

Managing the Liberal Democracy

Christian Etzrodt

Associate Professor, Osaka University

Pierre Bourdieu's Social Capital

- “Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable **network** of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition [...] which provides each of its members with the **backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit**, in the various senses of the word.” (p. 88)
- “The **profits** which accrue from membership in a group **are the basis of the solidarity** which makes them possible.” (p. 89)
- “[T]he **profitability** of this labor of accumulating and maintaining social capital **rises in proportion to the size of the capital.**” (p. 90)
- “Every group has its more or less **institutionalized forms of delegation** which enable it to concentrate the totality of the social capital [...] in the hands of a single agent or a small group of agents [...].” (p. 90)

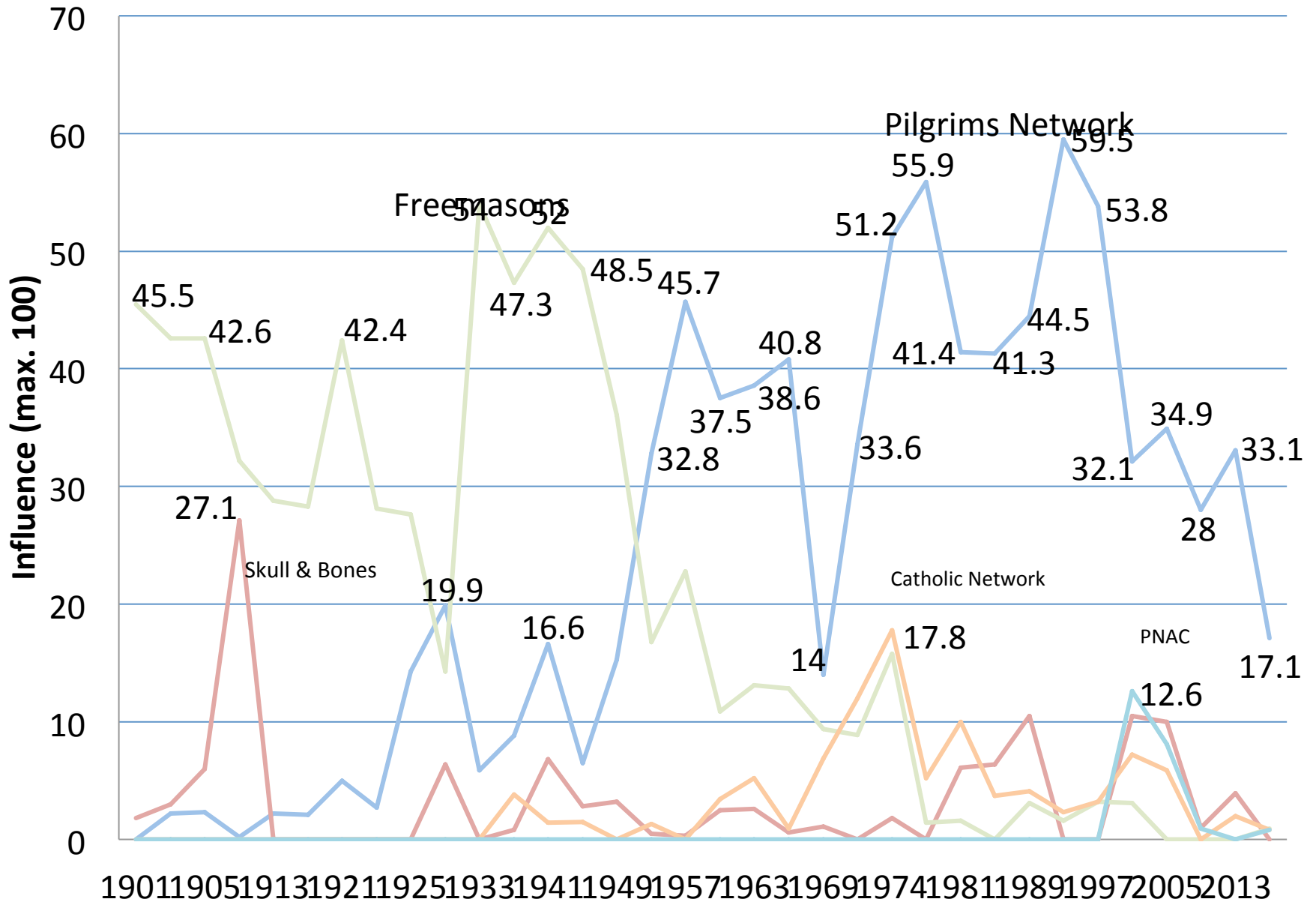
(Bourdieu, Pierre (2007): The Forms of Capital. In A. R. Sadovnik (ed.), Sociology of Education, p. 83-95, New York: Routledge.)

