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*Appointed by the Board of Directors in 2001.
†In accordance with By-Law VII (as amended October 2000), elected in 2001 by the Board of Directors to serve on a year-to-year basis.
Note: The list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 2001.
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Mission Statement

Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is a nonpartisan membership organization, research center, and publisher. It is dedicated to increasing America’s understanding of the world and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy. The Council accomplishes this mainly by promoting constructive discussions and by publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the leading journal on global issues. The Council is host to the widest possible range of views but an advocate of none, though its research fellows and independent task forces do take policy stands.

Like the great universities, foundations, and other think tanks in America, the Council on Foreign Relations aims to enhance the quality of study and debate on world issues, develop new generations of thinkers and leaders, and help meet international challenges by generating concrete and workable ideas.
About eight years ago, Board Vice Chairman Hank Greenberg, Council President Les Gelb, the other Board members, and I faced a challenge. How could the Council increase its impact on the real world, which by its nature involves making specific policy recommendations, without violating the Council’s tradition of not taking institutional positions on policy matters? A hallmark of the Council is that we have always been an incubator of ideas across the spectrum of policy thought, free from the grinding of an ideological ax.

One solution: The Council would periodically create and convene independent task forces on the top foreign policy issues of the day. Each independent task force, comprising current and former policymakers, academics, and leaders from the private sector of varied backgrounds and political persuasions, would meet over the course of several months to forge policy proposals that would help resolve or manage international problems on a nonpartisan basis.

Today, the real-world impact of the independent task forces has exceeded our most fervent hopes. Imagine my satisfaction during a Council-sponsored trip to Cuba this year when virtually every member of our delegation and every senior Cuban official we met cited proposals in the two reports of the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on Cuba. Not that the Cubans were positive: Just before our visit, state television devoted much of its prime-time schedule on three consecutive nights to criticism of the task force’s work. And in our meetings, President Fidel Castro and other top Cuban officials pulled no punches in confronting our group with their objections to many of the task force’s recommendations.

But the point of the task force’s work was never for Havana to like it. The objective was to prompt new thinking, in Washington, in Miami, and on the island itself. The task force did just that. At private moments during the trip, we also learned that the task force had produced the most practical and helpful suggestions to date to break the U.S.-Cuba impasse. Indeed, here in the United States, the task force’s two reports would become the basis for bipartisan legislation in Congress and for concrete policy action.

After the first report, the Clinton administration announced a series of measures toward Cuba that, though more limited in scope than those the task force had urged, were consistent with the spirit of its recommendations. In the case of expanding people-to-people exchanges between the United States and Cuba, the administration explicitly adopted certain of the task force’s recommendations. And at the official level, the two governments began modest cooperation in counternarcotics efforts. Proposals to begin agricultural and pharmaceutical sales to Cuba, as both task force reports recommended, have made their way directly into new legislation in the 107th Congress, introduced with strong bipartisan sponsorship.
Korea provides another example of the impact of our independent task forces. Few institutions have been as effective as the Council’s Independent Task Force on North Korea in being a harbinger of change between the United States and North Korea. Through numerous meetings, reports, and letters to the president over the past few years, the task force has relentlessly encouraged Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush to engage North Korea. Most recently, within hours of President Bush’s announcement that he would continue talks with North Korea, the task force reinforced him with a letter proposing the next steps, encouraging the president to support fully South Korea’s efforts at reconciliation with the North.

Back in our own hemisphere again, the Council’s Independent Task Force on Brazil has had resonance of major proportions. The task force recommended that the United States create a focal point to its policy in South America, and that Brazil, the world’s third-largest democracy, become that focal point. The task force advised President Bush to move swiftly to establish a standing high-level dialogue with Brazil on key issues from drugs to trade to democratization to combating terrorism and international crime—stressing that this can and should be done without diminishing U.S. ties to other Latin American nations.

The task force report received immediate and sweeping coverage in Brazil and in virtually every other South American country as well, not to mention Mexico and Europe. Brazil’s foreign minister immediately requested a meeting at the Council with task force members. When the president of Brazil visited Washington shortly after the report was released, its findings were a focus of his trip.

Some task force reports, of course, examine issues a bit closer to home. The Independent Task Force on State Department Reform diagnosed the U.S. State Department as being plagued by labor shortages, antiquated equipment, and dilapidated and insecure facilities, and suggested a “resources-for-reform” strategy of specific steps to rectify the department’s shortcomings. Frank Carlucci, chair of this task force, and Les Gelb were asked to meet with Secretary of State Colin Powell to discuss its recommendations. The secretary spoke about the problems in his inaugural speech to department employees and vowed to take action. It is too early to tell whether change will happen, but the secretary at least has a road map.

The Council’s independent task forces, in fact, have gained a widespread reputation in government. President Clinton and Secretary of the Treasury Robert E. Rubin,

while at a meeting a couple of years ago in which the president delivered a public address to the Council, suggested we form a task force to address whether global financial institutions were sufficiently equipped to deal with financial crises such as the one that occurred in Asia. Carla A. Hills, the former U.S. trade representative, and I were honored to co-chair the blue-ribbon task force that emerged. We were pleased that the task force’s recommendations were the subject of much debate and mostly praise within the press corps and the financial community.

And any time the most senior officials of the United States suggest we form an independent task force to help them solve a problem, that’s a sign that our task forces—like the Council itself—are making a genuine difference.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board
My goal this year has been to continue to sharpen the Council’s focus on the links between economic and foreign policy issues. For the past several years, I, along with Les Gelb, have pushed the Council to move aggressively to bridge the gap between policy studies that emphasize economics and those that emphasize security and other foreign policy issues. It has been my conviction that the Council, with its unique blend of academic experts, policymakers, and corporate leaders, is the perfect place to build that bridge. We’ve made substantial progress this year.

The institutional site for the Council’s new focus will be the Geoeconomics Center, the creation of which has been a goal of mine for nearly a decade. After years of planning and preparation, the center will be formally launched in the fall. It has a stellar advisory board that includes, besides me as chairman, John Browne, Martin S. Feldstein, John R. Galvin, Carla A. Hills, Winston Lord, Donald B. Marron, William J. McDonough, Peter G. Peterson, David Rockefeller, Robert E. Rubin, Richard E. Salomon, Brent Scowcroft, Laura D’Andrea Tyson, and Ernesto Zedillo. Michael M. Weinstein, BP senior fellow for international economics, is its acting director.

The center will conduct policy-related research on issues that combine economics and some other foreign policy component, from national security to science and technology. Another goal of the center will be to train the next generation of foreign policy experts, who should then be able to tackle foreign policy problems that encompass an important economic dimension.

To help achieve both goals, we are working toward making the center a joint undertaking with Columbia University. Columbia could give the center a firm academic base. Fellows from the Council and faculty members from several fields at Columbia—including law, international affairs, economics, business, and political science—have been participating in a monthly seminar on globalization, to clarify how a joint center might develop insightful ways to dissect policy issues.

Several projects underway at the Council fit neatly under the umbrella of the center. Walter Russell Mead, senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy, directs a project on American foreign policy and the global middle class. He will examine the emergence of a middle class in several developing economies and study the implication of this new force for American foreign policy.

Senior Fellows Morton H. Halperin and Michael Weinstein have begun a study to flesh out links, in the aftermath of the Cold War, between democracy and development. Their project seeks to answer whether democracy hastens economic development in poor countries and whether economic development in poor nations helps to preserve democracy, inhibiting slides toward populist authoritarianism.

Michael Weinstein will also edit a volume on globalization, documenting how the world of international trade and foreign investment has changed over the last 50 years.
The essays will analyze how globalization affects living standards, poverty, and the autonomy of countries in setting their economic policies—including efforts to help the poor.

Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman adjunct senior fellow in international economics and finance, directs a project on the Americanization of finance. It will analyze the economic and political consequences of a transformation from financial systems dominated by commercial banks to a freewheeling system, organized around open capital markets. He will examine how this transformation threatens entrenched elites and identify policy implications.

Jagdish N. Bhagwati, André Meyer senior fellow in international economics, is writing a book that seeks to demonstrate that globalization’s harshest critics are wrong—that freeing trade is socially benign. He will recommend ways to address those problems that globalization truly exacerbates.

Benn Steil, our other André Meyer senior fellow in international economics, is directing a project that examines the use, and abuse, by government of complex financial instruments, known as derivatives, to manage public debt. Timothy F. Geithner, senior fellow in international economics, has directed a design group chaired by Robert E. Rubin, former Treasury secretary, and Kenneth M. Duberstein, former chief of staff to President Ronald Reagan, to evaluate the need for an independent task force on trade that would seek to match the interests and claims of proponents of trade expansion with the interests and claims of groups representing human rights, labor, and the environment. Timothy Geithner is also developing a proposal to reform development assistance, calling for targeting more money on needy countries with credible economic policies.

Stephen R. Sestanovich, the George F. Kennan senior fellow for Russian and Eurasian studies, will examine what went wrong in Russian-American relations over the past decade and the interaction of Russia’s diplomatic and security goals with its economic agenda. Senior Fellow Henry Siegman directs a project that will produce economic and trade options for countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Senior Fellow Caroline Atkinson, who focuses on international economics, will examine the impact on markets of financial consolidation and of a pullback by hedge funds from taking large bets on macroeconomic developments. Ronald D. Asmus, senior fellow for Europe studies, directs a project that, in part, addresses the impact of economics on the debate over NATO enlargement and the search for a new security order in Europe after the Cold War.

The creation of the Geoeconomics Center marks an exciting moment at the Council. It addresses a glaring gap that extends well beyond our confines into the sinews of the country’s policymaking apparatus. I can, then, report with pride that the Council has now taken its first ambitious steps toward closing that gap.

Maurice R. Greenberg
Vice Chairman of the Board
The President’s Message

As the 21st century began to unfold, we all felt the tremors of an unsettling future. Globalization, ever oversold by its prophets, increasingly revealed itself as more promise than reality. Economic growth slowed. Oil prices leaped upward. Hopes of peace between Israelis and Palestinians drowned in bloodshed. And a small matter, an accidental collision between an American spy plane and a Chinese interceptor and the emergency landing of the American aircraft on Hainan Island, fully exposed a mean and dangerous streak in Sino-American relations. The new Bush administration damned the Kyoto Protocol on global warming and hoisted missile defense to the flagpole’s top, both moves setting off international puzzlement or distress.

One might have thought that these and other such events would have triggered renewed public or, at least, congressional interest in U.S. foreign policy. Yet only blips of attention could be found here and there, and even those were not many.

On the surface, this complacency shields no mystery. Since the Cold War’s end, the American people and their leaders have been enveloped in the embrace of peace and prosperity. It is as if nothing could hurt us. Cold wars and world wars, depressions and recessions, seem creatures of the past. Perhaps the wars are, but not the economic woes.

Yet, Americans have never been more involved with the world than now. Interdependence at virtually every level has created all the opportunities applauded by the prophets of globalization, as well as all the vulnerabilities ignored by the same prophets. Much of what happens anywhere in the world can now touch us here in America as never before, even hurt us—even, yes, bring us to our knees.

The specter of nuclear destruction haunted us during the Cold War, but except perhaps in the case of the Cuban missile crisis, it was always a remote possibility. The likelihood of terrorist attacks with weapons of mass destruction on U.S. cities, however, is not remote. These attacks will happen unless we are lucky. For all our history until now, economic distress in Asia would have been shrugged off by U.S. financial
markets. No longer. AIDS in Africa or mad cow disease in Europe can readily travel to American shores in these halcyon days of globalization. The hole in the ozone layer sits not just over Timbuktu, but also over Peoria. Those very distant bouts of ethnic and civil slaughter in Sierra Leone or East Timor or the Balkans touch us and our friends and allies quickly and repeatedly—as refugees, as terrorists, or as pricks upon our conscience. Yes, interdependence, or globalization, as we now call it, can hurt as well as help us, help us a lot and hurt us a lot.

Yet still, the intensity and quality of the public debate over U.S. foreign policy does small justice to the magnitude of the opportunities and threats facing us. Why? The inattention of the public and our leadership, a problem that has
sources more intricate than complacency. President Clinton certainly did not make the discussion of international affairs his top priority or even his fifth one, though he may insist otherwise. President Bush remains somewhat of a mystery at this early hour in his tenure, though we are starting to see the effects of his foreign policy lightning bolts. Congressional debates and hearings often fail even modest tests of enlightenment, though legislators will have their counterclaims. And many lament the decline in quality, if not in quantity, of media coverage of foreign affairs, though many media tribunes claim their reports have never been better. Ideas and messages for public debate evaporate if messengers fail to deliver them or trivialize them or insist the public does not care to hear them.

But foreign policy organizations and experts should tremble before casting even pebbles at the public, legislators, journalists, or presidents. In the end, we experts bear much of the responsibility for the decline of public debate. It is in ourselves that we must now look for the answers, in the public policy schools at universities, the think tanks, and the Council on Foreign Relations in particular.

Those of us in this world of ideas do not have much influence over the media or political leaders. But we do have some, and it is roughly proportional to two things: the information we offer and the power of our ideas. We have not provided enough value on either front. A good deal has changed in the last decade, and we experts have not done much digging into what’s new and what’s not, or into discovering through empirical research the new rules and rhythms of international affairs, or into putting forward policies on how to solve or manage problems rang-
ing from ethnic warfare to financial crises. Here at the Council, we have been trying to dig these tunnels of fact and climb these walls of reality, inevitably with uneven success.

Our main Studies Department effort, an ongoing one these past seven years, has been to develop policy-oriented studies in what we call “geoeconomics” or political economy, the intersection of foreign policy and economics. Almost every major world problem has an economic core or a large economic dimension. As Hank Greenberg explains in his message this year, we have a dual mission: first, to link the study of economic and financial matters to traditional national security, country and regional affairs, science and technology, and new agenda issues such as drugs, environment, and health; and second, to thereby create the next generation of foreign policy expert—the geoeconomist.

We are convinced that new insights will emerge from fusing research efforts and thinking in these ways. For example, we should be able to measure reasonably well whether and how fast China is emerging as a military power. Insights will come from statements by Chinese leaders and by paying careful attention to the state of their military industries, their technological competitiveness, and the roads and railways being constructed to transport their troops. Taken all together, these factors can either temper the warnings about Beijing’s intentions or give them weight. Hank’s message gives other examples of what we expect to reap. More and more of our Studies Department’s activities will fall under this geoeconomic rubric, as we add value in information, insights, and policy ideas.

BP Senior Fellow for International Economics Michael M. Weinstein will serve as acting director of our new Geoeconomics Center. Michael, who has a Ph.D. in economics from M.I.T., was the head of the Economics Department at Haverford College and the lead economics writer on the editorial board of the New York Times. His clarity and precision are matched by his ability to write. Michael will work closely with Roger M. Kubarych, the
Henry Kaufman adjunct senior fellow in international economics and finance. Roger came to the Council with a solid background in financial markets, both in the private sector and with the New York Federal Reserve Bank. Michael and Roger will work with Vice President and Director of Studies Larry Korb and our other senior fellows to produce articles and books that we hope will command the attention of political leaders and journalists.

We also hope to give our leaders and tribunes something to talk about and debate through the work of our Center for Preventive Action. The idea is to see if we can produce operational plans to head off the scourge of ethnic and civil wars. Concreteness and tangibility are key; more analyses and more moral lectures to love thy neighbor have not stayed and will not stay the bloody swords of hatred. Our center has to present strategies for concrete actions by governments and nongovernmental and international organizations. Those strategies will derive from a careful inventory of local and international groups, their influence in target areas, and the best strategy to use that influence.

The center is led by Bill Nash, a retired army major general. Bill commanded the American division that entered Bosnia pursuant to the Dayton Accords, and he served as deputy administrator for the United Nations in Kosovo. He has the experience to put together Council task forces that will be charged with developing prevention plans.

A further word about Council task forces is in order here as well. In his message this year, Pete Peterson talks about this relatively new feature of the Council landscape. Again, going back about eight years, the Council leadership felt strongly that public debate, particularly policy debates, had begun to dry up. We wanted to put some life back into this process. So we established Council-sponsored independent task forces. Once we choose members of these diverse and nonpartisan groups, what they say is entirely up to them. We launch a task force when we decide that, despite public bashing, an issue is ripe for agreement among fair-minded people of varied persuasions. When task force reports have been sharp,
pointed, and practical, they have caused ripples of debate and even changes in government policy.

Increasingly, we have taken draft task force reports out to our members around the country for their consideration and debate. Our National Program, ably led by Senior Vice President Mike Peters and National Director Irina Faskianos, is now strong enough to provide real input into all our intellectual work. One of our aims is to generate a solid core of Council members in each key city around the country so that they can carry on discussions at times and on issues more of their own choosing. Specifically, we are looking toward establishing round-table groups in several cities where 20 or so members can gather half a dozen times yearly to exchange views, with or without Council senior fellows.

At our Annual Term Member Conference, superbly organized by Elise Lewis, vice president of membership and fellowship affairs, and her staff, debating the big issues was very much the main event. Our younger members, mostly between the ages of 27 and 37, need to confront the central foreign policy issues. While a good deal has changed in the recent world, the foreign policy dialogue in America remains dominated by my very able generation of thinkers molded during the Cold War. It is now up to the next generation to stake its intellectual claims and put down its markers.
In our view, the most telling issue of all to debate is the definition of national security in the 21st century. Throughout our history and that of most other nations, the national interest has had a rather limited and specific definition, covering military threats to friends, allies, and one’s homeland. Some nations included economic threats and opportunities as well, but often as an adjunct to the military dimension. In public opinion polls, Americans now include economic threats as high on their list of fears as military ones, though most of our foreign policy experts would not, I suspect.

While we are broadening our definition of security to include economics as well as traditional defense, we have another dimension to confront. Should the roster of primal threats to our lives and livelihood include environmental degradation, disease, health, drugs, crime, overpopulation, refugees, and the like? Most foreign policy experts resist this broadening. Without trivializing these matters, foreign policy experts tend to argue that these issues can be treated separately and on their own terms, apart from foreign policy or national security. But it is difficult to imagine any one of these issues being given the necessary top-level attention and resources unless they become part of the national security debate. President Dwight Eisenhower certainly understood this in the late 1950s when he...
The President’s Message

used the Soviet Union’s launching of the Sputnik satellite to wrest new moneys from Congress to support public education in math and the sciences.

This debate will be neither easy nor pleasant. Its outcome will reshape the organization of government, the distribution of funds, and the time and attention of our leaders. But to many of us at the Council, this debate should be a principal calling for our younger members and their generation. We saw the need for this on a practical level this year when Jordan Kassalow, adjunct senior fellow for global health policy, published a short report, Why Health Is Important to U.S. Foreign Policy, which became an instant “best-seller.”

Stimulating public debates on policy issues, and especially on foreign policy, is a task worthy of Job. We have been at it for several years now in our bread-and-butter general meetings programs in New York and Washington, D.C., which continued their tradition of success thanks to the leadership of Anne Luzzatto and Paula Dobriansky, respectively. We lifted debates into a separate and special category during the presidential election campaign. Our Campaign 2000 effort, featured on the cover of last year’s Annual Report, succeeded very well in its website and online versions. We also did well from time to time with face-to-face debates on college campuses. Anyone who observed our Atlanta debate on national security between Newt Gingrich and Andrew Young at Georgia State University, or the one on defense policy between Senators Carl Levin and Jon Kyl at Georgetown University, can attest to this.

But getting prominent people or prominent foreign policy experts to debate turns out to be an unnatural act. Most of them do not want to debate. Some shy away from the hand-to-hand combat and the possibility of embarrassment, and that is understandable. During campaigns, many more demur for political reasons: either they or their political handlers fear rhetorical slips that might damage their candidates’ prospects.

But by the time we finish understanding everyone’s personal and political realities, serious debate slides out of


James Baker Sitrick, Robert W. Johnson IV, and George Soros at the October 12, 2000, Meeting, “Videoconferenced Conversation with Condoleezza Rice.”
The President’s Message

To me, our foreign policy friends and political leaders owe the American people a serious debate on foreign policy. It is hard to see how our democracy can flourish without a fair and direct rendering of facts and choices. The jokes that often pass for debate too often demean facts and public choices.

This sounds melodramatic, I know. I thought I had forsworn melodrama for my tenure as Council president. But the consequence of transforming public discourse into a joke is to make democracy a joke.

Members and friends of the Council are generally accomplished people. This success and influence confers on us the heavy responsibility to maintain the quality of debates and ideas in our country. Our forefathers understood this perfectly. They gave us, among other things, the Federalist Papers and their opposition papers, almost all magnificent discourse. Equally impressive, newspapers and journals throughout the colonies carried these disquisitions for all to read. They set the standard for what those who have the time and talent to know owe to those who do not. Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas managed at once to enlighten and amuse their Illinois neighbors. Congress fathered serious debates during the Vietnam War and the Gulf War. Surely, those who would lead us and provide ideas to our leaders can muster the courage to argue and explain where they would lead us and why.

Leslie H. Gelb
President
The past year was one of transition, most notably from one presidential administration to another in the United States. *Foreign Affairs* staked out an early position during the election campaign with wide-ranging articles on upcoming challenges as seen through the eyes of key advisers to the major candidates. Given the Republican victory, the likely policy directions anticipated by contributors Condoleezza Rice and Robert B. Zoellick received constant attention from other media throughout the year.

Immediately following the election, *Foreign Affairs* presented Samuel R. Berger’s recommendations for building on the Clinton foreign policy record. Essays on the challenges awaiting the incoming Bush administration, as well as critiques of its likely preferences, appeared in our pages. *Foreign Affairs* was prescient in several areas, such as military modernization, missile defense, energy needs, transatlantic tensions, and shifts in great power relations.

Military analyst Eliot A. Cohen (November/December 2000) provided an early call for transforming America’s military forces to meet the decidedly different security challenges of the 21st century. Other military needs and forward-positioning issues were raised by former Defense Department official Ashton B. Carter (January/February 2001) and military scholar Michael O’Hanlon (March/April 2001). And Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov (September/October 2000) raised a red flag about antimissile defense efforts, particularly those that would violate the Antiballistic Missile Treaty. Former State Department consultant John Newhouse (July/August 2001) followed with a careful critique of the technical and political hurdles of various missile defense schemes.

On the economic front, *Foreign Affairs* foresaw the energy crisis with an early alert on the need to add nuclear-energy plants from Richard Rhodes and Denis Beller (January/February 2000). Noted conservationists Amory Lovins and Hunter Lovins (July/August 2001) elaborated on the subject by promoting technologically based conservation and efficiency measures, while dismissing oil drilling in Alaska’s Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as an unnecessary component of an energy policy.

Economist C. Fred Bergsten (March/April 2001) warned that trade tensions could fuel major disruptions in the transatlantic and transpacific relationships, and journalist David E. Sanger (January/February 2001) made the case for reinvigorating global free-trade negotiations. Mounting differences between the United States and its European allies were flagged by British parliamentarian William Wallace and French analyst Dominique Moïsi (May/June 2001 and July/August 2001). In a companion piece to Wallace’s, former National Security Council staffer Antony Blinken found these differences to be of lesser consequence.

