COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Annual Report

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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, clarifying world issues, producing reports, 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. Become “the source” for ideas and clear, reliable information on key international issues for the interested public at home and abroad.
Dedication

Arthur C. Helton
1949–2003

All of us at the Council on Foreign Relations were deeply saddened by the tragic loss of our colleague and friend, Arthur C. Helton, in the August 19, 2003, bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad. Arthur was one of our most distinguished senior fellows and a noted expert on refugee and humanitarian issues and international law. A respected lawyer and human rights activist, he devoted his life to improving the lives of others. At the time of his death, he was in Iraq to consult with the United Nations to help find ways to relieve human suffering there.

Arthur was Director of Peace and Conflict Studies and Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action at the Council. He was also an adjunct professor at Columbia University Law School. Prior to joining the Council in 1999, he founded and directed the Forced Migration Projects at the Open Society Institute and directed the Refugee Project at the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

“From representing Haitian boat people incarcerated at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1981 in New York, to interviewing displaced Serbs from Kosovo residing in Belgrade in 2001, refugees have taken me on a remarkable professional journey,” Arthur wrote in the preface of his 2002 book, *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century*. Arthur’s colleagues at the Council and elsewhere are honored to have witnessed and participated in his remarkable journey. With his death, the world has lost a devoted and talented champion of the rights of the dispossessed. We will miss him.
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The Council lost a member of the Board of Directors and two Directors Emeriti this year.

Roone Arledge died on December 5, 2002. He joined the Council in 1982 and became a member of the Board in 1998. During that time, he provided valuable advice and wise guidance to the Board and to the Council leadership above and beyond his duties as a Board member. A creative and innovative broadcaster, Roone transformed the presentation of television news and sports. First as President of ABC Sports and later as President and Chairman of ABC News, he brought about revolutionary changes that would affect the media worldwide.

Douglas Dillon passed away on January 10, 2003. One of the longest-serving Council members, he joined the Council in 1946 and played a significant leadership role throughout the more than 50 years he was a member. He served on the Board for 13 years and was Vice Chairman from 1976 to 1978. He also served as Secretary of the Treasury, Undersecretary of State, and Ambassador to France.

Glenn E. Watts died on August 30, 2002. He was a member of the Council for 24 years and was a member of the Board of Directors for 4 years. An influential voice of the U.S. labor movement, he served as President of the Communications Workers of America and served on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. He also founded the Glenn E. Watts Cultural Center in Jerusalem to promote greater understanding between Israel's Arabs and Jews.
It is times like these that test the worth of an institution. Since September 11, 2001, the United States has been engaged in one of the most dangerous contests in its history. The mission of the Council on Foreign Relations—increasing America’s understanding of the world and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy—has never been more important or more relevant.

The Council met the challenge of responding to a post–September 11 world with genuine creativity. The success of these and many other Council programs was due, in large part, to our departing, and in my view incomparable, president, Leslie H. Gelb. Without Les, the Council would not be what it is today—more widely respected, more widely listened to, and more truly representative of American society in its breadth and diversity than ever before in its history.

Les Gelb, The Incomparable Leader

Let’s look at Les’s record in terms of performance metrics (the new buzzword as you know) that were agreed to by the Board and Les. Let’s start with some financial metrics. In the year just before Les took over, we had a deficit of $750,000. Under Les, we have always had a surplus. Last year that surplus was over $2 million. The annual fund has more than quadrupled. In the past ten years, it’s grown to more than $3.5 million. Les also launched the Harold Pratt Associates program. In 1993 when he took over, we had only nine members who each gave $10,000 or more to the annual fund. This year, 172 members have donated that amount, and 38 members have given $25,000 or more. These Harold Pratt Associates contribute about three-fourths of the annual fund. When Les took over, the Council was receiving about $2 million in foundation and grant support. For the last few years we’ve been getting $6 million to $7 million, and the endowment has tripled over the period of his service.

What about the national effort? We’ve had a 50 percent increase in national members, and now more than one-third of our members reside outside of New York and Washington. When Les came, frankly, we didn’t have a real program for national members. We now have a program of study seminars in 9 key cities, and last year we held 50 to 60 seminars. Another of Les’s innovations was the annual National Conference held in June. This year 350 members came from all over the country.

Another metric was a younger membership that was much more active. In the ten years of Les’s reign, the median age has fallen from the high 60s to the mid 50s. The number of term members has doubled. We didn’t have a program for term members and now we have a very full program, including an annual conference. In 2003, we had nearly 300 people come from all over America for that meeting.
The Studies Program is the intellectual heart of this institution. When Les came we had 10 fellows and about 10 visiting fellows. Today, we have 70. When Les came we had 2 endowed chairs; we now have 12, including the new chair in Africa policy studies, which is the first such chair in any foreign policy think tank or school.

The New York Meetings Program: I’ll give you just one metric. The current attendance now averages over 130 members per event. It’s a stunning increase over what we used to have.

The Washington Program went from about a dozen meetings up to about 100 this year. That program is almost as active as New York’s. We went from no fellows in Washington to 23 at the present time. And we now have a much more active program with Congress.

Les has brought so much to this institution that, given the space available here, we could not possibly list everything he’s done. Foreign Affairs with James F. Hoge Jr. has more impact, in my view, and certainly more advertising, than ever in its history. Les has brought what he called the “outreach mission” to the Council, and I think we’re all aware of the extraordinary increase in the Council’s visibility. If you watch television at all, you know how the Council’s exposure has dramatically increased. But you may not know that the Council’s award-nominated website attracts close to half a million visitors per month and is now affiliated with most of the major networks and print media.

And, last but not least, Les instituted Independent Task Forces that have had major impact. Just the recent ones include Iraq, North Korea, public diplomacy, terrorist financing, the Chinese military, homeland security, and so on.

We’ve honored Les in some ways that are unique to this institution. He’s been named the first president emeritus of the Council. He’s also been named the first Board fellow, so for five years he’ll be able to live his dream of writing at least two books that have been percolating over the last ten grueling years. Stephen M. Kellen, Maurice R. Greenberg, and I were delighted to help make that possible. It is indeed the least the Council could have done for this extraordinary leader.

Many people contributed to this decade of progress and renewal at the Council—too many to list here. But I would like to take this opportunity to thank Michael P. Peters, Janice L. Murray, David Kellogg, and the other vice presidents for their help turning Les’s vision into reality. And, of course, my fellow Board colleagues have played a critical and highly constructive role. In particular, William J. McDonough has guided the Council as vice chairman and as chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee, steering us on a steady course through tough and troublesome economic times. Bill’s wisdom has kept the Council in a financial situation that has allowed it to maintain and grow its exceptional programs.
Letter from the Chairman

Carla A. Hills, who is also vice chairman and leads the Nominating and Governance Committee, helped to ensure that the Council Board would have the best leaders.

But of all the colleagues and partners Les and I have had at the Council, the one that stands out the most is Hank Greenberg. We all know of Hank’s record as a global chief executive officer, the remarkable breadth of his international interests, and his unique philanthropic generosity. I think what differentiates Hank is that he digs not only into his pocket but into himself. That has led to a partnership over the past ten years of genuine equality, respect, devotion, and yes, affection. It is one of the most satisfying, productive partnerships I’ve ever been in. We are delighted Hank will remain active as chairman of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and the Council’s first honorary vice chairman.

If great challenges have been met in the last decade, even greater ones lie ahead—for the United States and for the Council on Foreign Relations. Terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction pose grave threats to the peace and security of the American people. America’s unique global power means that the American people bear enormous responsibilities not only to assure their own peace and prosperity, but to assist and often to lead in the creation of a more just, peaceful, and sustainable world. The Council’s mission is more vital now than ever, and under Richard N. Haass, a brilliant mind with an equally brilliant track record, the Council must and will continue to grow, develop, and break new ground.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board
This year the Council made a number of valuable contributions to the quality of the foreign policy debate. The Council’s sponsorship of the Independent Task Force program led to eleven Task Force reports and three more Task Forces that will report before year’s end. That is more than we have ever done before, and the reports are having more impact than ever.

The news coverage of the reports has been phenomenal—more than 1,000 news stories, including coverage by every major newspaper and news organization in the country and around the world. The report of the Council’s Independent Task Force on Iraq, chaired by Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, which offered specific proposals to guide postwar reconstruction of Iraq, was the focus of a story by 60 Minutes. The Task Force on Homeland Security, chaired by former senators Gary Hart and Warren B. Rudman, concluding that this country is still dangerously unprepared to prevent and respond to another catastrophic terrorist attack, led to Senate hearings. Its report also prompted legislation in many statehouses and municipalities across the country. The well-timed Task Force on Enhancing U.S. Leadership at the United Nations, chaired by David Dreier and Lee H. Hamilton, led to the introduction of legislation by Representatives Dreier (R-CA) and Tom Lantos (D-CA) in the House of Representatives, based on the report’s findings that the United States must enhance its influence and reputation at the United Nations. Peter G. Peterson, chair of the Task Force on Public Diplomacy, met with National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and other administration officials to present the Task Force’s findings that the administration must do more to counter America’s deteriorating image around the world. The Task Force on Terrorist Financing, chaired by Maurice R. Greenberg, set forth ways in which the United States could more effectively deal with this problem.

The Council’s Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies continues to play an important synergistic role, bringing together experts in business, economics, and foreign policy. This year alone, under the center’s auspices, the Council produced Task Force reports on terrorist financing and Chinese military power (the latter

Carla A. Hills
William J. McDonough
Letter from the Vice Chairman

chaired by Harold Brown and Joseph W. Prueher); and two books, Democracy and Development: A Policy Agenda for the 21st Century, by Council fellows Morton H. Halperin, Michael M. Weinstein, and Joe Siegle, and Globalization: What’s New, edited by Michael Weinstein, with contributions by some of the world’s leading economists, which will be published next year. The center’s fellows also wrote numerous articles, organized roundtables, and sponsored lectures focused on economic and foreign policy issues. And the Council and Columbia University have joined forces to offer new graduate student fellowships to train the next generation of policymakers in a combined program of economics and foreign policy.

We are also pleased that the Council has an endowed chair named in honor of Ralph Bunche, the first African American to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace and a former undersecretary-general of the United Nations. The Council established the chair in the belief that solving matters of economic and political development in Africa, along with its vast health and humanitarian calamities, will help advance U.S. national interests as well. Inaugural chair holder Princeton N. Lyman, former ambassador to Nigeria and South Africa and former assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, will bring together American and African scholars and foreign policy practitioners, mobilizing new and existing talent to address these issues.

The global health fellowship, supported by a grant from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, will integrate the study of global health issues and U.S. foreign policy analysis. The Council and the Gates Foundation recognize that widespread diseases such as HIV/AIDS and SARS relate to U.S. national security in ways that were unimaginable just a few years ago.

What the Council’s leadership is trying to do is develop ideas that will help people understand and solve today’s complex foreign policy problems, and to advance new ways to think about them. When you look at the impact of the Task Force reports, and the books and articles produced by the Council’s fellows, it is clear that on any fair evaluation, we are making real headway.

As co-chairs of the presidential selection committee, we are delighted to welcome Richard N. Haass as our next president. We are confident that under Richard’s leadership, the Council will continue to flourish as a guardian of the quality of ideas and information.

No one deserves more credit for our great leap forward than our retiring president, Leslie H. Gelb. His decade of devotion to the Council has enlarged and diversified its membership and stimulated intellectual inquiry on new issues that are shaping foreign policy, and he has kept us all happy while working his magic. Les’s commitment to foreign policy study is deep. As he steps down to write and think about that subject in a more sustained fashion than was possible while shouldering his presidential duties, we send him forth with a standing ovation and every good wish imaginable for the future. Many thanks, Les.

Carla A. Hills
William J. McDonough
Vice Chairmen of the Board
As I depart this good job after ten years, I leave the Council on Foreign Relations, but not the world, better off. The world has become more unruly and more dangerous, and it brims over with cries of injustice. Amid this turmoil, perhaps because of it, the Council has thrived. I shall bring together these two stories, of the world and of the Council, later on. Linger with me briefly in the telling, as a kind of act of faith in my 40 years of service as a government official, journalist, and think-tank thinker. Patience for a story, with only a little sermon.

A decade after the Cold War’s end, it can be seen that for all the razzle-dazzle of the nuclear standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States and the evil of the Soviet empire, international matters at that time had a relatively high degree of order, stability, and predictability. Except for the extremely dangerous Cuban missile crisis of 1962, tensions were high, while the risk of nuclear war or even of direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union was low. Political and often economic life was bad for those in the communist world. For people in the West, and especially in America, life was pretty good . . . and safe.

Now, we do not feel safe, and we are not safe. No state on earth will likely challenge our overwhelming military power. But terrorists, with or without weapons of mass destruction, have done so and will do so again. With this newfound and unwanted vulnerability, Americans have joined history.

