

---

# SPECIAL INITIATIVES

The Special Initiatives section identifies Council programs, publications, and other efforts from the past year that deserve particular recognition. Included in this year's group are Task Force reports, Council Special Reports, the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and the Arthur Ross Book Award.

## TASK FORCE REPORTS

The Council sponsors an Independent Task Force when an issue of critical importance to U.S. foreign policy arises that would benefit from in-depth, non-partisan analysis. A group, diverse in background and perspective, is convened. The goal is to reach a policy consensus through private deliberations—although the Council encourages individual views and dissents that sharpen important differences of analysis and prescription. Task Forces also draw on the expertise of Council membership through a series of review meetings held in New York and Washington, DC, and nationally. Task Forces are independent of the Council and solely responsible for the content of their reports.

For the release of each Task Force report, the Council tailors a specific outreach strategy designed to engage appropriate audiences. Outreach efforts begin during Task Force deliberations and continue in the weeks and months following publication. Under the stewardship of Lee Feinstein, senior fellow and executive director of the Task Force Program, the Council published two Independent Task Force

reports in 2006–2007. Three additional Task Forces are currently under way.

Former director of the CIA John Deutch and former secretary of energy and defense James R. Schlesinger released the Independent Task Force report *National Security Consequences of U.S. Oil Dependency* in October 2006. The Task Force concluded that the lack of sustained attention to energy issues is undermining U.S. foreign policy and national security. Directed by David G. Victor, adjunct senior fellow for science and technology, the Task Force argues that U.S. energy policy has been plagued by myths, such as the feasibility of achieving “energy independence,” and urges the United States to become better equipped to manage its dependencies. The Task Force report devotes considerable attention to how oil consumption can be reduced, and why and how energy issues must become better integrated with other aspects of U.S. foreign policy. During its deliberations, the Task Force consulted with over 150 Council members, industry executives, and leaders of environmental, human rights, and other non-



Steven Mufson, Senior Fellow Lee Feinstein, Task Force co-chairs James R. Schlesinger and John Deutch, and project director and Adjunct Senior Fellow David G. Victor at a meeting on the Independent Task Force report National Security Consequences of U.S. Oil Dependency.

governmental organizations. Following the report's release, the Task Force leadership and membership briefed industry leaders and officials inside the administration and Congress, including in testimony before the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. The chairs summarized their findings in an essay published in a special edition of *Newsweek* focused on global energy issues.

Former U.S. trade representative Carla A. Hills and former commander-in-chief of the Pacific Command Dennis C. Blair released *U.S.-China Relations: An Affirmative Agenda, A Responsible Course* in April 2007. Based on a careful assessment of developments in China and China's likely future trajectory, the Task Force recommended that the United States pursue a strategy focused on the integration of China into the global community and found that such an approach will best encourage China to act in a way consistent with U.S. interests and international norms. The Task Force concluded with a series of recommendations aimed to reinforce recent efforts to deepen

U.S.-China cooperation. The Task Force leadership briefed U.S. government officials, including Treasury Secretary Henry M. Paulson Jr., Deputy Secretary of State John D. Negroponte, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Gordon England, as well as Chinese ambassador to the United States Zhou Wenzhong, and delivered copies of the report to some six hundred individuals relevant to the policy debate. In the first week after its release, the report was covered by AP, Reuters, and Bloomberg, and cited in the *Washington Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *Forbes*, *USA Today*, the *White House Bulletin*, the *Nelson Report*, and in the Chinese press. There has also been much interest in the report in Japan, where Hitachi International Affairs Fellow Frank Jannuzi, the project director, conducted briefings with scholars, diplomats, and others. The chairs also published an op-ed in the *International Herald Tribune*. The press release was translated into Chinese and released concurrently with the U.S. report, and the full report is available online in Chinese.

