

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ANNUAL REPORT

July 1, 1998 – June 30, 1999

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OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS, 1999–2000

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Charles McC. Mathias Jr.

David Rockefeller
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Robert A. Scalapino

Cyrus R. Vance

Glenn E. Watts

*Appointed in 1999 by the Board of Directors.

†Elected in 1996 by the Board of Directors to serve a five-year term as Chairman, in accordance with By-Law VII.

Note: The list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 1999.

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The Council's Annual Report is designed to focus attention on the intellectual substance of the organization's activities. A detailed listing of all programs and events is available on the Council's website at www.cfr.org.

MISSION STATEMENT

The Council on Foreign Relations was founded in 1921 by businessmen, bankers, and lawyers determined to keep the United States engaged in the world. Today, the Council is composed of men and women from all walks of international life and from all parts of America, dedicated to the belief that the nation's peace and prosperity are firmly linked to that of the rest of the world. From this flows the **Council's mission: to foster America's understanding of other nations—their peoples, cultures, histories, hopes, quarrels, and ambitions—and thus to serve our nation through study and debate, private and public.**

The Council is a national membership organization and think tank with headquarters in New York, offices in Washington, D.C., and programs nationwide. Its widely respected and influential research staff—with backgrounds in government and scholarship in most international subjects—regularly meets with Council members and other leaders and thinkers. These exclusive sessions, known as study groups or roundtables, form the Council's intellectual core. The aim is to provide insights into international affairs and to develop new ideas for U.S. foreign policy, particularly national security and foreign economic policy. Council Fellows produce books, articles, and op-ed pieces and regularly contribute expert commentary on television and radio.

The Council also publishes *Foreign Affairs*, the leading periodical in the field. This magazine has been host to the most important articles about world affairs in this century.

The Council's 3,600 members are divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and the rest of the nation. They include nearly all current and former senior U.S. government officials who deal with international matters; renowned scholars; and leaders of business, media, human rights, humanitarian, and other nongovernmental groups. Council members choose new members, who aim to educate themselves and then others.

The Council is host to the widest possible range of views and advocate of none. It cultivates an atmosphere of nonpartisanship and nonideological engagement among members and staff. The views expressed in Council-sponsored independent task force reports, by members of study groups, or in articles in *Foreign Affairs* are solely the responsibility of the respective authors or groups. This tradition of impartiality enables the Council to gather contending voices for serious and civil debate and discussion. That special convening power is unique in American society.

In keeping with its mission, membership, and heritage, the **Council now pursues three goals:**

1. **Add value by improving understanding of world affairs and by providing new ideas for U.S. foreign policy.** The Council does this in many ways.

The Council will sponsor an independent task force when an issue arises of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy, and it seems that a group diverse in backgrounds and perspectives may nonetheless be able to reach a meaningful policy consensus through private and nonpartisan deliberations.

Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs) focus on current foreign policy issues of great importance where consensus seems un-

likely. By marshaling Council resources—policy research, publications, national reach, and televised debates—CPIs present policy choices with the aim of stimulating a national dialogue. CPIs reach their audience in three ways: a short book of presidential-style policy speeches, each presenting a different option, along with a cover memo as if written by a top-level presidential adviser; nationally televised debates presenting the speeches; and similar debates in key U.S. cities to reach community leaders.

Great Debates bring together experts to discuss and clarify topical foreign policy issues. And *Foreign Affairs* often anticipates future foreign policy problems and educates its influential international readership.

2. **Transform the Council into a truly national organization to benefit from the expertise and experience of leaders nationwide.** The Council aims to energize foreign policy discussions across the country. And as Council membership outside New York and Washington, D.C., continues to grow and diversify, the Council creates new ways to involve these members in intellectual dialogue. The four principal means of involvement are through a special members' area of the Council's website, at an annual National Conference, at dinner seminars based on Study Groups and independent task forces in key cities around the country, and through an interactive videoconferencing system.
3. **Find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers.** The Council does this primarily through a special term membership program for younger Americans and a "Next Generation Fellows" program that brings outstanding younger scholars onto the Council staff, as well as the International Affairs Fellowships and several other fellowship programs. These programs aim to spark interest and participation in world affairs and U.S. foreign policy.

In recent months, Council members have heard Madeleine K. Albright, Kofi Annan, James A. Baker III, Warren Christopher, Henry A. Kissinger, and George P. Shultz offer their views of challenges the United States will face in the next century; Charlene Barshefsky, Anatoly Chubais, Bill Clinton, Stanley Fischer, Paul Krugman, Lee Kuan Yew, George Soros, and James D. Wolfensohn discuss the global economy; William S. Cohen and the Joint Chiefs of Staff evaluate future defense policy; King Abdullah, Olusegun Obasanjo, Andres Pastrana, and Grigory Yavlinsky discuss, respectively, the future of Jordan, Nigeria, Colombia, and Russia; Richard Butler, Richard Holbrooke, and George Mitchell muse on war and peace; John Kerry and John McCain suggest foreign policy priorities for campaign 2000; William M. Daley, Hosni Mubarak, and Bill Richardson address business opportunities in the Middle East; Thomas L. Friedman, Bill Gates, and Muhammad Yunus expand on their recent books; and Michel Camdessus and Lawrence Summers consider the future international financial architecture.

As much as at any time during its nearly eight decades, the Council on Foreign Relations today serves its members and the nation with ideas for a better and safer world.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Council members around the country fill my mind this year, particularly. Our Board of Directors and staff did me great honor in January with an evening I shall never forget—a dinner celebration of the first nationwide linking of our membership through videoconferencing based in our new meeting room called, yes, Peterson Hall.

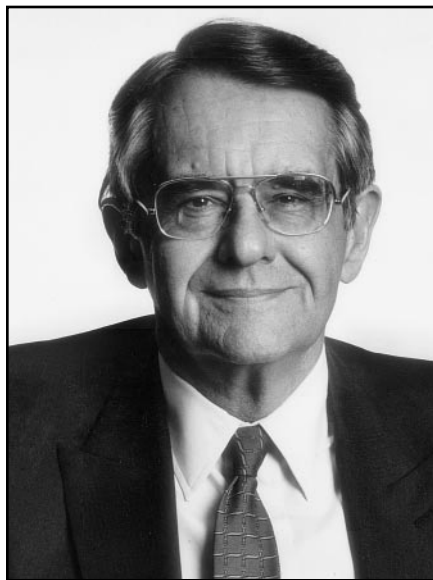
It was the kind of event only the Council on Foreign Relations seems able to stage. With our beloved Honorary Chairman David Rockefeller presiding, the following Secretaries of State, Council members all, glittered onto the video screen: George Shultz from San Francisco, James Baker from Houston, Warren Christopher from Los Angeles, Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance from New York, and Madeleine Albright from Washington. For good measure, President Clinton greeted us from Washington, Council Vice Chairman Hank Greenberg joined us from Hong Kong, and U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan delivered the keynote address. All, as you would expect, did a splendid job of talking about new world challenges and opportunities and answering questions from our members. It demonstrated the quality discussions the Council, almost uniquely, can generate. It showed as well the technological possibilities now open to us for conversations among our members.

Permit me one aside here before I go on further about our national program. One of the evening's attendees who rose to roast me was Ted Sorensen, a very helpful Board Director, fellow Nebraskan, and good friend . . . well, sometimes. Ted could not resist calling attention to *Gray Dawn*, a book I recently wrote about the social economics of aging in America and around the world. Of that book, Ted commented, "Once you put it down, you won't be able to pick it up." Thanks, Ted.

The opening of new offices for Council Senior Fellows and the videoconference facility this year were a kind of dream come true, not just for me, but for the Board and everyone who works at the Council.

The debating and making of U.S. foreign policy used to be a New York thing a long time ago, and then it was mainly a Washington matter. But as the world turned more complicated and as an increasing number of interests asserted themselves, it became clear that a national dialogue would be needed to create a useful and coherent U.S. foreign policy. New voices around the country are demanding to be heard, and they ought to be heard because of their knowledge and importance in the new global economy. The Council

understands this need and is working hard to expand and engage its national membership. We have already used our videoconferencing capabilities to connect our study



Peter G. Peterson

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

groups with members in key cities, and we also used it to incorporate George Shultz and Marty Feldstein into one of our Economic Commission meetings.

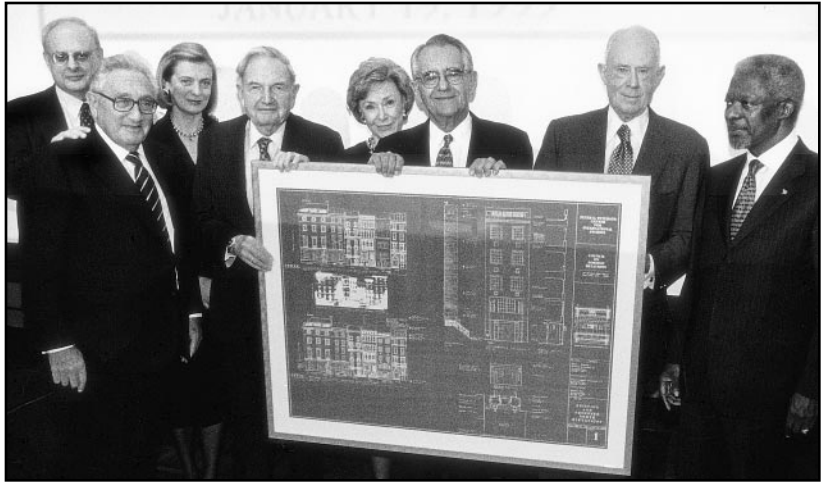
The Council now has more national members (i.e., members outside of New York and Washington) than in either New York or Washington. But we are not about to stop there. National membership now totals about 1,200, and the Board has agreed to increase that number by 500 over the next five years. As always, our new national members will be leaders of this country and will represent varied backgrounds, expertise, and political points of view.

Many of our members have been helping us to enlarge and improve our national membership and programming, but let me note a few who have made special efforts. I refer here to Linda Brady of the Sam Nunn School at Georgia Tech in Atlanta; Board Director Lee Cullum in Dallas, with support from Rebecca Mark in Houston; Board Directors Ken Dam and Mike Moskow in Chicago; and Warren Christopher and Peter Tarnoff in California. Also of importance is our expanding partnership with the Pacific Council on International Policy, ably led by Abe Lowenthal.

I call special attention as well to our annual National Conference. We started this enterprise four years ago, and it has grown stronger each time. Our theme this year was the global financial architecture. This theme fit perfectly with a prominent commission we established to examine the same subject. Board Director Carla Hills and I co-chaired this commission, and Morris Goldstein of the Institute for International Economics was its project director. We and our fellow commissioners used the opportunity of the National Conference to present our preliminary findings and recommendations. I think everyone felt there was a very good two-way exchange.

Special thanks go to Mike Peters, the Council's Senior Vice President and National Director, and to Irina Faskianos, the Deputy National Director, for the care and precision they brought to the proceedings. Even the meals weren't too bad!

Five years ago, Council President Les Gelb came to the Board with the proposal to transform the Council into a truly national organization—and to make this goal one of



President Leslie H. Gelb, Speaker Henry A. Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, Nane Annan, President David Rockefeller, Joan Ganz Cooney, President Peter G. Peterson, Speaker Cyrus R. Vance, former U.S. Secretary of State, and Speaker Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, at the January 19, 1999, Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies Inaugural Event.

our top three priorities, along with adding value to the foreign policy debate and nurturing the next generation of foreign policy leaders. The Board enthusiastically agreed and set to working with the staff through the Board's new committee on National Programs, headed by Director Bob Zoellick. At our Board meeting in June, we set the final stages of our strategy into motion—authorizing more national members, continued dinner seminar meetings around the country with our Senior Fellows, and more regular contact among all of us through our new website and videoconferencing facilities.

In the messages that follow, Hank Greenberg, my full partner in all that goes on at the Council, will tell you more about adding value to the policy debates through our Senior Fellows, and Les Gelb will bring you up to date on our programs for younger members. But I wanted to share with you my joy about our future as a national organization and about that night in January when, through videoconferencing, the Council had its first national dialogue.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board

LETTER FROM THE VICE CHAIRMAN

Victor Hugo wrote that “no army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come.” In foreign policy, the time has come to change our central organizing principle from geopolitics to geoeconomics, from traditional balance-of-power concerns to economic and security concerns. But the United States has been slow to make that transition, as I have observed these last five years overseeing the Council’s policy research and related activities.

I believe that the Council can and should lead the way intellectually in helping our nation make this policy transition. To do so, we must first understand clearly the new centrality and power of economics in world affairs. At the same time, because the world remains a dangerous place, we have to tend carefully to security concerns as well. And underlying all this, we must help to develop the next generation of foreign policy experts—people who are trained in both economics and security, economics and regional politics, economics and refugee or environmental matters, and the like.

The biggest threat to American security, I am convinced, would come from a worldwide economic meltdown. More than anything else, deteriorating living and growth conditions could trigger a new round of political instability and a new arms race. For as far as the eye can see, the countries that could represent major

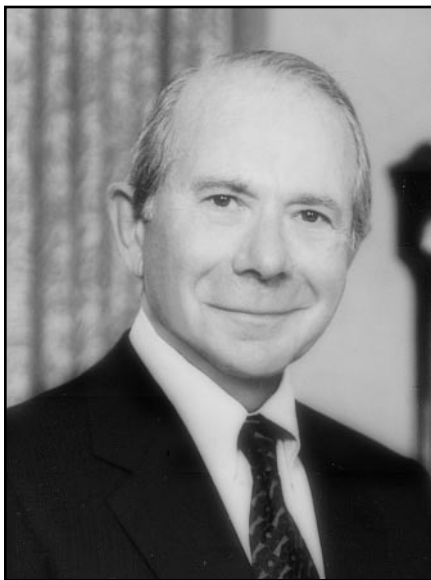
strategic challenges to the United States are concentrating on economic growth. I refer particularly to Russia and China, but also to Germany and Japan. I think there are good grounds to believe that these nations will not become our strategic adversaries once again, so long as their leaders and people believe in their economic futures. If our leaders, as well as those in Beijing and Moscow, focus on the mutual benefits of trade and investment, we ought to

be able to work out our other differences. The process of focusing these nations on economics will not be an easy one; it never has been. But unless we retain that focus, it will be all too easy to slip back into old-style tension and confrontation.

To further the idea of geoeconomics, the Council has sponsored an independent Commission on the Future International Financial Architecture. In addition, we have established independent task forces on America’s economic policy toward Russia, China, Japan, and Brazil. We have also launched a variety of studies on globalization. One, in particular, will look into exactly how the world economy today is different from that of years past. We will be doing more such economic policy studies in the future. This means we

will be doing a lot more work on Asia as well.

National security issues also remain high on the Council’s research agenda. But what we are trying to do is to



Maurice R. Greenberg

LETTER FROM THE VICE CHAIRMAN

study old threats in new ways, that is, in light of economic conditions, and to investigate new threats as well. We have to maintain the military might to deter and, if necessary, fight wars on two fronts. But eventually and under the right conditions, development packages including trade could well play an important role in resolving these conflicts. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction represents a serious and continuing threat to the world, and we have to deal with these on their own terms, to be sure.

The organization of our military forces and U.S. defense policy have to be rethought, and the Council is involved in that, also.

But our thinking here has to escape from traditional boxes and look with fresh eyes at new forms conflict may take. We have to examine the idea of a stand-by U.N. force, recruited globally, for peacemaking and peacekeeping operations.

Terrorism has always pockmarked history. But today's varieties seem more widespread, and potentially more lethal. Above and beyond better intelligence and police work, more study needs to be done on how to deal with aftershocks of a terrorist attack on American cities.

Neither the Council nor any other American foreign policy institution will ever make a serious intellectual dent in all these problems unless we have the human talent to tackle the new problems with new analytical skills. And here I come to the central goal of the Council's research efforts—the development of the next generation of foreign policy experts.

It would be best, of course, if universities would overcome departmental walls and begin to train students in economics as well as traditional international studies. That is the natural means of developing new talent. But since this is not happening at the universities, we have to do what we can with mid-career training. Our mission at



Robert E. Rubin, Judy Gelb, David Rockefeller, and Maurice R. Greenberg at President Bill Clinton's September 14, 1998, Speech, "Address on the Global Economy."

the Council has been to try and find younger people with government and academic backgrounds and cross-educate them. That is, we look for those with an economic policy background and have them work on foreign policy issues, and vice versa.

This, too, is a slow and complex process. But it works. Back in the mid-1950s, a young Harvard instructor by the name of Henry Kissinger, who had written his Ph.D. dissertation on the Congress of Vienna, served as the rapporteur of a Council study group on the nation's future national security. He worked with a distinguished group of Council members who had served in government. The result was one of the most important books published in the last 50 years, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*.

Maurice R. Greenberg
Vice Chairman of the Board

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Oscar Wilde would not applaud the Council's emphasis on finding and nurturing the next generation of foreign policy thinkers and leaders. He questioned any place where "the young are always ready to give to those who are older than themselves the full benefit of their inexperience." Mr. Wilde may have had a point when it comes to periods of essential stability, where history and experience generally prove better guides than fresh and eager eyes. But in eras of great change, of discontinuities with the past, new eyes have a better chance of seeing what's new.

As Hank Greenberg explained in his message, our aim is to help create the new foreign policy expert, one who can combine fields of knowledge, particularly economics and something else. We see this as the next step in the evolutionary process. For a couple hundred years or more, the only foreign policy experts were the statesmen and the diplomatic and military historians. The years after World War II ushered in a new era of full-time policy experts, people such as George Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, and Walter Lippmann. They were followed quickly in the late 1950s and 1960s by new experts who could combine foreign policy with national security, people who could write about nuclear strategy and arms control. I am thinking here of Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Stanley Hoffmann. Now, we need those who

can combine backgrounds in economics and regional affairs, economics and security issues, or economics and other issues such as refugees, the environment, and the like.

This new breed will come from the ranks of our term members and Next Generation Fellows. Two of our younger members have joined the Studies Department on a part-time basis as models. They are Betsy Cohen, a Harvard Business School graduate and investment banker who has been working on the Peterson/Hills economic commission, and Jordan Kassalow, a successful ophthalmologist who has been developing a project on international health issues and foreign policy. He spent considerable time in recent years helping the Helen Keller Foundation on river blindness in Africa.

Our crew of full-time Next Generation Fellows are similarly interesting and outstanding, basically younger scholars, many with experience in government. Elizabeth Economy works on China and the environment. Benn Steil, who ran the economics program at Chatham House, is our in-house expert on international finance and the editor of a new magazine by that name. Mike Green has combined a knowledge of Asian military affairs with economic trends in that region. Gideon Rose, a Harvard Ph.D. who toiled on the National Security Council staff, writes on traditional national security affairs and is learning international economics. And others.



Leslie H. Gelb

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

We also have our International Affairs Fellows. This is a program started over 30 years ago at the Council. Judged by results, by the incredible production of foreign policy talent, we have run no better program over the years. The idea is to take scholars and give them a year in government, or younger officials and provide them with a year for reflection and research in a think tank or academia. We select ten to twelve of these fellows annually. Some of the most illustrious graduates of this program are Graham Allison, Joan Spero, Bob Hormats, Arnold Kanter, and our own Alton Frye. Diana

Helweg is a current IAF. She is a lawyer who worked with National Security Adviser Sandy Berger. An expert on Japan, she spends some of her time at the Council (where she is also a Hitachi Fellow, another program we run) as the project director for our new standby Economic Task Force on Japan headed by Board Director Laura Tyson.

These younger fellows represent the vital link between the Council and our term members. Mainly between the ages of 27 and 37, the term members underpin our youth movement. Their numbers now approach 500, and most are very much involved in Council activities. Just to give you a sense of the range: Lisa Shields, a producer at ABC TV; Marc Thiessen, a principal assistant to Senator Jesse Helms; Anthony Romero, a senior program officer at the Ford Foundation; Leila Petersen, an information and computer specialist in Los Angeles; and Mike Froman, chief of staff to former Treasury Secretary Bob Rubin.

They are an incredibly talented group. What they bring to us are backgrounds in areas of increasing importance in international affairs, the new issues. Many of them come with substantial experience in new-age technology, hands-on business experience in places like Bulgaria and Vietnam, and positions of considerable responsibility in refugee and environmental matters. Many come as well with traditional backgrounds as foreign policy scholars. What we bring to them is a place to take their particular slices of life and link them to overall foreign policy considerations. We give



Presider Karen N. Horn, Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker Thomas L. Friedman, Foreign Affairs Columnist, New York Times, at the December 3, 1998, Term Member Annual Conference, "Whose Globalization Is It, Anyway?"

those who have been working only on human rights or business or military matters or whatnot the chance to talk to each other and integrate their thinking. These term members and Next Generation Fellows will fill the ranks of our nation's future foreign policy leaders.

Elise Lewis, Vice President for Membership and Fellowship Affairs, has been my right and left arms in these efforts throughout my six-year tenure. Gina Celcis has been her right arm. All of us have been fortunate as well in the generosity and farsightedness of long-time Council member Stephen Kellen, who has funded much of the Term Member Program.

For those who fear I might be suffering from a youth fetish, you might sidle up to Henry Grunwald or Arthur Schlesinger, among the many members who have opened their homes for small dinners with term members, and ask them. For good measure, a large and increasing number of term members, when their five years are finished, are being accepted as full Council members. Nothing the Council is doing is more important, or more fun.

Leslie H. Gelb
President

COUNCIL GOALS

In keeping with its mission, the Council on Foreign Relations pursues three goals:

*Add value by improving understanding of world affairs
and by providing new ideas for U.S. foreign policy;*

*Transform the Council into a truly national organization
to benefit from the expertise and experience of leaders nationwide; and*

*Find and nurture the next generation
of foreign policy leaders and thinkers.*



▲ *President Frank C. Carlucci, Paula J. Dobriansky, and Speaker Wesley K. Clark, General, U.S. Army, and Supreme Allied Commander Europe, NATO, at the June 30, 1999, Meeting, "NATO and European Security."*

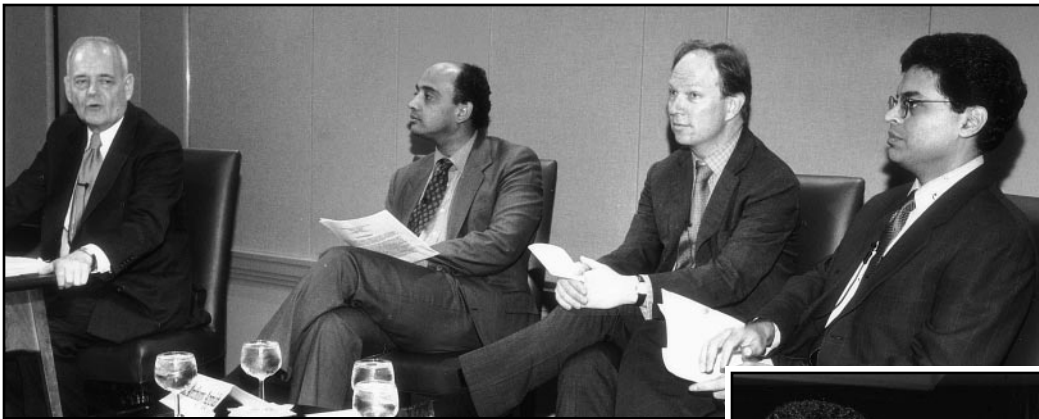
▼ *Bette Bao Lord, William J. McDonough, and Speaker Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. Secretary of State, at the June 28, 1999, Meeting, "Kosovo and Building a Lasting Peace in Southeastern Europe."*



COUNCIL GOALS

Add value by improving understanding of world affairs and by providing new ideas for U.S. foreign policy.

The Council adds value to its own members' thinking through private study groups, seminars, and meetings with world leaders. It also contributes to the public debate through *Foreign Affairs*—the world's premier periodical on international politics and economics—Council books, Council-sponsored independent task forces, its websites, televised events, roundtables with congressional staffers, as well as congressional testimony, television appearances, and op-ed pieces by its staff of foreign policy experts. The Council's aim here is, where called for, to provide new information, new analysis, and new ideas.



▲ Presider Robert B. Silvers, Speaker Kwame Anthony Appiah, Professor of Afro-American Studies and Philosophy, Harvard University, Speaker Ian Buruma, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and Speaker Fareed Zakaria, Managing Editor, *Foreign Affairs*, at the May 4, 1999, Spielvogel/Diamondstein Lecture on Culture and Foreign Policy, "Cultural Values: How They Affect Politics, Power, and Democracy."



▲ Colonel W. Montague Winfield, Elizabeth Neuffer, and Speaker General Dennis J. Reimer, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, at the January 6, 1999, John Train Lecture on the Future of the U.S. Military, "Maintaining Readiness in the 21st Century."



◀ Sheila Murphy, Chris Williams, Presider Alton Frye, and Presider Thomas E. Donilon at the April 16, 1999, Congressional Roundtable, "Congressional Staff Advisory Committee."

COUNCIL GOALS

Transform the Council into a truly national organization to benefit from the expertise and experience of leaders nationwide.

Foreign policy is no longer an East Coast specialty; international affairs now permeate the lives of all Americans. To incorporate their views into the Council's work, leaders from key internationally oriented U.S. cities are being elected to membership in increasing numbers. Through the Council's new videoconferencing facility, the annual National Conference, Council websites, and meetings nationwide, these new voices regularly contribute to Council discussions.



▲ Speaker Maurice R. Greenberg, Chairman and CEO, American International Group, Inc., Speaker Toyoo Gyohten, President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs, President George J.W. Goodman (a.k.a. Adam Smith), Speaker Francisco R.A. Gros, Chairman, Morgan Stanley do Brasil, and Speaker Sergei A. Karaganov, Chairman, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, at the June 4-5, 1999, National Conference, "International Financial Architecture: Redesigning the Global System."



▲ Speaker George P. Shultz, former U.S. Secretary of State (videoconferenced from San Francisco), at the January 19, 1999, Videoconferenced Colloquy among Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, and Washington, D.C., for the Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies Inaugural Event.

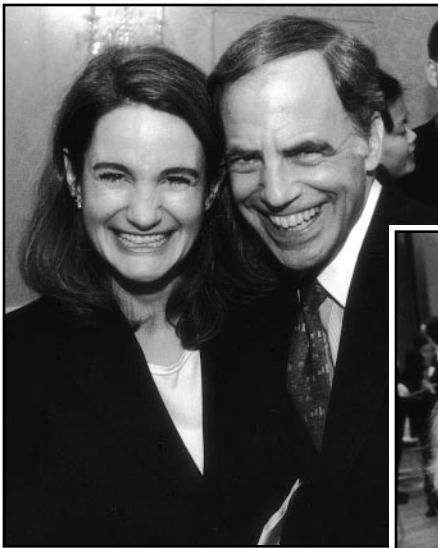


◀ Linda Parrish Brady, Philip A. Dur, and Chairman W. Bowman Cutter at the June 4-5, 1999, National Conference, "International Financial Architecture: Redesigning the Global System."

COUNCIL GOALS

Find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers.

The post–Cold War world has seen a decline in the number of young Americans who become foreign policy thinkers and practitioners. To help avoid a potential shortage of knowledgeable international affairs leaders and experts, the Council focuses on finding and nurturing the next generation through the Term Member Program, Next Generation Fellowships, and International Affairs Fellowships. These programs not only afford the rising stars the advice and counsel of their more seasoned colleagues but also provide foreign policy veterans with fresh insights.



◀ Elizabeth C. Economy and Speaker Kenneth Lieberthal, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Asian Affairs, National Security Council, at the December 9, 1998, Meeting, "Asia in the 21st Century: The New Challenges."



▼ Speaker Rebecca P. Mark, Vice Chairman, Enron Corp., and Elizabeth G. Tsehahai at the December 4, 1998, Term Member Annual Conference, "Whose Globalization Is It, Anyway?"



▲ Presider Mark Carter, Speaker Andrea Koppel, State Department Correspondent, CNN, and Speaker Ted Koppel, Managing Editor and Anchor, Nightline, ABC News, at the December 7, 1998, Annual Daughters and Sons Event, "Reporting through the Generations: Have the Rules of the Game Changed?"

STUDIES PROGRAM

The purpose of the Studies Program is to advance understanding of world affairs and contribute ideas to U.S. foreign policymakers. To accomplish these goals, the Studies staff analyzes the rules and rhythms of the international system and the behavior of international actors, defines American interests and relates them to American power, and examines the institutions used to manage the course of international events.

The Studies Department is the Council's chief research resource for pursuing the institution's three main goals—adding value to the understanding of world affairs and to thinking about U.S. foreign policy, becoming a truly national organization, and nurturing the next generation of foreign policy leaders. By producing books, articles, and policy papers, engaging Council members and other interested people in focused discussions, and recruiting the brightest young foreign policy thinkers, the Studies Department anchors the Council's drive to promote informed discussion of the world and America's role in it.

The Studies Department sponsors two main types of projects: study groups and roundtables. The primary purpose of the study group is to bring members and other experts together to discuss and offer input on a Fellow's writing-in-progress. Fellows circulate draft chapters or outlines before the study group meetings to ensure considered and serious exchange. Roundtables are informal discussion groups that track an issue of interest to a significant number of Council members. In roundtables, the Fellow arranges a series of discussions on a particular subject, such as Mexico or terrorism. Unlike study groups, roundtables do not necessarily result in scholarly articles or books, although op-eds and short opinion pieces are frequently published by participants.

While research is its primary focus, the Studies Department adds value to the foreign policy debate in a variety of other ways. Studies Fellows engage in several highly visible activities that have an impact on policy: appearing as commentators on television and radio; writing op-ed pieces for major newspapers like the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*; testifying as experts before Congress; and meeting with high-ranking executive- and legislative-branch officials.

In 1998–99 Council Fellows contributed significant analysis and opinion to the public debate on such issues as the U.S.-led military actions in Kosovo and Iraq; the financial gyrations in Asia, Latin America, and Russia; and the proposed entry of China into the World Trade Organization. These activities increased the exposure of Studies Fellows among interested individuals and the public, ensuring them a broad and influential audience for their published research findings.

The Studies Department maximizes the impact of its Fellows' research by concentrating on the interlinked issues that shape the international agenda, emphasizing in particular three areas—rethinking national security, international economics, and Asia. Studies activities recognize, for example, that Asia's economic woes pose profound commercial and security challenges and op-

STUDIES PROGRAM

portunities for the United States, and that the diversification of security issues and the emerging concept of “economic security” have inextricably linked U.S. international economic and security policies. Several Studies projects this year addressed two or more of these areas in tandem, including study groups on the U.S.-Japan trade relationship, the rise of Chinese military power, and the security of international energy supplies.

The Studies Department’s broader body of work shares this interdisciplinary flavor. Recent study groups on issues such as social and economic change in the Gulf monarchies, ethnic conflict and partition, and U.S. global warming technology policy generate a cross-fertilization of ideas, producing innovative research that has a real impact on the policy debate.

This year saw tremendous growth in the number of meetings across the country, with study group leaders traveling to internationally oriented U.S. cities or using the Council’s new videoconferencing capabilities to discuss their research with Council members and other informed individuals nationwide. These sessions provide mutual benefits: Fellows’ analyses are improved by informed input from national members, while those members benefit from the specialized knowledge of Studies Fellows.

The Council supplements these face-to-face dialogues with its redesigned website (www.cfr.org). The Council’s highly rated site has provided new opportunities for members to engage in Studies activities, whether by registering electronically for new study groups or roundtables, or by participating from afar through web-based discussion groups. Meanwhile, the new database-driven site has upgraded the Council’s capacity to make the intellectual output of Studies staff available to the public.

Members of the Studies Department’s senior staff are classified as Senior Fellows, Adjunct Fellows, and Next Generation Fellows (NGFs). Senior Fellows typically are experienced scholars and practitioners who have spent considerable time in academia and/or government. Adjunct Fellows conduct one or two research projects at the Council while maintaining residence at a university or other organization. Next Generation Fellows are younger individuals who usually spend two or three years at the Council, either in New York or Washington, working on specific research projects.

With the generous support of the MacArthur, Olin, and Mellon foundations in particular, this year the Studies Department expanded its recruitment and hiring of

NGFs. New NGFs include promising scholars like Rachel Bronson, Betsy Cohen, Jordan Kassalow, Kiron Skinner, and Astrid Tuminez. During their time at the Council, NGFs work closely with other Fellows and members, fostering a community of scholars and practitioners. NGFs not only provide fresh insights into Studies projects but also gain the experience that will enable them to assume the role of future foreign policy leaders and analysts.

Lawrence J. Korb

Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies

NATIONAL SECURITY

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

This ongoing roundtable seeks to identify the critical post-Cold War questions that require more detailed study by the Council. Subjects are chosen as the sessions proceed to take advantage of ideas that come out of discussion. Among the topics this past year were the emerging gap between civilian culture and professional military values, the integration of nonlethal weapons into strategic planning, the collapse of the Russian military establishment, the prospects of the Iraqi opposition, and NATO’s strategy in the Kosovo conflict.

Study Group on Assessing the Future of Chinese Power

PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD K. BETTS AND THOMAS J. CHRISTENSEN (MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)

CHAIR: HARRY HARDING (ELLIOTT SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY)

Among the principal issues in international politics in the next century will be how powerful China becomes, whether its military capabilities will develop commensurately with its economic output, and what challenges Chinese power will pose to the regional and global order. Launched in January 1999, this study group held meetings in New York and Washington to discuss the interrelationships of political, economic, and military developments in the evolution of Chinese power. Special attention was devoted to considering what should and should not be learned from the experiences of other ris-

ing powers, the roles of other major powers in Asia (Japan, Russia, India), and problems in translating economic progress into modern military effectiveness. Richard Betts and Thomas Christensen will produce a study as the end product in late 1999.

Study Group on the Arms Trade and the Transnationalization of the Defense Industry: Economic versus Security Drivers

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ANN R. MARKUSEN

Since the end of the Cold War, economic and defense industrial-base concerns have become increasingly pervasive in U.S. arms export policy. The sale of sophisticated weapons by U.S. defense companies to countries around the world may adversely affect national security, encourage arms and capacity proliferation, and set off an expensive arms race among allies. This study group assembled a broad range of individuals, from policymakers and academics to peace and human rights activists, to investigate the phenomenon and debate policy responses.

Through monthly meetings, including three in Europe, study group participants addressed the following questions: What security concerns should drive arms export policy? Have arms exports lowered the cost of weapons to the Pentagon? How much do arms exports contribute to the U.S. trade balance, net of subsidies, and offsets? Are exports creating pressure for arms innovation that would not otherwise exist? What policies can be recommended for U.S. arms export regulation and conventional arms trade negotiations? The final products will include the publication of select background papers, a journal article, shorter policy and op-ed pieces, and possibly a book.

W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Paradigms of International Order

PROJECT DIRECTOR/CHAIR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Current debate about the nature of the emerging international landscape is disappointingly thin. Contentious theories about the end of history and the clash of civilizations aside, the analytic community has made little progress in mapping out the key elements of a new international system. This group is examining contending visions of order and seeks to generate a more fertile discussion of desirable outcomes and how policymakers can achieve them. Analysts working on these questions and their implications for American grand strategy will make presentations to the group. Charles Kupchan will produce a "white

paper" for the administration that takes office in 2001 as well as other shorter articles and op-ed pieces.

Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism

PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE

As recent events have shown, terrorism is one of the central national security threats the United States faces in the post-Cold War world. This ongoing roundtable brings together Council members and other experts to discuss cutting-edge research and ideas related to terrorism and counterterrorism policy. Each year, approximately half a dozen meetings in New York and Washington feature a presentation by a leading expert or government official. This year's topics included an assessment of when military retaliation for terrorism is appropriate, a profile of Osama bin Laden, and further discussions of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

Study Group on High-Impact Terrorism

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JESSICA STERN

Americans are vulnerable to a new form of violence: seemingly purposeless, high-impact attacks calculated to create fear. The perpetrators are likely to be individuals or small groups who kill in the name of God, rather than traditional states or terrorist organizations that pursue nationalist goals. This ongoing study group aims to re-think U.S. foreign policy and defense priorities in light of the increase in religious terrorism. It addresses the following questions: Who are these new terrorists? What do they hope to achieve? How will they arm themselves? How does the growth of religious fundamentalism, and the terrorism it inspires, affect U.S. foreign policy and interests? What is an appropriate response? Participants are assessing the effectiveness of current policies for reducing the threat of high-impact terrorism and suggesting additional remedies that should be considered or emphasized. The products of this project will be a book and several shorter articles by Jessica Stern.

Roundtable on Unconventional Threats

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JESSICA STERN

This roundtable covered two "unconventional" security threats. The first meeting, "Global Monitoring of Infectious Disease: The National Security Implications," addressed the impact on national security of a global monitoring system for infectious disease. Margaret Hamburg of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) spoke about the U.S. monitoring sys-

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▲ *Presider Mario L. Baeza, Speaker Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development, Federal Republic of Germany, and Walter Russell Mead at the April 30, 1999, Meeting, "The G-7 Meeting in Cologne: New Initiatives for International Cooperation."*



▲ *Speaker Nancy Birdsall, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Presider Karen N. Horn at the January 19, 1999, Meeting of the C. Peter McColough Roundtable, "Inequality and Globalization."*

► *Lawrence J. Korb at the March 4, 1999, Meeting of the John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda, "Can Saddam Hussein Be Toppled?"*



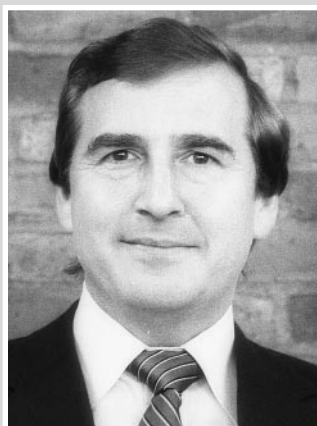
◀ *Speaker Dennis McNamara, U.N. High Commission for Refugees, Moderator Arne Piel Christensen, Speaker Sadako Ogata, UNHCR, Presider Robert P. DeVecchi, and Speaker Kenneth Roth, Human Rights Watch, at the March 11–12, 1999, Meeting, "Strengthening UNHCR and NGO Collaboration on Refugee Protection."*

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tem and the role of HHS in fighting biological terrorism; Stephen Morse of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the global regime and the role of the Program for Monitoring Emerging Diseases. The second session, "Sources of Religious Terrorism in South Asia and the Middle East," consisted of three panel presentations by regional academic and policy experts on the sources of extremism, the movements and groups involved in violent opposition, and the challenge posed by fundamentalists to governments and regional stability. There were three panels—one for each region, and a third led by correspondents from two major networks to discuss the controversial presentation of terrorism in the media.

GRAHAM ALLISON

**Belfer Center, John F. Kennedy
School of Government**



My relationship with the Council goes back a quarter century to my good fortune in having been selected as a member of the first class of the Council's International Affairs Fellows. That provided an extraordinary opportunity for a young scholar to see the foreign policy establishment. I can still recall vividly the thrill of meeting people whom I had otherwise only read about in contemporary history books, like John J. McCloy, David Rockefeller, and many others. In my view, the special magic of the Council is its ability to link younger people with experienced elders in settings in which learning can be mutual. The Council assembles unique combinations of folks from the policy community (former and current), business, and academia. By blending multiple perspectives in informal but still disciplined not-for-attribution discussions, each is encouraged to learn from the others. For example, in considering an issue like the U.S.-led NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, academics help locate the issue in the context of policy studies that found few bombing campaigns that succeeded in compelling compliance. At that same

Energy Security Group

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER

COSPONSORED WITH THE JAPAN ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM, INC.

The Energy Security Group promotes better understanding between the United States and Japan about issues in the Middle East and elsewhere that influence economic development and security in Asia and the Americas. Discussions center on policy issues such as energy security, nuclear proliferation, high technology, and economic coordination as well as population pressures on energy requirements, development, and the environment. Founding Chairman William D. Rogers of Arnold & Porter, and current Chairman William F. Martin of Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc., provide leadership in consultation with the Energy Security Group's Japanese partner, the Japan

table, however, participants from the financial community would press the question, "How much would a bombing campaign cost, and what else could one do with equivalent funds to address the problem at hand?" And a current or former policymaker might well note that while both of these perspectives are interesting, neither has much to do with the realities of day-to-day choices after one is out on a limb, and the options are few.

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We still do not know how to identify the current period in international affairs. So we call it by what it comes after, rather than what it is, namely the post-Cold War era. My name for this period is an "era of confusion." And the reasons for confusion in American foreign policy are not difficult to identify. The Cold War came to an unanticipated conclusion in an avalanche of events that eliminated most of the fixed points by which students of international affairs used to get their bearings: the Berlin Wall, the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union itself. We have yet to identify appropriate new coordinates. The Council plays a critical role in helping the entire foreign policy community struggle with this confusion.

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In *Foreign Affairs*, the Council has a great forum for exploring central issues. The journal attracts the most interesting ideas, arguments, and analyses from wherever, making them available to Council members, study groups, task forces, and the world. *Foreign Affairs'* most important contributions, I believe, come in exploring and making credible dimensions of issues that would otherwise be missed or misidentified. Thus, it helps educate the entire adult community interested in foreign policy, including people in government.

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Atomic Industrial Forum, Inc. Meetings this year featured speakers including Yoichi Fujiie of the Japan Atomic Energy Commission and Edward D. Arthur of the Los Alamos National Laboratory; Robert J. Priddle of the International Energy Agency and Susumu Abe of the Toshiba Corporation; Peter E. Bass of the U.S. Department of State and Hiroto Ishida of the Japanese Energy Security Group; and John D. Holum of the U.S. Department of State.

Study Group on the Future of Arms Control

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JAN M. LODAL (LODAL & COMPANY)

For decades, the United States and the Soviet Union developed arms control policies and institutions based on maintaining a stable, bipolar relationship. However, since the Soviet Union collapsed and the Cold War ended, Russia and its military have fallen into disarray. At the same time, new threats have emerged and the international environment continues to change. Despite these transformations, U.S. arms control policies still reflect traditional concepts and methods of a bipolar system. This project seeks to reassess the impact of arms control—its methods and objectives—on U.S. security and to develop a set of recommendations to ensure that arms control efforts serve U.S. interests in the coming decades.

Whitney H. Shepardson Study Group on Great Power Politics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER

CHAIR: RICHARD K. BETTS

This yearly study group allows the Council's current Shepardson Fellow to benefit from the feedback of relevant experts on discussion papers/chapters from a book-in-progress. The 1998–99 Fellow was John Mearsheimer, a professor at the University of Chicago, who is writing a book on great power relations since the French Revolution and the relevant lessons for U.S. security policy.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Roundtable on Country-Risk Analysis in the Post-Asia Crisis

PROJECT DIRECTORS: ALBERT FISHLOW AND BARBARA SAMUELS (SAMUELS ASSOCIATES)

CO-CHAIRS: ROBERT D. HORMATS (GOLDMAN SACHS INTERNATIONAL) AND ROGER KUBARYCH (KAUFMAN AND KUBARYCH ADVISORS, LLC)

This roundtable analyzed the role country-risk analysis played in the Asian financial crisis and the subsequent meltdowns in Russia and Brazil. The group, consisting of foreign investors, rating-agency analysts, developing-country borrowers, and representatives of multilateral agencies and emerging-market governments, critically reevaluated the standard methodology, analytical approaches, and data utilization used in assessing sovereign risk. A report detailing the findings of the group will be published in the fall of 1999.

C. Peter McColough Roundtable on International Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERT FISHLOW

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

In its fourth year, this roundtable series continued its traditional approach to analyzing present economic issues with a U.S. policy perspective. Among the more salient issues covered this year were the economic aspects of the Korean reunification process, the future of U.S.-Japan commercial relations, and the problem of inequality in the context of globalization.

Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

CO-CHAIRS: SEN. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER IV (D-W.VA.) AND REP. AMORY HOUGHTON (R-N.Y.)

U.S.-Japan economic relations face growing friction. Japan's trade surplus with the United States, always a political problem, is headed for record levels. Yet these two economic colossi are becoming ever more integrated, creating systemic friction because of differing regulatory systems and philosophies about markets. Basing its investigations on the experience of the Bush administration's Strategic Impediment Initiative and the Clinton administration's framework talks, this study group sought to develop a new paradigm for U.S.-Japan economic negotiation, focusing on macroeconomic issues, regulatory reform, sector-specific problems, and a political dialogue. Bruce Stokes will write a short book informed by the group's deliberations.

Walter Hoeschild Study Group on Governance Mechanisms for a Global Economy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DANIEL K. TARULLO

The last 50 years have seen a progressive erosion of the Bretton Woods economic and regulatory compromise

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◀ Speaker Yves Michot, Aerospatiale, Inc., President Charles A. Kupchan, and Pierre Clerc-Renaud at the November 30, 1998, Meeting of the Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable, "European Defense Consolidation."

▶ Peter M. Dawkins, President Richard R. Ravitch, Speaker Ann R. Markusen, Council on Foreign Relations, and Commentator David Gold at the October 2, 1998, Meeting of the Study Group on the Arms Trade and the Transnationalization of the Defense Industry: Economic versus Security Drivers, "Should We Welcome a Transnational Defense Industry?"



◀ Salih Booker, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, and Speaker Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, at the February 25, 1999, Meeting of the Africa Roundtable, "War and Peace: Ghana's Perspectives on Regional Peacekeeping in West Africa."

between international liberalism and domestic autonomy. While much has been written on the need to reform the “international financial architecture,” there remains a more fundamental question of the appropriate relationship between national and international legal/regulatory systems. This study group focused specifically on various countries’ national laws and regulatory schemes, looking at the institutional choices for international competition policy, the institutional and legal hurdles to reforming the international financial system, and proposals for a new round of trade negotiations. The products of the study group were three papers: an essay on options for international competition policy, a scholarly article on institutional and legal hurdles to reforming the international financial system, and an essay on proposals for a new round of trade negotiations.

Study Group on the International Financial Architecture

PROJECT DIRECTOR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

The overarching goal of the project is to identify restructuring options for the international financial architecture that would stimulate the long-term flow of private capital to the developing world. More specifically, the project is undertaking the development and promotion of one or more alternative working models for reform of the world financial architecture, the advancement of concrete proposals for countries interested in shifting from export-led growth to internally driven economic development, and the development of ideas to make the international financial system more open and accountable to the larger public interest. The final product will be a piece written by Walter Russell Mead.

Study Group on Big Emerging Economies

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS

CHAIR: W. BOWMAN CUTTER (E.M. WARBURG, PINCUS & CO., LLC)

This study group, based on the premise that some of today’s big emerging economies may also be emerging big powers, surveyed the realignment their rise is forcing in U.S. foreign policy as well as the allocation of U.S. foreign aid and diplomatic resources. The study group emphasized such emerging nations as India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Korea, and Thailand. A major article or short book will be published in late 1999.

ASIA

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING

Study Group on Asian Energy-Security in the 21st Century

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING

CO-CHAIRS: EDWARD L. MORSE (ENERGY INTELLIGENCE GROUP)
AND R. JAMES WOOLSEY (SHEA & GARDNER)

This study group is analyzing the impact of Asia’s burgeoning energy demand on global energy markets and regional security dynamics. The study group is assessing the energy strategies of—and possible supply competition among—China, India, Japan, Korea, and ASEAN countries over the next quarter century and identifying the relevant foreign policy challenges for the United States. A major article was published in *Survival* (Winter 1998), and Robert Manning is writing a book to be published in 2000 that will draw relevant conclusions and recommendations for the policy community.

Roundtable on China’s Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Arms Control

PROJECT DIRECTORS: ROBERT A. MANNING AND RICHARD K. BETTS

CHAIR: RONALD MONTAPERTO (NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY)

COSPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY AND
THE INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

Of the five original nuclear powers, only China continues to build up its nuclear arsenal. With nuclear arms reduction centered on the U.S.-Russia relationship, China’s nuclear doctrine, capabilities, and intentions are often overlooked even though China’s nuclear direction may well determine the fate of international nuclear weapons programs. This roundtable series assembled individuals with a particular expertise on China’s military and nuclear doctrine and security policies, along with well-informed specialists on nuclear strategy, to work through the salient questions on the status of Chinese capabilities, modernization program, and military doctrine, and to discuss prospects for arms control and U.S.-China relations.

Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JEROME A. COHEN

This ongoing roundtable series examines the many meanings of the “rule of law” and the role of law and legal culture in Asian countries’ economic growth, institution building, and protection of human rights. Participants also

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discuss the relevance of the rule of law to U.S. foreign policy and what measures the public and private sectors in this country might adopt to foster desired developments. This year, the roundtable held five sessions that focused on settling international business disputes with China.

Study Group on Governance in China

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

CHAIR: ARNOLD KANTER (FORUM FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY)

To date there has been no examination of the implications and opportunities involved in the People's Republic of China's (PRC) political transition for either the success of China's economic reform program or overall U.S. interests. The foreign policy community in the United States needs a more complete picture of the evolving social and political dynamics that will ultimately shape the PRC that emerges in the 21st century. This group filled that gap by examining the political reforms underway in the PRC, their implications for the success of economic reforms, and the opportunities for U.S. actors (govern-

ment, business, and nongovernmental organizations) to influence this process. Topics explored included grassroots democracy, center-provincial relations, the evolution of the rule of law, the People's Liberation Army and nationalism, and the rise of the entrepreneurial and middle classes. Elizabeth Economy's analysis from the study group proceedings will be published in *Survival* (Autumn 1999).

U.S.-China Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

This series provides an opportunity for Council members to hear prominent speakers and engage in discussion on the full range of issues that define the U.S. relationship with China. This year's meetings included "Confucian Convolution: China in the Information Age," with Frederick S. Tipson of Hong Kong Telecom; "Transnational Problems in Asia," with James Shinn, Elizabeth Economy, and other authors of the Council book *Fires Across the Water*; "Asia in the 21st Century: The New Chal-

KIM HOLMES

The Heritage Foundation



The Council has developed a far greater presence in Washington than before. Both the quality and frequency of the events and activities have enhanced the impact of the Council and its reports on Washington. With the decision to increase the scale of the activities in D.C., the Council has gotten more involved in relevant policy debates there. It has become a more up-to-date institution that functions on a broader political field. For example, the Council sponsored a China Embassy lunch that was a tremendous success. It was an opportunity for the ambassador to get his views through to Council members, but also to see how diverse the views of the Council can be in terms of U.S. opinion on China. There was definitely an interesting give and take. It was a very useful meeting because I think sometimes the ambassador is a bit insulated from the American public and their opinions. The

lunch helped to give him an understanding of the range of opinion in the United States.

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The Council-sponsored task force reports, like the ones on North Korea and Cuba, have impacted my thinking. These reports are important, and we read and factor them into our analysis. Of course, we don't always agree, but they are taken seriously. They help broaden our understanding of the issue and we look at the people on the task force, and they are usually the main players in the policy debate.

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The Council is clearly preparing for the upcoming century. The programs are on the cutting edge of what's happening next. They challenge world opinions of where America is going. All of us want to understand better how the new world is evolving and to start thinking more outside of the box. The Council is making an effort to gather a diverse set of opinions to make this possible and to challenge what is at times a stale conventional wisdom in Washington.

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Paula Dobriansky has brought on new programs effectively and has done a really good job broadening the spectrum of opinion at the Council. She has reached out to conservatives and liberals alike for advice on the Washington Program. This gives the Council not only a broader philosophical foundation but a greater relevance in Washington, particularly with respect to Congress.

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enges," with Kenneth Lieberthal of the National Security Council; "Hong Kong and Global Markets: Into the 21st Century," with Andrew Sheng of the Hong Kong Securities and Futures Commission; "On the Front Lines of Constructive Engagement," with James Sasser, U.S. ambassador to China; and "Tibet: The New Challenges," with Robbie Barnett of Columbia University and photo-journalist Steve Lehman.

Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL J. GREEN

While the rhetoric of U.S. policy toward Asia claimed a new "strategic partnership" with China, U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific region in the next century will be only as credible as the U.S.-Japan alliance. This study group worked with a similar Tokyo-based group to examine the following case studies in Japanese diplomacy: the sources of Japanese power and influence, the impact of domestic institutions on foreign policy, Japan-China relations, Japan and the Korean peninsula, Japan's Eurasian diplomacy, the international financial architecture, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and World Trade Organization. Each case study assessed factors such as the domestic determinants of Japanese policy, the role of the United States in Japanese policymaking, the points of bilateral divergence, and the lessons for the United States and Japan in terms of policy objectives and coordination. The study group will culminate in a book by Michael Green.

Roundtable on U.S.-China-Japan Triangular Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: NEIL SILVER

CHAIR: DONALD S. ZAGORIA (HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK)

This series of three roundtable meetings was designed to explore competitive impulses and mutual perceptions between China and Japan, and the resulting implications for the United States—particularly in the fields of U.S. national security and diplomacy in Asia. The first two sessions looked separately at Chinese and Japanese perspectives on these issues. The third session explored the results of and prospects for a bilateral Chinese-Japanese security dialogue and trilateral dialogue including the United States. Speakers and commentators in this series included Bonnie Glaser, Mike Mochizuki, Patrick Cronin, Bates Gill, James Przystup, and Ronald Montaperto. Dis-

cussions provided background for a paper written by Neil Silver.

AFRICA

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

Africa Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

Africa Roundtables in New York and Washington, D.C., provide Council members and others engaged in work on Africa with regular opportunities for critical analysis of urgent developments in Africa and for elaboration of U.S. policy options. The New York discussions tend to focus on U.S. economic relations with Africa, while the Washington series addresses topical subjects relating to security, democracy, and sustainable development. Discussion topics this program year included the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, regional economic and peacekeeping activities of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and strategies for improving U.S. economic engagement of Africa.

Study Group on Thinking Regionally about Africa

PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

This study group is considering the growth of subregional cooperation among African nations and the implications of this development for U.S. policy toward Africa. Consisting of American and African specialists on each of Africa's five subregions, members of the group will review a manuscript that outlines a framework for U.S. policy toward each subregion and develops criteria for prioritizing U.S. interests in Africa by subregion and function (security, democracy, and economic development/trade/investment).

EUROPE

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Europe has recently crossed several important thresholds, most notably the beginning of the transition to a

single currency and the coming to power of the Social Democrats in Germany. In addition, NATO has formally taken in its first new members from central Europe. All these issues have important implications for U.S.-European relations and for the vitality of the transatlantic link. To keep pace with a rapidly changing landscape, this ongoing roundtable meets in New York and Washington, D.C., to address a range of themes including emerging security issues (particularly in the Balkans), the restructuring of European capitalism, and the politics and implementation of monetary union.

George F. Kennan Russian and Eurasian Roundtable on "Russia at the Crossroads"

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

This ongoing roundtable serves as a forum for comprehensive scrutiny of all aspects of Russia's evolving political, economic, social, foreign policy, and defense developments. The overall goal is to assess the trends underway, with a particular focus on the current political and economic crisis gripping Moscow; to grasp the interrelationships among the factors involved; and to develop a full range of alternative scenarios for Russia's future by highlighting what constitutes the key policy drivers.

Project on East-West Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL MANDELBAUM

The Project on East-West Relations takes an in-depth look at areas and issues of central importance to the United States and from which large-scale conflict could arise. Since its inception in 1987, the project has produced twelve books. A forthcoming book, *The New Diasporas: Nationalism and Conflict in Postcommunist Europe*, explores the past, present, and future of four national groups—Hungarians, Serbs, Russians, and Albanians—that are scattered uneasily among several sovereign states in postcommunist eastern Europe.

Online Roundtable on the Caspian Sea Region

PROJECT DIRECTORS: MATHEW BURROWS AND CARTER W. PAGE

This online roundtable, the first Council project of its kind, fostered a dialogue among individuals around the country on the issues surrounding the emergence of the Caspian Sea region as a major new supplier of oil. Participants first established the facts underlying Caspian issues, and then systematically evaluated Caspian

development and appropriate U.S. policies. While preserving the confidentiality of the discussion, the facts established by the group also formed the core of a website on the region that will eventually be linked to the Council's home page (www.cfr.org).

LATIN AMERICA

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

Latin America Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

The ongoing Latin America Roundtable provides prompt, thoughtful analysis of rapidly changing political and economic developments in the region. Although each seminar addresses a distinct topic, taken together the series provides a broad overview and a comparative perspective on the major issues, events, and debates in the Americas. For the year 1998–99, seminars examined the consequences of presidential elections in Venezuela and Brazil; Colombia's future prospects; Latin America's response to the global economic crisis; the role of religion in Latin American societies; the triangular relations among Mercosur, Europe, and the United States; and the new role of Spain in Latin America.

Roundtable on U.S.-Mexico Relations

PROJECT DIRECTORS: KENNETH R. MAXWELL AND RIORDAN ROETT
(NITZ SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY)

While much has been written about recent political and economic events in Mexico, there has been little analysis of the medium- and long-term policy implications of trends in Mexico for the United States. This ongoing roundtable reviews the current atmosphere in Mexico with particular emphasis on the post-peso devaluation stabilization program and its implications for NAFTA and direct and portfolio investment in Mexico; the democratization of the political system; the increase in the responsibility and size of the Mexican military; the implications of the emergence of guerrilla groups in different regions of Mexico; the dramatic increase in drug transfers and money laundering along the border; the future of Mexican immigration to the United States; and the outlook for political and economic stability in Mexico.

STUDIES PROGRAM

Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Conference Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Conference Series is an annual, in-depth examination of the prospects and most important issues facing inter-American relations in the year ahead. The 1998 conference examined Latin America's economic and political responses to the global economic crisis.

MIDDLE EAST

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

Study Group on a New Security Structure for the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD W. MURPHY AND GIDEON ROSE

CHAIR: LAWRENCE J. KORB

The utility of the Clinton administration's "dual containment" policy on Iraq and Iran is diminishing as regional conditions and the expectations of outside powers change. At some point, perhaps as early as the next two to three years, conversations among the United States, Iraq, and Iran will begin. The purpose of this study group is to analyze the likely positions of Iraq, Iran, and the United States regarding future security in the Persian Gulf region and to lay the intellectual groundwork for these discussions. The security interests of these countries must, at a minimum, be identified and accommodated if a new regional security structure is to occur. The end product will be an article that clearly lays out the interests of the parties in question and identifies those areas where fruitful discussions are possible and desirable.

Study Group on Social and Economic Change in the Gulf Monarchies

PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD W. MURPHY AND F. GREGORY GAUSE (UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT)

Important economic and social changes are occurring simultaneously in the various states of the Persian Gulf. The spread of education and urbanization, the changes in Gulf welfare states brought on by the secular decline in oil prices, and the integration of the Gulf monarchies into the global information network are some of the regional developments that need to be examined further.

This study group analyzed the potential political ramifications of these economic and social changes, giving American policymakers a clearer picture of the domestic situation in these Gulf states. This dual focus—on economic changes that increase the importance of the private sector and on social changes that heighten the potential political volatility of Gulf state populations—was the most important function of the project. The project directors will coauthor an overview article that addresses the policy challenges for Washington. Another article by F. Gregory Gause will examine the issue of political opposition and government response in the Gulf Arab states.

Middle East Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

This roundtable series continues its analysis of timely issues in the region and their impact on Middle Eastern countries. Meetings this year included a conversation with Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani on the tensions and shifting winds of the Kurdish situation in Iraq; a debate between an Israeli and a Palestinian academic who are leading the way for a revisionist history of Israel and the Palestinians; and a panel of female film directors from Iran on the role of working women in Iran.

Middle East Forum

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER

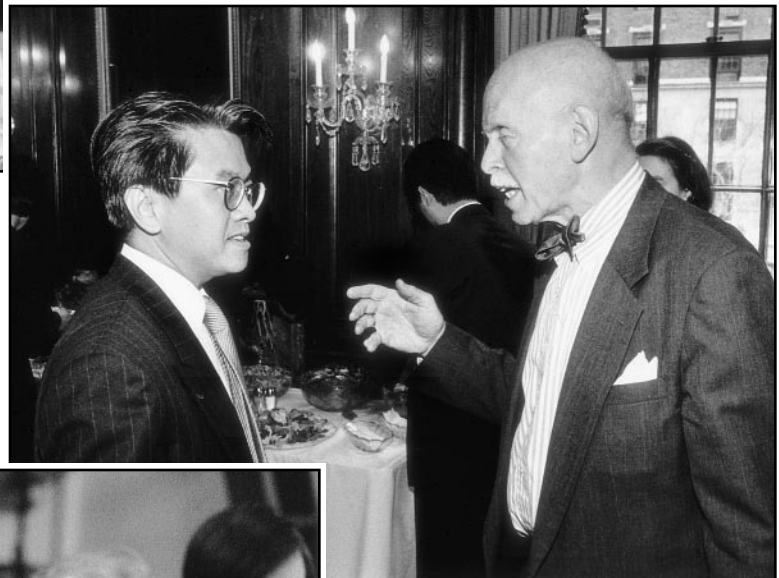
The Middle East Forum in Washington engages key figures from many countries to probe vital Middle East issues. The forum—established as a regional program in 1985 by former Middle East presidential envoys Ambassador Robert S. Strauss and the late Ambassador Philip C. Habib, and later chaired by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe, and the former head of U.S. Central Command, General Joseph P. Hoar—encourages analysis of regional developments and historical perspectives in discussions of U.S. policy as well as economic and strategic realities that affect foreign policy decision-making. The forum focuses on U.S. interests in the region in its candid examination of regional developments. A particular focus on Iraq has included speakers such as Richard Butler of the U.N. Special Commission; Sir Jeremy Greenstock, KCMG, United Kingdom permanent representative to the United Nations; and Denis J. Halliday, former U.N. assistant secretary general and humanitarian coordinator for Iraq.

STUDIES PROGRAM



◀ Moderator Kenneth H. Keller, Speaker Rodney W. Nichols, New York Academy of Sciences, and Speaker David Victor, Council on Foreign Relations, at the April 27, 1999, Minneapolis National Meeting of the Study Group on Global Warming: Technology Policy for the United States.

▶ Speaker Daniel Fung, Yale University, and Presider Jerome A. Cohen at the March 3, 1999, Meeting of the Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy, "The Hong Kong-China Legal Dispute: The Future of 'One Country, Two Systems.'"



◀ Speaker Ebrahim Yazdi, Freedom Movement of Iran, Presider Farhad Kazemi, Richard W. Murphy, Kazem Sajjadpour, and Gregory Loyd at the November 10, 1998, Meeting of the Middle East Roundtable, "A New Era in Iran's Domestic and Foreign Policies."

U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTOR/CHAIR: HENRY SIEGMAN

PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

COSPONSORED WITH THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

On March 8–9, 1999, senior members of the U.S. Departments of State and Defense and of the intelligence community, led by Martin Indyk, assistant secretary of state for near eastern affairs, and their European counterparts joined policy experts from the United States and Europe in London to discuss U.S. and European approaches to the Arab-Israeli peace process. Participants also discussed the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force Report *Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions*. The London meeting was the third consultation, following previous meetings in Paris in 1997 and in Washington, D.C., in 1998 that were cosponsored by the U.S./Middle East Project and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The 1999 consultation assumed special importance this year because it was held weeks ahead of the Israeli elections and expiration of the Oslo accords.

Middle East Economic Conference

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

On June 17–18, 1999, the U.S./Middle East Project and Corporate Program hosted their fourth annual conference on private-sector investment in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), including Turkey and Iran. In past years, this conference has been organized around the MENA summits, of which the Council was a founding organizer and convener. This year, the conference, held at the Council's headquarters in New York, was the only major event of its kind. It was a practical, business-oriented meeting for approximately two hundred executives from the United States, Europe, the Middle East, and elsewhere to showcase investment opportunities and discuss the key obstacles to doing business in the region. The keynote speakers were Hosni Mubarak, president of Egypt; James D. Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank; William Daley, secretary of commerce; and Bill Richardson, secretary of energy.

PEACE AND CONFLICT

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT P. DEVECCHI

This roundtable brings together policymakers, practitioners, journalists, academics, and other concerned individuals for face-to-face dialogue on specific issues concerning refugees and the internally displaced. Recent subjects have included the Kosovo refugee emergency, the continuing crises in Africa, the potential for a new Haitian refugee outflow, the problem of land mines as an impediment to refugee repatriation, and ways to improve collaboration among the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, humanitarian relief organizations, and human rights groups on refugee protection issues. The roundtable targets younger members, term members, and Council staff who have a special interest in refugees, the displaced, and humanitarian issues.

Study Group on United Nations–World Bank–Private-Sector–NGO Partnering for War to Peace Transitions

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALLAN GERSON

CO-CHAIRS: STEPHEN J. FRIEDMAN (DEBEVOISE & PLIMPTON) AND LOUIS PERLMUTTER (LAZARD FRÈRES & CO., LLC)

Since their establishment, the United Nations and the World Bank have largely operated in different spheres of reference: the former tends to underplay the economic dimension, while the latter is often not cognizant of the political context. With the proliferation of civil and ethnic strife in the post-Cold War era, humanitarian and security concerns dictate a new approach for multilateral institutions, in coordination with the private sector and NGOs, in enabling countries emerging from civil strife to reach economic and political stability. This study group is analyzing data and will make recommendations for “partnering” arrangements aimed at achieving this objective. It addresses issues related to entry, delivery of emergency services, establishment of good governance, and transition from dependency to self-sufficiency. A series of case studies will be presented to the study group for discussion, leading to a book by Allan Gerson.

United Nations Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD

This roundtable assembles individuals from diverse perspectives and backgrounds to examine the political and management challenges facing the United Nations. These discussions seek to develop recommendations for viable short- and long-term solutions for the organization. In the 1998–99 program year, the roundtable addressed U.N. management and political reform, international security problems, and U.N. leadership in setting new norms for human rights and disarmament.

Study Group on Democratic Consolidation

PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE

This study group is exploring how U.S. policymakers can promote the consolidation of fledgling democracies abroad. The study group is underway at a time when many new democracies are grappling with unprecedented economic, political, and social turmoil. Whether they survive and stabilize or collapse back into authoritarianism will be one of the critical factors shaping international politics in the early 21st century. The study group is seeking to bridge the gap between the academic and policy worlds by asking questions such as: What factors are the most important for the consolidation of new democracies? Can these factors be manipulated from the outside? What would a serious U.S. strategy for promoting democratic consolidation look like, and what results could it expect to produce? The product of the group will be an article or book written by Gideon Rose.

Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RADHA KUMAR

COSPONSORED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

This study group is assessing the pros and cons of partition as a solution to the growing number of ethnic conflicts around the world. The participating scholars and practitioners are undertaking a comparative study of five cases of de facto or de jure partition and their emerging peace processes—India-Pakistan, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Israel-Palestine, and the Balkans—to determine what lessons can be drawn for future conflict prevention, resolution, and reconstruction. The final product will be a book by Radha Kumar, a website, and a CD-ROM.

Roundtable on Women's Human Rights and U.S. Interests

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER

During the past decade, the extraordinary growth of activity and effectiveness on the part of women's NGOs has helped put in place a new human rights framework for advancing the claims of women internationally. This roundtable explores the ways the increased economic and political participation of women within their various societies and at the international level may further U.S. international security goals. While women's rights have been viewed heretofore chiefly as a moral concern, the project aims to help situate the issue within the discussion of U.S. interests for both scholars and officials. Sessions focus on the impact of women's agendas on international norms and interaction, the effectiveness of grassroots women's groups as building blocks for civil society, the role of women's capacity in economic growth, and the implications of these developments for U.S. goals of democratization and stable governance. The product of the group's work will be a journal article and several op-ed pieces.

Roundtable on Examining Postwar Justice

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH NEUFFER

This roundtable examined what the aims of postwar justice should be and how institutions set up to deliver justice have succeeded or failed in meeting those expectations. Participants and speakers drew on victims' accounts and the work of legal scholars, aid workers, and the military to help explore what postwar justice can accomplish. Questions included: Is "justice" better delivered by a local court than by an international court? Does it have more impact if it is delivered in the form of truth telling, rather than a court of law? How do other forces involved in postwar reconciliation, like business investment, play a role in spurring justice along? Speakers included: Alexander L. Borraine; Aryeh Neier; William L. Nash, U.S. Army (Ret.); Diane Paul; and Gabrielle Kirk McDonald. Elizabeth Neuffer is writing a book on postwar justice issues in Bosnia and Rwanda.

PREVENTIVE ACTION

DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

CHAIR: JOHN W. VESSEY, U.S. ARMY (RET.)

The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) was established in 1994 to study and test conflict prevention.

STUDIES PROGRAM

Many of today's most serious international problems—ethnic conflicts, failing states, and humanitarian disasters—could potentially be averted or ameliorated with effective early attention. To investigate the prevention of such crises, CPA selected four case studies to test the viability of conflict prevention: the Great Lakes region of central Africa, the Ferghana Valley of central Asia, Nigeria, and the south Balkans. CPA draws on the knowledge gained from all four case studies, the experience of others, and previous studies to determine what strategies are most effective in the field of conflict prevention. To disseminate its recommendations and other findings, CPA has established, in collaboration with the Century Foundation, a series of Preventive Action Reports.

Study Group on Preventing Deadly Conflict

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

CHAIR: ANTONIA HANDLER CHAYES (CONFLICT MANAGEMENT GROUP)

This study group meets to discuss draft chapters of a book on conflict prevention by Barnett R. Rubin. The book evaluates the theory and practice of preventing civil conflict through international action. It largely draws on the experiences of CPA, including its projects on the south Balkans, the Great Lakes region of central Africa, the Ferghana Valley region of central Asia, and Nigeria.

CPA Annual Conference

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

CO-CHAIRS: JOHN W. VESSEY, U.S. ARMY (RET.), DAVID A. HAMBURG (CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT), AND RICHARD C. LEONE (THE CENTURY FOUNDATION)

COSPONSORED WITH THE CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT AND THE CENTURY FOUNDATION

This annual event surveys the past year's lessons in conflict prevention, promotes discussion and coordination among those involved, and introduces the idea of preventive action to key U.S. constituencies, represented in part by the Council membership. The keynote speaker for this year's conference was George Soros. The daylong event addressed four topics: assistance to civil society as a tool of conflict prevention; curbing the proliferation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons; the failure of early warning in Kosovo; and financial crises and the escalation of conflict. The conference was held at the Council's New York office on December 11, 1998.

CPA Project on the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

In 1994, Rwanda suffered an outbreak of ethnic conflict that ended with the military defeat of the regime that initiated the violence. After the genocide, violence intensified throughout the region, especially in neighboring Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. CPA, along with Refugees International, Search for Common Ground, and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, sponsors the Great Lakes Policy Forum to enable international actors working to prevent further violence in the region to exchange information, coordinate strategies, evaluate their activities, and advocate policies to the U.S. and other governments. This forum meets monthly in Washington, D.C., and is open to all. Other activities include the confidential Security Working Group, which meets bimonthly, and the EuroForum on the Great Lakes in Brussels, which was established by CPA and the European Centre for Common Ground, to improve transatlantic cooperation in the region.

