COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Annual Report

July 1, 2001 – June 30, 2002

Main Office
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10021
Tel. (212) 434-9400; Fax (212) 434-9800

Washington Office
1779 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
Tel. (202) 518-3400; Fax (202) 986-2984

Website
www.cfr.org

E-mail
communications@cfr.org
Officers and Directors, 2002–2003

Officers

Peter G. Peterson†
   Chairman of the Board
Carla A. Hills
   Vice Chairman
William J. McDonough
   Vice Chairman
Leslie H. Gelb
   President
Michael P. Peters
   Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer
Janice L. Murray
   Senior Vice President and Treasurer
David Kellogg
   Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher
Irina A. Faskianos
   Vice President, National and Outreach Programs
Lawrence J. Korb
   Vice President, Studies
Elise Carlson Lewis
   Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs
Abraham F. Lowenthal
   Vice President
Anne R. Luzzatto
   Vice President, Meetings
Robert C. Orr
   Vice President, Washington Program
Lilita V. Gusts
   Secretary

†Appointed by the Board of Directors in 2002.
††In accordance with By-Law VII.

Directors

Term Expiring 2003
Peggy Dulany
Martin S. Feldstein
Bette Bao Lord
Vincent A. Mai
Michael H. Moskow
Garrick Utley

Term Expiring 2004
John Deutch
Carla A. Hills
Robert D. Hormats
William J. McDonough
Theodore C. Sorensen
George Soros

Term Expiring 2005
Jessica P. Einhorn
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.
George J. Mitchell
Robert E. Rubin
Warren B. Rudman
Andrew Young

Term Expiring 2006
Roone Arledge
Henry S. Bienen
Lee Cullum
Richard C. Holbrooke
Joan E. Spero
Vin Weber

Term Expiring 2007
Fouad Ajami
Kenneth M. Duberstein†
Ronald L. Olson†
Peter G. Peterson††
Thomas R. Pickering
Laura D’Andrea Tyson

Term Expiring 2008
Leslie H. Gelb
   ex officio

Honorary Officers and Directors Emeriti
Douglas Dillon
Maurice R. Greenberg
   Honorary Vice Chairman
Charles McC. Mathias Jr.
David Rockefeller
   Honorary Chairman
Robert A. Scalapino
Glenn E. Watts

Note: The list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 2002.
Contents

Officers and Directors 2
Mission and Goals 5
Letter from the Chairman 6
Letter from the Vice Chairman, Maurice R. Greenberg 8
Letter from the Vice Chairman, Carla A. Hills 10
The President’s Message 12
Foreign Affairs 20
Special Initiatives 22
Term Member Program 27
Studies Program 32
America’s Response to Terrorism 32
Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies 33
Center for Democracy and Free Markets 34
Africa 34
Asia 34
Europe 35
Latin America 35
Middle East 36
National Security 37
Peace and Conflict 37
Science and Technology 37
U.S. Foreign Policy 37
Other Activities 38
International Affairs Fellowship Program 38
New York Meetings Program 40
Washington Program 47
National Program 52
Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships 59
Corporate Program 61
The Council lost two of its Directors Emeriti this year. **Cyrus R. Vance** died on January 13, 2002. In addition to his many posts in the government, including Secretary of State, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and Secretary of the Army, Cy served twice as the Vice Chairman of the Council and served on the Board of Directors for 14 years.

**Caryl P. Haskins** died on October 8, 2001. A biophysicist and entomologist, he headed the Haskins Labs and also was President of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D.C. He served on the Council’s Board of Directors for 14 years and was a member for 56 years. We will miss Cy and Caryl and their good works for the Council and the nation.

**William Diebold Jr.**, Senior Fellow Emeritus, died on April 2, 2002. Bill came to the Council in 1939, and his career and the history of the Council were closely linked for more than 40 years. Trained at Swarthmore, Yale, and the London School of Economics, Bill was the senior economist at the Council for virtually his entire professional life. The Council published several of his many books and articles, starting in 1941 with *New Directions in Our Trade Policy*, a subject he would follow throughout his career. A dedicated bibliophile, Bill was also a devoted overseer of the Council’s library. And, above all, he was a warm-hearted, clear-thinking, quick-witted, and generous colleague, mentor, and friend to the entire Council community.
Mission and Goals

The Council on Foreign Relations 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 debates and discussions, clarifying world issues, and publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the leading journal on global issues.

Goals:
1. Add value to the public debate on international affairs.
2. Energize foreign policy discussions nationwide by making the Council a truly national organization with membership across the country.
3. Identify and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders.
4. Make the Council the source for ideas and clear and accurate information on key international issues for the interested public.
Reflecting on this extraordinary year for our nation, I am immensely proud of the Council’s contribution. The Council reacted quickly after September 11 to reorient its programs to inform our members and the public and to raise the most important questions related to the war on terrorism. Within a week of the attacks, the Council convened a town hall meeting in New York and broadcast it over the web to the membership across the country and around the world. This was the first of an incredible series of thought-provoking New York, Washington, and national meetings focusing on “America’s Response to Terrorism.”

With the Council’s New York phone system out of service for almost two weeks, our investments in other technology really paid off. Our award-winning website allowed members to stay on top of the Council’s dynamic meetings schedule and provided them with up-to-the-minute reports of Council deliberations on virtually every aspect of the war on terrorism. The website’s “Terrorism Resource Center” has become a vital source of information, analysis, and thoughtful recommendations, not only for our members, but also for the public at large, and the new Terrorism Q&A website has met a pressing need for clear, unbiased information.

The work of our senior fellows was at the forefront of the Council’s response to September 11. Over the year the fellows have written a number of crucial journal articles and scores of op-eds in major newspapers—including one week during which the New York Times ran three op-eds by Council fellows. Five Council fellows published articles in the January/February issue of Foreign Affairs alone, including Stephen E. Flynn on border security (which was also the subject of a 60 Minutes piece) and Richard K. Betts on “Fixing Intelligence.” The fellows have also been everywhere on TV and radio, adding facts and reasoned analysis to the national debate. In addition, fellows and staff have run a number of roundtables on issues related to terrorism, among them Lawrence J. Korb’s on homeland security, Rachel Bronson’s on the Middle East and Islam, and Kenneth M. Pollack’s on terrorism. Fellow James J. Shinn drew on his experience and expertise in the high-tech sector, drafting a paper outlining immediate and cost-effective ways to improve data-sharing among federal agencies involved in homeland security.

Foreign Affairs Editor James F. Hoge Jr. and Managing Editor Gideon Rose produced an authoritative and thoughtful book of essays, How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War, within two months of the September 11 attacks. How Did This Happen? has sold over 50,000 copies to date. Foreign Affairs has burnished its position as the world’s premier international affairs journal with trailblazing articles such as Ken Pollack’s “Next Stop Baghdad?” As a result, even more people are paying attention, and the magazine has achieved record-level circulation and ad revenues. Now, more than ever, Foreign Affairs is indeed the jewel in the Council’s crown.
The Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on Terrorism, co-chaired by Carla A. Hills and Richard C. Holbrooke, was the centerpiece of the Council’s work this year. The task force, which wrapped up its work in May, generated a number of ideas on issues ranging from U.S.-Saudi relations, to Afghan reconstruction, to homeland security. In conjunction with the Task Force on Terrorism, I had the privilege to chair an Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy. Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy Charlotte Beers met with us, and we presented our preliminary findings and recommendations to her and to presidential adviser Karen Hughes at the White House in June. Thanks to the talented and experienced members of the task force, we hope this work will be helpful to both the executive branch and Congress in making America’s public diplomacy more effective.

Finally, I can’t praise highly enough the terrific programs the Council’s staff organized in New York, in Washington, and nationally. These programs explored virtually every aspect of terrorism in sophisticated and provocative ways—featuring international leaders, government officials, members of Congress, U.S. and foreign journalists, scholars, and other experts. Our members have responded with substantially higher attendance at meetings than in previous years. Also, more and more of our members are participating in meetings via videoconference and teleconference, or by watching live broadcasts and videos on our website. In key cities, we conducted roundtables and called on the expertise of our members to sort through some of the most difficult issues facing our country. The National Program capped the year with its largest and best National Conference yet, drawing over 300 members.

The Council has added real value to the national debate during this challenging time. Leslie H. Gelb and his team are to be warmly applauded for their efforts, and I especially thank the directors for their active involvement in all aspects of the Council. I know you share my pride in what the Council has accomplished this year and the promise of what is to come.

I am particularly pleased to have the opportunity to work closely with two incredibly talented and dedicated vice chairs, Carla A. Hills and William J. McDonough.

The Council is truly fortunate to have Carla and Bill; they help to assure the future leadership of the institution.

Another very important thing I have to tell you this year is the bad news and good news about Maurice R. Greenberg. The bad is that, despite our imploring him to remain on the Board, Hank felt that after ten years of service someone else should have the opportunity to serve as director and vice chair. (As I have indicated, we have filled the vice chairmanship extremely well.) The good news is that Hank will remain as chair of the Advisory Board of our Center for Geoeconomic Studies, which he was so central in founding and which is named in his honor. And, in an unprecedented decision, the Board voted to make Hank an honorary vice chair of the Council, in great appreciation of all the ideas, generosity, and time he has devoted to it.

Let me conclude, then, with a special thank-you to my dear friend and colleague Hank Greenberg, for his many years of service to the Council. Hank was vice chairman longer than anyone else in Council history. We will miss his wise counsel on the Board, but I’m very pleased that Hank will continue to provide leadership as chair of the Geoeconomic Center Advisory Board.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board
This is my last letter as vice chairman. During the ten years I’ve served on the Board, I’ve tried to make sure the Council focuses on international economics and, specifically, the links between economic issues and foreign policy questions. And though I will be leaving the Board, I’ll remain chair of the Advisory Board for the new Center for Geoeconomic Studies, which was formally launched in February with a keynote address by Vice President Dick Cheney. Both the vice president and I share the view that the existence of such a center is an essential step toward bridging the gap between foreign policy studies and economic studies.

The center’s mission is twofold: to conduct policy-related research and to help train future generations of policy experts. Economic considerations cut to the core of relations among nations. The events of this past year have affirmed for me that there is nothing more important the Council could be doing for our nation than conducting policy-relevant research on issues that combine economics and other dimensions of foreign policy: national security, political and regional affairs, science and technology, and new agenda issues such as immigration and the environment. In this way we’ll stay one step ahead of events and train the next generation of foreign policy experts to be able to tackle the complicated, multifaceted problems of the new century.

This year I’ll be working closely with Les Gelb and the other members of the center’s Advisory Board to identify our areas of comparative advantage and to shape the center’s agenda accordingly.

Several new fellows who joined the Council this year have added new dimensions to our research staff. Youssef Ibrahim, senior fellow and manager of strategic studies for the Geoeconomic Center, joins us from a career in journalism and media relations in the United States and the Middle East. Philip K. Verleger Jr., our new BP senior fellow in international economics, will analyze energy markets and outline the foreign policy implications of various energy options. Finally, Gene Sperling, former director of the National Economic Council at the White House, will be our senior fellow for economic policy and director of the Center on Universal Education.

These new senior fellows join an existing research team of some of the nation’s most brilliant minds on these issues, including Ronald D. Asmus, Caroline Atkinson, Jagdish N. Bhagwati, Morton H. Halperin, Joel Hellman, Roger M. Kubarych, Walter Russell Mead, Adam Segal, Stephen R. Sestanovich, Joe Siegle, Henry Siegman, and Benn Steil, all of whom direct projects for the center.

Les, Pete, and I are excited by this new endeavor and confident we have assembled a team that can make a difference in addressing issues critical to our global economy. The projects already underway include a volume on what’s new about globalization; an assessment of the economic, technological, and political factors
that will shape future Chinese military capabilities; a project cosponsored by the Center for Global Development on the underside of globalization; a study of corruption and economic development, conducted in cooperation with the World Bank; and an examination of the links between democratic regimes and economic development in the aftermath of the Cold War.

In addition to sponsoring research projects, the Center for Geoeconomic Studies runs a seminar series with Columbia University that brings together faculty, students, and policy experts with fellows at the Council to discuss a broad range of issues and to produce short policy papers. This process provides our fellows with an immediate and educated sounding board for ideas and, by engaging young scholars at the university level, helps us develop the next generation of foreign policy practitioners.

Especially important to me is the center’s emphasis on understanding the growing role of business in foreign affairs. Since business is ever more international, and global commerce is (and should be) increasingly and inextricably linked to our nation’s foreign policy, the center has made an effort to connect with the corporate world. Our efforts have been aided in large part by Senior Vice President for Corporate Affairs David Kellogg and his team in cultivating corporate members and engaging business leaders in give-and-takes to brainstorm about how the center can facilitate a better working relationship between the foreign policy and business communities. And I am pleased that the Council will be able to engage in some hardheaded research in this area as the result of the new Bernard L. Schwartz senior fellowship in business and foreign policy. This fellowship will permit us to hire a scholar to analyze the current and future impact of business on U.S. foreign policy and of U.S. foreign policy on business.

Given its top-notch research staff, current projects, and institutional relationships, the Center for Geoeconomic Studies is primed to have a major impact. The center will also be able to draw on the Council’s good reputation, membership, and broad reach both in the United States and abroad in order to conduct these important studies. I am proud to be chairman of the Advisory Board of what I see as the Council’s most critical contribution to our nation.

Finally, I would like to thank Pete Peterson, Les Gelb, and my fellow directors of the Board for making my ten-year tenure so pleasurable. I will remain closely involved in the Council and I look forward to reporting to you on the progress of this great new center.

Maurice R. Greenberg
Vice Chairman of the Board
Within a week of the shocking events of September 11, Council President Leslie H. Gelb formed our Independent Task Force on Terrorism. Its purpose was to raise questions that needed to be answered, suggest areas that required in-depth deliberation, and identify linkages between subjects that could become unduly compartmentalized.

The task force brought together over 50 of the nation’s most experienced leaders, including former cabinet officials, Nobel laureates, and a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It included experts on border control, public health, bioterrorism, cyber-security, intelligence, and homeland security. My fellow director Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke and I co-chaired this effort. General Charles G. Boyd, the Council’s Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow, served as our able project director. The assembly of this extraordinary group of individuals and its work product demonstrates the unique capacity of the Council to respond rapidly to international crises.

Each task force meeting began with a briefing by a government official or topical expert followed by a spirited exchange of ideas regarding the topic on the agenda. It was not possible to reach a consensus on every subject. However, the knowledge gained by task force members as a result of these exchanges raised their awareness and enhanced their ability to have meaningful and constructive discussions with individuals in government service, the media, and the broader public. And where consensus was reached, often a paper was produced—such as the one on how the government might more effectively communicate its views in the Muslim world, which was shared with the administration early on.

The work of the task force has been enriched by several related activities at the Council. For example, our chairman, Peter G. Peterson, is leading a task force of experts who are focusing on public diplomacy more broadly. A subgroup of the terrorism task force has produced two first-rate papers (available on the Council’s website) on strengthening the U.S.-Saudi and U.S.-Egyptian relationships; these papers discuss the critical nature of those relations to U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Another subgroup, headed by Chuck Boyd, is studying issues of public health and bioterrorism with the intention of developing recommendations to reorganize the public health infrastructure. Also, the Council is about to launch a task force chaired by Maurice R. Greenberg and directed by William F. Wechsler, formerly at the Treasury, and Lee S. Wolosky, a former International Affairs Fellow who served at the National Security Council, to contribute to the public debate on terrorist financing. In the short term, “by following the money,” governments
may be better able to identify terrorist organizations and prevent an attack. Over the longer term, disrupting their flow of funds helps us to destroy them. The report of this task force will describe the challenge and the steps taken to address the problem thus far. The task force also intends to make recommendations about what should be done and how to do it.

The Council has undertaken more than 20 task forces over the past nine years, reflecting the breadth of its work and its importance in the foreign policymaking world. It is often hard to quantify the immediate impact of any given task force, but this is not because they have no impact. Often, it is because their resonance is not immediate. Indeed, several of the Council’s past task force reports have recently been brought to the fore by the new policy climate. These include *Strengthening Palestinian Institutions*, from a task force chaired by Michel Rocard and directed by Henry Siegman; *U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century*, from a task force chaired by Bernard Aronson and William D. Rogers and directed by Julia E. Sweig; *Building Support for More Open Trade*, whose task force was chaired by Kenneth M. Duberstein and Robert E. Rubin and directed by Timothy F. Geithner; and *A Letter to the President and a Memorandum on U.S. Policy toward Brazil*, from the task force chaired by Stephen Robert and directed by Kenneth R. Maxwell. The conclusions of a task force on State Department reform, chaired by Frank C. Carlucci and cosponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, were discussed with Secretary of State Colin L. Powell as soon as he took office. This recognition underscores the fact that the Council is way ahead of the curve when it comes to foreign policy.

Finally, as a Council member based in Washington, I am so very pleased with the outstanding quality of the Washington Program this year. Its offerings have been rich and varied. For example, Vice President Dick Cheney spoke at the launching of the Geoeconomic Center. We have benefited from thoughtful discussions with U.S. Trade Representative Robert B. Zoellick, President Vladimir Putin of Russia, Vice President Hu Jintao of China, and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. Thanks to Chuck Boyd and Joy Drucker, and, since Chuck’s departure, Anne R. Luzzatto, the Council has become a real pillar of the policy community in our nation’s capital. All of us in Washington look forward to Robert C. Orr’s leadership of the Washington office in the year ahead.

*Carla A. Hills*
Vice Chairman of the Board
Get ready for a new and worse world. And you’re hearing that not from a sky-is-falling personality. Not that the sky is already falling, but it is growing dark—dark in terms of serious threats to flawed but civilized societies, dark regarding opportunities for democracies and economic prospects, dark and terribly confusing about the information and ideas we will need to fight through this nasty stretch of history.

For the Council to help with the good information and ideas that are its strengths, we have to partially reinvent or redirect ourselves once more. We’ll have to devote a good proportion of our talent and resources to working for a new and wider audience. This audience, of course, will continue to include our members and the policy community as leading priorities. But now times require us to go beyond our historically primary audiences, to reach out to interested Americans and others who want and need a hand in sorting out what the government and the experts know and don’t know—reliably and clearly, and without partisanship or ideological deformation. The interested public will also want help in understanding proposals for managing the challenges of a world tinged by the daily threat of terrorism.

It is not so easy to be saintly and fair. But the Council’s Board and staff believe with me that our organization has a good chance to do this hard and demanding work. So, what’s so special about the Council, and exactly how do we propose to do this reaching out?

Our membership is highly diverse in politics and backgrounds and, quite simply, they would not let the Council (as distinguished from an individual senior fellow) put its name behind anything not fair and reliable. The staff takes this tradition and obligation seriously and has not and would not abuse it. We’ve had two mighty tests of this in the last few years. One was our Campaign 2000 website, and the other is our current Terrorism Q&A website. Both addressed highly sensitive information. In both enterprises, we have
been free of serious criticism. (Only my natural modesty prevents me from sharing the tales of praise and prizes.) Nor were these products neutered in the name of “politics” and “balance.” We didn’t balance for balance’s sake. We were fair and called balls and strikes when the evidence was clear. We’ve built up a franchise for fairness.

What’s more, we know what we’re doing and how to do it. We’ve been practicing on lots of fronts for years now. Been there, made the mistakes, fixed them, done that. Based on these experiences and our expertise, the Council has undertaken a new outreach strategy. It has four components.
The President’s Message
First, the Council’s existing public website will be the centerpiece and home base for people who want current, reliable, nonpartisan, authoritative, readily understandable information and background. During election season, under the Campaign 2004 rubric, we’ll post full texts of statements by candidates and their gurus, then break it all down by issue, and then provide background papers on these issues. In so doing, we will effectively walk readers through the minefields of gobbledygook. During extended crises, like the one now involving terrorism, we’ll devote a portion of the website to an encyclopedia explaining what we know and don’t know, in a question-and-answer format. Before major
events like G-8 meetings, or Arab summits, or environmental conclaves, we’ll provide short and useful background papers.

Our web audience is already huge, and we expect substantial further growth. We’ve raised our exposure by convincing major news outlets to link their websites to our Terrorism Q&A site. They haven’t done it for anyone else. They do it for us because our work is strong and nonpartisan and easy to understand. These are just some of the websites that have linked to our terrorism site: CNN.com, Newsweek.com, AOL, Slate, Washingtonpost.com, and ABC.com. We’re now seeking to link our resources with universities and colleges as well.

Our viewership is potentially in the millions, mainly composed of people who are both interested in good information and ideas and utterly bewildered by the bombardment of ill-reported and conflicting facts and badly explained ideas. These are the people who read the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, and good regional papers, and who watch quality television news like the NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Charlie Rose, and Nightline. These readers and viewers are looking for what we’re offering. We have heard the frequent good reactions from them. I just can’t resist, at this point, mention-
CNN.com has highlighted the Council’s Terrorism Q&A website content since the terrorism site’s launch in January 2002.

Second, we’ll also continue to schedule briefings for the Washington, D.C., and New York City press corps. They want, and they need, help sorting out complicated issues as well. We already do background papers for them. Our press briefings present the best minds around, and we make sure the press gets the full range of views. We’ll be doing more of these.

Third, we’ll start a program of briefings and conversations with editors of regional
newspapers and television stations. This is near-virgin territory and a great opportunity. We’ll ask them what they want to hear and talk about; this won’t simply be an “us-to-them” game.

Fourth, we will use all the Council’s programmatic tools to focus on two or three issues of overriding importance so as to stimulate a sustained policy discussion and work toward concrete proposals. Each year we will pick the central concerns: this year, they will be homeland security and U.S.-European relations. Then, we will plan and make a commitment to developing the issues and energizing members, policy wonks, media figures, legislators, and the public to engage in a serious debate on these matters. We have plenty of proven Council avenues to work through: our general meetings programs in New York and Washington, our National Program roundtables, our term member seminars and debates, our Corporate meetings, our dedicated use of senior fellows for in-depth roundtables, and our very successful Congressional Roundtable Program that brings together key internationally oriented staffers of all political stripes and from both houses. We already possess these mechanisms for getting people to pay attention—and we will use them.
We call this new outreach plan “Goal Four.” It will be led by Irina A. Faskianos, whom I have just promoted to vice president for National and Outreach Programs. This new goal builds on our other goals of the last nine years: (1) add value to the debate on international affairs in the form of new information, new analytical approaches, and new policy ideas; (2) energize foreign policy discussions nationwide by making the Council a truly national organization with membership across the country; and (3) identify and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders. Goal Four—make the Council the source for ideas and clear and accurate information on key international issues for the interested public—is a vital addition to our institutional arsenal. It demonstrates our commitment to maintain our good country as an informed democracy. We are prepared to do our share.

Leslie H. Gelb
President
The six issues of *Foreign Affairs* published this past year were unusually dominated by a single topic: terrorism. Never before had anything occurred like the September 11 terrorist attacks on America’s centers of economic and military power. They generated anger, fear, and a shocked feeling of “Why us?” They also brought a military retaliation against the terrorists’ havens in Afghanistan and a global hunt for terrorist cells and their financial networks.

Terrorism also scarred the Middle East. Palestinian suicide bombers in unprecedented numbers wreaked havoc in Israel. In return, Israeli military forces demolished Palestinian government facilities, alleged terrorist hideouts, and substantial infrastructure in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Faced with the risk of a wider war, the United States once again became deeply engaged in the search for peace.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, *Foreign Affairs* remade its November/December 2001 issue to incorporate four articles on pressing aspects of the war on terrorism. Scholar Fouad Ajami illuminated the complicated history of America’s relations with the Arab world and the causes of festering anti-Americanism. Milton Bearden, a former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) station chief in Pakistan, traced the constant warfare that had left neighboring Afghanistan controlled by Taliban fundamentalists who welcomed Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda terrorist training camps. Former Defense Secretary William J. Perry proposed new strategies to prevent, deter, and defend against the threats of a terrorist age. Michael A. McFaul and Timothy Colton drew on their expert knowledge of Russia to suggest that the September attacks opened up possibilities for striking new cooperation between Russia and the United States.

Following up in the January/February 2002 issue, Columbia University professor and Council Fellow Richard K. Betts assessed the intelligence challenges presented by sophisticated, technology-savvy terrorist operations. Council Fellow and Coast Guard officer Stephen E. Flynn gave a similar assessment of the challenges of homeland defense. Princeton professor Michael Scott Doran provided a penetrating analysis of the conditions and ideas that drive radical Islamists. And journalist Anatol Lieven reported on the Islamic pressures that confronted Pakistan’s leader, Pervez Musharraf, as he sought to assist the U.S. campaign against al Qaeda in neighboring Afghanistan.

In the same issue, former U.S. ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk called for a new American approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, while Palestinian sociologist Khalil Shikaki illuminated the emerging division between the Palestinians’ old and new guard.

In the March/April 2002 issue, the burgeoning crisis in the Middle East received extensive analysis in a number of articles. The case for forcing a regime change in Iraq was laid out by Council Fellow and former National Security Council staffer Kenneth M. Pollack. Graham Fuller, former vice chairman of the National Intelligence Council at the CIA, counseled the Bush administration to support and work with moderate elements that exist in the Muslim world. Other related essays dealt with the refugee
problem in Afghanistan, the unsettled states of Central Asia, and needed course corrections in America’s public diplomacy.

In the May/June 2002 issue, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld presented his vision of how the U.S. military should be transformed to meet challenges that are decidedly different from those of the Cold War. Noted security analyst Eliot A. Cohen offered a companion analysis, noting the political and conceptual obstacles to transformation. Two additional articles summarized lessons from the Afghanistan and Kosovo campaigns.

Also in the May/June 2002 issue was a tough assessment of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Israel’s military incursions into the West Bank, and an urgent call for outside forces to put forward a comprehensive plan for a final settlement. Interim solutions will no longer work, according to Robert A. Malley, President Clinton’s special assistant for Arab-Israeli affairs, and Hussein Agha, an Oxford University scholar. Still further aspects of the phenomenon of terrorism and the conflict in the Middle East were addressed in the July/August 2002 issue.

Throughout the challenging past year, Foreign Affairs also dealt with other important topics, including deteriorating conditions in Latin America, the rising tensions between India and Pakistan, the stresses of globalization, and controversies surrounding global warming and the biotechnology revolution in agriculture.

**Benchmarks**

Following September 11, readers turned to Foreign Affairs in record numbers. The fall subscription campaign generated twice the usual response. Newsstand sales also set records. In all, the November/December 2001 issue sold almost 120,000 copies, an increase of 10,000 from the September/October 2001 issue. Traffic on the Foreign Affairs website soared to 200,000 visitors a month, compared with 70,000 in August.

Other initiatives continue to thrive. The Japanese version of the magazine reaches 20,000 readers, and the Spanish edition, launched in December 2000, reaches another 6,000. For the academic community, which makes extensive use of Foreign Affairs articles, a new series of anthologies is being offered for classroom use.

**Special Effort**

Given the extraordinary and shocking nature of the terrorist attacks on America, the editor and managing editor of Foreign Affairs produced an “instant” book to enhance public understanding. How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War consisted of 23 specially commissioned essays on all aspects of the causes and consequences of the attacks. Copies were distributed to key members of the news media, the Bush administration, and all members of Congress. The book’s publisher, PublicAffairs, reported 55,000 copies delivered to bookstores.
Special Initiatives

This year, the Council launched its Terrorism Q&A website, a unique online encyclopedia of terrorism and America’s response, in order to provide timely and trustworthy answers to the questions on the minds of millions of Americans in the aftermath of September 11. The site is part of the Council’s new mission to reach a broader audience with easy-to-understand, nonpartisan information on key international issues. The Council also launched the Arthur Ross Book Award this spring to honor a recent work in international relations or foreign policy that merits special attention for its analysis of important events and its contribution to solving pressing political or economic problems. The Center for Preventive Action revived the much needed discussion on preventing deadly conflict by offering tangible and practical strategies for regions of particular vulnerability. Council-sponsored independent task forces, Council Policy Initiatives, and the Congressional Roundtable Program have over the years become the major tools to inform policymakers and advance the foreign policy debate in Washington and around the world.

Terrorism Q&A Website

After September 11, the American public was deluged with news coverage but had no place to go to manage the information overload, sort out fact from opinion, and make sense of seemingly incomprehensible and often contradictory reports. The Council moved to fill this gap. In an unprecedented initiative, the Council launched “Terrorism: Questions & Answers” in January 2002 at www.terrorismanswers.com—the nation’s first online encyclopedia of terrorism and America’s response. In cooperation with the Markle Foundation, the website provides reliable, nonpartisan information in one easily navigable and comprehensive site, aimed at interested readers who want a clear, authoritative primer on what the experts know and don’t know.

The site’s fact sheets, presented in an easy-to-follow Q&A format, are reported and written by a Council editorial team led by the project’s director, Warren Bass, in consultation with experts both inside and outside the Council. The fact sheets include profiles of major terrorist groups, background information on Afghanistan, primers on state sponsors of terrorism and coalition states, and surveys of homeland security concerns. The fact sheets are constantly updated, with new topics added each week. In addition, the site answers a “Ques-
tion of the Day” on a topic making headlines. The site also features “This Week in the War on Terrorism,” a weekly news roundup summarizing key developments in such areas as the Afghan war, homeland defense, and global repercussions of September 11. “This Week” is written by Council Fellow Kenneth M. Pollack.