Other significant articles on Europe addressed the European defense initiative (July/August 2000), the rationality of French foreign policy (July/August 2001), and
obstacles to Turkish membership in the European Union (November/December 2000).

Although the Cold War’s end is a decade old, great power relations are still of concern; political scientist Daniel Treisman (November/December 2000) reviewed the reasons for pessimism about Russia’s condition.

However, the focus throughout the year was on China, its Asian neighbors, and its relations with the United States. Topics covered included the importance and the difficulties of U.S. engagement with China (January/February 2001), China’s nuclear weapons program (July/August 2000), its growing cyber-power (March/April 2001), tensions in the Taiwan Strait (July/August 2001), security threats in East Asia (January/February 2001), and expected political initiatives from new Chinese leadership (July/August 2001).

On the latter subject, Foreign Affairs also published secret government documents smuggled out of China by reform elements within the Communist Party who hoped to influence the selection of new leaders scheduled to take place in 2002. Our synopsis of these documents (January/February 2001) revealed behind-the-scenes decision-making at the time of the 1989 student demonstrations in many Chinese cities and in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square. Since publication, other related documents have surfaced, suggesting a continuing effort to influence the upcoming leadership transition.

Ongoing attention was given to troubled states whose difficulties could ignite larger conflicts and destabilize whole regions. Countries covered included Colombia, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Pakistan, Ukraine, Zimbabwe, and South America’s Andean states.

Also addressed during the year were problems attending globalization, peacekeeping, terrorism, U.N. funding, international criminal jurisdiction, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the spread of technology.

Transitions

As the calendar year began, Gideon Rose assumed the managing editorship of Foreign Affairs, succeeding Fareed Zakaria, who after eight years in the post joined Newsweek as a columnist and editor of its international edition. Prior to his appointment, Rose was an Olin senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a part-time senior editor at the magazine. He formerly served on the staff of the National Security Council. His broad knowledge and editing skills have made him a worthy replacement for his talented predecessor.

Initiatives

In December 2000, Foreign Affairs en Español was launched simultaneously in Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Madrid. Published three times a year in cooperation with the prestigious Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de
México (ITAM), the leading private university in Mexico, the Spanish-language edition presents both translated essays from *Foreign Affairs* and articles separately commissioned by its editor, Rafael Fernández de Castro. All of the Spanish-language content is published simultaneously on the Internet at www.foreignaffairs-esp.org. In between issues of the print edition, the website publishes additional original Spanish articles and translations of articles from *Foreign Affairs* that do not appear in the three printed issues.

Circulation of *Foreign Affairs* totals 110,000. A recent study identified a third of our subscribers as holding government or academic positions, with the balance in the private sector. Twenty percent of our readership is international, a figure that has been growing steadily in recent years.

In January 2001, a new version of the magazine’s website—www.foreignaffairs.org—was launched. Visitors, now numbering 50,000 per month and growing, may read selections from the current issue that have been augmented by additional related resources, including *Foreign Affairs* articles and online materials. Among other new features, users will find a powerful new search engine offering access to past articles that will be available on a “pay-per-view” basis, and background briefings on international developments.

James F. Hoge Jr.

Editor, Peter G. Peterson Chair

*Foreign Affairs*
The Council sponsors an independent task force when (1) an issue of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy arises, and (2) it seems that a group diverse in backgrounds and perspectives may, nonetheless, be able to reach a meaningful consensus on a policy through private and nonpartisan deliberations. Once formed, task forces are independent of the Council on Foreign Relations and solely responsible for their reports.

Through its independent task forces, the Council demonstrates time and again its unique ability to convene high-level groups to help resolve or manage international problems on a nonpartisan basis. Written simply and clearly and addressed to the experts as well as the interested public, these reports make a difference. This year, a number of task forces have had a particularly strong impact.

The Independent Task Force on Cuba, chaired by Bernard W. Aronson and William D. Rogers, issued a follow-on report that garnered as much interest as its first influential report of 1999. The new report recommended...
that the United States move quickly to prepare for the next stage in U.S.-Cuban relations, setting out a number of useful steps—short of lifting general economic sanctions—that can and should be taken to prepare for the transitions in bilateral relations and in Cuba. The report calls for new initiatives beyond recent congressional actions, such as the sale of agricultural and medical products and allowing all Americans to travel to Cuba.

The Independent Task Force on Brazil issued a letter and a memorandum to the president on U.S. policy toward Brazil, urging that the United States initiate without delay a thoroughgoing review of policy. The report recommends that the United States examine where it and Brazil can work together on vital matters such as trade, drug trafficking, and regional security and move toward high-level sustained strategic dialogue with Brazilian leaders. Chaired by Stephen Robert, this task force was extremely well received both in Brazil and in the United States and continues to generate massive interest among the press and policymakers. The task force will continue in a standby capacity, meeting at the call of the chair in the event of significant developments as a result of the report’s impact in Brazil. The task force report was also translated into Portuguese.

Frank C. Carlucci chaired a task force on State Department reform that garnered intense interest at the highest
levels. Cosponsored with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the task force presented a plan of action to reform and revitalize the Department of State, the forward edge of American national security policy that, more than ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, finds itself in a profound state of disrepair. This task force did not attempt to reinvent the many findings and recommendations of other blue-ribbon commissions but instead set out to synthesize the other reports into two brief memos for the president and the secretary of state that articulate a “resources-for-reform” strategy to redress the department’s shortcomings.

The task force on U.S. policy toward North Korea, co-chaired by James T. Laney and Morton I. Abramowitiz, issued an important letter to President Bush following the group’s fact-finding trip to South Korea and Japan. The letter urges full support for South Korea’s efforts at reconciliation with the North and recommends that the administration pursue a verifiable elimination of North Korea’s long-range missiles, conduct a careful review of the 1994 nuclear accord with Pyongyang, enhance U.S.–South Korea defense cooperation, and continue robust trilateral coordination with Seoul and Tokyo. This is the fourth set of recommendations by this task force in as many years.

The central statement of the energy task force report, Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century, chaired by Edward L. Morse and cosponsored with the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University, is that we can no longer deny that we are in the throes of an energy crisis. The report recommends that the president tell the American people about this situation and make clear there are no easy or quick solutions. For many decades the United States has avoided adopting a comprehensive energy security policy, but today it faces the prospect of unprecedented price volatility and shortages. The report balances world energy requirements, infrastructure constraints, environmental concerns, and domestic energy use challenges and discusses in detail options and trade-offs for near- and long-term policy actions.

Chaired by former Senator J. Robert Kerrey, the task force on Southeast Asia was formed out of concern that the untended problems in that
region may erupt into developments of global proportion and threaten U.S. vital interests, as evidenced by some of the worst crises we have had to face since World War II—the Vietnam War, the Asian financial crisis, and Indonesian unrest, to name a few. U.S. engagement in Southeast Asia, and particularly with Indonesia, is a precondition for stability and a necessary safeguard to minimize further potential damage to fledgling democracies in the region.

The Japan economic task force, chaired by Laura D’Andrea Tyson, met over a two-year period to examine structural reforms under way in the Japanese economy to determine whether they were fundamentally changing the way business was being done in Japan. It issued a report in October, coming to three broad conclusions: First, the reforms that have already occurred within Japan’s financial system are in keeping with the interests and goals of U.S. businesses; second, the United States could do an even better job in fostering market liberalization in Japan by shifting its priorities from traditional and controversial bilateral trade targets to more multilateral processes; and third, the United States should adopt a fresh approach in its economic negotiations with Japan to match the changes in the economic environment worldwide.

Frank G. Wisner II and Nicholas Platt are co-chairing a task force on India and South Asia co-sponsored with the Asia Society on the premise that a broadened engagement between the United States and India is desirable. The task force will explore topics important to the interests of both India and the United States in the region. Ongoing troubles in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Sri Lanka, for example, have a direct and continuing impact on India as well as on the U.S.-India relationship.

The China and Russia economic task forces have extended their work and will be issuing reports in the next few months and in the next program year, respectively.

**Council Policy Initiatives**

The Council undertakes a Council Policy Initiative (CPI) when a foreign policy issue is of current and critical importance but it seems highly unlikely that clashing views can be reconciled in a meaningful consensus by a task force. The goal of a CPI is to spark debate among interested Americans on key foreign policy choices in ways that can be easily understood by informed non-experts. CPI authors try to make the best case for each alternative. To this end, the Council will publish a concise text containing the choices, written usually as speeches that a U.S. president could give, with a cover memo as if written by a key presidential adviser, summarizing the choices and giving the necessary historical and political background.

Project Director Alton Frye led a CPI on “Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine,” which
addressed the dilemmas of humanitarian intervention through three different arguments, emphasizing the moral imperative to intervene, the strategic case to refrain from intervention, and the political prerequisite to balance moral and strategic claims. The authors of the report were Holly J. Burkhalter, Dov S. Zakheim, Stanley A. McChrystal, and Arnold Kanter.

### Congress and U.S Foreign Policy Program

*An informed Congress is essential to an effective American foreign policy, and an informed congressional staff is essential to an effective Congress. Reaching across party lines, the Council’s congressional staff roundtables provide a forum to discuss major international issues under the Council’s tradition of nonattribution.*

Co-chaired by Thomas E. Donilon and Kenneth M. Duberstein, the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program held more than 70 meetings on Capitol Hill, providing a neutral setting for key congressional staffers from both houses of Congress to engage in nonpartisan discussion of various policy matters. This year, the program hosted meetings on State Department reform, foreign policy priorities, how to deal with Beijing, free trade, relations with Europe, and changing Arab attitudes toward Iraq, among others. Alton Frye directed the program.

### Center for Preventive Action

The Council founded the Center for Preventive Action convinced that preventive action is a desirable and attainable instrument of U.S. foreign policy. Using expert knowledge, established networks, and the Council’s proven ability to run task forces and studies, the center will examine civil and ethnic crises around the world and promote strategies and actions to preempt or mitigate deadly conflict. The objective is to harmonize the contacts and influence of business, nongovernmental organizations, and international organizations with the power of governments in order to enable official actors to mobilize the political will and forge the effective programs needed to avert or alleviate crises.

The center is being relaunched with William L. Nash as acting director, with an advisory committee chaired by John W. Vessey, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
The Term Member Program is designed to encourage promising young leaders to engage in a sustained conversation on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. The program allows younger members to interact with seasoned foreign policy veterans as well as participate in a wide variety of events designed especially for them. Each year a new class of term members, all age 34 and under, is elected to a five-year membership. Committees of term members in New York, Washington, D.C., and Boston serve as advisory bodies to the Council leadership and provide term members with opportunities to help create programs of particular interest to them. This past year term members enjoyed not only a successful Annual Conference in New York but also many opportunities to hear high-profile speakers and to visit West Point, the United Nations, and the Central Intelligence Agency. For information on how to become a term member, please see pages 106–8.

Program Highlights

**Term Member Seminars and Roundtables**

Kurt M. Campbell  
Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies  
“Current Challenges and Future Prospects in Asia”  
PRESIDER: Robert M. Scher  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • OCTOBER 25, 2000

William Schneider  
CNN Senior Political Analyst; Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

“Foreign Policy, Voters, and Election 2000”  
PRESIDER: Samuel H. Feist  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • NOVEMBER 21, 2000

Mark Schneider  
Director, Peace Corps  
“Peace Corps: Meeting the Challenges of the 21st Century”  
PRESIDER: Eileen E. Cassidy  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • DECEMBER 4, 2000

Kenneth T. Jackson  
Jacques Barzun Professor of History and Social Sciences, Columbia University
Term Member Program

Joseph Rose
Chairman, City Planning Commission, City of New York
“Globalization and the City of the Future: New York City in the 21st Century”
PRESIDER: Angelica O. Tang
NEW YORK • FEBRUARY 7, 2001

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies
“The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia”
PRESIDER: Alexander T.J. Lennon
WASHINGTON, D.C. • FEBRUARY 8, 2001

Stephen E. Biegun
Majority Staff Director, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
Robert R. King
Democratic Chief of Staff, U.S. House Committee on International Relations

“Making Foreign Policy: A View from Capitol Hill”
PRESIDER: Alton Frye
NEW YORK • FEBRUARY 20, 2001

John P. Holdren
Teresa and John Heinz Professor of Environmental Policy and Director, Program on Science, Technology, and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; and Professor of Environmental Science and Public Policy, Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences, Harvard University
“Taking the Temperature of the Climate-Change Debate: An Update on Climate Science and Policy”
PRESIDER: Jennifer R. Weeks
BOSTON • MARCH 15, 2001

Daniel B. Poneman
Partner, Hogan and Hartson
“The U.S. Nuclear Future: Civilian and Military Applications”
PRESIDER: Jennifer Friedman Sklarew
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MARCH 15, 2001

Maria Otero
President and Chief Executive Officer, ACCION International
“From the Ground Up and the Top Down: How Policy Can Support Grassroots Development”
PRESIDER: William Fulbright Foote
BOSTON • APRIL 4, 2001

John C. Reppert
Executive Director (Research), Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
“New Leaders Try to Redefine U.S.-Russian Relations: Will They Get It Right?”
PRESIDER: Charles James McLaughlin
BOSTON • MAY 9, 2001

Carl Samuel Gershman
President, National Endowment for Democracy
“Advancing America’s Ideals and Interests in a Rapidly Changing World”
PRESIDER: Paul B. McCarthy
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 17, 2001
Thomas E. Lovejoy  
Counselor to Secretary on Biodiversity and Environment,  
Smithsonian Institution

Jessica T. Mathews  
President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

“Global Environment and U.S. Interests: Why Should the United States Care, and What Are Our Foreign Policy Options?”

PRESIDER: P.J. Simmons  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 30, 2001

Caroline Atkinson  
Senior Fellow, International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations

“Global Economy: Risks and Opportunities”

PRESIDER: Adam Posen  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • JUNE 20, 2001

Conversations with Senior Members

Elaine F. Sciolino  
Senior Writer, New York Times

Anne-Marie Slaughter  
J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

“Civil Society and Globalization”

PRESIDER: Lisa Shields  
NEW YORK • JANUARY 30, 2001

James B. Steinberg  
Senior Adviser, Markle Foundation

“Civil Society and Globalization”

PRESIDER: Lisa Shields  
NEW YORK • JANUARY 30, 2001

John J. Sweeney  
President, AFL-CIO

“The Future of the International Labor Movement”

PRESIDER: Jacob Weisberg  
NEW YORK • APRIL 4, 2001

Richard N. Foster  
Director, McKinsey and Company, Inc.

“Creative Destruction in the United States and Abroad”

PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Beim  
NEW YORK • MAY 10, 2001

Leadership Meetings

C. Michael Armstrong
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, AT&T
“Leadership in Foreign Affairs with C. Michael Armstrong”
PRESIDER: Ian P. Murray
NEW YORK • SEPTEMBER 26, 2000

Louis V. Gerstner Jr.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, IBM Corporation

R. James Woolsey
Partner, Shea & Gardner
“Intelligence Challenges for the 21st Century”
PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Beim
NEW YORK • MAY 24, 2001

Bill Bradley
Managing Director, Allen and Company, Inc.
“Foreign Policy Priorities of the Democratic Party”
PRESIDER: Suzanne Nossel
NEW YORK • JUNE 11, 2001

Kian Beizavi with a West Point cadet at the September 21, 2000, Term Member Trip to West Point.
“Leadership in Foreign Affairs with Louis V. Gerstner Jr.”
PRESIDER: R. Keith Walton
NEW YORK • APRIL 5, 2001

Henry A. Grunwald
President, HAG Enterprises
“Leadership in Foreign Affairs with Henry A. Grunwald”
PRESIDER: L. Camille Massey
NEW YORK • MAY 24, 2001

Sixth Annual Term Member Conference
NEW YORK • MARCH 8–9, 2001

Stephen J. Hadley
Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser
Theodore C. Sorensen
Senior Counsel, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
“Challenges for the Bush Administration”
PRESIDER: Charlie Rose

Warren B. Rudman
Paula Dobriansky
Vice President and Director, Washington Program, Council on Foreign Relations
“Unconventional Challenges, New Thinking”
MODERATOR: Leslie H. Gelb

Council on Foreign Relations Fellows:
Rachel Bronson
Olin Fellow, National Security Studies
Michael J. Green
Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies
Jordan S. Kassalow
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy
Gideon Rose
Managing Editor, Foreign Affairs

David G. Victor
Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology
“Next Generation Problems, Next Generation Solutions”
PRESIDER: Walter Russell Mead

Trips

Term Member Trip to West Point
NEW YORK • SEPTEMBER 21, 2000

Term Member Trip to the United Nations
NEW YORK • JANUARY 17, 2001

Term Member Tour of U.S.S. John F. Kennedy
NEW YORK • MAY 24, 2001

Term Member Trip to the Central Intelligence Agency
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 30, 2001
he Studies Department, the Council’s “think tank,” adds value to the foreign policy debate primarily by conducting research on major foreign policy challenges facing the United States. As a result of this year’s research, which focused primarily on the interrelated areas of international economics, rethinking the national security agenda, and Asia, the Council’s 35 full-time and 22 part-time fellows produced 15 books and 20 articles in major foreign policy journals. These books included Jan Lodal’s groundbreaking study on a new arms control agenda for the United States, *The Price of Dominance*; David G. Victor’s critique of the Kyoto Protocol, *The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming*; and Robert A. Manning’s timely analysis of the energy situation in Asia, *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security, and the Pacific Future*. Fellows supplemented these efforts by writing some 100 op-eds in major newspapers, as well as by making several hundred appearances as commentators on television and radio, conducting more than 100 roundtables, and testifying before Congress.

### Program Highlights

**National Security**

**Program Director:** Lawrence J. Korb

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

**Project Director:** Ann R. Markusen, Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy

**Chair:** Richard Ravitch, Ravitch, Rice & Co.

**Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control**

**Project Director:** Stephen E. Flynn, Senior Fellow, National Security Studies

**Chair:** Bob Graham, U.S. Senate (D-Fla.)

**Roundtable on the Geoeconomics of Military Preparedness**

**Project Director:** Ann R. Markusen, Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy
Studies Program


Roundtable on the Goldwater-Nichols Act and the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Bernard E. Trainor, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism  
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies

Study Group on Terrorism  
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jessica E. Stern, Adjunct Fellow  
CHAIR: Stephen Cohen, Brookings Institution

John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda  
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Richard K. Betts, Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security Studies

Nuclear Arms Control: A Program of Action  
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Richard Butler, Diplomat in Residence

International Economics  
Program Director: Roger M. Kubarych

Project on the Americanization of Finance  
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman  
Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance and Director, International Economics

Presider Henry Kaufman, Speaker Ernst Welteke, Deutsche Bundesbank, and Roger M. Kubarych at the May 2, 2001, Meeting, “A Dialogue on European Monetary Integration with the President of the Bundesbank.”
Studies Program

Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman  
Senior Fellow in International Economics and  
Finance and Director, International Economics

Study Group on Appropriate Governance:  
Managing Free Trade in the Age of Turbulence  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Jagdish N. Bhagwati, André Meyer  
Senior Fellow, International Economics  
**CHAIR:** W. Bowman Cutter, Warburg and Pincus

Study Group on Derivatives in Public  
Debt Management  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow,  
International Economics  
**STUDY AUTHOR:** Gustavo Piga, Adjunct Fellow,  
International Economics

Study Group on Technological Innovation and  
Economic Performance  
**PROJECT DIRECTORS:** Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior  
Fellow, International Economics  
David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow  
and Director, Science and Technology  
**CHAIR:** Richard N. Foster, McKinsey & Company, Inc.

Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy  
**PROJECT DIRECTORS:** Bruce Stokes, Adjunct Senior Fellow  
for Economic Studies: Trade

Pat Choate, *The Economist*  
**CO-CHAIRS:** Sherrod Brown, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ohio)  
Jim Kolbe, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Ariz.)

