
SPECIAL INITIATIVES

Each year the Council identifies a small number of initiatives for special emphasis. The following are highlights from 2003–2004:

- Six Independent Task Forces reports, including one update on Iraq and one on transatlantic relations; four new Task Forces in progress.
- A Council Policy Initiative explored policy options for combating climate change.
- Council Special Reports, a new series of concise policy briefs that respond rapidly to pressing foreign policy concerns and contribute to emerging policy debates, kicked off with groundbreaking reports on such subjects as the Republic of Georgia, the Philippines, and the G8 partnership with Africa.
- Campaign 2004 brought Council fellows to brief delegates and others at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions, and the Campaign 2004 website presented issue briefs and candidates' foreign policy statements.
- A Book Club series focused Council members nationwide on the use of military force in U.S. foreign policy.
- The third annual Arthur Ross Book Award honored volumes that made an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations.
- The Council's website, www.cfr.org, continued to inform members and the public while plans are underway for a major overhaul.

TASK FORCES

The Council sponsors an Independent Task Force when (1) an issue of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy arises, and (2) it seems that a group diverse in backgrounds and perspectives may, nonetheless, be able to reach a meaningful consensus on a policy through private and nonpartisan deliberations. Once formed, Task Forces are independent from the Council. Task Force chairs, directors, and members are solely responsible for the content of their reports.

The Independent Task Force on Transatlantic Relations, co-chaired by Henry A. Kissinger and Lawrence H. Summers, called on the United States and Europe to revitalize the Atlantic alliance by forging new “rules of the road” governing the use of force, adapting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to meet today’s threats coming from outside Europe, and launching a major initiative to bring about political and economic reform in the greater Middle East. The Task Force, which included former senior government officials, business leaders, and policy experts from both sides of the Atlantic, generated significant media attention in the United States and Europe. In addition to briefings in the United States, Task Force members took their report on the road, holding meetings and press conferences in London, Paris, Brussels, and Rome.



Iraq Task Force Project Consultant Eric P. Schwartz with Task Force Co-Chair James R. Schlesinger.



Transatlantic Relations Task Force Co-Chairs Lawrence H. Summers and Henry A. Kissinger and Task Force Director and Council Senior Fellow Charles A. Kupchan meet with journalists to discuss the Task Force’s findings.

The Independent Task Force on Iraq, co-chaired by Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, released in March 2004 a “one year later” update to its 2003 report, calling on the Bush administration and the presumptive Democratic nominee to reaffirm Washington’s commitment to security and reconstruction in Iraq. The Task Force recommended that the United States declare that coalition forces will continue to provide essential security in Iraq until the Iraqi security forces can do so on their own; emphasize that the transfer of sovereignty does not signal a diminished U.S. commitment to supporting stability, reconstruction, and a peaceful political transition; affirm that it is prepared to sustain a multi-billion-dollar commitment to Iraq for at least the next several years; and ensure the broad involvement of Iraqis and a leading role for the United Nations in the political transition in Iraq.

The Independent Task Force on Terrorist Financing, chaired by Maurice R. Greenberg, undertook a review of developments since the October 2002 release of its initial report, one that helped spur important legislative and executive actions. The review included an assessment of statutory and regulatory changes in Saudi Arabia as well as U.S. diplomatic

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South Asia Task Force Co-Chair Frank G. Wisner (seated) and Task Force Co-Director and Council Senior Fellow Mahnaz Ispahani (right) at the Task Force rollout.

Platt, and Marshall M. Bouton, recommended new initiatives to solidify the U.S. partnership with an economically and militarily stronger India and to carefully calibrate support for Pakistan in its efforts to become a moderate Muslim state. The chairmen's report also called for a more active U.S. role in the volatile Kashmir conflict and redoubled support for the security initiatives of Hamid Karzai's government in Afghanistan. Members of the Task Force, cosponsored with the Asia Society, traveled to the region in December

and law enforcement actions over the past year and a half to curtail terrorist financing.