The Q&A site’s viewership is wide: it now averages more than half a million pages viewed per month. The high caliber of information on the site is confirmed by the significant media interest and by the confidence that partners have placed in the Council. Links to “Terrorism: Questions & Answers” appear on some of the most heavily trafficked sites on the web, including CNN.com, Washingtonpost.com, AOL, and the web’s premier magazine, Slate. In addition, it was chosen by Earthlink as a website of the week.

The site’s watchword remains simple: reliable information in troubled times.
Special Initiatives

The Arthur Ross Book Award

This year, thanks to the generosity of Arthur Ross, the Council established the annual Arthur Ross Book Award to recognize books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations. The prize is awarded to nonfiction works from any recent year, in English or in translation, that merit special attention for their analysis of important events, their contributions to solving pressing political or economic problems, or their impact in galvanizing new thinking about the way long-standing issues of international concern are viewed. The award’s first prize of $10,000 and second prize of $5,000 make it the most substantial award in the United States for any book in international relations.

The winning books are chosen by a jury comprised of scholars, practitioners, and businesspeople, including the editor of Foreign Affairs.

In 2002, first prize was awarded to Robert Skidelsky for John Maynard Keynes: Fighting for Freedom 1937–1946. The silver medal went to Lawrence Freedman for Kennedy’s Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam, and an honorable mention was awarded to Walter Russell Mead for Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World.

Center for Preventive Action

The end of the Cold War brought down a world of empires and unleashed a flood of deadly ethnic and civil conflict; it also set aside great-power competition, thus creating the possibility of resolving these deadly local conflicts. The Council’s Center for Preventive Action (CPA) aims to help turn those possibilities into realities by uniting the anti-conflict stakeholders and offering tangible and practical strategies for peace. The center does this by carefully selecting countries or regions where prevention has a decent chance of succeeding, either before killing escalates or in lulls before new explosions, then establishing independent task forces of Council members and other experts who understand the roles and views of the stakeholders—governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and the business community—in specific conflict situations. These task forces develop the strategies (precise recommendations combined with concrete rewards and punishments) necessary to induce key leaders among the warring factions to alter their behavior.

After a special relaunch event in March, keynoted by Kofi Annan and dedicated to the memory of the great statesman Cyrus R. Vance, the first two CPA task forces are focusing on the Balkans and West Papua, respectively. The center is overseen by an Advisory Committee chaired by John W. Vessey, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

Speaker Kofi Annan, Secretary-General, United Nations, Leslie H. Gelb, and Presider John W. Vessey at the March 6, 2002, Meeting, “Center for Preventive Action Special Event and Tribute to Cyrus R. Vance.”
Staff, and engages other experienced stakeholders from all quarters. The CPA is directed by William L. Nash, a retired major general who led U.S. Army forces into Bosnia to enforce the Dayton Peace Accords and later served as a senior civil administrator for the United Nations in Kosovo.

Task Forces

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

This year, perhaps more than ever, the Council’s independent task forces have played an important role in shaping foreign policy. Decision-makers in government look to the Council’s task forces—groups of high-ranking individuals with diverse experience and expertise—and to the Council’s task force reports—written simply and clearly to highlight key recommendations—to help guide their decisions on complicated issues.

The Independent Task Force on Terrorism, co-chaired by Carla A. Hills and Richard C. Holbrooke, convened in the immediate aftermath of September 11 and met over 20 times to discuss issues as diverse as border security, biological and chemical weapons, public health, the future of Afghanistan, and government restructuring. The task force submitted a paper to the administration that suggests techniques to better convey U.S. foreign policy to the world.

Interest in this effort was so acute that a separate Task Force on Public Diplomacy was launched. This task force’s report has already been demanded—even in draft form—by the executive branch and Congress alike. In its report, the task force outlines a number of measures to enhance the effectiveness of public diplomacy in support of U.S. foreign policy.

While a more effective public diplomacy is an immediate policy need, task forces often take a longer-term perspective. For instance, the Council’s new Independent Task Force on Chinese Military Power, co-chaired by Harold Brown and Joseph Prueher, looks ahead to determine the future capabilities of the Chinese military, identifying what specific developments should spark an American response as well as what sorts of U.S. actions might influence Chinese behavior.

Issued in the fall of 2001, the independent task force report Building Support for More Open Trade recommended that Congress give the president trade promotion authority and use the benefits of trade expansion to deal with labor, environmental, and other social issues.

Frank G. Wisner II and Nicholas Platt continue to co-chair a task force on South Asia cosponsored with the Asia Society; their work has become increasingly critical as the stakes in the region grow higher.

The Threats to Democracy Task Force, co-chaired by Madeleine K. Albright and Bronislaw Geremek, seeks to
encourage preventive action and develop mechanisms to deter unconstitutional interruptions of the democratic process as well as the slow erosion of democracy.

The Council is also sponsoring an independent task force to better define the U.S. role in the United Nations. This effort, cosponsored with Freedom House, is chaired by David Dreier and Lee H. Hamilton.

In addition, the Korea task force, co-chaired by Morton I. Abramowitz and James T. Laney, has reconvened. Finally, the Japan task force, chaired by Laura D’Andrea Tyson, will meet to evaluate the current situation in that country.

**Congressional Roundtable 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 Congressional Roundtable Program has held more than 130 meetings on Capitol Hill since 1998, 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 the war on terrorism, China’s entry into the World Trade Organization, priorities for economic development, and security issues in Southeast Asia, among others. Alton Frye and Robert C. Orr co-direct the program.

**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.

Lawrence J. Korb’s *Reshaping America’s Military: Four Alternatives*, updating an earlier CPI, outlines four possible defense policy options: “Enhanced Defense” would substantially increase spending on both existing and future capabilities to deal with both traditional and new threats; “Revolutionary Transformation” would put defense dollars toward new revolutionary technologies now, with an eye on future threats; “Evolutionary Transformation” would rebuild our existing capability to combat present threats and only secondarily invest in future technologies; and “Cooperative Defense” would promote burden-sharing with our allies and international institutions.
The Stephen M. Kellen 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 between the ages of 28 and 34, is elected to a five-year membership. Committees of term members in New York City, 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 many opportunities not only to hear high-profile speakers but also to conduct and participate in numerous seminars, tour the newly commissioned Aegis destroyer, USS Bulkeley, and visit the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the Central Intelligence Agency. Term members also benefited from a new series of multisession roundtables on pressing foreign policy issues that facilitated in-depth discussions among the participants. For more information on how to become a term member, please see pages 106–8.

Program Highlights

Term Member Seminars

**Elizabeth Pond**  
Editor, *Internationale Politik*  
“Limits to European Cooperation against Terrorism”  
**PRESIDER:** Alexander T.J. Lennon  
**WASHINGTON, D.C. • OCTOBER 11, 2001**

**Joan Didion**  
Author, *Political Fictions*  
“Term Member Dinner with Joan Didion”  
**MODERATORS:** Jessica Korn and Linda D. Rottenberg  
**NEW YORK • NOVEMBER 5, 2001**

**Juliette N. Kayyem**  
Executive Director, Executive Session on Domestic Preparedness, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University  
“Terrorism: Prevention, Preparedness, and Response”  
**PRESIDER:** Jeffrey W. Taliaferro  
**BOSTON • NOVEMBER 6, 2001**

**Charles J. McLaughlin**  
Executive Director, Russian Investment Symposium, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University  
“Terrorism: Prevention, Preparedness, and Response”  
**PRESIDER:** Jeffrey W. Taliaferro  
**BOSTON • NOVEMBER 6, 2001**
Walter Russell Mead  
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations  
“The Domestic Politics of America’s New War”  
PRESDER: Haleh Nazeri  
NEW YORK • NOVEMBER 15, 2001

Ian Buruma  
Author, Bad Elements: Chinese Rebels from Los Angeles to Beijing  
“Term Member Dinner with Ian Buruma”  
PRESDER: Bette Bao Lord  
NEW YORK • DECEMBER 3, 2001

Bill Richardson  
Senior Managing Director, Kissinger McLarty and Associates; former Secretary of Energy; former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations  
“The Role of the United Nations in Post-Taliban Afghanistan”  
PRESDER: Sarah G.J. Lennon  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • DECEMBER 17, 2001

Juju Chang  
Correspondent, ABC News

David Greenberg  
Columnist, Slate Magazine

Deroy Murdock  
Senior Fellow, Scripps Howard News Service and Atlas Economic Research Foundation

Philip C. Rudder  
Colonel, U.S. Marine Corps, and Military Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Jacob Weisberg  
Editor, Slate Magazine  
“Live from the Front: Freedom and Responsibility of the Press in the War on Terror”  
MODERATOR: Melvin F. Williams Jr.  
NEW YORK • JANUARY 10, 2002

J. Brian Atwood  
President, Citizens International, LLC; former Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development  
“New Developments in International Development”  
PRESDER: Julie A. Fisher  
BOSTON • JANUARY 10, 2002
Karen J. DeYoung
Associate Editor, Washington Post

Samuel H. Feist
Executive Producer, Wolf Blitzer Presents and Crossfire, CNN

David C. Leavy
Senior Vice President, Discovery Communications, Inc.
“War and the Press: Media Coverage of the War on Terrorism”

Karen J. DeYoung
Associate Editor, Washington Post

Samuel H. Feist
Executive Producer, Wolf Blitzer Presents and Crossfire, CNN

David C. Leavy
Senior Vice President, Discovery Communications, Inc.
“War and the Press: Media Coverage of the War on Terrorism”

Moderator: John Nicholas Dowling
Washington, D.C. • January 29, 2002

Kenneth M. Pollack
Olin Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Calvin Sims
Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Gayle E. Smith
Former Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs, National Security Council
“Where Next: Future Operations and Options in the War on Terror”

Presider: Andrew S. Weiss
New York • February 26, 2002

Daniel F. Feldman
Associate, Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom

Bill Saunders
Senior Fellow, Family Research Council

Teresa Taylor
Executive Director, Survivors’ Rights International
“Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: Trade-offs since September 11”

Presider: Orde F. Kittrie
Washington, D.C. • February 28, 2002

Joseph S. Nye Jr.
Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
“Term Member Dinner Discussion with Joseph S. Nye Jr.”

Presider: Leslie H. Gelb
Discussant: Timothy J. Bartlett
New York • March 5, 2002

Jonathan M. Fredman
Associate General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency

Robert J. Filippone
Deputy Democratic Staff Director, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
“U.S. Intelligence: Meeting the Challenges of a Post–9/11 World”

Presider: Gary M. Shiffman
Washington, D.C. • March 21, 2002

Dennis B. Ross
Lecturer, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; former Special Middle East Coordinator, U.S. Department of State

Council Term Members at the May 10, 2002, Term Member Trip to the Central Intelligence Agency.
Term Member Program

“Prospects for Peace in the Middle East”
PRESIDER: Walid G. Chamoun
BOSTON • APRIL 10, 2002

William F. Buckley Jr.
Editor at Large, National Review
“Term Member Evening with William F. Buckley Jr.”
PRESIDER: Deroy Murdock
NEW YORK • APRIL 16, 2002

Robert D. Kaplan
Correspondent, Atlantic Monthly, and Author,
Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos
“Term Member Dinner with Robert D. Kaplan”
PRESIDER: Thomas W. Lippman
WASHINGTON, D.C. • APRIL 18, 2002

Maurice R. Greenberg
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, American
International Group, Inc.; Vice Chairman, Council on
Foreign Relations
“Term Member Leadership Seminar
with Maurice R. Greenberg”
PRESIDER: Andrew S. Gundlach
NEW YORK • MAY 21, 2002

Chris Brown
Program Development Coordinator, U.S. Agency
for International Development

Robert C. Orr
Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International
Studies

Susan L. Tillou
Former Field Officer, U.N. Transitional Administration
in East Timor

Laura White
USAID Consultant to White House Coalition Information
Center, the White House
“Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Afghanistan”
PRESIDER: Rebecca K.C. Hersman
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 30, 2002

Lawrence H. Summers
President, Harvard University
“Term Member Luncheon with Lawrence H. Summers”
PRESIDER: Marne L. Levine
BOSTON • JUNE 12, 2002

Amanda Jean Dory
Assistant Director for Strategy Development,
Office of the Secretary of Defense

Nicholas J. Rasmussen
Director, Counterterrorism Policy, National Security
Council

Alisa Stack-O’Connor
Assistant for Special Operations Policy, U.S. Department
of Defense
“DoD and the War on Terrorism: Organization and
Strategy”
PRESIDER: John Nicholas Dowling
WASHINGTON, D.C. • JUNE 26, 2002

Term Member Roundtables
Terrorism Roundtable Discussions in Response to 9/11
NEW YORK

Multilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy:
A View from the Next Generation
NEW YORK

Investing in Microfinance: Opportunity Sharing
NEW YORK

Financial Crises, the International Financial
Architecture, and U.S. Foreign Policy
NEW YORK

Asia’s Role in the War on Global Terrorism
WASHINGTON, D.C.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Preventing State Failure
BOSTON

Special Events

Annual Boston Term Member Fall Symposium

Michael Ignatieff
Director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

William L. Nash
Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations

Andrew S. Natsios
Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development

PRESIDER: Anne-Marie Slaughter
BOSTON • OCTOBER 1, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL PROGRAM, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, AND THE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Colin L. Powell
U.S. Secretary of State
“A Term Member Conversation with Colin L. Powell”
PRESIDER: Richard D. Parsons
NEW YORK • JUNE 10, 2002

Trips

Term Member Tour of Newly Commissioned Aegis Destroyer, USS Bulkeley
NEW YORK • DECEMBER 6, 2001

Term Member Trip to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York
NEW YORK • FEBRUARY 7, 2002

Term Member Trip to the Central Intelligence Agency
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 10, 2002
The Studies Department, the Council’s “think tank,” adds value to the foreign policy debate primarily by conducting research on major U.S. foreign policy challenges. The Council’s Fellows have played a key role in the Council’s response to the September 11 terrorist attacks. Among their contributions: writing some 100 op-eds in major national and international newspapers; making more than 1,000 appearances as commentators on regional, national, and international television and radio shows; conducting a September 11-related roundtable series; testifying before Congress; and briefing key government officials, including members of President Bush’s inner circle. The Fellows also published some 10 books and 20 major articles in foreign policy journals. These books included Walter Russell Mead’s sweeping account of the roots of American foreign policy, Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World; Benn Steil, David Victor, and Richard Nelson’s seminal edited work on economic development, Technological Innovation and Economic Performance; and former chairman of the United Nations’ arms-inspection regime in Iraq Richard Butler’s impassioned proposal for new arms control measures, Fatal Choice: Nuclear Weapons and the Illusion of Missile Defense.

Program Highlights

America’s Response to Terrorism
Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Kenneth M. Pollack, Olin Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies

Roundtable on Homeland Security
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies

Roundtable on National Security: Military Strategy and Options
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Bernard E. Trainor, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on Domestic and International Law and U.S. Foreign Policy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Robert A. Malley, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on the Middle East and Islam
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Rachel Bronson, Olin Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Studies

Global Economics Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Caroline Atkinson, Adjunct Senior Fellow, International Economics

Council on Foreign Relations/Milbank Memorial Fund Roundtable on Health and U.S. Foreign Policy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jordan S. Kassalow, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on NATO and Terrorism
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ronald D. Asmus, Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies

George F. Kennan Roundtable on Russia and Eurasia
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Stephen R. Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies

Roundtable Series on the Geoeconomics of Military Preparedness
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ann R. Markusen, Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy

Ad Hoc Roundtable on Afghanistan
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies

Roundtable on Russian Foreign Policy in the Wake of September 11
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Stephen R. Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies COSPONSORED WITH THE HARRIMAN INSTITUTE

Roundtable on Women’s Human Rights and U.S. Interests
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, Adjunct Senior Fellow CO-CHAIRS: Adele Simmons, Chicago Metropolis 2020 Jack L. Snyder, Columbia University

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

Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies

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 Pincus

Study Group on Building a Transatlantic Securities Market
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics CHAIR: Peter J. Wallison, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

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

Roundtable on Corporate Governance
PROJECT DIRECTORS: James J. Shinn, Adjunct Senior Fellow Peter A. Gourevitch, Harvard University
Roundtable on Development
PROJECT DIRECTORS: Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy; Peace and Conflict Studies; and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
Michael M. Weinstein, Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics and Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies
Mark Malloch Brown, U.N. Development Programme
COSPONSORED WITH THE U.N. DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Roundtable on Corruption and Cronyism in Developing Countries
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Joel Hellman, Adjunct Senior Fellow

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

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

Center for Democracy and Free Markets
Program Director: Morton H. Halperin

Study Group on Democracy and Development
PROJECT DIRECTORS: Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy; Peace and Conflict Studies; and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
Joe Siegle, Douglas Dillon Fellow
Michael M. Weinstein, Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics and Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies
COSPONSORED WITH THE MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

Roundtable on Democracy Promotion
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy; Peace and Conflict Studies; and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
COSPONSORED WITH THE MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC 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
CHAIR: Maurice Tempelsman, Leon Tempelsman & Son

Asia

Program Director: Elizabeth C. Economy

Study Group on China and the Environment
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies
James J. Shinn U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies

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

Roundtable on Japan
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Eugene A. Matthews, Senior Fellow, Asia Studies

Roundtable on Alternative Futures for Southern Asia and U.S. Policy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Mahnaz Ispahani, Senior Fellow, South and West Asia

Europe
Program Director: Ronald D. Asmus

Study Group on U.S.-Russian Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Stephen R. Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies

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 and Director, Europe Studies

Roundtable on Nationalism in Europe
PROJECT DIRECTOR: James M. Goldgeier, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Charles A. Kupchan, Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow

Latin America
Program Director: Kenneth R. Maxwell

Study Group on Brazil at 500
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies

Study Group on U.S.-Latin America Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies

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, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies

Andean Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Julia E. Sweig, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies

Participants at the April 4, 2002, Roundtable on Corporate Governance, “Conclusions and Recommendations.”
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: Rachel Bronson

Study Group on Middle East Trade Options
STUDY DIRECTOR: Bernard Hoekman, World Bank
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Henry Siegman, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project
CHAIR: Peter D. Sutherland, Goldman, Sachs & Company
PROJECT COORDINATOR: Scott Lasensky, Fellow and Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project
COSPONSORED WITH THE MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

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

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

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

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

National Security
Program Director: Kenneth M. Pollack

Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Stephen E. Flynn, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow, National Security Studies

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

Peace and Conflict
Program Director: Morton H. Halperin

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

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

Science and Technology
Program Director: Richard L. Garwin

Study Group on Trade, Science, and Genetically Modified Foods
PROJECT DIRECTORS: David G. Victor, Adjunct Senior Fellow C. Ford Runge, University of Minnesota
CHAIR: David L. Aaron, Dorsey & Whitney

Study Group on the Weaponization of Space
PROJECT DIRECTORS: Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology Bruce M. DeBlois, Adjunct Senior Fellow

U.S. Foreign Policy
Program Director: Morton H. Halperin

Study Group on the History of U.S. Foreign Policy Phase II: With God on Our Side—American Apocalypse and the Mall at the End of the World
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


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: Sandra Enimil, Research Associate, Africa Studies and Peace and Conflict Studies
Alicia Siebenaler, Assistant 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

International Affairs Fellowship Program

Now in its 35th year, the International Affairs Fellowship (IAF) Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding Americans between the ages of 27 and 35. The fellowships seek to bridge the gap between thought and action in foreign policy by supporting both a variety of policy studies and active exposure to policymaking. The distinctive character of the program lies in the contrasting experiences it provides at the juncture of policy research and policy formulation. Thus, it encourages academics and others from the private sector to serve in a policy-oriented environment through operational experience in public service. Conversely, it permits government officials on leave to study key issues in a scholarly atmosphere free from operational pressure.

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. Fellowships are intended for American citizens between the ages of 27 and 45. The program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between emerging leaders of the two nations. For more information on the IAF Program, contact Elise Carlson Lewis, Vice President of Membership and Fellowship Affairs.

The Council also organizes roundtable meetings in Washington, D.C., and an annual conference in New York featuring the current Council Fellows.
2002–2003 International Affairs Fellows

Molly M. Cochran, Georgia Institute of Technology
Bathsheba N. Crocker, U.S. Department of State
Sunil B. Desai, U.S. Marine Corps
Amanda J. Dory, U.S. Department of Defense
Konrad Huber, U.N. Children’s Fund
Dalia Dassa Kaye, George Washington University
Jennie M. Koch, U.S. Army
John A. Nagl, U.S. Army
Daniel B. Prieto III, ZG Ventures
William E. Rapp,* U.S. Army
Michael Rubin, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
John E.D. Toth,* Tennyson West, LLC
Richard R. Verma, Steptoe & Johnson, LLP
Isaiah Wilson, U.S. Army

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

Council Visiting Fellows Roundtable Series

Brooks B. Yeager
Vice President for Global Threats, World Wildlife Fund
“Recent Trends Affecting U.S. Environmental Diplomacy”
PRESIDER: Geoffrey D. Dabelko
OCTOBER 25, 2001

John F. Sigler
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.)
“The Middle East and South Asia: A Military Perspective”
PRESIDER: Kenneth M. Pollack
NOVEMBER 28, 2001

Charles E. Santos
Energy Consultant and Director, Foundation for Central Asian Development
“Afghanistan: Federalist or Finished?”
PRESIDER: Alton Frye
MARCH 19, 2002
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. This year, our programs focused extensively on the implications of September 11 and the war on terrorism for U.S. foreign policy. Meeting highlights included discussions with Pakistan’s President Pervez Musharraf, Chairman of the Afghan Interim Authority Hamid Karzai, Secretary of the Treasury Paul O’Neill, and former President Bill Clinton, as well as expert panels examining homeland security, intelligence, the economic fallout of the terror attacks, the roots of terrorism, and ramifications for defense spending.

Program Highlights

Milton Bearden
Former Station Chief in Pakistan, Central Intelligence Agency

Stephen E. Flynn
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

John C. Gannon
Vice-Chairman, Intellibridge Corporation; former Deputy Director for Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency

Lawrence J. Korb
Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense

Judith Miller
Senior Writer, New York Times

“Terrorism: The Implications of the Attacks and Where We Go from Here”
PRESIDER: Richard C. Holbrooke
SEPTEMBER 17, 2001

Charles G. Boyd
Senior Vice President and Washington Program Director, Council on Foreign Relations; General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

Barry R. McCaffrey
Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security Studies, U.S. Military Academy; General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Bernard E. Trainor
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Lt. General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)

“After the Attacks: Military Options”
PRESIDER: William L. Nash
SEPTEMBER 25, 2001
Gail D. Fosler  
Senior Vice President and Chief Economist,  
The Conference Board

Henry Kaufman  
President, Henry Kaufman & Company, Inc.

Paul A. Volcker  
Former Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

“The Terrorist Attacks: The Economic Implications”  
PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson  
OCTOBER 2, 2001

Richard N. Haass  
Director of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State

“The Bush Administration’s Response to Terrorism”  
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb  
OCTOBER 15, 2001

Carol Bellamy  
Executive Director, U.N. Children’s Fund

Catherine Bertini  
Executive Director, World Food Programme

Gro Harlem Brundtland  
Director-General, World Health Organization

Thoraya A. Obaid  
Executive Director, U.N. Population Fund

Mary Robinson  
High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations

“Women in Leadership—Their Challenges in the Developing World”  
PRESIDER: Peggy Dulany  
OCTOBER 18, 2001

THE SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

Ruud Lubbers  
High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations

“Meeting with Ruud Lubbers”*  
PRESIDER: Gillian Martin Sorensen  
OCTOBER 19, 2001

Joseph R. Biden Jr.  
Member, U.S. Senate (D-Del.)

“From Tragedy to Opportunity: Acting Wisely in an Age of Uncertainty”*  
PRESIDER: Vin Weber  
OCTOBER 22, 2001

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.
“The Terrorist Attacks: Views from U.N. Ambassadors”*
PRESIDER: William H. Luers
OCTOBER 30, 2001

Stanley Fischer
Senior Adviser to the Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
“Globalization: Has Everything Changed?”
PRESIDER: John A. Ross
NOVEMBER 6, 2001
C. PETER MCCOLLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Vicente Fox
President of Mexico
“The Future of U.S.-Mexican Relations”
PRESIDER: Thomas F. McLarty III
NOVEMBER 9, 2001
THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

Pervez Musharraf
Chief Executive and President of Pakistan
“A Meeting with Pervez Musharraf”*
PRESIDER: Nicholas Platt
NOVEMBER 12, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

Jaswant Singh
Minister of External Affairs, India
“A Meeting with Jaswant Singh”*

PRESIDER: Frank G. Wisner II
NOVEMBER 13, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

Shimon Peres
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister of Israel
“A Meeting with Shimon Peres”*
PRESIDER: Thomas R. Pickering
NOVEMBER 15, 2001

Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo
President of the Philippines
“A Meeting with Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo”*
PRESIDER: Nicholas Platt
NOVEMBER 16, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

Jack Devine
President, Arkin Group LLC; former Acting Director of Operations, Central Intelligence Agency

Richard Kerr
Former Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Thomas Powers
Author, The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA

“Central Intelligence: Retooling for a New Era?”
PRESIDER: Vernon Loeb
NOVEMBER 26, 2001
Thomas J. Biersteker
Director and Henry R. Luce Professor, Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Stephen Kroll
Special Counsel, U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

William F. Wechsler
Vice President, Greenwich Associates; former Special Adviser to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, U.S. Department of the Treasury

Lee S. Wolosky
Adjunct Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies; former Director, Transnational Threats, National Security Council

“Draining the Swamp: Terrorists and Their Financial Assets”

PRESENTER: Michael M. Weinstein
DECEMBER 4, 2001

Michael Scott Doran
Assistant Professor, Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University

Stephen E. Flynn
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Brian M. Jenkins
Senior Adviser to the President, RAND

Fareed Zakaria
Editor, Newsweek International

“How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War”

PRESENTER: Tom Brokaw
DECEMBER 17, 2001

Ahmed Rashid
Author, Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia

“Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia”

PRESENTER: Michael J. Elliott
DECEMBER 19, 2001

Robert D. Kaplan
Correspondent, Atlantic Monthly; author, Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos

“Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos”

PRESENTER: Garrick Utley
JANUARY 9, 2002

Romano Prodi
President, European Commission

“The Three Key Challenges Facing the European Union—The Reality of the Euro, Enlargement from the East, Institutional Reforms”

PRESENTER: William J. McDonough
JANUARY 11, 2002

THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

David R. Gergen
Professor of Public Service, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; former Adviser to Presidents Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and Clinton

Michael D. McCurry
Chairman and CEO, Grassroots Enterprise, Inc.; former White House Press Secretary to President Clinton

Ronald Nessen
Vice President, Communications, Brookings Institution; former White House Press Secretary to President Ford

Walter Shapiro
Political Columnist, USA Today; former Speechwriter to President Carter

“Presidential Communications in Times of Crisis”

JANUARY 15, 2002

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

James K. Kallstrom
Director, New York State Office of Public Security, New York State Executive Chamber

James Milton Loy
Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard

Doris Meissner
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; former Commissioner, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

“The Future of Homeland Defense”

Presider: William H. Luers
January 16, 2002

Leon S. Fuerth
Shapiro Professor of International Affairs, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University; former National Security Adviser to Vice President Al Gore

Richard N. Perle
Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy

“What Getting Saddam: A Debate”

Presider: Leslie H. Gelb
January 22, 2002

Home Box Office Series

Raoul Peck
Director, Lumumba

Brian Urquhart
Former Undersecretary-General for Special Political Affairs, United Nations

“Lumumba”

Welcoming Remarks: Jeffrey Bewkes
January 24, 2002

Home Box Office Screening

Charles E. Schumer
Member, U.S. Senate (D-N.Y.)