Interest Groups and Forms of Lobbying

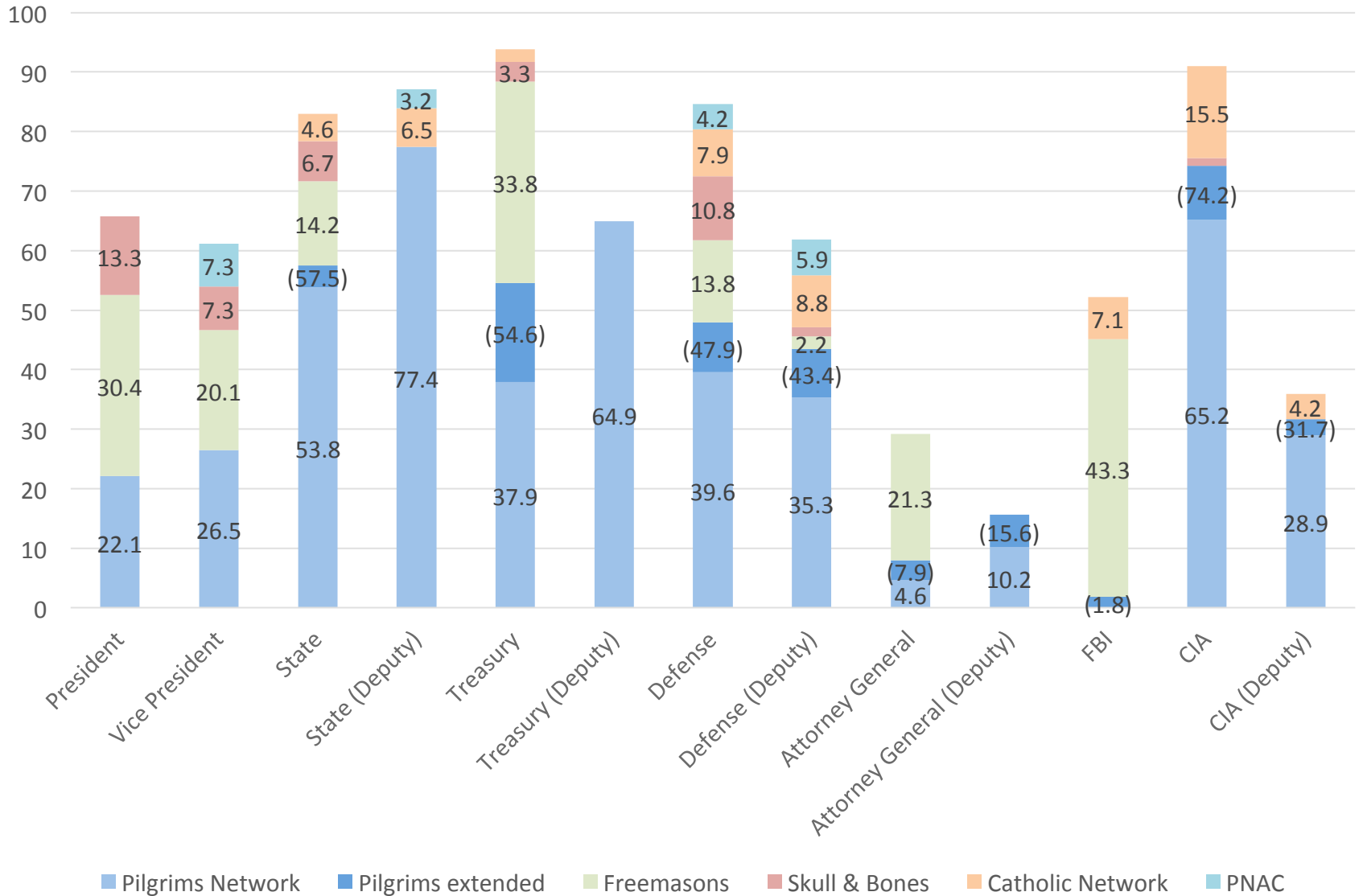
	Example	Campaign contributions	Revolving door		Running for office
			into	out of	
Special-interest groups	Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (Big Pharma) American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)	✓	(✓)	✓	✗
Career-oriented networks	Freemasons Skull & Bones	✗	✓	✗	✓
Hybrid networks	Pilgrims Network	✓	✓	✓	✓