*The Task Force concluded that the lack of sustained attention to energy issues is undermining U.S. foreign policy and national security.*

*The Task Force recommended that the United States pursue a strategy focused on the integration of China into the global community.*



CNN's Kathryn Pilgrim moderates a discussion of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward China with co-chairs Carla A. Hills and Dennis C. Blair.

## Task Forces Under Way

Former senator Bob Kerrey and former director of the CIA and the FBI William H. Webster co-chair an Independent Task Force on Civil Liberties and National Security. Launched in fall 2006, the Task Force will evaluate the national experience since 9/11 and, based on a careful and nonpartisan assessment of executive authority, legislative activity and oversight, and judicial review, develop a policy approach that can help the U.S. government and the American public make sound decisions in the face of another major terrorist attack. Daniel B. Prieto, senior fellow at the Reform Institute, serves as project director. The goal is to release the report in fall/winter 2007.

Former U.S. trade representative Charlene Barshefsky and former commander-in-chief of the Southern Command James T. Hill are co-chairs of an Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Latin America. The Task Force will work to articulate U.S. interests in the region, review current U.S. policies, and consider the range of possible alternative strategies. The Task Force aims to craft a set of recommendations for U.S. policy toward the region, addressing such critical issues as poverty and inequality, the

hemisphere's energy potential, the rise of anti-Americanism, and security. Shannon O'Neil, fellow for Latin America studies, serves as project director, with Julia E. Sweig, Nelson and David Rockefeller senior fellow and director of Latin America studies at the Council, as senior adviser. The Task Force convened in early 2007 and is working to release its report in the winter of 2007–2008.

Former New York governor George E. Pataki and former Virginia governor Mark R. Warner launched a new Independent Task Force on Climate Change in the summer of 2007. The Task Force will examine the science, economics, and politics of climate change and propose a comprehensive U.S. strategy to address the challenges that climate change presents, with special emphasis on those that explicitly involve foreign policy. Michael A. Levi, fellow for science and technology and director of the Council's program on energy, security, and climate change, is the project director. David G. Victor, adjunct senior fellow for science and technology, will serve as senior adviser to the Task Force. The Task Force plans to release a report in 2008.

## COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

Council Special Reports (CSRs), written by Council fellows or outside experts, are concise policy studies that respond to a developing crisis or contribute to an emerging policy debate. Each report is written in consultation with an independent advisory committee composed of experts on the country or issue in question. A report's conclusions and recommendations reflect the views of the author (or authors), not those of the advisory committee or of the Council. The Council actively publicizes each report with meetings, press briefings, emails, and teleconferences. To ensure maximum impact, the Council makes a special effort to distribute the reports to relevant government officials, who are briefed on the contents and approached for comments and suggestions. The reports are also featured on the Council's website, CFR.org.

The Council's Center for Preventive Action (CPA), under the leadership of William L. Nash, General John W. Vessey senior fellow for conflict prevention, released four CSRs in the past year: two examining policy in Latin America, and two focusing on Africa. Richard Lapper, Latin America editor for the *Financial Times*, wrote *Living with Hugo: U.S. Policy Toward Hugo Chávez's Venezuela*. Anticipating the controversial leader's December 2006 reelection, the report recommends the United States make clear its willingness to cooperate with Caracas on pragmatic issues of mutual interest, while developing an understanding with select Latin American leaders on how to respond if Chávez crosses red lines in his foreign and domestic policies.

In *Bolivia on the Brink*, Eduardo A. Gamarra, director of the Latin American and Caribbean Center,

professor of political science, and editor of *Hemisphere* at Florida International University, argues that Washington's current "wait and see" approach to the Evo Morales government is no longer adequate. Gamarra encourages the U.S. government to emphasize the preservation of democratic process and conflict prevention. Excluding Bolivia from critical U.S. benefits such as trade, military training, and development assistance, he argues, would only push the Morales government closer to Cuba and Venezuela, feed anti-American sentiment in the region, and increase the likelihood of sociopolitical turmoil.

