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# SPECIAL INITIATIVES

**E**ach year this section identifies publications, programs, and initiatives (some ongoing, some new) that merit special mention. Highlights of 2004–2005 include

- The tenth anniversary of the Council's Independent Task Force program, marked by the publication of three reports and two chairmen's statements, and the launch of two new Task Forces;
- Council efforts surrounding the presidential campaign and the subsequent transition;
- Endowment of the General John W. Vessey Chair for Conflict Prevention as part of the Council's Center for Preventive Action;
- The launch of the Council's Academic Outreach Program targeted to educators at the college and graduate level;
- The fourth annual Arthur Ross Book Award to recognize books that made an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations; and
- Five Council Special Reports published as part of a new series of concise policy briefs aimed at responding rapidly to pressing foreign policy concerns and contributing to emerging debates.

*Once formed, Task Forces are independent. Chairs, directors, and members are solely responsible for the content of their reports.*

## TASK FORCES

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Council's Independent Task Forces, which were launched by former Council President Leslie H. Gelb in 1995 with a Task Force on nuclear nonproliferation, chaired by Stephen J. Hadley, who now serves as President George W. Bush's national security adviser. More than fifty reports later, Task Forces have become a trademark of the Council.

The Council sponsors an Independent Task Force when an issue of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy arises, and 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. Task Force chairs, directors, and members are solely responsible for the content of their reports.

As Task Forces are intended to help shape the

public debate on critical foreign policy issues, the Council mobilizes its resources to maximize the impact of Task Force reports, both at the time of the initial release and as developments warrant. In addition to media outreach, the Council supports the efforts of Task Force chairs and members to reach influential practitioners in the executive branch, in Congress, and beyond.

The Council released three Independent Task Force reports and two chairmen's statements in 2004–2005. Three additional Task Forces are currently under way.

The Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Iran, co-chaired by former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and former Director of Central Intelligence Robert M. Gates, found that a policy predicated on regime change was insufficient. The urgency of the concerns about Iran's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, support for



Council Fellow and Task Force Director Steven A. Cook, Co-Chairs Vin Weber and Madeleine K. Albright, and the Washington Post's Jackson K. Diehl presiding at the rollout of the report on reform in the Arab world.

terrorism, and capacity to influence regional conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, combined with the Task Force's assessment that Iran was not in a pre-revolutionary state, compelled the Task Force to recommend a U.S. policy of selective engagement toward Iran. The report, *Iran: Time for a New Approach*, has generated significant media coverage since its release in July 2004.

The Independent Task Force on the Future of North America, co-chaired by former Canadian Deputy Prime Minister John P. Manley, former Mexican Finance Minister Pedro Aspe, and former Massachusetts Governor William F. Weld, released its report, *Building a North American Community*, in May 2005. The Task Force called on the United States, Canada, and Mexico to establish a North American security and economic community by 2010 and offered a detailed and ambitious set of proposals building on the recommendations adopted by the three governments at the Texas summit of March 2005, including annual trilateral summits, a common external tariff, a North American border pass, and a unified border action plan.

Task Force vice chairs Thomas P. d'Aquino of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives, Andrés Rozental of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, and Robert A. Pastor of American University joined the chairs in releasing a chairmen's statement in advance of the March summit. The Task

Force's work blanketed the news media in all three countries at the time of the summit, and the chairs published an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* and its Mexican equivalent. This was the Council's first trilateral Task Force, composed of members from all three North American countries with meetings held in Toronto, Monterrey, and New York. The report was released simultaneously in English, French, and Spanish. The Council on Foreign Relations sponsored this Task Force in cooperation with the Canadian Council of Chief Executives and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations.

The Independent Task Force on U.S. Support for Reform in the Arab World, co-chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and former Representative Vin Weber (R-MN), released its report in June 2005. The Task Force report, *In Support of Arab Democracy: Why and How*, argued for the end of the Arab democracy exception and found that, notwithstanding the inherent short-term risks, a strategy of democracy promotion is the best means to foster stability in the Middle East and restore American credibility in the region. Drawing on consultations in the region with Arab thinkers, business leaders, and reform activists, the Task Force urged the United States to work with Arab governments to develop detailed "pathways to reform"; support the development of a multiparty



*Future of North America Task Force Co-Chairs Pedro Aspe, John P. Manley, and William F. Weld with Council Vice Chairman and Task Force member Carla A. Hills at the rollout of the chairmen's report.*



*Council Senior Fellow Stephen R. Sestanovich with Russia Task Force Co-Chairs Jack Kemp and John Edwards.*

political system, even if that system includes the participation of nonviolent Islamist political parties; and use financial and military incentives to promote reform.

