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TRILATERAL COMMISSION

IP0092

In response to numerous inquiries relating to the Trilateral Commission, we have assembled the enclosed materials. This packet includes background information on the Commission, a listing of its members, articles regarding the influence of the Commission, and a bibliography of publications by and about the Commission.

Many of the items in the bibliography may be available at a local public or school library.

We hope this information is helpful.

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We've Been Asked

Just What Is the Trilateral Commission?

Campaign attacks on George Bush and John Anderson for membership on the Trilateral Commission again are putting the spotlight on a controversial international organization.

Conservative critics claim that the commission constitutes a conspiracy seeking to gain control of the U.S. government and to create a new world order.

Bush and Anderson are not the only presidential aspirants with Trilateralist links. An adviser on Ronald Reagan's team, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Caspar Weinberger, is a member. President Carter also was in the organization before his election, as were nearly 20 present or former top members of his administration.

What is the commission?

It is a group of 275 prominent businessmen, labor leaders, scholars, statesmen and politicians from the world's three major non-Communist industrialized regions—North America, Western Europe and Japan.

What are its goals?

The commission's avowed aim is to increase political and economic cooperation among the three regions. This is done by analyzing major issues of common interest and developing practical proposals to deal with these problems. The commission has published 20 reports, covering such topics as energy, East-West relations and economics.

When and how did it start?

David Rockefeller, head of New York's Chase Manhattan Bank, convened a meeting of leaders from the three regions in 1972 to discuss a plan "to bring the best brains in the world to bear on problems of the future." As an upshot of the meeting, the Trilateral Commission was founded in 1973. Its first full-time director: Zbigniew Brzezinski, now Carter's national-security adviser.

How is it organized?

A 35-member executive committee manages the group's activities between annual meetings. There are three headquarters—New York, Paris and Tokyo—each with a small, full-time staff. Rockefeller is chairman of the North American section.

When and where does it meet?

The full commission gathers once a year for several days, rotating the meetings among the three areas represented. The annual meetings are closed to the media and public and are reported in a quarterly magazine published by the commission.

This year's meeting was held in London March 23-25. The program, underscoring the importance of the British attach to the group, included dinner with Prince Philip, a reception with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and speeches by former Prime Minister James Callaghan and Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington.

Who finances the commission?

The North American share of the current three-year budget totals 1.67 million dollars. Of this, \$644,000 comes from foundations, \$530,000 from corporations, \$220,000 from individuals and \$84,000 from investment income. The Rockefeller name is conspicuous on the list of donors: \$180,000 from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, \$100,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, \$150,000 from David Rockefeller's personal funds. There is no government money involved.

How are members of the commission chosen?

An 11-member American executive committee nominates candidates for the North American delegation. Nominations are made on the basis of interest in international affairs but with an attempt to strike a balance among areas of the country and professions.

Who serves on the commission?

Among the 76 U.S. members are 8 congressmen, 3 state and local government officials, 17 businessmen, 13 academicians, 7 bankers and financiers, 10 officials of nonprofit organizations and institutes, 7 lawyers, 4 trade-union officials, 3 journalists or media executives and 1 representative of agriculture interests. Commission members who join the executive branch of government must resign, but they often rejoin when their official service ends.

What about conspiracy charges?

George Bush, who resigned from the organization in 1978, says: "To suggest that those that belong to the commission . . . are involved in a conspiracy is absurd." Reagan loyalist Weinberger, who describes himself as "very conservative," says "the Trilateral Commission is performing a very valuable service in strengthening ties between the U.S. and our natural allies."

How influential is the commission in shaping government policy?

Its voice is undoubtedly heard. Besides Carter, former Trilateralists include Vice President Mondale, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and Brzezinski—the entire foreign-policy and national-security team.

Still, foreign-affairs experts make this argument: The policies pursued by the Carter administration have produced results that conflict with the commission's goals of closer cooperation among the non-Communist industrial regions and between this group and the Third World. Relations between the U.S. and its industrialized allies, these experts say, have frayed seriously over the past three years, and ties with a number of Third World nations—such as Iran—have rarely been worse.

Three Trilateralists in the Presidential Race



Bush



Anderson



Carter

Republican candidates George Bush and John Anderson and Democrat Jimmy Carter are present or former members of the Trilateral Commission.

Trilateralists: Big Tycoons On Defensive

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

When David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission came to Washington last week and called upon the Carter administration, it was like the nest returning to the sparrows.

President Carter, an ex-Trilateralist himself, greeted his former brethren in the East Room with praise so generous that it was mildly embarrassing to some.