It can be fairly argued that the liberals and the moderates of the Clinton administration saw the new danger but did not rally the nation to the barricades. It can also be fairly said that the neoconservatives and conservatives of the Bush administration initially discounted the new terrorist threats in favor of warnings about traditional military challenges from great powers, especially China. Only after the tragedy and wake-up call of September 11 did the Bush team refocus, and refocus hard, on our nation’s vulnerability and what needed to be done.

President George W. Bush compelled the nation to stare at the new dangers, but I think any president would have done so after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Where he led, where others might not have gone, was to the articulation of the point and the initiation of the policy that to meet the new threat, the United States has to be very tough-minded, tough in action and prepared to use military force to forestall or retaliate against terrorist attacks or nations abetting terrorist attacks. Good for him, and good for us. The historical record on terrorism shows us clearly enough that terrorists and tyrants are not moved by understanding and anti-poverty programs. Their outrage and obsessions can be cured almost always and only by putting them behind bars or into graves. Decent people can only shudder
at these thoughts and words. But our leaders, alas, must make others—the terrorists—shudder at them as well.

But the story and the policy cannot begin and end with toughness and force. It can only start there. If what passes in our country for a foreign policy debate would descend for a while from its theological thin air to the bracing valley of common sense, some policy elements in addition to force and toughness would leap out. First, we cannot hunt down the terrorists by ourselves or beat them with guns alone. We need others to see their interests in fighting terrorists and to help. That requires cooperation, and cooperation requires compromise. Apparently to some, compromise equals capitulation and is therefore totally unacceptable. To which common sense would say that capitulation is capitulation, and compromise certainly need not be. Second, after force comes the difficult part—making peace, building the conquered lands into better and safer places. Notice I
did not say turning liberated lands into a democratic, free-market paradise. Even the United States, a land blessed by its isolation and riches and freedoms, took some 200 years to reach its present state of holy perfection. Let the formerly oppressed and now liberated strive initially to equal Mayor Richard Daley’s Chicago of the 1950s in lawfulness and economic well-being. But, first in Afghanistan and now perhaps in Iraq as well, the Bush team finds the rigors of cooperating with others and nation-building to be a goal too far, an interest not worth pursuing at high cost.

The costs would be excessive, however, only if we failed to pursue a policy of cooperation, compromise, and nation-building alongside the cocked guns and swagger. It is in the melding of these two strains of policy that the Council can do some good.

My mantra has been that half of what the Council does is interesting and a tenth is useful, and those are very high percentages. Because we are uniquely bipartisan in membership, nonpartisan in leadership, and very careful in what we say and write, we have standing here and abroad. People will pay attention because they see our fairness—not artificial balancing games, but fairness.
Outgoing President’s Message

Speaker Hamid Karzai, President of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan, Nicholas Platt, George Soros, Paul Soros, and Stanley S. Arkin at the September 13, 2002, “Meeting with Hamid Karzai.”

Speaker Stephen J. Hadley, Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser, Maurice Sonnenberg, Kenneth J. Bialkin, and James Baker Sitrick at the February 12, 2003, “Meeting with Stephen Hadley.”

Speaker Jane Holl Lute, Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, United Nations Foundation, Speaker Joseph Cirincione, Senior Associate and Director, Non-Proliferation Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Speaker Charles H. Ferguson, Scientist-in-Residence, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, at the April 10, 2003, Meeting, “ABM, CTBT, NPT, START I, II & III: So Why So Much WMD?”
We have begun to use that reputation to better perform our duty as one of the guardians of the quality of information and ideas in our society. Along with perhaps a few dozen other think tanks, great universities, and foundations, we have a special responsibility to protect the quality of public debate. That means calling balls and strikes about facts, about what we know and do not know, so that interested citizens can find their way through the dense fog of untruths and carelessness that now fills our public discourse. It also means the obligation to help define, manage, and solve policy problems, to have ideas about how to make the world a better and safer place for us and others.

These tasks are hellishly hard. But the Council is trying, and not doing badly on both counts. We have a potent site, “The Source,” at www.cfr.org, that helps the public sort out fact from fiction and leave gray areas where they belong. Through direct questions and answers, careful research and reporting, clear language, and fairness, we give people information they can rely on. We also provide the ideas to help solve problems through our Task Force reports, done independently by our very able fellows and our unparalleled members. And the books and articles produced by our fellows add...
needed depth. My mind races on to tell you more, but you’ll see the more as you read through this report.

Let me reserve the last measure for those who worked with me these ten years to keep the Council a good and useful place for members—young members especially—policy experts, and interested citizens. I demanded a great deal from my colleagues on the staff, and they met those standards. I thank them and cherish them. I could not have been luckier in Board leadership and mentorship. Peter G. Peterson and Maurice R. Greenberg and, more recently, Carla A. Hills and William J. McDonough, were friends and partners—and they made it fun. Pete and Hank were mentors and fathers, and Pete sometimes a mother also. These are all people—staff and Board and members—who can work with my very able friend and successor, Richard N. Haass, to make the world a better and safer place. The Council has the standing and talent to do this. Moreover, as a privileged place and a guardian of our democracy, it has the duty to try.

Leslie H. Gelb
President Emeritus
Outgoing President’s Message

“Wargame: Iraq,” a two-hour MSNBC special, featured Leslie H. Gelb, Council fellows, and members in mock National Security Council sessions gaming out possible scenarios leading up to the war. The program aired on November 25, 2002.

The state of the Council, to borrow the parlance of Washington, is strong. Indeed, the Council on Foreign Relations is the premier organization in the field; credit and thanks are due to many, but above all to Leslie H. Gelb for his decade of extraordinary service and accomplishment.

The Council is a unique hybrid—part membership, part think tank, part publisher, part nongovernmental organization—that possesses many strengths: an impressive and diverse membership; a professional, committed staff in both New York and Washington; a prestigious and engaged Board of Directors so ably led by Peter G. Peterson; an ambitious and often imaginative Meetings Program; *Foreign Affairs*, by far the most influential journal of its type; a budget in surplus and an endowment that has grown significantly over the past decade despite the market downturn; a modern, flexible physical plant; and a state-of-the-art website.

Such strengths can and should be sustained and even enhanced. Possible initiatives include starting up a postdoctoral fellowship program, augmenting efforts designed to engage members of Congress and their staff, increasing activities via the National Program for the more than one-third of the membership that resides outside New York and Washington, and undertaking new efforts to build the endowment.

In addition, I plan to place special emphasis on two aspects of Council activity. The first involves the Council as a think tank. This ought to be a golden age for the Studies Program; it is a moment when policymakers as well as citizens and students need help in understanding trends and developments as well as practical suggestions for what the United States should do in the world.

It is a moment for raising fundamental questions about international relations and American foreign policy. What should the United States do with its primacy, and how should it go about it? What is the right mix of national security tools, and how can they best be employed? How should the United States and the international community work to regulate the challenges associated with globalization, ranging from money flows and global climate change to terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and infectious diseases? In other words, what is both desirable and realistic in terms of global governance? What is the optimal division of labor among individual states, coalitions, regional bodies, and global institutions? What is the role of other major and medium powers, and what should the United States do to shape the behaviors of these states? What can be done to promote political and economic reform as well as moderation and tolerance in the Islamic world? How can the United States increase the odds that critical countries, including Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, “succeed” and become relatively stable and open?
The questions are as numerous as they are important. I look forward to working with incoming Director of Studies James M. Lindsay and with the Council’s fellows in assembling a team of scholar-practitioners to tackle these issues —and in determining the best ways to disseminate insights and recommendations so that Council fellows, reports, and books can have even greater impact.

The second area of special focus involves outreach. I believe the Council should continue to steadily increase its outreach function, something that can be done without in any way diluting what is done for and with members. Outreach naturally builds upon one of the elements that makes the Council unique: New York City, where the Council is headquartered with a national membership and an international reputation. The Council is intellectually open at a time many other think tanks are intentionally or unintentionally becoming more ideological and predictable. The Council also has a close relationship with the business community.

All this suggests the Council on Foreign Relations “brand” is a major asset. The Council should aim to strengthen its position as “a” and arguably “the” principal provider of background and analysis on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. Media and schools might be the most valuable consumers (and, in turn, outlets). Indeed, the Council can play a major educational role—from curriculum development to teaching aids—that would benefit teachers and students alike. More generally, authoritative information and assessment is badly needed given a “debate” that too frequently mixes a lack of interest with heavily slanted advocacy disguised (at times barely) by analysis. Foreign Affairs, the Council’s website, and regular briefings for and meetings with journalists would appear to be the best means of providing and disseminating such content.

Much of what I have written here is necessarily tentative, as I want and need to spend much more time meeting with Board members and those working at the Council. I also look forward to hearing from and working with Council members around the country. Not tentative, however, are my goals. I am committed to a Council that is valued by members, listened to by policymakers and Congress, universally trusted to be nonpartisan, sought out by the media, respected by academics, and relied on by teachers and students. I am grateful for this opportunity to build on the legacy of Les Gelb and others and excited by the challenge of helping to lead this extraordinary organization into the future.

Richard N. Haass
President
The dominant subjects in the pages of *Foreign Affairs* this year were terrorism, war, and their widespread effects on American foreign policy. In the summer and fall the magazine focused on the Bush administration’s new national security doctrine of preemptive war, and during the winter it turned to its implementation in Iraq. When the war finally came, it ended quickly after another display of America’s high-tech military prowess but left in its wake not just a difficult reconstruction job but also much institutional damage—to the United Nations, the transatlantic alliance, and U.S. relations with the international community. Through it all was threaded the question of America’s role, in Iraq and in the world.

Among the highlights from the pages of *Foreign Affairs* this year were the following: G. John Ikenberry of Georgetown University provided a penetrating critique of the Bush administration’s national security doctrine, warning that its arrogation of sweeping powers to the United States and its unilateral tendencies would leave America in a more hostile and divided world. *Newsweek* correspondent Michael P. Hirsh, meanwhile, questioned whether President Bush was paying enough attention to bolstering the international community for the multifaceted response that terrorism requires.

Fouad Ajami of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University delivered an eloquent rationale for modernizing the Arab world, starting with the military intrusion into Iraq, arguing that a reforming foreign power’s guidelines offered a better way than the region’s age-old prohibitions, defects, and phobias. Princeton’s Michael S. Doran agreed, arguing that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should not stand in the way of a showdown with Saddam Hussein.

In neighboring Iran, nearly a quarter of a century after the revolution, economic failure and a bankrupt ideology have discredited the Islamic Republic, wrote Jahangir Amuzegar, finance minister in Iran’s pre-1979 government. The real story, Amuzegar said, is the growing discontent among the generation born after the 1979 revolution. This rising tide will eventually topple the regime, and the United States should just watch and wait. As for Arab anti-Americanism, Middle East scholar Barry Rubin chalked up much of it to propaganda fostered by leaders to divert attention from their own internal mismanagement and corruption. Countermeasures should include more effective American public diplomacy, according to Peter G. Peterson’s chairman’s report on the findings of a Council-sponsored Independent Task Force.

For post-Saddam Iraq, scholars Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha proposed a federated democracy that would rely on indigenous assets, including an educated middle class and a past history of pluralistic politics. Former National Security Council staffer Kenneth M. Pollack outlined a plan for regional security in the post-Saddam Persian Gulf. And former U.S. ambassador to Israel Martin S. Indyk argued that the Bush administration’s “road map” for Mideast peace was insufficiently ambitious, and that to move successfully from war in Iraq to Arab-Israeli peace-
making, the administration might have to consider controversial ideas such as a trusteeship for Palestine.

On the other side of the globe, North Korea brought on another major crisis by threatening to restart its nuclear weapons program, and Korea experts James T. Laney and Jason T. Shaplen laid out a plan for handling the situation. Jessica E. Stern of Harvard’s Kennedy School analyzed how terrorist organizations were adapting to the Bush administration’s countermeasures, while Thomas Carothers of the Carnegie Endowment noted that one unfortunate casualty of the “war on terrorism” could be America’s efforts at democracy promotion abroad.

As for the repairing of America’s bridges to the rest of the world after the guns fell silent, Professors Michael J. Glennon, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Edward C. Luck offered contrasting opinions on whether the UN Security Council has suffered lasting damage from its members’ prewar squabbling. Philip H. Gordon of the Brookings Institution argued that the differences between the United States and key European powers were often exaggerated, and Harvard’s Andrew Moravcsik called for a new postwar transatlantic bargain that recognizes each side’s valuable contributions.

The year’s output also featured essays on China’s leadership transition; Russia’s mixed performance under President Vladimir Putin; the future of NATO; Japan’s incredibly slow return to economic vitality; prospects for Lula’s Brazil; and examinations of the vexing problems of Turkey, Colombia, and Kashmir.