On the eve of war, the CPA released *Avoiding*



*Conflict in the Horn of Africa: U.S. Policy Toward Ethiopia and Eritrea*, by Terrence Lyons, associate professor of conflict resolution at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and interim director of the Center for Global Studies at George Mason University. The report recommends that the U.S. government vigorously support both increased aid and a regional military presence to promote order in Somalia, which has suffered nearly two decades of anarchy. It also recommends the U.S. government move quickly to implement a new strategy for resolving, or at least reducing, tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

*In Bolivia on the Brink, Eduardo A. Gamarra argues that Washington's current "wait and see" approach to the Evo Morales government is no longer adequate.*

*After the Surge concludes that the administration's decision to increase U.S. force levels will fail to prevent further deterioration of the situation in Iraq.*

Moving westward, Robert I. Rotberg, director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution at Harvard University, examines the political and economic landscape of Africa's most populous nation in *Nigeria: Elections and Continuing Challenges*. Timed to coincide with the recent Nigerian presidential elections, the report argues that the United States and the international community have a vested interest in ensuring that Nigeria addresses corruption, internal unrest, an HIV/AIDS epidemic, and a struggling economy, in order to become a peaceful, stable democracy. Rotberg recommends policies such as election monitoring to avoid a near-term breakdown of democracy, and others such as strengthening health-care infrastructure and improving security to tackle the country's fundamental governance and development challenges.

The Council also produced a number of other reports on issues confronting policymakers and the world. Steven Simon, Hasib J. Sabbagh senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies, wrote *After the Surge: The Case for U.S. Military Disengagement from Iraq*. He concludes that the administration's decision to increase U.S. force levels will fail to prevent further deterioration of the situation there. The report calls for the United States to disengage the majority of U.S. combat forces from Iraq within twelve to eighteen months after the results of the surge become known, a shift toward containment of the conflict, and re-

newed diplomatic efforts in the Arab-Israeli arena in order to offset perceptions of American weakness in the region.

In *Darfur and Beyond: What Is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities*, Lee Feinstein, senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy and international law and executive director of the Task Force Program, addresses the UN's acceptance that sovereignty may need to be compromised when a government is unable or unwilling to provide for the basic needs of those within its state borders. This report recommends that the new UN secretary-general make genocide prevention central to his reform efforts and leadership goals. On Darfur, the report recommends an immediate strengthening of the African Union (AU) mission in Sudan, readying an international force to supplant the AU if necessary, and enforcing the UN and Darfur Peace Agreement bans on military flights over the region.

Charles D. Ferguson, fellow for science and technology, wrote *Nuclear Energy: Balancing Benefits and Risks*, a sobering and authoritative look at nuclear power. He argues that nuclear energy, despite its attributes, is unlikely to play a major role in the coming decades in strengthening energy security or in countering the harmful effects of climate change. Nonetheless, since the use of nuclear power is likely to expand, he proposes a series of measures to strengthen security and safety and reduce the risk of nuclear proliferation.





Steven Simon



Lee Feinstein



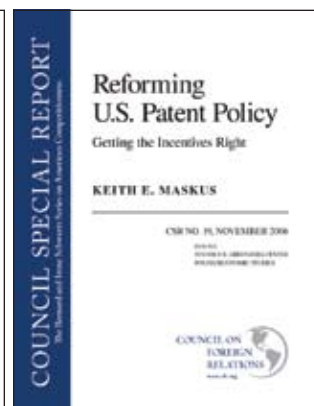
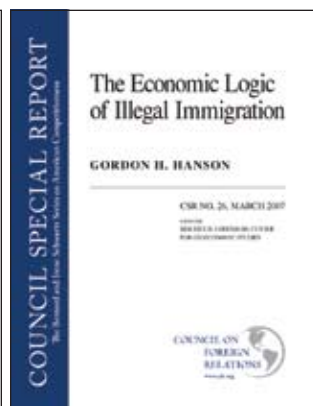
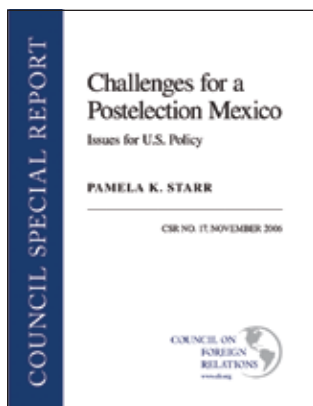
Charles D. Ferguson