A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow,  
International Economics  
COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on  
International Economics  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow,  
International Economics  
COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

Asia

**Program Director:** Robert A. Manning

Study Group on Asia’s Coming Wars  
**PROJECT DIRECTORS:** Robert A. Manning, C.V. Starr Senior  
Fellow and Director, Asia Studies  
Michael J. Green, Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies
Studies Program

Study Group on China and the Environment
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies

Roundtable on India
CO-CHAIRS: Frank G. Wisner II, American International Group, Inc.
Marshall M. Bouton, Asia Society

Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jerome A. Cohen, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Asia Studies

James J. Shinn U.S.-Asia Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, Adjunct Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies

Africa

Africa Roundtable Series
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gwendolyn Mikell, Senior Fellow, Africa Studies

Roundtable on Private Capital Flows to Sub-Saharan Africa
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Mahesh K. Kotecha, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Africa Studies
CHAIR: Maurice Tempelsman, Leon Tempelsman & Son

Europe

Program Director: Charles A. Kupchan

W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Visions of International Order
Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies
CO-CHAIRS: James C. Chace, Bard College
Stephen M. Walt, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Study Group on New World Order
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Michael Mandelbaum, Senior Fellow
CHAIR: Lawrence J. Korb, Council on Foreign Relations

Study Group on Overcoming Europe’s Divide: NATO Enlargement and the Search for a New European Security Order
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ronald D. Asmus, Senior Fellow, Europe Studies
CHAIR: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable
Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies

George F. Kennan Roundtable on Russia at the Crossroads
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Paula J. Dobriansky, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow, Russian and Eurasian Studies, and Vice President and Director, Washington Program

Roundtable on Russian Economics and Security
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Celeste A. Wallander, Senior Fellow, Europe Studies

Roundtable on Russian Nationalism and Foreign Policy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Astrid S. Tuminez, Adjunct Next Generation Fellow

Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Celeste A. Wallander, Senior Fellow, Europe Studies

Latin America

Program Director: Kenneth R. Maxwell

Study Group on Brazil

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND CHAIR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies

Study Group on U.S.-Latin American Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND CHAIR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies

Roundtable on Cuba and U.S.-Cuban Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Julia E. Sweig, Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies
CHAIR: George Albert Dalley, Holland & Knight

Latin America Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies
Julia E. Sweig, Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies

Roundtable on U.S.-Mexican Relations

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies
Riordan Roett, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies
Middle East
Program Director: Richard W. Murphy

U.S./Middle East Project
DIRECTOR: Henry Siegman, Senior Fellow

Study Group on Middle East Trade Options
STUDY DIRECTOR: Bernard Hoekman, World Bank
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Henry Siegman, Senior Fellow
CHAIR: Peter D. Sutherland, Goldman Sachs
PROJECT COORDINATOR: Scott Lasensky, Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project

U.S./Middle East Project Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Henry Siegman, Senior Fellow
PROJECT COORDINATOR: Scott Lasensky, Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project

U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Henry Siegman, Senior Fellow
PROJECT COORDINATOR: Scott Lasensky, Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project

Middle East Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Richard W. Murphy, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East and Director, Middle East Studies

Middle East Forum
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Judith Kipper, Director, Middle East Forum

Energy Security Group
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Judith Kipper, Director, Middle East Forum

Roundtable on Iraq
PROJECT DIRECTORS: Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow Judith Kipper, Director, Middle East Forum

Peace and Conflict
Program Director: Arthur C. Helton

Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Radha Kumar, Senior Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies
CO-CHAIRS: Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, Ford Foundation W. Anthony Lake, Georgetown University

Study Group on Refugee Policy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Arthur C. Helton, Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies
CHAIR: Stephen J. Friedman, Debevoise & Plimpton

Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Robert P. DeVecchi, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced

U.N. Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ruth Wedgwood, Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law

Roundtable on Women's Human Rights and U.S. Interests
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, Adjunct Senior Fellow
CO-CHAIRS: Adele Simmons, University of Chicago Jack L. Snyder, Columbia University
Studies Program

Science and Technology
Program Director: David G. Victor

Study Group on Genetically Modified Organisms
PROJECT DIRECTORS: C. Ford Runge,
University of Minnesota
David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr.
Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology
CHAIR: David L. Aaron, Dorsey & Whitney

Study Group on the Great Restoration: Protecting the World’s Forests
PROJECT DIRECTOR: David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology
CO-CHAIRS: Jesse H. Ausubel, Rockefeller University
John Spears, World Bank

Study Group on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Improving the Health of Populations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jordan S. Kassalow,
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy
CO-CHAIRS: Jo Ivey Boufford, New York University
Princeton N. Lyman, Aspen Institute

Study Group on Technology Policy and Global Warming
PROJECT DIRECTOR: David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology
CHAIR: Rodney W. Nichols, New York Academy of Sciences

U.S. Foreign Policy
Project on Democracy and Development
PROJECT DIRECTORS: Morton H. Halperin,
Senior Fellow
Michael M. Weinstein, BP Senior Fellow,
International Economics
Study Group on American Foreign Policy and the Global Middle Class  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Walter Russell Mead, *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*

Roundtable on General Foreign Policy Topics  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Kiron K. Skinner, *Adjunct Next Generation Fellow*  
**CHAIR:** Richard V. Allen, *Richard V. Allen Co.*

Other Activities

Community of Scholars Project  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Lawrence J. Korb, *Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies*

Global Kids Roundtable  
**PROJECT DIRECTORS:** Eric Aldrich, *Research Associate, China Studies*  
Alicia Siebenaler, *Assistant to the Associate Director of Studies*

Next Generation Fellow Roundtable  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Lawrence J. Korb, *Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies*  
**CHAIR:** Allan E. Goodman, *Institute of International Education*

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**International Affairs Fellowship Program**  
The International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding Americans between the ages of 27 and 35 by supporting a variety of policy studies and active exposure to policymaking. It encourages academics and others from the private sector to serve in a policy-oriented environment and permits government officials to study key issues in a scholarly atmosphere with the aim of bridging the gap between thought and action in foreign policy.

The International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., enables Fellows to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan and cultivating a better understanding of Japan’s culture, people, and politics.

The Council organizes monthly roundtable meetings in Washington, D.C., for the fellows, and a two-day conference in New York.
2001–2002 International Affairs Fellows

Jon B. Alterman, U.S. Institute of Peace
Peter Andreas, Brown University
Susan F. Bryant, U.S. Military Academy
Aaron Louis Friedberg*, Princeton University
Stephen R. Grand, German Marshall Fund of the U.S.
Elizabeth Guran*, U.S. General Accounting Office
Xiaobo Lu*, Columbia University
Michael Lynn, University of California, San Francisco
Stewart M. Patrick, New York University
Nigel Purvis, U.S. Department of State
Stephen M. Saideman, Texas Tech University
Amy Searight, Northwestern University
Brad W. Setser, U.S. Department of the Treasury
Zachary Shore, Oxford Analytica
Lawrence J. Spinetta, U.S. Air Force
John P. Tuman*, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

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

Council Visiting Fellows Roundtable Series

Michael A. Sheehan, Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State
“Counterterrorism Challenges for the Next Administration”
PRESIDER: Shibley Telhami, IAF 1988–89
NOVEMBER 30, 2000

Halvor A. Hartz, Chief, Civilian Police Unit, United Nations
“Police and Military Functions in Reestablishing the Rule of Law: Shrinking the Security Vacuum”
PRESIDER: Kimberly C. Field, IAF 2000–2001
DECEMBER 5, 2000

Jay C. Davis, Director, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, U.S. Department of Defense
“Defense Threat Reduction Agency: Accomplishments of the Past, Tasks for the Future”
PRESIDER: Jeffrey S. Milstein, IAF 1972–73
FEBRUARY 1, 2001

Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
“Ousting Strongmen: Lessons from Serbia”
PRESIDER: Jamie F. Metzl, IAF 1997–98
FEBRUARY 28, 2001

James A. Placke, Director, Cambridge Energy Research Associates
“OPEC: Past and Future”
PRESIDER: Douglas B. McNary, IAF 1996–97
MARCH 21, 2001

Michael O’Hanlon, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution
“The Case for Limited National Missile Defense and a Discussion on Northeast Asia Policy”
PRESIDER: Robert A. Manning
JUNE 27, 2001
New York Meetings Program

The New York Meetings Program provides members in New York with the opportunity to exchange ideas with influential world figures, new leaders on the international scene, policymakers and opinion shapers, and respected experts. Each year, the Council convenes over 100 programs, including single-speaker events, debates, panels, “town hall” meetings, author interviews, videoconferences, and film screenings. Topics range from those of the moment to longer-range economic and political forecasts. This year, our meeting highlights included the World Economic Update series, videoconferences with Israeli Prime Ministers Ariel Sharon and Ehud Barak, panels with past secretaries of state and directors of central intelligence, and a debate between the top economic advisers to presidential candidates George Bush and Al Gore.

Program Highlights

**Mikhail S. Gorbachev**
Chairman, Foundation for the Development of Democracy and World Peace; former President, U.S.S.R.
“The U.S.-Russian Relationship: Current Views”*
PRESIDER: Jack F. Matlock Jr.
SEPTEMBER 6, 2000

**Meles Zenawi**
Prime Minister, Ethiopia
“Ethiopia: An Update from the Prime Minister”*
PRESIDER: George J. Mitchell
SEPTEMBER 6, 2000

**Alberto Fujimori**
President, Peru
“A Conversation with Alberto Fujimori”*

**K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid**
President, Indonesia
“Economic Recovery: The Key to Securing Indonesia’s Democracy”*
PRESIDER: Maurice R. Greenberg
SEPTEMBER 7, 2000
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

**Andrés Pastrana**
President, Colombia
“U.S.-Colombian Relations”*
PRESIDER: Donald B. Marron
SEPTEMBER 7, 2000

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.
New York Meetings Program

**Hugo Chávez**  
President, Venezuela  
“Venezuela and Its New Economy”*  
PRESIDING: William H. Luers  
SEPTEMBER 8, 2000

**Jiang Zemin**  
President, People’s Republic of China  
“Together to Build a China-U.S. Relationship Oriented Toward the New Century”*  
PRESIDENTS: Barber B. Conable Jr. and Frederick W. Smith  
SEPTEMBER 8, 2000  

**Pervez Musharraf**  
Chief Executive, Pakistan  
“A Strategic Vision for Pakistan”*  
PRESIDING: Nicholas Platt  
SEPTEMBER 8, 2000  
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

**Condoleezza Rice**  
Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to Governor George W. Bush; Senior Fellow and Professor of Political Science, Hoover Institution, Stanford University  
“Videoconferenced Conversation with Condoleezza Rice”  
NEW YORK PRESIDING: Charlie Rose  
WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESIDING: Josette Shiner  
OCTOBER 12, 2000

**Alan S. Blinder**  
Economic Adviser to the Gore Campaign; Professor of Economics, Princeton University  
**Lawrence B. Lindsey**  
Chief Economic Adviser to Governor George W. Bush; Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research  
“The United States and the Global Economy: Does It Matter Who Wins in November?”  
PRESIDING: C. Shelby Coffey III  
OCTOBER 13, 2000

**Hillary Rodham Clinton**  
Democratic Candidate for U.S. Senate from New York  
“A Conversation with Hillary Rodham Clinton”  
PRESIDING: Theodore C. Sorensen  
OCTOBER 17, 2000

**Lee Kuan Yew**  
Senior Minister, Singapore  
“Crossroads for East Asia”*  
PRESIDING: Henry A. Kissinger  
OCTOBER 19, 2000

**Jagdish N. Bhagwati**  
André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations  
**Robert B. Reich**  
Former U.S. Secretary of Labor  
“Trade Policy: The Lessons of Seattle”  
PRESIDING: Leslie H. Gelb  
OCTOBER 19, 2000

**Robert D. Kaplan**  
Author, *Eastward to Tartary*  
“A Conversation with Robert Kaplan”  
PRESIDING: Walter Russell Mead  
NOVEMBER 9, 2000

**John P. Lipsky**  
Chief Economist and Managing Director, J.P. Morgan Chase Corporation  
**David R. Malpass**  
Chief International Economist, Bear, Stearns & Co., Inc.  
**Stephen Roach**  
Chief Economist and Director of Global Economics, Morgan Stanley Dean Witter
**New York Meetings Program**


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**Bruce Steinberg**  
Chief Economist, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.  
“World Economic Update”  
**PRESIDER:** Daniel K. Tarullo  
**NOVEMBER 17, 2000 • FEBRUARY 8, 2001 • APRIL 12, 2001**

**Peter O. Almond**  
Producer, *Thirteen Days*

**Theodore C. Sorensen**  
Senior Counsel, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; former Special Counsel and Speechwriter to President John F. Kennedy  
“Thirteen Days”  
**PRESIDER:** Michael D. McCurry  
**NOVEMBER 20, 2000**

**Charlene Barshefsky**  
U.S. Trade Representative  
“U.S. Trade Policy: A Look Back, A Look Ahead”**  
**PRESIDER:** Michael B.G. Froman  
**NOVEMBER 29, 2000**

**John G. Ruggie**  
Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations  
“The United Nations and Global Community”  
**PRESIDER:** William H. Luers  
**NOVEMBER 29, 2000**  
THE SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

**Anthony C. Zinni**  
General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret); former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command  
“A Conversation with General Zinni: Security from the Gulf to Central Asia”  
**PRESIDER:** Guy Patrick Wyser-Pratte  
**DECEMBER 4, 2000**

**Vern Clark**  
Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy

**Michael E. Ryan**  
Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

**Eric K. Shinseki**  
Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

**Michael J. Williams**  
Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps  
“U.S. Defense Policy Under the New Administration”  
**PRESIDER:** William J. Crowe  
**JANUARY 4, 2001**  
THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE

**Ehud Barak**  
Prime Minister, Israel  
“Videoconferenced Conversation with Ehud Barak”  
**PRESIDER:** Leslie H. Gelb  
**JANUARY 8, 2001**  
THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

**Jorge G. Castañeda**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico  
“Political Change in Mexico”**  
**PRESIDER:** James R. Jones  
**JANUARY 10, 2001**

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*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.*
New York Meetings Program

Chas. W. Freeman Jr.
Chairman, Projects International Inc.

Kenneth G. Lieberthal
Professor of Political Science and William Davidson Professor of Business Administration, University of Michigan; former Special Assistant to the President for Asia and Senior Director for Asia, National Security Council

James R. Lilley
Resident Fellow of Asian Studies, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; former U.S. Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China

Andrew J. Nathan
Co-editor, The Tiananmen Papers; Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

Orville H. Schell
Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley

“The Tiananmen Papers—Secret Documents on High-Level Meetings: Are They Authentic? What Do They Mean?”

PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.
JANUARY 11, 2001

Samuel R. Berger
U.S. National Security Adviser

“A Foreign Policy for the Global Age”*

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
JANUARY 11, 2001

Philip Gourevitch
Staff Writer, The New Yorker

Sidney R. Jones
Executive Director, Human Rights Watch/Asia

David Rieff
Fellow, World Policy Institute


PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
JANUARY 23, 2001

DINNER IN HONOR OF FREDERICK P. ROSE

Ariel Sharon
Chairman, Likud Party, Israel

“Videoconferenced Conversation with Ariel Sharon”

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Marilyn Berger
WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESIDER: Judith Kipper
JANUARY 24, 2001

Tony Judt
Director, Remarque Institute, New York University

Martin Walker
Public Policy Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

“Europe Regional Update: Will ‘Europe’ Take New Directions?”

PRESIDER: Harold M. Evans
JANUARY 24, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON GERMANY AND THE WOMEN’S FOREIGN POLICY GROUP

Frank E. Loy
Head of the U.S. Delegation to Conference in The Hague on the Kyoto Protocol; former Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State
Jan Pronk
Minister of Housing, Spatial Planning, and the Environment, Netherlands; Chairman of Conference in The Hague on the Kyoto Protocol
“Global Warming and the Kyoto Protocol: Prospects for Progress after Deadlock at The Hague”
PRESIDER: David G. Victor
FEBRUARY 12, 2001

Richard V. Allen
Chairman, Richard V. Allen Co.; former U.S. National Security Adviser

Henry A. Kissinger
Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. National Security Adviser

Robert C. McFarlane
Chairman, Energy and Communications Solutions, LLC; former U.S. National Security Adviser

Brent Scowcroft
President, Forum for International Policy; former U.S. National Security Adviser
“National Security Looking Forward”
PRESIDER: Richard C. Holbrooke
FEBRUARY 15, 2001
HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Yoichi Funabashi
Editorial Member and Columnist, Asahi Shim bun

Stanley O. Roth
Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

J. Stapleton Roy
Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, China, and Singapore
“Regional Update: Asia”
PRESIDER: Winston Lord
MARCH 5, 2001

Clifford G. Gaddy
Fellow, Economic Studies and Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

Michael McFaul
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Stephen R. Sestanovich
Former Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Newly Independent States, U.S. Department of State
“Russia Update”
PRESIDER: Celeste A. Wallander
MARCH 12, 2001

Madeleine K. Albright
Chairman, National Democratic Institute; former U.S. Secretary of State
“A Conversation with Madeleine Albright”
PRESIDER: Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
APRIL 2, 2001
THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

Lawrence Harrison
Associate, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Harvard University

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.
New York Meetings Program

Jeffrey D. Sachs
Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade and Director, Center for International Development, Harvard University
“Culture Matters”
PRESIDER: Alexander Stille
APRIL 17, 2001

Joel Klein
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bertelsmann Inc.; former Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, U.S. Department of Justice

Mario Monti
Commissioner for Competition Policy, European Commission
“Globalization of Antitrust Policy”
PRESIDER: Richard N. Gardner
APRIL 18, 2001
A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

Madeleine K. Albright (New York)
Chairman, National Democratic Institute; former U.S. Secretary of State

Warren Christopher (San Francisco)
Senior Partner, O’Melveny & Myers LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

Henry A. Kissinger (New York)
Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. Secretary of State

George P. Shultz (San Francisco)
Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University; former U.S. Secretary of State
“Videoconferenced Conversation with the Former Secretaries of State”*
NEW YORK PRESIDER: Walter S. Isaacson
SAN FRANCISCO PRESIDER: Peter Tarnoff
APRIL 24, 2001

Bill Berkeley
Editorial Writer, New York Times

Philip Gourevitch
Staff Writer, The New Yorker

Ryszard Kapuscinski
Author, Shadow of the Sun
“Africa Update”
PRESIDER: Marcus Mabry
MAY 3, 2001

John Deutch
Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; former Director of Central Intelligence

Stansfield Turner
Professor, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park; former Director of Central Intelligence; Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.)

William H. Webster
Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy; former Director of Central Intelligence

R. James Woolsey
Partner, Shea & Gardner; former Director of Central Intelligence

“Videoconferenced Meeting: The CIA from Carter to Clinton: What’s Changed? What’s Next?”
NEW YORK PRESIDER: Daniel L. Schorr
CHICAGO PRESIDER: Mitchel B. Wallerstein
MAY 23, 2001
HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Howard H. Baker Jr.
Partner, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell; former White House Chief of Staff

Erskine B. Bowles
General Partner, Forstmann Little & Co.; former White House Chief of Staff

John D. Podesta
Visiting Professor, Georgetown University Law Center; former White House Chief of Staff

Samuel K. Skinner
Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer, US Freightways; former White House Chief of Staff
“The Pivotal Role of the White House Chief of Staff—How Is It Changing?”
PRESIDER: Marvin Kalb
MAY 29, 2001
HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

James D. Wolfensohn
President, World Bank
“Integrating Africa into the World Economy: The Challenges Ahead”
PRESIDER: Henry Kaufman
JUNE 14, 2001
THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

Festus G. Mogae
President, Botswana
“Botswana’s Case for Development Diamonds”
PRESIDER: Richard M. Moose
JUNE 26, 2001
THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.
Washington Program

This year was marked by the grand opening of our new videoconference facilities and the expansion of the D.C. office. The Washington Program pursued various formats, including videoconferenced meetings with Yasser Arafat, Ariel Sharon, and Ehud Barak. President Kim Dae-Jung of South Korea, President Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina of Bangladesh, Foreign Minister János Mártonyi of Hungary, and other international dignitaries met with members. In October, the Campaign 2000 initiative concluded, and in April, a Policy Debate Series was launched with meetings on nuclear weapons reductions, Iraq, and Plan Colombia. The D.C. office also partnered with HBO to premier three moving documentary films. Overall, it has been an exhilarating year for the Washington Program, highlighted by the continued tradition of excellence in foreign policy discussions and research.

Program Highlights

Leon S. Fuerth
U.S. National Security Adviser, Office of the Vice President
“Engaging Abroad: Vice President Gore and U.S. Foreign Policy”
PRESIDER: Lee Cullum
SEPTEMBER 20, 2000

Kent Kresa
Board Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer, Northrop Grumman Corporation
PRESIDER: John J. Hamre
OCTOBER 11, 2000

Condoleezza Rice
Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to Governor George W. Bush; Senior Fellow and Professor of Political Science, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
“Videoconferenced Conversation with Condoleezza Rice”
NEW YORK PRESIDER: Charlie Rose
WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESIDER: Josette S. Shiner
OCTOBER 12, 2000

Laura D’Andrea Tyson
Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley; Chair, Independent Economic Task Force on Japan, Council on Foreign Relations
PRESIDER: M. Diana Helweg Newton
OCTOBER 24, 2000
**Washington Program**

**Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi**  
Secretary-General, MIFTAH; Member, Palestinian Legislative Council  
“Is Palestinian-Israeli Peace a Shattered Dream? A Palestinian Perspective on Getting Back to Negotiations”  
PRESIDER: Judith Kipper  
OCTOBER 30, 2000  
MIDDLE EAST FORUM

**Robert B. Zoellick**  
Former Undersecretary, U.S. Department of State; former White House Deputy Chief of Staff; former Counselor to the Secretary of the Treasury  
“Governor Bush and the Century of the Americas”  
PRESIDER: Bernard W. Aronson  
OCTOBER 30, 2000

**Elaine F. Sciolino**  
Senior Writer, New York Times; Author, Persian Mirrors: The Elusive Face of Iran  
“Persian Mirrors: The Elusive Face of Iran”  
PRESIDER: Toby Trister Gati  
NOVEMBER 13, 2000  
MIDDLE EAST FORUM AND AUTHOR’S SPOTLIGHT SERIES

**Frank E. Loy**  
Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State  
“Global Climate Change: A Post-Summit Update”  
PRESIDER: Henrietta Holsman Fore  
NOVEMBER 30, 2000

**Anthony C. Zinni**  
Chairman, Middle East Forum, Council on Foreign Relations; General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.); former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command  
“Threats and Challenges for the Next Administration in the Middle East and South Asia”  
PRESIDER: George R. Salem  
DECEMBER 11, 2000  
MIDDLE EAST FORUM

**Richard N. Haass**  
Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution  
**Mark Palmer**  
President and Chief Executive Officer, Capital Development Company, LLC  
“Can We Achieve a Democratic World by 2025?”  
PRESIDER: Julia Chang Bloch  
DECEMBER 11, 2000

**Keith R. Hall**  
Assistant Secretary to the U.S. Air Force for Space; Director, National Reconnaissance Office  
**Michael V. Hayden**  
Lieutenant General, U.S. Air Force; Director, Central Security Service, National Security Agency  
**James C. King**  
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army; Director, National Imagery and Mapping Agency
John E. McLaughlin  
Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Thomas J. Pickard  
Deputy Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

J. Stapleton Roy  
Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State

Thomas R. Wilson  
Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy; Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

“Intelligence Challenges for the New Administration”  
PRESIDER: John C. Gannon  
DECEMBER 18, 2000

Chuck Hagel  
Member, U.S. Senate (R-Neb.)