Lastly, considerable attention was given to problems requiring global management: the spread of AIDS to China, India, and Russia; the difficulties of humanitarian relief efforts in the midst of substate conflicts; the challenges of foreign assistance in an aging world; and increasing pressures on the poor in a globalizing economy.

Benchmarks

Buoyed by Americans’ intensified interest in world events, readership of Foreign Affairs continues to climb, bringing paid circulation to 125,000, up from 112,000 a year ago. International readership has also surged, now accounting for 25 percent of the total. The magazine continues to hold the distinction of being one of the only serious periodicals to be consistently profitable.

The past year saw the publication of several new textbooks for the college classroom, composed of Foreign Affairs articles and articles from other journals, and the introduction of the magazine’s Russian-language version. Foreign Affairs has been available in Japanese since 1990 and in Spanish since 2000. The magazine’s website was relaunched in March with a clean new design and expanded functionality and content. The site’s 200,000 visitors a month now have access to articles back to 1973, background briefings, and a biweekly e-mail newsletter.

James F. Hoge Jr.
Editor, Peter G. Peterson Chair
Foreign Affairs
Special Initiatives

To foster public debate on key foreign policy issues and reach out to the interested public, the Council augments its traditional programs through these Special Initiatives:

- The Council assembled a team of senior journalists and launched “The Source,” at www.cfr.org, in the fall of 2002 to provide reliable, easy-to-understand, nonpartisan information and background on international issues.

- The Council released eleven Independent Task Force reports and launched three more Task Forces.

- The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) offered practical recommendations for preventing deadly conflict in regions of particular vulnerability through two reports, one on the Balkans and another on Papua.

- The Council published a Council Policy Initiative (CPI) by Lawrence J. Korb on three policy options for implementing the national security strategy.

- The Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program encouraged a sustained and informed dialogue with members of Congress and their staffs.

- And finally, honoring books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations, the second annual Arthur Ross Book Award was presented to Samantha Power for her book, “A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide.
In the increasingly complex world, informed Americans need a place where they can find reliable, easy-to-understand, non-partisan information and background, where they can sort out fact from fiction and truth from spin. To address this need, the Board of Directors endorsed a new goal: outreach—to make the Council the source for ideas and clear and accurate information on key international issues for the interested public.

As the principal vehicle to meet this goal, the Council launched “The Source,” at www.cfr.org, and assembled a team of experienced journalists: Michael Glennon, formerly of Newsweek and Newsweek International, is the senior editor of www.cfr.org; and Bernard M. Gwertzman, a former editor at the New York Times and NYTimes.com, is the consulting editor.

Due to the high-caliber information and insights on the site, premier web-based information providers are partnering with the Council: NYTimes.com carries on its international page the Council’s Q&As and Foreign Affairs articles; CNN.com features a link from its world page to “The Source,” as does Newsweek International. Other partners include the Online NewsHour, Yahoo! News, Economist.com, WashingtonPost.com, LATimes.com, ChicagoTribune.com, USAToday.com, and MTV.com.

**Featured on sites such as CNN.com and NYTimes.com,** “The Source” provides reliable, nonpartisan information and analysis on top international issues to a wider audience.

**Key sections include:**
- Background on the News—easy-to-understand analysis in Q&A format on hot topics
- Terrorism: Q&A—the Council’s acclaimed online encyclopedia of terrorism
- Gwertzman Asks the Experts—in-depth interviews with foreign policy experts
- Must Reads—speeches, articles, and op-eds on current issues in international affairs and foreign policy organized by region and topic
- Campaign 2004—foreign policy statements made by the presidential candidates
- World Events Calendar—a comprehensive list of major international events
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 and solely responsible for their conclusions.

This year, under Lee Feinstein, director of strategic policy, who coordinates the Council’s Task Forces, many of the reports had a significant impact on the national debate.

The Independent Task Force on Emergency Responders, chaired by Warren B. Rudman, concluded that the United States remains dangerously unprepared to handle a catastrophic attack on American soil. The report marked the first time that data from emergency responders was compiled to estimate national needs. The Task Force concluded that federal spending would need to be tripled over the next five years to address a budget gap of almost $100 billion.

The Independent Task Force on Burma, chaired by former Assistant Secretary of State Mathea Falco, called on the United States to urge the UN Security Council to take action in response to the military government’s crackdown on the democratic opposition.

The Independent Task Force on India and South Asia, co-chaired by Marshall M. Bouton, Nicholas Platt, and Frank G. Wisner II, warned of the threat to stability in Afghanistan without greater U.S. support to the transitional government of President Hamid Karzai. The report, cosponsored...
The Independent Task Force on Threats to Democracy, co-chaired by Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, released its report in March, days before the onset of the war. The Task Force called on the United States to make the necessary multiyear, multibillion-dollar commitment to rebuilding Iraq. It presciently warned that establishing public security was a precondition for achieving any of the main objectives for post-conflict Iraq. The Task Force built on the work of the Council on Foreign Relations–Baker Institute Working Group on Post-Conflict Iraq, co-chaired by Edward P. Djerejian and Frank G. Wisner II.

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Special Initiatives

co-chaired by Madeleine K. Albright and Bronislaw Gere- mek, released its findings at the second annual meeting of the Community of Democracies in Seoul, South Korea, in November 2002. The report recommended a set of coordinated international responses to coups d’état and other erosions of democracy as well as preventive measures.

The Independent Task Force on Homeland Security warned that the country is still dangerously unprepared to prevent and respond to another catastrophic terrorist attack. Co-chaired by Gary Hart and Warren B. Rudman, the Task Force included two former secretaries of state, three Nobel laureates, two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a former director of the CIA and the FBI, and some of the nation’s most distinguished financial, legal, and medical authorities. Their findings topped the news of virtually every major newspaper and news program, generated hearings on Capitol Hill, and prompted legislation in statehouses and municipalities around the country.

The Independent Task Force on Terrorist Financing, chaired by Maurice R. Greenberg, attracted extensive media attention to this critical aspect of the war on terrorism. The Task Force found that U.S. efforts to curb terrorist financing task force chair Maurice R. Greenberg and task force co-directors William F. Wechsler and Lee S. Wolosky discuss their report at an October 2002 meeting in New York. Commissioned to evaluate the effectiveness of U.S. efforts to disrupt terrorist financing after the September 11 attacks, the report sparked debate when it said that the administration’s current efforts were “strategically inadequate” to protect U.S. security.
financing are not commensurate with the ongoing threat to U.S. national security.

The Independent Task Force on Enhancing U.S. Leadership at the United Nations, co-chaired by David Dreier and Lee H. Hamilton, concluded that the United States is less effective in the United Nations than it can and should be, and it outlined a strategy based on expanded cooperation among the UN’s democracies to do better. Representatives David Dreier (R-CA) and Tom Lantos (D-CA) sponsored legislation based on the findings of the Task Force in the spring of 2003. Freedom House cosponsored the report.

The Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy, chaired by Peter G. Peterson, concluded that the United States must do much more to counter rising anti-Americanism. The Task Force report, revised in 2003 to take account of developments after the war in Iraq, made three principal recommendations: integrate public diplomacy officials into the policymaking process to make public diplomacy concerns “present at the creation” of U.S. foreign policy; create a public diplomacy coordinating structure led by the president’s personal designee to advise the president and set public diplomacy priorities; and develop public-private partnerships, including the creation of a Corporation for Public Diplomacy, to give flexibility and energy to America’s public diplomacy efforts.

Task Forces Under Way
The Independent Task Force on Transatlantic Relations, co-chaired by Henry A. Kissinger and Lawrence H. Summers, was convened in light of the widening rift between the United States and Europe. The panel will examine the extent of current differences between the United States
and Europe, determine whether the relationship needs to be substantially reoriented, and outline policy paths to carry out the preferred strategy. The Task Force includes senior former government officials, leaders from business, and policy experts, as well as a number of leading European voices.

The Independent Task Force on Nonlethal Weapons will assess available information and prepare a report that will define the best path for integrating nonlethal capabilities into U.S. military doctrine and operations in the wake of the war in Iraq. The Task Force, co-chaired by Paul X. Kelley and Graham T. Allison, will provide the third and final evaluation of nonlethal weapons by Council-sponsored Independent Task Forces.

The Independent Task Force on Japan, co-chaired by C. Fred Bergsten and Carla A. Hills, will recommend how to work with Japanese leaders to make the difficult decisions necessary to rejuvenate the Japanese economy. The Task Force is cosponsored by the Council and the Institute of International Economics.

For a list of recent Task Force reports, please see pages 75–76.

The Center for Preventive Action

Deadly ethnic and civil conflicts continue to plague many parts of the world, with dangerous implications for the regions in which they occur and beyond. The Council’s Center for Preventive Action seeks to identify and engage stakeholders—governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and the business community—to develop and promote peaceful and sustainable solutions. The center fashions strategies with specific, tangible recommendations that use incentives—“carrots and sticks”—to unite the stakeholders and modify the behavior of key local leaders.

When an armed conflict or potential conflict with important implications for U.S. policy develops, the center creates a Preventive Action Commission with the aim of reaching a meaningful consensus on policy recommendations through independent, nonpartisan deliberations. These recommendations are released in a written report.
that is widely distributed to interested parties, including stakeholders directly involved in the situation, members of the U.S. Congress and executive branch, American and foreign diplomats, relevant representatives at the United Nations and other applicable international organizations or financial institutions, and concerned nongovernmental and business interest groups.


**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 nonexperts. CPI authors try to make the best case for each alternative.

To this end, the Council publishes a concise text containing the choices, usually written as speeches that a U.S. president could give, with a cover memo written as if by a key presidential adviser, summarizing the choices and giving the necessary historical and political background.

Lawrence J. Korb’s *A New National Security Strategy in an Age of Terrorists, Tyrants, and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Three Options Presented as Presidential Speeches* lays out alternative national security strategies being discussed within and outside the Bush administration. These alternatives would lead the United States in very different directions. The first, “U.S. Dominance and Preventive Action,” argues that the United States must have the capability and will to use force, preemptively and unilaterally if necessary, to meet the threat from rogue states and terrorists. The second, “A More Stable World with U.S. Power for Deterrence and Containment,” states that dealing with the most urgent threats requires the United States to take the views of others into account and make a serious effort to contain and deter these threats before resorting to military force. The third, “A Cooperative World Order,” calls for a more cooperative, rule-based international system backed by American power used in concert with U.S. friends and allies. ●

**Dominance and preventive action?**

**Deterrence and containment?**

**Or a cooperative world order?**

* A Council Policy Initiative discusses these national security strategy options.
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 Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program provides a forum for senators and representatives and their staffs to discuss major international issues in small nonattribution settings.

This year, the Council increased its efforts to create a sustained foreign policy dialogue on Capitol Hill. Through its popular congressional roundtable and a special initiative to involve more members of Congress in events, the Council strengthened its ties with key legislators. The Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program, co-chaired by Thomas E. Donilon and Kenneth M. Duberstein, was conducted under the leadership of co-directors Robert C. Orr and Alton Frye. The roundtable brought together a bipartisan, senior-level group of congressional staff members from both houses to discuss the top foreign policy challenges of today and tomorrow. More than 150 congressional staffers participated in over 20 roundtables on issues ranging from NATO’s mission in the 21st century to the Millennium Challenge Account.

The initiative to cultivate relationships on Capitol Hill more than tripled the number of members who participated in Council events. Members of Congress—including John Warner, Carl Levin, Jim Kolbe, Norman Dicks, James Leach, Joseph I. Lieberman, David Dreier, Sam Brownback, Joseph R. Biden, Bob Graham, Larry Craig, and John Sununu—addressed a range of pressing issues, including drugs and terrorism in Colombia, U.S.-Syrian relations, and postwar Iraq.
The annual Arthur Ross Book Award recognizes books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations. The prize, endowed by Arthur Ross in 2001, is for nonfiction works from the past two years, in English or translation, that merit special attention for:

- bringing forth new information that can change our understanding of events or problems;
- developing analytical approaches that allow new and different insights into a key issue; or
- providing new ideas to help resolve foreign policy problems.

With a gold medal prize of $10,000 and a silver medal prize of $5,000, the Arthur Ross Book Award is the most substantial award in the United States for any book on international affairs. The winning books are chosen by a jury comprising scholars, practitioners, and businesspeople, including the editor of Foreign Affairs. The jury is chaired by publishing agent Morton L. Janklow.