"I was dumbfounded by some of the things he said," said a Trilateral executive. "I would love to get permission to quote him in our fund-raising."

This is terribly off-the-record, like all Trilateral discussions, but Carter told the 200 movers and shakers from America, western Europe and Japan that, if the Trilateral Commission had been in business after World War I, the world might have canceled World War II.

Thus encouraged, the Trilateralists heard from three other alumni, the Cabinet officers who count most in global matters—State, Defense and Treasury. A fourth star canceled his briefing because of illness—Carter's national security affairs adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the intellectual father of the Trilateral idea.

"Poor Zbig, he was sick as a pup," said Trilateral coordinator George S. Franklin. "He caught the Russian flu in China."

At least 18 top-level executives of the Carter administration were drawn from the Trilateral membership. So was the foreign minister of Japan. So were the prime minister of France and the labor minister of West Germany. The present membership includes 12 former Cabinet officers and top advisers of past U.S. administrations, from Kennedy's to Ford's.

It is a very heavy group — bankers and corporate barons, fellow-traveling technocrats,

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THE WASHINGTON POST

June 19, 1978

A Plan for How the World Ought to Run, If Only . . .

TRILATERAL, From A1

promising politicians and a light sprinkling of trade unionists drawn from three continents. This has stimulated much spooky theorizing about a Rockefeller shadow world government, a floating establishment conspiracy to run everything. In some circles of fervid political imagination, the "Trilateral connection" is shorthand for puppets on a string, responding to a secret agenda.

The reality, alas, is less dramatic. On paper, they run the world. But, in the flesh, the Trilateralists get together and mostly talk about how the world out to run, if only the world would cooperate.

This humble little secret slipped out from under the mirror-paneled doors at L'Enfant Plaza where the Trilateralists met for three days last week: the heavyweight members, despite their awesome economic clout, feel defensive, uneasy, unloved.

"It's surprising," said one participant, "that these big, powerful, hefty tycoons would be so defensive. They are not terribly confident."

At the White House, even the president lectured them on their bad image. Three foreign leaders from Third World countries, Carter said, have told him personally that the Trilateral Commission is nothing but "a rich man's club" that doesn't care about the rest of the world. The Trilateralists, Carter urged, should demonstrate to the poor nations of the world that the commission "has a heart."

"Ninety percent of the questions," one informed witness said, "were: 'Tell us, Mr. President, what can we do to get on better terms with the Third World?'"

It is a "rich man's club" in global terms, but that was the idea in the

first place. The members are drawn from the leading industrial and financial and intellectual empires of the noncommunist world — Citibank and Fiat and Nippon Steel, Oxford and Harvard and Tokyo University, Coca-Cola and Barclays of London and Mitsubishi. Their meetings are all in private, presumably to stimulate franker discussion, but perhaps also to enhance the mystique of importance.

At the Washington sessions, a number of participants noted how restrained and defensive the Trilateralists were with one another, tip-toeing around the strains and differences among themselves.

The Japanese were defensive about their trade surpluses. The Americans about their growing oil imports. The British and French about their import barriers. The Germans about their low rate of growth.

This is not exactly what everyone expected when "Trilateralism" was coined five years ago by Brzezinski as the new catch phrase of global thinking. It may have a short shelf life, as catch phrases go, because the Trilateral agenda has not exactly swept the world.

Neither the Carter administration nor its counterparts in Europe or Japan have been able to move very far on the monetary revisions proposed by a Trilateral study. Nor have they developed the unified energy strategy urged by the commission. Nor have they worked out a consolidated bargaining approach to those underdeveloped nations that are demanding a new economic order in the world.

The problem is messy politics, in every instance. And some of those who were inside noted that the Trilateral

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Trilateralists: Enhancing Mystique of Importance

TRILATERAL, From A14

talks here were stimulating and educational, but a trifle unreal—lofty theorizing above the realm of practical politics.

"They address serious problems in serious ways," said columnist Joseph Kraft, one of three journalists admitted as observers with the understanding that they would be discreet in reporting who said what. The others were New York Times columnist James Reston and Le Monde correspondent Michel Tatu.

"They're very useful for people who are not used to this world of discussion, but they are most distinguished for their lack of political realism," Kraft said. "They talk about the energy problem, but there's no acknowledgment of the political nationalism sweeping the world. There's no how-do-we-get-from-here-to-there."

John Sawhill, president of New York University, former federal energy administrator, and author of the Trilateral report on energy, made a similar point but saw a certain virtue in the commission's detachment.

"It's a little more detached from immediate politics," Sawhill said. "This gives the politicians a chance to step back and take a longer view of the future."

