



The Trilateral Commission at 25

BETWEEN PAST...AND FUTURE

Anniversary Evening
sponsored by U.S. Group
December 1, 1998
New York Historical Society

honoring

David Rockefeller

with creation of the David Rockefeller International Leadership Award,
to be given occasionally to persons who embody in their outlooks and
careers the international leadership which Trilateral exists to nurture.

and

Zbigniew Brzezinski

Sadako Ogata

Peter Sutherland

recipients of the David Rockefeller International Leadership Award,
who will speak from their own perspectives about the leadership chal-
lenges and responsibilities of the United States in the coming years.

Refreshments

Great Hall

6:00

Program

Auditorium

6:30-7:30

Paul Volcker, presiding, will introduce David Rockefeller and the David Rockefeller International Leadership Award.

David Rockefeller will speak.

Paul Volcker will present the award to

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Sadako Ogata, and Peter Sutherland, who will speak from their individual perspectives about the leadership challenges and responsibilities of the United States in the coming years.

Cocktails

Great Hall

7:30

Dinner

Dexter Room

8:00-10:00

At the conclusion of dinner, Paul Volcker will give the floor to four persons for brief tributes to David Rockefeller and the Trilateral Commission — **Georges Berthoin** from Europe, **Shijuro Ogata** from Japan, **Mitchell Sharp** from Canada, and **Henry A. Kissinger** from the United States.

Chairman's Welcome

Welcome to our Trilateral birthday party. Twenty-five years ago, a group of men and women drawn from the main industrialized countries joined together in a common effort. In concept, their purpose was simple: to achieve a better understanding of how they, their governments and their peoples might meet the challenges of global leadership. In practice, working together toward common goals has required sustained dedication and effort.

These twenty-five years have seen the triumph of the ideas of democracy and free markets. But for all of that, large challenges remain, challenges in some ways more elusive, requiring even closer cooperation among our societies. A world shrinking in terms of travel and ease of communication faces new pressures. Population growth; regional, ethnic and religious conflict; the spread of weapons of mass destruction; and economic disparities and vulnerabilities—all these and more demand attention. Plainly, in this new world, the time has come to reach beyond Europe, Japan and North America for participants in our work.

What remains unchanged is the insight of our founders. Analysis, debate, and discussion among leaders of the industrialized democracies can help provide the understanding and the common vision—and the glue of personal relationships—essential to successful leadership.

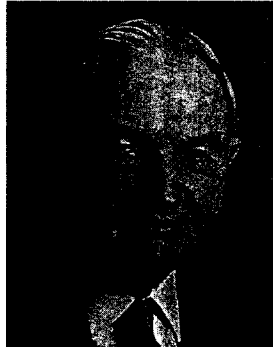
It was that insight that moved David Rockefeller, at the beginning of the 1970s, to instigate discussions among a small group of influential individuals about the concept of the Trilateral Commission. He, much more than anyone, was the catalyst and set the agenda. And who else, with his combination of extraordinary grace and tireless work, could have attracted such widespread support and enthusiasm?

Those who joined with David a quarter century ago to establish the Trilateral process had faith they could make a difference. They had the courage to plunge ahead. But there can be no mistaking that the inspiration flowed from a single man, a man who continues to nurture that vision and help keep it fresh in the ninth decade of his life.

That is why it is so fitting and right that this evening is a special tribute to the man we honor with the creation of the David Rockefeller International Leadership Award.

Thank you, David. And thank all of you, too, to everyone who has joined us this evening to honor David Rockefeller and the three distinguished award recipients—Zbigniew Brzezinski, Sadako Ogata and Peter Sutherland—each of whom, in their different ways, has made a lasting contribution to the Trilateral vision. We are privileged to have had the opportunity to share in this Trilateral vision in the Commission's first twenty-five years, and we look forward to its continued vitality and effectiveness.