In 2003, the gold medal was awarded to Samantha Power for her book “A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide. The silver medal went to Margaret MacMillan for Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World, and an honorable mention was awarded to Philip Bobbitt for The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History.
The Studies Department, our “think tank,” is central to achieving the Council’s goal of adding value to the foreign policy debate. Studies does this primarily through fellows’ research and their writing on U.S. foreign policy challenges, whether long term or more immediate. This year was no exception. In addition to publishing two major books—Michael Mandelbaum’s *The Ideas That Conquered the World* and Charles A. Kupchan’s *The End of the American Era*—and over 200 op-eds and articles, the fellows offered their expert knowledge to local, national, and international media for interviews and as background for informed reporting, particularly surrounding the war in Iraq. Such highly visible activities not only supplement the fellows’ research and members’ understanding but also provide incomparable support for the Council’s new outreach initiative.

**Program Highlights**

**Middle East**

**Program Director:** Rachel Bronson

**Roundtable on the Middle East and Islam**

**Project Director:** Rachel Bronson, Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East and Gulf Studies

**U.S./Middle East Project Roundtable**

**Project Director:** Henry Siegman, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project

**Project Coordinator:** Scott Lasensky, Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project, and Fellow

**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

**Chair:** Anthony C. Zinni

**Energy Security Group**

**Project Director:** Judith Kipper, Director, Middle East Forum

**Chair:** William F. Martin, Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc.
Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies

Acting Director: Benn Steil

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

Study Group on Building a Transatlantic Securities Market
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics
CHAIR: Peter J. Wallison, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

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

Study Group on the World Bank under James Wolfensohn
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Sebastian Mallaby, Senior Fellow in International Development
CHAIR: Jessica P. Einhorn, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

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

Roundtable on Development
PROJECT DIRECTORS:
Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
Gene B. Sperling, Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education
Mark Malloch Brown, Administrator, United Nations Development Programme
COSPONSORED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics
COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics
COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM
Center on Universal Education

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gene Sperling, Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education

Roundtable on the Global Campaign for Education

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gene Sperling, Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education

Roundtable on the Development Connection between AIDS and Education

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gene Sperling, Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education

Africa

Program Director: Princeton N. Lyman

Roundtable on African Governance: Regional, Continental, and Global Dynamics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gwendolyn Mikell, Senior Fellow

Nigeria Clearing House

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Princeton N. Lyman, Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow in Africa Policy Studies
Caroline Atkinson, Adjunct Senior Fellow

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 of Asia Studies
CHAIR: J. Stapleton Roy, Kissinger McLarty Associates

Study Group on an Asian Union: Challenges and Opportunities for the United States

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies

Study Group on Chinese Economic Development and U.S. National Security

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Adam Segal, Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies
CHAIR: Kenneth G. Lieberthal, University of Michigan

U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jerome A. Cohen, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on Japan

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

Roundtable on Alternative Futures for South Asia and U.S. Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Mahnaz Ispahani, Senior Fellow for South and West Asia

Business and Foreign Policy

Program Director: David Braunschvig

Study Group on Judging Corporate Liability in the Global Economy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elliot J. Schrage, Adjunct Senior Fellow in Business and Foreign Policy
Center for Preventive Action

Program Director: William L. Nash

Center for Preventive Action Indonesia Commission: Peace and Progress in Papua

PROJECT DIRECTOR: David L. Phillips, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Center for Preventive Action
CHAIR: Dennis C. Blair, Institute for Defense Analyses

Andes 2020: A New U.S. Strategy for the Challenges of Colombia and the Region

PROJECT DIRECTORS:
William L. Nash, John W. Vessey Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Preventive Action
Julia E. Sweig, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program

CO-CHAIRS:
Daniel W. Christman, U.S. Chamber of Commerce
John G. Heimann, Warburg Pincus

Europe

Program Director: Charles A. Kupchan

George F. Kennan Roundtable on Russia and Eurasia

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

Roundtable on Russian Foreign Policy in the Wake of September 11

PROJECT DIRECTORS:
Stephen R. Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies
Robert Legvold, Columbia University

COSPONSORED WITH THE HARRIMAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Roundtable on NATO and Terrorism: Opportunities for the Transatlantic Relationship after September 11

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ronald D. Asmus, Adjunct Senior Fellow
CHAIR: Richard G. Lugar, U.S. Senate (R-IN)

COSPONSORED WITH THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

Roundtable on Nationalism in Europe

PROJECT DIRECTOR: James M. Goldgeier, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on the Implications of EU/NATO Enlargement

PROJECT DIRECTOR: James M. Goldgeier, Adjunct Senior Fellow
National Security

Program Director: Lawrence J. Korb

Study Group on the History of Military Revolutions

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Max Boot, Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies

PROJECT CHAIR: Paul M. Kennedy, Yale University

Roundtable on Homeland Security

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies

Roundtable on National Security: Military Strategy and Options

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Bernard E. Trainor, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Richard K. Betts, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on Afghanistan

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies

Peace and Conflict

Program Director: Arthur C. Helton

Study Group on Palestinian Refugees

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Arthur C. Helton, Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, and Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action

CHAIR: Stephen J. Friedman, Debevoise & Plimpton

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

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

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

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 Program

Roundtable on the Andean Region

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Julia E. Sweig, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program

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

Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Charles A. Kupchan, Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies

Science and Technology

Program Director: Richard L. Garwin

Study Group on Space Posture for the 21st Century

PROJECT DIRECTORS:
Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow and Director in Science and Technology
Bruce M. DeBlois, Adjunct Senior Fellow

Study Group on New Nuclear Weapons

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Robert W. Nelson, Senior Fellow, Science and Technology
CHAIR: Janne Emilie Nolan, Georgetown University

Roundtable on the World Summit on Sustainable Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS:
David G. Victor, Adjunct Senior Fellow
Jesse H. Ausubel, Rockefeller University

Roundtable on Global Satellite Navigation: GPS and Galileo

PROJECT DIRECTORS:
Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow and Director in Science and Technology
David Braunschvig, Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow and Director, Business and Foreign Policy

Roundtable on Health and U.S. Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jordan S. Kassalow, 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

Study Group on Democracy and Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS:
Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
Joe Siegle, Douglas Dillon Fellow
Michael M. Weinstein, Adjunct Senior Fellow

COSPONSORED WITH THE MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

Center for Democracy and Free Markets

DIRECTOR: Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center for Democracy and Free Markets

Speaker Noeleen Heyzer, United Nations Development Fund for Women, Presider Isobel Coleman, and Speaker Donald Steinberg, U.S. Department of State, at the March 6, 2003, Roundtable on Women and U.S. Foreign Policy, “The Role of Women in Peacebuilding and Reconstruction.”
Other Activities

Community of Scholars Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Michael P. Peters,
Executive Vice President and Director of Studies

Global Kids Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTORS:
Denise Gomes, Research Associate, Science and Technology and Peace and Conflict Studies
Jeremy Marwell, Research Associate, Science and Technology

Next Generation Fellows Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Theophilos Gemelas,
Associate Director of Studies
CHAIR: Allan E. Goodman, Institute of International Education

Studies Program

Roundtable on Women and U.S. Foreign Policy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Isobel Coleman, Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy

Roundtable on “Old Rules, New Threats”
PROJECT DIRECTOR AND CO-CHAIR: Lee Feinstein, Deputy Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law
CO-CHAIR: Anne-Marie Slaughter, American Society of International Law
COSPONSORED WITH THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Roundtable on Democracy Promotion
PROJECT DIRECTOR: Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center for Democracy and Free Markets
COSPONSORED WITH THE MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

Roundtable on Health and U.S. Foreign Policy, “Intellectual Property Rights: Help or Hindrance?”

Discussant John B. Bellinger III, Co-Chair Lee Feinstein, Co-Chair Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Discussant William J. Durch at the April 10, 2003, Meeting of the Roundtable on “Old Rules, New Threats.”

International Affairs Fellowship Program

The International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding Americans between the ages of 27 and 35. 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 participants 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.

The Council organizes an annual conference in New York featuring the current fellows.

2003–2004 International Affairs Fellows
Ramin Asgard, U.S. Department of State
Thomas C. Beierle, Resources for the Future
Michelle Billig, U.S. Department of Energy
Katherine E. Bliss, University of Massachusetts
Barbara M. Connolly, University of Notre Dame
Paul R. Daniels,* U.S. Army
Robert Dujarric,* Hudson Institute
Julie E. Fischer, U.S. Senate Committee on Veterans Affairs
Jean A. Garrison, University of Wyoming
Jeffrey S. Kojac, U.S. Marine Corps
Fred T. Krawchuk,* U.S. Army
Suzanne Maloney, ExxonMobil Corporation
Nancy Yao,* Goldman Sachs (Asia), LLC

*International Affairs Fellow in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd.
The New York Meetings Program provides members with the opportunity to exchange ideas with world leaders, policymakers, scholars, respected experts, and opinion shapers. Each year, the Meetings Program convenes over 100 events, including single-speaker interviews, debates, panels, town hall meetings, author interviews, videoconferences, and film screenings. This year, the program focused extensively on the developments in Iraq and their effect on U.S. foreign policy before, during, and after the war. This included several town hall meetings; discussions with Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, chief United Nations weapons inspector Hans Blix, and International Atomic Energy Agency Director General Mohamed ElBaradei; as well as expert panels on the economic and humanitarian repercussions of the war and the effects on U.S. relations with countries neighboring Iraq. Meeting highlights included discussions on the prospects for democracy and stability in the Middle East, debates about the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and North Korea’s nuclear weapons program, and panels examining the rifts in the United Nations and the transatlantic relationship. The Council also hosted meetings with Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan, President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, and President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa.

Program Highlights

Junichiro Koizumi
Prime Minister of Japan
“Japan-U.S. Alliance in the 21st Century: Three Challenges”*
PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson
SEPTEMBER 10, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH JIJI PRESS

Alvaro Uribe
President of Colombia
“Meeting with Alvaro Uribe”*
PRESIDER: Thomas F. McLarty III
SEPTEMBER 12, 2002

Thabo Mbeki
President of the Republic of South Africa; Chairman, African Union
“Meeting with Thabo Mbeki”*
PRESIDER: Robert E. Rubin
SEPTEMBER 12, 2002
THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

Hamid Karzai
President of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan
“Meeting with Hamid Karzai”*
PRESIDER: George J. Mitchell
SEPTEMBER 13, 2002
Ahmed Maher El Sayyed
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt
“Security Instead of Peace or Security through Peace?”*
PRESIDER: Frank G. Wisner II
SEPTEMBER 18, 2002

Ami Ayalon
Former Director, Shin Bet Security Service, Israel
“Israelis and Palestinians at the Brink: New Thinking and New Initiatives for Peace”
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
SEPTEMBER 30, 2002

Sari Nusseibeh
President, Al-Quds University; Palestinian National Authority Commissioner for Jerusalem Affairs
“Israelis and Palestinians at the Brink: New Thinking and New Initiatives for Peace”
PRESIDER: Barton Gellman
OCTOBER 3, 2002

Tony Judt
Director, Remarque Institute, New York University
Robert W. Kagan
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
“Americans Are from Mars, Europeans Are from Venus: They Agree on Little and Understand Each Other Less and Less”
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
OCTOBER 8, 2002
THE JOHN B. HURFORD MEMORIAL LECTURE

Bernard Lewis
Professor Emeritus, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University
“What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response”
PRESIDER: Walter Russell Mead
OCTOBER 10, 2002

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

Charles Duelfer
Former Deputy Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission

Khidir Hamza
Former Director, Iraq’s nuclear program; author, *Saddam’s Bombmaker*

Richard Spertzel
Chief, Biological Weapons Team, United Nations Special Commission

“Iraq: Sending the Arms Inspectors—If They Get In, What Can They Find?”

PRESIDER: Judith Miller
OCTOBER 16, 2002

Michael O’Hanlon
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

Kenneth M. Pollack
Senior Fellow and Director of Research, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution; author, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*

“Iraq: A Town Hall Meeting”

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
OCTOBER 17, 2002

Hans Blix
Executive Chairman, United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission

“Iraq: Can Inspections Do the Job?”

PRESIDER: Richard N. Gardner
OCTOBER 31, 2002

Jeffrey E. Garten
Author, *The Politics of Fortune*

C. Michael Armstrong
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, AT&T

John L. Thornton
President and Co-Chief Operating Officer, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.