CPA Project on the Ferghana Valley Region of Central Asia

PROJECT DIRECTORS: BARNETT R. RUBIN AND NANCY LUBIN (JNA ASSOCIATES)

CHAIR: SAM NUNN (KING & SPALDING)

The Ferghana Valley region of central Asia, which cuts across the three newly independent states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, is one of the most densely populated and volatile areas of the former Soviet Union. Regional tensions arise from ethnic, religious, environmental, and economic problems. CPA's Ferghana Valley working group was formed to assess the potential for future conflict in the region and to suggest ways to move the region in the direction of economic and political reform and stability. A delegation of the working group visited the region in March 1997, met with a wide range of actors, and prepared a report based on its findings. The report, *Stabilizing the Ferghana Valley: Promoting Peace in Central Asia*, will be released in fall 1999 as the fourth Preventive Action Report.

CPA Project on Nigeria

PROJECT DIRECTORS: BARNETT R. RUBIN AND PETER M. LEWIS (AMERICAN UNIVERSITY)

CHAIR: PEARL T. ROBINSON (TUFTS UNIVERSITY)

Nigeria has recently undergone sudden changes in leadership and is now struggling to consolidate the gains

from the return to elected government. Nonetheless, ethnic, religious, and regional tensions as well as economic malaise continue to contribute to the potential for conflict. Owing to Nigeria's dominant position in western Africa and its vast oil reserves, an eruption of conflict would have substantial regional and international repercussions. CPA's Project on Nigeria concentrates on the role of Nigerian civil society in preventing conflict and pressing for sustainable democratic reform. CPA sent a study mission to Nigeria in January 1997 to evaluate developments in civil society and identify opportunities for partnerships between organizations in the United States and Nigeria. Drawing on both the mission and subsequent meetings, the Nigeria project released the third volume of CPA's Preventive Action Reports, *Stabilizing Nigeria: Sanctions, Incentives, and Support for Civil Society* (1998).

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD L. GARWIN

Study Group on Global Warming Technology Policy for the United States

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR

With U.S. industry accounting for one-fifth of annual global emissions of carbon dioxide—the leading cause of global warming—this study group is exploring U.S. policies that directly target the development and deployment of less carbon-intensive energy technologies. Since cutting emissions will require massive technological change toward clean, carbon-free fuels, the group sets its sights on long-term technological solutions for the United States and other industrial countries, as well as for the developing world. Products will include an options paper for U.S. policy as well as a detailed article by David Victor.

Study Group on Saving the World's Forests

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR

Despite widespread concern about the world's dwindling forest land, every major international effort to protect forests has largely failed. This project will identify

the technical potential for protecting forests around the world over the next half century. It will also identify how this technical potential can be codified into international agreements and institutions. The aim is to make future efforts to protect forests better informed and more effective. The Council is convening about two dozen foresters, ecologists, biologists, economists, and other experts to explore and test the project concept during the fall of 1999. If the concept proves viable, a larger research project would likely continue thereafter for about two years.

Study Group on Global Health as a Critical Foreign Policy Issue

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JORDAN KASSALOW

Most foreign policy leaders lack an appreciation of the impact global health issues can have on U.S. foreign policy interests. This initiative will demonstrate how global health issues affect U.S. security, economic, and human development interests, and create concrete recommendations to help U.S. policymakers place them within the broader U.S. foreign policy agenda. This study group transcends the limited scope of earlier analyses, examining the effect of health issues on core U.S. interests in a more comprehensive and integrated manner. The intended final products are a series of papers that will be published in health and international relations journals and on the Council's website.

Study Group on the Information Revolution and American Strategy in the 21st Century

PROJECT DIRECTORS: JOHN P. HALL (J.P. MORGAN AND COMPANY, INC.) AND GORDON GOLDSTEIN (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

CO-CHAIRS: FREDERICK S. TIPSON (HONG KONG TELECOM) AND MICHAEL F. OPPENHEIMER (MULTINATIONAL STRATEGIES, INC.)

This study group launched an examination of the information revolution—the explosive growth and interaction of communications networks, computing capabilities, and content creation—and its implications for American foreign policy. Phase I surveyed the broad political and economic ramifications of the information revolution and, specifically, its consequences for American wealth and power in the coming decades. A planned Phase II will examine specific implications for American foreign policy identified in the study group's report, which will also include a comprehensive review of the current literature in the field.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALTON FRYE

CO-CHAIRS: THOMAS E. DONILON (O'MELVENY AND MYERS) AND
KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN (THE DUBERSTEIN GROUP, INC.)

While many able and dedicated public servants work in the legislative branch, their hectic schedules often deprive them of the chance to engage in reflective, nonpartisan discussion about essential policy issues outside their professional duties. An informed Congress is essential to an effective American foreign policy, and an informed congressional staff is essential to an effective Congress. The Council's congressional staff roundtables provide a forum for discussion of essential issues under the Council tradition of nonattribution.

This Council project engages key congressional staff in a neutral setting outside the political arena to discuss international issues of concern to them. To date the program has enlisted some one hundred staff members of both parties and both houses in three roundtable discussion groups, focused, respectively, on Asian politics and security, national security, and international trade and economics. These groups are chaired by R. James

Woolsey (Asian politics and security), Stephen J. Hadley (national security), and Thomas E. Donilon and Robert B. Zoellick (international trade and economics).

For topics and speakers, the project draws upon the Council's ongoing studies in the general topic areas, as well as on proposals of legislative staffers participating in the program. A Congressional Staff Advisory Committee of senior staff members helps to guide the program and ensure the quality of its participants and programs. Four Council members with long experience as leaders in the House and Senate—Howard H. Baker Jr., Thomas S. Foley, George J. Mitchell, and Vin Weber—serve as conveners for the project.

Study Group on the History of U.S. Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

The goal of this project is to support the completion of Walter Russell Mead's book, *Understanding the American Foreign Policy Tradition*. The book will explain how foreign policy has played a major role in domestic American politics throughout American history; how foreign policy and domestic politics are much more deeply connected than the conventional wisdom acknowledges; how in-

DOV ZAKHEIM

SPC International Corp.



The Studies Department gives members an opportunity to step back and examine issues in which they may have some expertise but that they may not in the regular course of daily activities be able to discuss in depth with other interested people. Some of the subjects are those that members discuss quite a bit, and then it becomes a question of "Do you have any special angle?" Other subjects are not front-and-center for

a lot of people. The Studies Department then gets people together to react to these issues, even if they are not experts in the area. So it's a quite valuable experience for everyone.



One of the challenges facing the Studies Department is to engage those members who are not as involved as they could be. Study groups shouldn't just be for people who are immersed in the issues. The trick is to get other people interested. You have to ask them, "Why aren't you participating? What is it you want that you aren't already getting?"



When a task force begins to write its report, the question is, "Can we fashion a report that is rigorous analytically and, at the same time, is not going to attract flack for the wrong reasons?" When you get into a controversial topic, you're going to get a lot of dissent. That's not a bad thing. Knowing that their dissents will be aired when the report is published allows members to express themselves much more freely. But there is another point, which is to convey to the world "out there" that these issues are complex and they don't always translate into easy solutions. That is why the Council's task force reports are useful. It's a message to the outside world that often doesn't get voiced.

STUDIES PROGRAM

terest in international relations has long been a major concern of nonelite, nonmercantile elements of the American polity; and how persistent schools of thought about American foreign policy have shaped and continue to shape public debates and government policy.

OTHER

Next Generation Fellow Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: LAWRENCE J. KORB

CHAIR: ALLAN E. GOODMAN (INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION)

COSPONSORED WITH THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

This roundtable brought together Council Next Generation Fellows and term members with a group of Fulbright scholars and students in New York and Washington, D.C., to discuss breaking issues on the foreign policy agenda. The Council's younger scholars were the featured speakers in this series, which aimed to foster networks among the next generation of foreign policy professionals as they debated the questions that drive the international agenda today and will continue to in the years to come. Topics included Japanese foreign policy, the consolidation of democracy abroad, high-impact terrorism, global warming technology, and governance in China.

Global Kids Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: TRACEY A. DUNN

COSPONSORED WITH LATIN AMERICA STUDIES AND GLOBAL KIDS, INC.

The Global Kids Roundtable is a community outreach initiative that introduces high school students to international relations issues with the hope that some will pursue degrees or careers in this area. In conjunction with Global Kids, Inc., the roundtable brings together a racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse group of students from all five boroughs of New York City and younger Council staff to explore broad foreign policy issues.

FELLOWS

LAWRENCE J. KORB

Vice President/Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies

EXPERTISE: National security organization, policy, and process; U.S. foreign policy, arms control, and defense budget; NATO.

EXPERIENCE: Director, Center for Public Policy Education, and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, Brookings Institution (1988–98); Adjunct Professor, National Security Studies, Georgetown University (1981–93); Dean, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh (1986–88); Vice President, Corporate Operations, Raytheon Company (1985–86); Assistant Secretary of Defense (1981–85); Professor of Management, U.S. Naval War College (1975–80).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *American National Security: Policy and Process* (1993); *The Fall and Rise of the Pentagon* (1979); *The Joint Chiefs of Staff: The First Twenty-Five Years* (1976).

HONORS: Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., State University of New York at Albany; M.A., St. John's University

MORTON I. ABRAMOWITZ

Senior Fellow, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: U.S. foreign policy; national security; Asia; the Balkans; Turkey.

EXPERIENCE: Acting President, International Crisis Group (1997); President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1991–97); U.S. Ambassador to Turkey (1989–91); Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research (1985–89); U.S. Ambassador to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations in Vienna (1983–84); U.S. Ambassador to Thailand (1978–81); Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-American, East Asian, and Pacific Affairs (1974–78); Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (1972–73).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *China: Can We Have a Policy?* (1997); *Moving the Glacier: The Two Koreas and the Powers* (1973); *East Asian Actors and Issues* (1973); *Remaking China Policy* (1971).

HONORS: National Intelligence Medal, 1989; President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service in 1981, 1985, and 1988; the Director General's Cup of Foreign Service.

EDUCATION: M.A., Harvard University; B.A., Stanford University

RICHARD K. BETTS

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies

EXPERTISE: International conflict; U.S. defense policy; political and military intelligence.

EXPERIENCE: Professor of Political Science, and Director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University

STUDIES PROGRAM

(current); Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution (1981–90); Staff Member, National Security Council (1977); Staff Member, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (1975–76).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Military Readiness* (1995); *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (1987); *Surprise Attack* (1982); *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (1977).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., B.A., Harvard University

SALIH BOOKER

Senior Fellow and Director, Africa Studies

EXPERTISE: Economic, political, and security issues in Africa; Congress and U.S. foreign policy; diversity in U.S. international relations; international development cooperation in Africa.

EXPERIENCE: Consultant to Africare, Ford Foundation, African Development Foundation, Bernard van Leer Foundation, United Nations Development Program, Carnegie Corporation (1992–96); Associate Director, Catholic Relief Services, Southern Africa (1991); Professional Staff Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congress (1983–86, 1990); Program Officer, Eastern and Southern Africa, Ford Foundation (1986–88); Legislative Assistant, TransAfrica (1980–83).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Promoting U.S. Economic Relations with Africa* (Independent Task Force Report, Council on Foreign Relations, 1998).

EDUCATION: London School of Economics; University of Ghana (Legon); B.A., Wesleyan University

RACHEL BRONSON

Olin Fellow for National Security Studies

EXPERTISE: U.S. National Security; Middle East.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies (1997–99); Consultant, Center for Naval Analyses (1998–99); Fellow, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University (1994–96); Adjunct Professor, Columbia University (1995).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: "NATO's Expanding Presence in the Caucasus and Central Asia," in Stephen J. Blank, ed., *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces* (1998); "Diplomatic Consequences of the Coming RMA," *Foreign Service Journal* (1998); "Cycles of Conflict in the Middle East," in Michael Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (1995).

HONORS: Smith Richardson dissertation writing grant (1996–97); Alice Paul Dissertation Award (1995).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Columbia University; B.A., University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD BUTLER

Diplomat in Residence

EXPERTISE: Arms control; international security issues; United Nations; Middle East.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) (1997–99); Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations (1992–97); Permanent Representative of Australia, Supreme National Council of Cambodia (1991); Australian Ambassador to Thailand (1989–92); Australian Ambassador for Disarmament (1983–88); various positions in the Australian Foreign Service (1966–82).

APPOINTMENTS: Chairman, United Nations Preparatory Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations (1995); Chairman, Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons (1995); Vice Chairman, Copenhagen World Summit on Social Development (1995); President, Economic and Social Council, United Nations (1994).

HONORS: Order of Australia, for services to international peace and disarmament, 1988.

EDUCATION: D.Univ., University of New England; M.Ec., Australian National University; B.Ec., University of Sydney

BETSY H. COHEN

Fellow, International Economics

EXPERTISE: International business and economics.

EXPERIENCE: Finance and investment consultant, Chris-Craft Industries (1997–98); Assistant Vice President, Principal Fund, Oaktree Capital Management (1995–96); Senior Vice President, Retail and Banking Divisions, Dialogbank, Russia (1991–93); Director, U.S.-Soviet Labor Initiative, Search for Common Ground (1988–91); Corporate Finance Analyst, J.P. Morgan (1987–88).

EDUCATION: M.B.A., A.B., Harvard University

JEROME A. COHEN

C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies II

EXPERTISE: Legal and business transactions in Asia; international law; international relations of East Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Professor, New York University Law School (current); Senior Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (current); Professor, Director of East Asian Legal Studies, and Associate Dean, Harvard University Law School (1964–81); Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley (1959–64).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Investment Laws in Vietnam* (1990); *Contract Laws of the People's Republic of China* (1988); *People's*

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◀ Chair John W. Vessey, Commentator Barnett R. Rubin, and Keynote Speaker George Soros, Soros Fund Management, at the December 11, 1998, Conference on "The Application of Prevention: The Center for Preventive Action's Fifth Annual Conference."



▲ Speakers Arturo C. Porzecanski, ING Barings, Joyce Chang, Merrill Lynch, Francisco R.A. Gros, Morgan Stanley do Brasil, Presider Kenneth Maxwell, and Speakers Robert D. Hormats, Goldman Sachs International, and Stephen Fidler, Financial Times, at the October 8, 1998, Meeting of the Latin America Roundtable, "The Next Dominoes? Global Economic Crisis and Latin America."

◀ Speaker Gideon Rose, Council on Foreign Relations, and Presider Richard K. Betts at the March 4, 1999, Meeting of the John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda, "Can Saddam Hussein Be Toppled?"

STUDIES PROGRAM

China and International Law (coauthor, 1974); *Taiwan and American Policy: The Dilemma in U.S.-China Relations* (1971); *The Criminal Process in the P.R.C.: 1949–1968* (1968).

EDUCATION: J.D., A.B., Yale University

ROBERT P. DEVECCHI

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced

EXPERTISE: Refugee policy issues; emergency relief operations; humanitarian assistance programs; refugee movements and resettlement.

EXPERIENCE: President (1992–97), Executive Director (1985–92), Program Director, Worldwide Resettlement and Relief Operations (1980–85), Indochina Refugee Program Coordinator (1975–80), International Rescue Committee; New York Director, Save the Children Federation (1972–75); European Director, The Conference Board (1968–72); Foreign Service Officer (1956–67) posted in Washington, at NATO in Paris, and at the American embassies in Warsaw and Rome.

EDUCATION: M.B.A., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University

PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

Vice President, Washington, and Director/George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies

EXPERTISE: European political/military affairs; Russia and Ukraine; U.S. foreign policy; democracy and human rights.

EXPERIENCE: Senior International Affairs and Trade Adviser, Hunton & Williams (1994–97); TV Co-host, “WorldWise” (1997); Foreign Policy Coordinator for Robert Dole’s 1996 presidential campaign; TV Host, “Freedom’s Challenge” (1994–96); Associate Director for Policy and Programs, USIA (1990–93); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights (1987–90); Deputy Head, 1990 U.S. Delegation, Copenhagen Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Director of European and Soviet Affairs, National Security Council (1980–87).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Book chapters on U.S. foreign policy, NATO, Ukraine, and Russia; articles in the *Washington Quarterly*, *National Interest*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*.

HONORS: State Department’s Superior Honor Award.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Harvard University; B.S.F.S., Georgetown University

ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: Chinese domestic and foreign policy; global environmental issues.

EXPERIENCE: Member, Executive Board, Program for International Studies in Asia (current); Co-chair, Woodrow Wilson Center Working Group on China and the Environment (1996–98); Professorial Lecturer, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (1997); Research Fellow, Columbia University (1994); Visiting Assistant Professor of Chinese Foreign Policy, University of Washington (1993–94).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “Painting China Green,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 1999); *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (co-editor, 1999); “China Confronts the Challenge of Globalization: Implications for Domestic Cohesion and International Cooperation,” Rockefeller Brothers Fund Project on World Security (1998); *Reforms and Resources: The Implications for State Capacity in the People’s Republic of China* (1997); *Shaping U.S.-China Relations* (1997); *The Internationalization of Environmental Protection* (co-editor, 1997).

HONORS: The University of Michigan Outstanding Teaching Award (1990).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., University of Michigan; A.M., Stanford University; B.A., Swarthmore College

STEPHEN E. FLYNN

Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: International crime and the drug trade.

EXPERIENCE: Commander, U.S. Coast Guard (current); Associate Professor of International Relations, U.S. Coast Guard Academy (current); Director, Office of Global Issues, National Security Council staff (1997); Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution (1991–93); Commanding Officer (1984–86, 1992–93).

PUBLICATIONS: “The Global Drug Trade vs. the Nation State: Why the Thugs Are Winning,” in Maryann Susimano, ed., *Beyond Sovereignty* (1999); numerous articles and book chapters on the illicit drug trade and organized crime.

HONORS: Annenberg Scholar-in-Residence, University of Pennsylvania; International Affairs Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A.L.D., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; B.S., U.S. Coast Guard Academy

MICHAEL B.G. FROMAN

Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTISE: International trade and economic policy; European Union; Russia; the Balkans; Japan; China

EXPERIENCE: Chief of Staff (1997–99) and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Eurasia and the Middle East (1995–96), U.S. Department of the Treasury; Director for International Eco-

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conomic Affairs, National Economic Council/National Security Council (1993–95); Office of Domestic and Economic Policy, White House (1992–93); Staff, ABA/CEELI Legal Reform Program in Albania (1992); Staff Expert, Commission of the European Communities (1991–92).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Coming to Terms: The Development of the Idea of Détente in American Political Discourse* (1991); various articles on international relations, trade, and law.

HONORS: White House Fellowship; Fellowship in Public International Law, Ford Foundation; Fellowship in International Peace and Security, MacArthur Foundation; Fulbright Scholarship; Truman Scholarship; Danforth Certificate for Distinction in Teaching, Harvard College.

EDUCATION: J.D., Harvard University; D.Phil., Oxford University; A.B., Princeton University

ALTON FRYE

Presidential Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: National security strategy; arms control; legislative-executive relations.

EXPERIENCE: Council on Foreign Relations (1972–present, including President, 1993); frequent consultant to both the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government (current); Staff Member for strategic analysis, RAND (1961–68); Visiting Professor of Political Science, Harvard University (1966) and UCLA (1964).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “Banning Ballistic Missiles,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1996); *A Responsible Congress: The Politics of National Security* (1975).

HONORS: Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration; Olive Branch Award, NYU Center for War, Peace, and the News Media (1993); Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1971–73).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Yale University; B.S., St. Louis University

RICHARD L. GARWIN

Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology, and Director, Science and Technology Studies

EXPERTISE: Science and technology for communication, computation, transportation, national security, and health care.

EXPERIENCE: IBM Fellow Emeritus, IBM Research Division (current); Adjunct Professor of Physics, Columbia University (current); Chair, Arms Control Advisory Committee, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (current).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy* (1997); *Feux Follets et Champignons Nucléaires* (1997); *Management and Disposition of Excess Weapons Plutonium*

(1994); *The Future of the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Relationship* (1991).

HONORS: 1996 Enrico Fermi Award of the President and the Department of Energy; 1996 R.V. Jones Intelligence Award of the U.S. Government Foreign Intelligence Community; Member, National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, and Institute of Medicine.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.S., Case Western Reserve University

ALLAN GERSON

Senior Fellow, International Law and Organizations

EXPERTISE: International law and international organizations; Middle East and North Africa; terrorism; government accountability and sovereign immunity.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Director, Morocco-U.S. Council on Trade and Investment (1997–98); Distinguished Professor of International Law and Transactions, George Mason University (1991–97); private law practice in New York and Washington, D.C. (1991–97); Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute (1987–91); Deputy Assistant Attorney General with responsibility for international and national security affairs (1986–87); Counsel to General Vernon Walters, U.S. Mission to the United Nations (1985–86); Counsel to Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Mission to the United Nations (1981–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Kirkpatrick Mission: Diplomacy Without Apology—America at the United Nations, 1981 to 1985* (1991); *Lawyers’ Ethics: Contemporary Dilemmas* (1980); *Israel, the West Bank, and International Law* (1978).

EDUCATION: J.S.D., Yale University Law School; LL.M., Hebrew University of Jerusalem; J.D., New York University School of Law; B.A., State University of New York at Buffalo

MICHAEL J. GREEN

Olin Senior Fellow for Asia Security Studies

EXPERTISE: Japan; East Asian security; U.S. foreign policy toward Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Acting Director, Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (current); Senior Research Associate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (current); Professional Research Staff Member, Strategy, Forces, and Resources Division, Institute for Defense Analyses (1995–97); Visiting Assistant Professor of Asian Studies, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (1994–95); Special Assistant, Japanese National Diet (1987–89).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present, and Future* (co-editor, 1999); *State of the Field: Japanese Security Policy* (1998); *Arming Japan: Defense Production, Alliance Politics, and the Post-War Search for Autonomy* (1995); contrib-

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utor to *Survival*, *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, *This Is Yomiuri*, and other journals on security and Asia studies.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; B.A., Kenyon College

JORDAN KASSALOW

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy

EXPERTISE: Global health issues.

EXPERIENCE: Lecturer, Faculty of Medicine, Columbia University (current); Chairman, Nongovernmental Development Organization for Ivermectin Distribution (current); private practice, optometry (current); Director of Onchocerciasis Division, Helen Keller International (1993–99).

EDUCATION: M.P.H., Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health; O.D., New England College of Optometry; B.A., University of Vermont

JUDITH KIPPER

Director, Middle East Forum

EXPERTISE: Arab-Israeli peace process; Iran, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf; Islamic trends; U.S.-Middle East policy; regional threats.

EXPERIENCE: Codirector, Middle East Studies Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (current); consultant to ABC News (current); Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution (1987–95); Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (1980–86); consultant to RAND on international affairs.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Middle East in Global Perspective* (co-editor, 1991).

EDUCATION: B.A., University of California, Los Angeles

MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economics

EXPERTISE: International economics; public policy analysis; strategic planning.

EXPERIENCE: Columnist, *Financial Post* (current); Member of the Board, and Senior Fellow (current), Executive Director (1973–94), Hudson Institute, Montreal; Director, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Ford Motor Company, Hasbro, Inc., Hollinger International, Inc., and The Seagram Company, Ltd.; Trustee, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Western European Adjustment to Structural Economic Problems* (coauthor, 1987); *Canada HAS a Future* (1978).

EDUCATION: LL.D., University of Windsor; Ph.D., University of Sudbury; M.A., University of Ottawa; B.A., University of Ottawa

ROGER M. KUBARYCH

Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance

EXPERTISE: International finance and economics.

EXPERIENCE: Managing Member and C.I.O., Kaufman & Kubarych Advisors, LLC (current); General Manager, Henry Kaufman & Company, Inc. (1988–97); Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, New York Stock Exchange (1986–88); Vice President and Chief Economist, The Conference Board (1985–86); Special Assistant to the Undersecretary for Monetary Affairs, U.S. Department of the Treasury (1978–79); Senior Vice President and Deputy Director of Research, Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1972–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Foreign Exchange Markets in the United States* (1978); numerous papers and articles in leading journals and newspapers.

EDUCATION: A.M., Harvard University; M.A., Oxford University; B.A., Williams College

RADHA KUMAR

Fellow

EXPERTISE: Ethnic conflict; partition; civil society; South Asia; the Balkans.

EXPERIENCE: Weaver Fellow, The Rockefeller Foundation (1996–97); Associate Fellow, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University (1994–96); Executive Director, Helsinki's Citizen's Assembly, Prague (1992–94); Research Fellow, World Institute of Economics Research, Helsinki (1989–91); Research Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University (1988).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Divide and Fall? Bosnia in the Annals of Partition* (1997); *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Between War and Peace* (editor, 1993); *A History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800–1900* (1993); and articles in such publications as *Foreign Affairs*, *Feminist Review*, *Times of India*, and *Nation* (Pakistan).

HONORS: U.S. Committee, Index on Censorship.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.Phil, Jawaharlal Nehru University; M.A., B.A., Cambridge University

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies

EXPERTISE: U.S.-European relations; NATO; European Union; economics; national security; regionalism.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University (current); Director for European Affairs, National Security Council (1993–94); Professor of Politics, Princeton University (1986–92).

STUDIES PROGRAM

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Atlantic Security: Contending Visions* (editor, 1998); *Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community* (co-author, 1998); *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe* (1995); *The Vulnerability of Empire* (1994); *The Persian Gulf and the West: The Dilemma of Security* (1987); and numerous articles on international and strategic affairs in prominent newspapers, magazines, and academic journals.

EDUCATION: D.Phil., M.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Harvard University

MICHAEL MANDELBAUM

Director, Project on East-West Relations/1999–2000 Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow

EXPERTISE: Eastern Europe; Russia; CIS; U.S. foreign policy.

EXPERIENCE: Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (current); faculty member at Harvard University, Columbia University, and the U.S. Naval Academy.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The New Diasporas: Nationalism and Conflict in Postcommunist Europe* (editor, forthcoming); *The New Russian Foreign Policy* (editor, 1998); *The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe* (co-editor, 1997); *Postcommunism: Four Perspectives* (editor, 1996); *The Strategic Quadrangle: Russia, China, Japan, and the United States in East Asia* (editor, 1995); *Central Asia and the World* (editor, 1994).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; M.A., King's College, Cambridge University; B.A., Yale University

ROBERT A. MANNING

C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies and Director, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: Nuclear issues; national security; Asia-Pacific region (Korea, Japan, China, ASEAN); international economics; energy policy.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Fellow, Progressive Policy Institute (1994–97); Research Associate, Gaston Sigur Center, George Washington University School of International Relations (1993–95); Adviser for Policy, Department of State (1989–93); Adviser, Office of the Secretary of Defense (1988–89); Diplomatic Correspondent, *U.S. News and World Report* (1985–87); Correspondent, *Far Eastern Economic Review* (1979–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Asia's Coming Energy Wars* (forthcoming); *Rethinking the Transatlantic Partnership: Security and Economics in a New Era* (editor, 1996); *Back to the Future: Toward a Post-Nuclear Ethic—The New Logic of Nonproliferation* (1994); *Asian Policy: The New Soviet Challenge in the Pacific* (1988); articles in such publications as *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*.

EDUCATION: B.A., State University of California at Northridge

ANN R. MARKUSEN

Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy

EXPERTISE: Defense conversion; international economics; arms trade; defense industry; regional development.

EXPERIENCE: Director, Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, and State of New Jersey Professor of Urban Planning and Policy Development, Rutgers University (current); economic adviser to the Clinton administration (current), to the city of Chicago (1985–87), and to the states of California (1978–82) and Michigan (1971–73); faculty positions at Northwestern University (1986–89), University of California, Berkeley (1977–86), University of Colorado (1973–77).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century* (co-editor, 1999); *Trading Industries, Trading Regions* (1993); articles in such journals as *Economic Affairs* and *American Prospect*.

HONORS: Brookings Institution Economic Policy Fellowship; Fulbright Lectureship in Brazil.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Michigan State University; B.A., Georgetown University

KENNETH R. MAXWELL

Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies

EXPERTISE: U.S.-Latin American relations; Brazil; Portuguese-speaking world.

EXPERIENCE: Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations (1996); Program Director, Tinker Foundation (1979–85); Professor at Yale, Princeton, and Columbia universities (1976–84); book review editor for the *Western Hemisphere, Foreign Affairs*; articles in the *New York Review of Books*, *World Policy Journal*, and *Wilson Quarterly*.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Chocolate, Piratas, e Outros Malandros: Ensaios Tropicais* (1999); *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (1995); *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (1995); *The New Spain: From Isolation to Influence* (coauthor, 1994).

HONORS: Corresponding Member, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro (1994–present); Commander of the Order of Rio Branco, Brazil (1997).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Princeton University; M.A., B.A., St. John's College, Cambridge University

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy

EXPERTISE: U.S. foreign policy; international political economy; Cuba.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Contributing Editor, *Worth* (current);

STUDIES PROGRAM

Contributing Editor, Opinion Page, *Los Angeles Times* (current); President's Fellow, World Policy Institute (1987–97); Contributing Editor, *Harper's Magazine* (1986–91).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Mortal Splendor: The American Empire in Transition* (1987); and articles in *Esquire*, *New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, and the *New Yorker*.

EDUCATION: B.A., Yale University

RICHARD W. MURPHY

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East and Director, Middle East Studies

EXPERTISE: Middle East; South Asia.

EXPERIENCE: President, Chatham House Foundation, United States (current); Chairman, Middle East Institute (current); Trustee, American University of Beirut (current); Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (1983–89); U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1981–83), the Philippines (1978–81), Syria (1974–78), and Mauritania (1971–74).

HONORS: Honorary Doctorates from New England College and Baltimore Hebrew University.

EDUCATION: B.A., Harvard University; A.B., Emmanuel College, Cambridge University

JONATHAN S. PARIS

Fellow, U.S./Middle East Project

EXPERTISE: Arab-Israeli conflict; Palestinian-Israeli relations; Middle East; North Africa; Indonesia and ASEAN.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting lecturer on the modern Middle East, Yale University (1997–98); Vice President, European Investors, Inc. (1989–92); investment banker, Salomon Brothers (1983–89); attorney, Coudert Brothers, Singapore and Indonesia offices (1980–83).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: "Regional Cooperation and the MENA Economic Summits," in *The New Israel: Peacemaking and Liberalization* (forthcoming); *The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia* (co-editor, 1999); "Minority Rules: How Indonesia's Chinese Can Survive," *New Republic* (July 13, 1998).

HONORS: Editor, *Stanford Law Review* (1978).

EDUCATION: J.D., Stanford Law School; B.A., Yale University

GIDEON ROSE

Olin Senior Fellow and Deputy Director for National Security Studies

EXPERTISE: International conflict; Middle East/Persian Gulf/South Asia; terrorism; economic sanctions.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor, Columbia University (current); Lecturer, Princeton University (1996–97); Associate

Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council (1994–95); Assistant Editor, *National Interest* (1986–87); Assistant Editor, *Public Interest* (1985–86).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: "It Could Happen Here," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 1999); "The Iraqi Roll-Back Fantasy," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1999); chapters on Haiti and Libya in Richard N. Haass, ed., *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy* (1998); "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* (October 1998).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University

BARNETT R. RUBIN

Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Preventive Action, and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies

EXPERTISE: Conflict prevention (Afghanistan, Nigeria, Central Africa, Central Asia, South Balkans); human rights; failed states.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Central Asia, Columbia University (1990–96); Assistant Professor of Political Science, Yale University (1982–89); Jennings Randolph Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace (1989–90).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Stabilizing Nigeria* (coauthor, 1998); *Cases and Strategies for Preventive Action* (editor, 1998); *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans* (editor, 1996); *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan* (1995); *The Search for Peace in Afghanistan* (1995).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.A., Yale University

HENRY SIEGMAN

Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project

EXPERTISE: Middle East peace process; Arab-Israeli relations; U.S.-Middle East policy; interreligious relations.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Director, the American Jewish Congress (1978–94); Resident Scholar, the Rockefeller Study Center, Bellagio, Italy (1992); Founder, the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (1968); Director, the American Association for Middle East Studies, and Editor, *Middle East Studies* (1958–63).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: "Arab Unity and Disunity," in *The Contemporary Middle East* (1965); articles and essays on the Middle East in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Commentary Magazine*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Nation*, *Middle East Journal*, *Islamic World*, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, *Jerusalem Post*, *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Hayat*, and *Ashraq al-Awsat*.

EDUCATION: B.A., New School for Social Research

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KIRON SKINNER

Adjunct Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTISE: International relations and American foreign policy.

EXPERIENCE: Assistant Professor, Carnegie Mellon University (current); Research Fellow, Hoover Institution (current); Assistant Professor, Hamilton College (1998–99); Visiting Assistant Professor (1994–95), University of California, Los Angeles.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Turning Points in the Ending of the Cold War* (co-editor, forthcoming); *Linkage and Power: The Demise of Carter's Détente* (1999).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., A.M., Harvard University; A.B., Spelman College

BENN STEIL

Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Economic Policy

EXPERTISE: International finance and economics; securities trading; financial market regulation; risk management; decision theory; international trade.

EXPERIENCE: Editor, *International Finance* (current); consultant with investment banks, securities exchanges, and European governments (current); Director of the International Economics Programme (1995–98), Senior Research Fellow (1993–95), Research Fellow (1992–93), Royal Institute of International Affairs.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Automation, Trading Costs, and the Structure of the Securities Trading Industry* (1999); *The European Equity Markets* (1996); *International Financial Market Regulation* (1994); articles in *Economica*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Financial Times*, *National Review*, and *Wall Street Journal Europe*.

HONORS: Member, European Shadow Financial Regulatory Committee; Fellow, British-American Project.

EDUCATION: D.Phil, M.Phil, Oxford University; B.S., Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

JESSICA STERN

Fellow, Superterrorism

EXPERTISE: Terrorism; weapons of mass destruction; proliferation; Russia.

EXPERIENCE: National Fellow, Hoover Institution (1995–96); Director, Russian, Ukrainian, Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council (1994–95); postdoctoral fellow, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (1991–94); Assistant to the Commercial Attaché, Russia (1983–84).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Ultimate Terrorists* (1999).

HONORS: MacArthur Foundation, Reading and Writing Grantee.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; M.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Barnard College

BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade

EXPERTISE: International trade; U.S. economic relations with Asia and Europe.

EXPERIENCE: Columnist (current) and international economics correspondent, *National Journal* (1984–94).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Partners or Competitors? The Prospects for U.S.-European Cooperation on Asian Trade* (co-editor, 1999); *The Challenge to Lead: U.S. Global Economic Responsibilities in the 21st Century* (1999); *Future Visions for U.S. Trade Strategy* (editor, 1998); *Trade Strategies for a New Era: Ensuring U.S. Leadership in a Global Economy* (co-editor, 1998); *Open for Business: Creating a Transatlantic Marketplace* (editor, 1996).

HONORS: Presidential Commission on United States–Pacific Trade and Investment Policy (1996).

EDUCATION: M.A., SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; B.S.F.S., Georgetown University

JULIA SWEIG

Deputy Director, Latin America Studies

EXPERTISE: U.S.–Latin American relations, Cuba, Caribbean Basin.

EXPERIENCE: Deputy Director, Independent Task Force on U.S.–Cuban Relations in the 21st Century (current) and Senior Program Coordinator, U.S. Foreign Policy (1998–99), Council on Foreign Relations; Consultant, American Association of World Health (1997–98); Adjunct Professor, American University (1996); Editor, *CubaINFO*, Johns Hopkins University (1992–96).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Cuban Insurrection Declassified* (forthcoming).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; B.A., University of California, Santa Cruz

BERNARD E. TRAINOR

Adjunct Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: Defense and national security.

EXPERIENCE: Associate, Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government (current); Military Analyst, NBC News (current); Director, National Security Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government (1990–96); Military Correspondent, *New York Times* (1986–90); career in the Marine Corps, retiring as Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans, Policies and Operations and Marine Corps Deputy to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1951–85).