“America’s International Role in the 21st Century”  
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb  
DECEMBER 18, 2000  
DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

Janet Reno  
Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice

“Global Partners: International Cooperation Against Crime”  
PRESIDER: Dick Thornburgh  
JANUARY 9, 2001

Andrew J. Nathan  
Co-editor, *The Tiananmen Papers*; Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

Douglas H. Paal  
President and Founder, Asia Pacific Policy Center

J. Stapleton Roy  
Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; former U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, China, and Singapore

David Shambaugh  
Director, China Policy Program, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University

“The Tiananmen Papers”  
PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.  
JANUARY 17, 2001

W. Anthony Lake  
Former U.S. National Security Adviser; author, *Six Nightmares*

“Six Nightmares”  
PRESIDER: Lester M. Crystal  
JANUARY 24, 2001  
AUTHOR’S SPOTLIGHT SERIES
Washington Program


David M. Abshire
President, Center for the Study of the Presidency

Charles G. Boyd
Executive Director, U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century; General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

Frank C. Carlucci
Chairman, Carlyle Group; former U.S. Secretary of Defense

John J. Hamre
President and Chief Executive Officer, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Robert E. Hunter
Senior Adviser, RAND

Lewis B. Kaden
Partner, Davis, Polk & Wardwell

Casimir A. Yost
Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

“State Department Reform: Findings and Recommendations of an Independent Task Force”
PRESIDER: Paula J. Dobriansky
FEBRUARY 6, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Stephen R. Sestanovich
Former Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for the New Independent States, U.S. Department of State

Dimitri K. Simes
President, Nixon Center

“Putin One Year Later: A Balance Sheet”
PRESIDER: Richard V. Allen
MARCH 19, 2001

Sayed Rahmatullah
Foreign Ministry Official, Afghanistan (Taliban Islamic Movement)

“Afghanistan: A Taliban Perspective”
PRESIDER: Selig S. Harrison
MARCH 20, 2001
MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Zoran Djindjic
Prime Minister, Republic of Serbia

“A Conversation with Zoran Djindjic”
PRESIDER: Lee H. Hamilton
MARCH 21, 2001

Speaker Paul D. Wolfowitz, Dean, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and Speaker Richard H. Solomon, President, U.S. Institute of Peace, at the January 18, 2001, Meeting with the former Assistant Secretaries of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, “Asia and the United States: Conflict or Cooperation?”
Max M. Kampelman
Of Counsel, Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson; former
Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Warren Zimmermann
Former Ambassador and Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the Vienna Review, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

“Twenty-five Years After the Helsinki Act: Did It Make a Difference?”
PRESIDER: Mark Palmer
APRIL 11, 2001

Robert H. Bork
Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

Lee Casey
Partner, Baker & Hostetler

Theodor Meron
Counselor on International Law, U.S. Department of State

Ruth Wedgwood
Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law, Council on Foreign Relations

“International Law: Myths and Realities”
PRESIDER: David B. Rivkin Jr.
APRIL 25, 2001

Daniel L. Schorr
Author, Staying Tuned: A Life in Journalism; Senior News Analyst, National Public Radio

“A Conversation with Daniel L. Schorr”
PRESIDER: Marvin Kalb
MAY 15, 2001

Chen Shui-bian
President, Republic of China

“From Taipei to Washington: Looking Toward the Future”
PRESIDER: John J. Hamre
MAY 16, 2001

George A. Papandreou
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Greece

“Greece’s Foreign Policy: Objectives and Strategies”
PRESIDER: Paula Stern
MAY 22, 2001

Wesley K. Clark
Managing Director, Merchant Banking, Stephens Group, Inc.; Distinguished Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic and International Studies; former Supreme Allied Commander Europe; General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

“America’s Leadership and Emerging Crises in the World”
PRESIDER: Scott A. Cooper
JUNE 4, 2001

Stuart E. Eizenstat
Special Representative for the President and Secretary of State on Holocaust Issues; former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury

“Negotiating Holocaust Assets: A Study in Multilateral Diplomacy”
PRESIDER: Sidney Harman
JUNE 12, 2001
The National Program provides a forum for members to discuss international affairs and U.S. foreign policy and to contribute their expertise and knowledge to the Council’s research and publications. The key elements of the National Program are foreign policy dinner seminars featuring Council senior fellows and their work in ten key U.S. cities; videoconferencing, conference calls, and webcasts; and the annual National Conference in New York. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice kicked off this year’s National Conference, June 7–9, with a major address on the Bush administration’s priorities and challenges, and participants discussed the bureaucratic and political obstacles to foreign policymaking with former government officials, members of Congress, business leaders, heads of nongovernmental organizations, and journalists.

Program Highlights

Atlanta

Newt Gingrich
Chief Executive Officer, Gingrich Group

Ernest J. Wilson III
Director, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, College Park

Andrew Young
Chairman, GoodWorks International, LLC

Dov S. Zakheim
Chief Executive Officer, SPC International Corporation


PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
OCTOBER 25, 2000
COSPONSORED WITH GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY

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

CHAIR: Linda Parrish Brady
MARCH 27, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Jordan S. Kassalow
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Improving the Health of Populations”
CHAIR AND HOST: Helene D. Gayle
APRIL 24, 2001
Boston

Lawrence J. Korb  
Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
CHAIR: John P. White  
DECEMBER 7, 2000  
COSPONSORED WITH THE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Chicago

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Roger M. Kubarych  
Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy”  
CHAIRS: Kenneth W. Dam, Michael H. Moskow, and John E. Rielly  
SEPTEMBER 26, 2000

Stephen J. Hadley  
Partner, Shea & Gardner

Jack Mendelsohn  
Vice President and Executive Director, Lawyers Alliance for World Security  
“Campaign 2000 Debate: Should the New Administration Deploy a National Missile Defense?”  
PRESIDER: Henry S. Bienen  
OCTOBER 30, 2000

Stephen E. Flynn  
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control”  
CHAIR: John E. Rielly  
MARCH 21, 2001

Michael Mandelbaum  
Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on a New World Order”  
CHAIR: John E. Rielly  
MAY 21, 2001

John Deutch  
Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; former Director of Central Intelligence

Stansfield Turner  
Professor, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park; former Director of Central Intelligence; Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.)

William H. Webster  
Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy; former Director of Central Intelligence

R. James Woolsey  
Partner, Shea & Gardner; former Director of Central Intelligence  
“Videoconferenced Meeting: The CIA from Carter to Clinton: What’s Changed? What’s Next?”  
NEW YORK PRESIDER: Daniel L. Schorr  
CHICAGO PRESIDER AND HOST: Mitchel B. Wallerstein  
MAY 23, 2001  
HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES
National Program

Dallas
ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

M. Diana Helweg Newton
Research Fellow, John Goodwin Tower Center for Political Studies, Southern Methodist University; Project Director, Independent Economic Task Force on Japan, Council on Foreign Relations

“Independent Economic Task Force on Japan”
CHAIR: J.H. Cullum Clark
OCTOBER 3, 2000

Charles A. Kupchan
2000–2001 Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Visions of International Order”
CHAIR: Rena M. Pederson • HOST: Jay M. Vogelson
MAY 31, 2001

Edward L. Morse (New York)
Executive Adviser, Hess Energy Trading Company, LLC; Chair, Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century, Council on Foreign Relations

Amy Myers Jaffe (Houston)
Senior Energy Adviser, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University; Project Director, Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century, Council on Foreign Relations

DECEMBER 18, 2000 • JANUARY 10, 2001 • FEBRUARY 12, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

Miami
ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DANTE B. FASCCELL NORTH-SOUTH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

Walter Russell Mead
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

William D. Rogers
Senior Partner, Arnold & Porter; Co-Chair, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba”
CHAIR: Ambler H. Moss Jr.
OCTOBER 19, 2000

Houston

Julia E. Sweig
Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba”
CHAIR: Edward P. Djerejian
OCTOBER 16, 2000
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

Speaker Fred Thompson, Member, U.S. Senate (R-Tenn.), and Speaker George J. Mitchell, Special Counsel, Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand, at the June National Conference, “Washington Gridlock: Is It Possible to Shape and Sustain a Coherent Foreign Policy?”

Speaker Gerald M. Levin, Chief Executive Officer, AOL Time Warner Inc., Speaker Ellen M. Hancock, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Exodus Communications, and Speaker Donald B. Marron, Chairman, UBS America and UBS PaineWebber Inc., at the June National Conference Plenary Session, “Have CEOs Become America’s New Foreign Policymakers?”
Arthur C. Helton  
Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on Refugee Policy”  
CHAIR: Ambler H. Moss Jr.  
DECEMBER 12, 2000

Kenneth R. Maxwell  
Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies; Project Director, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Brazil, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Brazil”  
CHAIR: Ambler H. Moss Jr.  
APRIL 26, 2001

Minneapolis  
Walter Russell Mead  
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba”  
CHAIR: Kenneth H. Keller  
OCTOBER 12, 2000  
COSPONSORED WITH THE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Los Angeles  
Judith Kipper  
Director, Middle East Forum, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Roundtable on Is Peace at Hand in the Middle East?”  
CHAIR: Michael Christopher Parks  
AUGUST 28, 2000

Speaker Warren B. Rudman, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, Speaker Gary Hart, Of Counsel, Coudert Brothers, Speaker Frank C. Carlucci, Chairman, Carlyle Group, Speaker Newt Gingrich, Chief Executive Officer, Gingrich Group, at the June National Conference Plenary Session, “The Executive Branch: Is It Broken? Can It Be Fixed?”

Walter Russell Mead  
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Working Group on Development, Trade, and International Finance”  
CHAIR: Greyson L. Bryan  
SEPTEMBER 26, 2000

David G. Victor  
Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on Technology Policy and Global Warming”  
CHAIR: David B. Olsen  
DISCUSSANT: Robert J. Lempert  
JANUARY 10, 2001

National Program

Richard D. Baum
Director, Center for Chinese Studies, and Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

David M. Lampton
George and Sadie Hyman Professor and Director, China Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Director, China Studies, Nixon Center

J. Stapleton Roy
Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.

Orville H. Schell
Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley

“Roundtable on The Tiananmen Papers”
PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.
FEBRUARY 8, 2001

Susan Kaufman Purcell
Vice President, Americas Society/Council of the Americas; Member, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

William D. Rogers
Senior Partner, Arnold & Porter; Co-Chair, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

Julia E. Sweig
Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Stuart E. Eizenstat
LOS ANGELES PRESIDER AND HOST: Geoffrey Cowan
FEBRUARY 26, 2001

Richard L. Garwin
Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations

CHAIR: Albert Carnesale
MAY 10, 2001

San Francisco

Richard L. Garwin
Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations

CHAIR: Amy Sands
OCTOBER 2, 2000

Padma Desai
Gladys and Roland Harriman Professor of Comparative Economic Systems and Director, Center for Transition Economies, Columbia University

Celeste A. Wallander
Senior Fellow, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

NEW YORK CHAIR: Lawrence J. Korb
SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Jane M. Wales
OCTOBER 18, 2000

David G. Victor
Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Technology Policy and Global Warming”
CHAIR: William K. Reilly
NOVEMBER 6, 2000
National Program

Arthur C. Helton
Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Refugee Policy”
CHAIR: William P. Fuller
NOVEMBER 28, 2000

Rafael Pardo
President, Fundación Milenio (Bogotá)

Robin Kirk
Researcher for Colombia, Human Rights Watch

Michael Shifter
Senior Fellow, Inter-American Dialogue; Project Director, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Colombia, Council on Foreign Relations

“Videoconferenced Meeting on the Colombia Task Force Report: A Symposium”
SAN FRANCISCO PRESIDER: Mathea Falco
NEW YORK PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
DECEMBER 7, 2000

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

CHAIR: Tyrus W. Cobb
DECEMBER 11, 2000

Richard D. Baum
Director, Center for Chinese Studies, and Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

David M. Lampton
George and Sadie Hyman Professor and Director of China Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Director, China Studies, Nixon Center

J. Stapleton Roy
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Orville H. Schell
Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley

“Roundtable on The Tiananmen Papers”
PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.
FEBRUARY 8, 2001

Madeleine K. Albright (New York)
Chairman, National Democratic Institute; former U.S. Secretary of State

Warren Christopher (San Francisco)
Senior Partner, O’Melveny & Myers, LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

Henry A. Kissinger (New York)
Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. Secretary of State

George P. Shultz (San Francisco)
Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University; former U.S. Secretary of State

“Videoconferenced Conversation with the Former Secretaries of State”
NEW YORK PRESIDER: Walter S. Isaacson
SAN FRANCISCO PRESIDER: Peter Tarnoff
APRIL 24, 2001

Pacific Council on International Policy:
Western Partner of the Council on Foreign Relations

The Council on Foreign Relations continued to hold foreign policy dinner seminars featuring its Fellows and their work in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and San Diego with its western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy. The Pacific Council offered additional meetings that were open to Council members.
Jordan S. Kassalow  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Improving the Health of Populations”  
CHAIR: A. Lawrence Chickering  
MAY 24, 2001

Seattle

Stephen E. Flynn  
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control”  
CHAIR: Raymond J. Waldmann  
OCTOBER 24, 2000

Multiple Cities

Roger M. Kubarych  
Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy”  
DALLAS CHAIR AND HOST: Scott L. Miller  
JANUARY 24, 2001  
HOUSTON CHAIR: Richard D. Quay  
JANUARY 24, 2001  
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Robert E. Denham  
JANUARY 25, 2001  
SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Judith K. Paulus  
JANUARY 26, 2001

Gwendolyn Mikell  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Africa Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Videoconferenced Roundtable on Africa and the Processes of Globalization”  
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Edmond J. Keller  
LOS ANGELES HOST: Mark R. Steinberg  
OCTOBER 5, 2000  
CHICAGO CHAIR AND HOST: Mitchel B. Wallerstein  
NOVEMBER 30, 2000  
ATLANTA CHAIR AND HOST: Herschelle S. Challenor  
JANUARY 18, 2001
Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

Named Chairs and Fellowships
Jagdish N. Bhagwati, André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics
Charles G. Boyd, Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in National Security and European Affairs
Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow, Science and Technology
James F. Hoge Jr., Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor, Foreign Affairs
Lawrence J. Korb, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Vice President and Director of Studies
Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance
Charles A. Kupchan, Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies
Robert A. Manning, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies
Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies
Richard W. Murphy, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East and Director, Middle East Studies
Stephen R. Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies
Calvin Sims, Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow
Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics
David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology
Michael M. Weinstein, BP Senior Fellow for International Economics

Chairs Vacant as of August 31, 2001
Maurice R. Greenberg Chair in China Studies
Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics

Special Fellowships
Douglas Dillon Next Generation Fellow
Each year, one of the Council’s Next Generation Fellows will be named the Dillon Fellow, in honor of long-time Council member and former Vice Chairman Douglas Dillon. Creating the next generation of foreign policy experts, who understand how economics relates to every aspect of international affairs today, is one of the Council’s top priorities.

The Intelligence Fellowship
This fellowship provides an opportunity for an outstanding person from the U.S. intelligence community on the cusp of a senior position to expand his or her knowledge of international relations through study, research and reflection, extensive participation in the Council’s program of meetings and study groups, and interaction with the Council’s diverse and knowledgeable members.

Military Fellowships
Each year, the chief of staff of each military service nominates an outstanding candidate for the Military Fellowships. The fellowships enable officers to broaden their understanding of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy by spending a year in residence at the Council. Fellows participate in Council programs, including task forces, engage in research, and arrange several politico-military trips for Council members.

Edward R. Murrow Fellowship
The Council offers a resident fellowship for a correspondent, editor, or producer involved with international news. Named in honor of Edward R. Murrow and funded by the CBS Foundation, the fellowship offers a nine-month period for sustained study and writing, free from the pressures that characterize journalistic life.

Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship
The Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in
Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

public or academic affairs related to 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.

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. Department of State. With time away from the day-to-day press of diplomacy, the State Department Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, reflecting on issues of foreign policy and participating in Council programs.

Endowed and Specially Funded Programs
The Council has several named programs that support staff and activities—meetings, study groups, roundtables—in the following areas:
- Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series
- Pieter A. Fisher Program, International Relations
- Gulf Program, Middle East
- W. Averell Harriman Program, Europe
- Walter Hochschild Fund, International Economics
- Winston Lord Program, Asia
- John J. McCloy Program, International Relations
- C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series, International Economics
- James J. Shinn U.S.-Asia Roundtable
- Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program, International Relations

Lectureships
The Jacob K. Javits Memorial Lecture
The Javits Lecture was inaugurated in 1999 in honor of Senator Javits, who was New York’s senator from 1957 to 1981 and a Council member. The series is supported by a gift from the Jacob K. Javits Foundation. The Council invites leading congressional thinkers on U.S. foreign policy to deliver the Javits lecture.

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture
The Leffingwell Lecture, inaugurated in 1969, was named for a charter member of the Council who served as its president from 1944 to 1946 and as its chairman from 1946 to 1953. This lecture is given by a distinguished foreign official, who is invited to address Council members on a topic of major international significance. The lectures are made possible through the generosity of the Leffingwell family and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company.

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 on Foreign Relations member for nearly 30 years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist. Morse lecturers are invited to focus on one of Morse’s many concerns, which included North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and relations with Asia. The lecture program is funded by gifts from Council members and friends of the Morse family.

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 sector.

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. The Council invites a distinguished American to reflect on his or her professional experience and how it applies to contemporary American foreign policymaking.

The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations
The Sorensen Distinguished 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. The Sorensen lecture is given by speakers intimately involved with the workings and issues of the United Nations.

The John Train Lecture
The 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.
Corporate Program

The Corporate Program, the Council’s primary point of contact with the private sector, enlists the business community’s participation in and support of the Council’s activities. Corporate members include over 200 U.S. and non-U.S. firms representing nearly all business sectors, including financial services, law, manufacturing, consulting, technology, and media. Each year, the program hosts over 70 events in New York and Washington, including the C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics, the A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series, and an annual conference, as well as interactive conference calls with senior fellows and other experts.

Program Highlights

K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid
President, Indonesia
“Economic Recovery: The Key to Securing Indonesia’s Democracy”
PRESIDER: Maurice R. Greenberg
SEPTEMBER 7, 2000
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Hugo Chávez
President, Venezuela
“Venezuela and Its New Economy”
PRESIDER: William H. Luers
SEPTEMBER 8, 2000

Kent Kresa
Board Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer, Northrop Grumman Corporation
PRESIDER: John J. Hamre
OCTOBER 11, 2000
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Jeffrey D. Sachs
Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade and Director, Center for International Development, Harvard University
“A New Approach for U.S. Foreign Assistance”
PRESIDER: James R. Silkenat
OCTOBER 12, 2000
C. PETER MCCOLLAUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Alan S. Blinder
Economic Adviser to the Gore Campaign; Professor of Economics, Princeton University

Lawrence B. Lindsey
Chief Economic Adviser to Governor George W. Bush; Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
“The United States and the Global Economy: Does It Matter Who Wins in November?”
PRESIDER: Shelby Coffey III
OCTOBER 13, 2000
Melanie A. Kenderdine  
Director of Policy, U.S. Department of Energy

Adam E. Sieminski  
Director and Global Oil Strategist, Deutsche Bank

Matthew R. Simmons  
President, Simmons & Company

“The New Middle East Crisis: How Does It Affect Oil Prices and Energy Policy?”

PRESIDER: Edward L. Morse
OCTOBER 18, 2000

Robert B. Reich  
Former U.S. Secretary of Labor

Jagdish N. Bhagwati  
André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations

“Trade Policy: The Lessons of Seattle”

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
OCTOBER 19, 2000
A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES
Lee Kuan Yew  
Senior Minister, Singapore  
“Crossroads for East Asia”  
PRESIDER: Henry A. Kissinger  
OCTOBER 19, 2000

Kumar Mahadeva  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Cognizant Technology Solutions  
“The Impact of India’s High-Tech Sector on the Global Economy”  
MODERATOR: Roger M. Kubarych  
OCTOBER 31, 2000

Rolf-Ernst Breuer  
Spokesman, Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank Group  
“Europe: Which Path to Follow?”  
PRESIDER: William J. McDonough  
NOVEMBER 3, 2000

Charlene Barshefsky  
U.S. Trade Representative  
“U.S. Trade Policy: A Look Back, A Look Ahead”  
PRESIDER: Michael B.G. Froman  
NOVEMBER 29, 2000

Janet Reno  
Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice  
“Global Partners: International Cooperation Against Crime”  
PRESIDER: Dick Thornburgh  
JANUARY 9, 2001  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Celeste A. Wallander  
Senior Fellow, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Russia Update”  
JANUARY 10, 2001  
CONFERENCE CALL

Rudi Dornbusch  
Ford Professor of Economics and International Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
“Where Is the Upside for Latin America? The Next Investment Opportunities”  
PRESIDER: Arturo C. Porzecanski  
JANUARY 16, 2001  
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Jeffrey E. Garten  
Dean, Yale School of Management

Henry M. Paulson  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Goldman Sachs  
“Today’s Global CEOs in the World Economy: What Responsibilities Do They Bear?”  
PRESIDER: Thomas L. Friedman  
FEBRUARY 13, 2001

Susan Kaufman Purcell  
Vice President, Americas Society/Council of the Americas; Member, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

William D. Rogers  
Senior Partner, Arnold & Porter; Co-Chair, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations
Corporate Program

Paul A. Volcker
Former Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
“Time for Real Reform of the Financial System”
PRESIDER: Michael M. Weinstein
APRIL 5, 2001
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

John P. Lipsky
Chief Economist and Managing Director, J.P. Morgan Chase Corporation

David R. Malpass
Chief International Economist, Bear, Stearns & Co., Inc

Stephen Roach
Chief Economist and Director of Global Economics, Morgan Stanley Dean Witter
“World Economic Update”
PRESIDER: Daniel K. Tarullo
APRIL 12, 2001

Joel Klein
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bertelsmann Inc.; former Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, U.S. Department of Justice

Mario Monti
Commissioner for Competition Policy, European Commission
“Globalization of Antitrust Policy”
PRESIDER: Richard N. Gardner
APRIL 18, 2001
A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

Kazuo Ueda
Member, Policy Board, Bank of Japan
“Japan’s Economic Outlook and the Bank of Japan’s Monetary Policy”
PRESIDER: Paul A. Volcker
MAY 11, 2001
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Julia E. Sweig
Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations
NEW YORK PRESIDER: Stuart E. Eizenstat
LOS ANGELES PRESIDER: Geoffrey Cowan
FEBRUARY 26, 2001

Shimon Peres
Foreign Minister, Israel
“The Future of Peace Negotiations”
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
MARCH 14, 2001

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Alliance Capital Management Corporation
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The Prudential Insurance Company of America
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State Street Bank and Trust Company
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TRW, Inc.
Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association
UBS Warburg
United Technologies
Veronis, Suhler & Associates, Inc.
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Warburg and Pincus
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Zurich Scudder Investments

The Communications Department’s main priority is to connect members and media with the Council’s staff and programs. The Council began an initiative this year to expand outreach to the media by holding press briefings in advance of major international events, like the Summit of the Americas and the biannual meeting of NATO foreign ministers. The Council has also teamed with the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press to jointly release polls throughout the year on key foreign policy issues.

The high-quality expertise of Council fellows has made the Council on Foreign Relations the first stop for journalists seeking expert opinion and in-depth analysis on international issues. Council fellows and their work are ubiquitous in the news, primarily through articles and op-eds they author in magazines and newspapers around the world.

As part of the Council’s efforts to reach beyond its own walls to the interested public, this year the Council sponsored over 60 on-the-record events, including panel discussions, press briefings, addresses by world leaders, videoconferences, and study groups. These events and Council-sponsored publications were all covered by major news outlets, including network and cable television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet.

The Communications Department also produces the members’ monthly newsletter, Calendar & Chronicle, and has redesigned and updated all Council websites.
Much of the Council’s value lies in the discussions emanating from its study groups, roundtables, and other forums. The Publications Department—with books, task force reports, Council Policy Initiatives, papers, and reports—delivers these ideas to a larger audience, helping to inform and transform the policy debate. The *Price of Dominance*, Jan Lodal’s provocative and important book published in January 2001, identified what changes must be made in U.S. strategic defense policy to ameliorate international opposition to American-led efforts against weapons of mass destruction. The Council’s task force reports on Cuba, State Department reform, and energy offered the new administration viable solutions to real-world problems and reflected the meaningful consensus and policy recommendations reached by the task forces through nonpartisan debate. Because foreign policy discussions too often ignore the key dimension of culture, the Council publishes the semiannual journal *Correspondence: An International Review of Culture and Society*. The full text of the current and past issues is available on the Council’s website (www.cfr.org).