PRESIDER: Paul E. Steiger
NOVEMBER 12, 2002
THE BERNARD L. SCHWARTZ LECTURE ON BUSINESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Jeremy Greenstock
Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations

Jean-David Levitte
Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations

“Iraq: The United States and the United Nations—Views from the United Kingdom and France”**

PRESIDER: Walter S. Isaacson
NOVEMBER 13, 2002

Madeleine K. Albright
Principal, Albright Group LLC; former U.S. Secretary of State

Timothy Garton Ash
Director, European Studies Center, St. Antony’s College, University of Oxford

Andrew Kohut
Director, Pew Research Center for the People and the Press
Brent Scowcroft  
President, Forum for International Policy; former U.S. National Security Adviser
“A Reason for Reflection: Views of America from Abroad as We Head into a Likely War with Iraq”
PRESIDER: Joseph A. Klein
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: Rebecca W. Rimel
DECEMBER 5, 2002

John J. Devine  
President, Arkin Group, LLC; former Deputy Director of Operations, Central Intelligence Agency

David L. Grange  
Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation; Brigadier General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

Thomas G. McInerney  
Former President and Chief Executive Officer, Business Executives for National Security; Lieutenant General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

Bernard E. Trainor  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)
“Iraq: The War”
PRESIDER: Lawrence J. Korb
DECEMBER 12, 2002

Max Boot  
Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

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

Charles A. Kupchan  
Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Walter Russell Mead  
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
“Iraq Town Hall”
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
DECEMBER 18, 2002
ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

Laith Kubba (in New York)  
President, Iraq National Group

Frank G. Wisner II (in New York)  
Vice Chairman, External Affairs, American International Group, Inc.
Videoconferenced Meeting: “Iraq: The Day After”
PRESIDER: Rachel Bronson (in New York)
JANUARY 16, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

Daniel Benjamin  
Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies; author, The Age of Sacred Terror

Caryle Marie Murphy  
Reporter, Washington Post; author, Passion for Islam: Shaping the Modern Middle East: The Egyptian Experience

Shibley Telhami  
Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland; author, The Stakes: America and the Middle East
“Islamic Extremism: Understanding the Origins and Trends”
PRESIDER: Michael S. Doran
JANUARY 16, 2003

Gary Hart  
Senior Counsel, Coudert Brothers; former Member, U.S. Senate (D-CO)
“In Search of National Security”
PRESIDER: George E. Rupp
JANUARY 21, 2003
THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.
Paul D. Wolfowitz  
Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense  
“Iraq: What Does Disarmament Look Like?”*  
**PRESIDER:** Peter G. Peterson  
**JANUARY 23, 2003**

Youssef Boutros-Ghali  
Minister of Foreign Trade, Egypt  

Osama El Baz  
Political Adviser to Hosni Mubarak, President of Egypt  

Gamal H. Mubarak  
Assistant Secretary General and Head of Policies Committee, National Democratic Party, Egypt  
“Voices from the Middle East: Egypt”  
**PRESIDER:** Frank G. Wisner II  
**JANUARY 28, 2003**

Bill Emmott  
Editor in Chief, The Economist  

Patrick Jarreau  
Washington Bureau Chief, Le Monde  

Rami Khouri  
Executive Editor, Daily Star  
“Iraq: Views from the Foreign Newsroom”  
**PRESIDER:** Garrick Utley  
**FEBRUARY 10, 2003**

Stephen J. Hadley  
Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser  
“Meeting with Stephen Hadley”*  
**PRESIDER:** Leslie H. Gelb  
**FEBRUARY 12, 2003**

Samuel R. Berger  
Chairman, Stonebridge International; former National Security Adviser  

Brent Scowcroft  
President, Forum for International Policy; former National Security Adviser  
“Former Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs: Iraq and the War on Terrorism: What Should Our National Security Priorities Be?”  
**PRESIDER:** Charlie Rose  
**FEBRUARY 24, 2003**

Max Boot  
Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  

William Kristol  
Editor, Weekly Standard  

John J. Mearsheimer  
R. Wendell Harrison Distinguished Service Professor and Co-Director, Program on International Security Policy, University of Chicago

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Speaker Ahmad Chalabi, Co-Founder, Iraqi National Congress, at the June 10, 2003, Meeting, “A Conversation with Ahmad Chalabi.”

Presider Bernard M. Gwertzman, Speaker Taher Masri, former Prime Minister of Jordan, and Speaker Mustafa B. Hananreh, Director, Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, at the September 24, 2002, Meeting, “Voices from the Middle East: America, Iraq, and Israeli-Palestinian Violence: The View from Jordan.”
New York Meetings Program

Stephen M. Walt
  Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy
  School of Government, Harvard University
  “Iraq: The War Debate”
  PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
  FEBRUARY 25, 2003
  HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Harold Brown
  Counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies; former U.S. Secretary of Defense
  “Meeting with Harold Brown”
  PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
  FEBRUARY 26, 2003
  THE PAUL C. WARNKE LECTURE

Michael S. Doran
  Assistant Professor, Department of Near Eastern Affairs, Princeton University; Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations
  “World Economic Update”
  PRESIDER: F. Gregory Gause III
  MARCH 5, 2003

Dov S. Zakheim
  Undersecretary, Comptroller, and Chief Financial Officer, U.S. Department of Defense
  “Meeting with Dov Zakheim”*
  PRESIDER: Denis A. Bovin
  MARCH 12, 2003

William Dudley
  Managing Director and Chief U.S. Economist, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.
  Ethan Harris
  Chief U.S. Economist, Lehman Brothers
  Stephen Roach
  Chief Economist and Director of Global Economics, Morgan Stanley
  “The United States and Saudi Arabia: The Road Ahead”
  PRESIDER: Daniel K. Tarullo
  APRIL 4, 2003

Fareed Zakaria
  Editor, Newsweek International; author, The Future of Freedom
  “The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad”
  PRESIDER: Joseph S. Nye Jr.
  APRIL 15, 2003

George E. Rupp
  President, International Rescue Committee
  Shashi Tharoor
  Undersecretary General for Communications and Public Information, United Nations
  “Iraq Special Briefing: Humanitarian Relief—The Policy Decisions Ahead”
  PRESIDER: William H. Luers
  APRIL 23, 2003

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

Bouthaina Shaaban
   Spokesperson and Director of Media Relations,
   Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Syria
   “Syria and the United States: The Road Ahead”
   PRESIDER: Karen Elliott House
   APRIL 28, 2003

Robert Baer
   Former Field Officer, Central Intelligence Agency;
   author, See No Evil: The True Story of a Ground Soldier
   in the CIA’s War on Terrorism

Fred Francis
   Senior Correspondent, NBC News

Qubad J. Talabany
   Deputy U.S. Representative, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
   “Iraq Special Briefing: Kurdistan”
   PRESIDER: David L. Phillips
   MAY 6, 2003

Madeleine K. Albright (in Washington)
   Principal, Albright Group LLC; former U.S. Secretary of State

James A. Baker III (in Houston)
   Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

Henry A. Kissinger (in New York)
   Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. Secretary of State
   Videoconferenced Meeting: “A Conversation with Former Secretaries of State”*

Geneive Abdo
   Correspondent, Boston Globe; co-author,
   Answering Only to God: Faith in 21st Century Iran

Gary G. Sick
   Senior Research Scholar, Columbia University

Puneet Talwar
   Professional Staff Member, Senate Committee
   on Foreign Relations
   “Iran”
   PRESIDER: Rachel Bronson
   MAY 16, 2003

Robert L. Gallucci
   Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

Henry Sokolski
   Executive Director, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center
   “North Korea Debate: What Should the United States
   Do if North Korea Does Not Cease Its Weapons
   of Mass Destruction Program?”
   PRESIDER: Morton I. Abramowitz
   MAY 22, 2003
   HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Donald H. Rumsfeld
   U.S. Secretary of Defense
   “Meeting with Donald Rumsfeld”*
   PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson
   MAY 27, 2003

John D. Negroponte
   U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations
   “A Conversation with John Negroponte”*
   PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
   JUNE 3, 2003

Samantha Power
   Author, “A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of
   Genocide; gold medalist, 2003 Arthur Ross Book Award
   “Arthur Ross Book Award Lunch”
   PRESIDER: Morton L. Janklow
   JUNE 23, 2003

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.
The Washington Program facilitates discussion of important foreign policy issues between members and policymakers, diplomats, scholars, writers, journalists, and leaders from every region of the world. This year, the Washington Program strengthened its meetings, congressional, and corporate programming, holding more than 100 meetings ranging from panel discussions to debates, town halls, press briefings, embassy luncheons, and film screenings. Meeting highlights for the year included discussions with Colombian President Alvaro Uribe and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres; members of Congress John William Warner, Carl Levin, John Sununu, Joseph I. Lieberman, Sam Brownback, Bob Graham, David Dreier, and Robert Matsui; top current and former policymakers, including Alan Greenspan, John Ashcroft, Madeleine K. Albright, and Horst Köhler; and scholars Amartya Sen and Niall Ferguson. Among other topics, the transatlantic relationship, terrorism and homeland security, the war in Iraq and its implications for the Middle East, economic development, and the global economy were examined on a sustained basis.

Program Highlights

Shimon Peres
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Israel
“Israel’s Search for Peace”
PRESIDER: Robert S. Strauss
SEPTEMBER 13, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Michael V. Hayden
Director, National Security Agency; Lieutenant General, U.S. Air Force

John E. McLaughlin
Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency

James Clapper Jr.
Director, National Imagery and Mapping Agency; Lieutenant General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

Lowell Jacoby
Acting Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

Carl Ford Jr.
Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State
“U.S. Intelligence Community: New Directions?”
PRESIDER: John C. Gannon
SEPTEMBER 18, 2002

Javier Solana
Secretary-General, Council of the European Union; EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, NATO
“Are We Really Partners? Assessing the Future of Transatlantic Relations”
PRESIDER: James A. Leach
SEPTEMBER 18, 2002
Horst Köhler
Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
“Investing in Better Globalization”
PRESIDER: Richard W. Fisher
SEPTEMBER 19, 2002
C. PETER MCCLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Marwan Muasher
Foreign Minister, Jordan
“Jordan’s Perspective: A Plan of Action for Advancing the Peace Process”

Speaker Shimon Peres, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Israel, at the September 13, 2002, Meeting, “Israel’s Search for Peace.”

Alvaro Uribe
President of Colombia
“Defeating Terrorism in Colombia: The Challenge of the New Administration”
PRESIDER: Jim Kolbe
SEPTEMBER 24, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE IN LATIN AMERICA, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, AND THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Lawrence B. Lindsey
Assistant to the President for Economic Policy; Director, National Economic Council
“Risks and Opportunity in the Global Economy”
PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Brady
OCTOBER 15, 2002

William Kristol
Editor, Weekly Standard
Kenneth M. Pollack
Senior Fellow and Director of Research, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution
Nick J. Rahall
Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-WV)
“Iraq Town Hall”
PRESIDER: Robert C. Orr
OCTOBER 15, 2002

Alan Greenspan
Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
“International Financial Risk Management”
PRESIDER: Carla A. Hills
NOVEMBER 19, 2002
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Elizabeth Becker
Washington Correspondent, New York Times

Eason T. Jordan
Chief News Executive, CNN

Bernard Shaw
Former Principal Anchor, CNN

Robert Wiener
Former Senior Executive Producer, CNN

“Live from Baghdad”
PRESIDER: Marvin Kalb
NOVEMBER 20, 2002
HOME BOX OFFICE SCREENING

Richard N. Haass
Director of Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State
 “Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World”
PRESIDER: Fouad Ajami
DECEMBER 4, 2002

Andrew Kohut
Director, Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

Ruediger Lentz
Senior Correspondent, Deutsche Welle

Hafez Al Mirazi
Washington Bureau Chief, Al Jazeera TV

Paulo Sotero
Washington Correspondent, O Estado de São Paulo
“Global Attitudes: How Are We Perceived Abroad?”
PRESIDER: Martin Walker
JANUARY 8, 2003

David B. Makovsky
Senior Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Yossi Shain
Professor, Government Department, Georgetown University
“After the Elections: Where Does Israel Go from Here?”
PRESIDER: Peter R. Rosenblatt
JANUARY 30, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Speaker Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of Uganda, at the June 11, 2003, Meeting, “Freedom from Fear: U.S.-Africa Partnerships against Terror.”
Vernon E. Clark  
Admiral, Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy

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

William L. Nyland  
General, Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps

Burwell B. Bell  
Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe and 7th Army

“John Train Lecture on the Future of the U.S. Military”  
PRESIDER: Wolf Blitzer  
FEBRUARY 3, 2003  
THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE

John Ashcroft  
U. S. Attorney General

“International Cooperation in the War on Terror”  
PRESIDER: Dick Thornburgh  
FEBRUARY 10, 2003

Joseph I. Lieberman  
Member, U. S. Senate (D-CT)

“No Easy Peace: Rising to the Challenge of Rebuilding Post-Saddam Iraq”  
PRESIDER: George J. Mitchell  
FEBRUARY 26, 2003

Kenneth M. Duberstein  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Duberstein Group, Inc.