“The World after September 11”*

Presider: Leslie H. Gelb
January 25, 2002

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

John P. Jumper
Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

John M. Keane
Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

Michael Williams
Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps

“America’s Response to Terrorism: U.S. Defense Policy”

Presider: Walter S. Isaacson
January 28, 2002

The John Train Lecture

Hamid Karzai
Chairman, Afghan Interim Authority

“Meeting with Hamid Karzai”*

Introductory Remarks: Peter G. Peterson and Robert E. Rubin
Q & A Moderator: Nancy E. Soderberg
January 30, 2002

COSponsored with the Asia Society

Max Boot
Editorial Features Editor, Wall Street Journal

David Cole
Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center

Morton H. Halperin
Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Democracy and Free Markets, Council on Foreign Relations

George J. Terwilliger III
Partner, White & Case

“The Future of Civil Liberties”

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

**Al Gore**
Former Vice President of the United States
“A Commentary on the War against Terror: Our Larger Tasks”*

**John D. Negroponte**
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
“U.S. Priorities at the United Nations: The Challenge of Global Terrorism”

**Martin Indyk**
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

**David Makovsky**
Senior Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

**Daniel Pipes**
Director, Middle East Forum

**Shibley Telhami**
Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland

**Richard C. Holbrooke**
Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC; former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

**Jeane J. Kirkpatrick**
Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

**Donald F. McHenry**
Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

**Kofi Annan**
Secretary-General, United Nations
“Center for Preventive Action Special Event and Tribute to Cyrus R. Vance”*

**Paul H. O’Neill**
U.S. Secretary of the Treasury
“A Meeting with Paul H. O’Neill”

**John M. Shalikashvili**
General, U.S. Army (Ret.); former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

**Richard C. Holbrooke**
Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC; former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
New York Meetings Program

“Former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff”
**PRESIDER:** Warren B. Rudman
**MARCH 19, 2002**
**HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES**

**William C. Dudley**  
Vice President and Senior Economist, Goldman, Sachs & Company

**John P. Lipsky**  
Chief Economist and Managing Director, J.P. Morgan Chase & Co.

**Bruce Steinberg**  
Chief Economist, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

“World Economic Update”
**PRESIDER:** Daniel K. Tarullo  
**MARCH 27, 2002**

**John Browne**  
Group Chief Executive, BP p.l.c.

**William J. McDonough**  
President and Chief Executive Officer, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

“Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy”
**PRESIDER:** Daniel H. Yergin  
**APRIL 2, 2002**

**Harold Brown**  
Counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies; former U.S. Secretary of Defense

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

**William S. Cohen**  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, The Cohen Group; former U.S. Secretary of Defense

**Caspar W. Weinberger**  
Chairman, Forbes Inc.; former U.S. Secretary of Defense

“Former U.S. Secretaries of Defense”
**PRESIDER:** Ashton B. Carter  
**APRIL 3, 2002**
**HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES**

**Karen J. DeYoung**  
Associate Editor, Washington Post

**Carla A. Robbins**  
Diplomatic Correspondent, Wall Street Journal

**David E. Sanger**  
White House Correspondent, New York Times

“Views from the Newsroom: Bush after One Year”

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

**Speaker William Jefferson Clinton, 42nd President of the United States, at the June 17, 2002, Meeting, “Our Shared Future: Globalization in the 21st Century.”**
The Washington Program brings members together with policymakers, diplomats, respected scholars, writers, journalists, and leaders from every region of the world. This year, the Council’s Washington Program convened over 120 meetings in formats ranging from panel discussions to debates, town halls, and film screenings. Responding rapidly to the tragedy of September 11, scores of programs were organized focusing on understanding its meaning for U.S. foreign policy and for American society. Our meeting highlights for the year included discussions with Vice President Dick Cheney; Afghanistan’s Foreign Minister Abdullah Abdullah; Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak; Senators Joseph Biden, Chuck Hagel, and Richard Lugar; former National Security Advisers Sandy Berger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Brent Scowcroft; historian of Islam Karen Armstrong; noted writer Salman Rushdie; and the chairmen of the Commission on National Security/21st Century. The origins of terrorism, expanded homeland defense, the global economic fallout of terror, the U.S. defense budget, and many other related topics were examined by numerous panels of experts representing a wide variety of experiences and perspectives.

Program Highlights

Morton H. Halperin  
Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Democracy and Free Markets, Council on Foreign Relations

Charles Krauthammer  
Syndicated Columnist

Jeffrey Smith  
Former General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency

“Attack Against America: How Should We Respond?”
PRESIDER: James R. Schlesinger  
SEPTEMBER 13, 2001

Gary Hart  
Of Counsel, Coudert Brothers; Commission Co-chair

Warren B. Rudman  
Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; Commission Co-chair

Newton L. Gingrich  
Chief Executive Officer, Gingrich Group; Commission Member

Lee H. Hamilton  
Director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Commission Member

“U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century: After the Attack—A New Urgency”
PRESIDER: Charles G. Boyd  
SEPTEMBER 14, 2001
Washington Program

Jessica P. Einhorn
Former Managing Director, World Bank
PRESIDER: Caroline Atkinson
SEPTEMBER 17, 2001

Thomas E. Donilon
Executive Vice President, Law and Policy, Fannie Mae

Stephen E. Flynn
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

John C. Gannon
Vice Chairman, Intellibridge Corporation; former Deputy Director for Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency

Bernard E. Trainor
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)

Michael M. Weinstein
Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics and Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Attack Against America: Our Next Steps”
PRESIDER: Charles G. Boyd
SEPTEMBER 20, 2001

Bandar bin Sultan
Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the United States
“America’s Response to Terrorism: A Conversation with Prince Bandar”
PRESIDER: Brent Scowcroft
SEPTEMBER 27, 2001

Milton Bearden
Former Station Chief in Pakistan, Central Intelligence Agency

Karl F. Inderfurth
Former Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs

S. Fred Starr
Chairman, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

“After the Attacks: A Discussion of Post-Taliban Afghanistan”
PRESIDER: Phyllis E. Oakley
OCTOBER 22, 2001

Robert B. Zoellick
U.S. Trade Representative
“The WTO and a New Global Trade Round: What’s at Stake?”
PRESIDER: C. Fred Bergsten
OCTOBER 30, 2001

Vladimir Putin
President of the Russian Federation
NOVEMBER 13, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE NIXON CENTER

William Hartzog
General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Harry D. Train
Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.)

Michael E. Ryan
General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

Charles Wilhelm
General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)
“America’s Response to Terrorism: A Military War?”
PRESIDER: Rebecca J. Cooper
NOVEMBER 15, 2001

Henry A. Kissinger
Chairman, Kissinger Associates; former U.S. Secretary of State

Charles G. Boyd
Senior Vice President and Washington Program Director, Council on Foreign Relations; General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

“Inauguration of the Henry A. Kissinger Chair”
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
DECEMBER 11, 2001

Tucker Carlson
Co-host, Crossfire

Tamala Edwards
White House Correspondent, ABC News

Christopher N. Schroeder
Chief Executive Officer and Publisher, Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive

Jacob Weisberg
Chief Political Correspondent, Slate Magazine

“Twenty-First–Century Journalism: Is There a Future?”
PRESIDER: Frank W. Sesno
DECEMBER 13, 2001

DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

Leon S. Fuerth
Shapiro Professor of International Affairs, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University; former National Security Adviser to Vice President Al Gore

William Kristol
Editor, Weekly Standard

“Iraq: Time for a New Policy?”
PRESIDER: Fred Hiatt
DECEMBER 17, 2001

Ahmed Rashid
Author, Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia

“Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia”
PRESIDER: Michael J. Elliott
DECEMBER 19, 2001

Abdullah Abdullah
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Afghan Interim Authority

“A Conversation with Abdullah Abdullah”
PRESIDER: Thomas E. Donilon
JANUARY 24, 2002

Jendayi Frazer
Special Assistant to the President and Director of African Affairs, National Security Council

Eddie Bernice Johnson
Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Tex.)

Donald M. Payne
Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-N.J.)

“Premiere of Lumumba: Chronicling the Life of Congo’s First Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba”
FEBRUARY 6, 2002
HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Michael Hayden
Director, National Security Agency

“Code Breaking in the 21st Century”
PRESIDER: David Ensor
FEBRUARY 6, 2002

Dick Cheney
Vice President of the United States

“Launch of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies”
REMARKS: Peter G. Peterson
FEBRUARY 15, 2002

Hosni Mubarak
President of Egypt

“A Conversation with Hosni Mubarak”
PRESIDER: Edward S. Walker Jr.
MARCH 5, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE

Speaker Robert B. Zoellick, U.S. Trade Representative, at the October 30, 2001, Meeting, “The WTO and a New Global Trade Round: What’s at Stake?”
Zalmay M. Khalilzad
Special Presidential Envoy to Afghanistan and Senior Director for Southwest Asia, Near East, and North Africa, National Security Council
“Regional Challenges and Threats: A National Security Perspective”
PRESIDER: Ellen Laipson
APRIL 4, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Bob Woodward
Assistant Managing Editor of Investigative News, Washington Post

Dan Balz
National Political Correspondent, Washington Post
“Woodward and Balz Discuss Their Ten-Part Series Chronicling the Bush Administration’s Response to September 11”
PRESIDER: Christopher N. Schroeder
APRIL 8, 2002

George Robertson
Secretary-General, NATO
“NATO’s Future after September 11”
PRESIDER: Richard G. Lugar
APRIL 10, 2002

Martin Indyk
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

Edward S. Walker Jr.
President, Middle East Institute
“The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Where Do We Go from Here?”
PRESIDER: Bernard Kalb
APRIL 15, 2002

Hu Jintao
Vice President of the People’s Republic of China
“A Conversation with Hu Jintao”
PRESIDER: Carla A. Hills
MAY 1, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

Speaker Hosni Mubarak, President of Egypt, at the March 5, 2002, Meeting, “A Conversation with Hosni Mubarak.”

Presider Richard G. Lugar and Speaker George Robertson, Secretary-General of NATO, at the April 10, 2002, Meeting, “NATO’s Future after September 11.”
Salman Rushdie
Booker Prize winner; author
“Religion and Terrorism”
PRESIDER: Anthony Lewis
MAY 2, 2002

Charles Duelfer
Former Deputy Executive Chairman, UNSCOM
Khidir Hamza
Former Chief of Iraq’s nuclear weapons program; author, Saddam’s Bombmaker
Richard Spertzel
Former Chief, Biological Weapons Team, UNSCOM
“Sending Inspectors to Iraq: If They Get In, What Can They Find?”
PRESIDER: Kenneth M. Pollack
MAY 2, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Jack Valenti
Former Special Assistant to President Lyndon Johnson
Harry McPherson
Former Special Counsel to President Lyndon Johnson
William Knowlton
General, U.S. Army (Ret.)
“Premiere of Path to War: Lyndon Johnson’s Presidency during 1964–65, the Years of the Most Rapid Buildup of U.S. Troops in Vietnam”
PRESIDER: Michael Beschloss
MAY 9, 2002
HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Richard N. Perle
Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy
Mark Medish
Former Senior Director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council
Philip K. Verleger Jr.
BP Senior Fellow in International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations
“Press Briefing on President Bush’s Summit with Vladimir Putin”
PRESIDER: Stephen R. Sestanovich
MAY 14, 2002

Samuel F. Berger
Chairman, Stonebridge International LLC
Zbigniew Brzezinski
Counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Brent Scowcroft
President, Forum for International Policy
“Former National Security Advisers: What Should Be Our Overall Strategy in Dealing with Terrorism?”
PRESIDER: Frank W. Sesno
MAY 29, 2002

Dov Zakheim
Undersecretary, U.S. Department of Defense
“Current U.S. Defense Issues”
PRESIDER: Bernard E. Trainor
JUNE 6, 2002

Henry Hyde
Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-III); Chairman, House International Relations Committee
“Speaking to Our Silent Allies: The Role of Public Diplomacy in U.S. Foreign Policy”
PRESIDER: James Sasser
JUNE 17, 2002
The National Program provides a forum for members outside of New York and Washington to discuss pressing foreign policy issues and contribute their knowledge to the Council’s research and publications. This year, the National Program focused on America’s response to terrorism through local roundtables built on the expertise of members and community leaders in key cities, including Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Miami, San Francisco, and Seattle; foreign policy dinner seminars featuring Council senior fellows and their work; a biweekly conference call series, chaired by Council Executive Vice President Michael P. Peters; webcasts of general meetings, selectively cosponsored with and broadcast on CNN.com; and the annual National Conference in New York. National Conference participants discussed the progress and prospects of the war on terrorism with Deputy Secretary of Treasury Kenneth W. Dam, state and local leaders, noted U.S. and international scholars and journalists, and former high-level government officials and members of Congress.

Program Highlights

Atlanta Roundtable: America’s Response to Terrorism

William E. Hoehn Jr.
Visiting Professor, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology

John H. Kelly
President, John Kelly Consulting, Inc.; Ambassador-in-Residence, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology; former U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon

“The Challenge of Terrorism”
CHAIR: Peter Dexter Bell
OCTOBER 1, 2001

Gordon D. Giffin
Vice Chairman, Long, Aldridge & Norman; former U.S. Ambassador to Canada

“The Future of North American Integration in the Wake of the Terrorist Attacks”
CHAIR: Robert A. Pastor
OCTOBER 17, 2001

Perry M. Smith
President, Visionary Leadership

“Defense Options for America’s Extended War on Terrorism”
CHAIR: Michael J. Williams
NOVEMBER 16, 2001
Leslie H. Gelb
President, Council on Foreign Relations
“A Conversation with Les Gelb”
CHAIR: Peter Dexter Bell
FEBRUARY 19, 2002

Thurbert E. Baker
Attorney General, State of Georgia
“Protecting Civil Liberties in the War on Terrorism”
CHAIR: Eason T. Jordan
MARCH 13, 2002

Carrie R. Wickham
Assistant Professor, Political Science, Emory University
“Public Diplomacy in the Muslim World”
CHAIR: John H. Kelly
APRIL 17, 2002

Boston

David G. Victor
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations; Director, Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, Stanford University
“Study Group on Technological Innovation and Economic Performance: Technological Innovation and National Power”
CHAIR: Richard N. Foster
APRIL 23, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Chicago Roundtable:
America’s Response to Terrorism

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Henry S. Bienen
President, Northwestern University
Michael H. Moskow
President, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
Mitchel B. Wallerstein
Vice President, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

“Aftermath of September 11: What’s New? What’s Not?”
CHAIRS: Marshall M. Bouton and Michael P. Peters
NOVEMBER 20, 2001

Lawrence J. Korb
Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
John J. Mearsheimer
Professor, Political Science, University of Chicago

“What Can or Should We Do about Iraq?”
CHAIR: Mitchel B. Wallerstein
FEBRUARY 21, 2002

Dallas Roundtable: America’s Response to Terrorism

Oliver “Buck” Revell
Founder and President, Revell Group International, Inc.
“The Challenges of Countering Global Terrorism”
CHAIR: Lee Cullum
NOVEMBER 12, 2001

Sumit Ganguly
Professor, Asian Studies and Government, University of Texas, Austin
“South Asia Post-Taliban: Risks and Opportunities”
CHAIR: Lee Cullum
JANUARY 16, 2002

Jennifer S. Holmes
Assistant Professor, Government & Politics and Political Economy, University of Texas, Dallas
“Terror and Turmoil in Colombia”
CHAIR: Lee Cullum
APRIL 24, 2002

B. B. Bell
Commanding General, III Corps and Fort Hood, U.S. Army
“Today’s Army: Meeting the Contemporary Needs of the Nation?”
CHAIR: Lee Cullum
MAY 17, 2002

Houston/New York

Malik Chaka
Professional Staff Member, U.S. House Subcommittee on Africa

Donald R. Norland
Former U.S. Ambassador to Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland
“America’s Response to Terrorism: Videoconferenced Africa Roundtable on Managing Africa’s Oil Revenues in a Changing Global Climate”
NEW YORK CHAIR: Gwendolyn Mikell
HOUSTON CHAIR: Joseph Barnes
JANUARY 29, 2002
COSPONOSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY
Los Angeles

Walter Russell Mead
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
“Los Angeles Study Group: With God on Our Side”
CHAIR: Robert J. Abernethy
APRIL 22, 2002

Miami Roundtable:
America’s Response to Terrorism

Leslie H. Gelb
President, Council on Foreign Relations
“A Conversation with Les Gelb”
CHAIR: Hodding Carter III
HOST: Ambler H. Moss Jr.
JANUARY 11, 2002

Roger M. Kubarych
Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance, Council on Foreign Relations

Martin Schubert
Chairman, European InterAmerican Finance Corp.
“Financial System under Stress”
CHAIR: Hugh V. Simon Jr.
HOST: Ambler H. Moss Jr.
APRIL 30, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE DANTE B. FASCELL NORTH-SOUTH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

San Francisco Roundtable:
America’s Response to Terrorism

Barry J. Eichengreen
George C. Pardee and Helen N. Pardee Professor of Economics and Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
“Aftermath of September 11: What’s New? What’s Not?”
CHAIR: Peter Tarnoff
FEBRUARY 12, 2002

Roger M. Kubarych
Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance, Council on Foreign Relations
“Draining the Swamp: The Financial Dimension”
CHAIR: Michael Nacht
MARCH 25, 2002

Thomas J. Campbell
Professor of Law, Stanford University; former Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Calif.)
“Protecting Civil Liberties in the War on Terrorism”
CHAIR: Michael Nacht
APRIL 25, 2002

Stephen E. Flynn
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Securing the Homeland”
CHAIR: Peter Tarnoff
JUNE 19, 2002
President George W. Bush’s announcement of the creation of a Department of Homeland Security during the opening session of the June National Conference. “War on Terrorism: How Are We Doing? Where Are We Going?”

Seattle Roundtable: America’s Response to Terrorism

Stephen E. Flynn
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“A Road Map for Homeland Security”
CHAIR: David K.Y. Tang
JUNE 21, 2002

Los Angeles and San Francisco

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Edward L. Morse
Executive Adviser, Hess Energy Trading Company LLC; Chair, Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy

Philip K. Verleger Jr. (Los Angeles only)
BP Senior Fellow in International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations; President, PKVerleger LLC; Member, Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy

“Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Where Do We Go from Here?”
SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: R. Sean Randolph
OCTOBER 15, 2001
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: John E. Bryson
OCTOBER 16, 2001

Elizabeth C. Economy
Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Director, Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: William K. Reilly
DECEMBER 3, 2001
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Mathew Scott Petersen
DECEMBER 4, 2001

Michael Scott Doran
Assistant Professor, Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University

Stephen E. Flynn
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Brian M. Jenkins
Senior Adviser to the President, RAND
William J. Perry (San Francisco only)
Hoover Institution Senior Fellow and Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor, Stanford University

“America’s Response to Terrorism: Assault on America: Where Do We Go from Here?”
CHAIR: James F. Hoge Jr.
JANUARY 9 AND 10, 2002 (SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES)
COSPONSORED WITH THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA (SAN FRANCISCO)

The Council on Foreign Relations continued to work with its western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP), to engage members on the West Coast in a debate on international affairs and foreign policy. The Council conducts dinner seminars featuring its senior fellows and their work in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. These Council programs are augmented by a growing number of PCIP-organized meetings on the West Coast. As part of the partnership agreement, Council members are offered concurrent membership in the Pacific Council and are invited to participate in PCIP events. The Council makes this benefit possible by transferring a portion of its membership dues to the Pacific Council. To manage the partnership, Council Executive Vice President Michael P. Peters serves on the Pacific Council’s Board of Directors and Pacific Council President Abraham F. Lowenthal is a Vice President of the Council.
National Program

Presider Garrick Utley, Speaker Frank Libutti, Deputy Commissioner, Counter-Terrorism, New York City Police Department, Speaker Stephen E. Flynn, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, and Speaker Edward P. Djerejian, Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, at the June National Conference, “War on Terrorism: How Are We Doing? Where Are We Going?”

Michael P. Peters, Irina A. Faskianos, and Leslie H. Gelb at the June National Conference, “War on Terrorism: How Are We Doing? Where Are We Going?”

Multiple Cities

Walter Russell Mead
Senior Fellow; U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
“Roundtable on Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World”

HOUSTON CHAIR: Norman B. Frankel
OCTOBER 11, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE HOUSTON COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Geoffrey Cowan
NOVEMBER 5, 2001

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Jane M. Wales
NOVEMBER 6, 2001
SEATTLE CHAIR: David K.Y. Tang
NOVEMBER 7, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY (LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO, SEATTLE)
CHICAGO CHAIR: Geoffrey B. Shields
NOVEMBER 27, 2001
BOSTON CHAIR: Ernest R. May
NOVEMBER 29, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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
Rachel Bronson, Olin Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Studies
Celia Dugger, Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow
Elizabeth C. Economy, C. V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies
Helena Kane Finn, Cyrus Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies
Stephen E. Flynn, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow, National Security Studies
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
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
Kenneth M. Pollack, Olin Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies
Adam Segal, Olin Fellow
Stephen R. Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies
Joe Siegle, Douglas Dillon Fellow
Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics

Other Chairs and Fellowships

Maurice R. Greenberg Chair in China Studies
Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow, Business and Foreign Policy
Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics

Special Fellowships

Next Generation Fellows
The Next Generation Fellowship (NGF) Program nurtures outstanding thinkers and writers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become foreign policy leaders. The program recruits individuals whose principal mission will be frontier policy scholarship, leading to several major published articles or a book during the fellowship tenure. Most NGFs are in residence for two or three years. Each year, one NGF who combines a keen understanding of economics with his or her cutting-edge policy research is named the Dillon Fellow, in honor of former Council Vice Chairman Douglas Dillon.

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
Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

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 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.

Cyrus Vance Fellowship in Diplomatic Studies
The Vance 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 pressures of diplomatic life, the Vance Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, reflecting on issues of foreign policy and participating in Council programs.

Lectureships

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, inaugurated in 1994, 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 the 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.

Endowed and Specially Funded Programs
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
A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series, International Economics
Winston Lord Program, Asia
John J. McCloy Program, International Relations
C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics
James J. Shinn U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable
Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program, International Relations
As the Council’s primary point of contact with the private sector, this year the Corporate Program saw a surge of interest in its activities, especially following September 11. The Corporate Program hosts over 70 events annually 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, and this year expanded its popular program of conference calls with Council Fellows and outside experts. With the inauguration of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and the new senior fellowship in business and foreign policy, issues of particular importance to the business and financial communities will be increasingly prominent on the Council’s agenda.

Program Highlights

Gail D. Fosler
Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, The Conference Board

Henry Kaufman
President, Henry Kaufman & Company, Inc.

Paul A. Volcker
Former Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

“The Terrorist Attacks: The Economic Implications”

PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson
OCTOBER 2, 2001

Arminio Fraga
Governor, Central Bank of Brazil

“Brazil: An Update”

PRESIDER: Stephen Robert
OCTOBER 22, 2001
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Virginia Anne Kamsky
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Kamsky Associates, Inc.

“Report from the Streets of Beijing and Shanghai”

OCTOBER 30, 2001
CONFERENCE CALL

Robert B. Zoellick
U.S. Trade Representative

“The WTO and a New Global Trade Round: What’s at Stake?”

PRESIDER: C. Fred Bergsten
OCTOBER 30, 2001
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Vicente Fox
President of Mexico

“The Future of U.S.-Mexican Relations”

PRESIDER: Thomas F. McLarty III
NOVEMBER 9, 2001
THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE
Corporate Program

Pervez Musharraf
Chief Executive and President of Pakistan
“A Meeting with Pervez Musharraf”*
PRESIDER: Nicholas Platt
NOVEMBER 12, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

Jaswant Singh
Minister of External Affairs, India
“A Meeting with Jaswant Singh”*
PRESIDER: Frank G. Wisner II
NOVEMBER 13, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo
President of the Philippines
“A Meeting with Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo”*
Presider: Nicholas Platt
NOVEMBER 14, 2001
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

R. Glenn Hubbard
Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers
“Trade and the American Economy: The Case for Trade Promotion Authority”
PRESIDER: Louis Perlmutter
DECEMBER 3, 2001
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Maurice R. Greenberg
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, American International Group; Vice Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations

Leo C. O’Neill
President, Standard & Poor’s
“Will the Administration’s Response to Terrorism Create Political Risk in the U.S. Economy?”
PRESIDER: George J.W. Goodman
JANUARY 8, 2002
A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

Romano Prodi
President, European Commission
“The Three Key Challenges Facing the European Union—The Reality of the Euro, Enlargement from the East, Institutional Reforms”
PRESIDER: William J. McDonough
JANUARY 11, 2002
THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

Anne O. Krueger
First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
“Sovereign Debt Restructuring Mechanism”
PRESIDER: J. Tomilson Hill
JANUARY 29, 2002
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

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

Hamid Karzai
Chairman, Afghan Interim Authority
“A Meeting with Hamid Karzai”*
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: Peter G. Peterson and Robert E. Rubin
Q & A MODERATOR: Nancy E. Soderberg
JANUARY 30, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

Dick Cheney
Vice President of the United States
“Launch of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies”
REMARKS: Peter G. Peterson
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
FEBRUARY 15, 2002
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Hosni Mubarak
President of Egypt
“A Conversation with Hosni Mubarak”
PRESIDER: Edward S. Walker Jr.
MARCH 5, 2002
WASHINGTON, D.C.
COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE

Paul H. O’Neill
U.S. Secretary of the Treasury
“A Meeting with Paul H. O’Neill”
PRESIDER: Paul A. Volcker
MARCH 13, 2002
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Eugene A. Matthews
Senior Fellow, Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“When Japan Sneezes, the Rest of Asia Gets a Cold: Is an Asian Financial Crisis Looming?”
MARCH 14, 2002
CONFERENCE CALL
Corporate Program

Mario Monti
Commissioner, Competition Directorate General, European Commission
“Competition and Governance of Globalization: Europe’s Contribution”
Presider: Steven L. Rattner
April 5, 2002
C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics

Rachel Bronson
Olin Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Daniel Pipes
Director, Middle East Forum

Henry Siegman
Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project, Council on Foreign Relations
“Town Hall Meeting: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict—Where Do We Go from Here?”
Presider: Winston Lord
April 8, 2002

Eddie George
Governor, Bank of England
“Private-Sector Involvement’ (PSI) and Sovereign Debt Crisis”
Presider: David H. Komansky
April 22, 2002
C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics

John Browne
Group Chief Executive, BP p.l.c.

William J. McDonough
President and Chief Executive Officer, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
“Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy”
Presider: Daniel H. Yergin
April 2, 2002

Speaker Eddie George, Governor, Bank of England, and Presider David H. Komansky at the April 22, 2002, C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics, “‘Private-Sector Involvement’ (PSI) and Sovereign Debt Crisis.”
Corporate Membership

Corporate Benefactors
ABC, Inc.
AEA Investors Inc.
American Express Company
American International Group, Inc.
AOL Time Warner Inc.
Aramco Services Company
Archer Daniels Midland Company
A.T. Kearney, Inc.
AT&T
Banco Mercantil C.A., S.A.C.A.
Banco Santander Central Hispano
Barclays Capital
Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Inc.
BP p.l.c.
Bristol-Myers Squibb Company
Caxton Corporation
ChevronTexaco Corporation
Citigroup
Corning Incorporated
Deutsche Bank AG
Eni S.p.A.
Exxon Mobil Corporation
Federal Express Corporation
Fischer Francis Trees & Watts
Guardsmark, Inc.
J.P. Morgan Chase & Co.
Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
Lockheed Martin Corporation
Loral Space & Communications
McKinsey & Company, Inc.
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
Morgan Stanley
NiKe, Inc.
Pfizer, Inc.
PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP
Prudential Financial
Sandlwood Securities, Inc.
Shell Oil Company
Sony Corporation of America
Standard Chartered Bank
TIAA-CREF
Toyota Motor North America, Inc.
UBS PaineWebber, Inc.
UBS Warburg
Verizon Communications
Veronis, Suhler & Associates, Inc.
Vivendi Universal S.A.
Weber Shandwick Worldwide
White & Case
Wyoming Investment Corporation
Xerox Corporation

Corporate Members
Access Industries Inc.
ALCOA, Inc.
Alleghany Corporation
Allen & Company Incorporated
Allen & Overy
Alliance Capital Management
Amerada Hess Corporation
American Re Corporation
AMR Corporation
Apax Partners, Inc.
Apple Core Hotels
ARAMARK Corporation
Archipelago Holdings LLC
Arnhold and S. Bleichroeder, Inc.
Arnold & Porter
Arrow Electronics, Inc.
Arthur Andersen
Avaya Inc.
BAE Systems
Baker Capital Corp.
Baker & Hostetler LLP
The Baldwin-Gottschalk Group
Banca di Roma
Banca d’Italia
Bank Audi (USA)
Bank of America
The Bank of New York
Barst & Mukamal
BDO Siedman, LLP
The Blackstone Group
Bloomberg Financial Markets
BNP Paribas
The Boeing Company
Boston Properties
Bramwell Capital Management, Inc.
Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.
CDC IXIS North America, Inc.
Centurion Investment Group, LP
The Charles Schwab Corporation
CIBC World Markets Corp.
Cisneros Group of Companies
Claremont Capital Corporation
Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton
The CNA Corporation
The Coca-Cola Company
The Consulate General of Japan
Covington & Burling
Craig Drill Capital
Credit Lyonnais Securities (USA) Inc.
Credit Suisse First Boston Corporation
Davis Polk & Wardwell
Debevoise & Plimpton
Deere & Company
Deloitte & Touche LLP
Deutsche Asset Management
Directorship
The Walt Disney Company
The William H. Donner Foundation, Inc.
Dresdner Bank AG
Ehrenkranz & Ehrenkranz LLP
Equinox Management Partners, LP
Ernst & Young LLP
Estee Lauder Companies
Fairfax Inc.
Fiat USA, Inc.
FleetBoston Financial
Foamex International Inc.
Ford Motor Company
French-American Chamber of Commerce
Furman Selz Capital Management LLC
Galt Industries
Gavin Anderson & Company
General Atlantic Partners, LLC
Corporate Program

General Electric Company
Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
GlaxoSmithKline
Goldman, Sachs & Co.
Grey Global Group Inc.
Hitachi Ltd.
IBM Corporation
Ingersoll-Rand Company
Institute of International Bankers
Intellispace
Intracom S.A.
Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JETRO New York
Johnson & Johnson
Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue
KPMG LLP
Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
Lehman Brothers
John A. Levin & Co., Inc.
Lucent Technologies Inc.
M&A Group
Mark Partners
Marsh & McLennan Companies, Inc.
Marubeni America Corporation
Marvin & Palmer Associates, Inc.
Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw
MBIA Insurance Corporation
Medley Global Advisors
Merck & Co., Inc.
Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.
Mine Safety Appliances Company
Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LLP
Multilateral Funding International
New York Life International, Inc.
Nomura Research Institute America
Occidental Petroleum Corporation
The Olayan Group
Oxford Analytica Inc.
PanAmSat Corporation
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
PepsiCo, Inc.
Peter Kimmelman Asset Management, LLC
Phillips-Van Heusen Corporation
POS CO America Corporation
Rothschild North America, Inc.
The Royal Bank of Scotland
The Royce Funds
RWS Energy Services, Inc.
Saber Partners
Salomon Smith Barney Inc.
Sara Lee Corporation
Schlumberger Limited
J. & W. Seligman & Co., Inc.
SG Cowen Securities Corporation
Shearman & Sterling
Sidley Austin Brown & Wood, LLP
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett
Soros Fund Management
Southern California Edison Company
Standard & Poor's
Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide, Inc.
State Street Bank and Trust Company
W.P. Stewart & Co., Inc.
Sullivan & Cromwell
Sumitomo Corporation of America
Tiedemann Investment Group
TRW, Inc.
Tudor Investment Corporation
Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen’s Association
United Technologies
Warburg Pincus LLC
Watson Wyatt & Company
Weil, Gotshal & Manges
Westar Energy, Inc.
Western Union Financial Services International
Young & Rubicam Inc.
Zephyr Management, LP
The Communications Department played a critical role in the aftermath of September 11 by helping journalists around the world make sense of the issues and implications of the war on terrorism. Following the attacks, the department immediately added a terrorism resource center to its newly launched website, which was nominated this year for a "Webby" award, the online industry’s highest accolade.