**Council on Foreign Relations Books**

**Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs)**
Independent Task Force Reports

- **Future Directions for U.S. Economic Policy Toward Japan.** Laura D’Andrea Tyson, Chair; M. Diana H. Newton, Project Director (2000).
- **A Letter to the President and a Memorandum on U.S. Policy Toward Brazil.** Stephen Robert, Chair; Kenneth R. Maxwell, Project Director (2001).
- **State Department Reform.** Frank C. Carlucci, Chair; Ian J. Brzezinski, Project Coordinator. Cosponsored with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (2001).
- **Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century.** Edward L. Morse, Chair; Amy Myers Jaffe, Project Director. Cosponsored with the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University (2001).
- **The United States and Southeast Asia: A Policy Agenda for the New Administration.** J. Robert Kerrey, Chair; Robert A. Manning, Project Director (2001).

Council Papers

- **A New Beginning: Recasting the U.S.-Japan Economic Relationship,** by Bruce Stokes, Project Director (2000).
The Council is deeply grateful to all donors and volunteers whose support made possible many of its activities. Generous gifts and grants from individuals, foundations, and corporations contributed to the financial strength of the institution and enabled it to expand its key programs and launch new initiatives. New and ongoing support provided financial backing to numerous projects conducted by the Council’s Studies Department, as well as its Meetings, National, and Membership programs. In addition, a number of noncash goods and services from members and friends provided important assistance. Special thanks go to the volunteers who helped the Council immeasurably in reaching our fundraising goals.

The Annual Fund

Annual Giving—the Council’s Independence Fund—this year rose to its highest level ever at $2,826,350, from 1,661 donors, or about 44 percent of the membership. Sixty-three members increased their gifts through corporate or foundation matching gift programs. Major contributions from the Council’s Harold Pratt Associates (HPAs), who give $10,000 or more annually, and Chairman’s Circle members of the HPAs, who contribute $25,000 or more annually, account for 68 percent of the annual fund total. HPA fundraising efforts were assisted by volunteers from the Council’s Board of Directors and Corporate Affairs and Development Committee. Term member giving was also on the rise this year, with 39 percent of term members participating. Rebecca K.C. Hersman and R. Keith Walton wrote letters to their term member colleagues, with follow-up help by a team of volunteers. Donors to the Annual Fund are listed on pages 73–79.
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The Geoeconomics Center
The purpose of the Geoeconomics Center is to create the next generation of foreign policy experts able to link economics and foreign policy, national security, and other subjects (science and technology, environment, refugees, etc.). The center was established with two major endowment gifts from the following donors:

David Rockefeller
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In addition, a number of grants support the work of individual fellows in the center:

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The CPA seeks concrete, hardheaded incentives to head off civil/ethnic crises before they explode into violence. It benefited from grants by:

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Next Generation Fellows Program
Designed to find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers, this program brings outstanding younger scholars onto the Council staff to undertake frontier policy research.

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Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program
The program, now entering its fourth year, engages key congressional staff members in study and dialogue on international issues to help build professionalism among them.

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Linda Parrish Brady
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Thomas M. Callaghay
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Lisa M. Caputo
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James H. Carter
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Cromwell
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Kenneth A. Cutshaw
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Dorinda R. Dallmeyer
James E. Dalton
William H. Danforth
Mark D. Danner
Kathryn W. Davis
Nathaniel Davis
Marion M. Dawson
Carr
Arnaud de Borchgrave
Joy A. de Menil
Edwin A. Deagle Jr.
Jonathan Dean
Alfred C. DeCrane Jr.
Roxanne J. Decyk
Ralston H.
Deffenbaugh Jr.
Marisa J. Demeo

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2001 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 Directors. Each class serves for a term of five years. In each class, three Directors are elected by the membership and three are appointed by the Board.

Directors with terms expiring on August 31, 2001, were Mario L. Baeza, Lee Cullum, Thomas R. Donahue, Maurice R. Greenberg, Peter G. Peterson, and Robert B. Zoellick.*

The Nominating Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (Chairman), John E. Bryson (Vice Chairman), Linda Chavez, Kenneth W. Dam, Robert E. Denham, Thomas R. Donahue, William H. Donaldson, David R. Gergen, Robert H. Legvold, Steven L. Rattner, Adele Simmons, James B. Sitrick, Anne Wexler, Andrew Young, and Nancy Young. On January 19, 2001, Ms. Hills invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating Committee met on March 13 to consider the large pool of names suggested by Council members for the three elective vacancies. 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: Mario L. Baeza, Lee Cullum, Richard C. Holbrooke, Barbara Shailor, Joan E. Spero, and James Gustave Speth. On March 23, 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 forth. A ballot was mailed to all Council members on April 17.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 16, 2001, 1,532 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. Thomas R. Pickering’s name was written on ten or more ballots cast at the meeting, and, therefore, he was nominated for the 2002 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws.

The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning September 1, 2001, and expiring August 31, 2006: Lee Cullum, Richard C. Holbrooke, and Joan E. Spero. Edward F. Cox, Matthew Nimetz, and Barbara Robinson served as election overseers.

Under current procedures, the Board completed the Class of 2006 by appointing three Directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee, at its June 7 meeting the Board appointed the following three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning September 1, 2001, and ending August 31, 2006: Henry S. Bienen, Maurice R. Greenberg, and Vin Weber. Additionally, the Board appointed Kenneth M. Duberstein to the Class of 2002, filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Kenneth W. Dam, in accordance with By-Law IV.C.

Lilita V. Gusts
Secretary

*To ensure an orderly transition in Council leadership, the Board of Directors at its October 2000 meeting approved changes in the By-Laws that enable Mr. Peterson and Mr. Greenberg to continue as Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively, on a year-to-year basis and that permit the Council to have more than one Vice Chairman. President Leslie H. Gelb has stepped down as a Director, ex officio, to enable Mr. Peterson to temporarily fill the 31st slot as a Director. The Board asked Mr. Peterson to accept an interim appointment as Chairman and Director, effective September 2001, on a year-to-year basis. The Council President will resume the directorship after a new Board Chairman takes office.
Committees of the Board, 2000–2001

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Peter G. Peterson, Chair
Maurice R. Greenberg, Vice Chair
Carla A. Hills, Vice Chair
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Martin S. Feldstein
William J. McDonough
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Frank Savage
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Garrick Utley

Maurice Sonnenberg
I. Peter Wolff
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Robert B. Silvers
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Leila Conners Petersen  
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George H. Shenk  
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Kiron Kanina Skinner

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Chang-Lin Tien  
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Kenneth A. Cutshaw  
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Mimi L. Haas  
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Wyatt Thomas Johnson  
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Kellner†  
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Bette Bao Lord  
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David R. Gergen  
Robert Legvold  
Steven L. Rattner  
Adele Simmons  
James Baker Sitrick  
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R. James Woolsey

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The International Advisory Board (IAB), established by the Board of Directors in 1995 under the chairmanship of David Rockefeller, meets annually in conjunction with the fall 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 in discussions on a variety of issues—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.

Mariclaire Acosta (Mexico), Special Ambassador for Human Rights and Democracy, Mexico
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Khalid A. Alturki (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, Trading and Development Company (TRADCO)
Moshe Arens (Israel), Member, Knesset; former Ambassador of Israel to the United States
Hanan Ashrawi (West Bank), Secretary General, Miftah—The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy; Founder, The Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights
Percy N. Barnevik (Sweden), Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
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Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (Mexico), former President of Mexico
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 3,700. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Nonbusiness</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>New York Area</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>$660</td>
<td>$180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–39</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and Over</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Washington, D.C., Area</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>$450</td>
<td>$150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–39</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and Over</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>$360</td>
<td>$110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–39</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and Over</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For purposes of this By-Law, nonbusiness members are those who are regular members of the faculty of any
accrued 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 annually or 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, unless otherwise provided by resolution of the Board of Directors and agreed to by the President. The remaining members of the Board of Directors 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. Any Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Board elected on an interim basis pursuant to Article VII who is not a Director at the time of his or her election shall during the period of such interim service be a Director and, at the time of his or her election, shall be designated by the Board of Directors to occupy either (i) the position on the Board that would otherwise be occupied by the President, if the President is not then serving as a Director, ex officio, or (ii) any vacancy among the three Directors in each class subject to appointment by the Board.

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 Meeting. 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 Exec-
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 have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional 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 membership 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 over-
sight 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, one or more Vice Chairmen, 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 of tenure of Directors. Pending election of a Chairman to a five-year term and subject to the By-Law limitation on the number of Directors, for purposes of assuring an orderly transition in governance, the Board may elect a Chairman and/or Vice Chairman to serve, on an interim basis, for one or more terms of up to 12 months each. The Chairman and any Vice Chairman shall be eligible for election to any such term, on an interim basis, without regard to By-Law limitations on the tenure of Directors or Officers. 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, a Vice Chairman designated by the 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 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
Archibald Cary Coolidge 1921–28
Paul D. Cravath 1921–40
John W. Davis 1921–55
Norman H. Davis 1921–44
Stephen P. Duggan 1921–50
John H. Finley 1921–29
Edwin F. Gay 1921–45
David F. Houston 1921–27
Otto H. Kahn 1921–34
Frank L. Polk 1921–43
Whitney H. Shepardson 1921–66
William R. Shepherd 1921–32
Paul M. Warburg 1921–55
George W. Wickersham 1921–36
Allen W. Dulles 1927–69
Russell C. Leffingwell 1927–60
George O. May 1927–53
Wesley C. Mitchell 1927–34
Owen D. Young 1927–40
Hamilton Fish Armstrong 1928–72
Charles P. Howland 1929–31
Walter Lippmann 1932–37
Clarence M. Woolley 1932–35
Frank Altschul 1934–72
Philip C. Jessup 1934–42
Harold W. Dodds 1935–43
Leon Fraser 1936–45
John H. Williams 1937–64
Lewis W. Douglas 1940–64
Edward Warner 1940–49
Clarence E. Hunter 1942–53
Myron C. Taylor 1943–59
Henry M. Wriston 1943–67
Thomas K. Finletter 1944–67
William A.M. Burden 1945–74
Walter H. Mallory 1945–68
Philip D. Reed 1945–69
Winfield W. Riefler 1945–50

David Rockefeller 1949–85
W. Averell Harriman 1950–55
Joseph E. Johnson 1950–74
Grayson Kirk 1950–73
Devereux C. Josephs 1951–58
Elliott V. Bell 1953–66
John J. McCloy 1953–72
Arthur H. Dean 1955–72
Charles M. Spofford 1955–72
Adlai E. Stevenson 1958–62
William C. Foster 1959–72
Caryl P. Haskins 1961–75
James A. Perkins 1963–79
William P. Bundy 1964–74
Gabriel Hauge 1964–81
Carroll L. Wilson 1964–79
Douglas Dillon 1965–78
Henry R. Labouisse 1965–74
Robert V. Roosa 1966–81
Lucian W. Pye 1966–82
Alfred C. Neal 1967–76
Bill Moyers 1967–74
Cyrus R. Vance 1968–76,
1981–87
Hedley Donovan 1969–79
Najeeb E. Halaby 1970–72
Bayless Manning 1971–77
W. Michael Blumenthal 1972–77,
1979–84
Zbigniew Brzezinski 1972–77
Elizabeth Drew 1972–77
George S. Franklin 1972–83
Marshall D. Shulman 1972–77
Martha Redfield Wallace 1972–82
Paul C. Warnke 1972–77
Peter G. Peterson 1973–83,
1984–
Edward K. Hamilton 1974–83
Harry C. McPherson Jr. 1974–77
Elliot L. Richardson 1974–75
Franklin Hall Williams 1975–83
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach 1975–86
Paul A. Volcker 1975–79,
1988–99
Theodore M. Hesburgh 1976–85
Lane Kirkland 1976–86
George H.W. Bush 1977–79
Lloyd N. Cutler 1977–79
Philip L. Geely 1977–87
Henry A. Kissinger 1977–81
Winston Lord 1977–85
Stephen Stamas 1977–89
Marina v.N. Whitman 1977–87
C. Peter McColough 1978–87
Richard L. Gelb 1979–88
Graham T. Allison Jr. 1979–88
William D. Ruckelshaus 1979–83
James F. Hoge Jr. 1980–84
George F. Shultz 1980–82
William D. Rogers 1980–90
Walter B. Wriston 1981–87
Leonard T. Preston 1981–88
Warren Christopher 1982–91
Alan Greenspan 1982–88
Robert A. Scalapino 1982–89
Harold Brown 1983–92
Stanley Hoffmann 1983–92
Juanita M. Kreps 1983–89
Brent Scowcroft 1983–89
Clifton R. Wharton Jr. 1983–92
Donald F. McHenry 1984–93
B.R. Inman 1985–93
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick 1985–94
Peter Tarnoff 1986–93
Charles McC. Mathias Jr. 1986–92
Ruben F. Mettler 1986–92
James E. Burke 1987–95
Richard B. Cheney 1987–89,
1993–95

90
Robert F. Erburu 1987–98
Karen Elliott House 1987–98
Glenn E. Watts 1987–90
Thomas S. Foley 1988–94
James D. Robinson III 1988–90
Strobe Talbott 1988–93
John L. Clendenin 1989–94
William S. Cohen 1989–93
Joshua Lederberg 1989–92
William J. Crowe Jr. 1990–93
Thomas R. Donahue 1990–93
Richard C. Holbrooke 1990–93
Robert D. Hormats 1991–93
John E. Bryson 1991–93
Maurice R. Greenberg 1991–93
Karen N. Horn 1991–93
James R. Houghton 1991–93
Charlayne Hunter-Gault 1991–93
Kenneth W. Dam 1991–93
Donna E. Shalala 1991–93
Alton Frye 1993
Richard N. Cooper 1993–94
Rita E. Hauser 1993–94
E. Gerald Corrigan 1993–94
Leslie H. Gelb 1993–94
Paul A. Allaire 1993–94
Robert E. Allen 1993–94
Theodore C. Sorensen 1993–94
Garrick Utley 1993–94
Carla A. Hills 1993–94
Helene L. Kaplan 1994–96
Frank G. Zarb 1994–96
Les Aspin 1995
Mario L. Baeza 1995–2001
Peggy Dulany 1995–
Jessica P. Einhorn 1995–
William J. McDonough 1995–
Frank Savage 1995–
George Soros 1995–
Hannah Holborn Gray 1995–
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–
Martin S. Feldstein 1998–
Bette Bao Lord 1998–
Michael H. Moskow 1998–
John Deutch 1998–
Robert E. Rubin 1998–
E. Gerald Corrigan 1998–
Les Aspin 1998–
Mary K. Swisher 1998–
Warren Christopher 1998–
Harold Brown 1998–
B.R. Inman 1998–
Jean J. Kirkpatrick 1998–
Maurice R. Greenberg 1998–
Carla A. Hills 1998–

Chairmen of the Board
Russell C. Leffingwell 1946–53
John J. McClory 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
Jean J. Kirkpatrick 1993–94
Maurice R. Greenberg 1994–
Carla A. Hills 2001–

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

Executive Vice President
John Temple Swing 1986–93

Senior Vice Presidents
Alton Frye 1993–98
Kenneth H. Keller 1993–95
Larry L. Fabian 1994–95
Michael P. Peters 1995–
Paula J. Dobriansky 2001
Charles G. Boyd 2001–

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. Sugarhne 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 1997–2001
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
### Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

#### Secretaries
- Edwin F. Gay 1921–33
- Allen W. Dulles 1933–44
- Frank Altschul 1944–72
- John Temple Swing 1972–87
- Judith Gustafson 1987–2000
- Lilita V. Gusts 2000–

#### 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
- James F. Hoge Jr. 1992–

#### Editors of Foreign Affairs
- 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
- Zygmun Nagorski Jr. 1969–78
- Marilyn Berger 1978–79
- Margaret Osmer-McQuade 1979–93
- Karen M. Sughrue 1993–98
- Anne R. Luzzatto 1998–

#### 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–

*Pro-tempore

### January 23, 2001, Meeting of the Board of Directors

Budget and Finance

Thanks to the diversity of the Council’s financial resources and the steadfast support of its members, the Council maintained an operating surplus—$1.4 million this year—for the eighth year in a row.

The Council’s investment portfolio stood at $140.5 million as of June 30, 2001. The Council has been well-guided through the ups and downs of the past year by the Finance and Budget Committee, chaired by William McDonough, and by the Investment Subcommittee, chaired by J. Tomilson Hill. We are deeply grateful for their dedication to the Council’s financial well-being.

The major construction projects in the New York and Washington offices are now complete. Our physical plants are sound and our infrastructure up-to-date. We have endowment funds and term grants in hand to cover our institutional priorities for the next several years. And we have budgeted conservatively to meet our operating needs. So we believe that, whatever the financial weather in the coming year, the Council is well-positioned to pursue its goals.

Janice L. Murray
Vice President and Treasurer

Statement of Financial Position
June 30, 2001, with summarized financial information at June 30, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assets</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents</td>
<td>$13,055,100</td>
<td>$12,460,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses</td>
<td>627,400</td>
<td>731,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)</td>
<td>5,044,600</td>
<td>4,526,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventories, at lower of cost or market</td>
<td>179,700</td>
<td>180,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)</td>
<td>556,300</td>
<td>836,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures (Note 5)</td>
<td>4,102,500</td>
<td>663,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)</td>
<td>23,323,500</td>
<td>23,705,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments (Note 3)</td>
<td>83,881,200</td>
<td>83,052,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)</td>
<td>56,622,900</td>
<td>48,483,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total assets</td>
<td>$187,393,200</td>
<td>$174,639,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liabilities and net assets</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liabilities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts payable and accrued expenses</td>
<td>$3,234,900</td>
<td>$2,299,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deferred subscription revenue</td>
<td>2,434,000</td>
<td>2,326,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)</td>
<td>1,800,000</td>
<td>1,802,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total liabilities</td>
<td>7,468,900</td>
<td>6,427,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Net assets (Notes 9 and 10): | | |
| Unrestricted | 77,370,300 | 78,036,800 |
| Temporarily restricted | 41,828,600 | 41,073,500 |
| Permanently restricted | 60,725,400 | 49,101,800 |
| Total net assets | 179,924,300 | 168,212,100 |
| Total liabilities and net assets | $187,393,200 | $174,639,300 |

See accompanying notes.
Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 2001, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrestricted</td>
<td>Temporarily Restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership dues</td>
<td>$ 3,032,600</td>
<td>$ 3,032,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual giving</td>
<td>2,826,400</td>
<td>2,826,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate memberships and related income</td>
<td>2,570,600</td>
<td>152,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>1,032,700</td>
<td>1,032,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>344,300</td>
<td>344,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions for Studies</td>
<td>6,705,000</td>
<td>6,705,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other grants and contributions</td>
<td>898,800</td>
<td>898,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>4,447,100</td>
<td>4,447,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book publication</td>
<td>67,600</td>
<td>67,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment income allocation (Note 4)</td>
<td>2,324,300</td>
<td>5,924,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>872,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total operating revenue and support</td>
<td>18,249,600</td>
<td>10,624,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net assets released from restrictions (Note 9)</td>
<td>8,059,000</td>
<td>(8,059,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</td>
<td>26,308,600</td>
<td>2,565,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating expenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program expenses:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies Program</td>
<td>9,426,800</td>
<td>9,426,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings Program</td>
<td>3,300,500</td>
<td>3,300,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>4,597,000</td>
<td>4,597,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book publication</td>
<td>542,000</td>
<td>542,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Program</td>
<td>584,400</td>
<td>584,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>750,000</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>480,900</td>
<td>480,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total program expenses</td>
<td>19,681,600</td>
<td>19,681,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting services:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management and general</td>
<td>3,767,600</td>
<td>3,767,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>444,000</td>
<td>444,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fund-raising:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>346,700</td>
<td>346,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Program</td>
<td>624,500</td>
<td>624,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total fund-raising</td>
<td>971,200</td>
<td>971,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total supporting services expenses</td>
<td>5,182,800</td>
<td>5,182,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total operating expenses</td>
<td>24,864,400</td>
<td>24,864,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses carried forward</td>
<td>1,444,200</td>
<td>2,565,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement of Activities (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Unrestricted</th>
<th>Temporarily Restricted</th>
<th>Permanently Restricted</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>2000 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses brought forward</td>
<td>$ 1,444,200</td>
<td>$ 2,565,600</td>
<td></td>
<td>$ 4,009,800</td>
<td>$ 1,871,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)
Investment income in excess of (less than) spending rate (Note 4)
Endowment contributions
Total nonoperating revenue
Change in net assets
Net assets at the beginning of the year
Net assets at the end of the year

See accompanying notes.

Statement of Cash Flows

Year ended June 30, 2001, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operating activities</td>
<td>$11,712,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in net assets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depreciation</td>
<td>1,490,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net realized and unrealized loss (gain) on investments</td>
<td>77,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions restricted for investment in endowment</td>
<td>(11,623,600)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in operating assets and liabilities:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses</td>
<td>104,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable</td>
<td>(237,700)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventories</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts payable and accrued expenses</td>
<td>935,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deferred subscription revenue</td>
<td>107,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued postretirement benefits</td>
<td>(2,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash provided by operating activities</td>
<td>2,565,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement of Cash Flows (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Investing activities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchases of building, building improvements, and equipment</td>
<td>$ (1,108,500)</td>
<td>$ (2,503,900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchases of investments</td>
<td>(119,686,000)</td>
<td>(61,752,900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds from sales of investments</td>
<td>110,640,000</td>
<td>62,256,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash used in investing activities</td>
<td>(10,154,500)</td>
<td>(2,000,300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financing activities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions restricted for investment in endowment</td>
<td>8,184,200</td>
<td>505,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions for capital expenditures</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>455,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash provided by financing activities</td>
<td>8,184,200</td>
<td>960,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net increase (decrease) in cash and cash equivalents</td>
<td>595,100</td>
<td>(294,800)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year</td>
<td>12,460,000</td>
<td>12,754,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents, end of year</td>
<td>$ 13,055,100</td>
<td>$ 12,460,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-cash investing and financing activity:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions receivable for investment in endowment</td>
<td>$ 4,102,500</td>
<td>$ 618,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions receivable for capital expenditures</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>$ 44,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See accompanying notes.

Notes to Financial Statements
June 30, 2001

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.

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.

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.
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. The Council’s hedge funds, which consist of interests in investment limited partnerships and investment companies, are carried as follows:

- The Council’s investments in investment companies, represented by share ownership, are 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 values of investments in investment limited partnerships reflect 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 accounting principles generally accepted in the United States requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect amounts reported in the financial statements and accompanying notes. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

2000 Summarized 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 accounting principles generally accepted in the United States. Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Council’s financial statements for the year ended June 30, 2000, from which the summarized information was derived.

