Koster, Henri J. de							
Kuin, Pieter							
Kymmell, Jaap							
Loudon, Jonkeer John H.							
Luns, Joseph M. A. H.							
Mathon, Theodore E. H.							
Netherlands, H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the							
Netherlands, H.R.H. Prince Claus of the							
Oldenbroek, J. H.							
Oosterhuis, H.							
Ooyevaar, J. J.							
Otten, Pieter F. S.							
Rooyen, J. Herman van							
Samkalden, Ivo							
Sandberg, Herman W.							
Steenbergh, Maximilien		X					
Tinbergen, Jan							
Udink, Berend J.							
Verrijn Stuart, G. M.		X					
Vries, Egbert de							
Waisem, H. F. van		X					
Zijlstra, Jelle							
<b>Norway:</b>							
Engen, Hans							
Lange, Halvard							
Lindebraekke, Sjur D. J.		X					
Melander, Johan A.							
Moe, Finn		X					
Munthe, Preben							
Skaug, Arne							
Tidemand, Otto G.							
Willoch, Kaare I.							
<b>Pakistan: Zafrulla Kahn, Sir Muhammad</b>							
<b>Portugal:</b>							
Espirito Santo Silva, Manuel R.							
Mathias, Marcello G. N. D.							
Nogueira, Alberto F.							
Ulrich, Ruy E.		X					
<b>Sweden:</b>							
Aspling, Sven							
Boheman, Erik							
Dahlman, Sven							
Erlander, Tage F.							
Geijer, Arne							



Bilderberg participants	Bilderberg meetings						
	1955	1957	1963	1964	1966 <sup>1</sup>	1967	1968
Heckscher, Gunnar.....					X		
Holmberg, Yngve.....						X	
Iveroth, Axel.....					X		
Jacobsson, Per.....			X				
Kling, Herman.....				X			
Lange, Gunnar.....					X		
Lundvall, Björn.....							X
Ohlin, Bertil.....		X			X		
Palme, S. Olof J.....					X		
Sandler, Rickard.....		X					
Tingsten, Herbert L. G.....		X			X		
Waldenstrom, Herbert L. G.....		X					
Switzerland:							
Broggini, Gerardo.....					X		
Burckhardt, Charles J.....		X			X		
Jolles, Paul.....				X			
Petitpierre, Max.....				X			
Reinhardt, Eberhard.....					X		
Rougemont, Denis de.....		X					
Schaffner, Hans.....						X	
Schwarz, Urs.....					X		
Umbrecht, Victor H.....				X			
Turkey:							
Alpakartal, Nureddin F.....					X		
Ariburun, Tekin.....					X		
Belge, Burnham.....					X		
Diker, Vecdi.....					X		
Eczacibasi, Nejat F.....				X			X
Esenbel, Melih.....					X		
Gidel, Nail.....					X		
Sarper, Selim.....					X		
Tokay, Selahattin.....					X		
Tokus, Ahmet.....					X		
Türknefi, İker.....							X
United Kingdom:							
Astor, the Honorable David.....			X		X		
Barran, David H.....					X	X	
Beddington-Behrens, Sir Edward.....					X		
Boothby, the Lord.....		X			X		
Bridgeman, Sir. Maruice R.....							X
Brown, George A.....					X		
Buchan, the Honorable Alaster.....					X		X
Buzzard, Sir Anthony.....		X			X		
Callaghan, James.....				X	X		
Chambers, Sir Paul.....				X	X		X
Clietheroe, the Lord.....		X			X		
Cochrane, Sir Ralph.....					X		
Cohen, the Honorable.....					X		
Crowthier, Sir Geoffrey.....		X			X		
Davies, Clement.....		X			X		
Delmer, D. Sefton.....		X			X		
Dundee, the Earl of.....					X		
Edinburgh, H.R.H. the Prince Philip, Duke of.....					X	X	
Elliott, Sir William.....			X		X		
Foster, Sir John.....		X				X	
Franks, the Lord.....		X					
Gaitskell, Hugh.....		X					
Geddes, Reay.....					X		
Geddes of Epsom, the Lord.....		X					
Gladwyn, the Lord.....					X		
Glendevon, the Lord.....					X		
Grimond, Joseph.....					X		
Gubbins, Sir Colin.....		X	X	X	X		
Hall, Sir Arnold.....						X	
Hall Patch, Sir Edmund.....					X		
Harlech, the Lord.....					X		
Heath, Edward R. G.....			X		X	X	
Hogg, Quintin.....					X		
Hope, the Lord John.....		X			X		
Hyde, H. Montgomery.....		X			X		
Jay, Douglas P. T.....					X		
Jellicoe, the Earl.....					X		
Kearon, Sir Frank.....					X	X	
Keswick, John.....		X			X		
Kilmuir, the Earl of.....			X		X		
Kipping, Sir Norman.....					X		
Kleinwort, Cyril.....					X		
Knollys, the Viscount.....					X		
Mountbatten of Burma, the Earl.....					X		
O'Neill, Sir Con.....					X		
Oppenheim, Sir Duncan.....		X			X		X
Pilkington, Sir Harry.....					X		
Plowden, the Lord.....					X		X
Powel, J. Enoch.....					X		
Richardson, Gordon.....					X		
Robens of Woldingham, the Lord.....		X			X		
Roberts, Sir Alfred.....					X		
Roll, Sir Eric.....					X	X	
Shawcross, Lord.....					X		
Shonfield, Andrew A.....					X		X
Slessor, Sir John.....		X			X		
Smith, A. H.....					X		
Steel, Sir Lincoln.....			X		X		
Stevens, John M.....					X		
Stewart, Michael.....					X		
Tennant, Peter F. D.....					X		
Tiarks, Henry F.....					X		
Turner, Sir Mark.....				X	X		
Warburg, Sir Siegmund.....					X		
Wheeler, Sir Charles.....					X		X
Williamson, the Lord.....		X			X		
Wilson, Harold.....					X		
Woodhouse, the Honorable Montague.....					X		
Woodhouse, Christopher M.....				X	X		
Wren, Walter T.....		X			X		
Younger, Kenneth.....					X		