The Independent Task Force on Nonlethal Weapons, co-chaired by Graham T. Allison and Paul X. Kelley, found that a lack of nonlethal weapons capability hindered U.S. efforts in post-conflict Iraq and urged the Defense Department to increase funding for its nonlethal weapons program. Incorporating nonlethal capabilities into the equipment, training, and doctrine of the armed services, the Task Force found, could substantially improve U.S. effectiveness in conflict and post-conflict situations, as well as improve homeland defense. The Task Force continues to brief officials at the Defense Department and the Department of Homeland Security on its recommendations.

The chairmen of the Independent Task Force on India and South Asia, Frank G. Wisner, Nicholas

2003 to discuss their findings and recommendations with senior officials in India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

The Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy, chaired by Peter G. Peterson, concluded that the United States must do much more to counter rising anti-Americanism around the world. The Task Force report, revised in 2003 to take account of developments in Iraq, called for a renewed national commitment to vigorous public diplomacy. The Task Force's primary recommendation was greater integration of public diplomacy into the making of foreign policy. Additional recommendations included improving global communications about U.S. policies, culture, and values, and better coordination between the White House and the myriad government agencies representing the United States abroad.

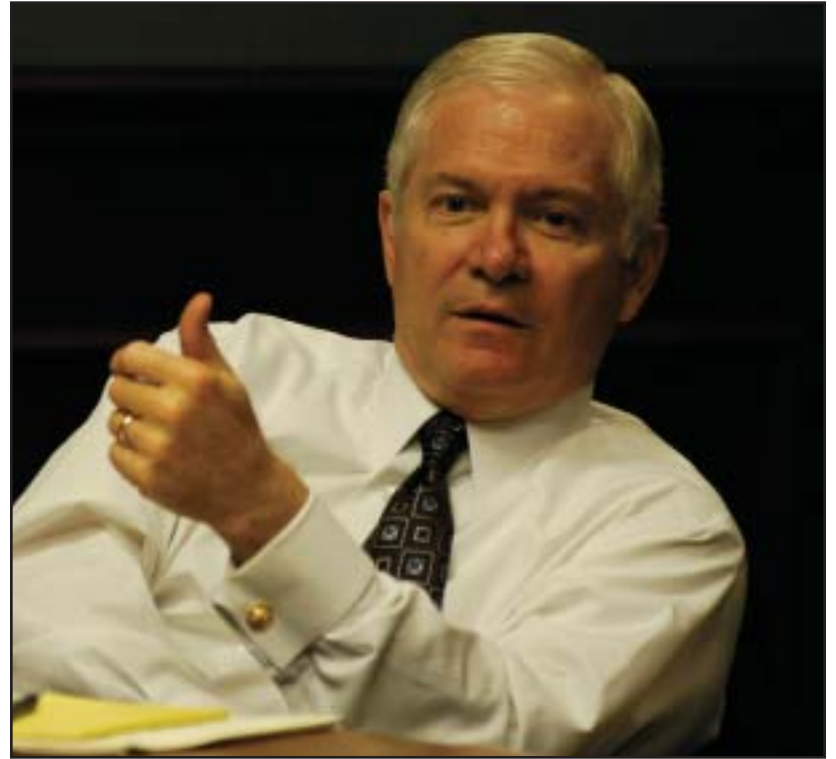
NEW TASK FORCES

Former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and former Director of Central Intelligence Robert M. Gates co-chaired the Independent Task Force on Iran, which released its report, *Iran: Time for a New Approach*, in July 2004. The Task Force found that despite considerable political flux and popular dissatisfaction, Iran is not on the verge of another revolution. Due to the urgency of U.S. concerns in the region, the Task Force recommended that Washington pursue direct dialogue



societies, recommend ways for the U.S. government to organize itself to meet these requirements, and outline how these responsibilities should be shared with other governments, international organizations, and the private sector.

Former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and former Representative Vin Weber will co-chair



Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Iran Co-Chairs Zbigniew Brzezinski (left) and Robert M. Gates (above).

with Tehran on specific areas of mutual concern. The Task Force concluded that the ongoing investigation of the International Atomic Energy Agency into Iran's nuclear program and the evolving situations in Iraq and Afghanistan underscore the vital relevance of Iran for U.S. policy and create a new environment for engagement.