Richard Barnett, author of "Global Reach" and a leftist critic of multinational corporations who was definitely not invited to the Trilateral meetings, thinks the Rockefeller organization is increasingly irrelevant.

"It's all based on a make-nice view of reality," Barnett said. "Most of the positive agenda hasn't got anywhere. It was more interesting in the pre-Carter period because it looked like a nesting place for the next Democratic administration, if there was going to be one. Now it is less interesting."

Indeed, many of the members themselves think the Trilateral gatherings—in Bonn or Tokyo or Ottawa or here—are less valuable for the ideas or consensus they strive to generate, more useful merely as get-acquainted sessions. The Japanese, in particular, were drawn into deeper relations with European leaders through the Trilateral

teral sessions and are now engaged in regular government and private exchanges.

The attendance is good, especially when the meeting is held in Washington, because everyone knows the governments will be listening to what's said.

"These are influential people," said Maurice Sauve, former minister of Quebec. "They carry weight. If they want some action to be done, they can make the contacts without having to wait."

"Frankly," said Sawhill, "it's an awfully good training ground for American political leaders and not only American leaders."

Rockefeller and Brzezinski demonstrated a certain skill in picking ascendant politicians when they originated the commission in 1973—tapping Carter and Vice President Mondale, long before they were close to the White House.

For what it is worth, Rockefeller's list of young and promising politicians recently added to the commission in-

cludes Rep. William S. Cohen (R-Maine), Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), Illinois Republican Gov. James R. Thompson and West Virginia Democratic Gov. John D. Rockefeller IV, who is David Rockefeller's nephew.

Tatu, the Washington correspondent for Le Monde, said the Trilateral meetings have a certain sameness to them. The same people show up for the Bilderberg Conferences and Atlantic Institute meetings, a fact which stirs the conspiracy theorists to spin intricate webs of interlocking power.

"It's no more or less Imperialistic than any other meetings like this," Tatu said. "The leftists think it's a big conspiracy, which is completely wrong. It's just a forum for talks, very often empty talks."

Sen. William V. Roth (R-Del.), one of 11 senators and representatives on the commission, discovered an ancillary benefit from his membership. Last year, Penthouse magazine published a lengthy expose of Rockefeller's shadow government.

"That gave me an excuse to buy Penthouse," Roth said.



The Trilateral Commission

**A Private North American-European-Japanese
Initiative on Matters of Common Concern**

Organization and Policy Program

The Commission is composed of about 290 individuals from the three regions. From this larger group is drawn the Executive Committee, including the Regional Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen, and twenty-eight other individuals — twelve from Japan, eight from the United States, one from Canada, and thirteen from the various countries of the European Community and Norway. Once each year the full Commission gathers in one of the regions, as in Washington in June 1978, in Tokyo in April 1979, and in London in March 1980.

A major portion of each annual meeting is devoted to consideration of task force reports to the Commission. Task force work is at the center of the Policy Program of the Commission. Each report is the joint product of authors from each of the three regions. Although only the authors are responsible for the analysis and conclusions, they are likely to draw on a wide range of consultants in the course of their work, including Commission members and others. Before publication, a full draft is discussed in a plenary meeting of the Commission. Twenty task force reports have been completed so far, and four others are in various stages of preparation.

In addition to its task force reports, the Commission follows other subjects on a more topical basis by means of presentations and briefings at its meetings. Subjects covered have included the social and political implications of inflation, financial aspects of the oil crisis, prospects for peace in the Middle East, illicit corporate payments, macroeconomic policy coordination, nuclear energy and nuclear weapons proliferation, trade problems, and China and the international community.

Major current issues are also addressed in *Triologue*, the quarterly magazine published by the Commission. Three of the four issues each year are devoted to key international problems high on our nations' agendas, with articles and interviews by important public figures and experts from the trilateral regions and beyond. The fourth *Triologue* each year covers in detail the annual three-day meeting of the Commission.

"(H)ere above national and international bureaucracies and beyond the brief tenures of most elected governments, a useful level of meetings and exchanges of views has come into being—a sort of European-Japanese-American Establishment. Problems can be attacked there in a way that are beyond the narrow scope of nation-state interests and transcend the time horizons of a legislative session. Also problems can be more impartially and frankly discussed than in official channels. . . ."