Council Fellows granted more than 1,000 television, radio, and print interviews and contributed dozens of op-eds to leading international newspapers and magazines. As a result, the Council was ranked fourth—up two spots from last year—out of hundreds of nonprofit organizations for media mentions post–September 11.

In a further effort to provide reliable information in troubled times, the Council produced a new website—www.terrorismanswers.com—the nation’s first online encyclopedia of terrorism. The site was featured by and linked to top news organizations such as CNN.com, Washingtonpost.com, AOL, Newsweek.com, Slate, and many others, and just five months after launch our audience was viewing more than half a million content pages per month.

Having tapped into a clear public need for reliable and accessible information, the Communications Department is expanding its web presence to appeal to a broader audience and make the Council truly the go-to source for foreign policy information and analysis.
One way the Council advances its mission—to promote constructive discussion, clarify world issues, and provide expert analysis—is by publishing books, independent task force reports, and other publications produced by the Studies Program and its Fellows. This year the Council’s contributions included Arthur Helton’s *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century* (Oxford University Press), Walter Russell Mead’s *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Knopf), and the *Foreign Affairs* editors’ acclaimed response to September 11, *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War* (PublicAffairs).

Independent task force reports on North Korea, energy, and trade policy offered the administration viable solutions to real-world problems, and each reflected a meaningful consensus on key policy issues through private and nonpartisan deliberations. Council papers on genetically modified foods and the framework for establishing trade in the Middle East anticipated important policy debates.

The Council also contributed to the understanding of terrorism with *Correspondence: An International Review of Culture and Society*. This semiannual publication featured articles on what the U.S. media missed in covering the world’s response to September 11 and the war on terrorism, with some startling perspectives from France, Poland, Italy, Haiti, and elsewhere. The full text of current and past issues is available, along with all Council publications, on the Council’s website (www.cfr.org).

**Books by Council on Foreign Relations Fellows**
• The Key to My Neighbor’s House: Seeking Justice in Bosnia and Rwanda, by Elizabeth Neuffer. Picador USA (2001).

Independent Task Force Reports

• Beginning the Journey: China, the United States, and the WTO. Robert D. Hormats, chair; Elizabeth C. Economy and Kevin G. Nealer, project directors (2001).
• Testing North Korea: The Next Stage in U.S. and ROK Policy. Morton I. Abramowitz and James T. Laney, co-chairs; Robert A. Manning, project director (2001).

Council Papers

• Harnessing Trade for Development and Growth in the Middle East, by Bernard Hoekman and Patrick Messerlin (2002).

Council Policy Initiative

• Reshaping America’s Defenses: Four Alternatives. Lawrence J. Korb, project director (e-book, 2002).

All Council on Foreign Relations books, CPIs, and independent task force reports are marketed and distributed by the Brookings Institution Press. To order, please call 1-800-275-1447. These and other Council publications are also available on the Council’s website at www.cfr.org.
In the wake of September 11, the Council appealed to members, foundations, and corporations to support its efforts to produce problem-solving ideas and information to help our country and the world in a timely, relevant, and useful way. The response was both prompt and significant—generous gifts and grants enabled the Council to move quickly to expand its key programs and launch new initiatives. New and ongoing support provided financial backing for our other work as well, which has resulted in policy-oriented studies, meetings, and publications on a variety of topics that matter greatly over the long run. The Council is deeply grateful to all donors and volunteers whose support made this possible.

The Annual Fund

Each year members contribute to annual giving—the Independence Fund—over and above membership dues. The unrestricted dollars from annual giving provide a critical piece of the Council’s overall funding, helping to support key programming and annual operating expenses. This year 1,626 members (approximately 41 percent of the membership) gave $3,184,880, the highest Annual Fund revenues ever recorded. Sixty-one members increased their gifts through corporate or foundation matching gift programs. The Harold Pratt Associates (HPAs), who give $10,000 or more each year, grew to 156 members, of whom 34 gave at the $25,000+ Chairman’s Circle level. Efforts to increase the number of HPAs were aided by volunteers from the Council’s Corporate Affairs and Development Committee. The Washington Program Committee led an effort to increase annual giving by Washington members. Term member giving rose to 41 percent of term members participating. Juju Chang and Daniel Prieto cosigned an appeal letter to their colleagues, and a large team of volunteers made follow-up calls. Donors to the Annual Fund are listed on pages 73–79.

Term Grants, Endowment, Restricted, and Special Gifts

America's Response to Terrorism
Supporters of September 11-related programs at the Council on Foreign Relations, including an Independent Task Force on Terrorism and an online encyclopedia of terrorism, the Terrorism Q&A website:

Anonymous (2)
Ford Foundation
Guardsmark, Inc.
Home Box Office
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Markle Foundation
PaineWebber Foundation
State of Qatar
William Rosenwald Family Fund
Arthur Ross Foundation
Malcolm Hewitt Wiener Foundation
Michel Zaleski

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies
The center, established with major endowment gifts from David Rockefeller and the Starr Foundation, seeks to bridge the gap between economics and foreign policy, national security, and other subjects (science and technology, environment, refugees, etc.). Its mission is twofold: to conduct policy-related research and to help train the next generation of foreign policy experts. This year, a number of ongoing grants supported the work of individual fellows at the center:

BP International Ltd.
The Patrick A. Gerschel Foundation
Henry & Elaine Kaufman Foundation
Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation

Center for Democracy and Free Markets
The center studies the economic, political, and social issues related to promoting democracy and development in countries that have chosen the democratic path.

The Howard Gilman Foundation
The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
Open Society Institute
Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Center for Preventive Action (CPA)
The CPA seeks concrete, hardheaded incentives to head off civil or ethnic crises before they explode into violence. It benefited from grants by

Joachim Gfoeller Jr.
The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation

International Security Programs
Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Next Generation Fellows Program
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
John M. Olin Foundation

Congressional Roundtable Program
American Express Foundation
The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
The Pew Charitable Trusts
The Starr Foundation

Studies Projects
Kathleen B. Allaire
Stanley S. Arkin
Henry H. Arnhold
Carnegie Corporation of New York
Ronnie C. Chan
Robert J. Chaves
Kimball C. Chen
Martha L. Dinerstein
Janice Reals Ellig
Embassy of the United States of America to Belgium
Ann F. Fippinger
Ford Foundation
The Freedom Forum
Victor K. Fung
German Marshall Fund of the United States
Jean Minskoff Grant
John H. Gutfreund
Paula K. Hawkins
Swanee Hunt
International Securities Market Association
Japan Atomic Industrial Forum
Joselow Foundation
Ronald S. Lauder
Lockheed Martin Corporation
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Jean M. Martin
Development

Jane E. McCarthy
Mission of the United States of America to NATO
Open Society Institute
Marnie S. Pillsbury
Ramac Corporation
Robert Rosenkranz
Susan Rotensteinreich
Rothschild Inc.
Denise Saul
James J. Shinn
Smith Richardson Foundation
Maurice Tempelsman
Tinker Foundation
C.C. Tung
United States Institute of Peace
Susan Waterfall
Woodcock P. Foundation

U.S.-Middle East Project
Fouad M.T. Alghanim
BP p.l.c.
Lester Crown and the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial
ENI S.p.A.
Gulfstream Aerospace Corp.
Hamza Al-Kholi
Nemir A. Kirdar
Robert K. Lifton
Yosef A. Maiman
Fouad Makhzoumi and the Future Millennium
Foundation
Pepsi-Cola International
Louis Perlmutter
Robert L. Rosen
Hasib J. Sabbagh
Mohammed Jassem Al-Sager
Vivendi Universal S.A.

Task Forces
Rohit M. Desai
BGM Kumar Foundation
Ford Foundation
Arthur Ross Foundation

Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program
Anna-Maria & Stephen Kellen Foundation

New York and Washington Meetings Programs
American Institute for Foreign Study Foundation
Manchester Trade Ltd.

Morgan Stanley & Co.
Kenneth A. Moskow
Oppenheimer Funds Inc.
Pfizer International Inc.
David B. Rivkin Jr.
George R. Salem
Theodore C. Sorensen
John Train
U.S.-Saudi Arabian Business Council

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Chair in National Security Studies
The Council established a new endowed chair in national security studies named in honor of Jeane J. Kirkpatrick and generously funded by:
Dwayne and Inez Andreas
William A.M. Burden Charitable Lead Trust
Estate of Caryl P. Haskins
Estate of John B. Hurford
Estate of Henrietta E.S. Lockwood on behalf of John E. Lockwood
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett

Arthur Ross Book Award
A new annual book prize has been established at the Council endowed by the Arthur Ross Foundation to recognize a non-fiction work that has made an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations.

Other Endowed Programs and Chairs
Herschelle S. Challenor
John F. Crawford
Lawrence C. McQuade
David Rockefeller
The Starr Foundation

Other Special Gifts
Helena Franklin
The Freedom Forum
Sasakawa Peace Foundation
Dorothy Meadow Sobol
Suntory Foundation

Gifts-in-Kind
The Council is grateful to Louis V. Gerstner Jr. and IBM Corporation for a new IBM Netfinity server and consulting services, Richard N. Foster and McKinsey and Company for consulting services, and Robert C. Waggoner for Burrelle’s Clipping Service.
# Annual Giving Donors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chairman's Circle</th>
<th>Harold Pratt Associates</th>
<th>Patrons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>($25,000+)</td>
<td>($10,000–$24,999)</td>
<td>($5,000–$9,999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Anonymous (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert John Abernethy</td>
<td>Odeh F. Aburdene</td>
<td>Wilder K. Abbott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul A. Allaire</td>
<td>Allen R. Adler</td>
<td>Woodrow Ahn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry Lynn Andreas</td>
<td>David Altschuler</td>
<td>M. Bernard Aidinoff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley S. Arledge</td>
<td>Henry H. Arnhold</td>
<td>Harold Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick M. Byrne</td>
<td>Elizabeth Frawley</td>
<td>John E. Bryson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Cornell</td>
<td>Bagley</td>
<td>Frank C. Carlucci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robin Chandler Duke</td>
<td>Laurence M. Band</td>
<td>Jonathan A. Chanis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeffrey Epstein</td>
<td>Alan R. Batkin</td>
<td>Jonathan L. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bart Friedman</td>
<td>Robert A. Belfer</td>
<td>Theodore Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joachim Gfoeller Jr.</td>
<td>Austin M. Beutner</td>
<td>Kenneth M. Duberstein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice R. Greenberg</td>
<td>Jeffrey Bewkes</td>
<td>Robert F. Erburo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Marc Haas</td>
<td>Kenneth J. Bialkin</td>
<td>Alexander T. Ercklentz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>John H. Biggs</td>
<td>Paul J. Fribourg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray R. Irani</td>
<td>John P. Birkeland</td>
<td>Fredrica S. Friedman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charitable Trust</td>
<td>Denis A. Bovin</td>
<td>Peter A. Georgescu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry R. Kravis</td>
<td>Christopher W. Brody</td>
<td>Guido Goldman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard A. Lauder</td>
<td>James E. Burke</td>
<td>Bill Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerald M. Levin</td>
<td>Robert Carswell</td>
<td>Theresa A. Havell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond Donald</td>
<td>Frank J. Caufield</td>
<td>Melvin L. Heineman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasher</td>
<td>Robert J. Chaves</td>
<td>Robert D. Hormats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter G. Peterson</td>
<td>Patricia M. Cloherty</td>
<td>Nancy A. Jarvis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lionel I. Pincus</td>
<td>Lester Crown</td>
<td>David A. Laventhal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lester Pollack</td>
<td>W. Bowman Cutter</td>
<td>Reynold Levy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Rockefeller</td>
<td>Jack David</td>
<td>John P. Lipsky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felix G. Rohatyn</td>
<td>Kim Gordon Davis</td>
<td>Bette Bao Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. John Rockefeller</td>
<td>Lynn Forester de Rothschild</td>
<td>Winston Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felia.</td>
<td>The Dillon Fund</td>
<td>John W. Madigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Starr Foundation</td>
<td>James Dimon</td>
<td>Jan Nicholson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth I. Starr</td>
<td>James H. Donaldson</td>
<td>Ronald L. Olson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurence Alan Tisch</td>
<td>Charles William</td>
<td>Albert V. Ravenholt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm Hewitt</td>
<td>Duncan Jr.</td>
<td>Nicholas Rockefeller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiener Foundation</td>
<td>Richard N. Foster</td>
<td>Peter M. Sacerdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert G. Wilmers</td>
<td>Stephen C. Freidheim</td>
<td>Henry B. Schacht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stephen Friedman</td>
<td>Joan E. Spero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard S. Fuld Jr.</td>
<td>Carl Spielvogel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gail Furman</td>
<td>Anthony P. Terracciano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bruce S. Gelb</td>
<td>Lee B. Thomas Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard L. Gelb</td>
<td>Richard Allen Voell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Louis V. Gerstner Jr.</td>
<td>Frederick B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Albert H. Gordon</td>
<td>Whittemore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter M. Gottsegen</td>
<td>William J. Williams Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael D. Granoff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evan G. Greenberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jeffrey W. Greenberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martin J. Gross</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mimi L. Haas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter E. Haas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sidney Harman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James A. Harmon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James W. Harpel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John G. Heimann</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Tomilson Hill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carla A. Hills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank W. Hoch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard C. Holbrooke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ta-Lin Hsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert J. Hurst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yves-Andre Istel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morton L. Janklow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alan Kent Jones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virginia Ann Kamsky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gilbert E. Kaplan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farooq Kathwari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Kaufman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles Robert Kaye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stephen M. Kellen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James V. Kimsey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John A. Levin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sherman R. Lewis Jr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kenneth Lipper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brian C. Lippey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vincent A. Mai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donald B. Marron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carl B. Menges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Merow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ken Miller</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Open Society Institute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen Parker Feld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alan Joel Patricof</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas L. Pulling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steven L. Rattner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maureen White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stephen Robert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John J. Roberts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theodore Roosevelt IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daniel Rose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Rosenkranz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arthur Ross</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert E. Rubin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John T. Ryan III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Douglas E. Schoen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Peter Schulhof</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James J. Shinn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walter V. Shipley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alan M. Silberstein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter J. Solomon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maurice Sonnenberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paul Soros</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jerry I. Speyer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David F. Stein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walter P. Stern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deborah F. and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ned B. Stiles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Howard Stringer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stephen Claar Swid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stephen J. Treadway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enzo Viscusi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paul A. Volcker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert C. Waggner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John L. Weinberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stanley A. Weiss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John C. Whitehead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anita Volz Wien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James D. Wolfensohn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I. Peter Wolff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ward W. Woods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guy Patrick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wyser-Pratte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George H. Young III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William D. Zabel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michel Zaleski</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ezra K. Zilkha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James D. Zirin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mortimer B. Zuckereman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The contents of this list are not available for further processing. The list contains names of donors along with their donation amounts and categories. The format is designed to recognize contributions to a specific cause or organization in an annual report format. Each donor's name is followed by the donation amount in brackets: Anonymous ($25,000+), Harold Pratt Associates ($10,000–$24,999), and Patrons ($5,000–$9,999). The list is organized in a tabular format, with the Chairman's Circle on the left, Harold Pratt Associates in the middle, and Patrons on the right.
Donors

($500–$999)

Morton I. Abramowitz
Douglas J. Adams
Paul F. Anderson
Michael H. Armachs
Kenneth H. Bacon
Carol Baldwin Moody
Charles F. Barber
William G. Bardel
Louis Begley
Nicholas F. Beim
Joshua A. Berger
Marilyn Berger
C. Fred Bergsten
Bruce D. Berkowitz
Robert L. Bernstein
Susan Vail Berresford
Peter J. Beshar
George C. Biddle
Robert Jay Blendon
Jo Ivey Boufford
Kay Bouwlaire-Miller
John Brademas
Marcus W. Brauchli
Henry R. Breck
Andrew F. Brimmer
Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks
William J. Butler
F. Gregory Campbell
Sarah C. Carey
David C. Chang
Juju Chang
Paula H.J.
Cholmondeley
Jack G. Clarke
Donald K. Clifford Jr.
Charles E. Cobb Jr.
Lewis W. Coleman
Philip E. Comstock Jr.
Jill Conway
John F. Cooke
William H. Courtiney
Barbara Crossett
William J. Crowe
Daniel Lester Cruise
William H. Danforth
Robert P. DeVecchi
Diana Lady Dougan
Robert R. Douglass
Richard A. Drucker
James H. Duffy
Philip A. Dur
Albert I. Edelman
James Reed Ellis
Matheo Falco
Martin Fischer
Julie Ann Fisher
Shepard L. Forman
Charles C. Foster
Arminio Fraga Neto
William Emery
Franklin
Wayne Fredericks
Cyrus F. Freidheim
Peter H.B.
Frelinghuyisen
Thomas L. Friedman
Michael B.G. Froman
Alton Frye
Pamela B. Gann
Marlen Garcia
Richard N. Gardner
Philomene A. Gates
Jackson B. Gilbert
David Ginsburg
Charles N. Goldman
Victor Gothaum
Henry Franklin Graff
Robert D. Graff
Thomas Graham Jr.
Stephen A. Grant
Carl J. Green
Andrew S. Gundlach
Najeeb E. Halaby
John P. Hall
Kathryn Wlalt Hall
Ann O. Hamilton
Ellen Hancock
Scott M. Hand
Robert S. Hatfield
Richard Helms
Arthur C. Helton
Heather Richardson
Higgins
Robert F. Higgins
Warren M. Hoge
Dwight F. Holloway Jr.
Richard C. Hottelet
Gary C. Hufbauer
Alberto Ibarguen
Mel M. Immergut
Karl F. Inerforth
Bobby R. Inman
Maxine Isaacs
Steven L. Isenberg
Nancie S. Johnson
Robert P. Kadlec
Mark N. Kaplan
Andrew R. Kassoy
Daniel Roger Katz
Paul V. Kelley
Martha Neff Kessler
Robert M. Kimmitt
Melanie M. Kirkpatrick
Robert Huntington
Knight
Mahesh K. Kotecha
Nancy Jo Kuenstner
Geraldine S. Kunstadter
John D. Langlois
Paul A. Laudicina
Ned C. Lautenbach
Steven Lazarus
Roger S. Leeds
John F. Lehmam
Richard C. Leon
Marc Levinson
W. Walker Lewis
Jonathan S. Linen
David F. Linowes
Tamar Lipper
Monica C. Lozano
Bruce K. MacLaury
Michael Mandelbaum
J. Eugene Marans
Murray Marder
Andrew W. Marshall
Leo S. Martinuzzi Jr.
William B. Matteon
Michael M. May
Paul W. McCracken
Jennifer A. McFarlane
David T. McLaughlin
Walter Russell Mead
Sharon I. Meers
Eric D.K. Melby
Judy Hendren Mello
John R. Menke
John A. Millington
Sherwood G. Moe
Walter Thomas Molano
Ambler H. Moss Jr.
David C. Mulford
George B. Munroe
William F. Murdy
Richard W. Murphy
Allen E. Murray
Janice L. Murray
Jay H. Newman
Matthew Nimetz
William A. Nitze
Marcus Noland
William Clinton Olson
Norman J. Ornstein

75
M. Colette Devine
Joan Didion
William Diebold Jr.
Paula J. Dobriansky
Justin W. Doebele
David J. Doerge
Norman Dorsen
Amanda Jean Dory
Grant R. Doty
William Drayton
Richard Lee Drobnick
Pamela Druckerman
Althea L. Duersten
Kempton Dunn
Patrick J. Durkin
Donald B. Easum
Randolph P. Eddy III
Marian Wright Edelman
Robert H. Edwards
Karl Eikenberry
Hermann Frederick Elits
Stuart E. Eizenstat
Patricia Ellis
Ainslie T. Embree
Ainslie E. Dick Howard
Richard D. Holum
John L. Holden
Howard W. Johnson
Sarah Jackson
David S. Huntington
Ellen H. Hume
R. John Hughes
Duane L. Hughes
R. John Hughes
Lynn E. Haaland
Robert D. Halseth
Alexandra M. Haig Jr.
Roya Hakakian
Paul Hallingby Jr.
Ted Halstead
Hugh Gerard
Hamilton Jr.
Larry Hanauer
Stephen Handelman
Robert H. Herberger Jr.
Richard A. Herzfeld
Sylvia Ann Hewlett
Joseph C. Hill
Sonja Hillgren
Ruth Hinerfeld
Rachel Hines
Hoke
John L. Holdren
Henry Allen Holmes
Pat M. Holt
John D. Holrum
Gary N. Horlick
Alan W. Horton
Bradley C. Hosmer
Amory Houghton Jr.
A.E. Dick Howard
Christopher Bernard Howard
Lee W. Huebner
Duane L. Hughes
Lynn E. Haaland
R. John Hughes
Ellen H. Hume
David S. Huntington
J. C. Hurewitz
Sol Hurwitz
Robert S. Ingersoll
David Wallace Irwin
John Jay Iselin
Sarah Jackson
Francis J. James
Alpheus W. Jessup
Howard W. Johnson
Jeh Charles Johnson
Karen H. Johnson
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, 2002, were Paul A. Allaire, Roone Arledge, John E. Bryson, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Frank Savage, and Laura D’Andrea Tyson.

The Nominating Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (Chair), Richard C. Holbrooke (Vice Chair), Henry S. Bienen, Daniel W. Christman, Robert E. Denham, William H. Donaldson, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Robert Legvold, Winston Lord, Susan E. Rice, James B. Sitrick, Gordon C. Stewart, Anne Wexler, Andrew Young, and Nancy Young. On January 11, 2002, Carla A. 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: Fouad Ajami, Gail D. Fosler, Ellen V. Futter, Thomas R. Pickering, Frank Savage, and Laura D’Andrea Tyson. On March 22, 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 16.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 16, 2002, 1,661 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. No name was written on ten or more ballots cast at the meeting and, therefore, no one was nominated for the 2003 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning September 1, 2002, and expiring August 31, 2007: Fouad Ajami, Thomas R. Pickering, and Laura D’Andrea Tyson. Edward F. Cox, Matthew Nimetz, and Barbara Paul Robinson served as election overseers.

Under current procedures, the Board completed the Class of 2007 by appointing three Directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee, at its June 6 meeting the Board appointed the following three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning September 1, 2002, and ending August 31, 2007: Kenneth M. Duberstein, Ronald L. Olson, and Peter G. Peterson. The Board appointed Leslie H. Gelb as Director, ex officio. Additionally, the Board appointed Roone Arledge to the Class of 2006, filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Maurice R. Greenberg, in accordance with By-Law IV.C. In recognition of his extraordinary leadership and service, the Board appointed Maurice R. Greenberg as Honorary Vice Chairman.

Lilita V. Gusts  
Secretary

---

1 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 to continue as Chairman and Director, on a year-to-year basis.
Committees of the Board, 2001–2002

Executive
Peter G. Peterson, Chair
Maurice R. Greenberg, Vice Chair
Carla A. Hills, Vice Chair
Paul A. Allaire
Lee Cullum
Martin S. Feldstein
William J. McDonough
Michael H. Moskow
Warren B. Rudman
Laura D’Andrea Tyson
Garrick Utley

Corporate Affairs and Development
Paul A. Allaire, Chair
Vincent A. Mai, Vice Chair
Allen R. Adler
David Alsbuler
Roone Arledge
Richard I. Beattie
Marshall Nichols Carter
Joyce Chang †
Saj Cherian †
William H. Donaldson
Richard N. Foster
Bart Friedman
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.
Joseph M. Ha

Finance and Budget
William J. McDonough, Chair
Jessica P. Einhorn, Vice Chair †
Roger C. Altman ‡
Peggy Dulany
Gail D. Fosler
Joachim Goeller Jr.
Richard K. Goetz
Michael D. Granoff
J. Tomilson Hill ‡
Henry Kaufman ‡

Executive
Morton L. Janklow
James R. Jones
Virginia Ann Kamsky
Sherman R. Lewis Jr.
J. Eugene Marans
Ken Miller
Thomas R. Pickering
Lionel I. Pincus
E. John Rosenwald Jr.
Nina Rosenwald
Frank Savage
Maurice Sonnenberg
Jerry I. Speyer
Alan J. Stoga
Edward H. Vick
Frank G. Wisner II
I. Peter Wolff
William D. Zabel
Mortimer B. Zuckerman

Correspondence
Martin S. Feldstein, Chair
Fouad Ajami
Daniel Bell
Frances FitzGerald
Wolf Lepenies
Esther R. Newberg
Ron Silver
Robert B. Silvers
Carl Spielvogel
Ronald Steel
Fritz Stern
Stephen Claar Swid
Garrick Utley
Masakazu Yamazaki

Meetings
Garrick Utley, Chair
Roone Arledge
Carole Artigiani
Barbara Crossette
Thomas E. Donilon
Peggy Dulany
Sergio J. Galvis
James F. Hoge Jr. *
Robert D. Hormats
Morton L. Janklow
Melanie M. Kirkpatrick
Bette Bao Lord
Marcus Mabry †
L. Camille Massey
Raffiq A. Nathoo

Membership
Lee Cullum, Chair
Joan E. Spero, Vice Chair
Peter Dexter Bell
Stephanie K. Bell-Rose
Judith H. Bello
Jessica P. Einhorn
Sergio J. Galvis
Rodolfo O. de la Garza
James M. Goldgeier
Merit E. Janow
Richard Mallery
Michael H. Moskow
Stephen A. Orlins
William K. Reilly
Thomas Schick
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Garrick Utley
Vin Weber

Term Membership
Anne-Marie Slaughter, Chair
Deborah K. Burand
Robert J. Chaves

*Ex officio.
†Designated term member.
‡Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee.
Committees of the Board, 2001–2002

Shelby Coffey III
Stephen E. Flynn
Todd C. Hart
Kenneth A. Moskow
April A. Oliver
Elliot Stein
R. Keith Walton
George H. Young III
Kimberly Marten Zisk

National Programs
Michael H. Moskow, Chair
Andy S. Bodea
John E. Bryson
Hodding Carter III
Stephen A. Cheney
John F. Cooke
Lee Cullum
Kenneth A. Cutshaw
Edward P. Djerejian
April Kanne
Donnellan †
Richard W. Fisher
Mimi L. Haas
Mont P. Hoyt
Lyric M. Hughes
Wyatt Thomas Johnson
Peter Bicknell Kellner †
Pete Kezirian †
Bette Bao Lord
Judith B. Milestone
Ambler H. Moss Jr.
William A. Owens
Judith K. Paulus
Henry H. Perritt Jr.
John C. Reppert
Mark R. Steinberg
David K.Y. Tang
Peter Tarnoff
Charles R. Trimble
Roderick K. von Lipsey
Andrew Young

Nominating
Carla A. Hills, Chair
Richard C. Holbrooke, Vice Chair
Henry S. Bienen
Daniel W. Christman
Robert E. Denham
William H. Donaldson
Kenneth M. Duberstein
Robert Legvold
Winston Lord
Susan E. Rice
James B. Sitrick
Gordon C. Stewart
Anne Wexler
Andrew Young
Nancy Young

Studies
Laura D’Andrea Tyson, Chair
Martin S. Feldstein, Vice Chair
Richard V. Allen
Jesse H. Ausubel
Laurence Merrill Band
Hans Binnendijk
Avis T. Bohlen
W. Bowman Cutter
David B.H. Denoon
Padma Desai
John Deutch
Kenneth M. Duberstein
Michael B.G. Froman
Francis Fukuyama
John Lewis Gaddis
Melvin L. Heineman
James F. Hoge Jr. *
Lawrence J. Korb *
John P. Lipsky
Abraham F. Lowenthal *
Haleh Nazeri †
Steven L. Rattner
Robert E. Rubin
Scott D. Sagan
Gordon C. Stewart
Peter Tarnoff
Marc A. Thiessen †
Richard H. Ullman
Marta B. Varela
Ernest James Wilson III
Frank G. Wisner II
Daniel H. Yergin

Washington Programs
Warren B. Rudman, Chair
Thomas E. Donilon, Vice Chair
Pauline H. Baker
John Lewis Gaddis
Melvin L. Heineman
James F. Hoge Jr. *
Lawrence J. Korb *
John P. Lipsky
Abraham F. Lowenthal *
Haleh Nazeri †
Steven L. Rattner
Robert E. Rubin
Scott D. Sagan
Gordon C. Stewart
Peter Tarnoff
Marc A. Thiessen †
Richard H. Ullman
Marta B. Varela
Ernest James Wilson III
Frank G. Wisner II
Daniel H. Yergin

Mark F. Brzezinski †
Elizabeth L. Cheney †
Edwin A. Deagle Jr.
Thomas R. Donahue
Kenneth M. Duberstein
Marsha A. Echols
Jessica P. Einhorn
Douglas J. Feith
Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado
Charles Gati
Carl Samuel Gershman
Michael H. Haltzel
Robert W. Helm
Carla A. Hills
Kim R. Holmes
James V. Kimsey
Mark P. Lagon
Dave K. McCurdy
Alberto J. Mora
Mark Palmer
Peter R. Rosenblatt
Tara Diane Sonenshine
Terence A. Todman
Michael H. Van Dusen
W. Bruce Weinroth
R. James Woolsey
The International Advisory Board (IAB), established by the Board of Directors in 1995 under the chairmanship of David Rockefeller, Honorary Chairman of the Council, meets annually in conjunction with the October Board meeting to offer perspectives on a broad range of matters of concern to the Council. IAB members are invited to comment on institutional programs and strategic directions, and on practical opportunities for collaboration between the Council and institutions abroad. They also provide invaluable international insights into U.S. foreign policy 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.