Major news media, domestic and international, covered the report, and Task Force leaders have briefed U.S. government officials on their findings and recommendations. The co-chairs published an op-ed in the *Washington Post*, and the full Task Force report was also translated into Arabic.

#### TASK FORCES UNDER WAY

Former National Security Advisers Samuel R. Berger and Brent Scowcroft led a Task Force on U.S. Post-Conflict Capabilities. The Task Force focused on the growing importance to U.S. national security and foreign policy of failed or failing states and states emerging from conflict, and the corresponding need to build the capacity to conduct “stabilization” operations. In July 2005, the Task Force recommended a series of policy and organizational changes to develop civilian and military capacity to conduct stabilization operations and to improve U.S. cooperation with other countries, the United Nations, and international institutions, including international financial institutions.

The co-chairs of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Africa, former National Security Adviser Anthony Lake and former Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Christine Todd Whitman, sent a letter to the administration with recommendations for contributing to Africa’s progress and advancing America’s rising stakes in Africa. The chairmen’s statement recommended that the United States take the lead at the July 2005 G8 summit in reaching agreement on several outstanding issues, including debt relief, trade, aid, health, and peace and security. The Task Force aims to release a final report in the fall.

Former Senator John Edwards (D-NC) and former Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY) are chairing a Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Russia. The Task Force will review current U.S. policy toward that country and make recommendations on future policy—from global security to Russia’s evolution as a democratic state. The Task Force will focus on critical areas in the bilateral relationship, including nonproliferation, democracy and pluralism in Russia, Russia’s relations with its neighbors, the Cold War legacy, the economy, energy, and cooperation against terrorism. The Task Force co-chairs are planning a trip to Russia to supplement their deliberations.

## CAMPAIGN 2004 *and* TRANSITION 2005

The Council conducted a pair of special programs related to the 2004 presidential election. Campaign 2004, which began in the 2003–2004 program year with a series of meetings featuring various presidential hopefuls, kept the focus on electoral politics in the run-up to Election Day. It sponsored two half-day events for the electoral

conventions: in Boston for the Democrats together with Harvard's Shorenstein Center and in New York for the Republicans. Both events were made possible by the Coca-Cola Company.\* The Campaign 2004 website—[www.cfr.org/campaign2004](http://www.cfr.org/campaign2004)—was an indispensable asset for political junkies. It contained biographies of the major-party candidates, a library of their most significant foreign policy speeches, and issue briefs written by Council fellows that analyzed the major foreign policy questions raised in the campaign. The site also featured a campaign calendar and links to polls, news organizations, and various political websites. The Campaign 2004 meeting series wrapped up with a post-election open-mic night featuring Council President Richard N. Haass and several fellows.

After Election Day, Campaign 2004 evolved into Transition 2005. In New York, Washington, and across the country plans were in place for a series of meetings devoted to the issues filling the second Bush administration's "in-box." Members heard U.S. Agency for International Development Administrator Andrew Natsios; Representatives Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Sander Levin (D-MI); former presidential candidate Wesley K. Clark; R. Glenn Hubbard, dean of the Columbia Business School; Kenneth M. Pollack, senior fellow and director of research at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution; and others debate and discuss a wide variety of transition-related topics. Subjects covered in the meetings included economics, transatlantic relations, Iran, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Latin America, nonproliferation, and development.

*Representative Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Council Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig at a Transition 2005 meeting on the Central American Free Trade Agreement.*



*Slate Editor Jacob M. Weisberg with French Ambassador Jean-David Levitte at the Campaign 2004 briefing in Boston for the Democratic delegates.*

\* In addition to the support of the Coca-Cola Company, the Boston event was underwritten by Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, BellSouth Corporation, Chevron, and International Paper.

Also after the election, a new website on the transition—[www.cfr.org/transition2005](http://www.cfr.org/transition2005)—premiered, and the Campaign 2004 site was archived. Instead of briefs on issues likely to affect the campaign, a new crop of briefs addressed the major international topics demanding attention from President Bush's foreign policy team. The transition site quickly built up a library of speeches and testimony given by the administration, assembled biographies of the foreign policy team's most important players, and kept track of nominees as they made their way through the confirmation process. Transition 2005 also highlighted transition-related activities at the Council and offered users a list of links to government transition sites and media sites.

