

# THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION

DECEMBER 2013  
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**Alexandre Adler**, Scientific Director for Geopolitics, University of Paris-Dauphine; Journalist and Commentator, Paris

**Urban Ahlin**, Member of the Swedish Parliament and Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Stockholm

\***Esko Aho**, Executive Chairman of the Board, East Office of Finnish Industries, Helsinki; former Executive Vice President, Nokia; former Prime Minister of Finland

\***Edmond Alphandéry**, Senior European Advisor, Nomura Securities; Chairman, Euro50 Group; Chairman, CEPS, Brussels; former Chairman, CNP Assurances; former Chairman, Electricité de France (EDF); former Minister of the Economy and Finance, Paris

**Jacques Andréani**, Ambassadeur de France, Paris; former Ambassador to the United States

**Jerzy Baczynski**, Editor-in-Chief, *Polityka*, Warsaw

**Estela Barbot**, former Director, AGA; Director, Bank Santander Negocios; Member of the General Council, AEP -- Portuguese Business Association, Porto; General Honorary Consul of Guatemala, Lisbon

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**\*Erik Belfrage**, Chairman of the Board and Partner, Consilio International AB, Stockholm

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**Dick Benschop**, President Director, Shell Netherlands; Vice President, Gas Market Development, The Hague

**Baron Jean-Pierre Berghmans**, Chairman, Lhoist Group, Limelette, Belgium

**\*Georges Berthoin**, International Honorary Chairman, European Movement; Honorary Chairman, The Jean Monnet Association; Honorary European Chairman, The Trilateral Commission, Paris

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**Manfred Bischoff**, Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Daimler AG, Munich; former Member of the Board of Management, Daimler AG; former Chairman, EADS

**Thomas Borgen**, Chief Executive Officer, Danske Bank, Copenhagen

**Tzvetelina Borislavova**, Founder, Owner and Chairperson, CSIF; Chairperson of the Supervisory Board, Bulgarian-American Credit Bank (BACB); Founder and Chairperson, Credo Bonum Foundation; former Chairperson of the Supervisory Board, CIBANK, Sofia

**Ana Patricia Botin**, Chief Executive Officer, Santander UK; Member of Santander Group's Management Committee; Member of the Board of Banco Santander and of the Executive committee, Madrid

**Jean-Louis Boulrangès**, former Member, State Audit Court (Cour des Comptes), Paris; Associated Professor, Institute for Political Studies in Paris; former Member of the European Parliament, Brussels; former President of the European Movement in France, Paris

**\*Jorge Braga de Macedo**, President, Tropical Research Institute, Lisbon; Professor of Economics, Nova University at Lisbon; Chairman, Forum Portugal Global; former Minister of Finance

**Samir Brikho**, Chief Executive Officer, AMEC, London

**\*Lord Brittan of Spennithorne**, Vice Chairman, UBS Investment Bank, London; former UK Minister and subsequently Trade Adviser to the Prime Minister; former Vice President, European Commission

**Jean-Louis Bruguière**, Representative of the French Presidency of the Republic on the EU Equivalent TFTP Project; former EU High Representative to the United States on the Terrorism Finance Tracking Programme (TFTP/SWIFT); Judge, Paris

**John Bruton**, former European Union Ambassador & Head, Delegation of the European Commission to the United States; former Prime Minister of Ireland, Dublin

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**Patrick Buffet**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ERAMET, Paris

**\*François Bujon de l'Estang**, Ambassadeur de France; Chairman, FBE International Consultants, Paris; former Chairman, Citi France; former Ambassador to the United States

**Edelgard Bulmahn**, Member of the German Bundestag; former Federal Minister, Berlin

**Richard Burrows**, Chairman, British American Tobacco, London; former Governor, Bank of Ireland; former President, IBEC (The Irish Business and Employers Confederation), Dublin

**Hervé de Carmoy**, Chairman of the Supervisory Board, ETAM, Paris; Honorary Chairman, Banque Industrielle et Immobilière Privée, Paris; former Chief Executive, Société Générale de Belgique

**Jaime Castellanos**, President, Lazard Spain, Madrid

**Jürgen Chrobog**, former Chairman, BMW Stiftung Herbert Quandt, Berlin; former German Deputy Foreign Minister and Ambassador to the United States

**Luc Coene**, Minister of State; Governor, National Bank of Belgium, Brussels

**Paolo Andrea Colombo**, Chairman, Enel, Rome

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**Patrick Combes**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Compagnie Financière Tradition and Viel & Cie., Paris