Paul A. Volcker
North American Chairman



David Rockefeller

David Rockefeller took the lead in the formation of the Trilateral Commission in the early 1970s. He traveled to Japan and Europe (along with Zbigniew Brzezinski and George Franklin) to explore and confirm interest at the highest levels in this new initiative. He hosted the small meeting of key persons from all three regions in July 1972 at which the decision was taken to move forward with this initiative, launched a year later. Mr. Rockefeller served as North American Chairman from 1977 to 1991. In 1991 he became Founder and Honorary Chairman, and remains an active member.

Born in 1915 in New York City, David Rockefeller was educated at Harvard University, the London School of Economics and the University of Chicago, where he was awarded his Ph.D. in Economics in 1940. He was Secretary to the late Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York from 1940 to 1941. He enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1942, and served in North Africa and France. Mr. Rockefeller was awarded the French Legion of Honor before his discharge as a Captain in 1945.

After the war, he joined the Chase Bank in 1946 as an Assistant Manager in the Foreign Department. During his 35-year career with Chase, Mr. Rockefeller spearheaded the Bank's expansion internationally, domestically and throughout the metropolitan New York area, and led the Bank in its significant role as a corporate citizen. He was Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer from 1969 until 1980, and continued as Chairman until his retirement in 1981. He remains Chairman of the Bank's International Advisory Committee.

David Rockefeller is currently active in numerous business and not-for-profit projects, engaged in a broad range of international, governmental, philanthropic, civic and cultural affairs. He has received high honors from some 20 nations.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 17, 1998

Mr. David Rockefeller
New York, New York

Dear David:

I am delighted to congratulate you as you celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Trilateral Commission.

Twenty-five years ago, you recognized that a group of distinguished and committed private citizens from the leading nations of the world could make important contributions to solving the problems of the world. Out of that vision and conviction, the Trilateral Commission was born and a tradition was begun that happily continues to this day -- reflected not only in the work of the Commission, but also in the efforts of the G-7 and numerous private and public institutions and organizations dedicated to deepening international cooperation.

The world has changed in many ways during the past quarter-century, mostly for the better, and not least because the Commission and its members have strived to meet the objectives you set for them. But we face many new challenges today, and the Commission continues to play an important role in helping the world to meet those challenges.

I was proud to award you the Medal of Freedom earlier this year in recognition of your enormous contributions to the life of our nation and the world. This milestone in the history of the Trilateral Commission is yet another tribute to your achievements and foresight, and I am proud to join your friends and colleagues in saluting you on this occasion. Because of you, the Trilateral Commission remains vital today, and its work continues to be enriched by the participation of talented people from across the globe.

Best wishes for a wonderful anniversary celebration.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

GEORGE BUSH

Dear David,

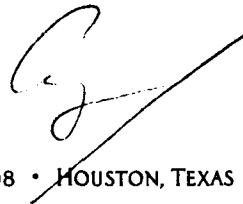
I will be in Kuwait when your many friends gather to honor you as the Trilateral Commission celebrates its 25th Anniversary.

If I were there with you I'd love to tell all assembled of my great respect for you and for your leadership in world affairs.

I am concerned about today's voices of protection from left and right - those voices that seem to feel we no longer should be involved in international foreign policy matters, should no longer enter into international trade agreements. We need more people like you who have a broad world view- who are not afraid to lead.

Thanks for all you have done to make the world a better place.

Your friend,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'G. Bush', written over a horizontal line.

P. O. BOX 79798 • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77279-9798



JIMMY CARTER

December 1, 1998

To David Rockefeller

I regret that I cannot be with you to celebrate the anniversary of the Trilateral Commission. I remain grateful that twenty-five years ago you asked me to be one of the first members. This gave me an opportunity to learn from and test my own ideas on some of the best thinkers in the democratic world. It also expanded my knowledge of the men and women of North America, Western Europe, and Japan who would provide global leadership for the next generation. As President of the United States, I would draw from their ranks for assistance, and I continue to value the friendships I made in the early years, including yours.