*Campaign 2004 sponsored events for delegates at the Democratic and Republican conventions.*



## COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HOME EXPERTS PRESS ROOM PUBLICATIONS ABOUT THE COUNCIL The Source

### TRANSITION 2005

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SECOND BUSH ADMINISTRATION

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#### THE ISSUES

The Critical Agenda

- AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD
- DARFUR
- IRAN
- IRAQ
- NORTH KOREA
- TERRORISM

Other Issues

- ARAB REFORM
- DEFENSE
- ENERGY / ENVIRONMENT
- GLOBAL HEALTH
- HOMELAND SECURITY
- INTELLIGENCE
- TRADE

Other Regions

- CHINA
- EUROPE
- INDIA / PAKISTAN
- ISRAEL / PALESTINE
- LATIN AMERICA
- RUSSIA

PRESIDENT: GEORGE W. BUSH  
VICE PRESIDENT: DICK CHENEY

- [President Nominates Condoleezza Rice as Secretary of State](#)  
November 16, 2004
- [President Thanks Secretary Powell](#)  
November 15, 2004

BUSH CAMPAIGN FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS  
CHENEY CAMPAIGN FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS

#### BUSH II FOREIGN POLICY TEAM

Secretary of State  
[Condoleezza Rice](#)

Secretary of Defense  
[Donald Rumsfeld](#)

Deputy Secretary of Defense  
[Paul Wolfowitz](#)

National Security Adviser  
[Stephen Hadley](#)

Deputy National Security Adviser  
Vacant

VP's Chief of Staff and National Security Adviser  
[J. Lewis "Scooter" Libby Jr.](#)

CIA Director  
[Rusty Bress](#)

U.N. Ambassador  
[John C. Danforth](#)

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#### T2005 AT THE COUNCIL

COUNCIL EXPERTS

INTERVIEWS, OP-EDS, ETC.

Irwin: The lack of sustained engagement with Iran harms American interests, and direct dialogue with Tehran on specific areas of mutual concern should be pursued, says a Council-Sponsored Independent Task Force Report, "Iran: Time for a New Approach."

Sedan: A decade after the Rwanda

#### T2005 LINKS

Political news websites:

- [ABC's "The Note"](#)
- [CNN](#)
- [Fox News](#)
- [MSNBC](#)
- [National Journal](#)
- [National Review](#)
- [Newsweek](#)
- [New York Times](#)

[Campaign 2004 website archive](#)

## CENTER *for* PREVENTIVE ACTION

The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) received a generous gift from the family of Patrick M. Byrne to endow the General John W. Vessey Chair for Conflict Prevention. The gift honors the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who enlisted in the Minnesota National Guard in 1939, received a field commission as an officer at Anzio in 1944, and rose to occupy the U.S. military's

highest position. The Council celebrated the endowment of the chair at a gala dinner that marked the tenth anniversary of the CPA.

The creation of the Vessey Chair will enable the CPA to continue its mission of finding ways to prevent, defuse, and resolve deadly conflicts around the world. In addition to releasing Council Special Reports on the Balkans and on Iraq, the CPA launched a new Preventive Action Commission to examine ways that local groups, international organizations, and influential countries can promote Angola's successful transition to stability and security after its twenty-seven-year civil war.

The center released a Spanish translation of an earlier Preventive Action Commission report, *Andes 2020*, to disseminate further the report's findings in Latin America. The English-language version of the report formed the basis for a House International Relations Committee "Statement for the Record" for a May hearing on Plan Colombia. The CPA also expanded its offerings on the Council's website over the past year to feature articles on specific cases of preventive action.



*John J. Byrne, John W. Vessey, and Patrick M. Byrne.*

## ACADEMIC OUTREACH INITIATIVE

This year the Council launched the Academic Outreach Program designed to connect its fellows and work with colleges and universities across the country and around the world. With the guidance of the Academic Advisory Group, chaired by Pepperdine University's Dan Caldwell, the Council developed a number of ways to engage the academic community. Council fellows spoke about their work on campuses around the country. With the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Council developed the interactive Academic Conference Call Series for students and professors that focused on new security threats. Webcasts of Council meetings featuring policymakers and scholars in timely discussions were also used in the classroom. For example, a debate on the law

of war and the war on terrorism between Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch, and John Choon Yoo of the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law, was broadcast to students at the University of Washington School of Law and Principia College. In addition, the New York University Wagner School of Public Service aired the debate in its main lounge area and several professors from across the country requested copies of the debate to incorporate into their syllabi.

Academic modules of select Council publications will be featured in an educators' portal on the redesigned Council website. Each module will include the primary text, as well as teaching notes, secondary source readings, relevant *Foreign Affairs* articles, related video and audio files, and transcripts of on-the-record Council meetings.