3. Investments
The components of the Council’s long-term investments were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investments</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>June 30</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>June 30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic equity securities</td>
<td>$47,654,000</td>
<td>$48,256,000</td>
<td>$53,455,900</td>
<td>$60,048,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International equity securities</td>
<td>19,292,700</td>
<td>18,866,200</td>
<td>16,418,200</td>
<td>18,810,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign and corporate bonds</td>
<td>13,023,800</td>
<td>12,971,400</td>
<td>9,936,300</td>
<td>9,802,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. government agency obligations</td>
<td>15,173,500</td>
<td>15,429,700</td>
<td>10,755,900</td>
<td>10,434,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedge funds</td>
<td>30,803,600</td>
<td>39,533,300</td>
<td>24,081,000</td>
<td>26,884,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money market funds</td>
<td>5,446,500</td>
<td>5,446,500</td>
<td>5,555,700</td>
<td>5,555,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$131,394,100</strong></td>
<td><strong>$140,504,100</strong></td>
<td><strong>$120,203,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>$131,535,600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. Amounts allocated to the unrestricted and temporarily restricted net asset classes are at the discretion of the Council. In 2000, additional gains of $577,300 were utilized to fulfill donor restrictions. Investment income has been reported as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year ended June 30</th>
<th>Unrestricted</th>
<th>Temporarily Restricted</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>$1,546,900</td>
<td>$533,700</td>
<td>$2,080,600</td>
<td>$1,619,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>(57,600)</td>
<td>(19,900)</td>
<td>(77,500)</td>
<td>9,037,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Net realized and unrealized (losses) gains:

| Total return on investments | (1,489,300) | 513,800 | 2,003,100 | 10,656,700 |
| Investment return used for current operations | (3,600,000) | (2,324,300) | (5,924,300) | (5,433,000) |

| Investment return in excess of (less than) amounts used for current operations | $(2,110,700) | $(1,810,500) | $(3,921,200) | $5,223,700 |

### 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June 30</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than one year</td>
<td>$9,147,100</td>
<td>$5,190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One to five years</td>
<td>649,900</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less discount (using 6% rate)</td>
<td>93,600</td>
<td>163,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable, net</td>
<td>$9,703,400</td>
<td>$6,026,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6. Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, at cost, are summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June 30</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>Estimated Useful Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>$1,854,300</td>
<td>$1,854,300</td>
<td>10-55 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings and building improvements</td>
<td>25,593,400</td>
<td>25,201,600</td>
<td>3-15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>6,903,100</td>
<td>6,186,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less accumulated depreciation</td>
<td>34,350,800</td>
<td>33,242,300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less accumulated depreciation</td>
<td>$11,027,300</td>
<td>9,536,800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 23,323,500 | 23,705,500 |

### 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 $744,400 for 2001 and $706,900 for 2000. Participants must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.
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.

The following table presents the plan’s related disclosures under the provisions of Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 132, Employers’ Disclosures About Pensions and Other Postretirement Benefits, as accounted for under Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 106, Employers’ Accounting for Postretirement Benefits Other than Pensions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>June 30 2001</th>
<th>June 30 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefit obligation</td>
<td>$2,116,000</td>
<td>$1,757,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair value of plan assets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfunded status</td>
<td>$2,116,000</td>
<td>$1,757,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued postretirement benefit cost in the statement of financial position</td>
<td>$1,800,000</td>
<td>$1,802,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the year ended

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefit cost</td>
<td>$170,000</td>
<td>$130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits paid</td>
<td>$172,000</td>
<td>$145,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weighted average assumptions

Discount rate 7.50% 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% for 2001 and 2000 and remaining at 6% hereafter.

9. Temporarily Restricted Net Assets

Temporarily restricted net assets are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>June 30 2001</th>
<th>June 30 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$25,936,600</td>
<td>$23,567,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>3,723,100</td>
<td>4,691,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>3,355,300</td>
<td>3,489,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies—Next Generation</td>
<td>3,176,000</td>
<td>3,551,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditures</td>
<td>5,637,600</td>
<td>5,772,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$41,828,600</strong></td>
<td><strong>$41,073,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for the fulfillment of the following during the years ended June 30:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$5,943,800</td>
<td>$6,083,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>547,600</td>
<td>627,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>956,200</td>
<td>726,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies—Next Generation</td>
<td>83,000</td>
<td>63,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditures</td>
<td>248,100</td>
<td>248,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>280,300</td>
<td>273,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$8,059,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,021,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amounts released from restrictions of $8,059,000 and $8,021,500 in 2001 and 2000, respectively, primarily represent revenue in prior years and expended in 2001 and 2000, respectively.
10. Permanently Restricted Net Assets

Income earned on permanently restricted net assets is restricted for the following purposes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$35,149,600</td>
<td>$24,415,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>6,066,100</td>
<td>6,066,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>3,502,700</td>
<td>3,502,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>1,021,000</td>
<td>156,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrestricted as to use</td>
<td>14,986,000</td>
<td>14,961,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$60,725,400</td>
<td>$49,101,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS

Board of Directors
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statement of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. as of June 30, 2001, and the related statements of activities and cash flows for the year then ended. 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 audit. The prior year summarized comparative information has been derived from the Council's 2000 financial statements and, in our report dated August 14, 2000, we expressed an unqualified opinion on those financial statements.

We conducted our audit in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States. 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 audit provides 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, 2001, and the changes in its net assets and its cash flows for the year then ended in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States.

August 14, 2001

Ernst & Young LLP
Executive Office

Leslie H. Gelb
President
Michael P. Peters
Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer
Janice L. Murray
Vice President and Treasurer, and Deputy Chief Operating Officer
Elva Murphy
Assistant to the President
Amanda Edwards
Assistant to the Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer
Chong-Lim Lee
Assistant to the Vice President and Treasurer
Lilita V. Gusts
Secretary of the Corporation
Jeffrey A. Reinke
Counselor to the Chairman and President
John Temple Swing

Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy

Alton Frye
Presidential Senior Fellow and Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy
Leigh Morris Sloane
Assistant Director

Center for Preventive Action

William L. Nash
Director and Senior Fellow
David L. Phillips
Deputy Director and Senior Fellow
Kathleen Jennings
Program Associate

Communications

Lisa Shields
Acting Director
Marie X. Strauss
Deputy Director
Cree Frappier
Website Coordinator

Foreign Affairs

Editorial

James F. Hoge Jr.
Editor, Peter G. Peterson Chair
Gideon Rose
Managing Editor
Jonathan D. Tepperman
Senior Editor
Helen Fessenden
Associate Editor

Celia Whitaker
Associate Editor
Rosemary Hartman
Assistant to the Editor
Ann H. Coleman
Assistant to the Managing Editor
Traci C. Nagle
Production Editor
Siddharth Mohandas
Academic Year Intern

Publishing

David Kellogg
Publisher
Eugenia Hsu
Circulation Manager
Nina Johns
Circulation Assistant
Joseph D’Amico
Anthology Production Coordinator
William Ledbetter
Advertising Manager
Michael Pasuit
Advertising Marketing Coordinator
Melsha Winchester
Advertising Assistant
Nancy Barra
Assistant to the Publisher

Studies Program

Director of Studies Office

Lawrence J. Korb
Vice President/Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies, and Director, National Security Studies
Judith Adams
Assistant to the Vice President and Director of Studies
Theophilos C. Gemelas
Associate Director of Studies
April Palmerlee
Assistant to the Associate Director of Studies
Jean-Michel Oriol
Budget Coordinator
William Diebold Jr.
Senior Fellow Emeritus

Africa

Gwendolyn Mikell
Senior Fellow
Mahesh K. Kotecha
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Vanessa Pokorny
Research Associate

Asia

Robert A. Manning
C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies and Director, Asia Studies
Elizabeth C. Economy
Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies
Staff

Eric Aldrich
Jerome A. Cohen
Pilar Pereyra

International Economics
Caroline Atkinson
Anne Alikonis
Jagdish N. Bhagwati
Olivia Carballo
Holly Waeger
Marie-Josée Kravis
Roger M. Kubarych
Laura Winthrop
Ann R. Markusen
Benn Steil
Matthew Rosenberg
Bruce Stokes
Mary Dinh
Michael M. Weinstein

Europe
Ronald D. Asmus
Jessica Fugate
Marek Michalewski
Sheila Heslin
Charles A. Kupchan
Michael Mandelbaum
David Stevens
Stephen R. Sestanovich
Christine Evans
Astrid S. Tuminez
Nora Kahn

Latin America
Kenneth R. Maxwell
Tomás Amorim
Julia Sweig
Jessica Duda

Middle East
Richard W. Murphy
Sarah Saghir
Judith Kipper
Pauline Shams
Henry Siegman
Scott Lasensky

National Security
Lawrence J. Korb
Alexandre L. Tiersky
Charles G. Boyd
Kenneth M. Pollack
Richard K. Betts
Rachel Bronson
Stephen E. Flynn
Sean Burke
Bernard E. Trainor
David Stevens

Peace and Conflict
Arthur C. Helton
Marie Jeannot
Elíana Jacobs
Robert A. Malley
Robert P. DeVecchi
Radha Kumar
David Pacheco
Ruth Wedgwood
Jennifer Seymour
Kimberly Marten Zisk

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East and Director, Middle East Studies
Research Associate
Director, Middle East Forum
Program Associate
Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project
Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project
Director, National Security Studies
Research Associate
Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in National Security and European Affairs
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies
Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security Studies
Olin Fellow, National Security Studies
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Research Associate
Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action
Assistant to the Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action
Research Associate
Senior Fellow
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced
Senior Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies
Research Associate
Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Science and Technology
Richard L. Garwin
Jeremy Marwell
David G. Victor
Nora Kahn
Jordan S. Kassalow
Denise Gomes
Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow, Science and Technology
Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Research Associate
Research Associate

U.S. Foreign Policy
Morton H. Halperin
Katsuhisa Furukawa
Walter Russell Mead
Derek Lundy
Joe T. Siegle
Kiron Skinner
David Pacheco
Senior Fellow
Research Associate
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy
Research Associate
Next Generation Fellow
Adjunct Next Generation Fellow
Research Associate

Diplomat in Residence
Richard Butler
Leonardo Arriola
Diplomat in Residence
Research Associate

Visiting Fellows, 2001–2002
Robert L. McClure
Christopher D. Miller
F.J. Niner
Philip C. Rudder
Greta Lundeberg
Guillermo S. Christensen
Calvin Sims
Sandra Enmil
Nicholas J. Rasmussen
Andrew S. Weiss
USA Military Fellow
USAF Military Fellow
USN Military Fellow
USMC Military Fellow
Intelligence Fellow
Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow
Program Associate
Program Associate
International Affairs Fellow in Residence
International Affairs Fellow in Residence

Meetings
Anne R. Luzzatto
Nancy D. Bodurtha
Anastasia Malacos
Noa Gimelli
Carolyn Jander
Ella Roderick-Jones
Peggy Papadakis
Vice President, Meetings
Associate Director, Meetings
Assistant Director, New York Meetings
Program Coordinator
Program Coordinator
Program Coordinator
Program Associate

Washington Program
Charles G. Boyd
Diane Long
Linda Harsh
Amy Drapeau
Senior Vice President and Director
Executive Assistant
Associate Director
Program Associate

National Program
Irina A. Faskianos
Katherine Sobong
Silvia Fracchia
National Director
Program Associate
Program Assistant

Corporate Affairs
Jacqui Selbst Schein
Alexandra Merle
Marta Chylinska
Director, Corporate Affairs
Corporate Affairs Associate
Corporate Affairs Associate

Council Publishing
Patricia Lee Dorff
Kimberly Fielding
Director of Publishing
Editorial Assistant

Correspondence: An International Review of Culture and Society
Alexander Stille
David Jacobson
Editor
Managing Editor

Membership and Fellowship Affairs
Elise Carlson Lewis
Allison Storkamp
Abigail Leibig
Bessie Skoures
Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs
Assistant to the Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs
Program Associate
Program Associate

Staff
Staff

Janice L. Murray  Vice President and Treasurer, and Deputy Chief Operating Officer

Betty Kurdys  Director of the Annual Fund and Major Gifts
Lena Moy  Program Associate
Rossana Ivanova  Associate Director of Development
Erika Bailey  Grants Development Associate

Development

Anthony Ramirez  Work Request Coordinator
Santo Ine Alers  Senior Facility Assistant
Angel Cordova  Facility/Events Assistant
Gilbert Falcon  Facility Assistant
Mario Pedraza  Facility Assistant
Edwin Santiago  Facility Assistant
Derek Velez  Facility Assistant
Lawrence White  Facility Assistant

Events Management

Mark Hudson  Events Manager
Fernando Browne  Assistant Events Manager
Kristine Haan  Events Associate

Library and Research Services

Lilita V. Gusts  Director and Secretary of the Corporation
Marcia L. Sprules  Associate Director
Michelle McKowen  Reference and Documents Librarian
Connie M. Stagnaro  Research Intranet and Archives Coordinator
Ming Er Qiu  Technical Services Associate
Christine Quinn  Library Assistant
Barbara K. Miller  Consulting Archivist

Information Services

Charles Day  Director
Deepak Trivedi  Associate Director
Albert Andrade  Help Desk Technician
Alice McLoughlin  Assistant to the Director of Information Services and Data Entry Specialist
Virginia Rolston Parrott  Training and Documentation Specialist
Chris O. Sierra  LAN Administrator
Richard Wawzycki  Database Administrator/Programmer

Note: Staff shown as of August 31, 2001.
New York

Washington, D.C.
The Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and from beyond these two areas. The Council relies on its members for their active engagement, substantive contributions, and support and counts on its members to identify and propose qualified prospects for membership. Membership development efforts are focused on identifying potential Council members from various professions, geographic areas, and ethnic groups.

Profile of the Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Percentage of Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York Area</td>
<td>1,283</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C., Area</td>
<td>1,253</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National (including overseas)</td>
<td>1,452</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,988</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Percentage of Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors, Fellows, and Researchers</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonprofit</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Officials</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University and College Administrators</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists, Correspondents, and Editors</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,988</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Membership Committee. The Committee also meets twice a year and is composed of members of the Board and such other members as the committee chair deems appropriate. To be considered by the Membership Committee, candidates must be proposed for membership by Council members. The roster of members is listed in the annual report.

At every meeting, the Membership Committee 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 annually 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, and no more than 35 of these can 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. To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated by one member and seconded by a minimum of one other Council member. It is recommended that at least one letter from a current or former professional colleague be included. An additional letter or two from Council members reflecting different perspectives are welcome but not 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 citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.
- Members of the Council’s Board of Directors and Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, or 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 Membership Committee 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 Membership Committee, 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 Membership Committee 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 Membership Committee’s work, and we request your cooperation. The preparation of individual membership files for submission to the Membership Committee is a continual 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 twice 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 Membership Committee and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates who are not recommended 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 of Membership and Fellowship Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021; Telephone: (212) 434-9400; Fax: (212) 434-9801; Email: membership@cfr.org. Visit our website at www.cfr.org.
Membership Roster

A
Aaron, David L.
Abbot, Charles S.
Abbot, Charles
S clandestine
Abbott, Wilder K.
Aboud, A. Robert
Abouelnaga, Monat
Aboelnaga, Monat
Abramowitz,
Morton I.
Abrams, Elliott
Abshire, David M.
Aburdene, Odeh E.
Ackenman, Peter
Adams, Gordon M.
Adams, Robert
McCormick
Adelman, Carol C.
Adelman, Kenneth L.
Adler, Allen R.
Agnese, Harold M.
Agostinelli, Robert F.
Ahearn, William
Edward
Ahmad, Kamal
Ahn, Laura
Ahn, Woodrow
Aho, C. Michael
Aidinoff, M. Bernard
Aizenman, Nurith
Ajami, Fouad
Akens, James E.
Albright, Madeleine
Alderman, Michael H.
Aldrich, George H.
Alexander, Margo N.
Alexander, Robert J.
Alford, Roger P.
Alford, William P.
Allaire, Paul A.
Allbriton, Joe L.
Allen, Jodie T.
Allen, Lew Jr.
Allen, Richard V.
Allison, Graham T.
Allison, Richard C.
Almond, Michael A.
Alpern, Alan N.
Alter, Jonathan
Alter, Karen J.
Alterman, Jon B.
Altman, Roger C.
Altman, William C.
Altschul, Arthur G.
Altshuler, David
Alvarado, Donna
Maria
Alvarez, Jose E.
Ames, Oakes
Amos, Deborah Susan
Andelman, David A.
Anderson, Harold W.
Anderson, Craig B.
Anderson, Desaix
Anderson, Edward G. III
Anderson, Jonathan
David

Anderson, Joseph A.
Anderson, Lisa
Anderson, Marcus A.
Anderson, Mark A.
Anderson, Paul F.
Andersson, Robert O.
Andrews, Dwayne O.
Andreas, Terry Lynn
Andrews, David R.
Andrews, Michael A.
Anson, M. Michael
Anthony, Robert
Anthony, John Duke
Aossey, Nancy A.
Apgar, David P.
Aponte, Mari Carmen
Appiah, Kwame
Anthony
Apter, David E.
Archambault, Shellye L.
Arciniega, Tomas A.
Arcos, Crescencio S.
Areziga-Soto, Jaime A.
Arkin, Stanley S.
Arledge, Roone
Armacost, Michael H.
Armstrong, Anne L.
Armstrong, C. Michael
Armstrong, John
Alexander Jr.
Armstrong, Lloyd Jr.
Arnavat, Gustavo
Arnold, Henry H.
Arnold, Millard W.
Aron, Adam M.
Aronson, Bernard W.
Aronson, Jonathan
David
Aronson, Michael
Arredondo, Fabiola R.
Arnsht, Adrienne
Art, Robert J.
Arthurs, Alberta
Artigiani, Carole
Artzt, Edwin L.
Asencio, Diego C.
Ashton, Sarah S.
Asmus, Ronald D.
Assousa, George E.
Atherton, Alfred
Leroy Jr.
Athrey, Bama
Atwood, J. Brian
Auer, James E.
Auerbach, Stuart C.
Augustine, Norman R.
Auspiz, Josiah Lee
Ausubel, Jesse H.
Avedon, John F.
Avery, John E.
Awuah, Patrick G. Jr.
Axelrod, Robert M.
Ayers, H. Brandt
Azim, Khalid
B
Babbitt, Bruce
Babbitt, Eileen F.
Babbitt, Harriet C.
Bacon, Kenneth H.
Bacon, Kenneth H.
Bacon, J. Carter
Bader, William G.
Bader, William G.
Baer, Donald A.
Baer, M. Delal
Baeza, Mario L.
Bagley, Elizabeth
Frawley
Baird, Charles Waldo
Bains, Leslie E.
Baird, Charles F.
Baird, Peter W.
Baird, Zoe
Baker, Howard H. Jr.
Baker, James A. Ill
Baker, John R.
Baker, Nancy
Kassebaum
Baker, Pauline H.
Baker, Stewart A.
Baker, Thurbert E.
Bakhash, Shaul
Bakstansky, Peter
Balas, Paul
Baldwin, David A.
Baldwin, H. Furlong
Baldwin, Robert
Edward
Baldwin, Sherman
Bales, Carter F.
Balick, Kenneth
Baliles, Gerald L.
Band, Laurence M.
Band, Donald K.
Baratta, Mira
Barrett, Benjamin R.
Barrett, Charles F.
Barber, James Alden
Barcelo, William G.
Barrett, Teresa C.
Barkan, Joel D.
Barkey, Henri J.
Membership Roster

A-B

Barks-Ruggles, Erica Jean
Barndts, William J.
Barnes, Harry G. Jr.
Barnes, Michael D.
Barnet, Richard J.
Barnett, F. William
Barr, Michael S.
Barr, Thomas D. Jr.
Barrett, Barbara McConnell
Barrett, John Adams
Barry, John L.
Barry, Lisa B.
Barry, Thomas
Corcoran
Barshay, Jill
Barshesky, Charlene
Bartholomew, Reginald
Bartlett, Joseph W.
Bartlett, Thomas A.
Bartlett, Timothy J.
Bartley, Robert L.
Barry, Lisa B.
Barry, Lisa B.
Barrett, Barbara McConnell
Barrett, John Adams
Barry, John L.
Barry, Linda Parrish
Barry, Nicholas F.
Barry, Rose
Brainard, S. Lael
Bramlett, David A.
Branch, Daniel H.
Branascomb, Lewis M.
Brauchli, Marcus W.
Braunschvig, David
Brazeal, Aurelia E.*
Breck, Henry R.
Breed, Henry Eltinge
Bremer, L. Paul III
Breslauer, George
William
Bresnahan, John J.
Brewer, John D.
Breyer, Stephen G.
Brimmer, Andrew F.
Brimmer, Esther Diane
Brinkley, David
Brinkley, Douglas G.
Britt, David V.B.
Brittenham, Raymond L.
Broad, Robin
Broadman, Harry G.
Brock, Steven V.*
Brod, Frederick C.
Brodsky, William J.
Broyd, Christopher W.
Broyd, Kenneth D.
Broidman, Elana
Brokaw, Tom
Bromley, D. Allan
Bronfman, Edgar M.
Bronson, Rachel
Brookins, Carole L.
Elected to membership in 2001.