STUDIES PROGRAM

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Generals' War* (co-author, 1995); *Roles and Missions* (1993).

HONORS: Presidential Commission of Roles and Missions; Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies; Board of Visitors, Air Force Academy; Board of Directors, World Affairs Council; Editorial Board, *Joint Force Quarterly*; Editorial Adviser, *Naval War College Review*.

EDUCATION: M.A., University of Colorado; B.A., Holy Cross

ASTRID S. TUMINEZ

Adjunct Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTISE: Russia and the former Soviet Union; corporate, banking, and sovereign credit risk.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Associate, Credit Risk Management, American International Group, Inc. (current); Consultant, Carnegie Corporation of New York (current); Research Professional, Brunswick Warburg, Inc. (1998); Program Officer, Carnegie Corporation of New York (1994–98); Director, Moscow Office, Harvard Project on Strengthening Democratic Institutions (1991–92).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Russian Nationalism Since 1856* (forthcoming); "Russian Nationalism and the National Interest in Russian Foreign Policy," in Celeste Wallander, ed., *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy* (1996).

HONORS: SSRC Fellowships (1988, 92); Peace Scholar Award, U.S. Institute of Peace (1993).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; A.M., Harvard University; B.A., Brigham Young University

DAVID G. VICTOR

Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow in Science and Technology

EXPERTISE: International environmental law; trade and environment; energy technology; global warming.

EXPERIENCE: Director, project on implementation of international environmental treaties, the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) (1993–97).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Implementation and Co-effectiveness of International Environmental Commitments* (co-editor, 1998); articles in *Nature*, *Scientific American*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Washington Post*, and *International Journal of Hydrogen Energy*.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Harvard University

RUTH WEDGWOOD

Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law

EXPERTISE: United Nations; peacekeeping and peace operations; international law; military strategy.

EXPERIENCE: Professor of Law, Yale Law School (current); member, Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on International Law (current); Stockton Professor of International Law, U.S. Naval War College (1998–99); amicus curiae, Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal, The Hague (1997); federal prosecutor (1980–86); Supreme Court law clerk (1977–78).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Use of Force in International Affairs* (1992); *The Revolutionary Martyrdom of Jonathan Robbins* (1990); articles in the *Christian Science Monitor*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Washington Post*, and *New York Times*.

EDUCATION: J.D., Yale Law School; B.A., Harvard University

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER

Adjunct Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: Women and foreign policy; Africa; international environment; public opinion and public policy.

EXPERIENCE: Deputy Director of the National Program, and Senior Fellow (1995–98), Director, Committees on Foreign Relations Program (1987–95), Senior Fellow for Africa (1983–87), Council on Foreign Relations; Codirector, Committee on African Development Strategies (a joint Council on Foreign Relations–Overseas Development Council program) (1984–86); Associate Editor, *Foreign Affairs* (1974–83).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Salvaging the Land of Plenty* (1994); *How Can Africa Survive?* (1988).

HONORS: World Hunger Media Award (1987).

EDUCATION: M.A., Stanford University; B.A., Trinity College

DOV S. ZAKHEIM

Adjunct Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: National security; arms control; Western Europe; Middle East; East Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Chief Executive Officer, SPC International Corp.; Corporate Vice President, System Planning Corp. (current); Member, Secretary of Defense Task Force on Defense Reform (1997); Deputy Under Secretary for Planning and Resources, U.S. Department of Defense (1985–87).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Congress and National Security in the Post-Cold War Era* (1998); *Flight of the Lavi* (1996).

EDUCATION: D.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Columbia University; London School of Economics

SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

Next Generation Fellowship

The Next Generation Fellowship Program nurtures outstanding thinkers and writers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become foreign policy leaders. The program recruits individuals whose principal mission will be frontier policy scholarship, leading to several major published articles or a book during the fellowship tenure. Fellows are also expected to hold study group meetings with Council members and others to discuss their work and obtain feedback, new ideas, and information.

Next Generation Fellows (NGFs) are full members of the Council on Foreign Relations staff, working in residence at the Council's New York or Washington, D.C., offices. NGFs are an integral component of the Studies Department staff and have substantial contact with other Fellows, Council members, and experts in their field. Working with Council term members and International Affairs Fellows, NGFs form the heart of a larger community and network of people at the outset of their careers who are interested in international relations.

The current NGFs are Rachel Bronson, Betsy H. Cohen, Elizabeth C. Economy, Stephen J. Flynn, Michael B.G. Froman, Michael J. Green, Jordan Kassalow, Gideon Rose, Kiron Skinner, Benn Steil, Jessica Stern, Astrid Tuminez, and David G. Victor.

Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship

The Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to the study of international relations. A Shepardson Fellow is expected to spend about a year affiliated with the Council, participating in Council programs while working on a book or other significant publication on a major foreign policy issue.

The 1998–99 Shepardson Fellowship was awarded to John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago, who is writing a book on great power politics. The 1999–2000 Shepardson Fellow is Michael Mandelbaum.

Walter Levy Fellowship

The Walter Levy Fellowship is awarded to those who are expected to assume increasingly important roles in their own countries, who would benefit from an opportunity to meet with Americans concerned with international affairs, and who can contribute to the Council's substantive work. These brief fellowships are spent in New York and Wash-

ington, D.C., and various cities nationwide, where Fellows address Council on Foreign Relations members.

Intelligence Fellowship

The Intelligence Fellowship, which is modeled after the Council's successful Military Fellowships, provides an opportunity for an outstanding person on the cusp of a senior position in the U.S. intelligence community to expand his or her knowledge of international relations through a program of individual study, research, and reflection; extensive participation in the Council's active program of meetings and study groups; and interaction with the Council's diverse and knowledgeable membership.

The inaugural recipient of the Intelligence Fellowship was Mathew J. Burrows. The 1999–2000 Intelligence Fellow are Paul Heer and Stanley Moskowitz.

Edward R. Murrow Fellowship

Each year, the Council offers a resident Fellowship for an American foreign correspondent serving abroad. Named in honor of Edward R. Murrow and funded by the CBS Foundation, the Fellowship gives the recipient a period of nine months for sustained study and writing, free from the usual pressure of deadlines that characterize journalistic life.

The 1998–99 Murrow Fellow was Elizabeth Neuffer, European Bureau Chief for the *Boston Globe*. The 1999–2000 Murrow Fellow is Marcus Mabry, Africa Bureau Chief, *Newsweek*.

Military Fellowships

Each year, the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Air Force, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps nominate an outstanding officer from their respective services as a candidate for a Military Fellowship. The Council usually awards two or three such Fellowships annually. The program enables the officers selected to broaden their understanding of foreign relations by spending a year in residence at the Council's headquarters in New York, or, in special circumstances, at the Council's offices in Washington, D.C. Fellows participate in Council programs, meet with Council members and staff, and engage in studies in conjunction with the Council's Studies Program. They also assist in arranging several politico-military trips for Council members during the year.

The Military Fellowship Selection Board, chaired in 1998 by former Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and in 1999 by former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberg-

STUDIES PROGRAM

er, chose the following Military Fellows: for 1998–99, Navy Capt. David L. Jones, Air Force Col. Frederick F. Roggero, and Army Col. W. Montague Winfield; for 1999–2000, Navy Capt. David A. Duffié, Air Force Col. Kimber L. McKenzie, and Army Col. Stanley A. McChrystal.

Department of State Fellowship

The Department of State Fellowship is offered to a Foreign Service Officer chosen by a selection committee from candidates nominated by the U.S. State Department. The State Department Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, with time away from public service to reflect on issues of foreign policy and to participate in Council programs. The recipient of the 1998–99 fellowship was Neil E. Silver, former Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo. The 1999–2000 Department of State Fellow is Morton Holbrook, U.S. Embassy, Beijing.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWSHIPS

Launched in 1967, the International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding young Americans aged 27 to 35. Each year, approximately a dozen men and women receive an opportunity to broaden their experience in the field of international affairs. The fellowships seek to bridge the gap between thought and action in foreign policy by supporting both studies and exposure to policymaking. The program's distinctive characteristic is the contrasting experiences it provides. IAFs from academia and the private sector spend their fellowships in public service, and government officials on leave retreat to a scholarly atmosphere where they can focus on their studies, free from operational pressure. The main source of funding for the program is a \$10 million endowment—sufficient funds to support ten fellows annually.

In 1997, the Council established a new International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., to enable a number of outstanding young American leaders and thinkers to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan. The program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between the emerging leaders of the two nations.

The Council organizes monthly roundtable meetings in Washington, D.C., for the Fellows, including current and former Military, Department of State, Edward R. Murrow, and Intelligence Fellows, and an annual two-day seminar that offers an opportunity for the Fellows to share the findings of their projects.

1999–2000 International Affairs Fellows

FELLOW

Home Institution

Field of Study

MARK FRANCIS BRZEZINSKI

Hogan & Hartson

"The Constitutional Enhancement of Human Rights in Post-Communist States: Implications for U.S. Human Rights Policies"

LISA COOK

Center for International Development, Harvard University

"Moral Hazard in International Economic Relations"

GRANT RUSSELL DOTY

U.S. Military Academy; Major, U.S. Army

"Learning from the Bosnian IFOR Mission: A Civil-Military Failure"

DANIEL DREZNER

University of Chicago

"Carrots, Sticks, and Guns: The Choice of Economic Statecraft"

SUSAN ELLINGWOOD*

Wall Street Journal

"From Bad to Worse: How Did Japan's Economy Get into This Mess and How Will It Get Out of It?"

NINA L. HACHIGIAN

National Security Council

"Economic Legal Reform: A Path Toward Political Rights?"

HOPE M. HARRISON

George Washington University

"Russian Roulette: The Devolution of Power in Russia and Implications for U.S. Policy"

MICHAEL HICKOK*

Air War College

"The Caspian's Future Through Asian Eyes"

JEFFREY A. KAPLAN

Royal Government of Cambodia

"Redefining U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia: Through the Crucible of Crisis"

STUDIES PROGRAM

DAVID LEHENY†

University of Wisconsin-Madison

"The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in a Changing Japanese Political Context"

MATTHEW AARON LONG*

U.S. Air Force Academy; Captain, U.S. Air Force

"Coming Home to Roost: How the Return of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party to Lower House Legislative Majority Status Affects the Role of Japanese Political Parties in the Revision of the U.S.-Japan Defense Guidelines"

JON J. ROSENWASSER

U.S. Senate Budget Committee

"The Politics of the Post-Cold War Defense Budget Debate: Pitfalls and Opportunities"

VALERIE B. SLOAN*

Major, U.S. Army

"Constraints of Convenience: Deficiencies in Negotiating U.S.-Japan Defense Issues"

DAVID ANDREW STACKPOLE

Bear, Stearns & Co.

"The Future of U.S. Commercial Diplomacy in Sub-Saharan Africa"

PUNEET TALWAR

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

"Iran and the United States: Overcoming Estrangement"

LEE WOLOSKY

Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

"Promoting U.S. Interests in the Reconstruction of Russian Capitalism"

Council Fellows Roundtable Series

LEON FUERTH

National Security Adviser for the Vice President, Office of the Vice President

"U.S.-Russia Relations: Taking Stock and Charting Next Steps"

PRESIDER: BRUCE W. JENTLESON (IAF, 1986-87)

SHERRI W. GOODMAN

Deputy Undersecretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense

"Impact of Environmental Issues on Foreign Policy"

PRESIDER: LESLIE A. RICKETTS (IAF, 1996-97)

JAMES M. GOLDGEIER (IAF, 1995-96)

Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution

"Explaining the U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO"

PRESIDER: REBECCA HERSMAN (IAF, 1997-98)

PAULA R. NEWBERG

Consulting Adviser, United Nations

"Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan: A Status Report on the Region"

PRESIDER: ANNE CLAIRE RICHARD (IAF, 1993-94)

LAWRENCE J. KORB

Vice President and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

ANDREW F. KREPINEVICH

Executive Director, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

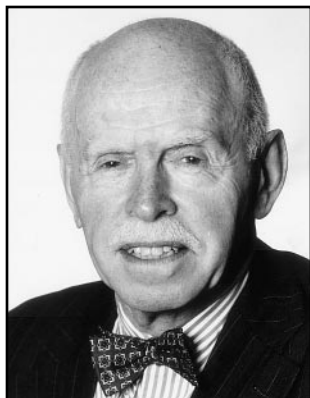
"Defense Budget Priorities: The Debate Continues"

PRESIDER: DOUGLAS B. McNARY (IAF, 1996-97)

*International Affairs Fellow in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd.

†Jointly appointed International Affairs Fellow and IAF in Japan.

NAMED CHAIRS AND FELLOWSHIPS



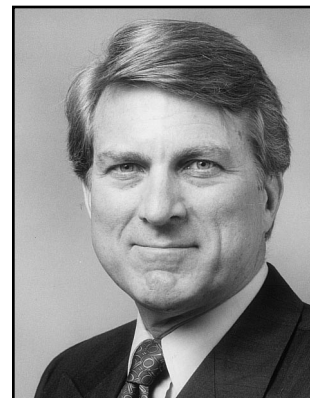
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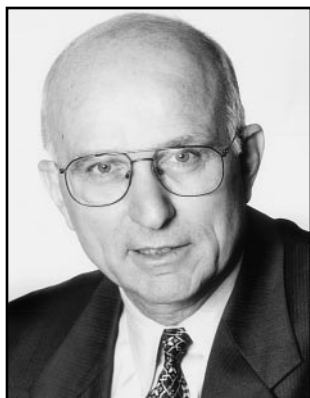
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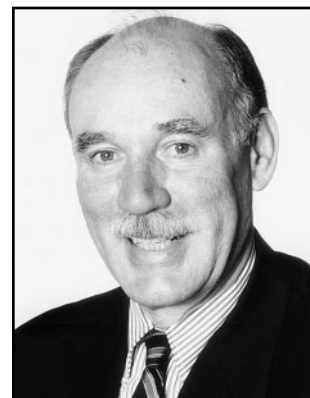
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1) Jerome A. Cohen, *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies II*

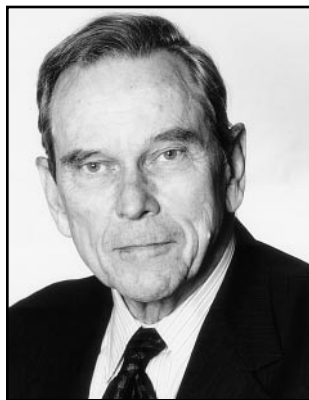
2) Paula J. Dobriansky, *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*

3) Richard L. Garwin, *Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology*

4) James F. Hoge Jr., *Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor, Foreign Affairs*

5) Lawrence J. Korb, *Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies*

6) Roger M. Kubarych, *Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow for International Economics and Finance*



9

7) Robert A. Manning, *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies*

8) Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies*



10

9) Richard W. Murphy, *Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East*

10) Benn Steil, *Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Economic Policy*



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11) David G. Victor, *Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow for Science Technology*

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

With a paid circulation that this year surpassed 110,000, the bimonthly Foreign Affairs maintains its position as the world's premier periodical on international politics and economics. A recent article in Fortune praised Foreign Affairs for its coverage of the Asia financial crisis and for doing "a remarkable job of staying ahead of the news . . . in a lively and entertaining fashion." The Council's flagship publication is read by an influential audience of international leaders—in government, business, academia, and journalism. Available in Japanese and Portuguese (Brazil) versions, its articles are reprinted regularly in newspapers and magazines around the world. The magazine's website—www.foreignaffairs.org—attracts visitors from the United States and abroad, and its custom anthologies have become a staple for university courses across the country.

Foreign Affairs began and ended its publishing year with the explosive topic of Kosovo. In the September/October issue of 1998, Aleksa Djilas employed a lengthy review of Noel Malcolm's 500-page history of Kosovo to highlight the tensions that were leading toward a conflict that would draw in NATO and destabilize neighboring countries. To avoid such a conflagration, Djilas warned, "Albanians must halt their militancy, Serbs must abandon their intransigence, and the West must outgrow its confusions."

None of these markers were met, and by the May/June issue of 1999, the Serbs' ethnic cleansing of Kosovo and NATO's fierce bombing provided the tragic background for the lead essay by Chris Hedges, *New York Times* Balkan bureau chief from 1995 to 1998. Despite the initial Serbian success of turning Kosovo's ethnic Albanians into refugees, Hedges foresaw a lengthy guerrilla campaign by the Kosovo Liberation Army and eventual separation of the province from Serbia by negotiations or by violence.

The ramifications of the international intervention in Kosovo to NATO, U.S. policy, and international law were raised in other articles in that issue and the following one.

In a sense, the Kosovo crisis put into high relief the

ongoing debate about America's engagement in the world. The interests of the United States, its style of leadership, and its reasons for interventions were analyzed and critiqued throughout the year in separate essays by Madeleine K. Albright, Samuel Huntington, Garry Wills, Charles William Maynes, and Steven David.

As in the previous year, *Foreign Affairs* dealt extensively with the international financial crisis, examining potential remedies and assessing effects on major states such as China, Japan, and Russia.

A number of global issues were dealt with—aging (Peter G. Peterson); gender influences (Francis Fukuyama, Barbara Ehrenreich, Katha Pollitt); drug policy (Larry Collins, Mitchell Rosenthal, Herbert Kleber); the information revolution (Joseph Nye, Robert Keohane); proliferation (Jaswant Singh, Strobe Talbott, Shamshad Ahmad); and international corruption (John Brademas, Fritz Heimann).

New voices heard in *Foreign Affairs* included Elizabeth Economy (China's environmental challenge); Gregory Gause (Saddam's unwatched arsenal); John Hillen (defense spending); and Gideon Rose, Kenneth Pollack, and Daniel Byman (can Saddam be toppled?).

James F. Hoge Jr.

Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

	Article	Author
September/October 1998 Volume 77, Number 5	COMMENTS	
	The Great Technology Giveaway?	Michael Hirsh
	Downsizing German Politics	John Vinocur
	Tackling International Corruption	John Brademas and Fritz Heimann
	ESSAYS	
	Women and the Evolution of World Politics	Francis Fukuyama
	Against Nuclear Apartheid	Jaswant Singh
	Russia's Virtual Economy	Clifford G. Gaddy and Barry W. Ickes
	In Defense of Japanese Bureaucracy	Peter F. Drucker
	Power and Interdependence in the Information Age	Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr.
	The Triage of Dayton	Warren Bass
	Ireland's Uncertain Peace	John Lloyd
	REVIEWS	
Imagining Kosovo	Aleksa Djilas	
How the West Won	David Frum	
To Better Order the Universe	Roy Jenkins	
Drug Myths from Abroad	Herbert D. Kleber and Mitchell S. Rosenthal	
November/December 1998 Volume 77, Number 6	COMMENTS	
	Roiling Asia	Ted Galen Carpenter
	The IMF, Now More than Ever	David D. Hale
	License to Kill	Bernard Lewis
	Fiddling in Rome	Ruth Wedgwood
	ESSAYS	
	Tokyo's Depression Diplomacy	Yoichi Funabashi
	The Problem of Memory	Nicholas D. Kristof
	The Testing of American Foreign Policy	Madeleine K. Albright
	Misunderstanding Europe	William Wallace and Jan Zielonka
	Catastrophic Terrorism	Ashton Carter, John Deutch, and Philip Zelikow
	OPEC as Omen	Jahangir Amuzegar
	Israel after Heroism	Eliot A. Cohen
REVIEWS		
The Prudence Thing	Michael Howard	
The Asian Values Ballyhoo	Lucian W. Pye	
The Capital Truth	Shailendra J. Anjaria	
January/February 1999 Volume 78, Number 1	COMMENTS	
	What Sanctions Epidemic?	Jesse Helms
	Loyal to a Fault?	Theodore C. Sorensen
	Squandering Triumph	Charles William Maynes
	ESSAYS	
	The Rollback Fantasy	Daniel Byman, Kenneth Pollack, and Gideon Rose

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Article

Gray Dawn: The Global Aging Crisis
The Return of Depression Economics
Global Financial Centers
The New Petroleum
Saving America from the Coming Civil Wars

REVIEWS

Fukuyama's Follies
Is Kosovo Real?
Eye of the Tiger
Never Say Never
The Inflation Obsession
The Global Prosecutors

Author

Peter G. Peterson
Paul Krugman
Saskia Sassen
Richard G. Lugar and R. James Woolsey
Steven R. David

Barbara Ehrenreich, Katha Pollitt, et al.
Noel Malcolm, Aleksa Djilas, et al.
Seth Faison
Stephen M. Walt
James K. Galbraith
John R. Bolton

March/April 1999
Volume 78, Number 2

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Bank on Democracy

Dreams of the Eurasian Heartland
Painting China Green

ESSAYS

America and Europe: Clash of the Titans?
The Lonely Superpower
Bully of the Free World
The Colonel in His Labyrinth
Lessons for the Next Financial Crisis
A Self-Help Guide for Emerging Markets
Dealing with the Bomb in South Asia

REVIEWS

Soros' Split Personality
It Could Happen Here

Sheri Berman and
Kathleen R. McNamara
Charles Clover
Elizabeth Economy

C. Fred Bergsten
Samuel P. Huntington
Garry Wills
Milton Viorst
Jeffrey E. Garten
Martin Feldstein
Strobe Talbott

Jeffrey A. Frankel
Gideon Rose

May/June 1999
Volume 78, Number 3

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The New Interventionism
Thawing Korea's Cold War
The Plight of the Poor
A Capital Idea?

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Kosovo's Next Masters?
Sanctions of Mass Destruction
Getting It Backward on Iraq
Fixing What Really Ails Japan

Holland's Half-Baked Drug Experiment
Between the Old Left and the New Right

Michael J. Glennon
Hong Soon-young
James Gustave Speth
Sebastian Edwards

Chris Hedges
John Mueller and Karl Mueller
F. Gregory Gause III
Michael E. Porter and
Hirotaka Takeuchi
Larry Collins
Henry A. Kissinger

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Article

Author

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One Economy, Ready or Not
The Statesman in Winter
NATO at Fifty: A Special Commemorative
Section

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Philip Zelikow
Michael Howard
Vojtech Mastny
Robert E. Hunter
Michael E. Brown

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Defense's Death Spiral
From EMU to AMU?
Colombia on the Brink

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Zanny Minton Beddoes
Michael Shifter

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Redefining the National Interest
Give War a Chance
The Fallout from Kosovo
The Balkans' Lethal Nationalisms
Limited Engagement
Security Lessons from the Cold War

Joseph S. Nye Jr.
Edward N. Luttwak
Peter W. Rodman
William W. Hagen
Bates Gill
Harvey M. Sapolsky, Eugene Gholz, and
Allen Kaufman
M. Delal Baer

Mexico's Coming Backlash

REVIEWS

The Unmasterable Past
A Glass Half Full?
Sidelined in Kosovo?
The Nuclear Subcontinent

Walter LaFeber
Jeffrey E. Garten
Thomas M. Franck, Edward C. Luck, et al.
Shamshad Ahmad

MEETINGS PROGRAM

The Meetings Program at the Council provides members in New York with the opportunity to exchange ideas with each other and with other influential world leaders. At the Pratt House, members come together to interact with international and domestic policymakers and opinion shapers, new faces on the international scene, respected experts, and provocative debaters on international affairs and American foreign policy. Topics range from those of the moment, such as Kosovo, to longer-range economic and political forecasts.

As the 1998–99 program year of Council meetings began, the world remained focused on the financial crisis sweeping across Asia and threatening Russia and Brazil. This year's program began on a high note that it sustained throughout the following nine months. On the Council's opening day, it hosted President Clinton, who delivered a major policy address on the global economy and America's stake in it; former Secretary of State and National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger on the status of the Middle East peace process; and Secretary of Defense William Cohen on emerging threats to national security.

The Council's continuing focus on the widening international financial meltdown included visits from Singapore Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew, World Bank President James Wolfensohn, the International Monetary Fund's Stanley Fischer, and former Hong Kong Governor Chris Patten. As the financial turmoil spread to Russia and Latin America, the Council held a "Great Debate" to explore whether the United States can or should help Russia, and also heard from Russian politician Grigory Yavlinsky, Russia scholar Jim Billington, and Brazil's Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia and Finance Minister Pedro Sampaio Malan. Among those looking at the future of world trade were U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky and World Trade Organization Director Renato Ruggiero. Authors Tom Friedman and George Soros led discussions about globalization's other dimensions.

The Council covered the conflict in Kosovo from all angles. Special Envoy Richard Holbrooke, NATO Secretary General Javier Solana, the leaders of Romania, Greece, and Cyprus, and the Yugoslav ambassador to the United Nations all came to the Council to share their perspectives. Former Russian Finance Minister Anatoly Chubais and journalists Veran Matic and Chris Hedges talked about Russia's role in the conflict, the media's precarious situation in Serbia, and the evolution of the Kosovo Liberation Army, respectively. Several Town Hall meetings were organized to engage Council members in debate on the U.S. role in the Balkans and when and how to use force. When the NATO bombing had ended and peace had been achieved, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright spoke to us about building lasting peace and stability in the Balkans. Tensions in Iraq, trends in Iran, prospects for Middle East peace, and the Israeli elections also received Council attention. On separate occasions Richard Butler and Scott Ritter addressed the problems in the search for hidden weapons in Iraq and charges of espionage in UNSCOM. Jordan's new king, Abdullah bin Hussein, spoke at the Council on his first official U.S. visit.

Council members were also invited to new kinds of meetings and new series, moving to the "conversation with . . ." format in which prepared remarks are replaced by the less formal guest interview. Perhaps the most popular new series was the World Economic Update, a

MEETINGS PROGRAM



▲ Speaker President Bill Clinton at his September 14, 1998, Speech, "Address on the Global Economy."

► Presider Frank Savage and Speaker Susan Rice, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, at the November 19, 1998, Meeting, "U.S. Interests in Africa: Today's Challenges and Tomorrow's Opportunities."

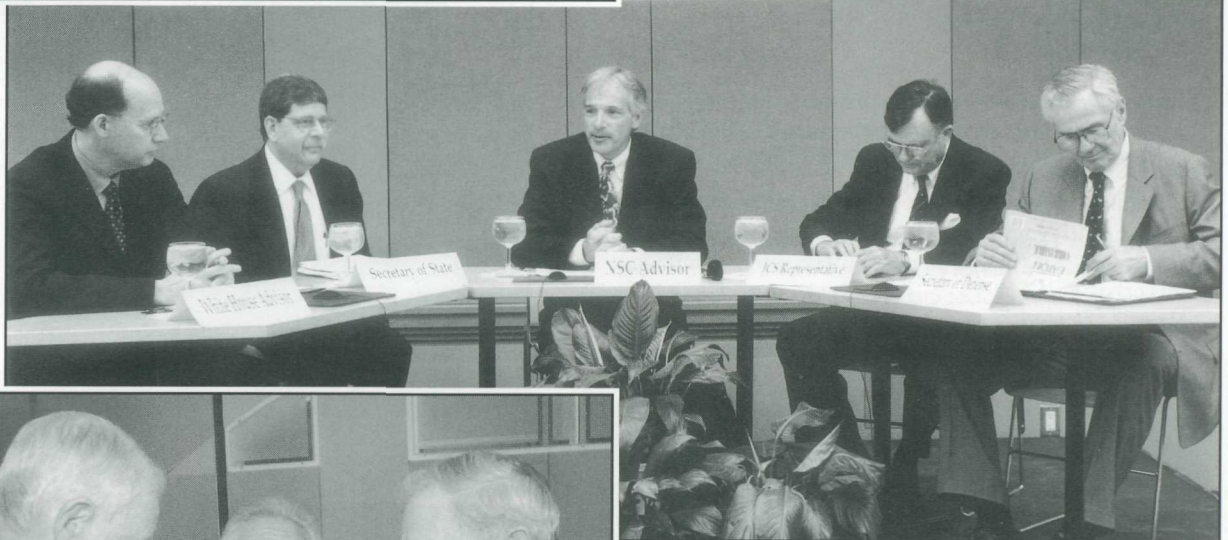
▼ Presider Leslie H. Gelb, Speaker George Soros, Chairman, Soros Fund Management, Speaker Morton H. Halperin, Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State, and Speaker John G. Heimann, Chairman, Global Financial Institutions, Merrill Lynch & Co., at the December 10, 1998, Meeting, "The Crisis of Global Capitalism: Open Society Endangered—A New Book by George Soros."



MEETINGS PROGRAM



◀ Anne R. Luzzatto and Speaker Anatoly Chubais, Chairman of the Board, Unified Energy Systems, and former Finance Minister and First Deputy Prime Minister, Russian Federation, at the May 21, 1999, Meeting, "Russia's Economic Future."



▲ Speaker Donald A. Baer, Senior Vice President, Public Policy & Communications, Discovery Communications, Speaker Arnold Kanter, Senior Fellow, Forum for International Policy, Presider Robert L. Galucci, Speaker Lieutenant General Bernard E. Trainor, USMC (Ret.), Associate, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, and Speaker Donald P. Gregg, Chairman of the Board, Korea Society, at the April 7, 1999, Mock National Security Council Meeting on North Korea.

◀ Speaker Cyrus R. Vance, former U.S. Secretary of State, Speaker Henry A. Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, and Presider David Rockefeller at the January 19, 1999, Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies Inaugural Event.

quarterly look at global economic developments by several economists from major financial houses. And in April, Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) was the first presidential candidate to speak in the new Campaign 2000 series, which focuses debate on the key issues for the presidential election campaign.

Traditional favorites, such as the Joint Chiefs of Staff meeting and the Annual Daughters and Sons Event—this year teaming father-and-daughter journalists Ted and Andrea Koppel—have been joined by some interesting newcomers. An evening devoted to Culture and Foreign Policy brought together preeminent thinkers to talk about culture's effect on power and politics in different societies.

Particular regions, too, attracted members' attention as Nigeria's newly elected president, Olusegun Obasanjo, the State Department's senior Africa policymaker, Susan Rice, and award-winning author of a book about the Rwandan massacres, Philip Gourevitch, addressed Council audiences. The Council's focus on Asia included a lively mock NSC

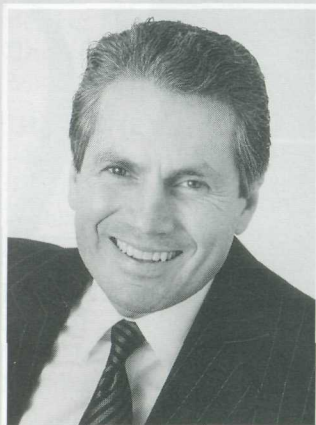
meeting on North Korea, a panel of China scholars examining U.S. policy in the aftermath of Zhu Rongji's state visit, a special event commemorating 20 years of normalized relations with China, and a panel on Japan's economic outlook.

Lastly, in one of the Council's most remarkable programs ever, the new Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies was inaugurated. The center's state-of-the-art videoconferencing technology was spotlighted as Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and her predecessors—James A. Baker III, Warren Christopher, Henry A. Kissinger, George P. Shultz, and Cyrus R. Vance—were linked from five cities around the country. Their discussion was followed by the dinner keynote speech by U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan. The opening of the Peterson Center encapsulates the Council's mission to add value by critically discussing U.S. foreign policy past, present, and future.

Anne R. Luzzatto
Vice President, Meetings

J. TOMILSON HILL

The Blackstone Group



As global economic developments increasingly impact local financial markets, the need for participants in the U.S. capital markets to be better informed about worldwide economic and political issues has increased dramatically. The Meetings Program at the Council often provides members with critical insights which have practical benefits in assessing financial market risk, such as Lee Kuan Yew's recent perspective on the growth

prospects in the Pacific Rim. In a world of an increasingly globalized economic system but of a regional, non-globalized political culture access to foreign leaders (who often determine outcomes based on domestic political considerations) makes for better decision-making in the corporate world.



When Prime Minister Simitis of Greece at a recent Council meeting described his country's reaction to the NATO bomb-

ing of Serbia, it became easier to judge the likelihood of NATO using Solonika as a port of entry for troops in a possible ground war. With the knowledge that a critical NATO member such as Greece might withhold logistical support for the deployment of ground troops in Kosovo, it was possible to reach informed conclusions about the likelihood of a ground war in Kosovo and of any corresponding impact on financial markets.



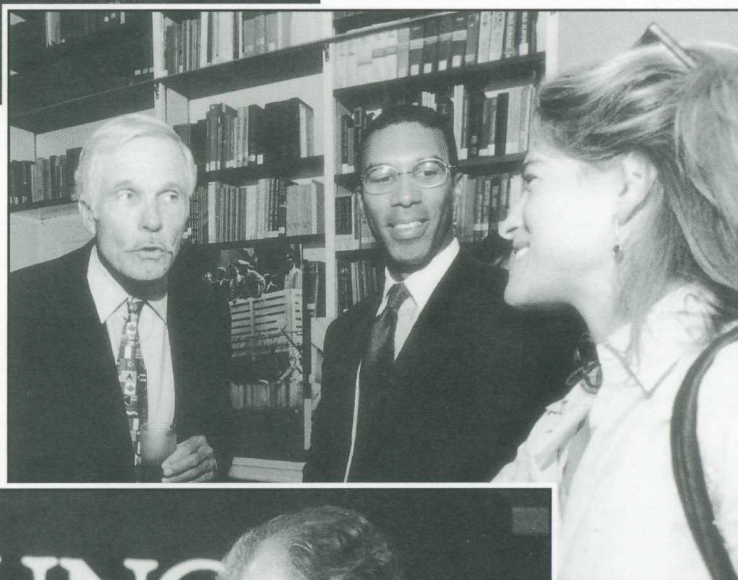
Since becoming a member of the Council in the early 1990s, I have observed a focused effort to improve the meetings by including a wider variety of speakers willing to discuss their views on challenging issues, such as the most-favored-nation/human rights linkage in China. In addition, the Council has experimented with meeting formats such as the mock National Security Council meetings and the Great Debate Series, where Richard Holbrooke and Michael Mandelbaum squared off on the issue of NATO expansion, and William Odom and Michael McFaul had different perspectives on the future of Russia and America's role in that future. This year the Kosovo war prompted several Town Hall meetings—a format that encourages greater member participation—and the Council also arranged for speakers and panelists to be “interviewed” by presidors in lieu of preparing formal remarks, an approach that encourages candor. In sum, the Council's new approaches to meeting formats make sometimes complex information more accessible and engaging to its membership.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

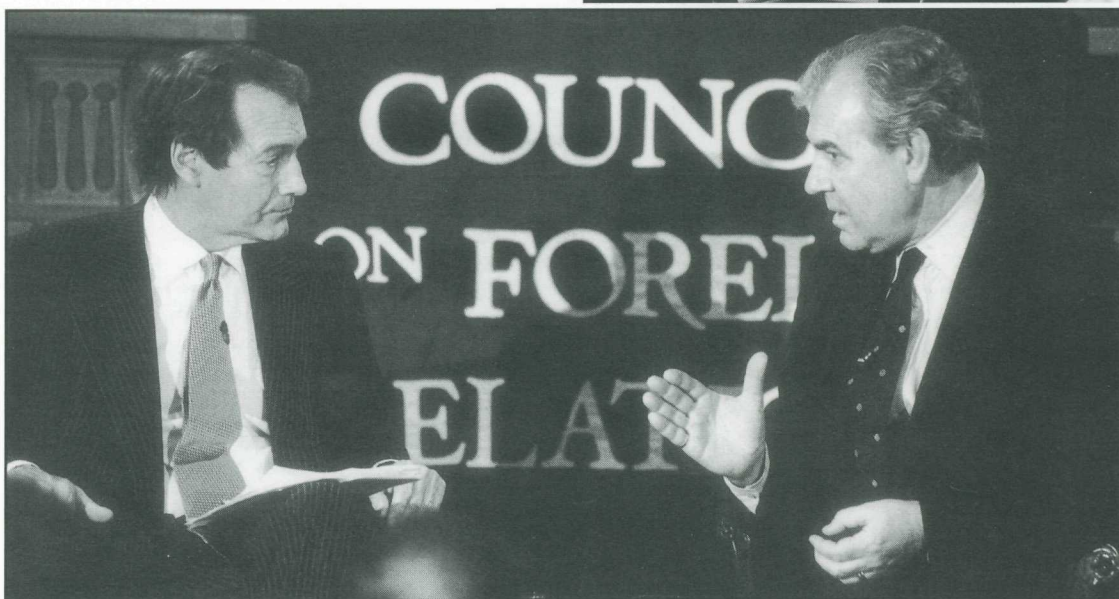


◀ Speaker George J. Mitchell, Special Counsel, Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand, and Chairman, Peace Negotiations of Northern Ireland, Bill Green, and Theodore C. Sorensen at the April 6, 1999, Meeting, "Making Peace—A Book by George Mitchell."