In *Challenges for a Postelection Mexico: Issues for U.S. Policy*, rereleased after the country's controversial summer 2006 elections, Pamela K. Starr, an analyst with the Eurasia Group and professor of Latin American studies at Georgetown University, details the economic and political obstacles confronting President Felipe Calderón as he seeks economic and political reforms in Mexico and improved relations with the United States. The report identifies the likely consequences of the bitterly fought 2006 campaign for both democracy and economic reform in Mexico and for Mexican relations with its hemispheric neighbors, including the United States.

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Goeconomic Studies (GEC), under the new leadership of Sebastian Mallaby, released five reports, several of which were part of the Bernard and Irene Schwartz Series on American Competitiveness. The

first of these, *The Economic Logic of Illegal Immigration*, was authored by Gordon H. Hanson, director of the Center on Pacific Economies and professor of economics at the University of California, San Diego. Focusing on economic costs and benefits, Hanson concludes that stemming illegal immigration would likely lead to a net drain on the U.S. economy. He makes the case that unless policymakers design a system of legal immigration—especially for low-skilled guest workers—that reflects the economic advantages of illegal labor, such programs will not significantly reduce illegal immigration.

In *Reforming U.S. Patent Policy: Getting the Incen-*



*tives Right*, Keith E. Maskus, a University of Colorado economics professor, examines how, ironically, the U.S. system may have become so tilted in favor of patent and copyright owners that it discourages innovation even as it protects innovators' rights. He recommends reforms that would tighten standards for patentability, while making it easier to challenge patents of questionable quality. On the international front, he recommends scaling back efforts to raise intellectual-property standards to U.S. levels and paying more attention to enforcement of existing standards in emerging markets.

Alan P. Larson and David M. Marchick, both of Covington and Burling, wrote *Foreign Investment and National Security: Getting the Balance Right*. The authors discuss the benefits of foreign direct investment in the United States and the security risks posed by foreign ownership of certain U.S. assets. They examine the inner workings of the committee that conducts security reviews—the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States—and recommend how policymakers should go about reforming it.

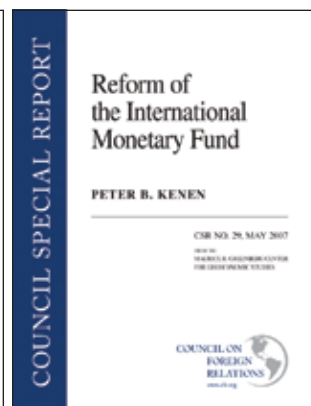
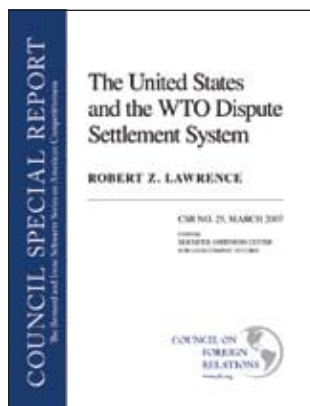
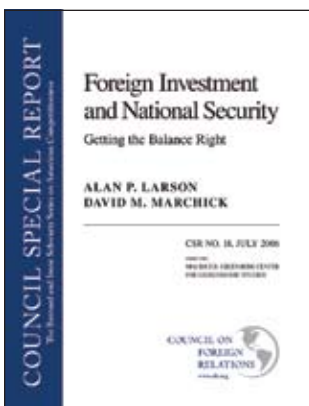
Other GEC reports centered on institution building and creating mechanisms to mitigate the risks inherent in a globalized economy. Robert Z. Lawrence, an international trade and investment professor at Harvard University, wrote *The United States and the WTO Dispute Settlement System*. Lawrence makes a case for the effectiveness of the World Trade Organization, particularly its dispute settlement system,



Peter B. Kenen

and the benefits that would accrue from improving it. He suggests several reforms, from steps that require multilateral negotiations, such as improving opportunities for nonstate actor participation, to changes the United States could make on its own.