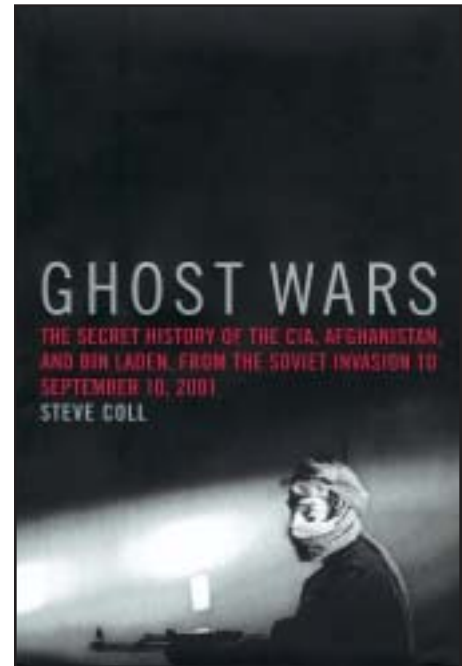
## THE ARTHUR ROSS BOOK AWARD

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, recognizes 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.

This year saw an increase in the award amounts due to a generous additional gift by Arthur Ross. The award, now considered the most significant for books on international affairs, consists of a gold medal prize of \$25,000, a silver medal prize of \$10,000, and an honorable mention of \$5,000.

In 2005, the gold medal was awarded to Steve Coll for *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. The silver medal went to Stephen Biddle for *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*, and an honorable mention was awarded to James Mann for *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet*.



Foreign Affairs Editor and Jury Chairman James F. Hoge Jr. with Steve Coll, Stephen Biddle, Arthur Ross, and James Mann.

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## COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

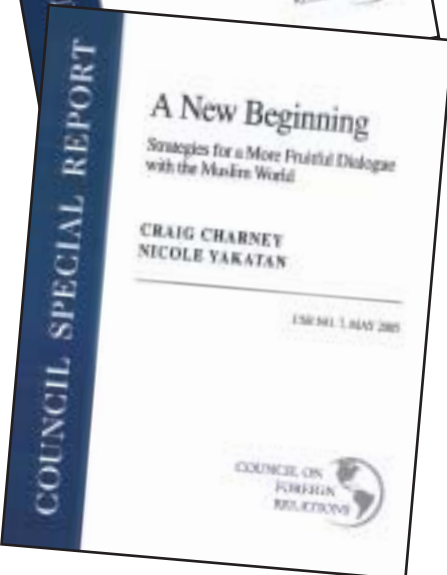
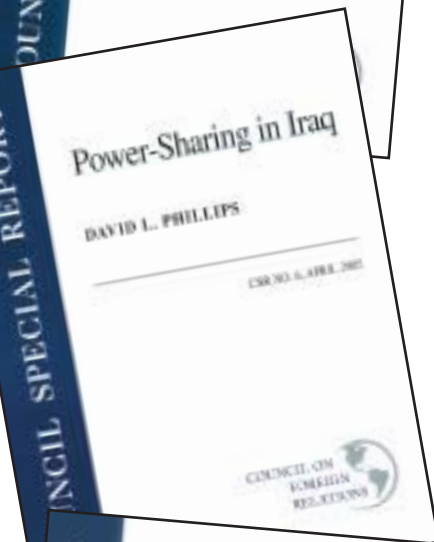
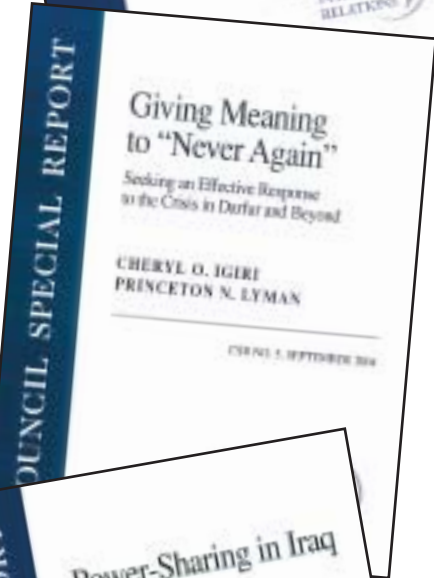
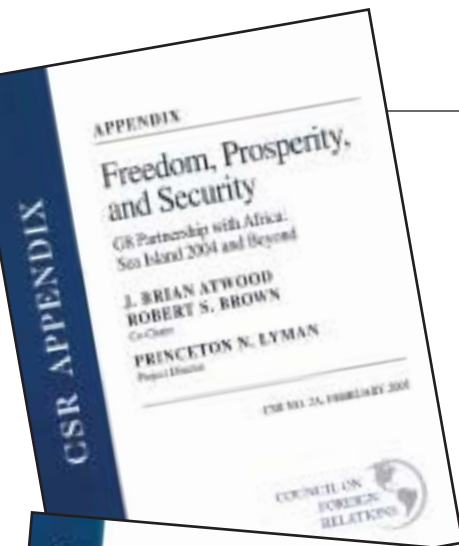
First introduced in 2004, Council Special Reports are concise policy studies designed to respond rapidly to a developing crisis or to contribute to an emerging policy debate. These studies are usually written in consultation with an independent advisory committee composed of experts on the country or issue at hand. The author (or authors) may be a fellow at the Council or an acknowledged expert from outside the institution. A report's conclusions and recommendations are those of the author (or authors), not of the advisory committee or of the Council.