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\***Alfonso Cortina**, Vice Chairman of Rothschild Europe; Senior Advisor for Spain and Latin America of Rothschild; Senior Advisor for Spain of Texas Pacific Group; Member of the Board of Directors of Mutua Madrileña; Member of the International Advisory Board of Allianz AG, Madrid

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**Enrico Tomaso Cucchiani**, General Manager and Senior Advisor, Intesa Sanpaolo Group, Milan; former Member of the Board of Management and Chairman, Allianz SE, Munich & Trieste

**Caroline Daniel**, Editor, *FT Weekend*, *Financial Times*, London

**Michel David-Weill**, former Chairman, Lazard LLC, worldwide; Chairman of the Supervisory Board, EURAZEO, Paris

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**Wiebe Draijer**, Chairman, The Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands (SER), The Hague

**Karsten Dybvad**, Director General and Chief Executive Officer, Confederation of Danish Industry, Copenhagen

**Pedro Miguel Echenique**, Professor of Physics, University of the Basque Country; President, Foundation Donostia International Physics Center (DIPC); former Basque Minister of Education, San Sebastian

**Gabriel Eichler**, Founder, Benson Oak, Prague

**John Elkann**, Chairman, Fiat Group, Turin

**Anna Ekström**, Director General, The Swedish National Agency for Education, Skolverket, Stockholm

**Guy Elliott**, Senior Executive Director, Rio Tinto, London

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**Nemesio Fernandez-Cuesta**, Chief Operating Officer, Repsol-YPF; former Chairman, Prensa Española, Madrid

**Franz Fischler**, President, European Forum, Alpbach, Vienna; former Member of the European Commission (Agriculture)

**Jürgen Fitschen**, Co-Chief Executive Officer, Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt-am-Main; President, Association of German Banks (BDB), Berlin

**Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger**, Foreign Editor, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Frankfurt am Main

**Louise Fresco**, University Professor, University of Amsterdam; Member of the Board of non-executive Directors, Unilever, London and Rabobank, Utrecht; a Crown Member of the Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands, The Hague; former Assistant Director-General, Head of Agriculture Department, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Rome

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**Lykke Friis**, Prorector for Education, University of Copenhagen; former Member of the Danish Parliament; former Minister for Climate and Energy and Gender Equality; former Prorector, University of Copenhagen; Member of the EU Reflection Group on the Future of Europe (Horizon 2020-2030), Copenhagen

\***Michael Fuchs**, Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin; Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group; former President, National Federation of German Wholesale & Foreign Trade; European Deputy Chairman, Trilateral Commission

\***Antonio Garrigues Walker**, Chairman, Garrigues Abogados y Asesores Tributarios, Madrid

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**Wolfgang Gerhardt**, President, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Potsdam; former Member of the German Bundestag; former Chairman of the Free Democratic Party, Berlin

**Esther Giménez-Salinas**, former Rector, Ramon Llull University; Professor of Criminal Law, ESADE Law School, Ramon Llull University, Barcelone

**Dermot Gleeson**, Barrister; former Attorney General of Ireland; former Chairman of the Governing Body of University College Cork; former Chairman, AIB Group, Dublin

**Kolinda Grabar Kitarović**, Assistant Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for Public Diplomacy, Brussels; former Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the United States; former Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia

**Federica Guidi**, Chief Executive and Vice President, DUCATI Energia, Bologna; Member of the Board of Directors, DUCATI Energia Group; National President of Confindustria Young Entrepreneurs

**Elisabeth Guigou**, Member of the French National Assembly and Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee; former Minister for European Affairs, Paris

**Field Marshal The Lord Guthrie**, former Director, N M Rothschild & Sons Limited; Member of the House of Lords; former Chief of Defence Staff, London

**Tahir Hasanović**, Executive Director, East West Bridge, Belgrade

**Simon Henry**, Chief Financial Officer, Royal Dutch Shell, London

**Nigel Higgins**, Chief Executive, The Rothschild Group, London

**Wolfgang Ischinger**, Global Head of Government Relations, Allianz SE, Munich; Chairman, The Munich Security Conference on Security Policy; former European Member of the Troika on the Kosovo Status Determination; former German Deputy Foreign Minister and former German Ambassador to the United States and to the United Kingdom

\***Mugur Isarescu**, Governor, National Bank of Romania, Bucharest; former Prime Minister

**Baron Daniel Janssen**, Honorary Chairman, Solvay, Brussels

**Lady Barbara Judge**, Chairman, UK Pension Protection Fund, London; former Chairman, UKAEA (United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority); former US Securities Exchange Commissioner

\***Lord Kerr of Kinlochard**, Member of the House of Lords, London; Deputy Chairman, Scottish Power (Iberdrola); former Deputy Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell; former British Ambassador to the United States; former Secretary General, European Convention