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

**Mariclaire Acosta** (Mexico), Special Ambassador for Human Rights and Democracy, Mexico

**Giovanni Agnelli** (Italy), Chairman, Instituto Finanziario Industriale; Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.

**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.

**Conrad M. Black** (United Kingdom), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Argus Corporation Ltd.; Chairman, Hollinger Inc. and The Telegraph p.l.c.

**John Browne** (United Kingdom), Group Chief Executive, BP p.l.c.

**Gro Harlem Brundtland** (Norway), Director General, World Health Organization (WHO); former Prime Minister of Norway

**Mark C. Chona** (Zambia), Chairman and CEO, Sumika Consultancy and Management Services Ltd.; former Political Adviser to the President of Zambia

**Gustavo A. Cisneros** (Venezuela), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Cisneros Group of Companies

**Alejandro Foxley** (Chile), Member, Senate of Chile; former Minister of Finance of Chile

**Toyoo Gyohten** (Japan), President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs; Senior Adviser, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.

**Sergei A. Karaganov** (Russia), Chairman of the Board, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Deputy Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences

**Kyung-Won Kim** (Republic of Korea), President, Institute of Social Sciences; former Ambassador of Korea to the United States

**Yotaro Kobayashi** (Japan), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.

**Rahmi M. Koç** (Turkey), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Koç Holdings A.S.

**Otto Graf Lambsdorff** (Germany), Member, Bundestag; former Federal Minister of Economics, Germany

**Luiz Felipe Lampreia** (Brazil), Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Centro Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais; former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brazil

**Juan March** (Spain), Chairman, Juan March Foundation

**Maria Rosa Martini** (Argentina), Co-founder and President, Social Sector Forum; Founder, CONCIENCIA Argentina

**Barbara McDougall** (Canada), President and Chief Executive Officer, The Canadian Institute of International Affairs; former Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada

**Adam Michnik** (Poland), Editor in Chief, Gazeta Wyborcza

**Moeen A. Qureshi** (Pakistan), Chairman, Emerging Markets Partnership; former Prime Minister of Pakistan

**Michel Rocard** (France), President, Commission of Development, European Parliament; former Prime Minister of France

**Prannoy Roy** (India), President, New Delhi Television, Ltd.

**Khehla Shubane** (South Africa), Research Officer and Director, Centre for Policy Studies; Director, Simeka Financial Services

**Washington SyCip** (Philippines), Chairman and Founder, The SGV Group

**Horst Teltschik** (Germany), Chairman, Herbert Quandt Foundation (BMW); former National Security Adviser of Germany

**Jusuf Wanandi** (Indonesia), Member of the Board of Directors, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta)

**Shirley V.T. Brittain Williams** (United Kingdom), Member, House of Lords; Public Service Professor of Electoral Politics, Harvard University

**Muhammad Yunus** (Bangladesh), Founder, Managing Director, and Chief Executive Officer, Grameen Bank

**Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León** (Mexico), former President of Mexico
Council By-Laws

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 those elected to such membership are between the ages of 28 and 34 years of age on January 1 of the year in which their 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.

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>Category</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Nonbusiness</th>
</tr>
</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 accredited educational institution, who are in the public service, who are on the staff of a voluntary organization, or who are accredited writers, commentators, journalists, or other media correspondents. All other members, except honorary members, are business members.
All dues shall be paid 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 appointed 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 Executive Committee, a Committee on Finance and Budget, a Committee on Corporate Affairs and Development, a Committee on Meetings, a Committee on Washington Programs, a Committee on National Programs, a Com-
committee on Membership, a Nominating Committee, a Committee on Foreign Affairs, and a Committee on Studies. Elections of Board members to Committees shall be held at Annual Meetings of the Board, except that, on the nomination of the Chairman of the Board, a Director may be elected at any meeting of the Board to fill a Committee vacancy.

The Executive Committee shall be composed of the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Board, the Chairmen of the standing committees of the Board, and such other members of the Board as the Executive Committee Chairman deems appropriate. During intervals between meetings of the Board, the Committee may exercise the powers of the Board to the extent permitted by law.

The Committee on Finance and Budget shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than eight additional members. The Committee shall have general supervision of the investment of the funds of the Council and of its financial affairs, and shall present the budget at the Spring meeting of the Board.

The Committee on Corporate Affairs and Development shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 20 additional members. The Committee shall help to plan, implement, and oversee the Corporate Program and the Council’s financial development programs.

The Committee on Meetings shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have responsibility for overseeing the Council’s program of general meetings and institutional outreach activities involving electronic and other broadcast media.

The Committee on Washington Programs shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have responsibility for overseeing programs, activities, services, and other initiatives to enhance participation in the Council by members in Washington, D.C.

The Committee on National Programs shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have the responsibility for overseeing programs, activities, services, and other initiatives to enhance participation in the Council by members in regions other than New York City and Washington, D.C.

The Committee on Membership shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall co-opt two members who shall not be members of the Board and who shall be under the age of 40 when co-opted, and shall have power to co-opt no fewer than eight additional members of any age who are not members of the Board. All names proposed for membership in the Council shall be referred to the Committee for its consideration, and the Committee shall submit to the Board its nominations for election to membership.

The Nominating Committee shall be composed of five members of the Board. The Committee shall present names for Directors, Officers, and Committee members. For the purpose of nominating candidates to stand for election to the Board, the Committee shall co-opt ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall be selected by the Chairman of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President shall be an ex officio member of the Nominating Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year’s Board election, the Nominating Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background. In nominating candidates for each year’s Board election, the Committee is also charged (i) to solicit the entire 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 oversight and management of the magazine shall be referred to the Committee.
The Committee on Studies shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least ten of whom are not members of the Board. All suggestions relating to matters of research shall be referred to it, and it shall be responsible for the initiation of research projects. The Committee on Studies shall submit regular reports of its activities to the Board.

Except as otherwise provided above, a co-opted Committee member shall serve for such term as the Committee co-opting him or her shall determine, and during such term shall have the same rights and obligations as other Committee members. One-third of the Directors and co-opted members, duly elected or appointed, shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of any Committee. Participation by conference telephone, or similar communication equipment allowing all persons participating in the meeting to hear one another at the same time, shall constitute presence in person at a meeting.

VII. The Officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, 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 or 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 fewer 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.
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 thereof 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah Bowman</td>
<td>1921–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archibald Cary Coolidge</td>
<td>1921–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul D. Cravath</td>
<td>1921–40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John W. Davis</td>
<td>1921–55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman H. Davis</td>
<td>1921–44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen P. Duggan</td>
<td>1921–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Finley</td>
<td>1921–29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin F. Gay</td>
<td>1921–45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David F. Houston</td>
<td>1921–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto H. Kahn</td>
<td>1921–34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank L. Polk</td>
<td>1921–43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney H. Shepardson</td>
<td>1921–66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William R. Shepherd</td>
<td>1921–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul M. Warburg</td>
<td>1921–32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Wickersham</td>
<td>1921–36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen W. Dulles</td>
<td>1927–69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell C. Leffingwell</td>
<td>1927–60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George O. May</td>
<td>1927–53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesley C. Mitchell</td>
<td>1927–34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen D. Young</td>
<td>1927–40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton Fish Armstrong</td>
<td>1928–72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles P. Howland</td>
<td>1929–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Lippmann</td>
<td>1932–37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarence M. Woolley</td>
<td>1932–35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Altschul</td>
<td>1934–72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip C. Jessup</td>
<td>1934–42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold W. Dodds</td>
<td>1935–43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leon Fraser</td>
<td>1936–45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Williams</td>
<td>1937–64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis W. Douglas</td>
<td>1940–64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Warner</td>
<td>1940–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarence E. Hunter</td>
<td>1942–53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myron C. Taylor</td>
<td>1943–59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry M. Wriston</td>
<td>1943–67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas K. Finletter</td>
<td>1944–67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William A.M. Burden</td>
<td>1945–74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter H. Mallory</td>
<td>1945–68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip D. Reed</td>
<td>1945–69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winfield W. Riefler</td>
<td>1945–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Rockefeller</td>
<td>1949–85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Averell Harriman</td>
<td>1950–55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph E. Johnson</td>
<td>1950–74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson Kirk</td>
<td>1950–73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devereux C. Josephs</td>
<td>1951–58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott V. Bell</td>
<td>1953–66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John J. McCloy</td>
<td>1953–72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur H. Dean</td>
<td>1955–72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles M. Spofford</td>
<td>1955–72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adlai E. Stevenson</td>
<td>1958–62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William C. Foster</td>
<td>1959–72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caryl P. Haskins</td>
<td>1961–75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James A. Perkins</td>
<td>1963–79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William P. Bundy</td>
<td>1964–74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel Hauge</td>
<td>1964–81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll L. Wilson</td>
<td>1964–79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Dillon</td>
<td>1965–78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry R. Labouisse</td>
<td>1965–74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert V. Roosa</td>
<td>1966–81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucian W. Pye</td>
<td>1966–82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred C. Neal</td>
<td>1967–76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Miers</td>
<td>1967–74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus R. Vance</td>
<td>1968–76,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedley Donovan</td>
<td>1969–79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Najeeb E. Halaby</td>
<td>1970–72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayless Manning</td>
<td>1971–77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Michael Blumenthal</td>
<td>1972–77,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zbigniew Brzezinski</td>
<td>1972–77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Drew</td>
<td>1972–77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George S. Franklin</td>
<td>1972–83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall D. Shulman</td>
<td>1972–77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Redfield Wallace</td>
<td>1972–82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul C. Warnke</td>
<td>1972–77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter G. Peterson</td>
<td>1973–83,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward K. Hamilton</td>
<td>1974–83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry C. McPherson Jr.</td>
<td>1974–77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliot L. Richardson</td>
<td>1974–75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin Hall Williams</td>
<td>1975–83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas deB. Katzenbach</td>
<td>1975–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul A. Volcker</td>
<td>1975–79,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodore M. Hesburgh</td>
<td>1976–85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lane Kirkland</td>
<td>1976–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George H.W. Bush</td>
<td>1977–79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lloyd N. Cutler</td>
<td>1977–79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip L. Geyelin</td>
<td>1977–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry A. Kissinger</td>
<td>1977–81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winston Lord</td>
<td>1977–85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Stamas</td>
<td>1977–89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marina v.N. Whitman</td>
<td>1977–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Peter McColough</td>
<td>1978–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard L. Gelb</td>
<td>1979–88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graham T. Allison Jr.</td>
<td>1979–88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William D. Ruckelshaus</td>
<td>1979–83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James F. Hoge Jr.</td>
<td>1980–84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George P. Shultz</td>
<td>1980–82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William D. Rogers</td>
<td>1980–90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter B. Wriston</td>
<td>1981–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis T. Preston</td>
<td>1981–88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren Christopher</td>
<td>1982–91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan Greenspan</td>
<td>1982–88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert A. Scalapino</td>
<td>1982–89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Brown</td>
<td>1983–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley Hoffmann</td>
<td>1983–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanita M. Kreps</td>
<td>1983–89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brent Scowcroft</td>
<td>1983–89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton R. Wharton Jr.</td>
<td>1983–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald F. McHenry</td>
<td>1984–93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.R. Inman</td>
<td>1985–93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick</td>
<td>1985–94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Tarnoff</td>
<td>1986–93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles McC. Mathias Jr.</td>
<td>1986–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruben F. Mettler</td>
<td>1986–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James E. Burke</td>
<td>1987–95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard B. Cheney</td>
<td>1987–89,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

Robert F. Erburu 1987–98
Karen Elliott House 1987–98
Glenn E. Watts 1987–90
Thomas S. Foley 1988–94
James D. Robinson III 1988–91
Strobe Talbott 1988–93
John L. Clendenin 1989–94
William S. Cohen 1989–97
Joshua Lederberg 1989–98
Thomas S. Foley 1988–94
James D. Robinson III 1988–91
Strobe Talbott 1988–93
John L. Clendenin 1989–94
William S. Cohen 1989–97
Joshua Lederberg 1989–98
John H. Hargrove Jr. 1990–93
Thomas A. Donahue 1990–2001
Robert D. Hormats 1991–
John E. Bryson 1992–2002
Karen N. Horn 1992–95
James R. Houghton 1992–96
Charlayne Hunter-Gault 1992–98
Donna A. Shafer 1992–93
Alton Frye 1993
Richard N. Cooper 1993–94
Rita E. Hauser 1993–97
E. Gerald Corrigan 1993–95
Paul A. Allaire 1993–2002
Robert E. Allen 1993–96
Theodore C. Sorensen 1993–
Garrick Utley 1993–
Carla A. Hills 1994–
Helene L. Kaplan 1994–96
Frank G. Zarb 1994–96
Les Aspin 1995
Mario L. Baeza 1995–2001
Peggy Dulany 1995–
Jessica P. Einhorn 1995–
William J. McDonough 1995–
Frank Savage 1995–2002
George Soros 1995–
Hannah Holborn Gray 1995–98
George J. Mitchell 1995–
Louis V. Gerstner Jr. 1995–
Lee Cullum 1996–
Vincent A. Mai 1997–
Warren B. Rudman 1997–
Laura D’Andrea Tyson 1997–
Roone Arledge 1998–
Diane Sawyer 1998–99
Martin S. Feldstein 1998–
Bette Bao Lord 1998–
Michael H. Moskow 1998–
John Deutch 1999–
Robert E. Rubin 2000–
Andrew Young 2000–
Kenneth M. Duberstein 2001–
Henry S. Bienen 2001–
Joan A. Spero 2001–
Vin Weber 2001–
Fouad Ajami 2002–
Ronald L. Olson 2002–
Thomas R. Pickering 2002–

Chairmen of the Board
Russell C. Leffingwell 1946–53
John J. McCloy 1953–70
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. Suhre 1993–98
Abraham F. Lowenthal 1995–
Janice L. Murray 1995–2002
David J. Vidal 1995–97
Ethan B. Kaplan 1995–96
Frederick C. Broda 1996–97
Kenneth Maxwell 1996
Gary C. Hufbauer 1997–98
David Kellogg 1997–2002
Paula J. Dobriansky 1997–2001
Anne R. Luzzatto 1998–
Lawrence J. Korb 1998–
Elise Carlson Lewis 1999–
Robert C. Orr 2002–
Irina A. Faskianos 2002–

Honorary President
Elihu Root 1921–37

Executive Vice Presidents
John Temple Swing 1986–93
Michael P. Peters 2002–

Senior Vice Presidents
Alton Frye 1993–98
Kenneth H. Keller 1993–95
Larry L. Fabian 1994–95
Paula Dobsin 2001
Charles G. Boyd 2001–2002
David Kellogg 2002–
Janice L. Murray 2002–

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. Suhre 1993–98
Abraham F. Lowenthal 1995–
Janice L. Murray 1995–2002
David J. Vidal 1995–97
Ethan B. Kaplan 1995–96
Frederick C. Broda 1996–97
Kenneth Maxwell 1996
Gary C. Hufbauer 1997–98
David Kellogg 1997–2002
Paula J. Dobriansky 1997–2001
Anne R. Luzzatto 1998–
Lawrence J. Korb 1998–
Elise Carlson Lewis 1999–
Robert C. Orr 2002–
Irina A. Faskianos 2002–
### Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

#### Executive Directors
- **Hamilton Fish Armstrong** 1922–28
- **Malcolm W. Davis** 1925–27
- **Walter H. Mallory** 1927–59
- **George S. Franklin** 1953–71

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

#### Treasurers
- **Edwin F. Gay** 1921–33
- **Whitney H. Shepardson** 1933–42
- **Clarence E. Hunter** 1944–51
- **Devereux C. Josephs** 1951–52
- **Elliott V. Bell** 1952–64
- **Gabriel Hauge** 1964–81
- **Peter G. Peterson** 1981–85

#### Editors of Foreign Affairs
- **Archibald Cary Coolidge** 1922–28
- **Hamilton Fish Armstrong** 1928–72
- **William P. Bundy** 1972–84
- **William G. Hyland** 1984–92
- **James F. Hoge Jr.** 1992–

#### 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

#### Editors of *Foreign Affairs*
- **Archibald Cary Coolidge** 1922–28
- **Hamilton Fish Armstrong** 1928–72
- **William P. Bundy** 1972–84
- **William G. Hyland** 1984–92
- **James F. Hoge Jr.** 1992–

#### Directors of Meetings
- **George S. Franklin** 1949–50
- **William Henderson** 1952–54,
- **Clarence E. Hunter** 1955–56
- **Melvin Conant** 1954–55,*
- **George V.H. Moseley III** 1956–57,*
- **Harry Boardman** 1957–59
- **Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.** 1969–78
- **Marilyn Berger** 1978–79
- **Margaret Osmer-McQuade** 1979–93
- **Karen M. Sughruie** 1993–98
- **Anne R. Luzzatto** 1998–

#### Treasurers
- **Edwin F. Gay** 1921–33
- **Whitney H. Shepardson** 1933–42
- **Clarence E. Hunter** 1944–51
- **Devereux C. Josephs** 1951–52
- **Elliott V. Bell** 1952–64
- **Gabriel Hauge** 1964–81
- **Peter G. Peterson** 1981–85

#### 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** 1944–51
- **Devereux C. Josephs** 1951–52
- **Elliott V. Bell** 1952–64
- **Gabriel Hauge** 1964–81
- **Peter G. Peterson** 1981–85

#### Editors of *Foreign Affairs*
- **Archibald Cary Coolidge** 1922–28
- **Hamilton Fish Armstrong** 1928–72
- **William P. Bundy** 1972–84
- **William G. Hyland** 1984–92
- **James F. Hoge Jr.** 1992–

#### 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

#### Editors of *Foreign Affairs*
- **Archibald Cary Coolidge** 1922–28
- **Hamilton Fish Armstrong** 1928–72
- **William P. Bundy** 1972–84
- **William G. Hyland** 1984–92
- **James F. Hoge Jr.** 1992–

#### Directors of Meetings
- **George S. Franklin** 1949–50
- **William Henderson** 1952–54,
- **Clarence E. Hunter** 1955–56
- **Melvin Conant** 1954–55,*
- **George V.H. Moseley III** 1956–57,*
- **Harry Boardman** 1957–59
- **Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.** 1969–78
- **Marilyn Berger** 1978–79
- **Margaret Osmer-McQuade** 1979–93
- **Karen M. Sughruie** 1993–98
- **Anne R. Luzzatto** 1998–

*Pro-tempore

---

### June 6, 2002, Meeting of the Board of Directors


In last year’s annual report, we noted that the Council was well-positioned to pursue its goals in the year to come, whatever the “financial weather” might be. That proved, thankfully, to be the case even in the face of the added turbulence following September 11. Indeed, just as the Council responded quickly to the war on terrorism, Council members, foundations, and other donors responded swiftly and generously to our appeals for funding to support the Council’s reoriented and added programming.

And the Council’s investment portfolio has also weathered the storms of the past year, standing at just over $142 million on June 30, 2002, thanks to the guidance of the Finance and Budget Committee, chaired by William J. McDonough, and the Investment Subcommittee, chaired by J. Tomilson Hill. We are more grateful than ever for their good leadership and care for the Council’s finances.

The net result of added funds, controlling expenditures, and diversified resources is that the Council maintained an operating surplus again this year. This will help us, in this “new and worse world” that Les Gelb describes, to have resources in hand to deal with the challenges that will surely come our way and, especially, to support the Council’s new outreach goal in the coming year.

Janice L. Murray
Senior Vice President and Treasurer

Statement of Financial Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents</td>
<td>$10,304,000</td>
<td>$13,055,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses</td>
<td>1,191,100</td>
<td>627,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)</td>
<td>5,258,700</td>
<td>5,044,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventories, at lower of cost or market</td>
<td>170,700</td>
<td>179,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)</td>
<td>1,346,600</td>
<td>556,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions receivable for endowment (Note 5)</td>
<td>1,116,000</td>
<td>4,102,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)</td>
<td>22,568,600</td>
<td>23,323,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments (Note 3)</td>
<td>81,270,500</td>
<td>83,881,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)</td>
<td>60,917,300</td>
<td>56,622,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total assets</strong></td>
<td>$184,143,500</td>
<td>$187,393,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Liabilities and net assets** |              |               |
| Liabilities:                 |              |               |
| Accounts payable and accrued expenses | $3,764,300 | $3,234,900   |
| Deferred subscription revenue | 2,309,200 | 2,434,000     |
| Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8) | 1,812,000 | 1,800,000   |
| **Total liabilities**        | 7,885,500 | 7,468,900    |

| Net assets (Notes 9 and 10): |              |               |
| Unrestricted                 | 75,143,800 | 77,370,300    |
| Temporarily restricted       | 39,080,900 | 41,828,600    |
| Permanently restricted       | 62,033,300 | 60,725,400    |
| **Total net assets**         | 176,258,000 | 179,924,300  |
| **Total liabilities and net assets** | $184,143,500 | $187,393,200  |

See accompanying notes.
Budget and Finance

Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 2002, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2002</th>
<th>Unrestricted</th>
<th>Temporarily Restricted</th>
<th>Permanently Restricted</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>2001 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership dues</td>
<td>$3,354,900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$3,354,900</td>
<td>$3,032,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual giving</td>
<td>3,184,900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,184,900</td>
<td>2,826,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate memberships and related income</td>
<td>3,117,300</td>
<td>95,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,212,300</td>
<td>2,722,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>88,800</td>
<td>185,400</td>
<td></td>
<td>274,200</td>
<td>111,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td></td>
<td>106,700</td>
<td></td>
<td>106,700</td>
<td>344,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions for Studies</td>
<td>6,499,200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6,499,200</td>
<td>6,705,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other grants and contributions</td>
<td>1,100,700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,100,700</td>
<td>898,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>5,008,700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,008,700</td>
<td>4,447,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book publication</td>
<td>43,600</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43,600</td>
<td>67,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment income allocation (Note 4)</td>
<td>3,600,000</td>
<td>2,717,700</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,317,700</td>
<td>5,924,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental income</td>
<td>977,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>977,500</td>
<td>920,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>796,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>796,000</td>
<td>872,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total operating revenue and support</td>
<td>20,171,700</td>
<td>10,704,700</td>
<td></td>
<td>30,876,400</td>
<td>28,874,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net assets released from restrictions (Note 9)</td>
<td>9,735,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9,735,500)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</td>
<td>29,907,200</td>
<td>969,200</td>
<td></td>
<td>30,876,400</td>
<td>28,874,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Operating expenses** | | | | | |
| **Program expenses:** | | | | | |
| Studies Program | 10,387,300 | | | 10,387,300 | 9,426,800 |
| Meetings Program | 3,124,500 | | | 3,124,500 | 3,300,500 |
| Foreign Affairs | 4,932,800 | | | 4,932,800 | 4,597,000 |
| Book publication | 596,000 | | | 596,000 | 542,000 |
| National Program | 627,700 | | | 627,700 | 584,400 |
| International Affairs Fellowships | 563,700 | | | 563,700 | 750,000 |
| Communications | 735,600 | | | 735,600 | 480,900 |
| Total program expenses | 20,967,600 | | | 20,967,600 | 19,681,600 |
| **Supporting services:** | | | | | |
| Management and general | 3,868,400 | | | 3,868,400 | 3,767,600 |
| Membership | 629,600 | | | 629,600 | 444,000 |
| Fund-raising: | | | | | |
| Development | 308,100 | | | 308,100 | 346,700 |
| Corporate Program | 661,700 | | | 661,700 | 624,500 |
| Total fund-raising | 969,800 | | | 969,800 | 971,200 |
| Total supporting services | 5,467,800 | | | 5,467,800 | 5,182,800 |
| **Total operating expenses** | 26,435,400 | | | 26,435,400 | 24,864,400 |

**Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses** | 3,471,800 | 969,200 | | 4,441,000 | 4,009,800 |
Statement of Activities (continued)
Year ended June 30, 2002, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses brought forward</td>
<td>$ 3,471,800</td>
<td>$ 969,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)</td>
<td>(5,698,300)</td>
<td>(3,716,900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment loss in excess of spending rate (Note 4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$ 1,307,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endowment contributions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total nonoperating revenue</td>
<td>(5,698,300)</td>
<td>(3,716,900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in net assets</td>
<td>(2,226,500)</td>
<td>(2,747,700)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net assets, beginning of the year</td>
<td>77,370,300</td>
<td>41,828,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net assets, end of the year</td>
<td>$75,143,800</td>
<td>$39,080,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See accompanying notes.

Statement of Cash Flows
Years ended June 30, 2002 and 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operating activities</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change in net assets</td>
<td>$ (3,666,300)</td>
<td>$11,712,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depreciation</td>
<td>1,573,400</td>
<td>1,490,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net realized and unrealized loss on investments</td>
<td>4,968,500</td>
<td>77,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions restricted for investment in endowment</td>
<td>(1,307,900)</td>
<td>(11,623,600)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in operating assets and liabilities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses</td>
<td>(563,700)</td>
<td>104,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable</td>
<td>(1,004,400)</td>
<td>(237,700)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventories</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts payable and accrued expenses</td>
<td>529,400</td>
<td>935,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deferred subscription revenue</td>
<td>(124,800)</td>
<td>107,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued postretirement benefits</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>(2,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash provided by operating activities</td>
<td>425,200</td>
<td>2,565,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
#### Statement of Cash Flows (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Investing activities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchases of building improvements and equipment</td>
<td>$ (818,500)</td>
<td>$ (1,108,500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchases of investments</td>
<td>(114,974,100)</td>
<td>(119,686,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds from sales of investments</td>
<td>108,321,900</td>
<td>110,640,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash used in investing activities</td>
<td>(7,470,700)</td>
<td>(10,154,500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financing activities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions restricted for investment in endowment</td>
<td>4,294,400</td>
<td>8,184,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash provided by financing activities</td>
<td>4,294,400</td>
<td>8,184,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net (decrease) increase in cash and cash equivalents</td>
<td>(2,751,100)</td>
<td>595,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year</td>
<td>13,055,100</td>
<td>12,460,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents, end of year</td>
<td>$ 10,304,000</td>
<td>$ 13,055,100</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>$ 1,116,000</td>
<td>$ 4,102,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See accompanying notes.*

#### Notes to Financial Statements

**June 30, 2002**

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.