Former National Security Advisers Samuel R. Berger and Brent Scowcroft are leading a Task Force on Post-Conflict Capabilities that will evaluate the arguments for building a stronger international capacity for stabilizing and rebuilding post-conflict

a Task Force on Reform in the Arab World. The Task Force will evaluate U.S. interests in promoting modernization and reform in the greater Middle East, assess the effectiveness of existing U.S. programs, and recommend policies for the United States, other countries, the private sector, and international organizations.

William F. Weld, former governor of Massachusetts, will lead a Task Force on North America. The Task Force, to be co-chaired with counterparts from Canada and Mexico, will address the range of transnational issues affecting the three North American nations, including trade, energy, the environment, immigration, and homeland security.

COUNCIL POLICY INITIATIVES

The Council launches a Council Policy Initiative (CPI) to address critical foreign policy issues when it seems unlikely that a Task Force can reconcile clashing views and forge a meaningful consensus. CPIs foster public debate by exploring competing viewpoints on an issue. CPIs may be written by a single author or a team of authors, and they are prepared in consultation with an advisory committee composed of recognized experts on the issue in question.

CPIs are written for the public as well as for experts. Beginning with a hypothetical memo to the president that reviews the relevant historical, political, and technical background to the issue, CPIs then present each alternative approach as a speech that could be delivered on the topic. The CPI tries to make the best case for each alternative rather than advocate any one strategy.

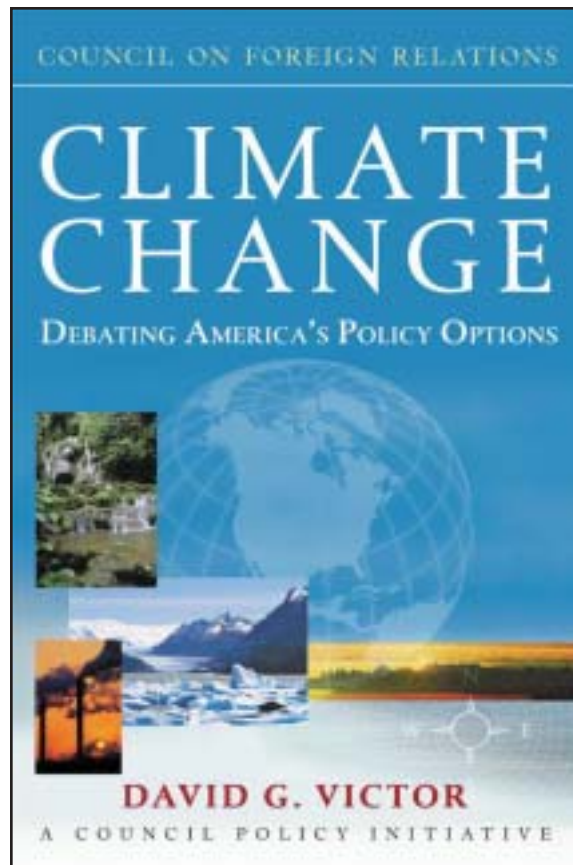
This year, David G. Victor, adjunct senior fellow at the Council and director of the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development at Stanford University, wrote a CPI titled *Climate Change: Debating America's Policy Options*. This book offers three policy options. The first, "Adaptation and Innovation," argues that uncertainties in the science of climate change make it unwise

to expend substantial resources attempting to control emissions. It recommends relying on voluntary emission reductions and advocates investing in new technologies that might make it less costly to reduce emissions in the future.

The second option, "Reinvigorating Kyoto," argues that the United States should reengage in international climate change negotiations, with the goal of creating a successor agreement to the Kyoto Protocol that contains emission reduction targets the United States could realistically achieve while also imposing binding emission limits on developing countries. This option would also create a global system to allow firms and governments to trade emission credits in an effort to find the most economically efficient solution.

The third option, "Making a Market," dismisses Kyoto-style solutions as unworkable because they try to

create a top-down global emission reduction system. It instead recommends that the United States create its own emission trading system, and it envisions the eventual emergence of an international emission trading system from the bottom up, as individual national programs are linked together.



CPIs foster public debate by exploring competing viewpoints on a critical foreign policy issue.

Council Special Reports are concise briefs designed to respond rapidly to a developing crisis or to contribute to an emerging policy debate.

COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

In 2004 the Council began publishing concise briefs designed to respond rapidly to a developing crisis or to contribute to an emerging policy debate. Council Special Reports are written by a single author in consultation with an advisory committee of independent experts on the country or issue at hand. The author may be a Council fellow or an acknowledged expert from outside the institution.

This past year the Council's Center for Preventive Action released two Council Special Reports, one on Georgia and one on the Philippines. *Stability, Security, and Sovereignty in the Republic of Georgia* was written by Council Senior Fellow David L. Phillips and released in January at a conference in Tbilisi. The report proposed a practical strategy for stabilizing the country during the first one hundred days of Mikhail Saakashvili's presidency and for increasing Georgia's economic prosperity in the long run. The new Georgian government used the report's recommendations to help determine its governing priorities, and the report's recommendations on structural reform were incorporated as benchmarks at a June 2004 donors' conference in Brussels. *Challenges for a Post-Election Philippines* was written by Catharin E. Dalpino, a former deputy assistant secretary of state and adjunct professor at Georgetown University. Released at a Council meeting in May, immediately after the Philippine presidential elections, the report recommended an array of steps for the new government to take to address the economic, political, and security challenges facing the Philippines.

The Council's Africa program also prepared two Special Reports, both released in May. The first, *Addressing the HIV/AIDS Pandemic: A U.S. Global AIDS Strategy for the Long Term*, cosponsored by the Mil-



President Mikhail Saakashvili of the Republic of Georgia speaks to Council members.

bank Memorial Fund, recommended that Washington adopt a longer-term and broader-based AIDS strategy that focuses on strengthening basic health-care systems in the developing world and addresses critical issues that go beyond health delivery. The second report, *Freedom, Prosperity, and Security—The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond*, was written by Princeton N. Lyman, the Council's Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies, and produced in cooperation with Chatham House in London. It urged the United States to incorporate African issues more fully in the discussions at the June 2004 summit meeting of the G8 group of advanced industrialized nations plus Russia in Sea Island, Georgia.

CAMPAIGN 2004

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HOME EXPERTS PRESS ROOM PUBLICATIONS ABOUT THE COUNCIL
The Source

CAMPAIGN
2004
FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

THE ISSUES

- ▶ AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD
- ▶ DEMOCRATIZATION
- ▶ ENERGY
- ▶ ENVIRONMENT
- ▶ FOREIGN AID
- ▶ GLOBAL HEALTH
- ▶ HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
- ▶ IMMIGRATION
- ▶ INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS
- NATIONAL SECURITY
 - ▶ DEFENSE
 - ▶ HOMELAND SECURITY
 - ▶ INTELLIGENCE
 - ▶ TERRORISM
 - ▶ WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION
- ▶ UNITED NATIONS
- ▶ AFRICA
- ▶ ASIA
- ▶ AFGHANISTAN

THE CANDIDATES

GEORGE BUSH
REPUBLICAN
Incumbent

- [Remarks in Phoenix, Arizona August 11, 2004](#)
- [Remarks at Unity: Journalists of Color Convention August 6, 2004](#)
- [Remarks on Intelligence Reform August 2, 2004](#)

MORE BUSH FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS

JOHN KERRY
DEMOCRAT
U.S. Senator,
Massachusetts

- [Remarks to Unity: Journalists of Color Convention August 5, 2004](#)
- [Speech to the 2004 Democratic National Convention July 29, 2004](#)
- [Statement by John Kerry on the 9/11 Commission Report July 22, 2004](#)

MORE KERRY FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS

For the first time in a generation, foreign policy issues are at the center of a presidential election. To help inform members and the general public—and to highlight its strengths as the nation's leading foreign policy think tank—the Council organized a trio of Campaign 2004 activities.

C2004 WEBSITE

Building on the success of its C2000 initiative, the Council is again using the Internet to inform members, journalists, students, and interested citizens about foreign policy in the U.S. presidential election campaign.