Theo Sommer, Die Zeit

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North American Deputy Chairman: Mitchell Sharp
European Chairman: Georges Berthoin
European Deputy Chairman: Egidio Ortona
Coordinator: George S. Franklin
North American Secretary: Charles B. Heck
European Secretary: Martine Trink
Japanese Secretary: Tadashi Yamamoto

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(As of March 1, 1980)

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"From a Japanese point of view, I believe the Trilateral Commission has played an immensely useful role in bringing us more closely into the international concert. First, and most important to us, Japan. . . was involved since the very beginning in the exploratory stages which led to the Commission's creation. This was probably the first time Japan had been associated as an equal partner in a discussion group of such importance and magnitude. Second, unlike the United States where businessmen and lawyers often find their way on loan to the government, private citizens in Japan seldom have a chance to see and think about world affairs from a general and broader point of view. Their joining the Trilateral Commission has enabled them to do just that. . . (D)iscussions within the Commission do affect the thinking of our governments and in some cases—although indirectly—their policy decisions. In this sense, I believe that the Commission has made a difference—even if a number of crucial problems, trade relations for example, still exist among the trilateral countries."

Kiichi Miyazawa, former Foreign Minister of Japan, in *Dialogue*

The Industrialized Democratic Regions in a Changing International System

Inaugurated in July 1973, the Trilateral Commission is a policy-oriented organization. Based on analysis of major issues facing North America, Western Europe, and Japan, the Commission has sought to develop practicable proposals for joint action. The Commission's members are about 290 distinguished citizens from the three regions, drawn from a variety of backgrounds. Commission reports and activities have already stirred wide interest and made some important contributions.

The historical roots of the Commission can be traced primarily to serious strains early in the 1970s in relations among Japan, North America, and Western Europe. As the decade proceeded, however, it became increasingly clear that the strains and shifts in the international system are global as well as trilateral in scope. The renovation of the international system is thus a task of global as well as trilateral dimensions, and the work of the Commission, as evidenced in its meetings and reports, has moved accordingly.

In this global effort, the industrialized democratic regions remain an identifiable community and a vital core. Their focus, however, must not be on the preservation of the status quo, but on arrangements which increasingly embrace the Third and Fourth Worlds in a cooperative endeavor to secure a more equitable world order.

The renovation of the international system will be a very prolonged process. The system shaped after World War II was created through an act of will and human initiative in a relatively restricted period of time. One power had overwhelming might and influence, and others were closely associated with it. In contrast, a renovated international system will now require a process of creation—much longer and more complex—in which prolonged negotiations will have to be initiated and developed. In nurturing habits and practices of working together among the trilateral regions, the Commission should help set the context for these necessary efforts.

"The men organizing the Commission want it to take new looks at things. But not for abstract purposes . . . they want to bring about action, and hence they want the new body to be a marriage of the intellectual and the influential." The Economist

"The interests of North America, Western Europe and Japan now interlock in so many fields: trade and monetary questions, security and defense, energy supplies, social and environmental issues, aid to developing countries. It is essential for the future . . . that these three advanced industrial regions coordinate their policies and learn to work together. It is essential that Japan be treated as a full and equal partner. And first and foremost the communications gap with Japan must be overcome. It is good to hear that a group of distinguished citizens from all three areas is getting together Of course, the primary effort in formulating common policies must come from the governments concerned. But a non-governmental effort along the lines of Jean Monnet's Action Committee for a United States of Europe can do much to improve the atmosphere through trilateral contacts among scholars, economists, industrialists, labor leaders, and journalists."

The Christian Science Monitor

THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION

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THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION
A Selected List of References
Compiled by
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Founded in October 1973, the Trilateral Commission is an unofficial body with members from North America, Western Europe, and Japan who meet as private citizens, at intervals of six to nine months, to discuss major issues of common interest. According to the statement of purposes issued in October 1973 by the organization's executive committee, "The Commission will seek to promote among Japanese, West Europeans and North Americans the habit of working together on problems of mutual concern, to seek to obtain a shared understanding of these complex problems, and to devise and disseminate proposals of general benefit." Members are in the main persons of influence in economic, political, news media, and academic circles. The published reports of the task forces appointed by the commission have dealt with international economic and political issues such as oil and other energy resources, world trade, a world monetary system, international institutions and cooperation, East-West relations, control and exploitation of the oceans, and the difficulties currently besetting democratic governments. Although the commission had received a certain amount of publicity since its foundation, interest in its activities greatly increased when it was observed that President Carter and Vice President Mondale, as well as many high-ranking appointed officials in the Carter administration, had been members.

The present list cites all the commission's publications thus far issued and a selection of published writings about its activities and ideas. The arrangement is roughly chronological in each part. News stories and reviews commenting solely on the reports of the task forces are not included. An uncataloged set of the commission's publications is available for examination in the Bibliography Section of the General Reading Rooms Division.

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