▶ Speaker R.E. "Ted" Turner, Vice Chairman, Time Warner, and Founder, CNN, Gordon P. Bell, and Betsy Cohen at the September 15, 1998, Meeting, "Cold War."



▼ Presider Charlie Rose and Speaker Richard Butler, Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission, at the March 3, 1999, Meeting, "A Conversation with Richard Butler."



PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

U.S. Secretary of State

"Kosovo and Building a Lasting Peace in Southeastern Europe"*

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

KWAME ANTHONY APPIAH

Professor of Afro-American Studies and Philosophy,
Harvard University

IAN BURUMA

Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

FAREED ZAKARIA

Managing Editor, *Foreign Affairs*

"Cultural Values: How They Affect Politics, Power, and
Democracy"

PRESIDER: ROBERT B. SILVERS

THE SPIELVOGEL/DIAMONSTEIN LECTURE ON CULTURE AND
FOREIGN POLICY

NAHLA ASALI

Lecturer in English Literature, Birzeit University

FATIN MUHAWI

Coordinator, Democracy and Human Rights, Jerusalem
Center for Women

MICHAL SHOHAT

Member, Municipal Council of Jerusalem

"Three Perspectives on Peace"

PRESIDER: RAGHIDA DERGHAM

CHARLENE BARSHEFSKY

U.S. Trade Representative

"Future World Trade Agenda Series: The View from
Washington"*

PRESIDER: RICHARD N. GARDNER

JAMES H. BILLINGTON

Librarian of Congress

"Can Democracy Take Root in Russia?"

PRESIDER: ROBERT LEGVOLD

RICHARD BUTLER

Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission

"A Conversation with Richard Butler"

PRESIDER: CHARLIE ROSE

(SPONSORED BY HOME BOX OFFICE)

HUGO CHÁVEZ FRÍAS

President, Venezuela

"Venezuela's New Agenda"*

PRESIDER: GEORGE W. LANDAU

ANATOLY CHUBAIS

Chairman of the Board, Unified Energy Systems;
former Finance Minister and First Deputy Prime Minister,
Russian Federation

"Russia's Economic Future"

PRESIDER: JACK F. MATLOCK JR.

WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

President of the United States of America

"Address on the Global Economy"

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

WILLIAM S. COHEN

U.S. Secretary of Defense

"A Conversation with the Secretary of Defense: Emerging
Threats"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Foreign Affairs Columnist, *New York Times*; author, *The Lexus
and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*

"A Conversation with Tom Friedman—Understanding
Globalization"

PRESIDER: JEFFREY E. GARTEN

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

Hirst Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University

"Women and the Evolution of Politics"

PRESIDER: ANN CRITTENDEN

JOHN LEWIS GADDIS

Robert A. Lovett Professor of History, Yale University

JEREMY ISAACS

Executive Producer, *Cold War* and *The World at War*

THEODORE C. SORENSEN

Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

OPENING REMARKS:

R. E. "TED" TURNER

Vice Chairman, Time Warner, Inc.; Founder, CNN

PAT MITCHELL

President, CNN Productions

"Cold War"

PRESIDER: ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

(COSPONSORED WITH CABLE NEWS NETWORK)

WILLIAM H. GATES

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Microsoft Corporation

REMARKS:

LAWRENCE KIRSHBAUM

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Time Warner

Trade Publishing

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

GERALD M. LEVIN

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Time Warner, Inc.
"Business @ the Speed of Thought—A Book by Bill Gates"

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

(COSPONSORED WITH TIME WARNER)

WILLIAM H. GLEYSTEN JR.

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

HENRY A. KISSINGER

Former U.S. Secretary of State; former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

STANLEY O. ROTH

Former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

CYRUS R. VANCE

Former U.S. Secretary of State

LEONARD WOODCOCK

Former Ambassador of the United States to the People's Republic of China (his remarks delivered by Winston Lord, former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs)

LI ZHAOXING

Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the United States

CLOSING REMARKS:

PETER G. PETERSON

Chairman, The Blackstone Group; Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations

"Commemorating the Twentieth Anniversary of the Normalization of U.S.-China Relations"

(COSPONSORED WITH THE AMERICA-CHINA SOCIETY AND THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS)

ROSARIO GREEN

Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

*"Mexico: Whither Its Global Role?"**

PRESIDER: LYNN FORESTER

LEE H. HAMILTON

Director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; former Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee (D-Ind.)

"What the United States and the United Nations Can Do to Strengthen the United Nations"

PRESIDER: DONALD MCHENRY

THE SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

WHITNEY R. HARRIS

Prosecuting Attorney at the Nuremberg Trials; author, *Tyranny on Trial: The Evidence at Nuremberg*

WILLIAM E. JACKSON

Consulting Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy; former Personal Assistant to Justice Robert H. Jackson, U.S. Chief Prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials

RICHARD W. SONNENFELDT

Chief Executive Officer, Solar Outdoor Lighting; former Chief Interpreter for the American Prosecution and Interrogator at the Nuremberg Trials

"The Nuremberg Trials"

PRESIDERS: HENRY GRUNWALD, FRITZ STERN

EYEWITNESS TO HISTORY SERIES

(COSPONSORED WITH THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON GERMANY)

RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE

Vice Chairman, Credit Suisse First Boston Corporation; former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

"Bosnia and Kosovo on the Third Anniversary of Dayton"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

ABDULLAH BIN HUSSEIN

King, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

*"A New Chapter in Jordan and the Middle East"**

PRESIDER: GEORGE J. MITCHELL

JAY L. JOHNSON

Chief, U.S. Naval Operations

CHARLES C. KRULAK

Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps

DENNIS J. REIMER

Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

MICHAEL E. RYAN

Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

"Maintaining Readiness in the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. CROWE

THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE ON THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. MILITARY

DAVID M. JONES

Vice Chairman, Aubrey G. Lanston & Co., Inc.

JOHN P. LIPSKY

Chief Economist, Chase Manhattan Bank; Director of Research, Chase Global Bank

BRUCE STEINBERG

Chief Economist, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

"World Economic Update"

PRESIDER: DANIEL K. TARULLO

WORLD ECONOMIC UPDATE SERIES

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

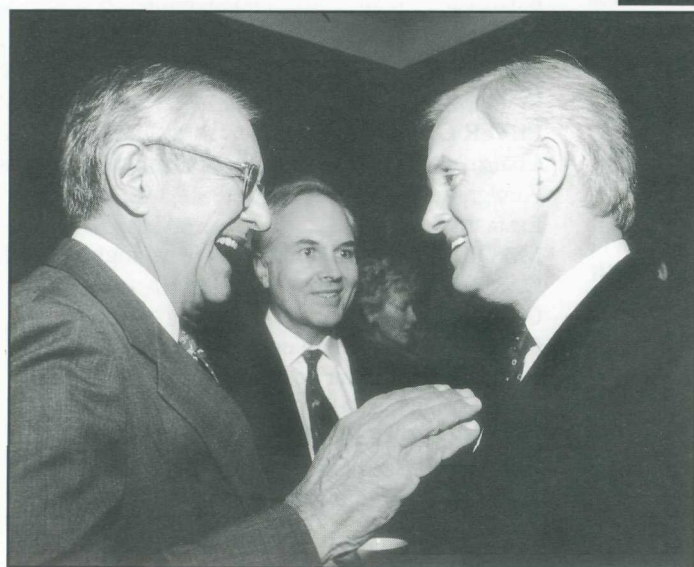
MEETINGS PROGRAM



▲ *Presider Daniel K. Tarullo, Speaker Maureen F. Allyn, Chief Economist and Managing Director, Scudder Kemper Investments, Inc., Speaker John P. Lipsky, Chief Economist, Chase Manhattan Bank, and Director of Research, Chase Global Bank, and Speaker Roger M. Kubarych, Managing Member and Chief Investment Officer, Kaufman & Kubarych Advisors, LLC, at the February 17, 1999, World Economic Update Series Meeting.*



▲ *Presider Richard N. Gardner and Speaker Charlene Barshefsky, U.S. Trade Representative, at the October 1, 1998, Meeting, "Future World Trade Agenda Series: The View From Washington."*



◀ *Peter G. Peterson, Michel Zaleski, and Speaker J. Robert Kerrey, Member, U.S. Senate (D-Neb.), at the November 17, 1998, Meeting, "A New Nuclear Policy."*

MEETINGS PROGRAM

CLAUDIA J. KENNEDY

Lieutenant General, Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence,
U.S. Army

CAROL A. MUTTER

Lieutenant General (Ret.), former Deputy Chief of Staff for
Manpower and Reserve Affairs, U.S. Marine Corps

PATRICIA A. TRACEY

Vice Admiral, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for
Military Personnel Policy, U.S. Navy
"Women in Defense"

PRESIDER: LAWRENCE J. KORB

(COSPONSORED WITH THE WOMEN'S FOREIGN POLICY GROUP)

J. ROBERT KERREY

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Neb.)

"A New Nuclear Policy"*

PRESIDER: THEODORE C. SORENSEN

HENRY A. KISSINGER

Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. Secretary
of State; former Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

"A Conversation with Henry Kissinger, Author of *Years of
Renewal*"

PRESIDER: JAMES F. HOGE JR.

TED KOPPEL

Managing Editor and Anchor, *Nightline*, ABC News

ANDREA KOPPEL

State Department Correspondent, CNN

"Reporting through the Generations: Have the Rules of
the Game Changed?"

PRESIDER: MARK CARTER

ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

LEE KUAN YEW

Senior Minister, Republic of Singapore

"The Asian Financial Crisis"

PRESIDER: MAURICE R. GREENBERG

THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

JOHN MCCAIN

Member, U.S. Senate (R-Ariz.)

"Foreign Policy Priorities for Campaign 2000"*

PRESIDER: DONALD B. MARRON

CAMPAIGN 2000 SERIES

MICHAEL A. MCFAUL

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Stanford University;
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

WILLIAM E. ODOM

Lieutenant General, U.S. Army (Ret.); Director, National
Security Studies, Hudson Institute

"Can or Should the United States Help Russia?"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

GREAT DEBATE SERIES SPONSORED BY HOME BOX OFFICE

(COSPONSORED WITH CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTER-
NATIONAL PEACE)

GEORGE J. MITCHELL

Special Counsel, Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson &
Hand; Chairman, Peace Negotiations of Northern Ireland

"*Making Peace*—A Book by George Mitchell"

PRESIDER: ROONE ARLEDGE

OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

President-elect, Nigeria

"The Future of Nigeria"

PRESIDER: ANDREW YOUNG

THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

ANDRÉS PASTRANA

President, Colombia

"Colombia: Prospects for Peace"*

PRESIDER: WILLIAM R. RHODES

"PETER G. PETERSON CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES INAUGURAL EVENT"

WELCOME: DAVID ROCKEFELLER (New York)

Honorary Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations

MAURICE R. GREENBERG (Hong Kong)

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, American Inter-
national Group, Inc.; Vice Chairman, Council on Foreign
Relations

WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

President of the United States of America (video message)

REMARKS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

PETER G. PETERSON (New York)

Chairman, The Blackstone Group; Chairman, Council on
Foreign Relations

REMARKS:

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT (Washington, D.C.)

U.S. Secretary of State

OPENING REMARKS:

CYRUS R. VANCE (New York)

Former U.S. Secretary of State

VIDEOCONFERENCED COLLOQUY:

JAMES A. BAKER III (Houston)

Former U.S. Secretary of State

PRESIDER: EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN

MEETINGS PROGRAM

WARREN CHRISTOPHER (Los Angeles)

Former U.S. Secretary of State

PRESIDER: JOHN E. BRYSON

HENRY A. KISSINGER (New York)

Former U.S. Secretary of State

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

GEORGE P. SHULTZ (San Francisco)

Former U.S. Secretary of State

PRESIDER: PETER TARNOFF

PRESIDER: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY (Washington, D.C.)

DINNER SPEAKER: **KOFI ANNAN**

Secretary General, United Nations

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

SUSAN RICE

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

"U.S. Interests in Africa: Today's Challenges and Tomorrow's Opportunities"

PRESIDER: FRANK SAVAGE

PIERRE SANÉ

Secretary General, Amnesty International

"How Human Rights Violations Affect U.S. Foreign Policy"

PRESIDER: VINCENT A. MAI

JAVIER SOLANA

Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization

"The New NATO: The Agenda for the Summit"*

PRESIDER: JACK F. MATLOCK JR.

GEORGE SOROS

Chairman, Soros Fund Management

DISCUSSANTS: **GEORGE J. W. GOODMAN**

Chairman, Adam Smith Global Television; Author, *Adam Smith's Money World*, PBS

MORTON H. HALPERIN

Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State

JOHN G. HEIMANN

Chairman, Global Financial Institutions, Merrill Lynch & Co.

"*The Crisis of Global Capitalism: Open Society Endangered*—A New Book by George Soros"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

(SPONSORED BY PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN

President, World Bank

"Human Development: The Other Crisis"

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

GRIGORY YAVLINSKY

Leader, Yabloko Bloc, State Duma of the Russian Federation
"Russia's Crisis: The Challenges That Lie Ahead"

PRESIDER: GRAHAM T. ALLISON

(COSPONSORED WITH HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S STRENGTHENING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS PROJECT)

MUHAMMAD YUNUS

Managing Director, Grameen Bank

"Empowerment of the Poor through Access to Credit"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM R. RHODES

POLICY IMPACT PANELS

HALEH ESFANDIARI

Senior Adviser, Middle East Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

JOHN L. ESPOSITO

Director, Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding:

History and International Affairs, Georgetown University

ELAINE SCIOLINO

Senior Writer, Washington Bureau, *New York Times*

"Iran: A Country the United States Can No Longer Ignore?"

PRESIDER: GARY SICK

In the role of Secretary of State:

ARNOLD KANTER

Senior Fellow, Forum for International Policy; former

Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs

In the role of Secretary of Defense:

DONALD P. GREGG

Chairman of the Board, Korea Society; former U.S.

Ambassador to Korea

In the role of White House political adviser:

DONALD A. BAER

Senior Vice President, Public Policy & Communications,

Discovery Communications; former Assistant to President

Clinton for Strategic Planning and Communications

In the role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Representative:

BERNARD E. TRAINOR

Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.); Associate, Cen-

ter for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

Presiding in the role of National Security Adviser:

ROBERT L. GALLUCCI

Dean, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service;

former Ambassador-at-Large, U.S. Department of State

"Mock National Security Council Meeting on North Korea"

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

LECTURESHIPS

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture, inaugurated in 1969, was named for a charter member of the Council on Foreign Relations who served as its President from 1944 to 1946 and as its Chairman from 1946 to 1953.

This lecture invites a distinguished foreign official to address Council members on a topic of major international significance. This year the Leffingwell lecturer was Lee Kuan Yew, Senior Minister of Singapore.

The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations

The annual Sorensen Lecture on the United Nations was established in 1996 by Theodore C. Sorensen to honor his wife, Gillian Martin Sorensen, and to commemorate her years of service to the United Nations.

This lecture invites speakers intimately involved with the workings and issues of the United Nations to address Council members. Lee H. Hamilton, Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and former Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee (D-Ind.), delivered this year's Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations.

The David A. Morse Lecture

The David A. Morse Lecture was inaugurated in 1994 and supports an annual meeting and dinner with a distinguished speaker. It honors the memory of David A. Morse, an active Council member for nearly thirty years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist.

This lecture invites speakers to focus on one of David Morse's many concerns, which included North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and relations with Asia. James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, delivered the David A. Morse Lecture this year.

The David Rockefeller Lecture

The David Rockefeller Lecture was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1985 for an annual African lecturer from either the governmental or nongovernmental sectors. This year's David Rockefeller lecturer was Olusegun Obasanjo, President-elect of Nigeria.

The Elihu Root Lecture

The Elihu Root Lecture was inaugurated in 1958 to honor a founder of the Council on Foreign Relations who served as its Honorary President from 1921 to 1937.

This lecture invites a distinguished American to reflect on his or her professional experience and how it applies to contemporary American foreign policymaking. William S. Cohen, U.S. Secretary of Defense, delivered the Elihu Root Lecture this year.

The Spielvogel/Diamonstein Lecture

The Spielvogel/Diamonstein Lecture was inaugurated in 1999. Supported by a gift from Carl Spielvogel and Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel, this annual meeting focuses on culture and foreign policy.

The series is dedicated to expanding the understanding of culture in society's political conduct and the impact of currents in religion, civil society, the arts, and the mass media on foreign policy. The inaugural lecture included: Kwame Anthony Appiah, Professor of Afro-American Studies and Philosophy at Harvard University; Ian Buruma, Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; and Fareed Zakaria, Managing Editor of Foreign Affairs, who discussed how cultural values affect power, politics, and democracy.

The John Train Lecture

The annual John Train Lecture and dinner was established in 1997. Funded by Council member John Train, the series focuses on new issues in military affairs and the future of the U.S. military. This year's John Train Lecture featured the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who discussed military readiness in the 21st century.

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

The vitality of the Council's Washington Program attests to a recognition of the complexity of today's foreign policy. The Washington Program offers a panoply of speakers dealing with diplomacy, economic globalization, and national security. The more than 1,000 capital-area members take advantage of opportunities offered by the Washington Program, such as the Middle East Forum, directed by Judith Kipper, and the Eyewitness to History Series. Over 25 Studies staff members are now based in Washington, including several Next Generation Fellows. Their work demonstrates the Council's commitment to serve America's international interests through research and debate.

The Washington office engaged capital-area members in yet another year of timely programs. Significantly, many of them were suggested by Council members. These included general meetings with Brian Atwood on "Foreign Aid into the Next Century" and Eric Holder on "Combating International Organized Crime," panel discussions on terrorism and nuclear threat reduction, and debates on key post-Cold War topics such as financing the United Nations, dealing with North Korea, and gauging the possibility of major war. A two-part series was also held to assess the question, "Is There a Republican and Democratic Foreign Policy?" By popular demand, the Council addressed the topic "America as a Global Leader" again this year, drawing on a discussion among foreign journalists, moderated by CNN's Frank Sesno.

Among the groundbreaking programs was the videoconferenced opening of the Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies. Members gathered in Washington and around the country to hear Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former secretaries of state give their views via videoconference on challenges confronting the United States in the post-Cold War period. Washington members were also joined by Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan.

Centrally located, the Washington office undertook numerous activities to engage Congress. In particular, a

bipartisan and diverse group of members of Congress stepped up to the Council's podium as both speakers and presiders, including Christopher J. Dodd, Porter J. Goss, J. Robert Kerrey, Jon L. Kyl, Carl M. Levin, John E. Porter, Charles S. Robb, Robert G. Torricelli, George V. Voinovich, and Paul D. Wellstone.

A highlight of the Washington meetings program was the continuing Embassy Luncheon Series. Members were invited to small, informal exchanges at several embassies, including those of Great Britain, Singapore, Israel, Colombia, Russia, Costa Rica, Italy, and China.

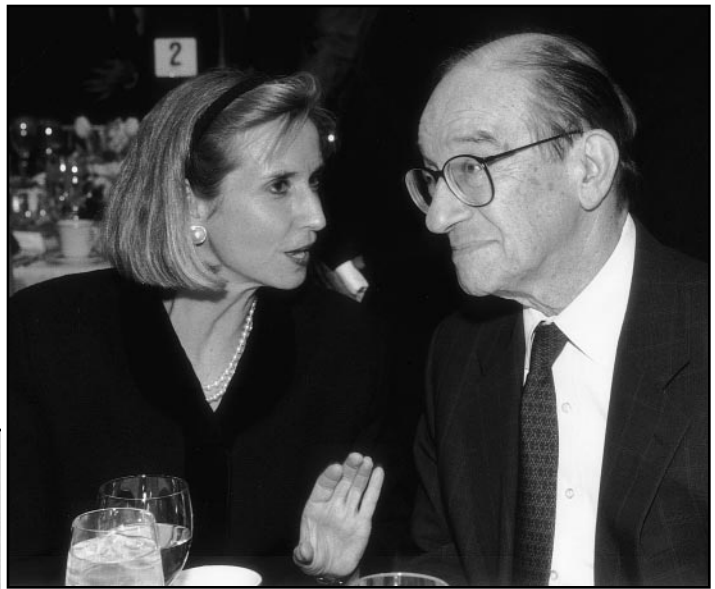
This year, the Washington office launched a new initiative, the Atlantic Partnership Program, to cultivate a successor generation of foreign policy experts. The program brought together emerging political leaders and opinion makers in the United States, Canada, and Europe to examine critical issues confronting the transatlantic alliance in the 21st century. The roundtables on NATO enlargement and reform were held in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and Paris, and involved the Council's term members, Military Fellows, International Affairs Fellows, Next Generation Fellows, and national members.

Overall, the Washington Program had an active year, serving the needs of members as well as making a unique contribution to key foreign policy debates.

Paula J. Dobriansky
Vice President, Washington Program

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

► Paula J. Dobriansky and Alan Greenspan at the January 19, 1999, Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies Inaugural Event.



◀ Speaker Michael D. McCurry, former Assistant to the President and Press Secretary, at the December 16, 1998, Annual Daughters and Sons Event, "A View from the Mike."

► Presider Robert F. Ellsworth and Speaker Javier Solana, Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, at the March 15, 1999, Meeting, "NATO at 50: A Preview of the Washington Summit."



PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

LJUBICA Z. ACEVSKA

Ambassador of Macedonia to the United States

PETRIT BUSHATI

Ambassador of Albania to the United States

PHILIP DIMITROV

Ambassador of Bulgaria to the United States

MIRCEA GEOANA

Ambassador of Romania to the United States

VLADISLAV JOVANOVIĆ

Ambassador, Chargé d'Affaires; Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations

DIMITRIJ RUPEL

Ambassador of Slovenia to the United States

MIOMIR ZUZUL

Ambassador of Croatia to the United States

"The Crisis in Kosovo and Prospects for Peace: A View from Southeastern Europe"

PRESIDER: CHARLIE ROSE

COSPONSORED WITH THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM

HANAN D. ASHRAWI

Former Minister of Higher Education, Palestinian Authority
"A Palestinian State: How to Negotiate Final Status"

PRESIDER: JUDITH KIPPER

(MIDDLE EAST FORUM)

J. BRIAN ATWOOD

Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development
"Foreign Aid into the Next Century"

PRESIDER: JULIA V. TAFT

MICHAEL BROWN

Director of Research, National Security Studies Program,
Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown
University

STEPHEN J. FLANAGAN

Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director,
Central and East European Affairs, National Security Council

ROBERT E. HUNTER

Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO; Senior Adviser, RAND
Corporation

"Outfitting NATO for the 21st Century: Matching Strategy
to Mission"

PRESIDER: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

RICHARD BUTLER

Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission
"UNSCOM's Mandate to Disarm Iraq: Past Achievements
and Current Challenges"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM D. ROGERS

(MIDDLE EAST FORUM)

ASHTON B. CARTER

Ford Foundation Professor of Science and International
Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard
University

WILLIAM J. PERRY

Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor of Engineering and
Senior Fellow, Center for International Security and Coopera-
tion, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

"The Preventive Defense Strategy: Securing America's Future"

PRESIDER: JAN M. LODAL

WESLEY K. CLARK

General, U.S. Army; Supreme Allied Commander
Europe, North Atlantic Treaty Organization

"NATO and European Security"

PRESIDER: FRANK C. CARLUCCI

VANCE D. COFFMAN

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Lockheed Martin
Corporation

"The Future of the U.S. Defense Industry"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

MASSIMO D'ALEMA

Prime Minister, Italy

"A Conversation with Massimo D'Alema"

PRESIDER: JAMES B. SITRICK

GUILLERMO FERNANDEZ DE SOTO

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Colombia

"Colombia's Foreign Policy: Addressing the Challenges"

PRESIDER: ELLIOTT ABRAMS

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Conn.)

"U.S. Policy toward Cuba: A New Conversation"

PRESIDER: BERNARD W. ARONSON

JANEZ DRNOVSEK

Prime Minister, Slovenia

"The Future of Europe: A Slovenian Perspective"

PRESIDER: ALLAN WENDT

(COSPONSORED WITH THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM)

STANLEY FISCHER

First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund

"The IMF: Giving Credit and Managing Blame"

PRESIDER: JESSICA P. EINHORN

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

Omer and Nancy Hirst Professor of Public Policy,
Institute of Public Policy, George Mason University

"Mars and Venus on Foreign Policy: Does Gender Matter?"

PRESIDER: SUSAN K. MOLINARI

(COSPONSORED WITH THE WOMEN'S FOREIGN POLICY GROUP)

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

CÉSAR GAVÍRIA

Secretary General, Organization of American States
“The Regional Relevance of the Organization of American States”

PRESIDER: GEORGE ALBERT DALLEY

LESLIE H. GELB

President, Council on Foreign Relations

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Syndicated Columnist
“The Teacup Wars: Are They the Main U.S. Strategic Challenge?”

PRESIDER: GERALD M. LEVIN

ÁRPÁD GÖNCZ

President, Hungary
“Hungary, NATO, and the EU”

PRESIDER: CHARLES GATI

PORTER J. GOSS

Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Fla.)
“U.S. Intelligence: Meeting the Challenges of the 21st Century”

PRESIDER: DAVE K. MCCURDY

DOAN VIET HOAT

Scholar in Residence, Columbus School of Law, Catholic University

ADRIAN KARATNYCKY

President, Freedom House

JOHN EDWARD PORTER

Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Ill.)

NANCY RUBIN

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights

“The 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Achievements and Objectives”

PRESIDER: HARRIET C. BABBITT

IOANNIS KASOULIDES

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cyprus
“Prospects for a Settlement of the Cyprus Problem”

PRESIDER: JOHN KENNETH BLACKWELL

J. ROBERT KERREY

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Neb.)
“Social Security Reform in a Global Context”

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

JON L. KYL

Member, U.S. Senate (R-Ariz.)

CARL M. LEVIN

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mich.)

“The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty: Is It Still Good for America?”

PRESIDER: JAMES R. SCHLESINGER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION)

JAMES R. LILLEY

Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; former U.S. Ambassador to China

JAMES H. MANN

Foreign Policy Columnist, *Los Angeles Times*

ANNE F. THURSTON

Professorial Lecturer in China Studies, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University

“Tiananmen at Ten: The Beginning or the End of Democracy in China?”

PRESIDER: RICHARD H. SOLOMON

MICHAEL D. MCCURRY

Former Assistant to the President and Press Secretary
“A View from the Mike”

PRESIDER: THOMAS E. DONILON

ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

OLEKSANDR MOROZ

Chairman, Socialist Party of Ukraine

“A Conversation with Oleksandr Moroz”

PRESIDER: WILLIAM GREEN MILLER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM)

BORIS NEMTSOV

Former First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation

“The Russian Financial Crisis”

PRESIDER: GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE EURASIA GROUP)

THOMAS R. PICKERING

Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State

“Nigeria Returns: America Responds”

PRESIDER: WALTER C. CARRINGTON

GEORGE ROBERTSON

Member of Parliament; Secretary of State for Defense, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
“Modern Forces for a Modern World: British Defense Policy”

PRESIDER: CHARLES S. ROBB

WASHINGTON PROGRAM



▲ Speakers Richard N. Haass, Director of Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution, William Kristol, Chairman, Project for the New American Century, Presider Vin Weber, and Paula J. Dobriansky at the February 17, 1999, Meeting, "Is There a Republican Party Foreign Policy?"

► Speakers Stephen J. Solarz, former Member, U.S. House of Representatives, and Principal, Solarz Associates, and Winston Lord, former U.S. Ambassador to China and former Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State, at the November 17, 1998, Eyewitness to History Meeting, "The 1979 Taiwan Relations Act: Is It Still Relevant for U.S. Policy?"

▼ Speaker Boris Nemtsov, former First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, and Presider Georgie Anne Geyer at the September 29, 1998, Meeting, "The Russian Financial Crisis."



WASHINGTON PROGRAM

MIGUEL ANGEL RODRÍGUEZ-ECHEVERRÍA

President, Costa Rica

"Preserving the Peace in Central America: The Argument for Regional Demilitarization"

PRESIDER: JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK

JAMES R. SCHLESINGER

Former Secretary of Defense; Senior Adviser, Lehman Brothers

"Defense Budget Priorities for the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

ZALMAN SHOVAL

Ambassador of Israel to the United States

"An Israeli Participant's Assessment from Wye to Final Status Negotiations"

PRESIDER: ALFRED L. ATHERTON JR.

(MIDDLE EAST FORUM)

JAVIER SOLANA

Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization

"NATO at 50: A Preview of the Washington Summit"

PRESIDER: ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

(COSPONSORED WITH THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM)

LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury

"The Trials and Tribulations of a World Economy"

PRESIDER: KENNETH D. BRODY

ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

Member, U.S. Senate (D-N.J.)

"Keeping a Watchful Eye on Castro's Cuba"

PRESIDER: MARIO L. BAEZA

Eyewitness to History

MARILYN BERGER

Journalist; Writer, *New York Times*

BARRIE DUNSMORE

Associate Fellow, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Editor, *New York Times* on the Web

BERNARD KALB

Moderator, CNN's *Reliable Sources*

BARRY SCHWEID

Diplomatic Correspondent, Associated Press

"Travels with Kissinger: Correspondents' Recollections"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

ANNE H. CAHN

Scholar in Residence, American University; author, *Killing Détente: The Right Attacks the CIA*

RICHARD PIPES

Baird Research Professor of History, Harvard University

"Team B: Its Origins and Effects"

PRESIDER: KORI SCHAKE

JEREMY ISAACS

Co-Executive Producer, CNN's *Cold War*, Jeremy Isaacs Productions Limited

JOSEPH S. NYE

Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

DANIEL L. SCHORR

Senior News Analyst, National Public Radio

VLADISLAV ZUBOK

Visiting Fellow, National Security Archive, George Washington University

"CNN's *Cold War*"

PRESIDER: GARRICK UTLEY

(COSPONSORED WITH CNN)

STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

Principal, Solarz Associates; former Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-N.Y.)

WINSTON LORD

Former U.S. Ambassador to China; former Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State

"The 1979 Taiwan Relations Act: Is It Still Relevant for U.S. Policy?"

PRESIDER: ELIZABETH G. WEYMOUTH

CASPAR W. WEINBERGER

Former Secretary of Defense; Chairman, *Forbes* magazine

"The War Powers Act 25 Years Later: Its Intent, Its Impact"

PRESIDER: CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

NATIONAL PROGRAM

The National Program engages members outside New York and Washington in a substantive debate on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. Through events held in key cities across the country and the latest in interactive technology, the National Program connects Council members and creates innovative ways to harness their expertise and knowledge.

Over the next three to four years, the National Program will build membership and programs in “key” cities, which were selected according to their involvement in the international arena, geographic balance, and distribution of the Council’s current membership. They include Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Chicago, Houston, Atlanta, Dallas–Fort Worth, Miami, and Boston. Future plans include expanding programs in Seattle and Minneapolis.

In recent months, the Council has strengthened ties to its western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy, and established new ones with local foreign policy organizations in other key cities. Through these relationships, the Council holds dinner seminars across the country.

These seminars, featuring Council Fellows and their ongoing research projects, are the cornerstone of the National Program. Designed to help Council Fellows write books or articles, these regional meetings are based on a short paper, outline, or chapter written by the Fellow and sent to all participants beforehand. This year, national members contributed to several projects, including governance in China and U.S.-Japan foreign policy.

The Council also holds regional meetings on independent task forces such as U.S.-Cuban relations in the 21st century; roundtables on timely topics such as the effect of the crisis in Kosovo on transatlantic relations; and on-the-record debates based on Council Policy Initia-

tives. Special meetings this year showcased leading U.S. defense experts in a series of debates in San Francisco, Houston, and Atlanta.

The National Program is taking advantage of the Internet and videoconferencing to increase programs and engage a broader and more diverse group of members. The Council’s website provides members with a wealth of in-depth information and resources, including event updates for each key city on the redesigned national page, and videos and transcripts of on-the-record meetings with speakers such as President Bill Clinton.

The state-of-the-art videoconference facility at the new Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies gives national members the opportunity to participate in study groups and larger meetings with major speakers in New York. The Peterson Inaugural Event connected five cities in a videoconferenced colloquy with former secretaries of state in Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, and Washington. In cooperation with the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, the Council held its first videoconferenced study group, joining members in Atlanta and New York to discuss the transnational defense industry. Through its partnership with the Pacific Council on International Policy, the Council linked Los Angeles and New York to hear Paul Krugman on the return of Depression economics.

More than 175 members gathered at the Council’s New York headquarters for the fourth annual National Confer-

NATIONAL PROGRAM

ence on June 4 and 5. This premier event of the National Program focused on the “International Financial Architecture: Redesigning the Global System” and provided an opportunity for participants to discuss the work of the Council-sponsored independent Economic Commission on the Future International Financial Architecture, chaired by Peter G. Peterson and Carla A. Hills. National members examined the core and derivative problems of the international financial system as well as restructuring possibilities for the system. Country-specific discussion groups focused on Brazil, China, Japan, and Russia. In addition to Chairman Peter G. Peterson and Vice Chairman Maurice R. Greenberg, national members also heard from IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus and U.S. Undersecretary of the Treasury for International Affairs Timothy F. Geithner.

As it has over the past year, the Board Committee on National Programs will continue to provide guidance and feedback on progress toward the goal of transforming the Council into a truly national organization. Supporting these efforts are also the four task forces formed this year to develop membership and programs on the West Coast and in Chicago, Atlanta, and Texas. Similar task forces will be established in other key cities.

In the coming months, the National Program will forge ahead with the strategy initiated this year—building membership, strengthening ties with local foreign policy organizations, and bringing members together, in key cities and in cyberspace—to transform the Council into a truly national organization.

Michael P. Peters
National Director

Irina A. Faskianos
Deputy National Director

NATIONAL PROGRAM EVENTS

“Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies
Inaugural Event”

REMARKS:

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT (Washington, D.C.)
U.S. Secretary of State

OPENING REMARKS:

CYRUS R. VANCE (New York)
Former U.S. Secretary of State

VIDEOCONFERENCED COLLOQUY:

JAMES A. BAKER III (Houston)

PRESIDER: EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN

WARREN CHRISTOPHER (Los Angeles)

PRESIDER: JOHN E. BRYSON

HENRY A. KISSINGER (New York)

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

GEORGE P. SHULTZ (San Francisco)

PRESIDER: PETER TARNOFF

Atlanta

ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

Fellow, China Studies and Deputy Director, Asia Studies
“Study Group on Governance in China”

COMMENTATOR: KENNETH A. CUTSHAW

CO-CHAIRS: MARY BROWN BULLOCK AND WALTER E. MASSEY
(COSPONSORED WITH AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE AND
MOREHOUSE COLLEGE)

LAWRENCE J. KORB

Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director
of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

WILLIAM A. OWENS

Vice Chairman, Teledesic, LLC

THEODORE G. STROUP JR.