You, the founder, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, the first director, deserve recognition for your contribution to the peace and prosperity of the last quarter century among the industrialized democracies of the world. By bringing people together in a nongovernmental forum to discuss common problems, the Trilateral Commission has encouraged understanding and cooperation rather than conflict. I am proud of you and sincerely thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.



Zbigniew Brzezinski

*Through your vigorous commitment to the
Trilateral Commission as its founding Director,
your extraordinary public service as National Security Advisor
to the President of the United States,
and your brilliant analysis of the geopolitics of a changing world over four decades,
you have provided a remarkable legacy of insight and action
for shaping a secure and progressive international order.*

Zbigniew Brzezinski was the Director of the Trilateral Commission in its first triennium (1973-76) and the primary intellectual dynamo of those early years. After serving as President Carter's National Security Advisor in 1977-81, Dr. Brzezinski returned to membership in the Trilateral Commission and began his long-standing service on the Executive Committee. Zbigniew Brzezinski is now Robert Osgood Professor of American Foreign Affairs at the Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of John Hopkins University, and Counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Educated at McGill and Harvard (Ph.D. in Government), Dr. Brzezinski taught at Harvard University in 1953-60 and at Columbia University in 1960-89. His many books include, most recently, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (1997).



Sadako Ogata

*For fellow citizens of Japan, you embody a country sharing
global responsibilities through active international involvement.*

*For fellow citizens of the world, your clear-eyed devotion
and profound commitment to human dignity and succor in the midst of woe
— as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and before —
inspires us and exemplifies the common humanity that joins us all.*

Sadako Ogata became United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1991 and was recently re-elected for a further period of two years (to December 2000). Mrs. Ogata was Japan's Representative on the UN Human Rights Commission in 1982-85. She was Chairman of the Executive Board of UNICEF in 1978-79, while serving at the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations (1976-79). Educated in Tokyo at the University of the Sacred Heart, and in the United States at Georgetown University and the University of California at Berkeley (Ph.D. in Political Science), Mrs. Ogata taught in Tokyo for many years. She became a Professor at Tokyo's Sophia University in 1980, where she was Director of the Institute of International Relations in 1987-88 and Dean of the Faculty of Foreign Studies in 1989-91. Mrs. Ogata joined the Trilateral Commission in 1984 and served on the Executive Committee, before taking up her international public service duties in Geneva.



Peter Sutherland

Your leadership of the multilateral trading system through the critical last stages of the Uruguay Round, your articulate commitment to a strong, outward-looking Europe and to a modern, prosperous Ireland in Europe, and your success in private business and finance reflect a man of extraordinary talents and broad perspectives, exemplifying the leadership Europe and the world needs to meet the challenges ahead.

Peter Sutherland, a leading European member of the Trilateral Commission, is Chairman and Managing Director of Goldman Sachs International (since 1995, based in London) and non-executive Chairman of The British Petroleum Company (since 1997). Of Irish nationality, he was born in 1946 and educated at Gonzaga College, University College Dublin and the King's Inns, graduating in civil law and practicing at the Bar in 1969-81. Mr. Sutherland has served with distinction at the national, European and broad multilateral levels. He was Attorney General of Ireland in 1981-84, EC Commissioner responsible for Competition Policy in 1985-89, and Director General of the World Trade Organization (and its predecessor GATT) in 1993-95. Between his Brussels and Geneva years, he was Chairman of Allied Irish Banks in 1989-93.

Georges Berthoin was European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission from 1975 to 1992, when he became European Honorary Chairman. Mr. Berthoin began his career in the French Civil Service as Private Secretary to the Minister of Finance (1948-50). He began more than twenty years of service to Europe in 1952, as Principal Private Secretary to Jean Monnet, President of the High Authority of the new European Coal and Steel Community. Mr. Berthoin was International Chairman of the European Movement in 1978-81, and continues as International Honorary Chairman.