**Wolfgang Kirsch**, Chief Executive Officer, DZ Bank, Deutsche Zentral-Genossenschaftsbank, Frankfurt-am-Main

**Lauri Kivinen**, Chief Executive Officer, Yleisradio Oy, Helsinki

**Klaas Knot**, President, Dutch Central Bank, Amsterdam

**Arpad Kovacs**, Chairman, Fiscal Council of Hungary; Professor, Szeged University; former President, State Audit Office of Hungary, Budapest

\***Jovan Kovačić**, President, East West Bridge, Belgrade

**Gabor Kovacs**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bankar Holding; Founder, KOGART (the Kovacs Gabor Art Foundation), Budapest

**Jerzy Kozminski**, President and Chief Executive Officer, Polish-American Freedom Foundation; former Ambassador to the United States; former First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

**\*Ján Kubiš**, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Afghanistan and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), Kabul; former Executive Secretary, UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), Geneva; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic

**Jiri Kunert**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, UniCredit Bank Czech Republic; President of the Czech Association of Banks, Prague

**Meglana Kuneva**, Chairman of the Board, European Policy Center; former Member of the European Commission (Consumer Policy); former Minister of European Affairs and European Commission Chief Negotiator, Sofia

**Ulysses Kyriacopoulos**, Chairman, S&B Industrial Minerals; former Chairman, Federation of Greek Industries, Athens

**Kurt Lauk**, Former Member of the European Parliament (EPP Group-CDU); Chairman, Globe Capital Partners, Stuttgart; President, Economic Council of the CDU Party, Berlin; Former Member of the Board, DaimlerChrysler, Stuttgart

**\*Eli Leenaars**, Member, ING Management Board Banking; Member and Treasurer, Confederation of the Netherlands Industry and Employers (VNO-NCW), Amsterdam

**Bruno Le Maire**, Member of the French National Assembly; former Minister of Agriculture, Paris

**Jean Lemierre**, Advisor to the Chairman, BNP Paribas, Paris

**\*Thomas Leysen**, Chairman, KBC Group; Chairman of the Board, Umicore, Brussels

**\*Bo Lidegaard**, Executive Editor-in-Chief, *Politiken*, Copenhagen

**\*Marianne Lie**, Partner, Vox Politica; former Director General, Norwegian Shipowner's Association, Oslo

**Erkki Liikanen**, Chairman of the Board, Bank of Finland, Helsinki; former Finnish Minister of Finance; former European Commissioner

**Rachel Lomax**, Director, HSBC; Director, BAA; former Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, London

**\*Franjo Luković**, Chairman of the Management Board, Zagrebačka banka - UniCredit Group, Zagreb

**Miroslav Majoroš**, Chairman of the Board of Directors and Chief Executive Officer, Slovak Telekom; Chief Executive Officer, T-Com T-Mobil (Deutsche Telekom), Bratislava

**Abel Matutes**, Chairman, Empresas Matutes Group, Ibiza; former Member of the European Commission, Brussels; former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Madrid

**Lord Mandelson**, Member of the House of Lords; Chairman, Global Counsel; Senior Advisor, Lazard; former European Trade Commissioner; former First Secretary of State and Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills in the UK; former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Former Trade and Industry Secretary in the UK

**Friedrich Merz**, President, Atlantik-Brücke, Berlin; Partner, Mayer Brown, Düsseldorf; former Member of the German Bundestag; former Member of the European Parliament; former Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag, Berlin

**David Miliband**, President and Chief Executive Officer, International Rescue Committee, New York; former Member of the British Parliament; former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, London

**Peter Mitterbauer**, Honorary President, The Federation of Austrian Industry, Vienna; President and Chief Executive Officer, Miba, Laakirchen

**Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor to the Director General of the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI), Paris

**\*Mario Monti**, Member of the Italian Senate; President, Bocconi University, Milan; former President of the Council of Ministers, Italy; former Member of the European Commission (Competition Policy and Internal Market); Honorary President, BRUEGEL, Brussels

**Sir Mark Moody-Stuart**, Chairman Hermes EOS; former Chairman Royal Dutch Shell Group and Anglo American; Chairman, The Global Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

**Klaus-Peter Müller**, Chairman of the Board, Commerzbank, Frankfurt-am-Main; former CEO, Commerzbank, Frankfurt-am-Main; former President, Association of German Banks (BDB), Berlin

**Harald Norvik**, Member of the Board, Conocophillips; former President and Chief Executive, Statoil, Oslo

**Dejan Novaković**, State Secretary in the Ministry of Energy, Development and Environmental Protection of the Republic of Serbia; President of the General Assembly of the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC); Co-President, East West Bridge, Belgrade