Burgess, Geoffrey P.
Burkhalter, Holly J.
Brown, Michael Arrington
Brown, Michael E.
Brown, Phoebe W.
Brown, Richard P. Jr.
Brown, Robert S.
Brown, David S.
Brown, Phoebe W.
Brown, Michael E.
Brown, Lester R.
Brown, Kathleen
Brown, L. Carl
Brown, Michael Arrington
Brooks, Harvey
Brooks, Karen B.†
Brother, Charles N.
Brown, Alice L.
Brown, Bartram S.
Brown, Carol
Brown, C. Michael†
Brown, Frederick J.
Brown, Gwendolyn A.
Brown, Harold
Brown, Kathleen
Brown, L. Carl
Brown, Lester R.
Brown, Michael Arrington
Burn, Christopher J.
Burney, Judith
Brunemer, Russell J.
Bryan, Greysen L.
Bryant, Michael E.
Bryant, Ralph C.
Bryson, John E.
Brzezinski, Ian Joseph
Brzezinski, Mark F.
Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Buchan, Mark E.
Buckley, William F. Jr.
Bueno de Mesquita, Joseph

C

Cabot, Elizabeth
Cabot, Louis W.
Cabranes, Jose A.
Caceres, Diane Alleva* 
Caesar, Camille M.* 
Cahill, Kevin M.
Cahn, Anne Hessing
Cain, Kenneth L.
Calabia, Dawn T.
Calabresi, Massimo
Calder, Kent Eyring
Calderwood, Dan
Call, William Jr.
Call, Robert R.
Carr, John W.
Carrington, Walter C.
Carrion, Richard L.
Carroll, J. Speed
Carruth, Reba Anne
Carson, Charles
Carson, William D.
Carpenter, Ted Galen
Carr, John W.
Carroll, John C.
Carroll, Samuel C.
Carullo, Ralph
Buxbaum, Richard M.
Byman, Daniel†
Byrne, Patrick M.
Burnett, Christina
Burnett, J. William
Burnett, J. William
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Burnett, J. William
Burne, William F.
Burnett, Richard F.
Burns, William F.
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Burns, William F.
 Burn, Christopher J.
Campbell, Kurt M.
Campbell, Thomas J.
Campbell, William
Campbell, William
Canfield, Franklin O.
Capehart, Jonathan†
Cappello, Juan Carlos
Caputo, David A.
Caputo, Lisa M.
Carbonell, Nestor T.
Carey, Hugh L.
Carey, John
Carey, Sarah C.
Carlos, Manuel Luis
Carlson, Scott
Alexander
Carlson, Steven E.
Carlucci, Frank C.
Carmichael, William D.
Carnesale, Albert
Carothers, Thomas
Carpenter, Ted Galen
Carr, John W.
Carrington, Walter C.
Carrion, Richard L.
Carroll, J. Speed
Carruth, Reba Anne
Carson, Charles
Carson, William Jr.
Carswell, Robert
Carter, Ashley B.
Carter, Barry E.
Carter, Hodding
Carter, James Earl
Carter, James H.
Carter, Mark Andrew* 
Carter, Marshall
Nichols
Casper, Gerhard
Cassidy, Eileen E.
Catlow, Walter S.
Cattarulla, Elliot R.
Catto, Henry E.
Caufield, Frank J.
Caufield, Matthew P.
Cavanagh, Richard
Cavanaugh, Carey* 
Cave, Ray Charles
Cebrowski, Arthur
Caldwell, Philip
Calabria, Dawn T.
Calabresi, Massimo
Calder, Kent Eyring
Calderwood, Dan
Call, Robert R.
Callan, Michael A.
Calleo, David Patrick
Campbell, Carolyn
Margaret
Campbell, Colin G.
Campbell, F. Gregory*
Cook, Frances D.
Conway, Pamela
Considine, Jill M.
Conners Petersen, J.*
Connor, John T. Jr.
Considine, Jill M.
Cook, Frances D.
Cook, Gary M.
Cook-Anderson, Gretchen Rachelle
Cooke, Goodwin
Cooke, John F.
Coolidge, Nicholas J.
Coome, George William Jr.
Coombs, Philip H.
Coon, Jane Abell
Cooney, Joan Ganz
Cooper, Charles A.
Cooper, Chester L.
Cooper, James H.S.
Cooper, John Milton Jr.
Cooper, Kathleen B.
Cooper, Kerry
Cooper, Rebecca J.
Cooper, Richard N.
Corbet, Kathleen A.*
Cordesman, Anthony H.
Cornelius, Wayne A.
Cott, Suzanne
Cotter, William R.
Courtney, William H.
Cousens, Elizabeth M.
Covey, Jock
Cowal, Sally Grooms
Cowan, Geoffrey
Cowan, L. Gray
Cowhey, Peter F.
Cox, Edward F.
Cox, Howard E. Jr.*
Crahan, Margaret E.
Craneer, Lorne W.
Crawford, John F.
Creekmore, Marion V. Jr.
Crichton, Kyle
Crile, George III
Crittenden, Ann
Crocker, Bathsheba N.
Crocker, Chester A.
Cromwell, Adelaide McGuinn
Cross, Devon G.
Cross, June V.
Cross, Sam Y.
Cross, Theodore
Crossette, Barbara
Crowe, William J.
Crown, Lester
Cruise, Daniel Lester
Crystal, Lester M.
Cullum, Lee
Cumpiano, Flavio
Cuneo, Donald
Cunningham, James B.*
Cunningham, Nelson W.*
Curley, Walter J.P. Jr.
Curran, R.T.
Curtis, Charles B.
Curtis, Gerry
Cusimano Love, Maryann K.
Cutler, Lloyd N.
Cutler, Walter L.
Cutshaw, Kenneth A.
Cutter, Ana Grier
Cutter, W. Bowman
Cyr, Arthur I.
D
D'Amato, Alfonse M.
Daalder, Ivo H.
Dabelko, Geoffrey D.
Daley, Brian D.
Dale, William B.
Dallara, Charles H.
Daly, George Albert
Dallmeyer, Dorinda G.
Dalton, James E.
Dam, Kenneth W.
Dam, Marcia Wachs
Damschen, Lori Fisler
Dancy, John A.G.*
Danforth, William H.
Daniel, D. Ronald
Daniel, Donald C.F.*
Danin, Robert M.*
Danner, Mark D.
Dash, Michele
Samanta
DaSilva, Russell J.
David, Jack
Davidson, Daniel I.
Davidson, Ralph K.
Davidson, Ralph Parsons
Davis, Evan A.
Davis, Jacquelyn K.
Davis, Jerome
Davis, Kathryn W.
Davis, Kim Gordon
Davis, Lynn E.
Davis, Nathaniel
Davis, Vincent
Davison, Kristina Perkin
Davison, W. Phillips
Dawisha, Karen Lea
Dawkins, Peter M.
Dawson Carr, Marion M.
Dawson, Christine L.
Dawson, Horace G. Jr.
Day, Arthur R.
Day, Robert A.
Days, Drew
Saunders III
de Borchgrave, Arnaud
de Janosi, Peter E.
de la Garza, Rodolfo O.
de Menil, George
de Menil, Joy A.
de Menil, Lois Pattison
de Vries, Rimmer
Deagle, Edwin A. Jr.
Dean, Jonathan
Dean, Robert W.
Dear, Alice M.*
Debevoise, Eli
Whitney II
Debs, Barbara
Knowles
Debs, Richard A.
DeBusk, F. Amanda
DeCrane, Alfred C. Jr.
Decker, Midge
Decyk, Roxanne J.
Dedrick, Fred T.
Deffenbaugh, Ralston H. Jr.
Deibel, Terry L.
del Olmo, Frank Phillip
Del Rosso, Stephen J.*
Del Toro, Carlos
demingo, Rust
Macpherson
Denham, Robert E.
Denison, Robert J.
Dennis, Everette E.
Denny, Brewster C.
Denoon, David B.H.
Denton, Hazel
Denton, James S.
DePoy, Phil E.
dergham, Raghida
Derian, Patricia
Murphy
Derr, Kenneth T.
Derrick, James V. Jr.
Derryck, Vivian
Lowery
Dertouzos, Michael L.
Desai, Padma
Desai, Rohit M.*
DeShazer, MacArthur
DeSouza, Patrick J.*
Despres, Gina H.
Destler, I.M.
Deutch, John
Deutch, Philip J.
Deutch, Shelley*
DeVecchi, Robert P.
Devine, C. Maury
Devine, John J.*
Devine, M. Colette
Devine, Thomas J.
DeYoung, Karen J.
Diamond, Michael W.*
Dickey, Christopher
Dicks, Norman D.
Dickson-Horton, Valerie L.*
Didion, Joan
Diebold, John
Diebold, William Jr.
Diehl, Jackson K.
Dilenschneider, Robert L.
Dillon, Douglas
DiMartino, Rita
Dimon, James
Dine, Thomas A.
Dinerstein, Robert C.
Dinh, Viet D.
Dinkins, David N.
DiPerna, Paula*
Diuk, Nadia
Djerian, Edward P.
Djerjian, Gregory
Dobriansky, Paula J.
Dodd, Christopher J.
Dodd, Thomas J.*
Doebele, Justin W.
Doe, James S.
Douglass, Robert R.
Dougherty, James P.*
Drayton, William
Dreger, David J.
Drew, Elizabeth
Dreyfuss, Joel
Drimmer, Jonathan†
Drobnick, Richard Lee
Drucker, Joy E.
Drucker, Richard A.

Druckerman, Pamela
Druyan, Ann
Duberstein, Kenneth M.
Dubin, Seth H.
DuBrul, Stephen M. Jr.
Duckenfield, David Adams
Due, Johnita P.
Dueler, Charles A.
Duersten, Althea L.
Duffey, Joseph D.
Duffie, David A.*
Duffy, Gloria
Charmian
Duffy, James H.
Dugan, Michael J.
Duke, Robin Chandler
Dunlay, Peggy
Dunbar, Charles F.
Duncan, Charles William Jr.
Duncan, Graham A.†
Duncan, John C.
Dunigan, Patrick Andrew
Dunkerley, Craig G.
Dunlop, Joan B.
Dunn, Kempton
Dunn, Lewis A.
Dunn, Michael M.
Dur, Philip A.
Durkin, Patrick J.
Dutton, Frederick G.
Dyke, Nancy Bearg
Dyson, Esther

Eberle, William D.
Eberstadt, Nicholas N.
Ehols, Marsha A.
Economy, Elizabeth C.
Eaton, Donna R.
Eddleman, Linda
Eddy, Randolph P. III
Edelman, Albert I.
Edelman, Gerald M.
Edelman, Marian Wright
Edelman, Richard Winston
Edelstein, Julius C.C.
Edington, Mark D.W.†
Edley, Christopher Jr.
Edwards, Howard
Edwards, Mickey
Edwards, Robert H.
Efron, Laura L.
Eggers, Thomas E.
Ehrenreich, Rosa†
Ehrlich, Thomas
Eichengreen, Barry J.
Eikenberry, Karl
Eilts, Hermann
Eilenreich, Frederick
Einaudi, Luigi R.
Einhorn, Jessica P.
Einhorn, Robert J.
Eisendrath, Charles R.
Eisner, Michael
Eizenstat, Stuart E.
Elliott, Inger McCabe
Elliott, Osborn
Ellis, James Reed
Ellis, Mark S.
Ellis, Patricia
Ellis, Rodney
Ellison, Keith Paty
Ellsberg, Daniel
Ellsworth, Robert F.
Elson, Edward E.
Ely, John Hart
Ely-Raphel, Nancy
Halliday

Embree, Ainslie T.
Emerson, John B.*
Ensor, David B.
Entwistle, L. Brooks
Epstein, Barbara
Epstein, Jason
Epstein, Jeffrey
Epstein, Joshua M.
Erb, Guy F.
Erb, Richard D.
Erb, Claude E.
Erburz, Robert F.
Ecklentz, Alexander T.
Esfandiari, Haleh
Esserman, Susan G.
Estabrook, Robert H.
Ety, Daniel C.
Evans, Gail H.
Evans, Harold K.
Evans, Tatjana H.
Ewing, Anthony P.

F

Fabian, Larry L.
Fairbanks, Charles H. Jr.
Fairbanks,
Richard M. III
Fairman, David M.
Falco, Mathew
Falcoff, Mark
Falk, Pamela S.
Falk, Richard A.
Falkenrath, Richard A.
Fallon, Robert E.
Fallows, James
Fanton, Jonathan
Foster
Faraon, J. Rodney
Farer, Tom J.
Farkas, Evelyn N.
Farley, Maggie M.†
Farmer, Thomas L.
Farnsworth, Eric P.†
Farrar, Jay C.

* Elected to membership in 2001.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.
**Membership Roster**

- Golden, William T.
- Goldgeier, James M.
- Goldin, Harrison J.
- Goldman, Charles N.
- Goldman, Guido
- Goldman, Marshall I.
- Goldman, Merle D.
- Goldmark, Peter C. Jr.
- Goldschmidt, Neil
- Goldsmith, Jack Landman III
- Goldsmith, Robert S.
- Goldstein, Gordon
- Goldstein, Jeffrey A.
- Goldstein, Morris*
- Goldwyn, David L.
- Golob, Stephanie Ruth
- Gomberg, Ralph E.
- Gonzalez, Nelson
- Goodby, James E.
- Goodman, Andrea Pierce*
- Goodman, George J.W.
- Goodman, Herbert I.
- Goodman, John B.*
- Goodman, Roy M.
- Goodman, Sherri W.
- Goodpaster, Andrew J.
- Gordon, Albert H.
- Gordon, John A.
- Gordon, Lincoln
- Gordon, Michael R.
- Gordon, Philip H.
- Gorelick, Jamie S.
- Gorman, Joseph T.
- Goss, Porter J.
- Gotbaum, Victor
- Gottemoeller, Rose
- Gottfried, Kurt
- Gottlieb, Gidon A.G.
- Gottlieb, Stuart
- Gottsegen, Peter M.
- Gould, Peter G.
- Gourevitch, Peter A.
- Graff, Henry Franklin
- Graff, Robert D.
- Graham, Bob
- Graham, Carol L.*
- Graham, Lawrence
- Greaves, Howard D.
- Gray, Hanna Holborn
- Grayson, Judy S.
- Greath, R. Scott
- Greco, Richard Jr.$
- Green, Bill
- Green, Carl J.
- Green, Ernest G.
- Green, Jerrold D.
- Green, Michael J.
- Green, Shane
- Greenberg, Arthur N.
- Greenberg, David
- Greenberg, Evan G.
- Greenberg, Jeffrey W.
- Greenberg, Karen J.
- Greenberg, Maurice R.
- Greenberg, Sanford D.
- Greenberger, Robert
- Greene, Joseph N. Jr.
- Greene, Margaret L.
- Greene, Wade
- Greenfield, James L.
- Greenspan, Alan
- Greenwald, G. Jonathan
- Grey, Hugh D.S.
- Gregg, Donald P.
- Gregorian, Vartan
- Gregson, Wallace C. Jr.
- Grenier, Richard
- Greve, Louisa Coan
- Griego, Linda
- Griescheit, Alyssa A.
- Grimes, Joseph
- Anthony Jr.
- Grimes, Julie M.
- Grissom, Janet Mullins
- Grose, Peter
- Gross, Martin J.*
- Gross, Patrick W.
- Grove, Brandon H. Jr.
- Grove, Paul C.
- Groves, Ray J.
- Grunwald, Henry A.
- Guerra-Mondragon, Gabriel
- Gundlach, Andrew S.
- Gupte, Pranay
- Gutfriend, John H.
- Guth, John H.J.
- Guthman, Edwin O.
- Gwertzman, Bernard M.
- Gwin, Catherine
- Halaby, Najeeb E.
- Hale, David D.
- Hall, C. Barrows
- Hall, John P.
- Hall, Kathryn Walt
- Hall-Martinez, Katherine$
- Halle, Claus M.*
- Hallerberg, Mark S.
- Hallingby, Paul Jr.
- Halperin, David R.
- Halperin, Morton H.
- Halstead, Ted
- Haltzel, Michael H.
- Hamburg, David A.
- Hamburg, Margaret Ann
- Hamburg-Coplan, Jill
- Hamilton, Ann O.
- Hamilton, Charles V.
- Hamilton, Daniel
- Hamilton, Edward K.
- Hamilton, Jonathan C.
- Hamilton, Lee H.
- Hamilton, Michael P.
- Hamilton, Ruth Simms
- Hammonds, D. Holly
- Hamre, John J.*
- Hanauer, Larry
- Hancock, Ellen
- Hand, Scott M.
- Handelman, Stephen
- Hansell, Herbert J.
- Hansen, Carol Rae
- Hanson, Carl Thor
- Hantz, Giselle P.
- Hantzopoulos, Evie
- Harari, Maurice
- Harding, Deborah A.*
- Harding, Harry
- Hardt, John P.
- Hargrove, John Lawrence
- Harman, Jane
- Harman, Sidney
- Harmon, James A.
- Harms, Blaire$
- Harpel, James W.
- Harper, Conrad K.
- Harris, David A.*
- Harris, Jay T.
- Harris, John M.
- Harris, Joseph E.
- Harris, Katherine$
- Harris, Martha
- Caldwell
- Harrison, Selig S.
- Harrison, William B. Jr.
- Hart, Brett J.
- Hart, Gary
- Hart, Todd C.*
- Hartman, Arthur A.
- Haskell, John H.F. Jr.
- Hatfield, Robert S.
- Hatheway, Gina
- Marie L.
- Hauge, John Resor
- Hauser, Rita E.
- Hauser, William Locke
- Hawell, Theresa A.
- Hawkins, Ashton
- Hawley, F. William
- Hawthorne, Steronica
- Dunston
- Hayek, Alexandre P.
- Hayes, Margaret Daly
- Hayes, Rita Derrick
- Haynes, Fred
- Haynes, Lukas
- Harrison
- Haynes, Ulric
- Hayward, Thomas B.
- Healy, Harold H. Jr.
- Hearn, Ruby P.
- Heck, Charles B.
- Hecker, Siegfried S.
- Hedstrom, Mitchell W.
- Heep-Richter, Barbara D.
- Heer, Paul$
- Heginbotham, Stanley J.
- Hehir, J. Bryan
- Heimann, John G.

* Elected to membership in 2001.
+ Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.
Membership Roster

Jaquette, Jane S.
Jarvis, Nancy A.
Jastrow, Robert
Jenkins, Bonnie D.
Jervis, Robert
Jessup, Alpheus W.
Jessup, Philip C. Jr.
Jeter, Howard F.
Jillson, Calvin C.*
Joffe, Robert D.
Johns, Lionel Skipwith
Johnson, Howard W.
Johnson, James A.
Johnson, James E.
Johnson, Jay L.
Johnson, Jeh Charles*
Johnson, Karen H.
Johnson, L. Oakley
Johnson, Larry D.
Johnson, Nancie S.
Johnson, Robert H.
Johnson, Robert W. IV
Johnson, Thomas S.
Johnson, Willene A.
Johnson, Wyatt
Thomas
Jones, Alan Kent*
Jones, Anita K.
Jones, Benjamin Felt
Jones, David C.
Jones, David L.
Jones, James R.
Jones, Jeffrey B.*
Jones, Kerri-Ann
Jones, Nigel W.*
Jones, Sidney R.
Jones, Thomas V.
Jones, Thomas W.
Jost, Peter Martin
Jordan, Amos A.
Jordan, Eason T.
Jordan, Vernon E. Jr.
Joseph, Geri M.
Joseph, James A.
Joseph, Richard A.
Josephson, William
Joyce, John T.
Jumper, John P.
Junz, Helen B.
Juster, Kenneth I.
K
Kaden, Lewis B.
Kadlec, Robert P.
Kagan, Donald*
Kagan, Robert W.
Kahan, Jerome H.
Kahler, Miles
Kaiser, Miranda M.
Kaiser, Philip M.
Kaiser, Robert G.
Kalathil, Shanthi A.*
Kalb, Bernard
Kalb, Marvin
Kalicki, Jan H.
Kamarck, Andrew
Martin
Kamarck, Elaine C.
Kaminsky, Howard
Kampelman, Max M.
Kaminsky, Virginia Ann
Kanak, Donald P.
Kandell, Jonathan
Kanter, Roger E.
Kang, C.S. Eliot
Kann, Peter R.
Kansteiner,
Walter H. III
Kanter, Arnold
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss
Kantor, Mickey
Kaplan, Gilbert E.
Kaplan, Helene L.
Kaplan, Jeffrey A.*
Kaplan, Mark N.
Kaplan, Stephen S.
Kapp, Robert A.
Kapstein, Ethan B.
Karalekas, Anne
Karamanian, Susan L.
Karatnycky, Adrian
Karatz, Bruce E.
Karis, Thomas G.
Karl, Terry Lynn
Karnow, Stanley
Karns, Margaret P.
Kartman, Charles
Kasdin, Robert
Kass, Stephen L.
Kassalow, Jordan S.*
Kassof, Allen H.
Kassoy, Andrew R.*
Kathwari, Farroq
Katz, Abraham
Katz, Daniel Roger
Katz, Ronald S.
Katz, Stanley N.
Katzenstein, Peter J.
Kaufman, Daniel J.
Kaufman, Henry
Kaufman, Robert R.
Kaufmann, William W.
Kaye, Charles Robert
Kaye, Dalia Dassa
Kaysen, Carl
Kayyem, Juliette N.*
Kazemi, Farhad
Kea, Charlotte G.
Kean, Christopher
Kean, Thomas H.
Keel, Alton G. Jr.
Keene, Lonnie S.
Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr.
Kelleher, Catherine M.
Kellen, Stephen M.
Keller, Edmond J.
Keller, Kenneth H.
Kellerman, Barbara L.
Kelley, Paul X.
Keller, Peter Bicknell
Kellogg, David
Kelly, Arthur L.
Kelly, James P.
Kelly, John H.
Kelman, Herbert C.
Kemble, Eugenia
Kemp, Geoffrey
Kempe, Frederick S.
Kempner,
Maximilian W.
Kendall, Donald M.
Kenen, Peter B.
Keniston, Kenneth
Kennan, Christopher J.
Kernan, Elizabeth T.
Kernan, George F.
Kennedy, Craig
Koehane, Nannerl O.
Koehane, Robert O.
Kern, Paul J.
Kerr, Ann Zwicker
Kerrey, Bob
Kerry, John F.
Kerry, Peggy*
Kessler, Martha Neff
Kester, W. Carl
Kezirian, Peter
Kalil, Rashid I.
Kalilzad, Zalmay M.
Khelmiani, Neeraj L.*
Khuri, Nicola N.
Kiermaier, John W.
Kiley, Robert R.
Kim, Andrew B.
Kim, Hanya Marie
Kim, Sukhan*
Kimmit, Robert M.
Kimsey, James V.
King, Charles
King, Henry L.
King, John A. Jr.
King, Kay
King, Robert R.*
Kipper, Judith
Kirklan, Richard L.
Kirkpatrick, Jeanne J.
Kirkpatrick,
Melanie M.
Kiser, Stephen D.*
Kissinger, Henry A.
Kittrie, Orde F.
Kizer, Karin L.*
Klassy, Helaine S.
Kleiman, Robert
Klein, David
Klein, Edward
Klein, George
Klein, Jacques Paul*
Klein, Joseph A.
Kline, Roger C.*
Klotz, Frank G.
Klurfeld, James M.
Knell, Gary E.*
Knight, Edward S.
Knight, Jessie J. Jr.
Knight, Robert
Huntington
Knowlton, William
Allen
Knox, John H.
Kobak, Deborah J.
Koch, Jennie M.
Koecher, John E.
Kogan, Richard Jay
Kohut, Andrew
Kolb, Charles E.M.*
Kolbe, Jim
Kolodziej, Edward A.
Kolt, George
Koltai, Steven R.
Komisar, Lucy
Kondracke, Morton
Korb, Lawrence J.
Korbonski, Andrzej
Korn, Jessica
Kornblum, John C.
Korry, Edward M.
Kostiw, Mike Vincent
Kotecha, Mahesh K.
Kotler, Steven
Kraar, Louis
Kraemer, Lillian E.
Kramek, Robert E.
Kramer, David J.
Kramer, Helen M.
Kramer, Jane
Kramer, Michael
Kramer, Reed
Kramer, Steven Philip
Kranwinkle, C.
Douglas

* Elected to membership in 2001.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.
Membership Roster