Thomas F. McLarty III  
President, Kissinger McLarty Associates

John D. Podesta  
Visiting Professor, Georgetown Law Center

Samuel K. Skinner  
Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer, U.S. Freightways

“World’s Second-Toughest Job: Being the President’s Chief of Staff During a Time of Crisis”  
PRESIDER: Doyle McManus  
MARCH 4, 2003

Sam Brownback  
Member, U. S. Senate (R-KS)

Raymond Feddema  
Co-Director, Welcome to North Korea

Soon Ok Lee  
Survivor of North Korean political prison camps; author, Eyes of the Taileless Animals
Randall Ireson
Development Assistance Coordinator, American Friends Service Committee

Peter Tetteroo
Co-Director, Welcome to North Korea
“Welcome to North Korea”
PRESIDER: Jason T. Shaplen
MARCH 18, 2003
HOME BOX OFFICE SCREENING

Wolfgang Ischinger
Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United States

Jean-David Levitte
Ambassador of France to the United States
“France, Germany, and the United States: Putting the Pieces Back Together”
PRESIDER: Richard C. Holbrooke
MARCH 25, 2003

Ross Terrill
Head Researcher, Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University; author, Mao: A Biography and The New Chinese Empire

Minxin Pei
Senior Associate and Co-Director, China Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
“China’s Inevitable Democracy?”
PRESIDER: Eric Heginbotham
APRIL 10, 2003

Bob Graham
Member, U.S. Senate (D-FL)

Bouthaina Shaaban
Spokesperson and Director of Media Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Syria
PRESIDER: Richard W. Murphy
APRIL 24, 2003

Niall Ferguson
Professor of Economics, Stern School of Business, New York University; author, The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power

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

Madeleine K. Albright (in Washington)
Principal, Albright Group LLC; former U.S. Secretary of State

James A. Baker III (in Houston)
Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

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

Videoconferenced Meeting: “A Conversation with Former Secretaries of State”
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
MAY 6, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni
President of Uganda
“Freedom from Fear: U.S.-Africa Partnerships against Terror”
PRESIDER: Princeton N. Lyman
JUNE 11, 2003
The National Program provides a forum for members outside of New York and Washington to discuss pressing international issues and contribute to the Council’s research. This year, the National Program focused on Iraq—the lead-up to the war, the conflict, and the reconstruction—and the transatlantic divide, through local roundtables built on the expertise of members and other community leaders in key cities, including Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Miami, San Francisco, and Seattle; foreign policy dinner seminars featuring Council senior fellows and their work, including a Los Angeles study group led by Senior Fellow Walter Russell Mead; a biweekly conference call series, chaired by Council Executive Vice President Michael P. Peters; webcasts of general meetings; and the annual National Conference in New York. At this year’s conference, members reflected on the state of the world after the Cold War with some of the greatest thinkers and doers in international affairs.

Program Highlights

Atlanta Roundtable

Robert E. Hightower
Commissioner, Department of Public Safety, and Homeland Security Coordinator, State of Georgia
“America’s Response to Terrorism: One Year Later: Responding to the Terrorist Threat”
CHAIR: Peter Dexter Bell
OCTOBER 9, 2002

John Warden
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Venturist, Inc.; Colonel, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)
“War with Iraq: What to Expect?”
CHAIR: Perry M. Smith
DECEMBER 2, 2002

Denise Majette, Chair Peter Dexter Bell, and Speaker Rachel Bronson, Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East and Gulf Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, at the March 17, 2003, Atlanta Roundtable, “Iraq: The Day After.”
John H. Kelly  
President, John Kelly Consulting, Inc.; Ambassador-in-Residence, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology  
“Turkey: Islam, the European Union, and the War with Iraq”  
CHAIR: Cynthia A. Tucker  
JANUARY 15, 2003

Rachel Bronson  
Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East and Gulf Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Iraq: The Day After”  
CHAIR: Peter Dexter Bell  
MARCH 17, 2003

James T. Laney  
President Emeritus and Senior Fellow, Ethics Center, Emory University; former U.S. Ambassador to South Korea  
“Dealing with North Korea”  
CHAIR: Marion V. Creekmore Jr.  
APRIL 23, 2003

Helene D. Gayle  
Director, HIV, TB, and Reproductive Health, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation  
“Health Challenges in a Globalized World”  
CHAIR: Louis W. Sullivan  
MAY 22, 2003

Boston Roundtable

Arthur C. Helton  
Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, and Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations  
“The Price of Indifference: Terrorism’s Refugees”  
CHAIR AND HOST: Swanee Hunt  
SEPTEMBER 17, 2002  
COSPONSORED WITH CAMBRIDGE CONVERSATIONS

Julia E. Sweig  
Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Inside the Cuban Revolution”  
CHAIR AND HOST: John H. Coatsworth  
OCTOBER 7, 2002  
COSPONSORED WITH THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Leslie H. Gelb  
President, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction”  
CHAIR: Joseph S. Nye Jr.  
APRIL 17, 2003

Chicago Roundtable

Matthew R. Bettenhausen  
Homeland Security Director, State of Illinois  
“America’s Response to Terrorism: One Year Later: Responding to the Terrorist Threat”  
CHAIR: Henry S. Bienen  
SEPTEMBER 24, 2002  
COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Dan Caldwell and Andrew Young at the June 2003 National Conference, “Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It’s Doing and Where It’s Going?”

National Program

Dallas Roundtable

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

“The Price of Indifference: Terrorism’s Refugees”
CHAIR AND HOST: C. Kern Wildenthal
AUGUST 28, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

**Jay M. Vogelson**
Shareholder and Director, Stuzman & Bromberg; Co-Chair, American Bar Association Blue Ribbon Working Group on International Terrorism

“America’s Response to Terrorism: Using International Law to Combat Terrorism”
CHAIR: Lee Cullum
OCTOBER 17, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

**Stephen E. Flynn**
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Is America Still Unprepared and in Danger?”
CHAIR: Timothy E. Powers
NOVEMBER 8, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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

“Iraq: The Day After”
CHAIR: Lee Cullum
MARCH 18, 2003

**Montgomery C. Meigs**
General, U.S. Army (Ret.); Visiting Tom Slick Professor, University of Texas at Austin; Younger-Carter Fellow, Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University

“Iraq and the Challenges Ahead”
CHAIR: Lee Cullum
MAY 20, 2003

Houston Roundtable

Stephen E. Flynn
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Is America Still Unprepared and in Danger?”
CHAIR: Edward P. Djerejian
NOVEMBER 6, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

Los Angeles Roundtable

Walter Russell Mead
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
“Los Angeles Study Group: With God on Our Side”
CHAIR AND HOST: Robert J. Abernethy
JULY 18, 2002 • SEPTEMBER 25, 2002 • FEBRUARY 25, 2003 • MAY 20, 2003

Lawrence J. Korb
Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Reshaping America’s Military”
CHAIR: Louis E. Caldera
OCTOBER 8, 2002

Leslie H. Gelb
President, Council on Foreign Relations
“Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction”
CHAIR: Ronald L. Olson
DECEMBER 4, 2002

Miami Roundtable

Julia E. Sweig
Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program, Council on Foreign Relations
“Inside the Cuban Revolution”
CHAIR: Adis M. Vila
SEPTEMBER 10, 2002

Andrés Oppenheimer
Foreign Affairs Columnist, Miami Herald
“Iraq: Implications for U.S. Relations with Latin America”
CHAIR: Hodding Carter III
MAY 1, 2003

Kenneth R. Maxwell
Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Brazil: Lula’s Prospects”
CHAIR: Alberto Ibargüen
MAY 19, 2003

San Francisco Roundtable

John Battelle
Executive Producer, Foursquare
Lowell Bergman
Producer, Frontline
Jay T. Harris
President, Deep River Associates
Peter Tarnoff
President, International Advisory Corporation
Narda Zacchino
Assistant Executive Editor, San Francisco Chronicle
“America’s Response to Terrorism: How September 11 Changed the Media”
CHAIR: Orville H. Schell
OCTOBER 30, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Leslie H. Gelb
President, Council on Foreign Relations
“Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction”
CHAIR: Peter Tarnoff
DECEMBER 3, 2002
Gary Hart
Of Counsel, Coudert Brothers; former Member, U.S. Senate (D-CO)

“America—Still Unprepared, Still in Danger”
CHAIR: Michael P. Peters
FEBRUARY 10, 2003

Max Boot
Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Iraq and the War on Terrorism”
CHAIR: Mark D. Danner
MARCH 11, 2003

Eric P. Schwartz
Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

“Iraq: The Day After”
CHAIR: Michael Nacht
APRIL 9, 2003

John Arquilla
Associate Professor of Defense Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School; Senior Consultant, International Defense Group, RAND

“Iraq: A War to Change All Wars?”
CHAIR: Peter Tarnoff
MAY 13, 2003

Lawrence J. Korb
Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Michael Nacht
Dean and Professor, Richard & Rhoda Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley

“Council Policy Initiative: Debating a New National Security Strategy”
CHAIR: Coit D. Blacker
JUNE 30, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS FOUNDATION

Seattle Roundtable

William A. Owens
Co-Chief Executive Officer and Vice Chairman, Teledesic

“Iraq: The War, the Post-War, and the Modern Military”
CHAIR: Michael P. Peters
FEBRUARY 11, 2003
Los Angeles and San Francisco

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Judith Kipper
Director, Middle East Forum, Council on Foreign Relations
"U.S. Stakes in the Middle East"
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Michael Christopher Parks
AUGUST 27, 2002

Shibley Telhami
Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, College Park
“The Stakes: America and the Middle East”
SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Jane M. Wales
FEBRUARY 26, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Michael Christopher Parks
FEBRUARY 27, 2003

Adam Segal
Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Will China Be a Technological or Military Threat to the United States?”
SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Robert A. Scalapino
MARCH 3, 2003
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Charles Wolf Jr.
MARCH 4, 2003

Multiple Cities

Ronald D. Asmus
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; author, Opening NATO’s Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era
“Opening NATO’s Door: What Future for the Atlantic Alliance?”
CHICAGO CHAIR: Richard C. Longworth
OCTOBER 31, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Warren Christopher
NOVEMBER 7, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY
SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall
NOVEMBER 11, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

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

The Council on Foreign Relations works 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 PCIP-organized meetings. Council members are offered concurrent membership in PCIP and are invited to participate in its events. The Council makes this benefit possible by transferring a portion of its membership dues to PCIP. Council Executive Vice President Michael P. Peters is on PCIP’s Board of Directors, and PCIP President Abraham F. Lowenthal is a vice president of the Council.
Charles A. Kupchan

Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; author, The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century

“The End of the American Era and the Foreign Policy Challenges of the Future”

CHICAGO CHAIR: John E. Rielly
NOVEMBER 13, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ATLANTA CHAIR: Peter C. White
NOVEMBER 14, 2002

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Peter Schwartz
FEBRUARY 4, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

LOS ANGELES CHAIR: George Lee Butler
FEBRUARY 5, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

SAN DIEGO CHAIR: Miles Kahler
FEBRUARY 6, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PACIFIC STUDIES AND THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL, COMPARATIVE, AND AREA STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

BOSTON CHAIR: John Shattuck
MARCH 20, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Michael Mandelbaum

Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; author, The Ideas That Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets in the Twenty-First Century


SEATTLE CHAIR: David K.Y. Tang
DECEMBER 9, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Jane M. Wales
DECEMBER 10, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Dan Caldwell
DECEMBER 12, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

DALLAS CHAIR: F. William Barnett
JANUARY 22, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HOUSTON CHAIR: Edward P. Djerejian
JANUARY 24, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

CHICAGO CHAIR: Henry S. Bienen
APRIL 22, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

Named Chairs and Fellowships
Jagdish N. Bhagwati, André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics
Max Boot, Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies
Charles G. Boyd, Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in National Security and European Affairs
David Braunschvig, Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow and Director, Business and Foreign Policy
Celia Dugger, Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow
Elizabeth C. Economy, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies
Helena Kane Finn, Cyrus Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies
Stephen E. Flynn, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies
Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow and Director in Science and Technology
James F. Hoge Jr., Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor, Foreign Affairs
Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance
Princeton N. Lyman, Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies
Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies
Richard W. Murphy, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East
William L. Nash, John W. Vessey Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Preventive Action
Adam Segal, Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies
Stephen R. Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies
Joe Siegle, Douglas Dillon Fellow
Ronald Steel, Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow
Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics

Other Chairs
Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics
Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies

Special Fellowships
Next Generation Fellowship
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. Each year one NGF 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 to expand his or her knowledge of international relations.

Military Fellowships
Each year, the chief of staff of each military service nominates an outstanding candidate for the Military Fellowships. The fellowships enable officers to broaden their understanding of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy by spending a year in residence at the Council.

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.

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
Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

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.

**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  
Winston Lord Program, Asia  
John J. McCloy Program, International Relations  
C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics  
McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics  
James J. Shinn U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable  
Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program, International Relations

**Lectureships**

**The John B. Hurford Memorial Lecture**  
The John B. Hurford Memorial Lecture was inaugurated in 2002 in memory of John B. Hurford, a devoted member of the Council on Foreign Relations. This lecture is funded by the Hurford Foundation.