Shijuro Ogata is Japanese Deputy Chairman of the Trilateral Commission (since 1993). Educated at the Faculty of Law of the University of Tokyo and the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Mr. Ogata worked at the Bank of Japan for over thirty years, serving as Executive Director in 1981-84 and Deputy Governor for International Relations in 1984-86. He was Deputy Governor of the Japan Development Bank in 1986-91.

Mitchell Sharp was North American Deputy Chairman of the Trilateral Commission from 1977 to 1986. He first joined the Canadian Cabinet in 1963, as Minister of Trade and Commerce, and served as Minister of Finance in 1965-68, Secretary of State for External Affairs in 1968-74 and President of the Privy Council and Leader of the Government in the House of Commons in 1974-76. He continues as a close advisor to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien.

Henry A. Kissinger, a member of the Trilateral Commission Executive Committee for over twenty years, is Chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc., an international consulting firm. He was U.S. Secretary of State in 1973-77 and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in 1969-75. Educated at Harvard University (Ph.D. in Government), Dr. Kissinger was a member of the Harvard faculty until his departure for Washington in 1969.

* * *

Paul A. Volcker is North American Chairman of the Trilateral Commission (since 1991). He was Chairman of the Board of the U.S. Federal Reserve System in 1979-87, and then Chairman of Wolfensohn & Co., Inc. (1988-96) and Schultz Professor of International Economic Policy at Princeton University (1988-96). Educated at Princeton, Harvard and the London School of Economics, Mr. Volcker divided the earlier stages of his career between the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Chase Manhattan Bank, and the U.S. Treasury.

North American Leadership

1973-1998

North American Chairmen

Gerard C. Smith (1973-77)	David Rockefeller (1977-91)	Paul A. Volcker (1991-Present)
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North American Deputy Chairmen

Mitchell Sharp (1977-86)	J. H. Warren (1987-91)	Allan E. Gotlieb (1991-Present)
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Founder and Honorary Chairman

David Rockefeller
(1991-Present)

Directors

Zbigniew Brzezinski (Trilateral Director, 1973-76)	George S. Franklin (North American Secretary, 1973-77; Trilateral Coordinator, 1977-82)	Charles B. Heck (North American Director, 1982-Present)
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Executive Committee Members, Trustees

I. W. Abel	Alan Greenspan	Jean-Luc Pepin
C. Fred Bergsten	Robert D. Haas	Edwin O. Reischauer
Robert W. Bonner	Patrick Haggerty	Charles W. Robinson
Robert R. Bowie	Alan Hockin	David Rockefeller
Harold Brown	Robert S. Ingersoll	Henry Rosovsky
Zbigniew Brzezinski	Vernon C. Jordan, Jr.	William M. Roth
James E. Burke	Lane Kirkland	William W. Scranton
William T. Coleman, Jr.	Henry A. Kissinger	Mitchell Sharp
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George S. Franklin	Robert S. McNamara	J. H. Warren
Paolo Fresco	Joseph S. Nye	Henry Wendt
Allan E. Gotlieb	Henry D. Owen	T. A. Wilson

Financial Supporters

1973-1998

A major grant from the Ford Foundation was central in enabling the Trilateral Commission to launch its first triennium of work in 1973-76. Over the years, while some expenses continue to be shared across the three regions, fund-raising has been largely decentralized to each region, and within North America to the Canadian group and the U.S. group. The U.S. group deeply appreciates the generous help provided by a wide range of supporters over the years.

The following foundations, corporations and corporate foundations, and individuals provided \$250,000 or more over the first twenty-five years:

The Chase Manhattan Foundation; Exxon Corporation; The Ford Foundation; GE Fund; The William & Flora Hewlett Foundation; Lilly Endowment, Inc.; The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; Rockefeller Brothers Fund; David Rockefeller.