In *Reform of the International Monetary Fund*, Peter B. Kenen, adjunct senior fellow for international economics, argues that the United States should strongly support measures to enhance the legitimacy of the IMF because the U.S. government cannot readily accomplish unilaterally what the IMF can accomplish multilaterally. Kenen suggests that the Fund should develop a surveillance mechanism to monitor currency-exchange rates and provide greater voting power on its board for emerging-market countries such as China and India.



## MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies (GEC) serves as a resource for policymakers, journalists, and the public on issues that lie at the intersection of international politics and economics, including energy, capital markets, international trade, immigration, and global climate change. Comprised of eleven full-time and adjunct fellows operating under the leadership of its director, Sebastian Mallaby, the center sponsors nine roundtable series designed to promote dialogue between policymakers and scholars, and sponsors publications, including books, journal articles, and Council Special Reports.

Over the past year, the Bernard and Irene Schwartz High-Level Roundtable Series on American Competitiveness explored the balance between trade and national security in Europe and the United States. The GEC Director's Roundtable examined the security and political implications of Chinese holdings of U.S. Treasury debt. The center's McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics featured a discussion between former U.S. treasury secretary Lawrence H. Summers and former Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul A. Volcker, who convened to discuss the international monetary system and possibilities for a "Bretton Woods II." The C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics brought together Council members and leading economic policymakers such as Timothy F. Geithner, president and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Neelie Kroes, European commissioner for

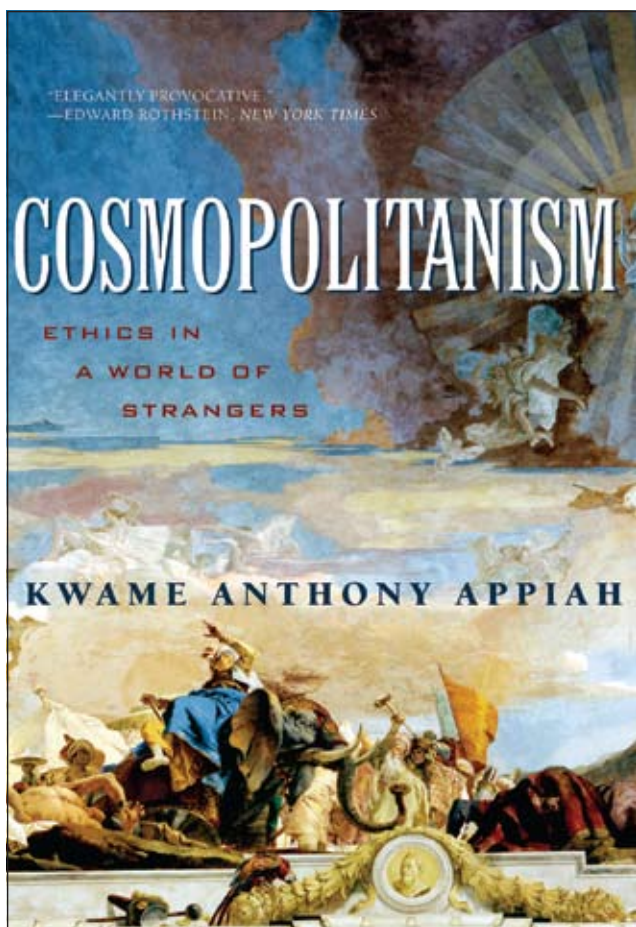
competition; and Jean-Claude Trichet, president of the European Central Bank.