2001 Summarized Financial Information
The accompanying 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, 2001, 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></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>June 30</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Carrying Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic equity securities</td>
<td>$52,112,800</td>
<td>$50,878,200</td>
<td>$47,654,000</td>
<td>$48,256,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International equity securities</td>
<td>11,464,900</td>
<td>15,143,400</td>
<td>19,292,700</td>
<td>18,866,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign and corporate bonds</td>
<td>13,712,000</td>
<td>13,882,300</td>
<td>13,023,800</td>
<td>12,971,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. government agency obligations</td>
<td>12,527,400</td>
<td>12,665,600</td>
<td>15,173,500</td>
<td>15,429,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedge funds</td>
<td>35,657,600</td>
<td>46,718,400</td>
<td>30,803,600</td>
<td>39,534,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money market funds</td>
<td>2,899,900</td>
<td>2,899,900</td>
<td>5,446,500</td>
<td>5,446,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$128,374,600</td>
<td>$142,187,800</td>
<td>$131,394,100</td>
<td>$140,504,100</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. Investment income has been reported as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of $828,600 and $856,100 in 2002 and 2001, respectively</th>
<th>Unrestricted</th>
<th>Temporarily Restricted</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$1,267,400</td>
<td>$603,600</td>
<td>$1,871,000</td>
<td>$2,080,600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3,365,700)</td>
<td>(1,602,800)</td>
<td>(4,968,500)</td>
<td>(77,500)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2,098,300)</td>
<td>(999,200)</td>
<td>(3,097,500)</td>
<td>2,003,100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3,600,000)</td>
<td>(2,717,700)</td>
<td>(6,317,700)</td>
<td>(5,924,300)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>($4,698,300)</td>
<td>($3,716,900)</td>
<td>($9,415,200)</td>
<td>($3,921,200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>Less than one year</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$6,374,700</td>
<td>$9,147,100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,520,000</td>
<td>649,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,894,700</td>
<td>9,797,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173,400</td>
<td>93,600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,721,300</td>
<td>$9,703,400</td>
<td></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>Estimated Useful Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>$1,854,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings and building improvements</td>
<td>25,827,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>7,488,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35,169,300</td>
<td>34,350,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,600,700</td>
<td>11,027,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$22,568,600</td>
<td>$23,323,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $786,300 for 2002 and $744,400 for 2001. 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>June 30</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefit obligation</td>
<td>$2,348,000</td>
<td>$2,116,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair value of plan assets</td>
<td>$2,348,000</td>
<td>$2,116,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfunded status</td>
<td>$1,812,000</td>
<td>$1,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the year ended</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefit cost</td>
<td>$198,000</td>
<td>$170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits paid</td>
<td>$186,000</td>
<td>$172,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighted average assumptions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discount rate</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 2002 and 2001 and decreasing to 5% in 2005 and thereafter.

9. Temporarily Restricted Net Assets
Temporarily restricted net assets are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June 30</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$24,740,200</td>
<td>$25,936,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>4,212,800</td>
<td>3,723,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>1,790,200</td>
<td>3,355,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies—Next Generation</td>
<td>2,891,700</td>
<td>3,176,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditures</td>
<td>5,446,000</td>
<td>5,637,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$39,080,900</strong></td>
<td><strong>$41,828,600</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>2002</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purposes and time periods:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$8,050,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>406,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>504,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies—Next Generation</td>
<td>264,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditures</td>
<td>231,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>278,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$9,735,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amounts released from restrictions of $9,735,500 and $8,059,000 in 2002 and 2001, respectively, primarily represent revenue recognized in prior years and expended in 2002 and 2001, respectively.
## 10. Permanently Restricted Net Assets

At June 30, 2002 and 2001, the income on permanently restricted net assets is available for the following purposes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>June 30 2002</th>
<th>June 30 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$36,028,500</td>
<td>$35,149,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>6,066,100</td>
<td>6,066,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>3,931,700</td>
<td>3,502,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>1,021,000</td>
<td>1,021,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrestricted as to use</td>
<td>14,986,000</td>
<td>14,986,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$62,033,300</strong></td>
<td><strong>$60,725,400</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Staff

Executive Office
Leslie H. Gelb  President
Michael P. Peters  Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer
Janice L. Murray  Senior Vice President and Treasurer
Laura Winthrop  Special Assistant to the President
Elva Murphy  Assistant to the President
Greta Lundeberg  Assistant to the Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer
Sharon Herbst  Assistant to the Senior Vice President and Treasurer
Lili V. Gusts  Secretary of the Corporation
Lee Feinstein  Director for Strategic Policy
Jeffrey A. Reinke  Director of Special Programs
John A. Millington  Counselor to the Chairman and President
John Temple Swing  Of Counsel

Terrorism: Questions and Answers
Warren Bass  Director of Special Projects/Terrorism Program and Fellow
Blake Eskin  Staff Writer
Sarah Bright  Staff Writer
Shabnam Faruki  Research Associate
Kate Julian  Research Associate

Congressional Roundtable Program
Alton Frye  Presidential Senior Fellow and Co-Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy
Robert C. Orr  Co-Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy
C. Daryl Edwards  Program Coordinator

Center for Preventive Action
William L. Nash  Director and Senior Fellow
David L. Phillips  Deputy Director and Senior Fellow
Janine Hill  Associate Director
Kathleen Jennings  Program Associate

Communications
Lisa Shields  Director of Communications
Marie X. Strauss  Deputy Director
Marieke Beeuwkes  Communications Associate
Cree Frappier  Manager of Web Design and Development

Foreign Affairs
Editorial
James F. Hoge Jr.  Editor, Peter G. Peterson Chair
Gideon Rose  Managing Editor
Jonathan D. Tepperman  Senior Editor
Helen Fessenden  Senior Editor
Siddharth Mohandas  Associate Editor
Elisabeth Genn  Assistant Editor
Traci C. Nagle  Production Editor
Rosemary Hartman  Assistant to the Editor
Ann H. Coleman  Assistant to the Managing Editor
Eva Fearn  Editorial Assistant

Publishing
David Kellogg  Publisher
Eugenia Hsu  Circulation Manager
Peter Chiu  Circulation Analyst
Nina Johns  Permissions and Licensing Coordinator
Sarah Masters  Academic Program Coordinator
William Ledbetter  Advertising Manager
Michael Passuit  Marketing Coordinator
Melsha Winchester  Advertising Assistant
Yvonne Ng  Coordinator, New Market Development
Nancy Eyde  Assistant to the Publisher

Studies Program
Director of Studies Office
Lawrence J. Korb  Vice President/Maurice R. Greenberg Chair and Director of Studies
Robert C. Orr  Deputy Director of Studies
Theophilos C. Gemelas  Associate Director of Studies
Alicia Siebenaler  Assistant Director of Studies
Judith Adams  Assistant to the Vice President and Director of Studies
Sameen Gauhar  Assistant to the Associate Director of Studies
Jean-Michel Orio  Budget Coordinator
Henry Grunwald  Adjunct Senior Fellow
Staff

Africa
Mahesh K. Kotecha  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Gwendolyn Mikell  
Senior Fellow

Asia
Elizabeth C. Economy  
C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies
Jerome A. Cohen  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Asia Studies
Mahnaz Isphahani  
Senior Fellow, South and West Asia
Eugene A. Matthews  
Senior Fellow, Asia Studies
Adam Segal  
Olin Fellow
Calvin Sims  
Senior Fellow, Southeast Asia Studies
Benjamin Brake  
Research Associate
Kerry Fischer  
Research Associate
Laura Geller  
Research Associate
Faiza Issa  
Research Associate

Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies
Caroline Atkinson  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, International Economics
Jagdish N. Bhagwati  
André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics
Joel Hellman  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Youssef Ibrahim  
Senior Fellow, Middle East Studies, and Manager of Strategic Planning, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies
Marie-Josée Kravis  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economics
Roger M. Kubarych  
Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance
Ann R. Markusen  
Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy
James J. Shinn  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Gene Sperling  
Senior Fellow for Economic Policy and Director, Center on Universal Education
Benn Steil  
Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics
Bruce Stokes  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade
Philip K. Verleger Jr.  
BP Senior Fellow in International Economics
Michael M. Weinstein  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
John Neffinger  
Associate Director, Center on Universal Education
Bonnie Berry  
Project Manager, Center on Universal Education
Anne Alikonis  
Research Associate
Olivia Carballo  
Research Associate
Mary Dinh  
Research Associate
Robert Knake  
Research Associate
Ferry Pausch  
Research Associate
Uday Ram  
Program Associate
Matthew Rosenberg  
Research Associate

Europe
Charles A. Kupchan  
Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies
Ronald D. Asmus  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
James M. Goldgeier  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Sheila Heslin  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Michael Mandelbaum  
Senior Fellow
Stephen R. Sestanovich  
Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies
Jamie Fly  
Research Associate
Jessica Fugate  
Research Associate
Rositsa Petrova  
Research Associate

Latin America
Kenneth R. Maxwell  
Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies
Julia E. Sweig  
Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies
Tomás Amorim  
Director of Western Hemisphere Affairs
Michael McCarthy  
Research Associate
Marcio Siwi  
Research Associate

Middle East
Rachel Bronson  
Olin Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Studies
Michael Doran  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Youssef Ibrahim  
Senior Fellow, Middle East Studies, and Manager of Strategic Planning, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies
Judith Kipper  
Assistant Director, Middle East Forum
Scott Lasensky  
Fellow and Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project
Richard W. Murphy  
Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East
Henry Siegman  
Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project
Rachel Abramson  
Assistant Director, Middle East Studies
Ardith Darcy  
Program Associate
Inga-britt Hunter  
Research Associate

National Security
Kenneth M. Pollack  
Olin Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies
Richard K. Betts  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security Studies
Charles G. Boyd  
Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in National Security and European Affairs
Stephen E. Flynn  
Jeanne Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow, National Security Studies
Bernard E. Trainor  
Adjunct Senior Fellow
Sean Burke  
Research Associate
Robert Knake  
Research Associate
### Staff

#### Peace and Conflict
- Morton H. Halperin: Senior Fellow and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies; U.S. Foreign Policy; and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
- Robert P. DeVere: Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced
- Arthur C. Helton: Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action
- Radha Kumar: Adjunct Senior Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies
- Ruth Wedgwood: Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law
- Jennifer Seymour Whitaker: Adjunct Senior Fellow
- Kimberly M. Zisk: Fellow
- Eliana Jacobs: Research Associate
- Marie Jeannot: Assistant to the Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action
- David Pacheco: Research Associate

#### Science and Technology
- Richard L. Garwin: Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology
- Bruce M. DeBlois: Adjunct Senior Fellow
- Jordan S. Kassalow: Adjunct Senior Fellow
- Rob Nelson: Senior Fellow, Science and Technology
- David G. Victor: Adjunct Senior Fellow
- Denise Gomes: Research Associate
- Jeremy Marwell: Research Associate

#### U.S. Foreign Policy
- Morton H. Halperin: Senior Fellow and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies; U.S. Foreign Policy; and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
- Warren Bass: Director of Special Projects/Terrorism Program and Fellow
- Isobel Coleman: Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy
- Lee Feinstein: Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law
- Walter Russell Mead: Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy
- Rajan Menon: Senior Fellow
- Joe Siegle: Douglas Dillon Fellow
- Kiron Skinner: Adjunct Fellow
- Ronald Steel: Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow
- Mirna Galic: Research Associate
- Kristen Gosselin: Research Associate
- Derek Lundy: Research Associate
- Peter Sickle: Research Associate

#### Diplomat in Residence
- Richard Butler: Diplomat in Residence

### Visiting Fellows, 2002–2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salvatore F. Cambria</td>
<td>USA Military Fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter D. Givhan</td>
<td>USAF Military Fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeffrey L. Fowler</td>
<td>USN Military Fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin D. Peatross</td>
<td>USMC Military Fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia Dugger</td>
<td>Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helena Kane Finn</td>
<td>Cyrus Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Gelpem</td>
<td>International Affairs Fellow in Residence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Meetings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne R. Luzzatto</td>
<td>Vice President, Meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy D. Bodurtha</td>
<td>Deputy Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anastasia Malacos</td>
<td>Assistant Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Barbacci</td>
<td>Program Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn Jander</td>
<td>Program Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer Sieg</td>
<td>Program Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peggy Papadakis</td>
<td>Program Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison Scharf</td>
<td>Program Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valerie Brazill</td>
<td>Director of Special Events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine Boyle</td>
<td>Assistant Director, Special Events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Washington Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert C. Orr</td>
<td>Vice President and Director, Washington Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joy Drucker</td>
<td>Deputy Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tybee Kiejdan</td>
<td>Assistant to the Vice President and Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linda Harsh</td>
<td>Associate Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noa Gimelli</td>
<td>Assistant Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine Zehender</td>
<td>Events Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenna Munn</td>
<td>Program Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathryn Parente</td>
<td>Program Assistant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### National and Outreach Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irina A. Faskianos</td>
<td>Vice President, National and Outreach Programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine Sobong</td>
<td>Program Coordinator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Corporate Affairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacqui Selbst Schein</td>
<td>Director, Corporate Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kira Burns</td>
<td>Corporate Affairs Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenufer Smith</td>
<td>Corporate Affairs Associate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Staff

### Council Publishing
- Patricia Lee Dorff, Director of Publishing
- Jennifer Anmuth, Editorial Assistant
- Kimberly Fielding, Editorial Assistant

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

### Membership and Fellowship Affairs
- Elise Carlson Lewis, Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs
- Allison Valencia, Assistant Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs
- Bessie Skoures, Assistant Director, Term Member Program
- Elizabeth Land, Program Associate
- Aikojean Lane, Program Associate
- Genna Weinstein, Program Associate

### Development
- Betty Kur dys, Director of the Annual Fund and Major Gifts
- Lena Moy, Program Associate
- Rossana Ivanova, Associate Director of Development
- Elizabeth Dahan, Development Associate

### Finance
- Peter Tyndale, Director of Finance
- Sigi Silvani, Staff Accountant
- Sharon Lalla, Accounting Associate
- Linda Copeland, Accounting Associate
- Vera Langley, Accounting Associate
- James Smith, Accounts Payable Associate

### Human Resources
- Jan Mowder Hughes, Director, Human Resources
- Donna Sardella, Associate Director
- Shantala Muddappa, Human Resources Coordinator
- Bettina Schaeffer, Human Resources Assistant
- Ellen Gustafson, Interdepartmental Program Associate
- Julian Pardo de Zela, Interdepartmental Program Associate

### Reception
- Cristy Lemperle, Reception Supervisor

### Facility Operations
- Neftali Frank Alvarez, Director of Facility Operations
- Phil Falcon, Associate Director of Facility Operations
- Ian Noray, Supervisor, Mail and Duplicating Services
- Anthony Ramirez, Work Request Coordinator
- Santo I ne Alers, Senior Facility Assistant
- Angel Cordova, Facility and 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
- Chad Bowser, Events Assistant

### Library and Research Services
- Lilita V. Gusts, Director, Library and Research Services
- 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, Information Services
- 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, 2002.
New York

Washington, D.C.
The Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and the rest of the country, plus those living overseas. 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 racial and ethnic groups. This year marked the revival of the Women’s Membership Development Group, under the leadership of co-chairs Anne-Marie Slaughter and Jewelle Bickford. The group succeeded in doubling the percentage of women in the pool of candidates for the spring selection meeting.

### 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 five 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 those elected. 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 between the ages of 28 and 34 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 are permitted to be age 30 or 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 that 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
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 note:

• 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, and writing supporting letters on any candidate’s behalf.
• A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as parent, brother or sister, cousin, etc.), or near in-law of a candidate may not formally propose or second that candidate for membership in the Council. Members should also refrain from writing on behalf of clients. Members should write only in support of candidates whom they know well.

Nominating Letters
Letters nominating a candidate for consideration by the Membership Committee should address the following criteria that 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 continuing cooperation. The preparation of individual membership files for submission to the Membership Committee is a continuing process. Candidates whose files are not completed in time for any given meeting of the Committee have their files carried forward, without prejudice, to the subsequent meeting, but are considered only if completed.
REGULAR MEMBERSHIP—For prospective regular members, the deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the Committee to consider regular membership candidates are March 1 and September 15.

TERM MEMBERSHIP—For prospective term members, the deadline for receipt of all materials for the annual meeting of the Committee to consider term membership candidates is January 31.

Notification of Candidates
Candidates recommended by the Membership Committee and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates 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; E-mail: membership@cfr.org. Visit our website at www.cfr.org.
Membership Roster

A
Aaron, David L.
Abbot, C. Spencer
Abbot, Charles S.
Abbott, Wilder K.
Aboud, A. Robert
Aboud, Labeab M.
Abdelal, Rawi
Abel, Elie
Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina Kay
Abernethy, Robert John
Aboelnaga, Mona
Abramowitz, Morton I.
Abrams, Elliott
Abshire, David M.
Aburdene, Odeh E.
Ackerman, Peter
Adams, Gordon M.
Adams, Robert
McCormick
Adelman, Carol C.
Adelman, Kenneth L.
Adler, Allen R.
Agnew, Harold M.
Agostinelli, Robert F.
Ahearn, William Edward
Ahn, Woodrow
Aho, C. Michael
Aidinoff, M. Bernard
Aizenman, Nurith
Ajami, Fouad
Akins, James E.
Allbright, Madeleine
Alderman, Michael H.
Aldrich, George H.
Alexander, Margo N.
Alexander, Robert J.
Alford, Roger P.
Alford, William P.
Ali, Mustafa Javed†
Allaire, Paul A.
Allbritton, Joe L.
Allen, Jodie T.
Allen, Lew Jr.
Allen, Richard V.
Allen, William L.*
Allison, Graham T.
Allison, Richard C.
Almond, Michael A.
Alpern, Alan N.
Alter, Jonathan H.
Alter, Karen J.
Altermann, Jon B.
Altman, Roger C.
Altman, William C.
Altshuler, David
Alvarado, Donna Maria
Alvarez, Jose E.
Amador, Angelo I.+ Amas, Oakes
Amos, Deborah Susan
Andelman, David A.
Andersen, Harold W.
Anderson, Craig B.
Anderson, Sasa
Anderson, Edward G. III
Anderson, John B.
Anderson, Lisa
Anderson, Marcus A.
Anderson, Mark A.
Anderson, Paul F.
Anderson, Robert O.
Andreas, Dwayne O.
Andrews, Terry Lynn
Andrews, David R.
Andrews, Michael A.
Ansour, M. Michael
Anthony, Robert
Anthony, John Duke
Aossey, Nancy A.
Apgar, David P.
Aponte, Mari Carmen
Appiah, Kwame Anthony
Apter, David E.
Arce, Tomas A.
Arcos, Cresencio S.
Areizaga-Soto, Jaime A.
Arkin, Stanley S.
Arledge, Roone
Armacost, Michael H.
Armstrong, Anne L.
Armstrong, Lloyd Jr.
Arnold, Henry H.
Arnold, Millard W.
Aron, Adam M.
Aronson, Bernard W.
Aronson, Jonathan David
Aronson, Michael Arredondo, Fabiola R.
Arsh, Adrienne
Art, Robert J.
Artigiani, Carole
Asencio, Diego C.
Asmus, Ronald D.
Assousa, George E.
Atherton, Alfred Leroy Jr.
Athreya, Bama
Atkins, Benjamin A.+ Atwood, J. Brian
Auer, James E.
Auerbach, Stuart C.
Augustine, Norman R.
Auszitz, Josiah Lee
Ausubel, Jesse H.
Awedon, John F.
Avery, John E.
Awuah, Patrick G. Jr.
Axelrod, Robert M.
Ayers, H. Brandt
Ayles, Alyssa C.+ Azim, Khalid

Babbitt, Bruce
Babbitt, Eileen F.
Babbitt, Harriet C.
Bacon, Kenneth H.
Bacot, J. Carter
Bader, William B.
Baer, Donald A.
Baer, M. Delal
Baeza, Mario L.
Bagley, Elizabeth
Brady, Roger
Baird, Charles F.
Baird, Zoe
Baker, Howard H. Jr.
Baker, James A. III
Baker, John R.
Baker, Nancy Kassebaum
Baker, Pauline H.
Baker, Stewart A.
Baker, Thurbert E.
Bakhash, Shaul
Bakstansky, Peter
Balaran, Paul
Baldwin Moody, Carol
Baldwin, David A.
Baldwin, H. Furlong
Baldwin, Robert Edward
Baldwin, Sherman
Bales, Carter F.
Balick, Kenneth
Baliles, Gerald L.
Band, Laurence M.*
Bandler, Donald K.
Barber, Benjamin R.
Barber, Charles F.
Barber, James Alden
Bardel, William G.
Barger, Teresa C.
Barkan, Joel D.
Barkey, Henri J.
Barks-Ruggles, Erica Jean
Barnes, Harry G. Jr.
Barnes, Michael D.
Barnett, Richard E.
Barnett, F. William
Barrett, Barbara
Barrett, John Adams
Membership Roster

Barry, John L.
Barry, Lisa B.
Barry, Thomas
corcoran
Barshesky, Charlene
Bartholomew, Reginald
Barlett, Joseph W.
Barlett, Timothy J.
Bartley, Robert L.
Bartsch, David A.
Basek, John T.
Bash, Jeremy B.
Basora, Adrian A.
Bass, Peter E.
Bass, Warren
Bassolino, Francis
Keith
Bates, Pamela M.†
Batkin, Alan R.
Bator, Francis M.
Battaglia, Charles C.
Baumann, Carol Edler
Baxter, Randolph
Bean, Frank D.
Beattie, Richard I.
Becherer, Hans W.
Becky, Perry S.
Becker, Elizabeth H.*
Beckler, David Z.
Beeman, Richard E.
Begley, Louis
Behringer, Michael P.†
Behrman, Jack N.
Beierle, Thomas C.
Beim, David O.
Bein, Nicholas F.*
Bejler, Robert A.
Bell, Burwell B.
Bell, Gordon P.
Bell, J. Bowyer
Bell, Jonathan N.†
Bell, Joseph C.
Bell, Mack
Bell, Peter Dexter
Bell, Robert G.
Bell, Ruth Greenspan
Bell, Steve
Bell, Thomas D. Jr.
Bell-Rose, Stephanie K.
Bellamy, Carol
Bellinger, John B. III
Bello, Judith H.
Bender, Matthew J.
Bender, Gerald J.
Benedict, Kennette M.
Benjamin, Esther T.
Bennett, Robert H.
Bennett, Douglas J.
Bennett, Andrew
Owen
Bennett, Christina A.
Bennett, Susan J.
Bensahel, Nora J.
Benshoof, Janet
Benson, Lucy Wilson
Bereuter, Douglas K.
Bergen, Margaret
Bergen, Margaret
Bergen, Samuel R.
Bergen, Suzanne
Bergsten, C. Fred
Bering, Helle
Berkowitz, Bruce D.
Berkowsky, Pamela B.
Berman, Howard L.
Berman, Jonathan E.
Bernard, Kenneth W.
Berndt, John E.
Bernstein, Peter W.
Bernstein, Robert L.
Bernstein, Tom A.
Berresford, Susan Vail
Berrie, Scott D.
Berris, Jan
Berry, Elizabeth Clay†
Bersin, Alan D.
Bertini, Catherine Ann* 
Bertsch, Gary K.
Beshear, Peter J.
Besse, Simon Michael
Bestani, Robert M.
Bestor, Theodore C.
Betts, Richard K.
Beutner, Austin M.
Bewkes, Jeffrey
Beyler, John C.
Beyzavi, Kian
Bhala, Raj
Bialer, Seweryn
Bialkin, Kenneth J.
Bialos, Jeffrey P.
Bibbins, Nicole M.
Bickford, Jewelle
Biddle, George C.
Biegun, Stephen E.
Biel, Eric R.
Biemann, Betsy
Bienen, Henry S.
Bierley, John C.
Biersteker, Thomas J.*
Biggs, John H.
Bijur, Peter I.
Bilder, Richard B.
Bindenagel, James D.
Binger, James Henry
Binkley, Nicholas
Burns
Binnendijk, Hans
Birdsall, Nancy
Birenbaum, David E.
Birkelund, John P.
Birnbaum, Eugene A.
Bishop, Sanford D. Jr.
Bissell, Richard E.
Black, Joseph E.
Black, Leon D.* 
Black, Shirley Temple
Black, Stanley Warren
Blacker, Coit D.
Blackwell, J. Kenneth
Blackwill, Robert D.
Blake, Robert O.
Blank, Stephen
Bleichman, Barry M.
Bleier, Edward
Blenford, Robert Jay
Blinder, Alan S.
Blinken, Alan John
Blinken, Donald
Bloch, Julia Chang
Bloom, David A.†
Bloom, Evan T.
Bloomberg, Michael R.
Bloomfield, Lincoln P.
Bloomfield, Richard J.
Blomgarden, Kathy Finn
Blum, Richard C.
Blumenthal, Sidney S.
Blumenthal, W.
Michael
Blumrosen, Alexander
Bernet
Bob, Daniel E.
Bobbitt, Philip Chase
Bode, Ken A.
Bodea, Andy S.
Boeker, Paul H.
Boelhouwer, Pieter J.A.†
Bogert, Carroll R.
Boggs, Michael D.
Bofen, Frederick M.
Bohain, Avis T.
Bohn, John A.
Bolling, Landrum R.
Bolton, John R.
Bond, George Clement
Bond, Robert D.
Bondurant, Amy L.*
Bonime-Blanc, Andrea
Bonney, J. Dennis
Boomer, Salih
Bookout, John F.
Boot, Max
Booth, Carter
Boren, David L.
Borgen, Christopher J.
Borio, Luciana L.†
Bork, Ellen
Boschwitz, Rudy
Bose, Meena
Bosworth, Stephen W.
Botts, John C.
Bouck, Peter N.
Boufford, Jo Ivey
Bouis, Antonina W.
Boulware-Miller, Kay* 
Bouton, Marshall M.
Bovin, Denis A.
Bradley, William L.
Brady, Jacqueline V.
Brady, Linda Parrish
Brady, Nicholas F.
Brady, Rose
Brainard, S. Lael
Branch, Daniel H.
Brankscomb, Lewis M.
Brauchli, Marcus W.
Braunischvig, David
Brazeal, Aurelia E.
Breck, Henry R.
Breed, Henry Eltine
Bremer, L. Paul III
Breslauer, George
William
Bresnan, John J.
Brewer, John D.
Breyer, Chloa A.†
Breyer, Stephen G.
Brigety, Reuben E. II†
Brimmer, Andrew F.
Brimmer, Esther Diane
Brinkley, David
Brinkley, Douglas G.
Britt, David V.B.
Brittenham, Raymond L.
Britton, Dennis A.*
Broad, Robin
Broadman, Harry G.
Brock, Steven V.
Broda, Frederick C.
Brotsky, William J.
Brody, Christopher W.
Brody, Kenneth D.
Brokaw, Tom
Bromley, D. Allan
Brownman, Edgar M.
Bronson, Rachel
Brooks, Carole L.
Brooks, Harvey
Brooks, Karen B.
Brooks, Risa A.†
Brooks, Rosa
Ehrenreich
Brower, Charles N.
Brown, Alice L.
Brown, Bartram S.
Brown, C. Michael
Brown, Carroll
Brown, Frederic J.  
Brown, Gwendolyn A.  
Brown, Harold  
Brown, Kathleen  
Brown, L. Carl  
Brown, L. Carl  
Brown, Michael  
Arrington  
Brown, Michael E.  
Brown, Phoebe W.  
Brown, Richard F. Jr.  
Brown, Robert S.  
Browning, David S.  
Bruce, Judith  
Bruemmer, Russell J.  
Bryan, Greyson L.  
Bryan, Michael E.  
Bryant, Ralph C.  
Buchman, Mark E.  
Bryan, Greyson L.  
Bruegential, Thomas  
Buigianello, George  
Bullock, Mary Brown  
Bumpas, Stuart  
Bueno de Mesquita, Bueno de Mesquita,  
Buergenthal, Thomas  
Burand, Deborah K.  
Burke, James E.  
Burck, William A.  
Burney, William F. Jr.  
Burns, Robert S.  
Burns, William A. Jr.  
Burns, William F.  
Burns, William F. Jr.  
Burnus, Mathew*  
Burt, Richard R.  
Burton, Daniel F. Jr.  
Bush, Robert C. Jr.  
Bush, Robert C. Jr.  
Burrower, Rolland H.  
Bussey, John C.  
Butler, George Lee  
Butler, Samuel C.  
Butler, William J.  
Buultjens, Ralph  
Buxbaum, Richard M.  
Byman, Daniel L.  
Byrne, Patrick M.*  
C  
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 Eyriing  
Calder, Louis E.*  
Caldwell, Dan  
Caldwell, Philip  
Califano, Joseph A. Jr.  
Calingaert, Daniel  
Callagy, Thomas M.  
Callander, Robert J.  
Callen, Michael A.  
Calleeo, David Patrick  
Caner, Danielle D.*  
Campbell, Carolyn  
Campbell, Colin G.  
Campbell, F. Gregory  
Campbell, Kurt M.  
Campbell, Thomas J.  
Campbell, William  
Cannella, Margaret*  
Capehart, Jonathan  
Cappello, Juan Carlos  
Caputo, David A.  
Caputo, Lisa M.  
Carbonell, Nestor T.  
Carey, John  
Carey, Sarah C.  
Carlos, Manuel Luis  
Carlson, Scott A.  
Carlucci, Frank C.  
Carmichael, William D.  
Carnesale, Albert  
Carothers, Thomas  
Carpenter, Ted Galen  
Carr, John W.  
Carrington, Walter C.  
Carroll, J. Speed  
Carruth, Reba Anne  
Carson, Charles  
William Jr.  
Carrillo, Robert  
Carter, Ashton B.  
Carter, Barry E.  
Carter, Hodding III  
Carter, James Earl  
Carter, James H.  
Carter, Mark Andrew  
Carter, Marshall  
Nichols  
Casper, Gerhard  
Cassidy, Eileen E.  
Cattarulla, Elliot R.  
Catto, Henry E.  
Caulfield, Frank J.  
Caulfield, Matthew P.  
Cavanagh, Richard  
Cavanaugh, Carey  
Cave, Ray Charles  
Cebrowski, Arthur  
Karl  
Celeste, Richard F.  
Cerjan, Paul G.  
Cha, Victor D.  
Chace, James C.  
Chaco, Tania Mariaet  
Chadda, Maya  
Challener,  
Herschelle S.  
Chambers, Anne Cox  
Chamoun, Walid  
Georges  
Chan, Gerald L.  
Chan, Ronnie C.  
Chang, David C.  
Chang, Gareth C.C.  
Chang, Joyce  
Chang, Juju  
Chanz, Clifford  
Chamis, Jonathan A.  
Chao, Elaine L.  
Chapman, Margaret  
Holt  
Charles, Cory  
Charles, Robert Bruce  
Charney, Jonathan  
Isa  
Charnovitz, Steve*  
Charpie, Robert A.  
Chattiernee, Purnendu  
Chaves, Robert  
Chavez, Linda  
Chavira, Ricardo  
Chayes, Antonia  
Handler  
Checki, Terrence J.  
Cheeiver, Daniel S.  
Chen, Kimball C.  
Chenault, Kenneth I.  
Cheney, Elizabeth L.  
Cheney, Richard B.  
Cheney, Stephen A.  
Cherian, Saj  
Cherry, Pedro P.  
Cheson, Sheila C.*  
Chickering, A.  
Lawrence  
Choi, Audrey  
Choi, Stephen J.  
Chollet, D. H.  
Cholmondeley, Paula H.J.  
Choucri, Nazli  
Christensen, Thomas J.  
Christianson, Geryld B.  
Christie, Ronald Irvin  
Christman, Daniel  
William  
Christopher, Warren  
Churchill, Bunzie Ellis  
Ciluffo, Frank  
Cimbalo, Jeffrey L.  
Cirincione, Joseph  
Clapp, Priscilla A.  
Clarida, Richard H.  
Clark, Dick  
Clark, J. H. Cullum  
Clark, Noreen M.  
Clark, Vernon E.*  
Clark, Wesley K.  
Clark, William Jr.  
Clarke, Donald C.  
Clarke, Jack G.  
Clarke, Teresa Hillary*  
Clarkson, Lawrence W.  
Claussen, Eileen B.*  
Clement, Peter A.  
Clemetson, Lynette†  
Cleveland, Harlan  
Cleveland, Peter  
Matthews  
Clifford, Donald K. Jr.  
Cline, William R.  
Clinger, William F. Jr.  
Clintao, Bill  
Cloherty, Patricia M.  
Cloonan, Edward T.  
Cloud, Stanley W.  
Clough, Michael  
Coatsworth, John H.  
Cobb, Charles E. Jr.  
Cobb, Sue McCourt*  
Cobb, Tyrus W.  
Cochran, Barbara S.  
Cochran, Molly M.  
Coffey, C. Shelby III  
Coffey, Joseph I.  
Coffman, Vance  
Cohen, Abby Joseph  
Cohen, Ariel  
Cohen, Benjamin J.  
Cohen, Betsy  
Cohen, Eliot A.  
Cohen, Herman J.  
Cohen, Jerome Alan  
Cohen, Joel E.  