	Founded	Membership	Years	Source
Pilgrims Society	1902	only U.S. branch: 243 (1903)	1903, 07, 14, 24, 40, 57, 69, 74	Joel van der Reijden
Council on Foreign Relations	1921	209 (1922) 5,045 (2019)	1922, 24-36, 38-40, 42, 44-74, 76-2013, 16-17, 19	William P. Litynski
Bilderberg	1954	74 (1954) 136 (2014)	1954-2019	Princeton University; Bilderberg website
Trilateral Commission	1973	187 (1973) 445 (2018)	1973, 78, 85, 95, 98, 2005 (?), 07, 08 (?), 10, 11, 14, 15-16 (?), 17-18	diverse sources
Rhodes Scholars	1902	only U.S. citizens: 43 (1904) 32 (2015)	1904-05, 07-08, 10-11, 13-14, 16-39, 47-2015	William P. Litynski
Freemasons	15th century	U.S. only: 4,103,000 (1959) 1,076,000 (2017)	none	William R. Denslow (1957) and <i>diverse sources (?)</i>
Skull & Bones	1832	15 per year	1833-1987, 89-2006	William P. Litynski
SMOM	1099	13,500	none	<i>diverse sources (?)</i>
Opus Dei	1928	95,000 (2018)	none	Joel van der Reijden (Belgian police report)
Le Cercle	1952/53	unknown	1982-85	Joel van der Reijden
Project for the New American Century	1997-2006	25 (1997)	1997	PNAC website