**Ewald Nowotny**, Governor of the Austrian National Bank; former Chief Executive Officer, BAWAG P.S.K., Vienna

**Denis O'Brien**, Chairman, Digicel; Founder, Communicorp Group, Dublin

**Arend Oetker**, President, German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP); Vice Chairman, Federation of German Industries; Managing Director, Dr. Arend Oetker Holding, Berlin

\***Andrzej Olechowski**, Chairman, Supervisory Board, Bank Handlowy; Professor, Vistula University; former Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Finance, Warsaw

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**Luc Oursel**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Areva, Paris

**Alessandro Pansa**, Chief Executive Officer, Finmeccanica, Rome

**Lucas Papademos**, Visiting Professor of Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; former Prime Minister of Greece; former Vice-President of the European Central Bank; former Governor of the Bank of Greece, Athens

**Alexandra Papalexopoulou**, Group Strategic Planning Director, Titan Cement Company, Athens

**Volker Perthes**, Executive Chairman and Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin

\***Ursula Plassnik**, Ambassador of Austria to France; former Member of the Austrian Parliament; U.N. Special Envoy for International Women Issues; former Federal Minister for European and International Affairs, Vienna

**Ignacio Polanco**, Chairman, Grupo Prisa including *El Pais* and Timon, Madrid

**Borja Prado**, Chairman, Endesa; Chairman, Mediobanca Spain for Iberia and South-America, Madrid

**Rasvan Radu**, Chief Executive Officer, UniCredit Tiriatic Bank, Bucharest

**Luigi Ramponi**, Member of the Italian Senate; former Chairman of the Defence Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, Rome; former Deputy Chief of the Defence Staff (Italian Army)

**Wanda Rapaczynski**, Advisor to the Supervisory Board and former President of the Management Board, Agora, Warsaw

**Giuseppe Recchi**, Chairman, Eni, Rome

**Heinz Riesenhuber**, Member of the German Bundestag; former Federal Minister of Research and Technology, Berlin; Chairman of the Supervisory Boards of Kabel Deutschland and of Evotec

**Gianfelice Rocca**, Chairman, Techint Group of Companies, Milan

**Fernando Rodés Vilà**, Vice Chairman, Havas, Barcelona

**Lars Rohde**, Governor by Royal Appointment, Chairman of the Board of Governors, National Bank of Denmark, Copenhagen

**Marcello Sala**, Executive Vice Chairman of the Management Board, Intesa Sanpaolo Group, Milan

\***Ferdinando Salleo**, former Italian Ambassador to the United States

**Michael Schaefer**, Chairman of the Board, BMW Foundation Herbert Quandt, Berlin; former German Ambassador to China

**Magnus Schöldtz**, Senior Advisor, Wallenberg Family Office; former Swedish Ambassador, Ministry For Foreign Affairs

**Karel Schwarzenberg**, Member of the Czech Senate; former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Founder and Director, Nadace Bohemiae, Prague; former Chancellor to President Havel

\***Carlo Secchi**, Professor Emeritus of European Economic Policy and former Rector, Bocconi University; Vice President, ISPI, Milan; former Member of the Italian Senate and of the European Parliament

**Maurizio Sella**, Chairman, Gruppo Banca Sella, Biella; former Chairman, Association of Italian Banks (A.B.I.), Rome

**Tomasz Sielicki**, Vice Chairman, Sygnity, Warsaw

**Slawomir S. Sikora**, Chief Executive Officer and Citigroup Country Officer for Poland, Bank Handlowy w Warszawie, Warsaw

**Stefano Silvestri**, former President and Scientific Advisor, Institute for International Affairs (IAI), Rome; Commentator, *Il Sole 24 Ore*; former Under Secretary of State for Defence, Italy

**Sir Martin Sorrell**, Chief Executive Officer, WPP Group, London

**Ivan Šramko**, Advisor for the CEE & SEE Regions, Intesa Sanpaolo Group; former Governor of the National Bank of Slovakia, Bratislava

**Rory Stewart**, Member of the British Parliament, London; former Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

**\*Petar Stoyanov**, former President of the Republic of Bulgaria; President, Center for Global Dialogue and Cooperation, Vienna

**István Stumpf**, Justice, The Constitutional Court of Hungary; former Deputy Prime Minister, Budapest

**\*György Surányi**, Regional Head of Central Eastern Europe, Intesa Sanpaolo Group; Chairman, Central European International Bank (CIB), Budapest; former President of the National Bank of Hungary