The Council's Center for Preventive Action released two Council Special Reports in the past year, one on the Balkans and one on Iraq. William L. Nash, director of the CPA, and Amelia Branczik, CPA research associate, wrote *Forgotten Intervention? What the United States Needs to Do in the Western Balkans*. The report analyzed how to resolve Kosovo's final status and argued for renewed U.S. involvement. David L. Phillips, deputy director of the CPA, wrote *Power-Sharing in Iraq*, contending that the new Iraqi constitution must establish a federal-style political system if Iraq is to avoid civil war.

Princeton N. Lyman, Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies, and Cheryl O. Igiri, research associate, wrote a special report on the conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan, *Giving Meaning to "Never Again": Seeking an Effective Response to the Crisis in Darfur and Beyond*. This report examined why the international community failed to respond quickly to the crisis in light of the lessons learned from the Rwandan genocide. The report also recommended steps the United States and the international community should take to end the Darfur crisis and to avoid future genocides. An appendix to the Council Special Report *Freedom, Prosperity, and Security: G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond* was published in late February. The appendix makes available the commissioned papers of the Council's Africa-G8 Roundtable project and was used as a resource for the 2005 G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland.

The Council published a special report on anti-Americanism in the Islamic world, *A New Beginning: Strategies for a More Fruitful Dialogue with the Muslim World*. The report's authors, Craig Charney and Nicole Yakatan of Charney Research, discussed what they learned from more than a dozen focus groups held in Egypt, Morocco, and Indonesia. They argued that the United States can improve its image in the Muslim world with a communications strategy that emphasizes America's desire for a productive partnership with Muslim countries, draws attention to its aid programs, incorporates credible figures with expertise in local customs and languages into its public diplomacy, and challenges stereotypes of U.S. foreign policy.

The Council also published *HIV and National Security: Where Are the Links?* to coincide with the fifth anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1308, which established HIV as a security issue. The report, authored by Laurie Garrett, senior fellow for global health, urged governments to place the HIV/AIDS pandemic on their security agendas and offered concrete recommendations aimed at limiting the epidemic's contributions to instability, depletion of police and military forces, and long-term state collapse.



## 2005 COUNCIL COUNTS

1	ranking in foreign policy press citations among New York and Washington, DC, think tanks*
1	ranking of <i>Foreign Affairs</i> in survey of most-influential print and broadcast media
4	languages in which <i>Foreign Affairs</i> is published
9	books published under Council auspices
9	Independent Task Force reports and Council reports published by the Council
12	percentage of the total membership who are term members
14	New York and Washington, DC, meetings with more than 200 attendees
16	languages spoken by Council scholars
20	average weekly number of web-released articles, reports, and fact sheets
22	full-time Council fellows
27	Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program Roundtable Special Briefings held in Washington, DC
32	percentage of term members who attended the annual Term Member Conference
84	years of service to the foreign policy community
127	on-the-record meetings and press briefings
153	Council meetings held in Washington, DC
185	total Council staff members (148 New York, 37 Washington, DC)
237	articles and op-eds written by Council scholars for foreign and domestic journals and newspapers
238	media mentions of <i>Iran: Time for a New Approach</i> in one week (July 18–24, 2004)
250	total Corporate members
273	<i>Foreign Affairs</i> subscriptions in North Korea
300	attendees at the National Conference
724	average monthly Council mentions in print, TV, radio, wire, and web outlets
1,311	Washington, DC–area members
1,394	New York–area members
1,569	national and international members
4,274	total Council members (3,749 life members, 525 term members)
140,126	<i>Foreign Affairs</i> paid circulation
4,634,177	annual visits to all Council-sponsored websites
\$30,428,000	Council annual operating budget

\* Derived from sources such as FNS, Nexis, Google, and the blogs search engine Feedster.