Lieutenant General, U.S. Army (Ret.); Vice President,
Education, and Executive Director, Institute of Landwarfare,
Association of the U.S. Army

Council Policy Initiative: “Future Visions for U. S. Defense Policy”

PRESIDER: SAM NUNN

(COSPONSORED WITH THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE SOUTHERN CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES)

ANN R. MARKUSEN (New York)

Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy

“Videoconferenced Study Group on the Arms Trade and the
Transnationalization of the Defense Industry”

COMMENTATORS: GENESEE GOTTSCHALK AND

WILLIAM E. HOEHN JR. (Atlanta)

CHAIR: LINDA PARRISH BRADY (Atlanta)

(COSPONSORED WITH THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy

“Independent Task Force on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the
21st Century”

COMMENTATOR: JUAN DEL AGUILA

CHAIR: JENNIFER MCCOY

(COSPONSORED WITH THE CARTER CENTER)

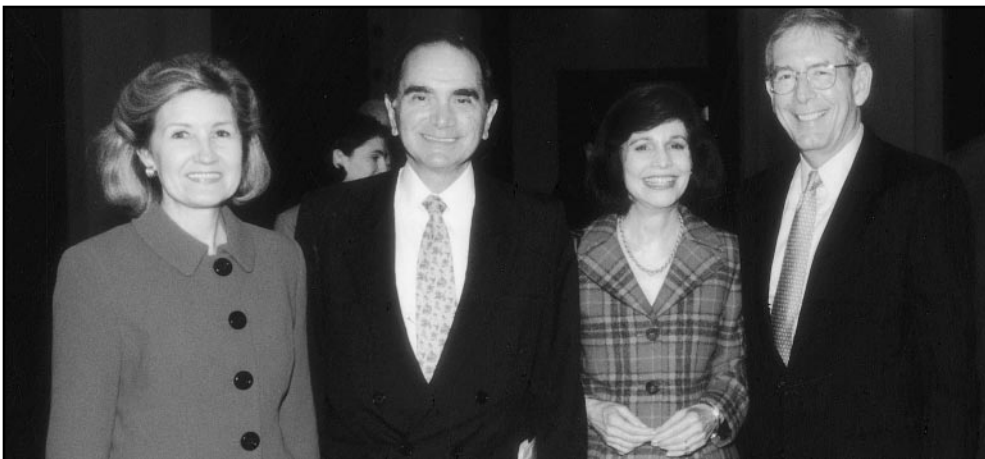
NATIONAL PROGRAM



▲ Commentator Geneese Gottschalk (videoconferenced from Atlanta), Victor Ciardello, Irina A. Faskianos, Frederick F. Roggero, Paula DiPerna, David L. Jones, and Stephanie G. Neuman at the March 11, 1999, "Videoconferenced Study Group on the Arms Trade and the Transnationalization of the Defense Industry," (between Atlanta and New York).



▲ John H. Roney, Philip C. Lauinger Jr., and Michael P. Peters at the June 4–5, 1999, National Conference, "International Financial Architecture: Redesigning the Global System."



▲ Speaker Kay Bailey Hutchison, Member, U.S. Senate (R-Tex.), Edward P. Djerejian, Presider Lee Cullum, and Speaker Charles G. Boyd, Executive Director, National Security Study Group, at the November 18, 1998, Council Policy Initiative, "Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy" (in Houston).

NATIONAL PROGRAM

Boston

ASHTON B. CARTER

Ford Foundation Professor of Science and International Affairs,
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
“Book Reception on Preventive Defense”

COMMENTATOR: JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI

(COSPONSORED WITH THE STANFORD-HARVARD PREVENTIVE
DEFENSE PROJECT, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY)

JOHN F. KERRY

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mass.)

“A Conversation with Senator John F. Kerry”

PRESIDER: GRAHAM T. ALLISON

Chicago

ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

Fellow, China Studies and Deputy Director, Asia Studies
“Study Group on Governance in China”

COMMENTATOR: DALI YANG

CHAIR: STEPHEN DEL ROSSO

MICHAEL J. GREEN

Olin Fellow, Asia Security Studies

“Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests
in Asia”

COMMENTATOR: MEREDITH WOO-CUMINGS

CHAIR: JOHN E. RIELLY

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy

“Independent Task Force on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the
21st Century”

COMMENTATOR: MARIA DE LOS ANGELES TORRES

CHAIR: JOHN E. RIELLY

(ALL THREE MEETINGS ABOVE COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

F. STEPHEN LARRABEE

Senior Analyst, RAND Corporation

“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward
Northeastern Europe”

COMMENTATOR: CHARLES L. GLASER

CHAIR: JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO)

LEILA CONNERS PETERSEN

Tree Media Group



The Council's new videoconferencing capabilities are incredible. It really brings the world closer together. It is impressive to be able to have face-to-face meetings going on in several locations. The transition from one location to another is quite seamless. That is, for me, the most remarkable thing about it; seamless transitions so that the world can become one.

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We were able to see the videoconferencing capability in action at the Peterson Inaugural Event. I attended the event in Los Angeles and it was real life enough that we felt a part of the entire event, not just a part of what was happening at our location. Members in the L.A. area enjoyed the inauguration very much and are looking forward to more meetings using the Council's new capability.

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I founded Tree Media Group because of past experience with fax and e-mail as a vehicle to link policy decisions. When the Internet was born, and through the World Wide Web, I realized this was the next extension of communication. The core of my company is engaging in the creation of these kinds of subjects on-line and connecting its work with institutions and organizations like the Council. I have collaborated with the Council to begin their first on-line study group on the Caspian. Through the Caspian on-line discussion, the Council is able to convene a study group through the Internet and bring important people from diverse locations together for discussion. This is a way to inform and educate the elite in our country on these issues. And this is a motivating factor for the project. The Council needs to be one of the many entities existing on the Internet.

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Now that we have seen how successful the on-line discussion group is, the Council can institute as many as it wants and keep them going for added value. If we make part of the discussion public, it can become an educational tool. The Council would have a living document which grows as the process proceeds. These tools are key for think tanks in the next century. People can continue to move around but will feel closer to the heart of the Council in New York and will participate and add value to the discussion.

NATIONAL PROGRAM

Dallas

RICHARD K. BETTS

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies
“Study Group on Assessing the Future of Chinese Power”
COMMENTATOR: BEN W. HUNT; PRESIDER: THOMAS E. MEURER

RICHARD L. GARWIN

Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology,
and Director, Science and Technology Studies

W. MONTAGUE WINFIELD

USA Military Fellow, 1998–99
“Independent Task Force on Non-Lethal Weapons”
PRESIDER: CHARLES VINCENT PROTHRO

LESLIE H. GELB

President, Council on Foreign Relations
“The Renaissance World and Tomorrow’s World”
PRESIDER: ROBERT E. WILHELM

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Senior Fellow and Director, European Studies
“A Single Currency and a Single Europe: Implications for
Transatlantic Relations”
PRESIDER: PAUL W. STEWART
(ALL FOUR MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

Houston

CHARLES G. BOYD

General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.); Executive Director, National
Security Study Group

KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON

Member, U.S. Senate (R-Tex.)

LAWRENCE J. KORB

Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of
Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
Council Policy Initiative: “Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy”
PRESIDER: LEE CULLUM

ROBERT A. MANNING

C.V. Starr Senior Fellow, and Director, Asia Studies
“Study Group on Asian Energy-Security in the 21st Century”
COMMENTATOR: AMY MYERS JAFFE; CHAIR: EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy
“Independent Task Force on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the
21st Century”
COMMENTATOR: DANIEL W. FISK; CHAIR: EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN
(ALL THREE MEETINGS ABOVE COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A.
BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY)

LESLIE H. GELB

President
“The Renaissance World and Tomorrow’s World”
PRESIDER: RICHARD J. TRABULSI JR.
(COSPONSORED WITH THE HOUSTON COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN
RELATIONS)

Miami

ALBERT FISHLOW

Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics,
and Director, Economics Studies
“Study Group on Free Trade Association of the Americas
and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation”
COMMENTATOR: JERRY HAAR
CHAIR: AMBLER H. MOSS JR.

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy
“Independent Task Force on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the
21st Century”
COMMENTATOR: ROLANDO BONACHEA
CHAIR: AMBLER H. MOSS JR.
(BOTH MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DANTE B. FASCELL
NORTH-SOUTH CENTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI)

Minneapolis

F. STEPHEN LARRABEE

Senior Analyst, RAND Corporation
“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward
Northeastern Europe”
COMMENTATOR: ROBERT L. FARLOW
CHAIR: KENNETH H. KELLER

BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade
“Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan
Economic Relations”
COMMENTATOR: WALTER F. MONDALE
CHAIR: KENNETH H. KELLER

DAVID G. VICTOR

Robert W. Johnson Jr. Fellow for Science and Technology

RODNEY W. NICHOLS

President and Chief Executive Officer, New York Academy
of Sciences
“Study Group on Global Warming Technology Policy for the
United States”
CHAIR: KENNETH H. KELLER
(ALL THREE MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA)

NATIONAL PROGRAM

PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Western Partner of the Council on Foreign Relations

The partnership between the Council and the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP) strengthens each organization's mission, while allowing each to remain independent in membership, governance, and funding. Through this partnership, the Council and PCIP cooperated this year to hold the following programs on the West Coast.

Los Angeles

ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies

"Study Group on Governance in China"

COMMENTATORS: STANLEY ROSEN AND YONG WANG

CHAIR: B. BOYD HIGHT

MICHAEL J. GREEN

Olin Fellow, Asia Security Studies

"Study Group: Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia"

COMMENTATOR: CHARLES WOLF JR.; CHAIR: GREYSON L. BRYAN

PAUL R. KRUGMAN

Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Videoconferenced General Meeting on the Return of Depression Economics"

PRESIDERS: STEVEN L. RATTNER (New York);

GREGORY F. TREVERTON (Los Angeles)

ROBERT A. MANNING

C. V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies

"Study Group on Asian Energy-Security in the 21st Century"

COMMENTATOR: MIKKAL E. HERBERG; CHAIR: GREGORY F. TREVERTON

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy

"Independent Task Force on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century"

COMMENTATOR: DANIEL W. FISK; CHAIR: WARREN CHRISTOPHER

RICHARD W. MURPHY

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East, and

Director, Middle East Studies

F. GREGORY GAUSE III

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Vermont

"Study Group on Social and Economic Change in the Gulf Monarchies"

COMMENTATOR: MEL LEVINE; CHAIR: MIKKAL E. HERBERG

Seattle

BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade

"Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations"

COMMENTATOR: GREGORY F. TREVERTON; CHAIR: DAVID K.Y. TANG

San Francisco

LAWRENCE J. KORB

Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

JAN M. LODAL

Chairman, Lodal & Co.

WILLIAM A. OWENS

Vice Chairman, Teledesic, LLC

Council Policy Initiative: "Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy"

PRESIDER: CONDOLEEZZA RICE

(COSPONSORED WITH THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA AND THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA)

JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER

1998-99 Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow; R. Wendell Harrison

Distinguished Service Professor, University of Chicago

"Study Group on Great Power Politics"

COMMENTATOR: MICHAEL NACHT; CHAIR: C. BRUCE TARTER

WILLIAM C. POTTER

Institute Professor and Director, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies

"Study Group on U.S.-Russian Cooperation for Nonproliferation"

COMMENTATOR: ELIZABETH D. SHERWOOD-RANDALL

CHAIR: MASON WILLRICH

BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade

"Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations"

COMMENTATOR: JOHN A. ZYSMAN; CHAIR: DAVID JOSEPH FISCHER

DAVID G. VICTOR

Robert W. Johnson Jr. Fellow for Science and Technology

"Study Group on Global Warming Technology Policy for the United States"

COMMENTATOR: STEPHEN H. SCHNEIDER; CHAIR: DAVID W. LYON

San Diego

MICHAEL J. GREEN

Olin Fellow, Asia Security Studies

"Study Group: Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia"

CHAIR: JOHN E. KOEHLER

CORPORATE PROGRAM

Corporate members of the Council include the leading firms in financial services, law, insurance, manufacturing, communications, media, and consulting. The program provides these firms' executives with opportunities to address critical issues in international business and finance. Each month, members attend meetings and seminars to exchange ideas with political and economic experts from the United States and abroad. Corporate members also have access to the Council's research staff, and receive timely information and analysis through interactive conference calls with Council experts. On the new Corporate website, members have access to the calendar of upcoming events, transcripts of corporate meetings, and other information.

The Corporate Program invites its members to participate in over 80 programs each year in New York, Washington, and across the country. This year, the Corporate Program sponsored meetings with such leaders as Andres Pastrana, president of Colombia; Vance D. Coffman, chairman and CEO, Lockheed Martin Corporation; Stanley Fischer, first deputy managing director, International Monetary Fund; Lawrence H. Summers, deputy secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury; Charlene Barshefsky, U.S. trade representative; Lee Kuan Yew, senior minister, Singapore; Pedro Sampaio Malan, minister of finance, Brazil; and Romano Prodi, president-designate, European Commission.

This past year saw the inauguration of a popular new quarterly series, "World Economic Update," in which top economists from major financial institutions assess the state of the global economy. Executives with expertise on a particular country or issue participated in smaller study groups and roundtable discussions with other experts from business, government, and academia. The Corporate Program continued its popular series of interactive conference calls with Council Fellows on topics of particular concern to member companies. These timely and focused exchanges encourage discussion and involve Corporate members who may otherwise find it difficult to take part in Council programs.

This year's Corporate Conference, hosted in cooperation with the Council's U.S./Middle East Project, addressed "Investing in the Middle East: New Opportunities in a Changing Global Economy." The June 1999 conference convened such world leaders as Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn, U.S. Energy Secretary Bill Richardson, and U.S. Commerce Secretary William Daley to address international business leaders, government officials, and regional experts involved in the Middle East. The discussions centered on investment opportunities and the major economic obstacles facing the private and public sectors in the region. Topics included investing in Egypt, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf countries; the outlook for the energy and high-technology sectors; creating the water, power, and transportation infrastructure; investing in Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority; doing business in Iran; accessing capital markets; and commercial law. The Council is especially grateful for the support of conference sponsors ENI, Pfizer, Arab Banking Corporation, BP Amoco, and Schlumberger, with additional support from the Mobil Corporation.

Highlights of the 1998-99 schedule follow. A comprehensive listing is available on the Council's website.

David Kellogg
Vice President, Corporate Affairs

CORPORATE PROGRAM



◀ Speaker Lee Kuan Yew, Senior Minister, Singapore, and President Maurice R. Greenberg at the October 13, 1998, Meeting, "The Asian Financial Crisis."

▼ Speaker Rosario Green, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mexico, Leslie H. Gelb, and Enzo Viscusi at the September 25, 1998, Meeting, "Mexico: Whither Its Global Role?"



◀ President Henry Siegman and Speaker Hosni Mubarak, President of Egypt (videoconferenced from Cairo), at the June 17, 1999, Corporate Program, U.S./Middle East Project Conference, "Investing in the Middle East: New Opportunities in a Changing Global Economy."



► John Hess and David Kellogg at the June 9, 1999, Meeting, "Venezuela's New Agenda."

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

ELIZABETH J. ALLAN

Senior Vice President, Scudder Kemper Investments, Inc.

GERRY CURTIS

Burgess Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

HIDEHIKO NISHIYAMA

Executive Director, JETRO New York

"Can Japan Turn the Corner?"

PRESIDER: ROBERT D. HORMATS

CHARLENE BARSHEFSKY

U.S. Trade Representative

"Future World Trade Agenda Series: The View from Washington"

PRESIDER: RICHARD N. GARDNER

LEON BRITTAN

Vice President, European Commission

"Building the Transatlantic Economic Partnership"

PRESIDER: STEVEN L. RATTNER

JOYCE CHANG

Managing Director, International Emerging Markets, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

STEPHEN FIDLER

U.S. Diplomatic Editor, former Latin America Editor, *Financial Times*

FRANCISCO R.A. GROS

Managing Director, Morgan Stanley Dean Witter; Chairman, Morgan Stanley do Brasil

ROBERT D. HORMATS

Vice Chairman, Goldman Sachs International

ARTURO C. PORZECANSKI

Managing Director and Americas Chief Economist, ING Barings

"The Next Dominoes? Global Economic Crisis and Latin America"

PRESIDER: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

HUGO CHÁVEZ FRÍAS

President, Venezuela

"Venezuela's New Agenda"

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JEFF BEWKES

Home Box Office



HBO and Time Warner are involved in communications all over the world, and while a fair amount of what you see on HBO you would clearly classify as pure entertainment, there's also a fair amount on HBO that addresses larger issues involving world affairs, whether it is a documentary on Bosnia or a film adaptation of the book *A Bright Shining Lie*. So, there is often a connection between some of the topics HBO addresses

and work at the Council. It's important for Americans to be aware of the rest of the world and we occasionally like to think we make a small contribution to that effort.

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HBO sponsors the "Great Debate" series at the Council. The purpose of the program is to bring together prominent thinkers on international politics to discuss timely and important issues. Some of the debates we have been involved with were between Les Gelb and Charles Krauthammer on the importance of "teacup" wars, and Paul Krugman and George Soros on the global economy, and a discussion between Charlie Rose and Richard Butler on UNSCOM. While the debates

are the formal part of our sponsorship, they also afford us an opportunity to talk with experts in different subjects that are directly on point to some of our programming. We have screened several movies at the Council, to get feedback from people with direct involvement in the topics we are addressing. It is a wonderful way to elevate a discussion about foreign policy at the same time that it cross-pollinates with an "entertainment" project. We couldn't do that without a relationship like the one we have with the Council.

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Being a corporate member of the Council is important for us, given the scope of what we do in the world. There are great challenges in the telecommunications business. The means of disseminating entertainment and news are changing all the time. The extent to which western Europe alone has changed in the last 15 years is staggering. While ostensibly a political issue, it actually immediately affects business as well, because if we're trying to consider what the fortunes of HBO, as a business, might be in Hungary versus France it is very relevant to know what all the political situations and industrial policies are. And, interestingly, the opportunities in western Europe, which are "more advanced," are more limited for all new entrants than in eastern Europe. HBO has been very successful in South America because, with respect to our business, the continent hadn't really been developed and, therefore, you weren't facing state-financed, state-protected, entrenched competitors, which you do have in western Europe. The opportunity to be a part of the Council helps us to hear many perspectives from around the world and helps us to be informed in terms of business internationally—that has real value for us.

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

One of the Council's principal goals is to find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers. Council President Leslie H. Gelb has established advisory committees of term members in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Boston. These committees have served as advisory bodies to the Council leadership, while providing term members with the opportunity to help create programs that respond to their interests and areas of expertise. Term members are now some of the more devoted and active members of the Council.

The term members of the Council, a group of up-and-coming leaders and thinkers in foreign policy, enjoy a wide variety of programs such as seminars, roundtables, receptions, trips, special private dinners with senior Council members, and an annual conference.

This past year, the fourth annual Term Member Conference united younger members from around the country to discuss globalization. The two-day event—"Whose Globalization Is It, Anyway?"—featured keynote speakers Thomas L. Friedman, foreign affairs columnist, *New York Times*; Rudiger Dornbusch, professor of economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; playwright John Guare; and Rebecca P. Mark, vice chairman of Enron Corporation.

Each year a new class of term members, all U.S. citizens age 34 and under, is elected to a five-year term. Today, the Council has over 400 term members, who are increasingly elected to full membership when their terms expire, thus creating a sustainable source of qualified applicants for reinvigorating the ranks of the full membership.

As the roster of meetings suggests, these young members are dedicated to the Council's work and are engaged in diverse aspects of U.S. foreign policy.

Elise Carlson Lewis

Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

TERM MEMBER SEMINARS

JACK BLUM

Partner, Lobel, Novins, & Lamont

"Dirty Money: Countering International Financial Crimes"

PRESIDER: STEPHEN E. FLYNN

NEW YORK

DAVID BORNSTEIN

Author

WILLIAM DRAYTON

Founder and President, Ashoka Innovators for the Public

PETER KELLNER

Chair and Cofounder, The Endeavor Initiative, Inc.

"The Social Entrepreneurial Movement: What Are the Foreign Policy Implications"

PRESIDERS: JORDAN KASSALOW AND JULIE ANN SIMONS

NEW YORK

BENNETT FREEMAN

Senior Adviser to Stuart Eizenstat, Undersecretary of State, U.S. Department of State

"Nazi Gold and Holocaust-Era Assets: Finishing the Unfinished Business of the Second World War"

PRESIDER: ROGER ALFORD

WASHINGTON, D.C.

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

SHERRI W. GOODMAN

Deputy Undersecretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense

“Leaning into the 21st Century: Environmental Security and National Security”

PRESIDER: MICHAEL MCNERNEY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Fellow, Media Studies Center

ELIZABETH NEUFFER

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W. MONTAGUE WINFIELD

Military Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

“Conflict in the Balkans: The View from the Frontlines”

PRESIDER: ROBERT ORR

NEW YORK

MARK LAGON

International Affairs Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

PATRICE DEBEER

Washington Bureau Chief, *Le Monde*

JÖRN DOSCH

Deputy Director, Asia-Pacific Research Program, University of Mainz, Germany

“Western Nations’ Views of China as an Emerging Power”

PRESIDER: MARK LAGON

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MICHAEL MORELL

Executive Assistant to the Director, CIA

KENNETH LEVIT

Special Counsel to the Director, CIA

AMY ZEGART

Associate, McKinsey & Company

“The Role of Intelligence for the Next Decade: A View from the CIA”

PRESIDER: ALEXANDER MISHKIN

NEW YORK

THOMAS SCHWARTZ

Professor of Political Science, UCLA

KIRON SKINNER

Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

“The Dangerous Dogma of Democratic Peace”

PRESIDER: ELANA BROITMAN

NEW YORK

TERM MEMBER ROUNDTABLES

RICHARD CLARKE

National Coordinator, Security, Infrastructure Protection, and Counterterrorism, National Security Council

“National Security: New Threats, New Solutions”

PRESIDER: ROGER CRESSEY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DAVE DAVIS

Legislative Assistant, Office of Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison

JOHN NICHOLAS DOWLING

Visiting Fellow, National Defense University

MICHAEL O’HANLON

Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, Brookings Institution

“Kosovo: Get Serious or Get Out?”

PRESIDER: SAMUEL FEIST

WASHINGTON, D.C.

GARETH EVANS

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Australia

MICHAEL GREEN

Olin Fellow, Asia Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

ANDREW NATHAN

Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

“China or Japan? Who Is Our Friend?”

PRESIDER: JASON SHAPLEN

NEW YORK

MARK HALLERBERG

Assistant Professor, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology

ADAM POSEN

Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics

“The Debut of the Euro: What’s It All About?”

PRESIDER: BENN STEIL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHOI YOUNG JIN

Assistant Secretary General, U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

“How to Make Peace and Then Keep It: U.N. Peacekeeping in a Convoluted Post-Cold War World”

PRESIDER: JASON SHAPLEN

NEW YORK

RICHARD KATZ

Senior Editor, *The Oriental Economist Report*; author, *Japan: The System That Soured the Rise and Fall of the Japanese Economic Miracle*

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

"What Will It Take for Japan to Recover?"

PRESIDER: ELIZABETH J. ALLAN
NEW YORK

CLIFFORD KUPCHAN

Professional Staff, House Committee on International Relations

ANDREW WEISS

Director, Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council

"Update on Russia"

PRESIDER: JIM GOLDGEIER
WASHINGTON, D.C.

AARON MILLER

Special Deputy Middle East Coordinator, U.S. Department of State

"Perspectives on Arab-Israeli Peacemaking"

PRESIDER: NICK RASMUSSEN
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Majid Khadduri Professor and Director of Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University
NEW YORK

JAMES BILLINGTON

Librarian of Congress
NEW YORK

HENRY GRUNWALD

NEW YORK

J. BRYAN HEHIR

Chair of the Executive Committee, Harvard Divinity School
BOSTON

DAVID IGNATIUS

Assistant Managing Editor, *Washington Post*
WASHINGTON, D.C.

HANYA KIM

Intrepid International Partners, LP



The Term Member Program allows some very talented young people unique access to a wealth of knowledge and experience. My five years here have been really great. I have an investment fund and I can speak to people who've been running businesses like mine for 50 years. Since I also have a background in military strategy and international economics, the Council is a fantastic venue for me to engage people

whose careers follow those tracks as well. I can't get this type of exchange of ideas across different professions anywhere else. The Council's program allows term members to interact in a way they never would otherwise with people who are experts in their field. And that is invaluable.

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I remember a meeting a few years ago with the Japanese prime minister. It was important for me because at that

stage, I was very much involved in Japanese investments, and just being there was such a useful experience. I speak Japanese, and although everything was translated into English, it was quite interesting to hear his reactions in his native tongue.

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I would like to see more Town Hall meetings, like the ones the Council recently held on Kosovo. When something particularly critical is happening, a real strength of the Council is the ability to pull together a great meeting almost immediately. Through these meetings, people are able get information on events in which decisions have to be made quickly.

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Having the chance to be at meetings where world leaders or seminal thinkers in their fields speak is terrific, but it's the opportunity at those meetings to talk with other people that is truly the best part of the program. As a member of the Term Member Advisory Committee, I always advised against events that delineated between term members and regular members because I feel one of the real benefits of the Council is the energy provided by encouraging uninhibited exchanges between the two age groups. Of course, being with other term members is an absolutely wonderful experience as well. I have met scores of exceptional people, many who have since become friends through my interaction with them at the Council.

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

JOHN F. KERRY

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mass.)

BOSTON

ANTHONY LEWIS

Columnist, *New York Times*

BOSTON

JIM MANZI

Chairman, Yarmouth Investments

BOSTON

GIDEON ROSE

Olin Fellow and Deputy Director, National Security Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations

BOSTON

ALAN SIMPSON

Director, Institute of Politics, Harvard University

BOSTON

ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER

J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor, Harvard Law School

BOSTON

THEODORE C. AND GILLIAN SORENSEN

NEW YORK

PAULO SOTERO

Washington Correspondent, *O Estado de São Paulo*

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Bureau Chief, *Al-Mussawar*

MARTIN WALKER

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GARRICK UTLEY

Contributor, CNN

NEW YORK

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Foreign Affairs Columnist, *New York Times*

JOHN GUARE

Playwright

NEW YORK

REBECCA MARK

Vice Chairman, Enron Corporation

PRESIDERS: JAMES F. HOGE JR., KAREN HORN,

BETTE BAO LORD

NEW YORK

Visit to the CIA

WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEPTIONS

NEW ENGLAND TERM MEMBER FALL RECEPTION WITH LESLIE H. GELB

BOSTON

NEW ENGLAND TERM MEMBER HOLIDAY PARTY

BOSTON

NEW YORK TERM MEMBER FALL RECEPTION WITH LESLIE H. GELB

Hosted by the Gelbs

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON TERM MEMBER FALL RECEPTION WITH LESLIE H. GELB

Hosted by Anne Witkowsky and John Barker

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SPECIAL EVENTS

Military Trip to McGuire Air Force Base

NEW JERSEY

Term Member Annual Conference 1998

RUDIGER DORNBUSCH

Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

TERM MEMBER ANNUAL GIVING

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COMMUNICATIONS

The Communications Department helps members maximize the benefits of their connection to the Council and makes the Council's work more relevant and useful to the public. Encompassing the websites, newsletters, brochures, the annual report, photography, press releases, and other products, this new department is the focal point for information about Council activities and products for members, the media, and the general public.

The Communications Department is instrumental to the Council's achievement of two of its main goals: adding value to the public debate on international affairs and turning the Council into a truly national organization. Through electronic, verbal, and printed communication, this department connects the Council to its members and to the public.

Electronic communication is an efficient and exciting way to open the Council to its members across the country and the interested public around the world. The Council's main electronic interaction is through its four websites for the public, individual members, corporate members, and *Foreign Affairs* readers. These recently re-developed sites are maintained and updated by the Communications Department and offer Internet users a profusion of information and analysis on international affairs. For example, at www.cfr.org one can download the text of hundreds of Council publications, including independent task force reports, articles and op-eds by Council Fellows, rapporteurs' reports of selected meetings, summaries and chapters of Council books, *Foreign Affairs* articles, congressional testimony by Council Fellows, and several other items. By publishing on-line, the Council is able to bring specialized texts to important new audiences, especially overseas.

The Council's website has received rave reviews; among others, the Dow Jones Business Directory gave it

a nine on a ten-point scale. The site also maintains its top ranking on the major search engine Lycos.com, which advises that "a visit here is vital to anyone serious about studying America's role in the global society."

Other Communications projects that help the Council reach a more diverse and national audience include creating and disseminating a monthly members' newsletter, publishing guides to staff policy experts, and acting as the principal Council spokesman by explaining the substance of Council activities and products to the press and the public.

The department also plays a role in adding value to the public debate on international affairs by organizing press conferences and media events, promoting Council publications to journalists and others, acting as a conduit to magazines and newspapers for op-eds and articles written by Fellows and research associates, and providing press support for the Council and *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

In this era of global communications, the Council is leveraging technology to maximize the utility of its research and analysis for its members, the country, and the world. By communicating with people everywhere through its websites and on-line discussion groups as well as through more traditional methods, the Council stands poised to boldly enter the next millennium.

April Wahlestedt
Director of Communications

PUBLISHING

Both in print and on-line, the Council publishes the results of its study groups and roundtables, reports of independent task forces and Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs), information about its staff and programs, and summaries and transcripts of selected events. The Council's website—www.cfr.org—reaches an ever-growing audience nationally and internationally, while a steady stream of high-quality books and reports are read by increasing numbers of policymakers. Publishing via the web has greatly reduced the time between manuscript and publication, and has also increased readership, especially for shorter publications.

This past year, the Council published or co-published eleven books, which are marketed through the Brookings Institution to bookstores and for use in university classrooms. In addition, the Council published six independent task force reports—on India-Pakistan, Cuba, Northeastern Europe, strengthening Palestinian public institutions, nonlethal weapons, and transatlantic relations—as well as a Council Policy Initiative on the International Criminal Court, the report of an independent commission on the future international financial architecture, and the annual report.

Council publications frequently make a substantial impact on U.S. policy. For example, when the Clinton administration announced significant changes in policy toward Cuba in early 1999, the *Washington Post* noted that the changes mirrored in part the “sensible direction taken by a more ambitious new report from the Council on Foreign Relations.” The report, *U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century*, was the product of an independent task force co-chaired by Bernard W. Aronson and William D. Rogers.

In June, an independent task force chaired by former French Prime Minister Michel Rocard released its report, *Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions*, at a high-profile press conference on the West Bank. The policy recommen-

dations of the report received broad coverage in the United States, the region, and elsewhere.

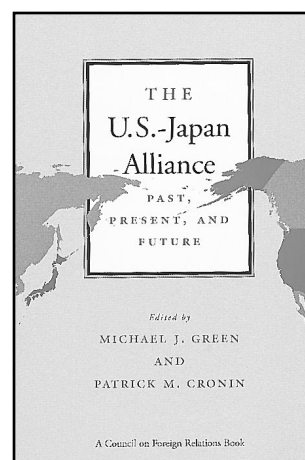
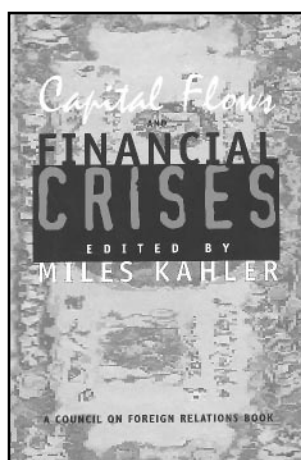
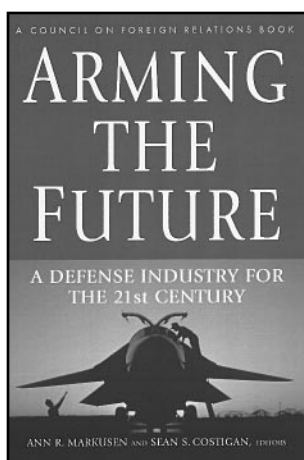
For example, the *New York Times* reported that “the Task Force report suggested that it was a matter of great urgency for the Palestinian Authority to ‘acknowledge its own shortcomings’ and change. ‘Not to reform is not an option,’ Henry Siegman, the project director, said.”

The *Jerusalem Post* noted that “The report, sponsored by the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations with the participation of five European former prime ministers, said the PA needs to make extensive changes, including developing a participatory political system. But it also credited the PA for providing services under difficult conditions.”

And *Reuters* reported that “Nabil Shaath, Palestinian minister of planning and international cooperation, said the report was ‘professional and objective’ and promised it would be reviewed seriously.”

Detailed information on all publications is available on the Council's website at www.cfr.org, which permits ordering on-line. The full text of all task force reports and CPIs is also available on the website, as is the full text of the introductory chapters of books.

David Kellogg
Publisher



PUBLICATIONS 1998–99

Council on Foreign Relations Press Books

Alliance Adrift, by Yoichi Funabashi (1999).

Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century, edited by Ann R. Markusen and Sean S. Costigan (1999).

Atlantic Security: Contending Visions, edited by Charles A. Kupchan (1998).

Behind the Open Door: Foreign Enterprises in the Chinese Marketplace, by Daniel H. Rosen (1999). Co-published with the Institute for International Economics.

Capital Flows and Financial Crises, edited by Miles Kahler (1998). Co-published with Cornell University Press.

China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects, edited by Elizabeth Economy and Michel Oksenberg (1999).

Growing Apart: The Causes and Consequences of Global Wage Inequality, edited by Albert Fishlow and Karen Parker (forthcoming).

The New Diasporas: Nationalism and Conflict in Postcommunist Europe, edited by Michael Mandelbaum (forthcoming).

The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia, edited by Adam Schwarz and Jonathan Paris (1999).

Transatlantic Economic Relations in the Post–Cold War Era, edited by Barry Eichengreen (1998).

The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present, and Future, edited by Michael J. Green and Patrick M. Cronin (1999).

Independent Task Force Reports

After the Tests: U.S. Policy Toward India and Pakistan, Report of an Independent Task Force. Cosponsored by the Brookings Institution and the Council on Foreign Relations. Richard N. Haass and Morton H. Halperin, Co-Chairs (1998).

The Future of Transatlantic Relations, Report of an Independent Task Force. Robert D. Blackwill, Chair/Project Director (1999).

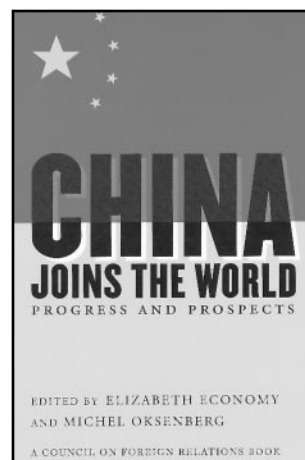
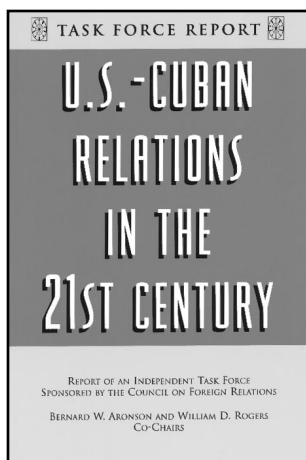
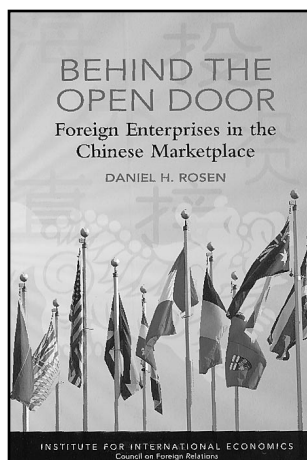
Non-Lethal Technologies: Progress and Prospects, Report of an Independent Task Force. Richard L. Garwin, Chair (1999).

Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions, Report of an Independent Task Force. Michel Rocard, Chair; Henry Siegman, Project Director (1999).

U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century, Report of an Independent Task Force. Bernard W. Aronson and William D. Rogers, Co-Chairs; Walter Russell Mead, Project Director (1999).

U.S. Policy Toward Northeastern Europe, Report of an Independent Task Force. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Chair; F. Stephen Larrabee, Project Director (1999).

PUBLISHING



Council Policy Initiatives

Toward an International Criminal Court? Alton Frye, Project Director (1999).

Papers

Space, Commerce, and National Security, by Frank G. Klotz (1998).

Preventive Action Reports

Calming the Ferghana Valley: Development and Dialogue in the Heart of Central Asia, by Nancy L. Lubin and Barnett R. Rubin, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1999).

Cases and Strategies for Preventative Action, edited by Barnett R. Rubin, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1998).

Report of the Conference on Nigeria, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1998).

Stabilizing Nigeria: Sanctions, Incentives, and Support for Civil Society, by Peter M. Lewis, Pearl T. Robinson, and Barnett R. Rubin, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1998).

Other Publications by Council Fellows and Staff

Automation, Trading Costs, and the Structure of the Securities Trading Industry, by Benn Steil and Ian Domowitz, Brookings/Wharton Papers on Financial Services (1999).

Chocolate, Piratas, e Outros Malandros: Ensaios Tropicais, by Kenneth Maxwell, Editoria Paz e Terra (1999).

A Construção da Democracia em Portugal, by Kenneth Maxwell, Editorial Presença (1999).

Partners or Competitors: The Prospects for U.S.-European Cooperation on Asian Trade, edited by Richard H. Steinberg and Bruce Stokes, Rowman & Littlefield (1999).

Strengthening Transatlantic Antitrust Cooperation, edited by Benn Steil, Simon Evenett, and Alexander Lehmann, Brookings Institution Press (1999).

The Ultimate Terrorists, by Jessica Stern, Harvard University Press (1999).

All Council on Foreign Relations Press books, independent task force reports, and Council Policy Initiatives are marketed and distributed by the Brookings Institution. To order, please call 1-800-275-1447.

DEVELOPMENT

The generous support of individuals and institutional donors continues to provide the Council with the funding it needs to maintain its diverse programs. The Board and staff are very grateful to all of those who added so much to the Council's financial strength.

Building on an initiative of volunteerism begun last year, a growing number of Council members assisted in this year's fund-raising efforts. The response has been both prompt and significant—shown most vividly in the increased numbers of Harold Pratt Associates, those who contribute \$10,000 or more to the Annual Fund. This support translates directly into a stronger organization that can tackle critical issues—from Cuba to Kosovo to China—whenever they arise.

All donors are listed on pages 92–98.

The Annual Fund

Council-member volunteers and donors brought this year's Annual Fund to an all-time high of \$2,158,500 from 1,583 members (approximately 46 percent of the membership). Fifty-eight members doubled their gifts through corporate and foundation matching gifts.

A serious effort by Peter G. Peterson and Leslie H. Gelb to increase the number of Harold Pratt Associates was assisted by the personal involvement of Bart Friedman, J. Tomilson Hill, Hanya Marie Kim, Vincent A. Mai, James B. Sitrick, and Maurice Sonnenberg, resulting in an increase of Harold Pratt Associates to 101, up from 60 last year and 35 the year before.

Term Member Annual Fund Co-Chairs wrote letters

to their colleagues in their geographic areas: Anne Brandeis Popkin and Jason T. Shaplen (New York), John B. Bellinger III and Charlotte G. Kea (Washington), David Altshuler and Anne Stetson (Boston), and Gretchen C. Crosby and Dwight F. Holloway Jr. (national and international). Follow-up calls were made by teams within each area. These efforts brought a continuing rise in term member participation in the Annual Fund, to this year's high of 36 percent. Contributors are listed in the Term Member Program section on page 85.

75th Anniversary Capital Campaign

The Council's 75th Anniversary Capital Campaign raised \$36 million in gifts and pledges for the Council's endowment, and a variety of endowed chairs and programs. Approximately \$726,000 was received this year, completing most of the outstanding campaign pledges.

Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies Inauguration

On January 19, 1999, the Council celebrated the inauguration of its Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies. The Council gratefully acknowledges support for the event from American International Group, The Blackstone Group, Cisneros Group of Companies, Eni SpA, Future Management Holdings Group, Hollinger

International, Home Box Office, and Sony Corporation of America.

Cyrus R. Vance Board Room

An executive meeting room at the Council's New York headquarters, named in honor of Cyrus R. Vance, has been endowed through a pledge from the firm Simpson Thacher and Bartlett, with other close friends and associates of Mr. Vance contributing as well. An intimate luncheon to commemorate the naming of the room was held on May 11, 1999.

Other New and Ongoing Support

During the year, the Council continued to receive significant grant support from several funders, including the Arca Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the European Commission, the Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the John M. Olin Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, and the Christopher Reynolds Foundation.

New support was received this year from Maurice R. Greenberg and the Starr Foundation for the Council's China Studies and the Commission on the Future International Financial Architecture; Michael Stuart Levin and Michel Zaleski for the Country Standby Task Forces; the Henry & Elaine Kaufman Foundation for a Senior Fellowship in International Economics and Finance; Maurice Tempelsman for the Africa Program; Robert C. Waggoner for the Policy Impact Panels; and the Xerox Foundation for office equipment.

Identifying and nurturing the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers is a top Council priority. This year, the Council received generous new support for the Next Generation Fellows Program from the Maurice

R. and Corinne P. Greenberg Foundation, the Dillon Fund, and the American Express Foundation.

Ongoing major support for a number of Council programs and activities was received from Peter G. Peterson, Maurice R. Greenberg, Mimi and Peter Haas, Stephen M. Kellen, Washington SyCip, Arthur Ross, Linda Wachner, Ronnie C. Chan, Victor K. Fung, C.C. Tung, the William A.M. Burden Charitable Lead Trust, and Home Box Office.

Special Gifts

The Council was also fortunate this year to receive assistance in a variety of noncash forms: Louis V. Gerstner Jr. and IBM provided computer hardware, software, and consulting services for the Council's e-mail and Intranet efforts; Robert C. Waggoner contributed Burrelle's clipping service, access to Burrelle's on-line version, and Media Database for the Library; David Altshuler played a pivotal role in the development and redesign of the Council's website; Lisa Shields gave her videoconferencing expertise for the Peterson Center Inaugural Event; and Leila Connors Petersen and Tree Media-Group developed a website for the Roundtable on the Caspian Sea Region that was linked to the Council's website.

The Council owes a great debt of gratitude to the many members whose loyalty and generosity supported Council programs. Our dedicated volunteers and generous donors have combined to ensure that the Council's programs will thrive. We extend our sincere appreciation to all those whose involvement has made this another record-breaking year.

Janice L. Murray
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Martha Neff Kessler	Karen E. Parker	Gordon R. Sullivan	Crescencio S. Arcos	Avis T. Bohlen
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Jessie J. Knight Jr.	Roswell B. Perkins	Brandon W. Sweitzer	Anne L. Armstrong	J. Dennis Bonney
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Knoppers	Jane Cahill Pfeiffer	Harold Tanner	Adam M. Aron	Robert R. Bowie
Lillian E. Kraemer	Richard W. Pogue	Thomas C. Theobald	Jonathan David Aronson	Linda Parrish Brady
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Bailey Morris-Eck	Ronald K. Shelp		Bruce D. Berkowitz	Robert J. Callander
Edward L. Morse	George H. Shenk		Pamela B. Berkowsky	Lisa M. Caputo

Contributors (Up to \$499)

Anonymous
Labeeb M. Abboud
Elie Abel

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Michael A. Samuels	Louis B. Sohn	Stephen Joel Trachtenberg	Caspar W. Weinberger	Barry Zorthian
Ralph Southey Saul	Stephen J. Solarz			

1999 BOARD ELECTION

The Council's By-Laws provide for a Board consisting of 30 Directors (plus the President, ex officio), divided into five classes of six. Each class serves for a term of five years. Within each class, three Directors are elected by the membership and three are appointed by the Board.

Directors with terms expiring on August 31, 1999, were Carla A. Hills, Robert D. Hormats, William J. McDonough, Theodore C. Sorensen, George Soros, and Paul A. Volcker. Of these, Paul Volcker was not eligible for continued service, because he had served the maximum number of terms permitted by the By-Laws.

The Nominating Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (Chairman), Mario L. Baeza (Vice Chairman), John E. Bryson, Linda Chavez, Kenneth W. Dam, Thomas R. Donahue, William H. Donaldson, David R. Gergen, Steven R. Koltai, Robert H. Legvold, Steven L. Rattner, Adele Simmons, James B. Sitrick, Anne Wexler, and Nancy Young. On January 20, 1999, Ms. Hills solicited the entire Council membership for names of possible candidates. The Nominating Committee met on March 18, 1999, to consider a large pool of names suggested by Council members for the three elective vacancies, and, mindful of its mandate to consider "the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background," the Nominating Committee developed the following slate of nominees: Peter D. Bell, John Deutch, Carla A. Hills, Rebecca P. Mark,

Theodore C. Sorensen, and David K.Y. Tang. On March 26, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition process available to them in accordance with the By-Laws. No petition candidate was put forward.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 18, 1999, 1,473 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. No member's name was written on ten or more ballots cast at the meeting, and, therefore, no member was nominated for the 2000 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. The following nominees were elected to five-year terms beginning September 1, 1999, and expiring August 31, 2004: John Deutch, Carla A. Hills, and Theodore C. Sorensen. Roone Arledge was also elected to complete the balance of the unexpired term in the Class of 2002 to which he had been appointed under provisions of By-Law IV(C). Edward F. Cox, Matthew Nimetz, and Donald H. Rivkin served as election overseers.

Under current procedures, the Board then completed the Class of 2004 by appointing three Directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee, at its June 3 meeting the Board appointed the following three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning September 1, 1999, and expiring August 31, 2004: Robert D. Hormats, William J. McDonough, and George Soros.

Michael P. Peters
Senior Vice President

COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD, 1998–99

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Chairman
Maurice R. Greenberg
Vice Chairman
Paul A. Allaire
Kenneth W. Dam
Thomas R. Donahue
Carla A. Hills
Richard C. Holbrooke
William J. McDonough
Warren B. Rudman
Frank Savage
Laura D'Andrea Tyson
Robert B. Zoellick

Corporate Affairs and Development

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Chairman
Odeh Aburdene
Roone Arledge
Jonathan E. Colby
Henrietta Holsman Fore
Richard N. Foster
Bart Friedman
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.
Gabriel Guerra-Mondragon
Todd C. Hart†
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Morton L. Janklow
Hanya Marie Kim
Sherman R. Lewis
J. Eugene Marans
Ken Miller
Vincent A. Mai
Lester Pollack
Frank Savage
Maurice Sonnenberg
Carl Spielvogel
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John H. Watts
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Vice Chairman
Roger C. Altman‡
Andy S. Bodea†
Peggy Dulany
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Joel W. Motley
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Paul A. Volcker
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Vice Chairman
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Rodney W. Nichols
Elisabeth N. Sifton
Theodore C. Sorensen
Joshua Linder Steinert
Garrick Utley
Anita Volz Wein
Paul D. Wolfowitz
Philip D. Zelikow

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Jason T. Shaplen†
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Thomas Schick
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Theodore C. Sorensen
Chang-Lin Tien

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C. Shelby Coffey III
Stephen E. Flynn
Todd C. Hart
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Kenneth A. Moskow
April Oliver
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Kimberly Marten Zisk

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James T. Laney
Judith B. Milestone
Sam Nunn
Andrew Young
Julia A. White
Peter C. White

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Co-Chairman
Michael H. Moskow
Co-Chairman
John E. Rielly
Adele Simmons

*Ex officio.

†Designated Term Member.

‡Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee.

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INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

The International Advisory Board (IAB), established by the Board of Directors in 1995 under the chairmanship of David Rockefeller, Honorary Chairman of the Council, meets annually in conjunction with the October Board meeting to offer perspectives on a broad range of matters of concern to the Council. IAB members are invited to comment on institutional programs and strategic directions, and on practical opportunities for collaboration between the Council and institutions abroad. They also provide invaluable international insights into U.S. foreign policy—from the need for new strategies and institutions for the 21st century, to the value of multilateral approaches toward world problems, to ways to foster democratization.

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

MARICLAIRE ACOSTA (Mexico), President, Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights

GIOVANNI AGNELLI (Italy), Chairman, Istituto Finanziario Industriale S.p.A.; Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.

KHALID A. ALTURKI (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, Trading and Development Company (TRADCO)

MOSHE ARENS (Israel), Member, Knesset

HANAN ASHRAWI (West Bank), Member, Palestinian Legislative Council

PERCY N. BARNEVIK (Sweden), Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd., Investor, and Sandvik.

CONRAD M. BLACK (Canada), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Argus Corporation Limited; Chairman, Hollinger International, Inc., and Telegraph Group Limited

GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND (Norway), Director-General, World Health Organization

GUSTAVO A. CISNEROS (Venezuela), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Cisneros Group of Companies

ALEJANDRO FOXLEY (Chile), Member, Senate of the Republic of Chile

TOYOO GYOHTEN (Japan), President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs; Senior Adviser, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.

ABDLATIF Y. AL-HAMAD (Kuwait), Director General and Chairman of the Board of Directors, Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development

ABID HUSSAIN (India), Vice Chairman, Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies; Chairman, Associated Journals Limited

SERGEI A. KARAGANOV (Russia), Chairman of the

Board, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Deputy Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences

KYUNG-WON KIM (Republic of Korea), President, Institute of Social Sciences, and Seoul Forum for International Affairs

YOTARO KOBAYASHI (Japan), Chairman, Fuji Xerox Company, Ltd.

RAHMI M. KOÇ (Turkey), Chairman, Koç Holdings A.S.

OTTO GRAF LAMBSDORFF (Germany), Member of the Bundestag; Partner, Wessing & Partners

GRAÇA MACHEL (Mozambique), President, Mozambique Community Development Foundation, and National Organization of Children of Mozambique

JUAN MARCH (Spain), Chairman, Juan March Foundation, and Juan March Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences

MARIA ROSA MARTINI (Argentina), Cofounder and President, Social Sector Forum; Vice President of the Board, CIVITAS

BARBARA MCDOUGALL (Canada), President and Chief Executive Officer, Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA)

RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ TUM (Guatemala), Founder and President, Rigoberta Menchú Tum Foundation; 1992 Nobel Peace Prize recipient

ADAM MICHNIK (Poland), Editor-in-Chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*

ANAND PANYARACHUN (Thailand), Chairman, Saha-Union Public Company Limited

MOEEN A. QURESHI (Pakistan), Chairman and Managing Partner, Emerging Markets Corporation

EDZARD REUTER (Germany), Former Chairman, Daimler-Benz AG

MICHEL ROCARD (France), President, Committee on Development and Cooperation, European Parliament

KHEHLA SHUBANE (South Africa), Research Officer and member of the Board of Directors, Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand

PETER D. SUTHERLAND (Ireland), Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, British Petroleum Company plc

WASHINGTON SYCIP (Philippines), Founder and Chairman, The SGV Group; Chairman, Asian Institute of Management

SHIRLEY V.T. BRITTAIN WILLIAMS (Great Britain), Member, House of Lords

MUHAMMAD YUNUS (Bangladesh), Founder, Managing Director, and Chief Executive Officer, Grameen Bank

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

I All members of the Council shall be elected by the Board of Directors. All members elected to the Council, other than those whose term of membership is limited by the conditions of their election, remain members until death, resignation, or action under the last paragraph of this By-Law.

The Board of Directors may elect honorary members with such membership rights, excluding the right to vote in Council affairs, as the Board may designate.

In any fiscal year, the Board may elect up to 110 persons to five-year term membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that no person shall be elected to such membership who is more than 34 years of age on January 1 of the year in which his or her election would take place, and that of the total number of persons elected each year no more than 35 shall be age 30 or under, and that so long as their term continues such members will have the full rights and privileges of Council membership.

The Board of Directors may establish such other special categories of membership having such rights and privileges, and subject to such conditions, as the Board may designate.

Of the total membership of the Council, the stated membership shall not exceed 3,500. Stated membership is defined as the total of those members who at the time of computation are under the age of 70, who are residing within the United States, and who are neither honorary members nor five-year term members. A New York Area member is one whose residence or principal place of business is within 50 miles of City Hall in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York. A Washington, D.C., Area member is one whose residence or

principal place of business is within 50 miles of the Capitol in the District of Columbia. All other members are National. All members other than honorary members shall be citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.

A member may be dropped or suspended from membership for a period of six months or more only by a unanimous vote of those Directors attending a meeting of the Board at which a quorum is present and voting, for any violation of the By-Laws or rules or regulations of the Board of Directors, or for any conduct even though not in actual violation of a By-Law or rule that, in the opinion of the Board, is nevertheless prejudicial to the best interests, reputation, and proper functioning of the Council. A member's privileges may be suspended for a period of up to six months by action of the President subject to approval by the Chairman of the Board.

II It is an express condition of membership in the Council, to which condition every member accedes by virtue of his or her membership, that members will observe such rules and regulations as may be prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors concerning the conduct of Council meetings or the attribution of statements made therein, and that any disclosure, publication, or other action by a member in contravention thereof may be regarded by the Board of Directors in its sole discretion as ground for termination or suspension of membership pursuant to Article I of the By-Laws.

III Members other than honorary members of the Council shall pay the following dues per annum:

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

	Business	Nonbusiness
NEW YORK AREA		
Under 30	\$ 600	\$170
30-39	1,200	300
40 and Over	2,400	550
WASHINGTON, D.C., AREA		
Under 30	\$ 370	\$150
30-39	770	220
40 and Over	1,550	330
NATIONAL		
Under 30	\$ 300	\$100
30-39	500	150
40 and Over	1,100	250

For purposes of this By-Law, nonbusiness members are those who are regular members of the faculty of any accredited educational institution, who are in the public service, who are on the staff of a voluntary organization, or who are accredited writers, commentators, journalists, or other media correspondents. All other members, except honorary members, are business members.

All dues shall be paid semiannually in equal installments in advance. Default in the payment of any dues for a period of 60 days may be deemed to be equivalent to resignation.

IV A. There shall be a Board of not more than 31 Directors. The President of the corporation shall be a Director, ex officio. The remaining members shall be divided into five equal classes, each class to serve for a term of five years and until their successors are elected and take office. Each class shall consist of three Directors elected directly by the membership at large and three Directors appointed by the Board. Following each Annual Election but prior to the commencement of the term of the new Directors, the Board shall appoint three Directors to serve in the same class as the three Directors elected at the Annual Election.

B. At each Annual Election of the Council, three Directors shall be elected to replace the outgoing class of elected Directors. Terms of all Directors, both elected and appointed, shall commence on the first day of September next following their election or appointment. A Director, whether elected or appointed, who has served three years or more of a five-year term shall be eligible subsequently for election or appointment to a single consecutive term.

C. Directors are expected faithfully to attend Board and Board Committee meetings to which they are

assigned. A Director who fails to attend two-thirds of all such regularly scheduled Board and Board Committee meetings in any two consecutive calendar years shall be deemed to have submitted his or her resignation to be accepted at the pleasure of the Chairman of the Board. The Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy in its membership. A Director appointed to fill a vacancy created by the retirement, resignation, or death of a Director previously elected by the membership at large shall be nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate in the next Annual Election to complete the balance of the unexpired term.

V A. The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held in New York City as soon as practicable after the end of the fiscal year, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. At this meeting the Board of Directors shall present a report of the activities of the Council during the past year, and such other business shall be considered as shall be brought forward by or with the sanction of the Board of Directors and that shall have been stated in the notice convening the meeting.

One-third of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Members may be represented by proxy.

B. The Annual Election of Directors of the Council shall be held at a meeting in New York City on a date set by the President or the Chairman of the Board within 13 months of the preceding meeting at which Directors were elected. Directors shall be elected by ballot. Ballots will be mailed to all members in advance of the Annual Election and may be returned by mail or may be delivered in person or by proxy. The ballot shall contain (i) the name of each member who is nominated by the Nominating Committee as a candidate for the class of Directors scheduled for election in that year, (ii) the name of any member appointed to a vacancy in the Board and nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate to complete the balance of the unexpired term, (iii) the name of any member who is nominated in each class by a petition signed by not fewer than ten members, and (iv) the name of any member who received not fewer than ten write-in votes in the preceding election. Members may cast one vote for each of as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled on the Board, and the candidates with the highest number of votes in each class will be declared elected as Directors. One-third of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at the Annual Election Meet-

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

ing. Administrative details necessary to implement the Council's nomination and election procedures shall be as prescribed by the President in consultation with the Chairman of the Board.

VI The Board shall constitute such Committees as may from time to time be appropriate, including an Executive Committee, a Committee on Finance and Budget, a Committee on Corporate Affairs and Development, a Committee on Meetings and Media Projects, a Committee on Washington Programs, a Committee on National Programs, a Committee on Membership, a Nominating Committee, a Committee on *Foreign Affairs*, and a Committee on Studies. Elections of Board members to Committees shall be held at Annual Meetings of the Board, except that, on the nomination of the Chairman of the Board, a Director may be elected at any meeting of the Board to fill a Committee vacancy.

The Executive Committee shall be composed of the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Board, the Chairmen of the standing committees of the Board, and such other members of the Board as the Executive Committee Chairman deems appropriate. During intervals between meetings of the Board, the Committee may exercise the powers of the Board to the extent permitted by law.

The Committee on Finance and Budget shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than eight additional members. The Committee shall have general supervision of the investment of the funds of the Council and of its financial affairs, and shall present the budget at the Spring meeting of the Board.

The Committee on Corporate Affairs and Development shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 20 additional members. The Committee shall help to plan, implement, and oversee the Corporate Program and the Council's financial development programs.

The Committee on Meetings and Media Projects shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have responsibility for overseeing the Council's program of

general meetings and institutional outreach activities involving electronic and other broadcast media.

The Committee on Washington Programs shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have responsibility for overseeing programs, activities, services, and other initiatives to enhance participation in the Council by members in Washington, D.C.

The Committee on National Programs shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have the responsibility for overseeing programs, activities, services, and other initiatives to enhance participation in the Council by members in regions other than New York City and Washington, D.C.

The Committee on Membership shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall co-opt two members who shall not be members of the Board and who shall be under the age of 40 when co-opted, and shall have power to co-opt no fewer than eight additional members of any age who are not members of the Board. All names proposed for membership in the Council shall be referred to the Committee for its consideration, and the Committee shall submit to the Board its nominations for election to membership.

The Nominating Committee shall be composed of five members of the Board. The Committee shall present names for Directors, Officers, and Committee members. For the purpose of nominating candidates to stand for election to the Board, the Committee shall co-opt ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall be selected by the Chairman of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President shall be an ex officio member of the Nominating Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Nominating Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background. In nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Committee is also charged (i) to solicit the entire mem-

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

bership for the names of possible candidates and (ii) except as provided in By-Law IV(C) to nominate twice as many candidates as there are directorships to be filled at the election by the membership at large.

The Committee on *Foreign Affairs* shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least ten of whom are not members of the Board. All matters relating to the oversight and management of the magazine shall be referred to the Committee.

The Committee on Studies shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least ten of whom are not members of the Board. All suggestions relating to matters of research shall be referred to it, and it shall be responsible for the initiation of research projects. The Committee on Studies shall submit regular reports of its activities to the Board.

Except as otherwise provided above, a co-opted Committee member shall serve for such term as the Committee co-opting him or her shall determine, and during such term shall have the same rights and obligations as other Committee members. One-third of the Directors and co-opted members, duly elected or appointed, shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of any Committee. Participation by conference telephone, or similar communication equipment allowing all persons participating in the meeting to hear one another at the same time, shall constitute presence in person at a meeting.

VII The Officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman, a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other Officers as in the Board's judgment may be required. The Board shall annually fix their compensation. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected for a term of five years and shall be eligible for reelection to a second term. The Chairman shall be eligible to complete any such term without regard to By-Law limitations on the number or tenure of Directors. The other Officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors.

The Chairman of the Board, or in his or her absence the Vice Chairman, may call meetings of the Board and shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors.

The President, subject to the overall direction of the

Board of Directors, shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the corporation.

The Vice Presidents in order of seniority shall discharge the duties of the President in his or her absence, and shall perform such other duties as from time to time shall be assigned them by the Board of Directors.

The Treasurer shall have custody of the funds of the corporation.

The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the corporation, and shall keep its records.

VIII The Board shall appoint the Editor of *Foreign Affairs* and the Director of Studies, if any, and shall annually fix their compensation.

IX The funds of the corporation shall be invested by the Committee on Finance and Budget or shall be deposited with trust companies or banking institutions designated by either the Board of Directors or the Committee on Finance and Budget. Disbursements shall be made only upon checks or vouchers approved by any one of the following for amounts up to \$5,000 and by any two of the following for amounts of \$5,000 and over: the President, any Vice President, the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Director of Finance, the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and such other employees of the corporation as may from time to time be designated by the Committee on Finance and Budget.

X The Annual Meeting of the Board shall be held as soon as practicable after the first day of September, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. One-third of the Directors in office shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Board.

XI These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors, provided notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a previous meeting or circulated in writing to the members of the Board not less than five days in advance.

XII Any person made, or threatened to be made, a party to any action or proceeding, whether civil or criminal, by reason of the fact that he or she, his or her testator or intestate, is or was a Director or Officer of the Council, shall be indemnified by the Council, and his or her expenses incurred in defending such an action or proceeding shall be advanced by the Council, to the full extent authorized or permitted by law.

RULES, GUIDELINES, AND PRACTICES

The following items describe important Rules, Guidelines, and Practices of the Council on Foreign Relations, with which members and staff should familiarize themselves.

Rule on Foreign Policy Positions

The following has been the policy of the Council since its origin, reconfirmed by resolution of the Board of Directors on September 11, 1973:

“The Council shall not take any position on questions of foreign policy, and no person is authorized to speak, or purport to speak, for the Council on such matters.”

Rule on Non-Attribution

“The Council is a research and educational institution. Everyone who participates in a Council meeting is encouraged to use and disseminate ideas and information developed in the meeting. It is recognized, at the same time, that many Council guests and members are, by reason of their governmental or other institutional affiliations, subject to inevitable constraints upon their latitude to express opinions, take positions, or offer tentative judgments on public affairs issues if they are speaking in a public forum or if their statements will be later attributed to them in public media or a public forum.

“Full freedom of expression is encouraged at Council meetings. Participants are assured that they may speak openly, as it is the tradition of the Council that others will not attribute or characterize their statements in public media or forums or knowingly transmit them to persons who will. All participants are expected to honor that commitment.

“An appropriate officer of the Council may, however, by advance announcement declare this Rule inapplicable

in whole or in part to any particular Council meeting, and the presentation portion of the meeting may be recorded and broadcast on electronic media and/or covered in the print media with the agreement of the speaker and advance announcement to other participants.

“Notwithstanding the above Rule, the Board of Directors may, from time to time, prescribe rules governing the subsequent release of any Council records.

“While the substance of the above Rule has been in effect since the formation of the Council, its present formulation was adopted by the Board of Directors on June 6, 1977, on the recommendation of a special Advisory Panel on the Non-Attribution Rule, and subsequently amended on June 7, 1994. The minutes of the June 1977 meeting contain the following explanatory comments about the Rule:

“The report recognizes that ‘media’ and ‘public forum’ are vague terms. But they can nevertheless be rationally interpreted in the light of the purpose of the Rule. For example, the reformulation would make it legitimate for a U.S. governmental official to report by memo to his colleagues and superiors what he learned at a Council meeting. Similarly, the reformulation recognizes that a lawyer may give such a memo to his partners, or a corporate officer to other corporate officers. It would not be in compliance with the reformulated Rule, however, for any meeting participant (i) to publish a speaker’s statement in attributed form in a newspaper; (ii) to repeat it on television or radio, or on a speaker’s platform, or in a classroom; or (iii) to go beyond a memo of limited circulation, by distributing the attributed statement in a company or government agency newsletter. The language of the Rule also goes out of its way to make it clear that a meeting participant is forbidden knowingly to transmit the attributed statement to a newspaper reporter or

RULES, GUIDELINES, AND PRACTICES

other such person who is likely to publish it in a public medium. The essence of the Rule as reformulated is simple enough: participants in Council meetings should not pass along an attributed statement in circumstances where there is substantial risk that it will promptly be widely circulated or published."

Guidelines on Meetings

By resolution adopted on February 28, 1972, as subsequently amended, the Board of Directors has prescribed the following Guidelines governing Council meetings:

"The purpose of meetings sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations is to promote understanding of international affairs through the free interchange of ideas among participants.

"In order to encourage to the fullest a free, frank, and open exchange of ideas in Council meetings, the Board of Directors has prescribed, in addition to the Non-Attribution Rule, the following guidelines. All participants in Council meetings are expected to be familiar with and adhere to these Guidelines.

"**1.** Since the Council invites guests representing many different viewpoints, since it selects topics regardless of, or because of, their controversiality, and since there is a wide divergence of viewpoints among members, it is to be expected that Council meetings will sometimes be marked by sharp dispute.

"**2.** Meetings chairmen are expected to stimulate open expression of opinion by all participants and should not attempt to mute controversy or stifle differences of viewpoint where they exist. To this end it is the responsibility of chairmen to see to it that all viewpoints expressed are treated with respect and that parliamentary decorum is maintained.

"**3.** Principal speakers should expect to be questioned vigorously on any point relevant to their intellectual interest, experience, or expertise in international affairs. It is recognized, however, that some speakers, particularly those holding official positions, may not feel free to answer some questions, and, in such case, their declination will be respected."

Apart from the traditional meetings for spouses and for sons and daughters of the members, occasional meetings are also open to guests of members. Guest privileges are for those who have special expertise or experience that relates directly to the meeting, as well

as the general qualifications of potential candidates for Council membership. Members bringing guests should secure the permission of the Council department organizing the meeting and acquaint their guests with the Council's Non-Attribution Rule governing what is said at meetings.

Rule on Conflicts of Interest

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted January 28, 1992, the following policy concerning actual or potential conflicts of interest was approved:

"**1.** It is the policy of the Council on Foreign Relations that the Board, officers, and staff of the Council be sensitive to conflict-of-interest issues.

"**2.** Any potential conflict of interest shall be disclosed to an Officer of the Board by the person concerned. When relevant to a matter requiring action by the Board, the person concerned shall absent him- or herself from the final discussion of such matter, and shall not vote thereon, and the minutes of the meeting shall so disclose. When there is doubt as to whether a conflict of interest exists, the matter shall be resolved by vote of the Board, excluding the person concerning whose situation the doubt has arisen.

"**3.** This resolution shall remain in full force and effect unless and until modified by vote of the Board, and a copy hereof shall be furnished to each officer or director at the time of his or her election or appointment to or by the Board and any renewal thereof, and to each person who is now or hereafter may become a member of the staff. The policy shall in an appropriate manner be reviewed annually for the information and guidance of directors, officers, and staff."

Archival Practice

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted June 3, 1999, all substantive records of the Council more than 25 years old are open for reference use during library hours at the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University, subject to the following proviso:

"As a condition of use, the officers of the Council shall require each user of Council records to execute a prior written commitment that he or she will not directly or indirectly attribute to any living person any assertion of fact or opinion based upon any Council record without first obtaining from such person his or her written consent thereto."

HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Directors

Isaiah Bowman	1921–50	Arthur H. Dean	1955–72	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977–87
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921–28	Charles M. Spofford	1955–72	C. Peter McColough	1978–87
Paul D. Cravath	1921–40	Adlai E. Stevenson	1958–62	Richard L. Gelb	1979–88
John W. Davis	1921–55	William C. Foster	1959–72	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979–88
Norman H. Davis	1921–44	Caryl P. Haskins	1961–75	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979–83
Stephen P. Duggan	1921–50	James A. Perkins	1963–79	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980–84
John H. Finley	1921–29	William P. Bundy	1964–74	George P. Shultz	1980–82
Edwin F. Gay	1921–45	Gabriel Hauge	1964–81	William D. Rogers	1980–90
David F. Houston	1921–27	Carroll L. Wilson	1964–79	Walter B. Wriston	1981–87
Otto H. Kahn	1921–34	Douglas Dillon	1965–78	Lewis T. Preston	1981–88
Frank L. Polk	1921–43	Henry R. Labouisse	1965–74	Warren Christopher	1982–91
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921–66	Robert V. Roosa	1966–81	Alan Greenspan	1982–88
William R. Shepherd	1921–27	Lucian W. Pye	1966–82	Robert A. Scalapino	1982–89
Paul M. Warburg	1921–32	Alfred C. Neal	1967–76	Harold Brown	1983–92
George W. Wickersham	1921–36	Bill Moyers	1967–74	Stanley Hoffmann	1983–92
Allen W. Dulles	1927–69	Cyrus R. Vance	1968–76, 1981–87	Juanita M. Kreps	1983–89
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927–60			Brent Scowcroft	1983–89
George O. May	1927–53	Hedley Donovan	1969–79	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983–92
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927–34	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970–72	Donald F. McHenry	1984–93
Owen D. Young	1927–40	Bayless Manning	1971–77	B. R. Inman	1985–93
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972–77, 1979–84	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985–94
Charles P. Howland	1929–31			Peter Tarnoff	1986–93
Walter Lippmann	1932–37	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972–77	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986–92
Clarence M. Woolley	1932–35	Elizabeth Drew	1972–77	Ruben F. Mettler	1986–92
Frank Altschul	1934–72	George S. Franklin	1972–83	James E. Burke	1987–95
Philip C. Jessup	1934–42	Marshall D. Shulman	1972–77	Richard B. Cheney	1987–89, 1993–95
Harold W. Dodds	1935–43	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972–82		
Leon Fraser	1936–45	Paul C. Warnke	1972–77	Robert F. Erburu	1987–98
John H. Williams	1937–64	Peter G. Peterson	1973–83, 1984–	Karen Elliott House	1987–98
Lewis W. Douglas	1940–64			Glenn E. Watts	1987–90
Edward Warner	1940–49	Robert O. Anderson	1974–80	Thomas S. Foley	1988–94
Clarence E. Hunter	1942–53	Edward K. Hamilton	1974–83	James D. Robinson III	1988–91
Myron C. Taylor	1943–59	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974–77	Strobe Talbott	1988–93
Henry M. Wriston	1943–67	Elliot L. Richardson	1974–75	John L. Clendenin	1989–94
Thomas K. Finletter	1944–67	Franklin Hall Williams	1975–83	William S. Cohen	1989–97
William A. M. Burden	1945–74	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975–86	Joshua Lederberg	1989–98
Walter H. Mallory	1945–68	Paul A. Volcker	1975–79, 1988–99	John S. Reed	1989–92
Philip D. Reed	1945–69			Alice M. Rivlin	1989–92
Winfield W. Riefler	1945–50	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976–85	William J. Crowe Jr.	1990–93
David Rockefeller	1949–85	Lane Kirkland	1976–86	Thomas R. Donahue	1990–
W. Averell Harriman	1950–55	George H. W. Bush	1977–79	Richard C. Holbrooke	1991–93, 1996–
Joseph E. Johnson	1950–74	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977–79		
Grayson Kirk	1950–73	Philip L. Geyelin	1977–87	Robert D. Hormats	1991–
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–58	Henry A. Kissinger	1977–81	John E. Bryson	1992–
Elliott V. Bell	1953–66	Winston Lord	1977–85	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992–
John J. McCloy	1953–72	Stephen Stamas	1977–89	Karen N. Horn	1992–95

HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

James R. Houghton	1992–96
Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992–98
Kenneth W. Dam	1992–
Donna E. Shalala	1992–93
Alton Frye	1993
Richard N. Cooper	1993–94
Rita E. Hauser	1993–97
E. Gerald Corrigan	1993–95
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–
Paul A. Allaire	1993–
Robert E. Allen	1993–96
Theodore C. Sorensen	1993–
Garrick Utley	1993–
Carla A. Hills	1994–
Helene L. Kaplan	1994–96
Frank G. Zarb	1994–96
Robert B. Zoellick	1994–
Les Aspin	1995
Mario L. Baeza	1995–
Peggy Dulany	1995–
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995–
William J. McDonough	1995–
Frank Savage	1995–
George Soros	1995–
Hannah Holborn Gray	1995–98
George J. Mitchell	1995–
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995–
Lee Cullum	1996–
Vincent A. Mai	1997–
Warren B. Rudman	1997–
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997–
Roone Arledge	1998–
Diane Sawyer	1998–99
Martin S. Feldstein	1998–
Bette Bao Lord	1998–
Michael H. Moskow	1998–
John Deutch	1999–

Chairmen of the Board

Russell C. Leffingwell	1946–53
John J. McCloy	1953–70
David Rockefeller	1970–85
Peter G. Peterson	1985–

Vice Chairmen of the Board

Grayson Kirk	1971–73
Cyrus R. Vance	1973–76, 1985–87
Douglas Dillon	1976–78
Carroll L. Wilson	1978–79

Warren Christopher	1987–91
Harold Brown	1991–92
B. R. Inman	1992–93
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1993–94
Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–

Presidents

John W. Davis	1921–33
George W. Wickersham	1933–36
Norman H. Davis	1936–44
Russell C. Leffingwell	1944–46
Allen W. Dulles	1946–50
Henry M. Wriston	1951–64
Grayson Kirk	1964–71
Bayless Manning	1971–77
Winston Lord	1977–85
John Temple Swing*	1985–86
Peter Tarnoff	1986–93
Alton Frye	1993
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–

Honorary President

Elihu Root	1921–37
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Executive Vice President

John Temple Swing	1986–93
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Senior Vice Presidents

Alton Frye	1993–98
Kenneth H. Keller	1993–95
Larry L. Fabian	1994–95
Michael P. Peters	1995–

Vice Presidents

Paul D. Cravath	1921–33
Norman H. Davis	1933–36
Edwin F. Gay	1933–40
Frank L. Polk	1940–43
Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44
Allen W. Dulles	1944–46
Isaiah Bowman	1945–49
Henry M. Wriston	1950–51
David Rockefeller	1950–70
Frank Altschul	1951–71
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
David W. MacEachron	1972–74
John Temple Swing	1972–86
Alton Frye	1987–93
William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89
John A. Millington	1987–96

Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1987–93
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94
Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–
Janice L. Murray	1995–
David J. Vidal	1995–97
Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Frederick C. Broda	1996–97
Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
David Kellogg	1997–
Paula J. Dobriansky	1997–
Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–
Lawrence J. Korb	1998–
Elise Carlson Lewis	1999–

Executive Directors

Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922–28
Malcolm W. Davis	1925–27
Walter H. Mallory	1927–59
George S. Franklin	1953–71

Secretaries

Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Allen W. Dulles	1933–44
Frank Altschul	1944–72
John Temple Swing	1972–87
Judith Gustafson	1987–

Treasurers

Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42
Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
Elliott V. Bell	1952–64
Gabriel Hauge	1964–81
Peter G. Peterson	1981–85
C. Peter McColough	1985–87
Lewis T. Preston	1987–88
James E. Burke	1988–89
David Woodbridge	1989–94
Janice L. Murray	1994–

Editors of *Foreign Affairs*

Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–28
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72
William P. Bundy	1972–84
William G. Hyland	1984–92
James F. Hoge Jr.	1992–

HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Directors of Studies

Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53
Philip E. Mosely	1955–63
Richard H. Ullman	1973–76
Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976–77
John C. Campbell	1977–78
Paul H. Kreisberg	1981–87
William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94

Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95
Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Lawrence J. Korb	1998–

Directors of Meetings

George S. Franklin	1949–50
William Henderson	1952–54
	1955–56

Melvin Conant	1954–55,*
	1956–57,*
	1957–59
George V. H. Moseley III	1959–62
Harry Boardman	1962–69
Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969–78
Marilyn Berger	1978–79
Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–

*Pro-tempore.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

For the sixth year in a row, the Council ended its fiscal year with an operating surplus. The Council continued to benefit from the strong support of its members, as shown in the growth of the annual fund and other contributions; Corporate members; special grants from foundations and other donors; and continuing emphasis on cost containment.

Following the advice of the Investment Subcommittee and with the approval of the Finance and

Budget Committee, the Council continued the diversification of its portfolio. As of June 30, the investment portfolio stood at an all-time high of \$123,000,000. The Investment Subcommittee continues to monitor closely the performance of the Council's investment managers. And, remaining sensitive to the possibility of a market down-turn, the Council bases its annual level of activity on a conservative estimate of revenues for the year.

Statements of Financial Position

	June 30	
	1999	1998
Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 12,754,800	\$ 8,954,400
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	924,800	897,800
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)	4,947,700	3,505,100
Inventories, at lower of cost or market	307,000	240,400
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)	1,273,400	1,247,900
Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures (Note 5)	714,500	4,444,100
Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)	22,572,000	16,072,500
Investments (Note 3)	74,013,500	70,855,200
Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)	48,988,300	47,758,700
Total assets	<u>\$166,496,000</u>	<u>\$153,976,100</u>
Liabilities and net assets		
Liabilities:		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 2,414,700	\$ 1,796,000
Deferred subscription revenue	2,056,200	2,335,500
Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)	1,817,000	1,815,000
Total liabilities	<u>6,287,900</u>	<u>5,946,500</u>
Net assets (Notes 10 and 11):		
Unrestricted	75,286,800	71,525,000
Temporarily restricted	35,718,500	27,301,800
Permanently restricted	49,202,800	49,202,800
Total net assets	<u>160,208,100</u>	<u>148,029,600</u>
Total liabilities and net assets	<u>\$166,496,000</u>	<u>\$153,976,100</u>

See accompanying notes.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 1999, with summarized financial information for 1998

	1999			1998 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	
Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications				
Membership dues	\$ 2,607,000			\$ 2,457,700
Annual giving	2,158,500			1,825,500
Corporate memberships and related income	2,383,200			2,687,700
Meetings	142,900			38,700
International Affairs Fellowships		\$ 613,300		530,600
Grants and contributions for Studies	38,900	7,616,800		4,656,800
Other grants and contributions	115,400	606,100		163,500
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	5,063,100			4,282,000
Book publication	98,800			56,600
Investment income allocation (<i>Note 4</i>)	3,370,000	1,524,600		3,132,100
Miscellaneous	494,300			394,100
Total operating revenue and support	16,472,100	10,360,800		20,225,300
Net assets released from restrictions (<i>Note 10</i>)	7,246,800	(7,246,800)		—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	23,718,900	3,114,000		20,225,300
Operating expenses				
Program expenses:				
Studies Program	7,280,500			6,012,000
Meetings Program	2,395,200			1,982,200
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,955,300			4,130,200
Book publication	484,700			375,000
National Program	451,500			402,600
International Affairs Fellowships	541,800			537,300
Media	327,300			237,800
Total program expenses	16,436,300			13,677,100
Supporting services:				
Management and general	3,173,700			3,410,300
Membership	442,200			292,800
Fund-raising:				
Development	420,800			317,500
Corporate Program	488,000			839,300
Total fund-raising	908,800			1,156,800
Total supporting services expenses	4,524,700			4,859,900
Total operating expenses	20,961,000			18,537,000
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses carried forward	2,757,900	3,114,000		1,688,300

See accompanying notes.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statement of Activities (continued)

	1999			1998 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses carried forward	\$ 2,757,900	\$ 3,114,000		\$ 5,871,900
Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)				
Investment income earned in excess of spending rate (Note 4)	1,003,900	4,802,700		5,806,600
Contributions for capital expenditures		500,000		500,000
Endowment contributions				3,252,600
Total nonoperating revenue	1,003,900	5,302,700		6,306,600
Change in net assets	3,761,800	8,416,700		12,178,500
Net assets at the beginning of the year, as restated (Note 1)	71,525,000	27,301,800	\$49,202,800	148,029,600
Net assets at the end of the year	\$75,286,800	\$35,718,500	\$49,202,800	\$160,208,100

See accompanying notes.

Statements of Cash Flows

	Year ended June 30	
	1999	1998
Operating activities		
Change in net assets	\$12,178,500	\$16,803,700
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation	1,241,700	1,140,800
Net realized and unrealized gains on investments	(9,590,800)	(11,914,300)
Contributions restricted for capital expenditures	(500,000)	(1,020,200)
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	—	(3,252,600)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities:		
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	(27,000)	123,600
Grants and contributions receivable	(1,551,800)	1,544,500
Inventories	(66,600)	(12,900)
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	618,700	(756,600)
Deferred subscription revenue	(279,300)	(159,700)
Accrued postretirement benefits	2,000	18,000
Net cash provided by operating activities	2,025,400	2,514,300

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statements of Cash Flows (continued)

	Year ended June 30	
	1999	1998
Investing activities		
Purchases of building, building improvements, equipment, and construction in progress	(7,741,200)	(5,759,900)
Purchases of investments	(86,155,100)	(106,146,800)
Proceeds from sales of investments	91,358,000	105,802,000
Net cash used in investing activities	(2,538,300)	(6,104,700)
Financing activities		
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	1,213,300	3,841,200
Contributions for capital expenditures	3,100,000	3,020,200
Net cash provided by financing activities	4,313,300	6,861,400
Net increase in cash and cash equivalents	3,800,400	3,271,000
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	8,954,400	5,683,400
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	<u>\$ 12,754,800</u>	<u>\$ 8,954,400</u>
Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information		
Non-cash investing and financing activity:		
Contributions receivable for investment in endowment	\$ 214,500	\$ 1,444,100
Contributions receivable for capital expenditures	<u>\$ 500,000</u>	<u>\$ 3,000,000</u>
<i>See accompanying notes.</i>		

Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 1999

1. Organization

The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (the "Council"), headquartered in New York City, is a nonprofit and nonpartisan membership organization dedicated to improving the understanding of U.S. foreign policy and international affairs through the exchange of ideas. The Council, established in 1921, serves as a center for scholarship and policy analysis, mobilizing resident senior staff, members, and other experts in dialogue, study, and the publications programs. It serves as a membership organization, comprising an ever-more diverse and multiprofessional community of men and women involved in international affairs. The Council also serves as a public education organization, reaching out nationally and internationally to disseminate ideas and collaborate with other institutions.

2. Summary of Significant Accounting Policies

Fund Accounting and Net Asset Classifications

The Council considers all contributions and grants to be available for unrestricted use unless specifically restricted by the donor or grantor. Endowment contributions are invested; and pursuant to the Council's 5% policy (see Note 4), an investment allocation is made for general purposes (unrestricted) and specific program activities (temporarily restricted).

In the accompanying financial statements, funds that have similar characteristics have been combined into three net asset classes: unrestricted, temporarily restricted, and permanently restricted.

Unrestricted net assets represent funds that are fully available, at the discretion of management and the Board of Directors, for the Council to utilize in any of its program or supporting services.

Temporarily restricted net assets comprise funds that are restricted by donors for a specific time period or purpose.

Permanently restricted net assets consist of funds that must be maintained intact in perpetuity, but permit the Council to expend part or all of the income derived from the investment of the donated assets for either specified or unspecified purposes.

As of June 30, 1998, an adjustment of \$1,250,000, which decreased permanently restricted net assets and increased unrestricted net assets, was made to properly reflect donor restrictions.

1998 Financial Information

The financial statements include certain prior year summarized comparative information in total but not by net asset class. Such information does not include sufficient detail to constitute a presentation in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles. Accordingly,

BUDGET AND FINANCE

such information should be read in conjunction with the Council's financial statements for the year ended June 30, 1998, from which the summarized information was derived. In addition, certain 1998 amounts were reclassified to conform to the 1999 presentation.

Support and Revenue

Contributions, including a portion of membership dues, are recorded when received unconditionally, at their fair value. Gifts received with donor stipulations that limit the use of donated assets are reported as either temporarily or permanently restricted support. When a donor restriction expires, that is, when a time restriction ends or purpose restriction is fulfilled, temporarily restricted net assets are reclassified as unrestricted net assets and reported in the statement of activities as net assets released from restrictions. It is the Council's policy to imply a time restriction on gifts of long-lived assets and contributions to be used to acquire long-lived assets in the absence of explicit donor restrictions to that effect.

Conditional contributions, such as grants with matching requirements, are recognized in the appropriate net asset class when the conditions have been met.

Payments for subscriptions to *Foreign Affairs* are recognized as revenue over the period during which the subscriptions are fulfilled.

Cash and Cash Equivalents

The Council considers all highly liquid investments purchased with a maturity of three months or less, excluding cash equivalents held as investments, to be cash equivalents.

Investments

The Council's investments are recorded at their fair values, which are based on quoted market prices for individual debt and marketable equity securities, and published unit values for mutual funds. The Council's hedge funds, which consist of interests in investment limited partnerships and investment companies, are carried as follows:

- The Council's investment in investment companies, represented by share ownership, is carried at the aggregate net asset value of the shares held by the Council. The net asset value is based on the net market value of the investment company's investment portfolio as determined by the management of the investment company.
- The carrying value of investments in investment limited partnerships reflects the Council's net contributions to the respective partnerships and its share of realized and unrealized investment income and expenses of the respective partnerships. Investments held by the investment limited partnerships generally are carried at fair value as determined by the respective general partners.

Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

The Council follows the practice of capitalizing expenditures for land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, and generally depreciates these assets on the straight-line basis over their estimated useful lives (see Note 6). The fair value of donated property and equipment is similarly capitalized and depreciated.

Measure of Operations

The Council includes in its definition of operations all revenues and expenses that are an integral part of its programs and supporting activities, including an authorized investment income allocation (see Note 4) and all contributions except for those that are restricted for capital expenditures or have been permanently restricted by donors. Investment income, including net realized and unrealized gains and losses, earned in excess of (or less than) the Council's aggregate authorized spending amount, contributions for capital expenditures, and contributions to permanently restricted net assets are recognized as nonoperating activity.

Use of Estimates

The preparation of financial statements in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect the reported amounts of assets and liabilities and disclosure of contingent assets and liabilities at the date of the financial statements and the reported amounts of revenue and expenses during the reporting period. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

3. Investments

The components of the Council's long-term investments were as follows:

	June 30		1998	
	1999		1998	
	Cost	Carrying Value	Cost	Carrying Value
Domestic equity securities	\$ 51,016,900	\$ 58,868,700	\$ 37,624,500	\$ 52,185,600
International equity securities	14,165,900	18,416,500	15,915,900	18,555,700
Foreign and corporate bonds	10,800,000	10,532,800	9,612,500	9,691,300
U.S. government agency obligations	11,051,700	10,834,000	11,088,000	11,404,000
Hedge funds	24,000,000	22,942,000	24,000,000	23,392,500
Mutual funds:				
Equity funds	—	—	171,400	164,600
Money market funds	1,407,800	1,407,800	3,220,200	3,220,200
Total	\$112,442,300	\$123,001,800	\$101,632,500	\$118,613,900

BUDGET AND FINANCE

The hedge funds in which the Council has invested may trade various financial instruments with off-balance sheet risk. These financial instruments include securities sold short and long, options contracts, and foreign currency forward contracts. Such transactions subject the hedge funds, and their investors, to market risk associated with changes in the value of the underlying securities, financial instruments, and foreign currencies, as well as the risk of loss if a counterparty fails to perform. The respective hedge fund managers endeavor to limit the risk associated with such transactions.

4. Investment Allocation

It is a Council policy to make an annual investment allocation for the support of operations at 5% of the average market value of the investments for the three previous years. In 1999 and 1998, additional gains of \$1,940,500 and \$1,439,000, respectively, were also utilized to fulfill donor restrictions. Investment income has been reported as follows:

	Year ended June 30		
	1999		1998
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$751,200 and \$674,900 in 1999 and 1998, respectively	\$ 453,900	\$ 656,500	\$ 1,110,400
Net realized and unrealized gains	3,920,000	5,670,800	9,590,800
Total return on investments	4,373,900	6,327,300	10,701,200
Investment return used for current operations	(3,370,000)	(1,524,600)	(4,894,600)
Investment return in excess of amounts used for current operations	\$1,003,900	\$4,802,700	\$ 5,806,600
			\$10,842,600

5. Grants and Contributions Receivable

Receivables consist substantially of promises to give and are due from individuals, corporations, and foundations. Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures are primarily due within one year. Grants and contributions receivable are due to be collected as follows:

	June 30	
	1999	1998
Less than one year	\$5,662,200	\$7,949,200
One to five years	1,400,000	1,283,400
After five years	150,000	300,000
	7,212,200	9,532,600
Less discount (using 6% rate)	276,600	335,500
Grants and contributions receivable, net	\$6,935,600	\$9,197,100

6. Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, at cost, are summarized as follows:

	June 30		Estimated Useful Life
	1999	1998	
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	23,447,300	10,581,900	10-55 years
Equipment	5,436,800	4,994,200	3-15 years
Construction in progress	—	5,566,800	
	30,738,400	22,997,200	
Less accumulated depreciation	8,166,400	6,924,700	
	\$22,572,000	\$16,072,500	

7. Retirement Plan

The Council has a defined contribution retirement plan covering all employees who meet the minimum service requirements. Payments, which are 12.5% of each participant's salary hired prior to July 1, 1998, and 10% for each participant hired after this date, are made to Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equity Fund to purchase individual annuities for plan members. The expense for the plan was \$703,200 for 1999 and \$599,400 for 1998. Participants must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

8. Other Postretirement Benefits

The Council provides certain health care and life insurance benefits for retired employees. Employees are eligible for those benefits when they meet the criteria for retirement under the pension plan.

In 1999, the Council adopted the disclosure requirements contained in Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 132, *Employers' Disclosures about Pensions and Other Postretirement Benefits* ("SFAS 132"). The Council has decided to provide the abbreviated disclosures available to nonpublic entities.

The following table presents the plan's related disclosures under the provisions of SFAS 132 as accounted for under Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 106, *Employers' Accounting for Postretirement Benefits Other than Pensions*, as follows:

	June 30	
	1999	1998
Benefit obligation	\$1,512,000	\$1,585,000
Fair value of plan assets	—	—
Unfunded status	\$1,512,000	\$1,585,000
Accrued postretirement benefit cost in the statement of financial position	\$1,817,000	\$1,815,000
For the year ended:		
Benefit cost	\$ 108,000	\$ 129,000
Benefits paid	106,000	111,000
Weighted average assumptions		
Discount rate	7.75%	7.75%

For purposes of calculating the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation and the net periodic postretirement benefit cost, the average annual assumed rate of increase in the per capita cost of medical and dental benefits is 6.5% and 7% for 1999 and 1998, respectively, decreasing to 6% in fiscal 2000 and remaining at that level thereafter.

9. Income Taxes

The Council is a Section 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization exempt from federal income taxes under Section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code (the "Code") and is a publicly supported organization as described in Section 509(a)(1) of the Code. The Council is also exempt from state and local income taxes. It is subject to tax on unrelated business income, which has not been significant.

10. Temporarily Restricted Net Assets

Temporarily restricted net assets are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

	June 30	
	1999	1998
Studies	\$20,403,900	\$14,721,100
International Affairs Fellowships	3,783,600	3,082,100
Meetings	2,328,700	1,774,900
Studies—Next Generation	2,599,600	1,703,500
Capital expenditures	6,602,700	6,020,200
	\$35,718,500	\$27,301,800

In fiscal 1999, temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for fulfillment of the following:

Purposes and time periods:	
Studies	\$5,148,500
International Affairs Fellowships	528,700
Meetings	743,500
Studies—Next Generation	392,800
Capital expenditures	115,800
Library	32,000
Other	285,500
	\$7,246,800

The above amount released from restrictions primarily represents revenue recognized in prior years and expended in 1999.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

11. Permanently Restricted Net Assets

Income earned on permanently restricted net assets is restricted for the following purposes:

	June 30	
	1999	1998
Studies	\$24,961,200	\$24,961,200
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,100	6,066,100
Meetings	3,853,200	3,853,200
Library	156,700	156,700
Unrestricted as to use	14,165,600	14,165,600
	<u>\$49,202,800</u>	<u>\$49,202,800</u>

12. Year 2000 Issue (Unaudited)

The Council has implemented a plan to modify its information technology to be ready for the year 2000. The project is expected to be completed in November 1999 and is not expected to have a significant effect on operations.

 **ERNST & YOUNG LLP**

■ 787 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10019

■ Phone: 212 773 3000

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS

Board of Directors
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statements of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., as of June 30, 1999 and 1998, and the related statements of cash flows for the years then ended and the statement of activities for the year ended June 30, 1999. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Council's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., at June 30, 1999 and 1998, and its cash flows for the years then ended and the changes in its net assets for the year ended June 30, 1999, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Ernst & Young LLP

August 12, 1999

Ernst & Young LLP is a member of Ernst & Young International, Ltd.

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AKIHISA NAGASHIMA	<i>Research Associate, Asia Security Studies</i>
DOV ZAKHEIM	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow</i>

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DANIEL P. FATA	<i>Research Associate, Russian and Eurasian Studies</i>	DARCY BENDER	<i>Research Associate, Superterrorism</i>
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LEONARDO ARRIOLA	<i>Research Associate</i>	Peace and Conflict	
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TOMÁS AMORIM	<i>Research Associate, Latin America Studies</i>	ROBERT P. DEVECCHI	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced</i>
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KIRON SKINNER	<i>Adjunct Next Generation Fellow</i>
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LEONARDO ARRIOLA	<i>Research Associate</i>

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COLONEL KIMBER L. MCKENZIE	<i>USAF Military Fellow</i>
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Note: Staff shown as of August 31, 1999.

MEMBERSHIP

The Council relies on its members for their active engagement, substantive contributions, and support. It also counts on its members to take the initiative in identifying and proposing qualified prospects. Each candidate is judged on the basis of his or her intellectual attainment; degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs or in other areas affecting international affairs; promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations; potential contributions to the Council's work with a desire to participate; and community standing. Under the Council's By-Laws, membership is limited to U.S. citizens and permanent residents who have applied to become citizens.

As we approach the 21st century, the Council's board believes that it is essential for the Council to become a more diverse and more national organization. Toward these goals, the Directors approved the addition of 500 new members from beyond New York and Washington, D.C., over the next five years. This critical component of the strategy to transform the Council into a truly national organization—building membership in key cities around the country—is now underway.

On the West Coast, Warren Christopher and Peter Tarnoff co-chair a task force that is working in conjunction with our western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy, to identify and bring forward qualified candidates from the local leadership for consideration by the Membership Committee. In the next three to five years, we expect to add between 100 and 200 new members from the West Coast.

In the South, the Council is reinvigorating efforts begun a couple of years ago to develop a substantial membership base in the greater Atlanta area. When the Atlanta Task Force first convened, there were 30 members in the entire state of Georgia; today that number has increased by more than 50 percent. Linda Brady, Chair of the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Tech, has taken the lead in efforts to add another 25 to 50 new members from the region in the next several years.

New groups are also coming together in Chicago, under the leadership of Board Directors Ken Dam and Michael Moskow; in Texas, headed up by Board Director Lee Cullum; and in Miami, headed by Ambler Moss of the North-South Center.

As always, we appreciate suggestions of qualified women and minority candidates, as well as individuals in the fields of business and finance, law, nongovernmental organizations, the foundation communities, and younger scholars and academics.

Elise Carlson Lewis
Vice President,
Membership and Fellowship Affairs

Profile of the Membership

As of June 30, 1999, the Council had 3,605 members, an increase of 128 (3.6 percent) over last year. Broadly categorized, the membership profile is as follows:

LOCATION	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
New York Area	1,167	32
Washington, D.C., Area	1,143	32
National (including overseas)	1,295	36
Total	3,605	100

MEMBERSHIP

PROFESSION	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
Business Executives (including banking)	928	26
Academic Scholars and Administrators	761	21
Nonprofit Institution Scholars and Administrators	727	20
U.S. Government Officials	492	14
Journalists, Correspondents, and Communications Executives	366	10
Lawyers	307	8
Other	24	1
Total	3,605	100

MEMBERSHIP SELECTION PROCEDURE

Membership Selection

New members are named twice a year by the Board of Directors, which invites selected men and women to join based on recommendations by the Committee on Membership. The Committee meets twice a year and is composed of five members of the Board and such other members as the committee chair deems appropriate. To be considered by the Committee on Membership, candidates must be proposed for membership by Council members. The roster of members is listed in the annual report.

At every meeting, the Committee on Membership considers significantly more candidates than there are vacancies. Thus, it is inevitable that the names of some candidates will appear before the Committee on several occasions. Given the high level of the competition generally, some candidates may never be elected even though they may be thought by some to have the individual qualifications outlined below.

Term Membership

In an effort to reach out to the next generation of leaders, the Board has also established a separate Term Membership Committee. This committee meets annual-

ly in the spring to evaluate candidates age 34 and younger for consideration as five-year term members of the Council. The selection process for term membership is nearly identical to, although separate from, that for regular members. Initiated nearly 30 years ago, the program has grown to the point where the Board has gradually raised the yearly limit on the number of term members who may be elected. At present, the limit is 110, no more than 35 of whom are permitted to be age 30 and under.

Becoming a Member

Current procedure requires that every candidate for regular membership be formally *nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of two other individuals, at least one of whom is a Council member*. An additional letter or two, from Council members, reflecting different perspectives is welcome but is not technically required. Currently, an average candidacy includes four to five letters of support. All candidates must complete a nominee information form, which can be obtained from the Membership office or from the Council website (www.cfr.org). The candidate must provide the following information: *curriculum vitae* or chronological resume which must include the candidate's date of birth and, if foreign-born, a statement that he or she has been naturalized or is a permanent resident who has made formal application for citizenship. Additionally, the nominator or candidate should submit a list of the names of up to ten Council members by whom the candidate is well known.

Rules and Regulations to Keep in Mind

A candidate's nominator bears the chief responsibility for seeing to it that filing deadlines for a candidacy are met and that all required documents are submitted to the Council's membership affairs office in a timely manner. Candidates and/or their nominators are responsible for securing Council members to write seconding letters within the content guidelines prescribed below. Council members are advised to commit themselves to supporting a candidacy only when they can fairly meet the requirements of the process and the expectations of the candidates who depend on them for assistance. Please also know:

- Council membership is restricted to United States citizens (native-born or naturalized).

MEMBERSHIP

- Members of the Council's Board of Directors and Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, and writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as parent, brother or sister, cousin, etc.), or near in-law of a candidate may not formally propose or second that candidate for membership in the Council. Members should also refrain from writing on behalf of clients.
- Members should write only in support of candidates whom they know well.

Nominating Letters

Letters nominating a candidate for consideration by the Committee on Membership should address the following criteria, which have always been basic to the Committee's consideration of membership candidates:

- Intellectual attainment and expertise;
- Degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs or in other areas affecting international affairs;
- Promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations;
- Potential contributions to the Council's work;
- Desire and ability to participate in Council activities;
- Standing among his or her peers.

Seconding Letters

Seconding letters need not be so comprehensive, but should amplify why, in the opinion of the writer, a given candidate should be considered for Council membership. Thoughtful, candid, and succinct comments are far more important in seconding and proposing letters than formal endorsements of candidates. In seconding letters particularly, writers should express why a given candidate should be considered for Council membership for reasons beyond the basic criteria above.

While only two seconding letters are required to assure that a candidate's name will be forwarded to the Committee on Membership, one or two additional letters are frequently submitted at the initiative of either the nominator or the candidate. Such letters are particularly helpful to the Committee on Membership when they add information or insights about a candidate not already contained in a previous letter. All membership proposing, seconding, and supporting letters should be mailed to the address indicated at the end of this section.

Deadlines

Strict observance of deadlines is essential to staff support of the Committee on Membership's work and we request your continuing cooperation. The preparation of individual membership files for submission to the Committee on Membership is a continuing process. Candidates whose files are not completed in time for any given meeting of the Committee have their files carried forward, without prejudice, to the subsequent meeting, but are considered only if completed.

REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

For prospective regular members, the deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the Committee to consider regular membership candidates are March 1 and September 15.

TERM MEMBERSHIP

For prospective term members, the deadline for receipt of all materials for the annual meeting of the Committee to consider term membership candidates is January 31.

Notification of Candidates

Candidates recommended by the Committee on Membership and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates who are unsuccessful at any given meeting are not notified, as they remain eligible for consideration at subsequent meetings of the Committee, and may continue to submit new materials and secure additional letters of support. The process is entirely one of affirmative selection, i.e., from the large and evolving pool of nominees, the Committee and the Board choose a number of members without prejudice to the candidacies of those remaining in the pool.

Contact for All Membership Matters and Correspondence:

Elise Carlson Lewis
Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, NY 10021
Telephone: (212) 434-9400 Fax: (212) 861-2701
E-mail: membership@cfr.org

Visit our website at www.cfr.org.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

A

Aaron, David L.
 Abbot, Charles S.
 Abbott, Wilder K.*
 Abboud, A. Robert
 Abboud, Labeeb M.
 Abel, Elie
 Abercrombie-Winstanley,
 Gina Kay
 Abernethy, Robert John
 Abram, Morris B.
 Abramowitz, Morton I.
 Abrams, Elliott
 Abshire, David M.
 Aburdene, Odeh F.
 Ackerman, Peter
 Adams, Gordon M.
 Adams, Robert
 McCormick
 Adelman, Carol C.
 Adelman, Kenneth L.
 Adler, Allen R.*
 Agnew, Harold M.
 Agostinelli, Robert F.
 Ahearn, William
 Edward*
 Ahmad, Kamal
 Ahn, Woodrow†
 Aho, C. Michael
 Aidinoff, M. Bernard
 Aizenman, Nurith†
 Ajami, Fouad
 Akins, James E.
 Albright, Madeleine
 Alderman, Michael H.
 Aldrich, George H.
 Alexander, Robert J.
 Alford, Roger P.
 Alford, William P.
 Allaire, Paul A.
 Allbritton, Joe L.

Allen, Jodie T.
 Allen, Lew Jr.
 Allen, Richard V.*
 Allison, Graham T.
 Allison, Richard C.
 Almond, Michael A.
 Alpern, Alan N.
 Alterman, Jon B.
 Altman, Roger C.
 Altschul, Arthur G.
 Altshuler, David
 Alvarado, Donna Maria
 Alvarez, Jose E.
 Ames, Oakes
 Amos, Deborah Susan
 Andelman, David A.
 Andersen, Harold W.
 Anderson, Craig B.
 Anderson, Desaix
 Anderson, John B.
 Anderson, Joseph A.
 Anderson, Lisa
 Anderson, Marcus A.
 Anderson, Mark A.
 Anderson, Paul F.
 Anderson, Robert O.
 Andreas, Dwayne O.
 Andreas, Terry Lynn
 Andrews, David R.
 Andrews, Michael A.
 Ansour, M. Michael
 Anthoine, Robert
 Anthony, John Duke
 Apgar, David P.
 Apodaca, Jerry
 Aponte, Mari Carmen
 Appiah, Kwame
 Anthony
 Apter, David E.
 Archambeau, Shellye L.
 Arciniega, Tomas A.
 Arcos, Cresencio S.

Areizaga-Soto, Jaime A.
 Arkin, Stanley S.
 Arledge, Roone
 Armacost, Michael H.
 Armstrong, Anne L.
 Armstrong, C. Michael
 Armstrong, John A. Jr.
 Arnavat, Gustavo
 Arnhold, Henry H.
 Arnold, Millard W.
 Aron, Adam M.
 Aronson, Bernard W.
 Aronson, Jonathan
 David
 Aronson, Michael
 Arredondo, Fabiola R.
 Art, Robert J.
 Arthurs, Alberta
 Artzt, Edwin L.
 Asencio, Diego C.
 Ashton, Sarah S.
 Asmus, Ronald D.
 Assousa, George E.
 Atherton, Alfred L. Jr.
 Athreya, Bama†
 Atwood, J. Brian
 Auer, James E.
 Augustine, Norman R.
 Auspitz, Josiah Lee
 Ausubel, Jesse H.
 Avedon, John F.
 Avery, John E.
 Axelrod, Robert M.
 Ayers, H. Brandt

B

Babbitt, Bruce
 Babbitt, Eileen F.
 Babbitt, Harriet C.
 Bacon, Kenneth H.*

Bacot, J. Carter
 Bader, William B.
 Baer, M. Delal
 Baeza, Mario L.
 Bagley, Elizabeth
 Frawley*
 Bailey, Charles Waldo
 Bains, Leslie E.
 Baird, Charles F.
 Baird, Peter W.
 Baird, Zoe
 Baker, Howard H. Jr.
 Baker, James A. III
 Baker, James E.
 Baker, James Edgar
 Baker, John R.
 Baker, Nancy
 Kassebaum*
 Baker, Pauline H.
 Baker, Stewart A.
 Bakhash, Shaul
 Balaran, Paul
 Baldwin, David A.
 Baldwin, H. Furlong
 Baldwin, Robert Edward
 Baldwin, Sherman
 Bales, Carter F.
 Balick, Kenneth David
 Baliles, Gerald L.
 Band, Laurence Merrill
 Bandler, Donald K.*
 Barber, Charles F.
 Barber, James Alden
 Bardel, William G.
 Barger, Teresa C.
 Barkan, Joel D.
 Barker, John P.
 Barkey, Henri J.
 Barnds, William J.
 Barnes, Harry G. Jr.
 Barnes, Michael D.
 Barnet, Richard J.

Barr, Michael S.
 Barr, Thomas D.
 Barrett, Barbara
 McConnell
 Barrett, John Adams
 Barry, John L.
 Barry, Lisa B.
 Barry, Thomas Corcoran
 Barshay, Jill
 Barshefsky, Charlene*
 Bartholomew, Reginald
 Bartlett, Joseph W.
 Bartlett, Thomas A.
 Bartley, Robert L.
 Bartsch, David A.
 Basek, John T.
 Basora, Adrian A.
 Bass, Peter E.
 Batkin, Alan R.
 Bator, Francis M.
 Battaglia, Charles C.
 Bauer, Joanne R.
 Baumann, Carol Edler
 Beattie, Richard I.
 Becherer, Hans W.
 Bechky, Perry S.
 Beckler, David Z.
 Bedrosian, Gregory R.
 Beeman, Richard E.
 Begley, Louis
 Behrman, Jack N.
 Beim, David O.
 Beim, Nicholas F.
 Beinecke, William S.
 Beitler, Ruth Margolies
 Belfer, Robert A.
 Bell, Burwell B.
 Bell, David E.
 Bell, Gordon P.
 Bell, Holley Mack
 Bell, J. Bowyer
 Bell, Peter Dexter

*Elected to membership in 1999.

†Elected to five-year term membership in 1999.