Visitors to C2004 (www.cfr.org/campaign2004) will find a wealth of resources:

- Issue briefs: 500-word summaries of the top foreign policy issues, written by Council experts;
- Candidate speeches and statements: a comprehensive collection of each candidate's foreign policy speeches and statements;
- Candidate scorecards: short, objective overviews comparing and contrasting the candidates' positions on foreign policy issues;
- C2004 at the Council: transcripts, webcasts, and videos of campaign-related events at the Council;
- Political links: a list of other political websites; and
- Futures calendar: a chronological list of significant events on the campaign trail, from the primaries through the conventions and the presidential debates.

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CONVENTION BRIEFINGS

During each of the political parties’ summer nominating conventions, the Council hosted a luncheon reception for delegates and other party leaders. In both New York and Boston—where Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government was a co-host—Council President Richard N. Haass led panels on critical U.S. foreign policy challenges for 2005 and beyond. For Democratic and Republican conventioners, many of whom were unfamiliar with the Council, the two events provided an introduction to the Council and its fellows during a provocative give-and-take on critical campaign issues.



Senators Gordon H. Smith (R-OR) and Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE) face off in the first of the Council’s debates between leading Republicans and Democrats.



Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) discusses Iraq and intelligence one week after Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) gave a foreign policy address to Council members.



Independent presidential candidate Ralph Nader.

MEETINGS AND DEBATES

During the run-up to the primaries and throughout the primary season, independent candidate Ralph Nader and most of the Democratic hopefuls spoke at the Council. Wesley K. Clark, Howard Dean (whose Council speech was his first formal foreign policy address), Richard A. Gephardt, Bob Graham, John F. Kerry, and Joseph I. Lieberman visited the Council and presented their views. The role of foreign policy in the election was the subject of several Council meetings (and the



Teresa Heinz Kerry and John F. Kerry.

subtext of many more). Throughout the year, journalists, pollsters, and scholars gave participants a tour of the ever-changing political landscape. As the conventions neared, the Council's Washington Program inaugurated a series of head-to-head debates between leading Republicans and Democrats. The first took place in mid-May, when Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE) faced off against his colleague Senator Gordon H. Smith (R-OR).

Democratic presidential candidates (clockwise from top): Richard A. Gephardt, Wesley K. Clark, Joseph I. Lieberman, Bob Graham, and Howard Dean.

BOOK CLUB

This year the Council launched a nationwide Book Club series to focus its members on classics and important recent works in international relations and U.S. foreign policy, to stimulate debate and discussion, and to build a greater sense of community among its members. Distinguished members led and hosted discussions in thirteen cities.

The series began with Michael Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars*, which explores some of the most critical questions in international relations, including the use of preemptive military force and whether the ends of war can ever justify the means. In the wake of the war with Iraq, these questions remain as relevant as they were for the statesmen and philosophers of old.

THE ARTHUR ROSS BOOK AWARD

The annual Arthur Ross Book Award recognizes books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations. The prize, endowed by Council member Arthur Ross in 2001, evaluates nonfiction works published in the preceding two years, in English or in translation, that merit special attention for

- bringing forth new information that changes our understanding of events or problems;
- developing analytical approaches that allow new and different insights into a key issue; or
- providing new ideas to help resolve foreign policy problems.

With a gold medal prize of \$10,000 and a silver medal prize of \$5,000, the Arthur Ross Book Award is the most substantial award in the United States for any book on international affairs.

In 2004, the gold medal was awarded to Daniel

Benjamin and Steven Simon for their book *The Age of Sacred Terror*. The silver medal went to Robert Cooper for *The Breaking of Nations*, and an honorable mention was awarded to Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay for *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*.



Arthur Ross with Gary Hart at the Arthur Ross Book Award event.

REVAMPING WWW.CFR.ORG

www.cfr.org is undergoing a top-to-bottom overhaul. The goal is to build on the advances of recent years and continue the website's evolution as the "first stop" Internet resource for users seeking balanced, nonpartisan, and up-to-date discussion and analysis of global developments, U.S. foreign policy, and international relations. The redesigned site will present the current mix of content—Task Force reports, transcripts of on-the-record meetings, fel-

lows' op-ed articles, interviews, and background questions and answers—with a significantly improved information "architecture" that makes the material more readily accessible to all types of users, from www.cfr.org's core audiences of members and other experts to the growing number of individuals interested in international relations. For each topic covered on the site, users will find information designed to appeal to their level of expertise and knowledge.