* Elected to membership in 2002.  
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2002.
Membership Roster

Cohen, Paul H.†
Cohen, Richard M.
Cohen, Roberta Jane
Cohen, Stephen Bruce
Cohen, Stephen F.
Cohen, Stephen S.
Cohen, Warren I.
Cohen, William S.
Colagiuri, Elizabeth L.
Colbert, Evelyn Speyer
Colby, Jonathan E.
Cole, Johnnetta B.
Cole, Samuel A.
Cole, Thomas
Winston Jr.
Coleman, Isobel
Coleman, Lewis W.
Coleman, William T. Jr.
Coles, Julius E.
Coll, Alberto R.
Collins, Joseph J.
Collins, Mark M. Jr.
Comstock, Philip E. Jr.
Conaton, Erin C.
Concepcion, Gina
Celtis
Condit, Philip H.*
Cone, Sydney M. III
Conley, Dalton†
Connelly, Matthew
James†
Conners Petersen, Leila Anne
Connolly, Gerald E.
Connor, John T. Jr.
Considine, Jill M.
Constable, Pamela
Conway, Jill
Cook, Frances D.
Cook, Gary M.
Cook, Goodwin
Cook, John F.
Coome, George
Williams 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.
Cooper, Scott A.†
Corbin, Kathleen A.
Cornelius, Wayne A.
Cornell, Henry
Cott, Suzanne
Cotter, William R.
Courtney, William H.
Covey, Jock
Cowal, Sally Grooms
Cowan, Geoffrey
Cowan, L. Gray
Cowhey, Peter F.
Cox, Edward F.
Cox, Howard E. Jr.
Craig, Margaret E.
Craner, Lorne W.
Crawford, John F.
Crawford, Timothy W.†
Creekmore, Marion V. Jr.
Crichton, Kyle
Crite, George III
Crippen, D. L.*
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.
Crowley, Monica
Elizabetht
Crown, Lester
Cruse, Daniel Lester
Crystal, Lester M.
Cullum, Lee
Cumming,
Christine M.*
Cumpliano, Flavio
Cuneo, Donald
Cunningham, James B.
Cunningham,
Nelson W.
Curley, Walter J.P. Jr.
Curran, R. T.
Curts, 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.
Dady, Teresa Gail*
Dailey, Brian D.
Dale, William B.
Daley, William M.*
Dallara, Charles H.
Dally, George Albert
Dallmeyer,
Dorinda G.
Dalton, James E.
Dam, Kenneth W.
Dam, Marcia Wachs
Darnosch, Lori Fisler
Dancy, John A.G.
Danforth, William H.
Daniel, D. Ronald
Daniel, Donald C.F.
Danin, Robert M.
Danner, Mark D.
Dash, Michele
Samatha
DaSilva, Russell J.
David, Jack
Davidson, Ralph K.
Davidson, Ralph
Parsons
Davis, Evan A.
Davis, Jacqueyln 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, Christine L.
Dawson, Horace G. Jr.
Dawson Carr,
Marion M.
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 Meril, Lois Pattison
de Rothschild, Lynn
Forester
de Swaan, Jean
Christophet
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.
Decyk, Roxanne J.
Dedrick, Fred T.
Deffenbaugh,
Ralston H. Jr.
Deibel, Terry L.
del Olmo, Frank
Phillip
Del Rosso, Stephen J.
Demeo, Marisa J.
Deming, Rust
Macpherson
Denham, Robert E.
Denison, Robert J.
Dennis, Everette E.
Denny, Brewster C.
Denoon, David B.H.
Denton, Hazel
Denton, James S.
DePuy, Phil E.
Dergahm, Raghida
Derian, Patricia
Murphy
Derr, Kenneth T.
Derrick, James V. Jr.
Derryck, Vivian
Lowery
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.
Diaz, Charley L.*
Dickey, Christopher
Dicks, Norman D.
Dickson-Horton,
Valerie L.
Didion, Joan
Diebold, John
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
Djerjian, Edward P.
Djerjian, Gregory
Dobriansky, Paula J.
Doctoroff, Daniel
Dodd, Christopher J.
Dodd, Thomas J.
Doebel, Justin W.
Doerge, David J.
Doherty, William C.
Doi, Ayako
Doley, Harold E. Jr.
Dominguez, Jorge I.
Donahue, Thomas R.
Donaldson, Robert H.
Donaldson, William H.
Donatich, John E.
Donfried, Karen Erika
Donatich, John E.
Donohue, Douglass S.
Doran, Charles F.
Duffy, Guy F.
Dubsen, Richard D.
Dusseldorf, Robert F.
Dyck, Nancy Bearg
Dunn, Kempton
Dunn, Lewis A.
Dunn, Michael M.
Dur, Philip A.
Durlin, Patrick J.
Dutton, Frederick G.
Dworkin, Douglas A.
Dyke, Nancy Bearg
Dyson, Esther

Eagleburger, Lawrence S.
Earle, Ralph II
East, Maurice A.
Eastman, John Lindner
Eastman, Michael R.
Easum, Donald B.
Eberhart, Ralph E.
Eberle, William D.
Eberstadt, Nicholas Nash
Echols, Marsha A.
Ecton, Donna R.
Eddleman, Linda Whicker
Edelman, Albert I.
Edelman, Gerald M.
Edelman, Marian Wright
Edelman, Richard Winsten
Edelson, Julius C.C.
Edington, Mark D.W.
Edley, Christopher Jr.
Edwards, George C. III

* Elected to membership in 2002.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2002.

Membership Roster

Feinstein, Lee
Feissel, Gustave
Feist, Samuel H.
Feith, Douglas J.
Feldman, Daniel F.
Feldman, Mark B.
Feldman, Noah R.
Feldman, Sandra
Feldstein, Martin S.
Fenzel, Michael R.
Ferguson, Charles H.
Ferguson, Glenn W.
Ferguson, James L.
Ferguson, Ronald E.
Ferlic, Suzanne R.
Fernandes, Anthony C.
Fernandez, Jose W.
Ferrari, Frank E.
Ferraro, Geraldine A.
Ferrazzi, Keith Edward
Ferri, Antonio Luis
Ferre, Helen Aguirre
Ferre, Maurice A.
Ferrell, Lisa Carolyn
Fesharaki, Fereidun
Fessenden, Hart
Fiedler, Jeffrey L.
Fields, Bertram H.
Fields, Craig L.
Fife, Eugene V.
Fifield, Russell Hunt
Figueroa Kupcu, Maria C.
Filippone, Robert J.
Finberg, Barbara D.
Findakly, Hani K.
Finel, Bernard I.
Finger, Seymour

Maxwell
Finkelstein, Lawrence S.
Finley, Sonya L.
Finne, Edwin A. Jr.
Finneman, Martha
Finney, Paul B.
Firestone, Charles M.
Firmage, Edwin B.

113
Membership Roster

Foster, Richard N.
Foster, Charles C.
Fortna, V. Page
Forsythe, Rosemarie
Forstmann,
Forrester, Jason
Forrest, Michelle R.
Forman, Shepard L.
Fore, Henrietta
Ford, Gerald R.
Foster, Brenda Lei
Ford, Paul B. Jr.
Foote, Edward T. II
Foote, William
Fulbright
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, Paul B. Jr.
Fore, Henrietta
Holsman
Forman, Shepard L.
Forrest, Michelle R.
Forrester, Jason
William
Forstmann,
Theodore J.
Forsythe, Rosemarie
Fortna, V. Page
Fosler, Gail D.
Foster, Brenda Lei
Foster, Charles C.
Foster, Richard N.
Fowler, Wyche Jr.
Fox, Daniel M.*
Fox, Donald T.
Fox, Eleanor M.
Fox, Joseph Carrere
Fraza Neto, Arminio
Franck, Thomas M.
Francke, Albert
Frank, Andrew D.
Frank, Barney
Frank, Brian L.
Frank, Charles R. Jr.
Frank, Isaiah
Frank, Richard A.
Frankel, Francine R.
Frankel, Jeffrey A.
Franklin, Barbara
Hackman
Franklin, William
Emery
Frazier, Kenneth C.
Frazier, Myra M.
Fredericks, Wayne
Fredman, Jonathan M.
Freedman, Eugene M.
Freedman, Bennett
Freeman, Constance J.
Freeman, Harry L.
Freidheim, Cyrus F.
Freidheim, Stephen C.
Freimuth, Ladeane A.
Frelinghuysen,
Peter H.B.
Frey, Donald N.
Freytag, Richard A.
Fribourg, Paul J.
Fried, Edward R.
Friedberg, Aaron Louis
Friedman, Alexander
Stephen
Friedman, Bart
Friedman,
Benjamin M.
Friedman, Elisabeth J.
Friedman, Fredrica S.
Friedman, Jordana D.
Friedman, Stephen
Friedman, Stephen J.
Friedman, Thomas L.
Frieman, Wendy
Friend, Theodore W.
Frist, William H.*
Froman, Michael B.G.
Fromkin, David
Fromm, Joseph
Frost, Ellen L.
Fry, Earl H.
Frye, Alton
Fudge, Ann M.
Fuerth, Leon S.
Fukushima, Glen S.
Fukuyama, Francis
Fuld, Richard S. Jr.
Fuller, Kathryn S.
Fuller, William P.
Fung, Mark T.
Fung, Victor K.
Furlaud, Richard M.
Furman, Gail
Futter, Ellen V.

G
Gaddis, John Lewis
Gadiesh, Orit B.
Gadsden, Amy E.*
Gaer, Felice D.
Gaines, James R.
Galbraith, Evan G.
Galbraith, Peter W.
Gallagher, Dennis
Gallucci, Robert L.
Galper, Joshua P.*
Galvin, John R.
Galvis, Sandra
Galvis, Sergio J.
Ganguly, Sumit
Gann, Pamela B.
Gannon, John C.
Ganoe, Charles S.
Gantcher, Nathan
Garcia, Marlen
Garcia-Johnson, Ronnie
Richele
Garcia-Passalacqua, Juan M.
Gard, Robert G.
Gardens, Nathan P.
Gardner, Anthony
Laurence
Gardiner, James A.
Gardner, Nina
Luzzatto
Gardner, Richard N.
Garment, Leonard
Garment, Suzanne R.
Garratt, Sherman
Gart, Murray J.
Garten, Jeffrey E.
Garthoff, Raymond L.
Garwin, Richard L.
Gaston, Patricia E.
Gates, Henry Louis Jr.
Gates, Philomene A.
Gates, Robert M.
Gati, Charles
Gati, Toby Trister
Gaudiani, Claire L.
Gause, F. Gregory III
Gay, Catherine
Gayle, Helene D.
Gedmin, Jeffrey
Geertz, Clifford
Geier, Philip O.
Geithner, Peter F.
Geithner, Timothy F.
Gelb, Amos
Gelb, Bruce S.
Gelb, Leslie H.
Gelb, Richard L.
Gell-Mann, Murray
Gellert, Michael E.*
Gellman, Barton
Gelpen, Anna
George, John M.
Georgescu, Peter
Andrew
Gephardt, Richard A.
Gerber, Burton L.*
Gerber, Louis
Gergen, David R.
Gerhart, Gail M.
Gemain, Adrienne
Gerschel, Patrick A.
Gershman, Carl
Samuel
Gerson, Allan
Gerson, Elliot F.
Gerson, Ralph J.
Gerstner, Louis V. Jr.
Getler, Michael
Gewirtz, Paul*
Geyelin, Philip L.
Geyer, Georgie Anne
Gfoeller, Joachim Jr.
Gfoeller, Michael
Gfoeller, Tatiana C.
Ghiglione, Loren
Giacomo, Carol Ann
Gibbons, John Howard
Gibney, Frank B.
Giffen, James Henry
Giffin, Gordon D.
Gilbert, Jackson B.
Gilbert, Steven J.
Gill, Bates
Gillette, Michael
James
Gilmore, James S. III
Gilmore, Kenneth O.
Gilmore, Richard
Gilpin, Robert G. Jr.
Gingrich, Newton L.
Ginn, Samuel L.
Ginsberg, Marc
Charles
Ginsburg, David
Ginsburg, Jane C.
Ginsburg, Ruth Bader
Ginsburg, Thomas B.*
Glaser, Bonnie S.
Glauber, Robert R.
Gleysteen, Peter
Gleysteen, William H. Jr.
Globerman, Norma
Gluck, Carol
Gluck, Frederick W.
Glueck, Jeffrey Scott
Godchaux, Frank A. III
Goetzl, Richard K.
Goheen, Robert F.
Goins, Charlyn
Goldberg, Michael E.
Goldberg, Ronnie L.
Goldberger, Bruce N.*
Goldberger, Marvin L.
Golden, James R.
Golden, William T.
Goldgeier, James M.
Goldin, Harrison J.
Goldin, Matthew N.*
Goldman, Charles N.
* Elected to membership in 2002.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2002.
Membership Roster

Hertog, Roger
Herter, Frederic P.
Herter, Christian A. Jr.*
Herspring, Dale R.
Hersman,
Herskovits, Jean
Herrnstadt, Owen
Hernandez Colon,
Hernandez, Antonia
Hentges, Harriet
Henry, Nancy L.
Henrikson, Alan K.
Henley, Nancy L.
Henriquez, Daniel P.
Henries, Alan K.
Henry, Nancy L.
Hen, Robert W.
Helm, Robert A.
Helm, Ricardo
Helprin, Mark
Helton, Arthur C.
Hendrickson, David C.
Henkin, Alice H.
Henkin, Louis
Hennessy, John M.
Henninger, Daniel P.
Henricks, Alan K.
Hensley, Nancy L.
Hentges, Harriet
Herberger, Roy A. Jr.
Hermann, Charles F.
Hernandez, Antonio
Hernandez Colon,
Herskovits, Jean
Hersman,
Rebecca K.C.
Herspring, Dale R.
Herter, Christian A. Jr.*
Herter, Frederic P.
Hertog, Roger
Hertzberg, Arthur
Hertzberg, Hendrik
Hertz, Barbara
Herzfeld, Charles M.
Herzstein, Robert E.
Hesburgh,
Theodore M.
Hess, John B.
Hess, Curtis A.
Hewett, Sylvia Ann
Hiatt, Fred
Hicks, Irvin
Hicks, John F. Sr.
Hicks, Peggy L. *
Higginbotham, F.
Michael
Higgins, Heather
Richardson *
Higgins, Robert F.
Higgins, Tracy E.
Hight, B. Boyd
Hightower, Edward T.
Hill, J. Tomolson
Hill, James T.
Hill, Joseph C.
Hill, Pamela
Hill, Raymond D.
Hillen, John F. III
Hillenbrand, Martin J.
Hillgren, Sonja
Hills, Carla A.
Hilton, Robert P.
Hinerfeld, Ruth
Hines, Rachel
Hinton, Deane R.
Hirsch, John L.
Hirschman, Albert O.
Hirsch, Michael P. *
Hoagland, Jim
Hoar, Joseph Paul
Hobart, Matthew Todd
Hobbs, Michael W.
Hodin, Michael W.
Hofer, Amoretta M.
Hoehn, Andrew R.
Hoehn, William E. Jr.
Hoenlein, Malcolm L.
Hoffman, A. Michael
Hoffman, Adonis E.
Hoffman, Audrey
Hofmann, Stanley
Hofman, Steven J.*
Hoge, James F. Jr.
Hoge, Warren M.
Hoguet, George
Hohnes, Mary
Elizabeth
Holbrooke, Richard C.
Holden, John L.
Holdren, John P.
Hollack, Ann Lorraine
Holliday, Stuart W.
Hollifield, James
Frank *
Holloway, Dwight F. Jr.
Holmer, Alan F.
Holmes, Henry Allen
Holmes, Kim R.
Holmes, Stephen T.
Holowenko,
Alessandra Griffiths
Holst, Eric Allan
Holt, Pat M.
Holom, John D.
Hooper, Richard D. Jr.
Hoopes, Townsend W.
Hope, Judith Richards
Hope, Richard O.
Horelick, Arnold L.
Horlick, Gary N.
Horn, Robert D.
Horn, Karen N.
Horn, Sally K.
Horn, Matina
Souretis
Hornik, Richard H.
Horowitz, Irving Louis
Horton, Alan W.
Horton, Robert Scott
Hosmer, Bradley C.
Hoston, Germaine A.
Houtelet, Richard C.
Houghton, Amory Jr.
Houghton, James R.
Houlihan, Kathleen
House, Karen
Howard, Louis E.
Howard, Christopher
Bernard
Howard, John R.
Howard, Lyndsay C.
Howard,
M. William Jr.
Howell, Ernest M.
Howell, Peter
Howsom, Nicholas C.
Hoyt, Mont P.
Hrynkw, Sharon H.
Hsu, Ta-Lin
Htun, Mala N.
Huber, Richard L.
Huberman, Benjamin
Hudson, Manley O. Jr.
Hudson, Michael C.
Huebner, Lee W.
Hufbauer, Gary C.
Huffington, Roy M.
Hughes, Duane L.
Hughes, Lynn N.
Hughes, Lyric M.
Hughes, R. John
Hughes, Thomas
Lowe
Huizenga, John W.
Hultman, Tamela
Hulquist, Timothy A.
Hume, Cameron R.
Hume, Ellen H.
Hunker, Jeffrey A.
Hunt, Swanee
Hunter, Robert E.
Hunter, Shireen T.
Hunter, William Curt *
Hunter-Gault, Charlayne
Huntington, David S.
Huntington, Patricia
Skinner
Huntington, Samuel
Phillips
Hurewitz, J. C.
Hurlock, James B.
Hurlock, Matthew
Hunter
Hurst, Robert J.
Hurwitz, Sol
Hutchings, Robert L.
Hutchins, Glenn H.
Huyck, Philip M.
Hyatt, Joel Z.
Hyland, William G.
Hyman, Allen I.

I

Ibargüen, Alberto
Ignatius, David R.
Ijaz, Mansoor
Ikenberry, G. John
Ikle, Fred C.
Illman, Alice Stone
Immergut, Mel M.
Inderfurth, Karl F.
Indyk, Martin S.*
Ingersoll, Robert S.
Inman, Bobby R.
Intriligator, Michael D.
Irish, Leon E.
Irvin, Patricia L.
Irwin, David Wallace
Isaacs, Maxine
Isaacson, Walter S.
Isaza-Tuzman,
Kalei D.
Iselin, John Jay
Isenberg, Steven L.
Isham, Christopher
Isles, Adam R.
Ispahani, Mahnaz
Isser, Deborah H.
Istel, Yves-Andre
Itoh, William H.
Ivester, M. Douglas
Izlar, William H. Jr.

J

Jabber, Paul
Jackelen, Henry
Jacklin, Nancy P.
Jackson, Bruce P.
Jackson, Jesse L.
Jackson, John Howard
Jackson, Lois M.
Jackson, Sarah
Jacob, John L
Jacobs, Eli S.
Jacobs, Jack H.*
Jacobs, Nehama
Jacobson, Jerome
Jacobson, Mark R.
Jacob, Tamar
Jaffe, Amy Myers
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Janes, Jackson
Janis, Mark Weston
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Janow, Merit E.
Janklow, Morton L.
James, Francis J.
Jakub, Jay
James, Francis J.
Membership Roster

Kondracke, Morton
Koonin, Steven E.*
Korb, Lawrence J.
Korbonski, Andrzej
Kormos, Cyril
Frederic†
Korn, Jessica*
Kornblum, John C.
Korry, Edward M.
Kosti¢, Mike Vincent
Kotecha, Mahesh K.
Kotler, Steven
Kraar, Louis
Kraemer, Lillian E.
Kramer, Robert E.
Kramer, David J.
Kramer, Helen M.
Kramer, Jane
Kramer, Michael
Kramer, Reed
Kramer, Steven Philip
Kranwinkle, C.
Kraar, Louis
Krus, Charles
Kruer, Harvey
Krublik, Charles
Kume, Donald
Kunstadter, Geraldine S.
Kupchan, Charles A.
Kupchan, Clifford A.
Kupperman, Robert H.
Kurth, James R.
Kurtzer, Daniel C.
Kushen, Robert A.
Kux, Dennis*
Kwoh, Stewart

L
Lader, Philip
Ladd, Edward
Ladar, Drew J.†
Ladner, Joyce A.
LAG, Mark P.
Lairson, Ellen
Lakes, David A.
Lake, W. Anthony
Lake, William T.
Lall, Betty Goetz
Lamb, Denis
Lambert, Brett B.
Lambeth, Benjamin S.
Lamont, Lansin
Lampley, 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.
Langlois, Robert J.*
LaPalombara, Joseph
Lapham, Lewis H.
Lapham, Nicholas Payne†
Lapidus, Gail W.
Lardy, Nicholas R.
Larabee, E. Stephen
Larson, Charles R.
Lasensky, Scott B.†
Lash, Jonathan
Lassar, Lawrence J.
Lateef, Noël V.
Lauder, Leonard A.
Lauder, Ronald S.
Laudicina, Paul A.
Launinger, Philip C. Jr.
Laurenti, Jeffrey
Lautenbach, Ned C.
Laventhal, David A.
Levin, Franklin L.
Lawrence, Richard D.
Lawrence, Robert Z.
Lawson, Chappell H.†
Lawson, Eugene K.
Layne, Christopher
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Levy, David C.
Leclerc, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
Lederer, Robert J.
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, Nancy*†
Lee, Theo Mei*†
Lee, William L.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Leebron, David W.
Leeds, Roger S.
Leet, Mildred Robbins
Leffler, Ernest W.
Leffall, LaSalle D. III
Leghorn, Richard S.
Legro, Jeffrey W.
Legvold, Robert
Lehman, John F.
Lehman, Orin
Lehman, Ronald
Frank II
Lehr, Deborah M.
Lehrer, Jim
Leich, John Foster
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, Kenneth
Lynch
Leone, Richard C.
Lerner-Lam, Eva
Lesch, Ann Mosely
Leslie, John W. Jr.
Lesser, Ian O.
Leitre, Marcel J. II
Levin, Gerald M.
Levin, Herbert
Levin, John A.
Levin, Michael Stuart
Levine, Irving R.
Levine, Marne L.
Levine, Mel
Levine, Susan B.
Levinson, Marc
Levit, Kenneth Joel
Levitas, Mitchel
Levitsky, Jonathan E.
Levitt, Jeremy I.
Levy, Philip L.
Levy, Reynold
Lewis, Anthony
Lewis, Bernard
Lewis, Edward T.
Lewis, Elise E. Carlson
Lewis, John P.
Lewis, Samuel W.
Lewis, Sherman R. Jr.
Lewis, Stephen R. Jr.
Lewis, W. Walker
Levy, Glen S.
Li, Lu
Libby, I. Lewis
Lichtblau, John H.
Lichtenstein, Cynthia C.
Lieber, James E.*
Lieber, Robert J.
Lieberman, Joseph I.
Lieberman, Nancy A.
Lieberthal, Kenneth G.
Lifton, Robert K.
Light, Timothy
Lightizer, Robert E.
Lilienthal, Sally L.
Lilley, James R.
Lincoln, Edward J.
Lindberg, Tod
Lindsay, Beverly
Lindsay, Franklin A.
Lindsay, James M.
Lin, Jonathan S.
Link, Troland S.
Linowes, David F.
Lipman, Ira A.*
Lipper, Kenneth
Lipper, Tamara
Lipps, Brian C.
Lippman, Thomas W.
Lipset, Seymour
Martin
Lipsky, John P.
Lipsky, Seth
Lissakers, Karin M.
Litan, Robert E.
Little, David
Little, Milton J. Jr.
Litvak, Robert S.
Liu, Betty Wen Ssu
Liu, Eric P.
Liu, Margaret C.
Livingston, Robert
Gerald
Llewellyn, J. Bruce
Lodal, Jan M.
Lodge, George Cabot
Loeb, Marshall
Logan, Francis D.
Lombardi, Clark B.†
London, Herbert I.
Long, William J.
Longmuir, Shelley A.*
Longstreth, Bevis
Lyons, James E.
Lyons, Richard Kent

M
Ma, Christopher
Mabry, Marcus
Mabus, Raymond E.
MacCormack, Charles Frederick
MacDonald, Bruce W.*
MacDougal, Gary E.
Mack, Consuelo Cotter*
Mack, J. Curtis II*
Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr.
Mackevich, Eileen R.
MacLaury, Bruce K.
Mack, John Dewitt
Macomber, William B.
Macy, Robert M. Jr.
Madinig, John W.*
Madrid, Arturo
Magras, Krista M.†
Maguire, John David
Mahoney, Margaret E.
Mahoney, Thomas H. IV
Mai, Vincent A.
Maier, Charles S.
Makin, John Holmes
Makins, Christopher J.
Mako, William P.
Maldonado, Wendy A.†
Malem, Frederic V.
Malinowski, Tom
Mallery, Richard
Mallett, Robert L.
Malmgren, Harald B.
Malmgren, K. Philippa
Malone, Kim
Malpass, David R.
Manatt, Charles T.
Manca, Marie
Antoinette
Mandelbaum, Michael
Maniates, Gregory A.†
Manilow, Lewis
Manley, Audrey Forbes
Mann, Hillary P.
Mann, James H.
Mann, Michael D.
Mann, Thomas E.
Manuel, Anja L.
Manzi, Jim
Marans, J. Eugene
Marchick, David
Marucci, Anna Patricia
Marum, John Arthur
Marder, Murrey
Margolis, David I.
Marinoli, A. Roger
Mark, David E.
Mark, Hans M.
Mark, Rebecca P.
Marks, Leonard H.
Marks, Paul A.
Marks, Russell E. Jr.
Markusen, Ann R.
Marlin, Alice Tepper
Marr, Phebe A.
Marron, Donald B.
Marsh, Tom F.
Marshall, Andrew W.
Marshall, Anthony D.
Marshall, Dale Rogers
Marshall, F. Ray
Marshall, Katherine
Martin, Daniel Richard
Martin, Lynn Morley
Martin, Susan E.
Martin, William F.
Martin, Kati I.
Masin, Michael T.
Massey, L. Camille
Massey, Walter E.
Massimino, Elisa C.
Mastanduno, Michael
Masters, Carlton A.
Matheson, Michael J.
Mathews, Jessica T.
Mathews, Michael S.
Mathews, Sylvia M.*
Mathias,
Charles McC. Jr.
Mathias, Edward J.
Mathis, Brian Pierre
Matlock, Jack F. Jr.
Matsui, Robert T.
Matsukata, Naotaka
Matteson, William B.
Matthews, Eugene A.
Matthews, John Casley III
Mattox, Gale A.
Matuszewski,
Daniel C.
Mazelke, Richard H.*
Maxwell, Kenneth
Robert
May, Ernest R.
May, Michael M.
Mayer, Claudette
Mayer, Gerald M. Jr.
Mayer, Lawrence A.
Mayhew, Alice E.
Maynes, Charles William
Mazur, Jay
McAfee, William Gage
McAllister, Jef
Olivarius
McAllister,
Singleton B.
McCaffrey, Barry R.
McCaffrey, Cynthia Lillian
McCaughan, John S. III
McCall, H. Carl
McCann, Edward
McCarter, Patrick F.
McCarter, John W. Jr.
McCarthy, James P.
McCarthy,
Kathleen D.*
McChrysa, Stanley A.
McClary, Tonya D.
McClure, Lilyanne H.*
McClure, John J.
McDonald, Thomas E.
McNaught, Thomas L.
McNerney, Michael J.