As part of its commitment to publish on critical issues, the center has released Council Special Reports on immigration, intellectual-property protection, job displacement, IMF reform, and the WTO dispute settlement system. In addition, a GEC-sponsored book, *Playing Monopoly with the Devil: Dollarization and Domestic Currencies in Developing Countries*, by Manuel Hinds, was recently published by Yale University Press. *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression* by GEC Senior Fellow Amity Shlaes was published by HarperCollins and became a national best seller. Current research at the center focuses on regional monetary integration, the implications of proliferating bilateral trade agreements, the politics and economics of immigration, the history of and dangers posed by monetary nationalism, and climate change and national security.



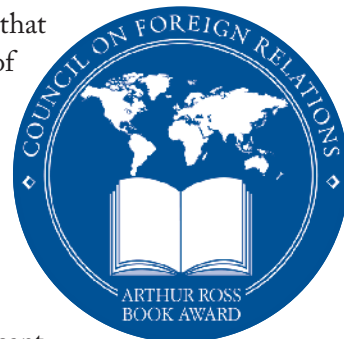
*Sebastian Mallaby, director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and Timothy E. Wirth, president of the United Nations Foundation, discuss the role that public policy can play in promoting energy alternatives.*

## 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 non-fiction 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 significant issue; or
- ◆ providing new ideas to help resolve foreign policy problems.



The award is the most significant for books on international affairs. It consists of a gold medal prize of \$25,000, a silver medal prize of \$10,000, and an honorable mention of \$5,000.

In 2007 the gold medal was awarded to Kwame Anthony Appiah for *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. The silver medal went to Robert L. Beisner for *Dean Acheson: A Life in the Cold War*, and honorable mention was awarded to Thomas Ricks for *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*.



Council President Richard N. Haass with Arthur Ross Book Award gold medalist Kwame Anthony Appiah and Foreign Affairs Editor and Peter G. Peterson Chair James F. Hoge Jr.

## 2007 Council Counts

- 1** ranking of *Foreign Affairs* in listing of most-influential print and broadcast media
- 4** languages in which *Foreign Affairs* is published (English, Japanese, Spanish, and Russian)
- 5** average number of op-eds published by Council fellows each week
- 9** eNewsletters published by the Council
- 15** languages spoken by Council fellows
- 17** meetings of the National Program Book Club series
- 19** Publications and reports released in the past year
- 22** appearances by Council fellows and staff before Congress
- 24** Council members currently serving in Congress
- 36** percentage of term members attending the Eleventh Annual Term Member Conference
- 36** Outreach conference calls conducted as part of the Academic, Religion and Foreign Policy, and State and Local Officials initiatives
- 37** percentage of members living outside the New York and Washington, DC, areas
- 45** percentage of members who contribute to the Annual Fund
- 53** briefings, roundtables, and sessions hosted by the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program
- 81** magazine and journal articles published by Council fellows
- 129** minutes a *Foreign Affairs* subscriber spends, on average, reading each issue
- 162** on-the-record meetings and press briefings
- 241** staff members and visiting or adjunct fellows (**194** in New York, **47** in DC)
- 242** corporate member companies
- 263** briefings by Council fellows for executive branch, congressional, and foreign officials
- 350** participants in the twelfth National Conference
- 380** Backgrounders, Daily Analysis briefs, and Expert Interviews produced by CFR.org
- 600** percentage increase in downloads of Council Special Reports over the past two years
- 969** meetings and roundtables hosted by the New York Meetings, Washington, Studies, National, and Corporate programs
- 1,430** media interviews given by Council fellows
- 4,330** Council members (**3,858** life members, **472** term members)
- 20,285** mentions of the Council in the media
- 28,520** international subscriptions to *Foreign Affairs*
- 34,907** recipients of “The World This Week” eNewsletter
- 155,861** total subscription and newsstand sales of each issue of *Foreign Affairs*
- 12,032,496** annual page views on ForeignAffairs.org
- 13,276,050** annual page views on CFR.org