**\*Peter Sutherland**, Chairman, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman of the London School of Economics; UN Special Representative for Migration and Development; former Chairman, BP p.l.c.; former Director General, GATT/WTO; former Member of the European Commission; former Attorney General of Ireland; Honorary European Chairman, Trilateral Commission

**Mihai Tanasescu**, Vice-President and Member of the Management Committee, European Investment Bank, Luxembourg; former Senior Adviser and Member of the Executive Board, International Monetary Fund (IMF); former Minister of Public Finance of Romania, Bucharest

**Andreas Treichl**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Erste Group Bank AG, Vienna

**\*Jean-Claude Trichet**, Chairman, Group of Thirty; Chairman, BRUEGEL Institute; Honorary Governor, Banque de France; former President of the European Central Bank; European Chairman, Trilateral Commission, Paris

**Marco Tronchetti Provera**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Pirelli & C., Milan; Deputy Chairman, Confindustria, Rome; former Chairman, Telecom Italia

**Elsbeth Tronstad**, Executive Vice President, SN Power; former Executive Director, Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise (NHO); former Executive Vice President, ABB, Oslo

**Jens Ulltveit-Moe**, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, UMOE Group; former President, Federation of Norwegian Industry; former President, Norwegian Shipowners Federation, Oslo

**\*Raivo Vare**, Owner, Live Nature Eesti OÜ; Partner, Sthenos Group and OÜ RVVE Group; Chairman of the Council of the Parliament's Development Fund, Member of the President's Academic Advisory Board; former Minister of State and former Minister of Transport and Communication, Tallinn

**\*George Vassiliou**, former Head of the Negotiating Team for the Accession of Cyprus to the European Union; former President of the Republic of Cyprus; former Member of Parliament and Leader of United Democrats, Nicosia

**Franco Venturini**, Senior Editorial Commentator on Foreign Affairs, *Corriere della Sera*, Rome

**Vesa Vihriälä**, Managing Director, The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy (ETLA) & Finnish Business and Policy Forum (EVA), Helsinki

**Giuseppe Vita**, Chairman, UniCredit, Milan

**Antonio Vitorino**, President, Notre Europe-Jacques Delors Institute, Paris; former Member of the European Commission and of the European Parliament; former Member of the Portuguese Government, Lisbon

**\*Marko Voljč**, Chief Change Officer Corporate Change & Support KBC Group, Brussels; former Chief Executive Officer, Nova Ljubljanska Banka, Ljubljana

**Alexandr Vondra**, Member of the Czech Senate; former Minister of Defence; former Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs; former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prague

**Joris Voorhoeve**, Chair, Oxfam Novib, The Hague; Professor of International Organisations, Leiden; former Member of the Council of State; former Member of the Dutch Parliament; former Minister of Defence

\***Panagis Vourloumis**, Senior Adviser, N.M. Rothschild; former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (O.T.E.), Athens

**Peter Wallenberg Jr.**, Chairman, Foundation Asset Management Sweden AB (FAM), Stockholm

\***Heinrich Weiss**, Chief Executive Officer, SMS Group, Düsseldorf; former Chairman, German-Russian Chamber of Commerce; former Chairman, German-Chinese Business Council; former Chairman, Economic Advisory Council of the CDU-Party

**Hans Wijers**, Vice Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell; Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Heineken, Amsterdam; non-Executive Director, GlaxoSmithKline (GSK), London; former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Akzo Nobel; former Dutch Minister for Economic Affairs; former Senior Partner, BCG

**Matthias Wissmann**, President, The German Association of the Automotive Industry (VDA), Berlin; former Member of German Bundestag; former Federal Minister

**Emilio Ybarra**, former Chairman, Banco Bilbao-Vizcaya, Madrid

### **Former Members in Public Service**

**Marta Dassù**, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs; former Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome; former General Director, Aspen Institute Italia; former Editor, *Aspenia*, Rome

**Grete Faremo**, Minister for Defence; former Norwegian Minister of Development Cooperation, Minister of Justice and Minister of Oil and Energy, Oslo

**Lord Green**, Minister of State for Trade and Investment, London

**Toomas Hendrik Ilves**, President of the Republic of Estonia, Tallinn

**Enrico Letta**, President of the Council of Ministers, Italy; former Member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies; former Under State Secretary in the Office of Prime Minister Prodi; former Minister of European Affairs, Industry, and of Industry and International Trade, Rome

**Francis Maude**, Member of the British Parliament; Minister for the Cabinet Office and Paymaster General, London

**Margrethe Vestager**, Minister of Economy and of Internal Affairs; former Minister of Education, Copenhagen