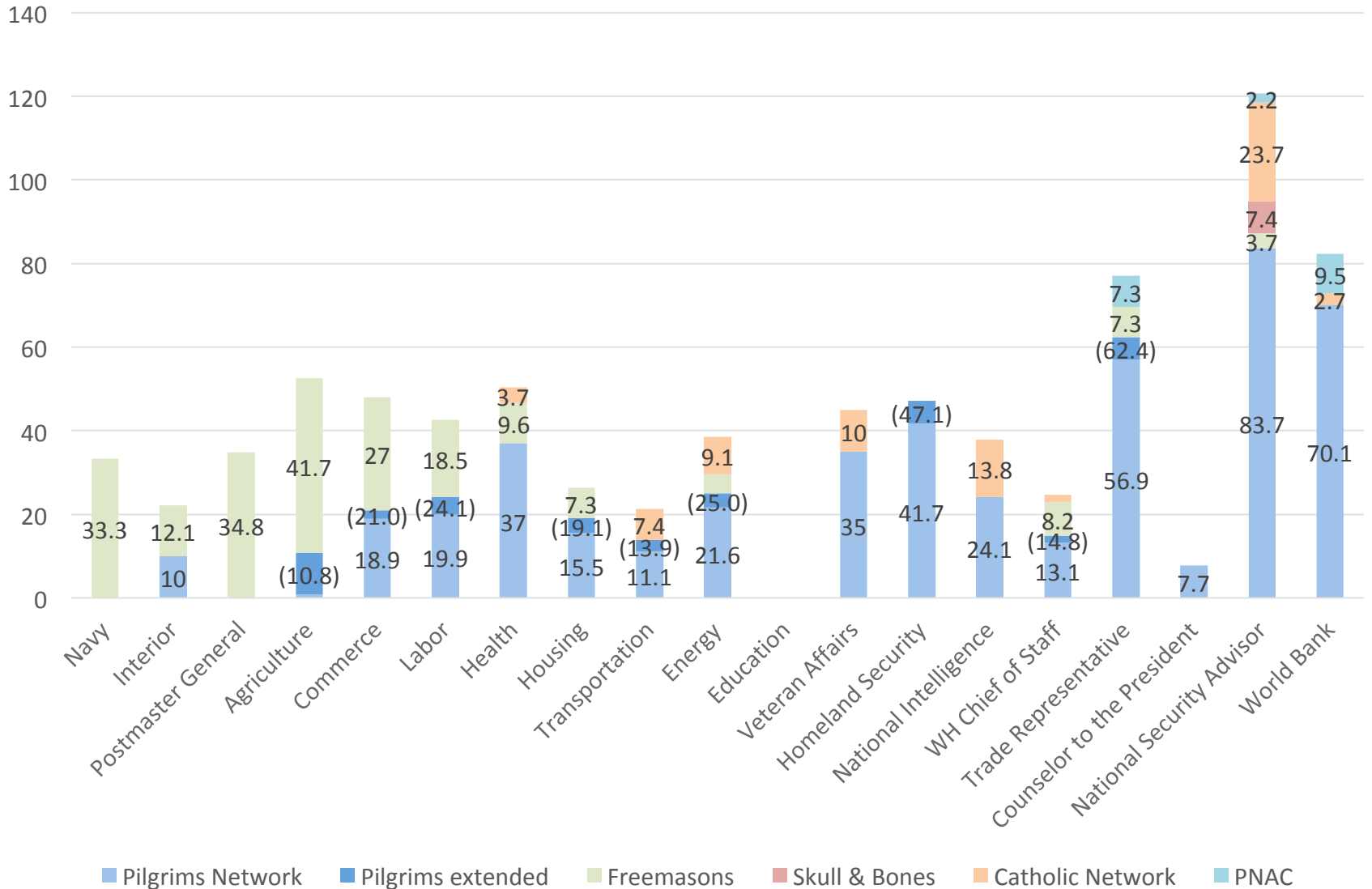
Secret Networks in the U.S. Government 1901-2020