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

**The David A. Morse Lecture**  
The David A. Morse Lecture was inaugurated in 1994 and supports an annual meeting and dinner with a distinguished speaker. It honors the memory of David A. Morse, an active Council member for nearly 30 years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist. The lecture program is funded by gifts from Council members and friends of the Morse family.

**The David Rockefeller Lecture**  
The David Rockefeller Lecture was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1985 for an annual African lecturer from either the governmental or nongovernmental sector.

**The Elihu Root Lecture**  
The Elihu Root Lecture was inaugurated in 1958 to honor a founder of the Council on Foreign Relations who served as its honorary president from 1921 to 1937. The Council invites a distinguished American to reflect on his or her professional experience and how it applies to contemporary American foreign policymaking.

**The Russia and Russian-American Relations Lecture**  
This annual lecture was endowed this year by the Alfa Bank to help establish a more secure footing for Russian-American relations.

**The Bernard L. Schwartz Lecture on Business and Foreign Policy**  
This lecture series was established in fall 2002 and is funded by Bernard L. Schwartz. The series focuses on two areas: the evolution of the relationship between business and government in the making of foreign policy, and ways for government to make better use of business in solving foreign policy problems and for business to become more engaged in the making of foreign policy.

**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.

**The Paul C. Warnke Lecture**  
The annual Paul C. Warnke Lecture, endowed by a number of family, friends, and Council members, was inaugurated this year and commemorates his legacy of courageous service to the nation and international peace.
Program Highlights

Mario L. Baeza
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, TCW/Latin America Partners, LLC

Luis Bitencourt
Director, Brazil Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Lacey Gallagher
Director, Latin America Economics, Credit Suisse First Boston

“Time Bombs and Banana Peels: Brazil”

President: Kathryn Pilgrim
July 31, 2002

James J. Shinn
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Peter Clapman
Senior Vice President and Chief Counsel, Corporate Global Governance, TIAA-CREF

“Global Corporate Governance Reform Issues”
August 7, 2002
Conference Call

Junichiro Koizumi
Prime Minister of Japan

“Japan-U.S. Alliance in the 21st Century: Three Challenges”*

President: Peter G. Peterson
September 10, 2002
Cosponsored With Jiji Press

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

Peter G. Peterson, David Kellogg, Charles R. Kaye, and Speaker
Lawrence H. Summers, President, Harvard University, and former U.S.
Secretary of the Treasury, at the November 6, 2002, C. Peter McCollough
Performance of the 1990s.”

Thabo Mbeki
President of the Republic of South Africa; Chairman,
African Union
“Meeting with Thabo Mbeki”
PRESIDER: Robert E. Rubin
SEPTEMBER 12, 2002
THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

Horst Köhler
Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
“Investing in Better Globalization”
PRESIDER: Richard W. Fisher
SEPTEMBER 19, 2002
C. PETER MCCOLLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Lawrence B. Lindsey
Assistant to the President for Economic Policy; Director,
National Economic Council
“Risks and Opportunity in the Global Economy”
PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Brady
OCTOBER 15, 2002
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Eugene A. Matthews
Senior Fellow, Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
Adam Segal
Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations
Calvin Sims
Senior Fellow, Southeast Asia Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations
“APEC, Al Qaeda, and Shifting Alliances:
New Dynamics in the Asia-Pacific Region”
PRESIDER: Elizabeth C. Economy
OCTOBER 17, 2002
COSПONSORED WITH THE U.S.-ASIA UPDATE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

Geoffrey Kemp
Director, Regional Strategic Programs, Nixon Center
Gary N. Ross
Chief Executive Officer, PIRA Energy Group
Philip K. Verleger Jr.
President, PK Verleger LLC; BP Senior Fellow
in International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations
“Iraq: The War and Oil”
PRESIDER: Edward L. Morse
OCTOBER 30, 2003

Lawrence H. Summers
President, Harvard University; former U.S. Secretary
of the Treasury
“Lessons from America’s Economic Performance
of the 1990s”
PRESIDER: Marshall Loeb
NOVEMBER 6, 2002
C. PETER MCCOLLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS
Pascal Lamy  
Trade Commissioner, European Commission

Robert B. Zoellick  
U.S. Trade Representative

“Globalization, Trade, and Development: 
Are the United States and the European Union in It for the Long Run?”

PRESIDER: Lionel Barber  
NOVEMBER 6, 2002  
MCKINSEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Alan Greenspan  
Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

“International Financial Risk Management”

PRESIDER: Carla A. Hills  
NOVEMBER 19, 2002  
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Vin Weber  
Partner, Clark & Weinstock; former Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-MN)

“Implications of the Mid-Term Elections”

MODERATOR: Robert C. Orr  
NOVEMBER 25, 2002  
CONFERENCE CALL

Peter R. Fisher  
Undersecretary for Domestic Finance, U.S. Department of the Treasury

“The Twin Deficits: How Should We Think About Them Now?”

PRESIDER: Stanley Fischer  
DECEMBER 10, 2002  
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Leon Brittan  
Vice Chairman, UBS Warburg; former Vice President, European Commission

“Economic Policy Challenges for an Expanding Europe”

PRESIDER: George Soros  
FEBRUARY 6, 2003  
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Nicholas Nash Eberstadt  
Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

Helene D. Gayle  
Director, HIV/AIDS and TB, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Jeffrey D. Sachs  
Director, Earth Institute, Columbia University

“HIV/AIDS: The Implications for American Foreign Policy”

PRESIDER: Susan Dentzer  
FEBRUARY 12, 2003

Joyce Chang  
Managing Director and Global Head, Emerging Markets, J.P. Morgan Chase

Janet Kelly  
Professor, Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración, Caracas, Venezuela

Jennifer McCoy  
Director, Latin America and Caribbean Program, Carter Center

“The Political and Economic Crisis in Venezuela: What Are the Ways Out?”

PRESIDER: Kenneth R. Maxwell  
FEBRUARY 12, 2003  
CHASE-MANHATTAN INTER-AMERICAN ISSUES SEMINAR  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Eliot Spitzer  
Attorney General, State of New York

John H. Biggs  
Former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, TIAA-CREF

“Corporate Governance in the Global Economy”

PRESIDER: Nancy A. Lieberman  
MARCH 4, 2003
Corporate Program

Karen Clark
Chief Executive Officer, AIR Worldwide Corporation

John Coomber
Chief Executive Officer, Swiss Re Group

Kenneth A. Froot
André R. Jakurski Professor of Business, Harvard Business School; editor, The Financing of Catastrophe Risk

“Managing the Economic Risks of Terrorism”
PRESIDER: Gordon C. Stewart
APRIL 9, 2003

Antonio Palocci
Minister of Finance, Brazil

“Meeting with Antonio Palocci”
PRESIDER: William R. Rhodes
APRIL 15, 2003
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Madeleine K. Albright (in Washington)
Principal, Albright Group LLC; former U.S. Secretary of State

James A. Baker III (in Houston)
Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

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

Videoconferenced Meeting: “A Conversation with Former Secretaries of State”
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
APRIL 9, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

Brajesh Mishra
National Security Adviser, India; Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister

“India and the United States: Five Years Ahead”
CHAIR: Frank G. Wisner II
PRESIDER: Mahnaz Ispahani
MAY 7, 2003
COSPONSORED WITH THE ROUNDTABLE ON ALTERNATIVE FUTURES FOR SOUTHERN ASIA AND U.S. POLICY

Donald H. Rumsfeld
U.S. Secretary of Defense

“Meeting with Donald Rumsfeld”
PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson
MAY 27, 2003

Harvey Golub
Former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, American Express

François Jaclot
Former Vice Chairman and Chief Financial Officer, Suez

Thomas Middelhoff
Former Chief Executive Officer, Bertelsmann AG

Paul O’Neill
Former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury; former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ALCOA

“Business as Usual? The Impact of Transatlantic Antagonism”
PRESIDER: David Braunschvig
JUNE 10, 2003
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Clinton Group
The CNA Corporation
The Coca-Cola Company
ConocoPhillips
The Consulate General of Japan
Covington & Burling
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Credit Suisse First Boston Corporation
Debevoise & Plimpton
Deere & Company
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The Walt Disney Company
The William H. Donner Foundation, Inc.
Dresdner Bank AG
EADS North America
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Eisner LLP
Equinox Management Partners, LP
Ernst & Young, LLP
Estee Lauder Companies
Fiat USA, Inc.
The Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program is designed to engage promising young leaders 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 heard high-profile speakers, attended their seventh annual conference, participated in numerous seminars, and visited the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, the World Bank, and Mexico City, where they engaged foreign officials and business leaders. Term members also benefited from a series of multisession roundtables on pressing foreign policy issues. For information on how to become a term member, please see pages 113–15.
Term Member Program

Reuben E. Brigety II  
Researcher, Human Rights Watch
Carolyn Margaret Campbell  
Director and Senior Counsel, Emerging Markets Partnership
Richard Greco Jr.  
White House Fellow, U.S. Department of Defense
Nigel W. Jones  
Senior Associate, Carlyle Group

“Debate: The United States Should Remove Saddam Hussein by Force, Regardless of International Support for Such Action on Iraq”
MODERATORS: Daniel Calingaert and Daniel B. Prieto III
WASHINGTON, D.C. • OCTOBER 30, 2002

Theodore C. Sorensen  
Of Counsel, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP

“Conversation with Theodore C. Sorensen”
PRESIDER: Ernest R. May
BOSTON • NOVEMBER 6, 2002

Charles A. Kupchan  
Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; author, The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century

“Discussion of The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century”
PRESIDER: Philip H. Gordon
WASHINGTON, D.C. • NOVEMBER 6, 2002

Michael Aronson  
Editorial Board, Daily News
Lyndsay C. Howard  
President, Howard Communications LLC
Zachary Karabell  
Senior Economic Analyst and Futurist, Fred Alger Management
Deroy Murdock  
Senior Fellow, Atlas Economic Research Foundation

“Debate: Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe?”
MODERATOR: Owen O’Driscoll West
NEW YORK • NOVEMBER 12, 2002

Frank Cilluffo  
Special Assistant to the President, Office of Homeland Security, and Executive Director, President’s Homeland Security Advisory Council
Scott Gould  
Founder, President, and Chief Executive Officer, O’Gara Company
Christopher L. Koch  
President and Chief Executive Officer, World Shipping Council
Paul B. Kurtz  
Senior Director for National Security, President’s Critical Infrastructure Protection Board

“Public/Private Cooperation in Homeland Security”
PRESIDER: Daniel B. Prieto III
WASHINGTON, D.C. • DECEMBER 3, 2002

Speaker Wesley K. Clark, Chairman and CEO, Wesley K. Clark & Associates, and former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, with term members at the February 20, 2003, Seventh Annual Term Member Conference, “Terrorism, Iraq, and the Middle East.”
Moeen A. Qureshi  
Chairman and Founder, Emerging Markets Partnership  
“Post-Taliban Afghanistan”  
PRESENTER: Carolyn Margaret Campbell  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • JANUARY 13, 2003

Robert J. Chaves  
Partner, MatlinPatterson Global Advisors LLC  
Albert Fishlow  
Director, Center for Brazilian Studies, Columbia University  
“The Status and Outlook of the Washington Consensus in Latin America”  
PRESENTER: Raimundo L. Ruga  
NEW YORK • JANUARY 29, 2003

Ronald D. Asmus  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations  
Robert W. Kagan  
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
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Associate, Information Revolution and World Politics, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
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Phoebe Yang  
Former Special Coordinator for China Rule of Law, U.S. Department of State  
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Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University  
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PRESENTER: Jeffrey W. Taliaferro  
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Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics; former Economic Counselor and Director of the Department of Research, International Monetary Fund

Randal Quarles
Assistant Secretary, International Affairs, U.S. Department of the Treasury

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Labor Market and Social Transition Specialist, U.S. Agency for International Development

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Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, and Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

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Professor of International Law, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

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

“The Bush Administration’s Policy of ‘Preemption’: Policy Implications”

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Attorney, U.S. Attorney’s Office, Southern District of New York

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Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

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Roundtable on U.S. Foreign Policy and Iran
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Roundtable on the Bush Administration’s Policy of “Preemption”
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Gerald Martone
Director of Emergency Response, International Rescue Committee

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The Communications Department helped garner unprecedented attention this year for the Council’s projects and programs. Mentions of the Council in the press were five times higher than last year, with Council-sponsored Independent Task Forces receiving more than 1,000 citations. Council fellows contributed to the international debate through thousands of television, radio, print, and online interviews and hundreds of articles and op-eds in leading media outlets.

In a television first for the Council, “Wargame: Iraq,” a two-hour MSNBC special, featured Council President Leslie H. Gelb and Council fellows and members in mock National Security Council sessions gaming out possible scenarios leading up to the war. The Communications Department, working closely with the Outreach Program, posted an Iraq Resource Center on the Council’s website well before the war broke out to give the press and the public an in-depth, easy-to-use source of information and analysis on U.S. policy on Iraq. The section was featured in the International Herald Tribune’s “Editor’s Choice” column for “Best Web Bets.”