L

Laber, Jeri L.
Ladd, Edward
Lader, Philip
Ladner, Joyce A.
LaFleur, Vinca
Lagomarsino, John Anthony
Laipson, Ellen
Lake, David A.
Lake, W. Anthony
Lamb, Denis
Lambert, Brett B.
Lambeth, Benjamin S.
Lamont, Lansing
Lampey, Virginia A.
Lampton, David M.
Lancaster, Carol J.
Landau, George W.
Landé, Jim Alfred
Landers, James M.
Landis, Lauren R.
Lane, Charles M.*
Lane, David J.
Lane, James T.
Langdon, George D. Jr.
Langlois, John D.
LaPalombara, Joseph
Lapham, Lewis H.
Lapidus, Gail W.
Lardy, Nicholas R.
Larrabee, F. Stephen
Lawrence, Robert H.
Lazaroff, Joel
Lazare, Ann
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Leavy, David C.
Leclair, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Leiderman, Gordon
Nathaniel
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, William L.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Leebron, David W.
Leeds, Roger S.
Leet, Mildred Robbins
Lefante, Ernest W.
Leffall, LaSalle D. III*
Leigh, Richard S.
Legro, Jeffrey W.*
Legvold, Robert
Lehman, John F.
Lehmann, Orin
Lehman, Ronald
Frank II
Lehr, Deborah M.
Lehrer, Jim
Leich, John Foster
Leigh, Monroe
Leland, Marc E.
Lelyveld, Joseph
LeMelle, Gerald A.*
LeMelle, Tilden J.
LeMelle, Wilbert J.
Lemle, J. Stuart
Lempert, Robert J.
Leness, Amanda V.
Lennon, Alexander T.J.
Lennon, Sarah G.J.
Lennox, William J. Jr.*
Lenzen, Louis C.
LeoGrande, William M.
Leonard, James F.
Leonard, James G.
Leonard, Edith
Lynch
Leone, Richard C.
Lerner-Lam, Eva
Lesch, Anna Mosely
Leslie, John W. Jr.*
Lesser, Ian O.
Lettre, Marcel J. II*
Levin, Gerald M.
Levin, Herbert
Levin, John A.
Levin, Michael Stuart
Levin, Neil D.
Levine, Irving R.
Levine, Marnie L.
Levine, Mel
Levine, Susan B.
Levinson, Marc
Levit, Kenneth Joel
Levi, Mitel
Levitsky, Jonathan E.*
Levitt, Jeremy I.*
Levy, Philip I.
Levy, Reynold
Levy, Samuel J.
Lewis, Anthony
Lewis, Bernard
Lewis, Edward T.
Lewis, Elise E. Carlson
Lewis, Flora
Lewis, John P.
Lewis, Samuel W.
Lewis, Sherman R. Jr.
Lewis, Stephen R. Jr.
Lewis, W. Walker
Lewy, Glen S.
Li, Luf
Li, Victor H.
Libby, I. Lewis
Lichtblau, John H.
Lichtenstein, Cynthia C.
Lieber, Robert J.
Lieberman, Joseph I.
Lieberman, Nancy A.
Lieberthal, Kenneth G.
Lifton, Robert K.
Light, Timothy
Lighthizer, Robert E.
Lilienthal, Sally L.
Lilley, James R.
Lincoln, Edward J.
Lindberg, Tod
Lindsay, Beverly*
Lindsay, Franklin A.
Lindsay, James M.*
Linen, Jonathan S.
Link, Troland S.
Lir, Donald
Lipper, Kenneth
Lipper, Tamarat
Lipsey, Brian C.*
Lippman, Thomas W.
Lipscomb, Thomas H.
Lipsky, John P.
Lipsky, Seth
Lissakers, Karin M.
Litan, Robert E.
Little, David
Little, Milton J. Jr.*
Litvak, Robert S.
Liu, Betty W.*
Liu, Eric P.*
Liu, Margaret C.
Llewellyn, J. Bruce
Lodal, Jan M.
Lodge, George Cabot
Loeb, Marshall
Lohan, Francis D.
London, Herbert L.
Long, William J.
Longstreh, Bevis
Longworth, Richard C.
Longworth, Susan*
Loranger, Donald
Eugene Jr.
Lord, Bette Bao
Lord, Winston
Lorentzen, Oivind III
Louis, William Roger
Loure, Linda S.
Loury, Glenn Cartman
Lovejoy, Thomas E.
Lovelace, Jon B.
Low, Stephen
Lowenfeld, Andreas F.
Lowenkron, Barry F.
Lowenstein, James G.
Lowenthal, Abraham F.
Loy, Frank E.
Loy, James Milton
Lozano, Ignacio E.
Lozano, Monica C.
Lu, Donald
Lubin, Nancy
Mackey, Eileen R.*
MacGilKvray, Adrien C.
Mahoney
Maguire, John David
Macy, Robert M. Jr.
Macomber, William B.
t Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.
MacLaury Bruce K.
Mackay Leo Sidney Jr.
MacDougal, Gary E.
MacDonald, Gordon J.
Maben, Raymond E.
Mabry Markust
Ma, Christopher
Lyon, Richard Kent
Lyall, Katharine C.
Lynk, Myles V.
Lynn, James T.
Lynk, Myles V.
Lynn, Laurence E. Jr.
Lyon, David W.
Lyon, Gene M.
Lynne, James E.
Lyall, Richard Kent

M
Ma, Christopher
Mabry, Marcus F.
Mabus, Raymond E.
MacCormack, Charles Frederic
MacDonald, Gordon J.
MacDougall, Gary E.
MacGillivray, Adrien C.
Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr.
Mackevich, Eileen R.*
Macle, Frederick V.
Malik, Harald B.
Malinowski, Tom* M)
Mallory, Richard
Mallet, Robert L.
Malmgren, Harald B.
Malinowski, Tom* M)

t Elected to membership in 2001.
Malcolm, William P.
Malins, Christopher
Maldonado, Gary E.
Mallory, Richard
Mallory, William L.
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Maloney, Richard
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Mallory, Richard L.
Membership Roster

Miller, Layli
Miller, Ken
Miller, Marcia E.
Miller, Linda B.
Miller, J. Irwin
Miller, Franklin C.
Miller, Debra L.
Miller, Franklin C.
Miller, J. Irwin
Miller, Judith
Miller, Charles Jr.
Miller, Debra L.
Miller, Franklin C.
Miller, J. Irwin
Miller, Judith
Miller, Ken
Miller, Layli
Miller, Linda B.
Miller, Marcia E.
Miller, Matthew L.
Miller, Roberta Balstad
Miller, Scott L.
Miller, William Green
Millett, Allan R.
Millington, John A.
Mills, Karen Gordon
Mills, Susan Linda
Mims, Valerie A.
Minow, Newton N.
Mintz, Daniel R.*
Miranda, Lourdes R.*
Mirkow, Frank J.
Mishkin, Alexander V.
Mitchell, Arthur M. III
Mitchell, George H. Jr.
Mitchell, George J.
Mitchell, Wanda G.
Mize, David M.
Mochizuki, Kiichi
Mochizuki, Mike M.
Moe, Sherwood G.
Moffett, George D.
Moffett, Julia
Molano, Walter Thomas*
Mondale, Walter F.
Moniz, Ernest J.*
Montgomery, George Cranwell
Montgomery, Mark C.
Montgomery, Parker G.
Montgomery, Philip O'Bryan III
Mooch, Joyce Lewinger
Moody, Carol Baldwin*
Moody, Jim
Moody, William S.
Moore, John J. Jr.*
Moore, John M.
Moore, John Norton
Moore, Jonathan
Moore, Julia A.
Moore, Paul Jr.
Moorman, Thomas S. Jr.
Moose, George E.
Moose, Richard M.
Mora, Alberto J.
Mora, Antonio G.
Moran, Theodore H.
Morley, David E.*
Morris, Max King
Morris, Milton D.
Morris-Eck, Bailey
Morrisett, Lloyd N.
Morrissey, Arthur C.
Morse, Edward L.
Morse, Kenneth P.
Mortimer, David H.
Mosbacher, Robert A.
Moseley, Teed Michael*
Moses, Alfred H.
Moseftig, Michael David
Moskow, Kenneth A.
Moskow, Michael H.
Moskowitz, James N.*
Moss, Ambler H. Jr.
Moss, David A.
Motley, Joel W.
Mottahedeh, Roy P.
Motulsky, Daniel T.
Mouat, Lucia
Moynihan, Daniel P.
Mroz, John Edwin
Mudd, Daniel H.*
Mudd, Margaret Farris
Mujal-Leon, Eusebio
Mulford, David C.
Muller, Edward R.
Muller, Henry
Muller, Steven
Mulvenon, James C.
Mundy, Carl E. Jr.
Munger, Edwin S.
Munoz, George*
Munroe, George B.
Munyan, Winthrop R.
Murase, Emily Moto
Muravchik, Joshua
Murdock, Rupert
Murdock, Deroy
Murdy, William F.
Murphy, Caryle Marie
Murphy, Ewell E. Jr.*
Murphy, Richard M.
Murphy, Richard W.
Murphy, Thomas S.
Murray, Allen E.
Murray, Douglas P.
Murray, Ian P.
Murray, Janice L.
Murray, Leonard II
Murray, Lori Esposito
Murray, Robert J.*
Muse, Martha
Twitchell
Musham, Bettye
Myerson, Toby S.

N

Nachmanoff, Arnold
Nachtk, Michael
Nadiri, M. Ishaq
Nagl, John A.
Nagorski, Andrew
Nagorski, Zygmunt
Najera, Peter F.
Nakahle, Emile A.
Nakunig, K.A.
Nash, Raymond
Nash, Raymond
Nathan, Andrew J.
Nathan, James A.
Nathan, Marc B.
Nathoo, Raffiq A.
Nau, Henry R.
Nazeri, Haleh
Neal, Stephen L.
Nealer, Kevin G.*
Negroponte, John D.
Neier, Aryeh
Nelson, Anne
Nelson, Daniel N.
Nelson, Jack H.
Nelson, Marie E.
Nelson, Merlin E.
Nelson, Robert L. Jr.
Nenneman, Richard A.
Neuman, Stephanie G.
Neureiter, Norman*
Neustadt, Richard E.
Newberg, Esther R.
Newburg, Andre W.G.
Newcomb, Nancy S.
Newell, Barbara W.
Newhouse, John
Newman, Constance
Newman, Frank N.
Newman, Jay H.
Newman, Priscilla A.
Newman, Richard T.
Newson, David D.
Newton, M. Diana H.
Newton, Quigg
Ney, Edward N.
Nicholas, N.J. Jr.
Nichols, Nancy
Stephenson
Nichols, Rodney W.
Nicholson, Jan
Niehuss, John M.
Niehuss, Rosemary
Neaher
Nielson, Nancy
Nielson, Suzanne
Christine
Nielson, Waldemar
August
Nilsson, A. Kenneth
Nimetz, Matthew
Nitze, Paul H.
Nitze, William A.
Nizick, Ivan Astrid
Noam, Eli M.
Nogales, Luis G.
Nolan, Janne Emilie
Noland, Marcus
Nolte, Richard H.
Nonacs, Eric S.
Nooter, Robert
Harry
Norman, William S.
Norquist, Grover
Glenn
Norton, Augustus
Richard
Norton, Eleanor
Holmes
Nosel, Suzanne
Noto, Lucio A.
Novack, Lynne
Dominick*
Nuechterlein,
Jeffrey D.
Nunn, Sam
Nussbaum, Bruce
Nye, J. Benjamin H.
Nye, Joseph Samuel Jr.

Olson, Ronald L.
Olson, William Clinton
Olvey, Lee D.
Omead, Thomas E.
Opel, John R.
Oppenheimer, Franz
Martin
Oppenheimer, Michael F.
Orentlicher, Diane*
Orhins, Stephen A.
Ornstein, Norman J.
Orr, Robert C.
Orszag, Peter R.
Osborn, John E.
Osborne, Richard de J.
Oisiek, Elizabeth M.
Osmer-McQuade, Margaret
Osnos, Peter L.W.
Osnos, Susan Sherer
Osternann, Christian
Ostlund, William Brian
Ostrander, F. Taylor
Ostrowski, Stephen T.†
Ovitz, Michael S.
Owen, Henry David
Owen, Roberts Bishop
Owens, James W.
Owens, William A.
Oxman, Bernard H.
Oxman, Stephen Alan
Oxnam, Robert B.
Oye, Kenneth A.

Palmer, Ronald D.
Palmerlee, April
Palmieri, Victor H.
Pandith, Farah A.†
Panofsky,
Wolfgang K.H.
Paperin, Stewart J.
Pardoe, Scott E.
Pardes, Herbert*
Pardew, James W. Jr.
Parent, Alexandra
Wood
Parent, Louise M.
Paris, Jonathan*
Park, H.K.
Parker Feld, Karen
Parker, Barrington D. Jr.
Parker, Elizabeth
Rindskopf
Parker, Jason H.
Parker, Jay M.
Parker, Penny
Parker, Richard B.
Parkinson, Roger P.
Parks, Michael
Christopher
Parsky, Gerald L.
Parsons, Richard D.
Pascual, Carlos E.†
Passer-Muslin,
Juliette M.
Paster, Howard G.
Pastor, Ed
Pastor, Robert A.
Pate, Parag†
Patrick, Hugh T.
Patrick, Stewart M.
Patrick, Thomas
Harold
Patrick, Alan Joel
Patrikis, Ernest T.
Paul, Roland A.
Paulson, Henry M. Jr.*
Paulus, Judith K.
Pavel, Barry*
Payne, Donald M.

Pearlstine, Norman
Peckham, Gardner G.
Pedersen, Richard
Foote
Pederson, Rena M.
Pell, Claiborne
Pelletreau,
Robert H. Jr.
Peloisky, Eric J.
Peña, Federico F.*
Penfield, James K.
Per, Mark Jeffrey
Percy, Charles H.
Perea-Henze, Raul
Perella, Joseph R.
Perera, Richard D.
Peretz, Don
Peretz, David
Perkin, Linda J.
Perkins, Edward J.
Perkins, Roswell B.
Perkovich, George R.
Perle, Richard N.
Perlman, Janice Elaine
Perlmutter, Louis
Perritt, Henry H. Jr.
Perry, Elizabeth Jean
Perry, William J.
Peters, Aulana L.
Peters, Michael P.
Petersen, Mathew
Scott
Petterson, Holly
Petersen, Peter G.
Petersen, Rudolph A.
Petersus, David H.
Petree, Richard W.
Petree, Richard W. Jr.
Petri, Thomas E.
Petschek, Stephen R.
Pettibone, Peter J.
Petty, John R.
Peyronnin, Joseph F.
Pezzullo, Lawrence A.
Faltzgraf,
Robert L. Jr.

Pfeiffer, Jane Cabill
Pfeiffer, Leon K.*
Pfeiffer, Steven B.
Pharr, Susan J.
Phelan, John J. Jr.
Phillips, Cecil M.
Phillips,
Christopher H.
Phillips, David L.
Phillips, Russell A. Jr.
Picket, Harvey
Pickering, Thomas R.
Pieczenik, Steve R.
Piedra, Alberto M. Jr.
Pierce, Lawrence W.
Pierce, Ponchita
Piercy, Jan
Pierre, Andrew J.
Pigott, Charles M.
Pike, John E.
Pilgrim, Kathryn
Pillar, Russell I.
Pilling, Donald L.
Pilliod, Charles J. Jr.
Pillsbury, Michael
Pilon, Juliana Geran
Pincus, Lionel I.
Pincus, Walter H.
Pinkerton, W.
Stewart Jr.
Pino, John Anthony
Pipes, Daniel
Pipes, Richard
Pisano, Jane G.
Pitts, Joe W. III
Pizzarello, Louis D.
Platt, Alan A.
Platt, Alexander H.
Platt, Nicholas
Plattner, Marc F.
Platz, Stephanie
Semple
Plaut, Peter G.
Plepler, Richard L.
Plimpton, Calvin H.
Plumeri, Joseph J. II
Poats, Rutherford M.

* Elected to membership in 2001.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.
Membership Roster

Pocynko, Michael N.
Pohoreutz, Norman
Pogue, Richard W.
Polk, George W.
Polk, William R.
Pollack, Gerald A.
Pollack, Jonathan D.
Pollack, Kenneth M.
Pollack, Lester
Pollsby, Nelson W.
Pond, Elizabeth
Poneman, Daniel
Bruce
Pool-Eckert, Marquita J.
Popkin, Anne B.
Popoff, Frank
Porter, John Edward
Portes, Jonathan D.
Portes, Richard D.
Porzecanski, Arturo C.
Posner, Michael
Posen, Barry R.
Posen, Adam
Pozen, Robert G*
Powers, Timothy E.
Powers, Averil L.*
Powers, Thomas
Powers, Timothy E.
Pozen, Robert C.*
Pranger, Robert J.
Prasso, Sheridan T.
Precht, Henry
Press, Daryl G.*
Pressler, Larry
Preswitt, Kenneth
Price, Daniel M.
Price, Hugh
Price, John R. Jr.
Price, Raymond K. Jr.
Price, Robert
Pritchett, Glenn T.*
Priest, William W. Jr.*
Prieto, Daniel B. III
Prillaman, William C.*
Prince, Charles O. III
Pritzker, Thomas J.
Pruitt, Lisa R.
Pryce, Jeffrey F.
Pryce, William T.
Puchala, Donald James
Puckett, Allen E.
Puckett, Robert H.
Pulling, Edward L.†
Pulling, Thomas L.
Purcell, Susan
Kaufman
Purvis, Nigel†
Pusey, Nathan M.
Putnam, Robert D.
Pye, Lucian W.
Pyle, Kenneth B.

Q
Quainton, Anthony C.E.
Quandt, William B.
Quester, George H.
Quigley, Kevin F.F.
Quigley, Leonard V.
Quilter, Peter A.
Quigley, Kevin F.F.
Quester, George H.
Quainton, Anthony
Quigley, Leonard V.
Quigley, Kevin F.F.
Quintanilla, Carlos A.

R
Rabb, Maxwell M.
Rabinowitch, Alexander
Rabinowitch, Victor
Radke, Robert W.
Radway, Laurence I.
Raines, Franklin D.
Raisian, John
Ralston, Joseph W.
Ramirez, Lilia L.
Ramo, Joshua Cooper
Ramo, Simon
Randolph, R. Sean* Rangel, Charles B.
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Rappaport, Alan H.
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Rattner, Steven L.
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Ravenel, Earl C.
Ravenholt, Albert V.
Ravitch, Samantha F.
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Raymond, David A.
Raymond, Jack
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Reaú uniquely
Reich, Joseph Vern
Reese, William Sears
Regan, Ned
Reichert, William M.
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Reilly, Saskia S.
Reilly, William K.
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Richardson, William R.
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Rosenblatt, Lionel A.
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Rosenblum, Mort L.
S

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Sagan, Scott D.
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Stiles, Ned B.
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Strausz-Hupe, Robert
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Michael A.†
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Strock, James M.
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Tangham, George K. 
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Tan, George 
Tapias, Raul R. 
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Tarullo, Daniel K. 
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Tashkovitch, Gilgor A. 
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Taylor, Arthur R. 
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Taylor, Kathryn 
Pelgrift 
Tece, David J. 
Teeter, Robert M. 
Teitel, Ruti G.* 
Teitelbaum, Michael S. 
Tellhami, Shibley 
Tellis, Ashley Joachim 
Tempelman, Maurice 
Temple-Raston, Dina 
Simone 
Tenet, George J. 
Tennyson, Leonard B. 
Terracciano, Anthony P. 
Terry, Sarah M. 
Theobald, Thomas C. 
Thieme, Donald 
Joseph II 
Thiessen, Marc A. 
Thiessen, Pamela Beth† 
Thom, G. Richard 
Thomas, Barbara S. 
Thomas, Brooks 
Thomas, Evan W. III 
Thomas, Franklin A. 
Thomas, James P. 
Thomas, Lee B. Jr. 
Thomas-Lake, Hillary 
Thompson, Robert L. 
Thompson, W. Scott 
Thomson, James A. 
Thomson, James C. Jr. 
Thornburgh, Dick 
Thornell, Richard P. 
Thorton, John L. 
Thorton, Thomas 
Perry 
Thoron, Louisa 
Tien, Chang-Lin 
Tien, John K. Jr. 
Tierney, Paul E. Jr. 
Tiersky, Ronald 
Till, Kimberly 
Tillman, Seth P. 
Tillou, Susan Lynne† 
Timothy, Kristen 
Timpson, Sarah 
Livingston 
Tindell, Cynthia A. 
Tipson, Frederick S. 
Tirana, Amina 
Tisch, Laurence Alan 
Todman, Terence A. 
Toft, Monica Duffy 
Toll, Maynard J. Jr. 
Toloui, Ramin 
Tomlinson, Alexander C. 
Tomz, Michael R. 
Topping, Audrey 
Ronning 
Topping, Seymour 
Torano, Maria Elena 
Torres, Art 
Torres, Gerald 
Torricelli, Robert G. 
Toth, Robert C. 
Townsend, Kathleen Kennedy* 
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Train, John 
Train, Russell E. 
Trainor, Bernard E. 
Trani, Eugene P. 
Travis, Martin B. Jr. 
Treadway, Stephen J. 
Treat, John Elting 
Trebat, Thomas J. 
Trenkle, Timothy Paul 
Treverton, Gregory 
Frye 
Trezise, Philip H. 
Trice, Robert H. Jr. 
Trimble, Charles R. 
Trojan, Vera M. 
Trooboff, Peter D. 
Trowbridge, Alexander B. 
Truitt, Nancy 
Sherwood 
Truman, Edwin M. 
Isehai, Elizabeth G. 
Tsipis, Kosta 
Tucher, H. Anton 
Tuck, Edward Hallam 
Tucker, Jonathan B. 
Tucker, Katherine K. 
Tucker, Nancy 
Berknopf 
Tucker, Richard Frank 
Tucker, Robert W. 
Tuminez, Astrid S. 
Tung, Ko-Yung 
Turck, Nancy B. 
Turner, Elisabeth 
Russin 
Turner, J. Michael 
Turner, Robert F. 
Turner, Stansfield 
Turner, William C. 
Tusiani, Michael D.* 
Tyrell, R. Emmett Jr. 
Tyson, Carole 
Henderson 
Tyson, Laura D’Andrea 
Udovitch, Abraham L. 
Ulbig, Mark 
Ullman, Richard H. 
Ulman, Cornelius M. 
Ulrich, Marybeth 
Pawar, Robert D. 
Ungar, Sanford J. 
Unger, David C. 
Unger, Leonard 
Upton, Maureen T. 
Usher, William R. 
Utgoff, Victor A. 
Utley, Garrick 
Vaglio, Alexander M. 
Vaglio, Sara 
Vagts, Detlev F. 
Vaky, Viron P. 
Valenta, Jiri 
Valentine, Debra A. 
Valenzuela, Arturo A. 
vander Vink, Gregory E. 
van Dusen, Michael H. 
Van Dyk, Ted 
Van Evera, Stephen 
Van Fleet, James 
Alward 
Van Oudenaren, John 
Vance, Cyrus R. 
Vande Berg, Marsha 
Vanden Heuvel, Jon D. 
vanden Heuvel, Katrina 
vanden Heuvel, William J. 
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Windham
Wallenstein, Mitchel B.
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Wertheim, Mitzi
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Ethan Zindler: 36 bottom

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