The following foundations, corporations and corporate foundations, and individuals provided \$100,000 or more (but less than \$250,000):

Archer Daniels Midland Foundation; AT&T Foundation; The Boeing Company; Cargill Incorporated; The Coca-Cola Company; Deere & Company; J. Epstein Foundation and Jesse Philips Foundation; The First National Bank of Chicago; George and Helena Franklin; IBM International Foundation; The Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership; Johnson & Johnson; Levi Strauss Foundation; The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.; Mobil Corporation; RJR Nabisco, Inc.; Northrop Grumman Corp.; David Packard and the David and Lucille Packard Foundation; PepsiCo Foundation, Inc.; Rockefeller Foundation; Salomon Smith Barney; SmithKline Beecham; The Starr Foundation; Time Warner Inc.; Xerox Corporation.

The following foundations, corporations and corporate foundations, and individuals provided \$50,000 or more (but less than \$100,000):

Atlantic Richfield Company; Bechtel Group, Inc.; Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Inc.; Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc.; Chevron Corp.; CIGNA Foundation; Coopers & Lybrand; Crédit Lyonnais in the Americas; Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc.; The William H. Donner Foundation; Eastman Kodak Company; Eaton Charitable Fund; Ethyl Corporation; Ford Motor Company Fund; Stephen & Barbara Friedman Foundation; General Motors Foundation; H. J. Heinz Company Foundation; Honeywell Inc.; ITT Corporation; Mine Safety Appliances Company Charitable Foundation; Morgan Stanley & Co. Incorporated; NationsBank Corporation; Phillips Petroleum Foundation; Rockwell International; Ryder Systems, Inc.; Texas Instruments Incorporated; Fritz Thyssen Foundation; TIC United Corp.; Times Mirror; TRW Foundation; Paul A. Volcker and The Volcker Family Foundation; The Washington Post Company.

The following foundations, corporations and corporate foundations, and individuals provided \$25,000 or more (but less than \$50,000):

Aetna Foundation, Inc.; Alcoa Foundation; Ambase Foundation; American Express Company; American Standard Foundation; Bayer Foundation; BP America, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Company; Caterpillar Tractor Co.; CBS, Inc.; The Chubb Corporation; Compagnie Financière de CIC et de l'Union Européenne; The Continental Group Foundation, Inc.; Corning Incorporated; Cox Enterprises Inc.; Cummins Engine Foundation; First Boston; Goldman, Sachs & Co.; General Foods Corporation; W.R. Grace & Co.; Heidrick and Struggles, Inc.; International Paper; S.C. Johnson & Son, Inc.; Charles F. Kettering Foundation; R.H. Macy & Co., Inc.; Marsh & McLennan Companies; Macmillan, Inc.; McGraw-Hill, Inc.; Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.; Price Waterhouse LLP; The Procter & Gamble Company; The Prudential Foundation; Raytheon Company; Revlon, Inc.; Schlumberger Foundation, Inc.; Sears, Roebuck; Shell Oil Co.; Timex Corporation; Union Camp Corporation; Weyerhaeuser Company; Wolfensohn & Co., Inc.; Mortimer B. Zuckerman and MBZ Charitable Fund.

The following foundations, corporations and corporate foundations, and individuals provided \$10,000 or more (but less than \$25,000):