<sup>1</sup> Cumulative list for period 1954-66.

United States Bilderberg participants	Council on Foreign Relations	Bilderberg meetings						
		1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968
Acheson, Dean G.....	Member.....				X		X	
Achilles, Theodore C.....	do.....					X	X	
Anderson, Robert O.....	do.....			X			X	
Barbour, Walworth.....	do.....					X		
Beebe, Frederick S.....	Member.....						X	
Bell, David E.....	do.....					X		
Bell, Elliott V.....	Director, treasurer.....					X		
Bingham, Barry.....	do.....		X			X		
Black, Eugene R.....	Member.....		X			X		
Blum, Robert.....	do.....		X			X		
Bolling, Richard.....	do.....					X		
Bowie, Robert R.....	Member.....		X			X		
Brademas, John.....	do.....					X		
Brandt, Karl.....	do.....					X		
Brooke, Senator Edward.....	do.....					X		
Brewster, Jr., Kingman.....	Member.....					X	X	
Brown, Irving.....	do.....		X			X		
Bruce, David K. E.....	do.....					X		
Brzezinski, Zbigniew.....	do.....					X		X
Bundy, McGeorge.....	do.....			X		X		
Burgess, W. Randolph.....	do.....					X		
Cabot, Louis W.....	do.....					X		
Case, Senator Clifford P.....	do.....					X		
Cisler, Walker L.....	do.....		X	X	X	X		
Cleveland, Harlan.....	do.....					X	X	
Cleveland, Harold Van B.....	do.....					X	X	
Cole, David L.....	do.....					X		X
Cook, Donald C.....	do.....					X		
Copeland, Lamont du Pont.....	Member.....				X	X		
Cordier, Andrew W.....	do.....					X		
Deming, Frederick.....	do.....					X		X
Dewey, Thomas E.....	do.....		X			X		
Diebold, John.....	do.....					X		X
Dillon, C. Douglas.....	Director.....					X		
Dodge, Joseph N.....	do.....		X			X		
Donovan, Hedley.....	Member.....					X		
Finletter, Thomas K.....	Director.....					X		
Flanders, Senator Ralph E.....	Member.....		X				X	
Ford, Jr., Congressman.....	do.....					X	X	
Gerald R.....	do.....					X		
Ford II, Henry.....	do.....					X		X
Foster, William C.....	Director.....					X		
Frankel, Max.....	Member.....					X		
Frelinghuysen, Congressman Peter H. B.....	do.....					X		
Fulbright, Senator J. William.....	do.....			X		X	X	
Gallagher, Congressman.....	do.....				X		X	
Cornelius E.....	do.....					X		
Garner, Robert L.....	Member.....		X			X		
Gilpatric, Roswell L.....	do.....					X		
Golden, Clinton S.....	do.....		X			X		
Goodpaster, Andrew.....	Member.....					X		X
Gordon, Lincoln.....	do.....			X		X		
Gossett, William T.....	do.....					X		
Gruntner, General Alfred M.....	Member.....		X			X		
Hafstad, Lawrence R.....	do.....		X			X		
Harris, Senator Fred.....	do.....					X		
Harsch, Joseph C.....	Member.....					X		
Hays, Congressman.....	do.....			X		X		
Brooks.....	do.....					X		
Heilperin, Michael A.....	do.....		X	X		X		
Herter, Christian A.....	do.....					X		
Hewitt, William A.....	do.....					X		
Hickenlooper, Senator.....	do.....					X		
Bourke B.....	do.....					X		
Hochschild, Harold K.....	Member.....					X		
Hoffman, Paul G.....	do.....		X	X		X		
Hoffman, Stanley.....	do.....					X		X
Holfield, Congressman.....	do.....					X		
Chet.....	do.....					X		
Horning, Donald F.....	do.....					X		