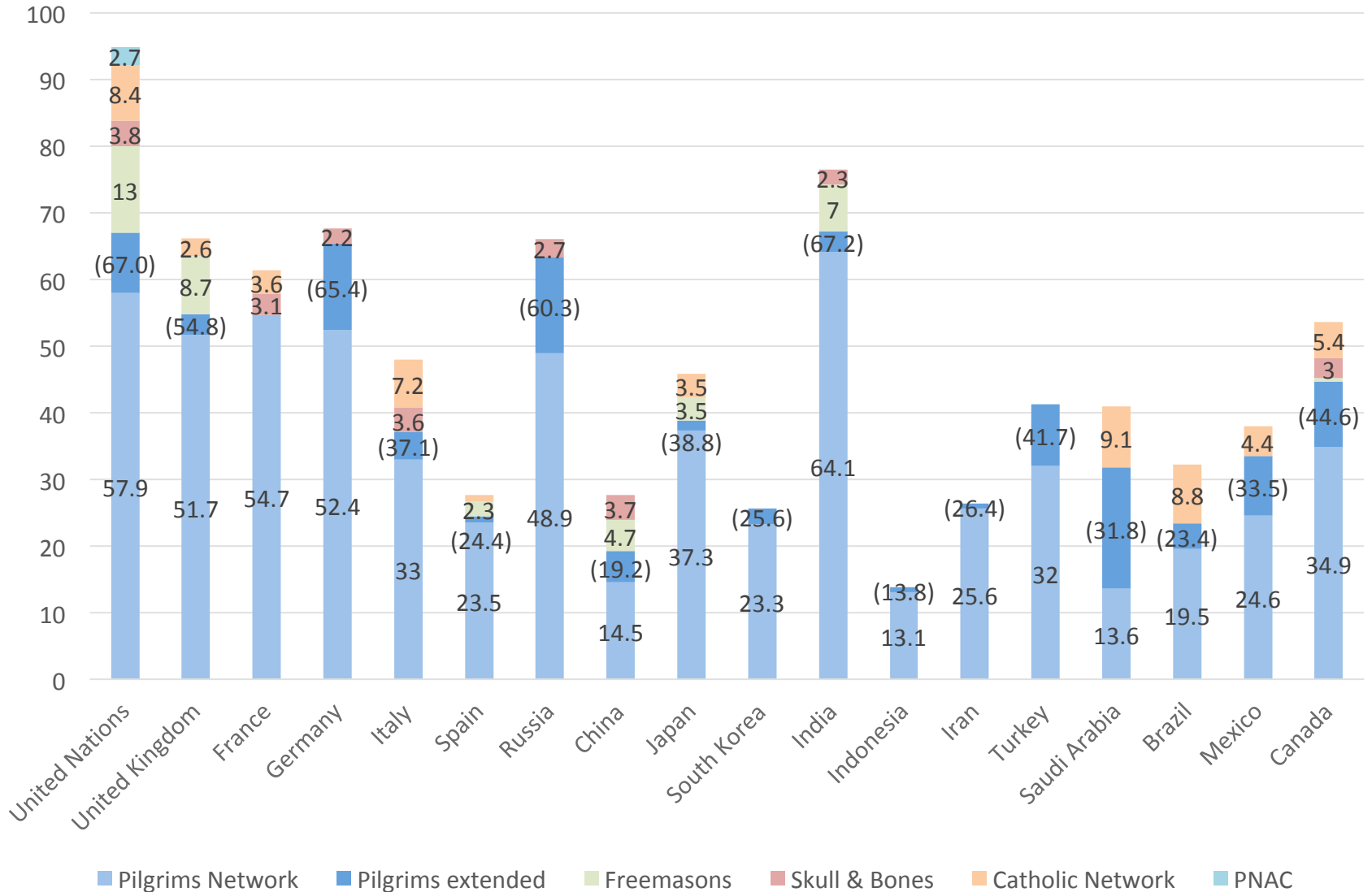
Influence of Networks on U.S. Government Positions 1901-2020