* Elected to membership in 2002.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2002.
McNerney, Patricia Ann
McPeak, Merrill A.
McPeek, Brian C.
McPherson, M. Peter
McQuade, Lawrence C.
McWade, Jessica C.
Meacham, Carl E.
Meacham, Jon
Mead, Dana G.
Mead, Walter Russell
Meadows, Jeanne Terry
Meagher, Robert F.
Mead, Walter Russell
Medearis, Amy Houpt
Medawar, Adrienne
Mearsheimer, John J.
McQuade, Lawrance C.
Medley, Richard
Meagher, Robert F.
Mead, Walter Russell
Medina, Kathryn B.
Medina, David S.
Medina, David
Medina, David S.
Medina, David S.
Medina, David S.
Medina, David S.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, John
Mei, Heng Chen
Meier, Charles E.
Newman, Pauline*
Newman, Priscilla A.
Newman, Richard T.
Newsom, David D.
Newstead, Jennifer G.†
Newton, M. Diana
Helweg
Newton, Quigg
Ney, Edward N.
Nicholas, N.J. Jr.
Nichols, Nancy
Stephenson
Nichols, Rodney W.
Nicholson, Jan
Niehuss, John M.
Niehuss, Rosemary
Neather
Nielsen, Nancy
Nielsen, Suzanne
Christine
Nielsen, Waldemar
August
Nilsson, A. Kenneth
Nilmetz, Matthew
Nitze, Paul H.
Nitze, William A.
Nizich, Ivana Astrid
Noam, Eli M.
Nogales, Luis G.
Nolan, Janne Emilie
Noland, Marcus
Nonacs, Eric S.
Nooter, Robert Harry
Norman, William S.
Norquist, Grover
Glenn
Norton, Augustus
Richard
Norton, Eleanor
Holmes
Nossel, Suzanne F.*
Noto, Lucio A.
Novack, Lynne
Dominick
Novogratz, Jacqueline* 
Nuechterlein, Jeffrey D.
Nunn, Sam
Nussbaum, Bruce
Nye, Joseph S. Jr.
O
Oppenheimer, Franz
Martin
Oppenheimer,
Michael F.
Orentlicher, Diane
Orlins, Stephen A.
Ornstein, Norman J.
Orr, Robert C.*
Osborn, John E.
Osborne, Richard de J.
Osmer-McQuade,
Margaret
Osnos, Peter L.W.
Oster, Susan Sherer
Ostermann, 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.
Oxnam, Steven A.
Oye, Robert B.
Oye, Kenneth A.
O'Brien, Dennis J.
O'Connell, Carol
O'Connor, Walter F.
O'Flaherty, J. Daniel
O'Hare, Joseph A.
O'Malley, John
O'Malley,
Cormac K.H.
O'Neil, Kathleen A.
O'Neil, Michael J.
O'Reily, Kevin P.
O'Rourke, Patrick J.
O'Sullivan, Meghan L.
O'Kelly, Phyllis E.
O'Kelly, Robert B.
O'Herder, Don
Odeen, Philip A.
Odell, John S.
Odom, William E.
Oettinger, Anthony G.
Ofenheiser,
Raymond C. Jr.
Offit, Morris W.
Ogden, Alfred
Oh, Koganda
Okawara, Merle Aiko
Olidge, Trina S.
Oliva, L. Jay
Oliver, April A.
Olmer, Lionel Herbert
Olmstead, Ceci J.
Olson, David
Andrew†
Olson, Jane T.
Olson, Lyndon L. Jr.
Olson, Ronald L.
Olson, William Clinton
Olvey, Lee D.
Omentad, Thomas E.
Opel, John R.
P
Paal, Douglas Haines
Pachon, Harry P.
Packard, George R.
Page, Carter W.
Paine, George C. III
Paisner, Bruce
Lawrence†
Pakula, Hannah C.
Pallees, Edward S.
Palmer, Mark
Palmer, Matthew A.
Palmer, Ronald D.
Palmerlee, April
Palmieri, Victor H.
Pan, Michael†
Pandith, Farah Anwar
Panofsky,
Wolfgang K.H.
Paperin, Stewart J.
Pardee, Scott E.
Pardes, Herbert
Pardew, James W. Jr.
Parent, Louise M.
Paris, Jonathan
Park, H. K.
Parker, Elizabeth
Rindskopf
Parker, Jason H.
Osnos, Susan Sherer
Ostermann, 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.
Oxnam, Steven A.
Oye, Robert B.
Oye, Kenneth A.
Pedersen, Richard
Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill
Pederson, Rena M.
Pell, Claiborne
Pelletreau,
Robert H. Jr.
Pelofofsky, Eric J.
Peña, Federico F.
Penfield, James K.
Penn, Lawrence
Edward III
Penn, Mark Jeffrey
Percy, Charles H.
Perella, Joseph R.
Perera, Richard D.
Peretz, Don
Perez, 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, Robert C.
Perry, William J.
Persico, Joseph E.*
Peters, Mary Ann*
Peters, Michael P.
Petersen, Mathew
Scott
Peterson, Holly
Peterson, Peter G.
Peterson, Rudolph A.
Petræus, David H.
Petree, Richard W.
Petree, Richard W. Jr.
Petri, Thomas E.
Petschek, Stephen R.
Petitbone, Peter J.
Petty, John R.
Peyronnin, Joseph F.
Pezzullo, Lawrence A.
Pfaltzgraff,
Robert L. Jr.
Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill
Polk, William R.
Polk, George W.
Pollen, Gerald A.
Pollen, Jonathan D.
Polk, Lessor
Polinsky, Nelson W.
Pond, Elizabeth
Poneman, Daniel
Poon, Robert E.
Potts, Lucian W.
Pyle, Kenneth B.
Puckett, Robert H.
Puckett, Allen E.
Pulling, Edward L.
Purcell, Susan
Pursley, Robert E.
Putnam, Robert D.
Quainton, Anthony
Quauntz, William B.
Querter, George H.
Quigley, Kevin F.E.
Quigley, Leonard V.
Quilter, Peter A.
Quinn, Jane Bryant
Quinn, John M.
Rabinowitch, Alexander
Rabinowitch, Victor
Radkew, Robert W.
Radway, Laurence I.
Raine, Fernande
Raines, Franklin D.
Raisian, John
Ralston, Joseph W.
Rakameshna, Kilaparti
Ramirez, Lilia L.
Ramo, Joshua Cooper
Ramo, Simon
Randolph, R. Sean
Rangel, Charles B.
Ranis, Gustav
Rankin, Clyde E. III
Raphel, Robin Lynn
Rappaport, Alan H.
Ratchford, J. Thomas
Ratan, Dan
Ratneshwar, Romesh M.
Rattner, Steven L.
Rattray, Gregory John
Rauch, Rudolph S.
Raul, Alan Charles
Raussta, Kal
Ravenel, Earl C.
Ravenhoit, Albert V.
Raviv, Samantha E.
Ravitch, Richard
Raymond, David A.
Raymond, Jack
Raymond, Lee R.
Realuyo, Celina B.
Rechberger, Kristin
Denise
Redman, Charles M.
Reed, Charles B.
Reed, Jack
Reed, Joseph Vener
Reese, William Sears
Regan, Ned
Reichert, William M.
Reid, Ogden
Relling, Peter A.*
Rely, Saskia S.
Rely, William K.
Reimer, Dennis Joe
Reinhart, John E.
Reinhart, Carmen M.
Reinhart, Jehuda
Reisman, William
Michael
Reiss, Mitchell B.
Remick, Elizabeth J.
Remington, Thomas E.
Renfrew, Charles
Byron
Rennie, Millbrey
Rennie, Renate
Reppert, John C.
Repp, Judith V.
Resor, Stanley R.
Rey, Nicholas A.
Rhinelander, John B.
Rhodes, John B. Sr.
Rhodes, William R.
Ricardel, Mira R.
Rice, Condoolezza
Rice, Donald S.
Rice, Joseph A.
Rice, Susan E.
Rich, Brian Allen
Rich, Michael D.
Richard, Anne C.
Richards, Ann W.*
Richards, Paul G.
Richards, Stephen H.
Richardson, David B.
Richardson, Henry J. III
Richardson, John
Richardson, Richard W.
Richardson, William B.
Richardson, William R.
Richardson, yolonda C.
Richman, Joan F.
Richter, Anthony H.
Riddle, Malcolm C.
Ridgway, Rozanne L.
Rief, David
Riel, John E.
Riffat, Imran
Riffkind, Robert S.
Riordan, Michael L.
Ritch, John B. III
Rivas-Vazquez, Victoria
Rivers, Richard R.
Rivkin, David B. Jr.
Rivlin, Alice M.
Rizk, Nayla M.
Rizopoulos, Nicholas X.
Robb, Charles S.
Robbins, Carla Anne
Robert, Joseph E. Jr.
Robert, Stephen
Robert, Bradley H.
Roberts, Chalmers M.
Roberts, John J.
Roberts, Richard Todd
Roberts, Walter R.
Robertson, Cara W.*
Robinson, Barbara
Paul
Robinson, David Z.
Robinson, Davis R.
Robinson, Eugene
Harold
Robinson, James D. III
Sacerdote, Peter M.*
Sachs, Jeffrey D.
Sacks, Paul M.
Saeed, Ahmed M.*
Saenz, Thomas A.
Sagan, Scott D.
Said, Edward
Sakoian, Carol Knuth
Salacuse, Jeswald
William
Salazar, Ana Maria
Salem, George R.
Salomon, Richard E.
Salomon, William R.
Salzman, Anthony
David
Samore, Gary
Sample, Steven B.
Samuels, Barbara
Christie II
Samuels, Michael A.
Samuels, Richard J.
Samway, Michael A.*
Sanchez, Miguel
Antonio
Sanchez, Orlando
Sandalow, David
Sandberg, Sheryl K.
Sandel, Michael J.
Sander, Alison B.
Sanders, Barry A.
Sanders, Marlene
Sanders, Robin Renee
Sands, Amy
Sanger, David E.
Sapiro, Miriam
Sapolsky, Harvey M.
Sargeant, Stephen
Thomas
Sarotte, Mary Elise†
Sassen, Saskia
Sassler, James R.
Satloff, Robert B.
Saul, Ralph Southey
Saunders, Harold H.
Savage, Frank
Sawoski, Mark
Sawyer, Diane
Scalapino, Robert A.
Schacht, Henry B.
Schachter, Oscar
Schadlow, Nadia C.
Schaefer, Matthew P.
Schaffer, Howard
Bruner
Schaffer, Matthew†
Schaffer, Teresita C.
Schakel, Kori
Schearer, Thomas
Scherer, Peter†
Scherer, Jerrold
Scheff, David J.
Schein, Jacqui Selbst†
Scheinman, Lawrence
Schell, Orville
Hickok
Schell, Theodore H.*
Membership Roster

Scowcroft, Brent
Scranton, William W.
Seagrave, Norman P.
Seamans, Robert C. Jr.
Sears, Jonathan E.
Seasholes, Mark S.†
Seaton, James B. III
Segal, Sheldon J.
Segal, Susan Louise
Seibold, Frederick C. Jr.
Seigenthaler, John L.
Seiple, Chris
Seitz, Frederick
Sekulow, Eugene A.
Selin, Ivan
Sender, Henny*
Serfaty, Simon
Sesno, Frank W.
Sestanovich, Stephen R.
Sewall, John O.B.
Sewall, Sarah
Sewell, John W.
Seymour, Frances J.
Shafer, D. Michael
Shafer, Jeffrey R.
Shaffer, Gail S.
Shalol, Barbara
Shair-Goyer, Beth
Shalala, Donna E.
Shalikashvili, John M.
Shambaugh, David
Shanker, Thomas Daniel*†
Shapiro, Andrew J.
Shapiro, Andrew L.†
Shapiro, Hal Scott
Shapiro, Harold T.
Shapiro, Isaac
Shapiro, Judith R.
Shaplen, Jason T.
Sharp, Daniel A.
Shattuck, John
Shayne, Herbert M.
Shea, Dorothy C.
Shearer, Brooke L.
Sheehan, Kevin P.
Sheehan, Michael A.
Sheffield, Jill W.
Shehabi, Soroush
Richard
Sheinbaum, Stanley K.
Sheinkman, Jack
Sheldon, Eleanor B.
Shelley, Sally Swing
Shelp, Ronald K.
Shelton, H. Hugh
Shelton, Joaanna Reed
Shelton-Colyb, Sally A.
Shenk, George H.
Shenk, Maury David
Shepard, Stephen B.
Shepardson, Robert Thomas
Shepherd, John Michael*
Sheriff, Karen*
Sherman, Michael
Sherman, Wendy R.
Sherry, George L.
Sherwood, Benjamin B.
Sherwood-Randall, Elizabeth D.
Shestack, Jerome J.
Shields, Geoffrey B.
Shields, Lisa
Shifer, Michael
Shiner, Josette S.
Shinn, James J.
Shinseki, Hirona
Shipley, Walter V.
Shirk, Susan L.
Shirzad, Faryar
Shlaes, Amy Ruth
Shoemaker, Christopher C.
Shonholtz, Raymond
Shriver, Donald W.
Shubert, Gustave H.
Shulman, Colette
Shulman, Marshall D.
Shultz, George P.
Shuman, Stanley S.
Sick, Gary G.
Siegal, Bippy M.†
Siegman, Henry
Sievers, Sara E.†
Sifton, Elisabeth N.
Sigal, Leon V.
Sigmund, Paul E.
Sikkink, Kathryn A.*
Silas, C. J.
Silber, Laura J.*
Silberman, Laurence H.
Silberman, Robert S.
Silberstein, Alan M.
Silkenat, James R.
Silver, Allison
Silver, Daniel B.
Silver, Ron
Silvers, Robert B.
Simes, Dimitri K.
Simmons, Adele
Simmons, Jasmine
Simmons, Matthew R.*
Simmons, P. J.*
Simmons, R. E.
Sinding, Steven W.
Singer, Peter W.†
Singham, Shanker A.†
Sinkin, Richard N.
Sisco, Joseph John
Sitrick, James Baker
Skidmore, Thomas E.
Skinner, Elliott P.
Skinner, Kiron Kanina
Sklaew, Jennifer
Friedman
Skol, Michael M.
Skolnikoff, Eugene B.
Slade, David R.
Slater, Joseph E.
Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Slaughter, Matthew J.
Slaughter, Richard A.
Slavin, Barbara*†
Slawson, Paul S.
Sloane, Anne Brownell
Slocombe, Walter B.
Sloss, Leon
Small, Lawrence M.
Smalley, Kathleen
Smalley, Patricia T.
Smart, S. Bruce Jr.
Snell, Christopher*†
Smith, Andrew F.
Smith, Andrew F.
Smith, Clint E.
Smith, Dane F. Jr.*
Smith, David Shiverick
Smith, DeWitt C. Jr.
Smith, Edwin M.
Smith, Gayle E.*
Smith, Hedrick L.
Smith, James McCall
Smith, Jane Kennedy
Smith, Jeffrey H.
Smith, John T. II
Smith, Malcolm B.
Smith, Michael B.
Smith, Michelle A.
Smith, Nicole Venable
Smith, Perry M.
Smith, Peter
Hopkinson
Smith, R. Jeffrey
Smith, Richard M.
Smith, Stephen G.
Smith, Theodore M.
Smith, Tony
Smith, W. Y.
Smith, Wayne S.
Smith, Winthrop H. Jr.
Smoock, Samuel D.
Snider, Don M.
Snider, L. Brit.
Snow, Robert Anthony
Snowe, Olympia J.
Snyder, Jack L.
Snyder, Jed C.
Snyder, Richard E.
Snyder, Scott A.
Snyder, Timothy D.
Sobol, Dorothy
Meadow
Soderberg, Nancy E.
Sofaer, Abraham
David
Sohn, Louis B.
Solarz, Stephen J.
Solnick, Steven L.*†
Solomon, Andrew
Wallace
Solomon, Anne G.K.
Solomon, Anthony M.
Solomon, Joshua N.*
Solomon, Lisa J.
Solomon, Peter J.
Solomon, Richard H.
Solomon, Robert
Sonenshine, H. Marshall
Sonenshine, Tara Diane
Song, Diana M.H.†
Sonnenberg, Maurice
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut
Sonnenfeldt, Richard W.
Sorensen, Gillian
Martin
Sorensen, Theodore C.
Soros, George
Soros, Paul
Sovorn, Michael I.
Spain, James W.
Spro, Jonathan
Spangler, Scott M.
Spector, Leonard S.
Speedie, David C.
Spencer, Edson W.
Spero, Joan E.
Spero, Joshua B.
Speth, James Gustave
Spery, Jerry L.
Spiegel, Daniel L.*†
Spiegel, John W.
Spielvogel, Carl
Spier, Ronald J.
Spindler, J. Andrew
Spiro, Herbert John
Spratt, John M. Jr.
Stack-O'Connor, Alisa
Stackpole, D. Andrew
Stacks, John
Stahl, Lesley R.*†
Stalson, Helena
Stam, Allan C.*†
Stamas, Stephen
Stanley, Peter W.
Stanley-Mitchell, Elizabeth A.†
Stanton, Frank
Staples, Eugene S.
Staples, Kristen
Starr, Kenneth L.
Starr, S. Frederick
Steadman, Richard C.
* Elected to membership in 2002.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2002.
Membership Roster

U

Udovitch, Abraham L.
Ulfig, Mark
Ullman, Richard H.
Ulman, Cornelius M.
Ulrich, Marybeth
Peterson
Ungar, Sanford J.
Unger, David C.
Upton, Maureen T.
Usher, William R.
Utgoff, Victor A.
Utley, Garrick

V

Vaccaro, J. Matthew†
Vaglano,
Alexander M.
Vaglano, Sara
Vagts, Detlev F.
Vaky, Viron P.
Valenta, Jiri
Valentine, Debra A.
Valenzuela,
Arturo A.
van der Vink,
Gregory E.
Van Dusen, Michael H.
Van Dyk, Ted
Van Eversa, Stephen
Van Fleet, James
Alward
Van Oudenaren,
John
Van Zandt, David
Edgar*
Vande Berg, Marsha
vanden Heuvel,
Katrina
vanden Heuvel, William J.
Vandenbergh,
Martina E.
Vander Lugt,
Robert D.
Varanini, Jeffrey Paul
Varela, Marta B.
Varela, Harold E.
Vasquez, Ian A.
Vecchi, Sesto E.
Veit, Carol Michelle
Veit, Lawrence A.
Veliotis, Nicholas A.
Vendley, William F.*
Verleger,
Philip K. Jr.
Verma, Richard R.
Vermilye, Peter H.
Verstandig, Toni G.
Verville,
Elizabeth G.
Vesey, John W.
Vester, Linda J.*
Viccellio, Henry Jr.
Vick, Edward H.
Victor, Alice S.*
Vidal, David J.
Videt, Pote P.
Viebranz, Curtis G.
Viehman, Stephen
Viets, Richard
Noyes
Vila, Adis M.
Viorst, Milton
Viscusi, Enzo
Vitale, Alberto
Vitali, David J.*
Voell, Richard Allen
Vogel, Ezra F.
Vogelgesang, Sandy
Louise
Vogelson, Jay M.
Vojta, George J.
Volk, Paul A.
Volk, Stephen R.
von Eckartsberg, K.
Gayle Rose
von Hagen, Mark
Louis
von Hippel, Frank
von Lipsey,
Roderick K.
von Mehren,
Robert B.
Votaw, Carmen
Delgado
Vuono, Carl E.

W

Wachner, Linda J.
Wachtel, Andrew
Baruch
Wadsworth-Darby,
Mary
Waggoner, Robert C.
Wakeman,
Frederic E. Jr.
Walder, Arthur
Wales, Jane M.
Walker, Charles E.
Walker, George R.
Walker, Jacques P.
Walker, Jenonne
Walker, John L.
Walker-Huntley,
Mary L.
Walkling, Sarah K.
Wallace, Roger
Windham
Wallander, Celeste
Ann*
Wallerstein, Mitchel B.
Wallich, Christine I.
Wallison, Peter J.
Walsh, Ian Kennard
Walsh, Michaela L.
Walt, Stephen M.*
Walters, Barbara
Walton, Anthony
Waltz, Kenneth N.
Wanger, Leah Zell
Ward, Jennifer C.
Ward, Katherine T.
Ward, L. Celeste
Johnson†
Ware, Carl
Warner, Edward L. III
Warner, John William
Warner, Volney James
Warren, Gerald L.
Washburn, Abbott M.
Washburn, John L.
Wasserman, Debra L.†
Wasserstein, Bruce
Waterbury, John
Waters, Cherid D.

Watson, Alexander F.
Watson, Peter S.
Wattenberg, Ben J.
Watts, John H.
Watts, William
Waxman, Matthew C.
Weatherstone, Dennis
Weaver, David R.
Weber, Doron
Weber, Vin
Webster, William H.
Wechsler, William F.*
Weddle, Steven
Wedgwood, Ruth
Wehrle, Leroy Snyder
Weidenbaum, Murray
Weigel, George
Weisner, George B. Jr.
Weil, Frank A.
Weinberg, John L.
Weinberg, Steven
Weinberger,
Caspar W...∗
Wine, Richard S.
Wimrod, W. Bruce
Weinstein, David E.*
Weinstein, Michael M.
Weintraub, Sidney
Weisberg, Jacob M.*
Weisman, Steven R.
Weiss, Charles Jr.
Weiss, Cora
Weiss, Edith Brown
Weiss, Elizabeth Anne
Weiss, Stanley A.
Weiss, Thomas G.
Weissman, Ivan S.
Welch, C. David
Welch, Jasper A. Jr.
Welch, Larry D.
Weld, Susan R.*
Weld, William F.
Welker, David P.
Weller, David L.†
Wells, Damon
Wells, Louis T.
Wells, Samuel F. Jr.
Wells, Walter N.
Wender, Ira T.
Wendt, Allan

Wertheim, Mitzi
Mallina
Westbrook, Stephen D.
Weschler, Joanna
Wesely, Edwin J.
West, J. Robinson
West, Owen O'Driscoll
West, Togo D. Jr.
Weston, Burns H.
Wethington, Olin L.
Wexler, Anne
Weymouth,
Elizabeth G.
Whalen, Richard J.
Wharton, Clifton R. Jr.
Wheeler, John K.
Wheeler, John P. III
Whitaker, C.S.
Whitaker, Jennifer
Seymour
Whitaker, Mark
White, John P.
White, Julia A.
White, Maureen
White, Peter C.
White, Robert J.
White, William H.
Whitehead, John C.
Whitman, Christine
Todd
Whitman, Marina V.N.
Whitney, Craig R.
Whittemore,
Frederick B.
Wiarda, Howard J.
Wien, Anita Volz
Wiener, Carolyn Seely
Wiener, Malcolm H.
Wiesel, Elie
Wilby, Peter
Wildenthal, C. Kern
Wiley, Richard A.
Wilhelm, Robert E.
Wilkerson, Thomas
Lloyd
Wilkie, Edith B.
Wilkins, Roger W.
Wilkinson, Sharon P.
Williams, Aaron S.
Williams, Christine
Membership Roster

Williams, Cindy
Williams, Dave H.
Williams, Eddie
Nathan
Williams, Harold M.
Williams, Haydn
Williams, Howard Roy
Williams, Margaret
Williams, Melvin F. Jr.
Williams, Michael J.
Williams, Paul R.
Williams, Reba White
Williams, William J. Jr.
Williamson, Edwin D.
Williamson, Irving A.
Williamson, Richard Salisbury
Williamson, Samuel Gates
Willrich, Mason
Wilmers, Robert G.
Wilson, Don M. III
Wilson, Donald M.
Wilson, Ernest
James III
Wilson, Karen E.
Wilson, Margaret S.
Wimpfheimer, Jacques D.
Winden, Andrew
William
Winfrek, W.
Montague
Wing, Adrien
Katherine
Winik, Jay
Winokur, Herbert S. Jr.
Winston, Michael R.
Winterer, Philip S.
Winters, Francis X.
Winters, Laura
Wirth, David A.
Wirth, Timothy E.
Wise, Carol*
Wisner, Frank G. II
Wisner, Graham G.
Witkowski, Anne A.
Wittes, Tamara
Cofman
Woerner, Fred F.
Wofford, Harris L.
Wohlfarth, William Curti
Wohlstetter, Roberta
Wolf, Charles Jr.
Wolf, Ira
Wolf, Milton A.
Wolfsdon, James D.
Wolf, Alan Wm.
Wolf, I. Peter
Wolfowitz, Paul D.
Wolfshal, Jon B.
Wolin, Linda Rotblatt
Wolin, Neal S.
Wolpe, Howard
Wolstencroft, Tracy R.
Woocumings, Meredith
Woodruff, Judy C.*
Woods, Ward W.
Woodward, Susan L.
Wooll, Harry
Woolsey, R. James
Woolsey, Suzanne H.
Woom, Eden Y.
Worden, Minky
Worenklein, Jacob
Worley, Elizabeth Mair
Wormuth, Christine E.
Wortman, Christian Fritz
Wosepka, Kent
Wray, Cecil
Wriggins, W. Howard
Wright, Abi E.
Wright, Joseph R. Jr.
Wright, L. Patrick
Wright, Matice J.
Wright, Robin
Wright, William H. II
Wulf, Norman A.
Wyser-Pratte, Guy Patrick
Yacoubian, Mona
Yalman, Nur O.
Yang, Linda Tsao
Yang, Phoebe L.
Yankelovitch, Daniel
Yarney, Michael B.
Yao, Nancy†
Yates, Stephen
Jerome
Yergin, Daniel H.
Yochelson, John N.
Youfie, David B.
Yoo, John Choon
Yordan, Jaime Ernesto
Yoshihara, Nancy
Akemi
Yost, Casimir A.
Young, Alice
Young, Andrew
Young, Edgar B.
Young, George H. III
Young, Jay T.
Young, M. Crawford
Young, Michael K.
Young, Nancy
Youngblood, Kneeland C.
Youngwood, Alfred D.*
Yu, Frederick T.C.
Yudkin, Richard A.
Yzaguirre, Raul H.
Zabel, William D.
Zagoria, Donald S.
Zahn, Paula A.*
Zakaria, Fareed*
Zake, Florence S.N.
Zakheim, Dov S.
Zaleski, Michel
Zanrillo, Robert Lawrence
Zanoyan, Vahan B.
Zarb, Frank G.
Zartman, I. William
Zelik, Arthur
Zelikow, Philip D.
Zelnick, C. Robert
Zemmel, Jonathan L.
Zilkha, Ezra K.
Zimmerman, Edwin M.
Zimmerman, Peter D.
Zimmerman, William
Zimmermann, Warren
Zinberg, Dorothy Shore
Zinder, Norton D.
Zinni, Anthony Charles
Zipp, Brian R.
Zirin, James D.
Zisk, Kimberly Marten
Zittrain, Jonathan L.
Zoellick, Robert B.
Zogby, James J.
Zolberg, Aristide R.
Zonis, Marvin
Zoric, Iva
Zorich, Barry
Zuckerman, Harriet
Zuckerman, Mortimer B.
Zwick, Charles J.

* Elected to membership in 2002.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2002.
Credits

Photos
Central Intelligence Agency Photographer: 29
Irina A. Faskianos: 53, 54, 55
Cree Frappier: 17 top, 23
Patrick Horst: 37
Kyu-Young Lee: 13, 14 bottom, 25 bottom left, 41, 45, 62
Ken Levinson: 12, 14 top left, 15, 18 top, 19, 28, 33, 34, 35, 57, 63 top, 70, 92, 105 top
Greta J. Lundeberg: 39
Don Pollard: 9, 14 top right, 16, 18 bottom, 24 bottom, 30, 38, 42 left, 43, 44, 46, 56, 58, 63 bottom, 64, 108
Gunilla Ramell: 21 top
Kaveh Sardari: 7, 11, 17 bottom, 48, 49, 50, 51, 105 bottom
Lisa Shields: 31
Marie X. Strauss: 25 top right, 26, 36, 42 right

Editor: Patricia Lee Dorff
Designer: Gene Crofts
Editorial Assistant: Kimberly Fielding
Photo Editor: Marie X. Strauss
Intern: Hanna Ingber
Copy Editors: Ed Cone, Traci C. Nagle
Cover Design: Etsuko Iseki

The Council’s Annual Report is designed to focus attention on the substance of its programs. A comprehensive listing of the year’s activities is available on the Council’s website at www.cfr.org.