Footnotes at end of table.

United States Bilderberg participants	Council on Foreign Relations	Bilderberg meetings						
		1955	1957	1963	1964	1966	1967	1968
Irwin, Donald J.					X	X	X	X
Jackson, Senator Henry M.					X	X	X	X
Jackson, William H.	Member		X			X		
Javits, Senator Jacob K.	do			X		X		
Jay, Nelson Dean	do	X				X		
Katz, Milton	do					X		
Kaysen, Carl	Studies						X	
Keener, Jefferson W.							X	
Kennan, George F.	Member	X	X			X		
Kennedy, David M.					X	X		X
Kissinger, Henry A.	Member		X		X	X		
Knoppers, Antonio T.	do						X	
Kraft, Joseph	do						X	
Lindsay, Franklin A.	do				X	X		
Litchfield, Jr., Lawrence	do					X		
Littlejohn, Edward		X				X		
Mailard, William S.						X		
Martin, Edwin W.	Member					X		
Mason, Edward S.	do	X		X		X		
Mathias, Jr., Congressman							X	X
Charles Mc								
McCloy, John J.	Chairman, board				X	X		
McCormack, James	Member					X		
McDonald, David J.			X			X		
McGee, Gale W.	Member					X		
McGhee, George C.	do	X	X	X	X	X		
McGill, Ralph E.			X			X		
McNamara, Robert	Member						X	
Strange								
McNaughton, John T.							X	
Monroney, Senator A. S.							X	
Mike								
Morse, F. Bradford						X		
Mosley, Philip E.	Member					X		
Moyers, Bill D.	Director						X	X
Nash, Frank C.			X					
Neal, Alfred C.	Finance Committee					X		
Newhouse, John							X	
Nitze, Paul H.	Member	X	X	X		X		
Norstad, Lauris	do							X
Parker, Cola G.			X					
Patterson, Morehead			X					
Payne, Frederick B.	Member						X	
Perkins, George W.		X						
Perkins, James A.	Director			X			X	X
Peterson, Howard C.	Member						X	
Peterson, Rudolph A.							X	
Piel, Gerard							X	
Piore, Emanuel R.	Member						X	
Price, Don K.							X	
Rabi, Isidor I.	Member		X					
Reston, James B.	do						X	
Reuss, Henry	do						X	
Reuther, Walter P.	do						X	
Roberts, Henry Lithgow	do						X	
Roose, Robert V.	Director		X				X	
Rostow, Eugene V.	Member						X	
Ryan, John T.	do						X	X
Samuelson, Paul A.							X	
Schmidt, Adolph W.	Member						X	
Schnitzler, William F.			X				X	
Scott, Senator Hugh							X	
Shulman, Marshall D.	Member, Committee						X	
Smith, Admiral H. Page	Member						X	
Spang, Joseph P., Jr.			X				X	
Sparkman, Senator John			X				X	
Spofford, Charles M.	Director		X		X		X	
Sulzberger, Arthur Hays	Member		X				X	
Sulzberger, Cyrus L.	do						X	
Tuthill, John W.	do						X	
Vernon, Raymond	do						X	
Vorss, Congressman							X	
John M.							X	
Wicker, Thomas G.			X				X	
Wilcox, Francis O.	Member		X				X	X
Wilde, Frazier B.	do			X			X	
Wiley, Senator Alexander			X				X	
Wohlstetter, Albert	Member						X	
Wriston, Walter B.	do						X	