American Family Corp.; Air Products and Chemicals, Inc.; Albemarle Corporation; American Brands, Inc.; American National Bank; American Security Bank; Amway, Inc.; The Annenberg Foundation; Avis, Inc.; Balfour Maclaine Corp.; The Bank of New York Company, Inc.; BankAmerica Foundation; Batus; A. H. Belo Corporation; Bridgestone/Firestone Trust Fund; Browning-Ferris Industries; Capital Cities/ABC; Chemed Corporation; William T. Coleman, Jr.; The Continental Corp.; Control Data Corporation; D.M.K. International, Inc.; Dow Jones Foundation; Enron Corp.; Finmeccanica S.p.A.; Foster Wheeler Corporation; General Mills Foundation; The German Marshall Fund of the U.S.; Katharine Graham; Patrick Haggerty; Roy M. Huffington, Inc.; Robert S. Ingersoll; Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc.; Kaiser Resources Ltd.; The Kidder Peabody Foundation; Lehman Brothers Inc.; Litton Industries; Lucent Technologies; Whitney E. MacMillan; McKinsey & Company, Inc.; Milstein Family Foundation, Inc.; Motorola Foundation; The N.C.R. Foundation; The New York Times Company; NL Industries Foundation, Inc.; Ogilvy & Mather; Paccar, Inc.; KPMG Peat Marwick; Pfizer, Inc.; Polaroid; Potlach Foundation II; The Quaker Oats Company; Ralston Purina Company; Charles W. Robinson; John D. Rockefeller IV; Sara Lee Corporation; Sea-Land Corporation; Sprint; Sterling Winthrop Inc.; Stone Container Corporation; The Turner Construction Company Foundation; UNISYS Corporation; United Technologies Corp.; United Brands Foundation; UST; Volvo Group North America, Inc.; Wendt Charitable Foundation; Westvaco Foundation; Whitcom Partners; Young & Rubicam, Inc.

This Anniversary Evening
is being made possible
by the special contributions
of several U.S. members,
whose generosity
is deeply appreciated.

Selections from Beethoven and Mozart string trios by the
Children's Orchestra Society String Trio
Yeou-Cheng Ma, violin; Sherry Chow, viola; Sari De Leon, cello
Flowers by Christina Pfeufer Distinctive Floral Designs
Lighting by Frost Lighting | Audio by ACE Audio Visual
Invitation and Souvenir Program design by John Hair | Printing by Spett Printing
Special thanks to Pnina Michelson and the staff of the New York Historical Society

A full quarter of a century has passed since a small group—Japanese, North American, and European—met at the initiative of David Rockefeller. His challenge was direct and timely: How could our three democratic, economically advanced regions be encouraged to work more closely together in the face of the oil crisis, the monetary disturbances, and the new opportunities and uncertainties in Asia? The group clearly recognized that array of problems was symptomatic of the need for increasingly interdependent societies to reach common understanding and to maintain cooperative approaches. Out of those discussions, three distinguished participants—Takeshi Watanabe, Gerard C. Smith and Max Kohnstamm—agreed to chair a new effort to engage a larger group of respected and committed men and women from each of the three areas. Fortunately, they were able to enlist Zbigniew Brzezinski as Director. Thus, the Trilateral Commission quickly found its name, identified its purpose, and began its work....

...It's still true that Europe, Japan and North America remain both the dominant economic areas and key partners in maintaining a secure and open international system. At the same time, it is obvious that over the life of the Commission the ideals of free and democratic societies have spread powerfully around much of what used to be called the Second and Third Worlds. It is also true that the emerging nations have become more and more significant participants in an open world economy, helping to shape the destinies of all of us. That is why the Commission is now including on a regular basis other leaders from Asia, from Latin America, from Eastern Europe, from the Middle East, and from Africa. In joining in our work, these participants...represent the simple fact that collective responsibility for maintaining a peaceful and prosperous world is necessarily becoming even broader.

As we look ahead to the new challenges of our ever-more integrated world, we remain conscious of one of the basic convictions of our founders. The core countries with which the Commission started—with all their weight in the community of nations—need first of all to maintain the vitality of their own societies, their democratic traditions of governance, and their economic freedom. Only strong and self-confident nations, secure in their own ideals and principles, will have the moral and material strength to cooperate together in dealing with the implications of their growing interdependence.

We now stand on the threshold of a new millennium. Far from symbolizing the “end of history,” the turn of the calendar only emphasizes the range of challenges—technological, environmental and political—in a world of accelerating change. These challenges are without precedent, full of large opportunity but also enormous risk.

Yotaro Kobayashi, Otto Graf Lambsdorff, Paul A. Volcker
from the Chairmen's preface to the 25th Anniversary publication