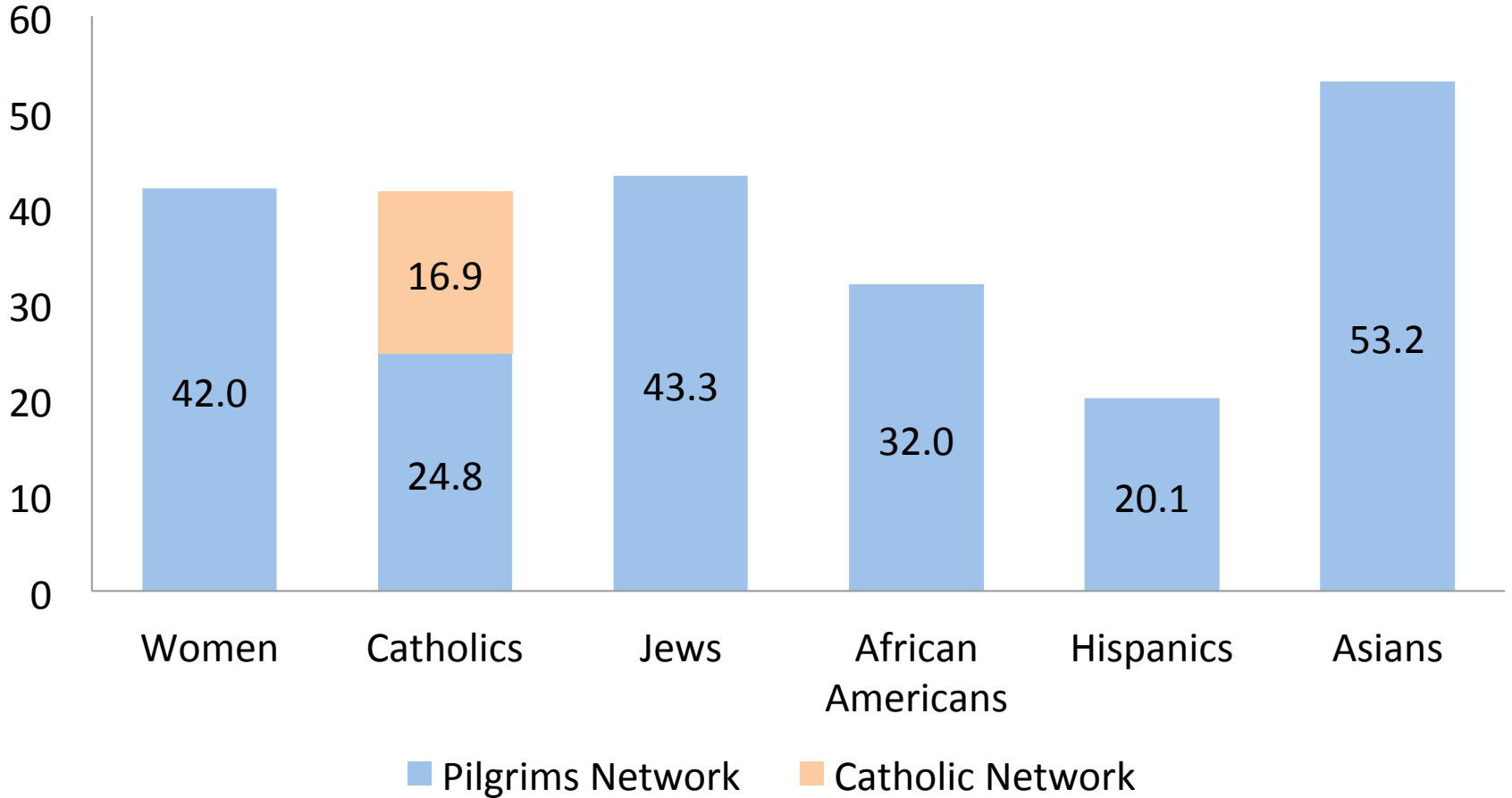
Influence of Networks on U.S. Government Positions 1901-2020



Influence of Networks on U.S. Ambassador Positions 1901-2020



Importance of Networks for Minorities



The Neglected Aspect

- Theodore Roosevelt's election campaign contributors 1904: 37 individuals with more than \$1,000 (\$1,730,000 out of the total contributions of \$3,500,000 [p. 84])
- Out of those 37, 25 (67.6%) were/became members or had relatives who were/became members of the Pilgrims Network and contributed \$1,485,000 (85.7%).
- Alton Parker's election campaign contributors 1904: 3 individuals with more than \$10,000 (\$710,000 out of the total contributions of \$1,250,000 [p. 85]) – all of them were/became members of the Pilgrims Network.

(Lundberg, Ferdinand (1937): America's 60 Families, New York: Vanguard Press.)

Conclusions

- Freemasons had a strong influence until 1953.
- Skull & Bones, Catholic Network, PNAC were over the whole period unimportant.
- The Pilgrims Network dominated the U.S. government through campaign contributions until 1953 and through their members' influence in the government from 1953.
- Departments and positions dominated by the Pilgrims Network: State, Treasury, CIA, Trade Representative, National Security Advisor, World Bank, and the diplomatic corps.
- U.S. governments, which resisted the power of the Pilgrims Network were: Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945), Harry Truman (1945-1953), Richard Nixon (1969-1974), and Donald Trump (2017-present).