<sup>1</sup> Cumulative list for period 1954-66.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Even the Leaks are Watertight", *Daily Sketch* (London), April 3, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> *Private Eye* (London), April 14, 1967, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> "Aid by C.I.A. Put in the Millions: Group Total Up", *New York Times*, February 19, 1967, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> George Seldes, *Facts and Fascism* (New York: In Facts Inc., 1943), pp. 153ff.

David Lasser, *Private Monopoly: The Enemy at Home*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945) pp. 129ff.

Gabriel Kolko, "American Business & Germany 1930-1941", *Western Political Quarterly*, (December, 1962).

<sup>5</sup> Gary Allen, "The C.F.R.: Conspiracy to Rule the World", *American Opinion* (Belmont, Mass.: April, 1969).

<sup>6</sup> Alden Hatch, *H.R.H. Bernhard Prince of the Netherlands* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph H. Retinger, *Bilderberg Meetings* (unpublished confidential report, November 1968), p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Edith Kermit Roosevelt, "Lobby Lawyers: Hidden World of Secret Pressures", *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*, October 31, 1968, p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Hatch, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>11</sup> Edith Kermit Roosevelt, "Lobby Lawyers: Dominance in World Economics", *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*, Oct. 31, 1968, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> James Stewart Martin, *All Honorable Men* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1950), pp. 53, 67, 250.

<sup>13</sup> Fred J. Cook, "The C.I.A.", *Nation*, June 24, 1961, p. 537.

<sup>14</sup> *New York Times*, loc. cit.

<sup>15</sup> "President Revives Intelligence Board", *New York Times*, May 5, 1961, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Encuentros Siglo XX, II Meeting, Paracus, Pisco, Peru, June 2-5, 1966*, Confidential report and minutes of meeting.

<sup>17</sup> Retinger, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> "Max Kuhnstamm's Summary of Discussion Which Took Place at the Bilderberg Conference in Cambridge, England—April 2, 1967", Confidential correspondence from Max Kuhnstamm to H.R.H. Bernhard.

<sup>19</sup> From interview with Joseph E. Johnson, August 15, 1968.

<sup>20</sup> *Rockefeller Brothers Fund Report*, 1958.

<sup>21</sup> Hatch, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>22</sup> Roger Mennevee, "Les Influences Americaines 'Le Groupe de Bilderberg' et La France", *Le Documents, Politiques, Diplomatiques et Financiers*, (Paris: October, 1967), p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Retinger, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Barbara Ward Jackson, "A Stevenson Memorial", *Saturday Review*, July 9, 1966, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Hatch, op. cit., p. 213.

<sup>26</sup> *The Times* (London), June 13, 1960, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Roger Mennevee, "Les Eminence Grises de La Politique Mondiale: Nouveaux Documents sur M. Retinger et le Groupe de Bilderberg", *Les Documents, Politiques, Diplomatiques et Financiers*, (Paris: December, 1967), p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Hatch, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>29</sup> Mennevee, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Mennevee, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> Hatch, op. cit., p. 213.