Website traffic also jumped dramatically as the press and the public sought out measured, reliable information on the war on terrorism, the war in Iraq, and other key foreign policy issues this year. Total traffic for the Council’s websites, including Foreign Affairs, nearly doubled from the beginning of the program year, with more than half a million visitors viewing two million pages of Council content during busy months.
The Publications Department supports the Council’s mission by producing timely and important books, Task Force reports, and papers. This year, the number of Independent Task Force reports more than doubled from last year, and books authored by senior fellows are now regularly being published by top trade publishers and university presses. Kenneth M. Pollack’s book, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*, published by Random House as a Council on Foreign Relations Book, was on the *Washington Post* bestseller list for ten weeks. Other important and well-received Council books included Charles A. Kupchan’s *The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century* (Knopf), Michael Mandelbaum’s *The Ideas That Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets in the Twenty-first Century* (PublicAffairs), Warren Bass’s *Support Any Friend: Kennedy’s Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance* (Oxford University Press), and Adam Segal’s *Digital Dragon: High-Technology Enterprises in China* (Cornell University Press), among others.

The Council published high-profile Independent Task Force reports on homeland security, terrorist financing, rebuilding postwar Iraq, enhancing U.S. leadership at the United Nations, and North Korea, to name a few. These consensus documents offered important and timely policy recommendations on issues critical to U.S. policy. The Council’s Center for Preventive Action published two reports—on the Balkans and on Papua—providing practical recommendations that promoted measures to avert deadly conflict in those two volatile regions.

Additionally, the Council published *Correspondence: An International Review of Culture and Society*, the semiannual newsletter for which the Council served as publisher for three years. The Council is extremely pleased that New York University’s Department of Journalism will pick up where we left off.

A complete listing of recent and past Council publications can be found on the Council’s website (www.cfr.org), where the full text of many of them is also available.
Books by Council on Foreign Relations Fellows


Independent Task Force Reports


*To order this book, call W.W. Norton at 1-800-233-4830.*
• Chinese Military Power. Harold Brown, chair; Joseph W. Prueher, vice chair; Adam Segal, project director (2003).
• Emergency Responders: Drastically Underfunded, Dangerously Unprepared. Warren B. Rudman, chair; Richard A. Clarke, senior adviser; Jamie Metzl, project director (2003).
• Meeting the North Korean Nuclear Challenge. Morton I. Abramowitz and James T. Laney, co-chairs; Eric Heginbotham, project director (2003).
• Threats to Democracy: Prevention and Response. Madeleine K. Albright and Bronislaw Geremek, co-chairs; Morton H. Halperin, project director; Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, associate director (2002).

Preventive Action Commission Reports

Council Papers
• Building a Transatlantic Securities Market, by Benn Steil (2003).
• How Shareholder Reforms Can Pay Foreign Policy Dividends, by James J. Shinn and Peter A. Gourevitch (2002).

Council Policy Initiatives
he Council has never been more relevant than it is today, responding swiftly to critical issues with books, articles, op-eds, meetings, debates, town hall gatherings, task forces, and roundtables. Response to the Council’s development efforts from members, foundations, and corporations has enabled the Council to act independently and quickly when situations have warranted. New and ongoing support provided financial backing for our other work as well, resulting in policy-oriented studies, meetings, and publications on a variety of crucial topics. The Council extends its most sincere appreciation to all the donors listed in these pages.

The Annual Fund

Annual giving—the Independence Fund—provides a critical piece of the Council’s overall funding, helping to support key programming and annual operating expenses. This year annual giving grew to new heights as members contributed in record numbers. 1,792 members, representing approximately 44 percent of the membership, gave $3,570,000 to the Annual Fund in fiscal year 2002–2003, the highest amount contributed by the largest percentage ever of the membership. Sixty-six members increased their gifts through corporate or foundation matching gift programs. The Harold Pratt Associates, who give $10,000 or more each year, increased to 172 members, 38 of whom gave at the $25,000+ Chairman’s Circle level.

As a tribute to Les Gelb for making the Term Member Program a top Council priority, term members responded to a challenge spearheaded by Andrew S. Gundlach and Maria C. Figueroa Kupçü to boost term member participation in annual giving. Deroy Murdock and Phoebe L. Yang wrote to their term member colleagues, with follow-up by a team of volunteers. Term member giving rose to 54 percent as a result. A special listing of the term members who contributed this year appears on page 72. All donors to the Annual Fund are listed on pages 80–86.
Term Grants, Endowment, Restricted, and Special Gifts

The Ralph Bunche Chair in Africa Policy Studies
The Council established a new endowed chair in Africa Policy Studies named in honor of Ralph Bunche and funded by a number of generous endowment gifts from major institutions and private individuals.

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Global Health Policy Studies
The Council has established a new senior fellowship in global health policy studies with a generous grant from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies
Established with major endowment gifts from David Rockefeller and the Starr Foundation, the center received a new endowment gift this year from the Richard Salomon Family Foundation. In addition, a number of ongoing grants supported the work of individual fellows at the center:

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The center develops and promotes strategies to preempt or mitigate deadly conflicts caused by civil and ethnic violence.

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The Paul C. Warnke Lecture in International Security
The Council established an endowed annual lecture in honor of Paul C. Warnke to commemorate his legacy of courageous service to the nation and to international peace. The Council is grateful to the more than 85 Council members, family, and friends of Paul Warnke whose contributions made this permanently endowed lecture possible.
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Development
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, 2003, were Peggy Dulany, Martin S. Feldstein, Bette Bao Lord, Vincent A. Mai, Michael H. Moskow, and Garrick Utley.

The Nominating and Governance Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (Chair), Richard C. Holbrooke (Vice Chair), Henry S. Bienen, Daniel William Christman, Robert E. Denham, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Robert Legvold, Winston Lord, Susan E. Rice, James Baker Sitrick, Gordon C. Stewart, Anne Wexler, Andrew Young, and Nancy Young. On January 10, 2003, Carla A. Hills invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating and Governance Committee met on March 14 to consider the 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 and Governance Committee developed the following slate of nominees: David Dreier, Martin S. Feldstein, Richard N. Foster, Karen Elliott House, Alberto Ibargüen, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. On March 20, 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 15.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 15, 2003, 1,585 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 2004 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning September 1, 2003, and expiring August 31, 2008: Martin S. Feldstein, Karen Elliott House, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. Bart Friedman, Donald S. Rice, and Barbara Paul Robinson served as election overseers.

Under current procedures, the Board completed the Class of 2008 by appointing three Directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating and Governance Committee, at its June 5 meeting the Board appointed three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning September 1, 2003, and ending August 31, 2008: Helene D. Gayle, Michael H. Moskow, and Richard E. Salomon. Additionally, the Board confirmed the appointment of Peter G. Peterson to the Class of 2007.¹

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, 2002–2003

Executive
Peter G. Peterson, Chair
Carla A. Hills, Vice Chair
Lee Cullum
Kenneth M. Duberstein
Martin S. Feldstein
Vincent A. Mai
William J. McDonough
Michael H. Moskow
Warren B. Rudman
Laura D’Andrea Tyson
Garrick Utley

Corporate Affairs
Kenneth M. Duberstein, Chair
Richard N. Foster, Vice Chair
Joyce Chang†
Saj Cherian†
Samuel A. DiPiazza
Michael Dolan
Bart Friedman
Joseph M. Ha
Ruth R. Harkin
Morton L. Janklow
James R. Jones
Virginia Ann Kansky
Sherman R. Lewis Jr.
Ira A. Lipman
Ken Miller
Alan Joel Patricof
Thomas R. Pickering
E. John Rosenwald Jr.
Seymour Sternberg
Alan J. Stoga
Enzo Viscusi
John H. Watts
Frank G. Wisner
I. Peter Wolff

Development
Vincent A. Mai, Chair
Henry S. Bienen
Ronald L. Olson
George Soros
Vin Weber

Finance and Budget
William J. McDonough, Chair
Jessica F. Einhorn, Vice Chair†
Roger C. Altman‡
Peggy Dulany
Gail D. Fosler
Ned Gofeller Jr.
Richard K. Goeltz
Michael D. Granoff
J. Tomlinson Hill†
Henry Kaufman†
Carl B. Menges‡
George J. Mitchell
Joel W. Motley
Karen Parker Feld
David Perez†

Foreign Affairs
Martin S. Feldstein, Chair
Henry A. Grunwald, Vice Chair
Fouad Ajami
Warren Bass†
John Lewis Gaddis
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.
David Greenberg†
Rita E. Hauser
Jim Hoagland
Richard C. Holbrooke
Karen Elliott House
John J. Mearsheimer
Rodney W. Nichols
Louis Perlmutter
Elisabeth N. Sifton
Theodore C. Sorensen
Joshua L. Steiner
Anita Volz Wien
Philip D. Zelikow

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 Clear Swid
Garrick Utley
Masakazu Yamazaki

Meetings
Garrick Utley, Chair
Carole Artigiani
Barbara Crossette
Peggy Dulany
Malcolm I. Hoenlein
James F. Hoge Jr.*
Robert D. Hormats
Morton L. Janklow
Melanie M.
Kirkpatrick
Bette Bao Lord
Marcus Mabry†
Raffiq A. Nathoo
Peter L.W. Osnos
Ponchitta Pierce
Richard L. Plouker
Douglas E. Schoen
Ron Silver
Maurice Sonnenberg
Amina Tiran†

Membership
Lee Cullum, Chair
Joan E. Spero, Vice Chair
Peter D. Bell
Stephanie K. Bell-Rose
Judith H. Bello
Thomas J. Campbell
Sergio J. Galvis
James M. Goldgeier
Merit E. Janow
Richard Mallery
Michael H. Moskow
Stephen A. Orlins
Orville Schell
Thomas Schick
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Garrick Utley
Vin Weber
Raul H. Yzaguirre

Term Membership
Anne-Marie Slaughter, Chair
Deborah K. Burand
Juju Chang†
Robert J. Chaves
Thomas J. Christensen
C. Shelby Coffey III
Joy E. Drucker
Todd C. Hart

*Ex officio.
†Designated Term Member.
‡Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee.
Chairman’s Advisory Council

The Chairman’s Advisory Council was established to assist the Board in overseeing a number of key program areas. It is currently focusing on the Council’s Term Member Program, Outreach Program, and Independent Task Forces. The group, which met for the first time on November 6, 2002, is chaired by Council Chairman Peter G. Peterson, with Thomas E. Donilon, Richard N. Foster, and David K.Y. Tang as vice chairs, and is composed of the following Council members from around the country:

Peter G. Peterson, Chairman
Thomas E. Donilon, Vice Chairman
Richard N. Foster, Vice Chairman
David K.Y. Tang, Vice Chairman
Robert John Abernethy
Peter Ackerman
Charlene Barshefsky
Alan R. Batkin
Stephanie K. Bell-Rose
Jewelle Bickford
Denis A. Bovin
Robert E. Denham
Michael B.G. Froman
Robert L. Gallucci
Sergio J. Galvis
Timothy F. Geithner
Joachim Gloceller Jr.
Mimi L. Haas
J. Tomilson Hill
Alberto Barguen
Merit E. Janow
Eason T. Jordan
Virginia A. Kamsky
Arnold Kanter
William A. Owens
Richard L. Plepler
Thomas J. Pritzker
Steven L. Rattner
Susan E. Rice
Scott D. Sagan
David E. Sanger
Thomas Schick
Douglas E. Schoen
Barbara Shailor
Carl Ware
Alice Young
Fareed Zakaria

Elizabeth L. Cheney†
Edwin A. Deagle Jr.
Thomas R. Donahue
Kenneth M. Dubenbush
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
James V. Kimsey
Mark P. Lagon
Dave K. McCurdy
Alberto J. Mora
Mark Palmer
Thomas R. Pickering
Peter R. Rosenblatt
Tara Diane Sonenshine
Terence A. Todman
Michael H. Van Dusen
W. Bruce Weinrod
R. James Woolsey

Lukas Harrison
Haynes†
Rebecca K.C. Hersman†
Kimberly Joy Marten
H. K. Park†
Nancy E. Soderberg
Elliot Stein
George H. Young III

National Programs
Michael H. Moskow, Chair
Robert J. Abernethy
Andy S. Bodea
Hodding Carter III
Stephen A. Cheney
Lee Cullum
Edward P. Djerejian
April Kanne Donnellan†
Mimi L. Haas
Mont P. Hoyt
Lyric M. Hughes
Wyatt Thomas Johnson
Peter Bicknell Kellner†
Peter Kezirian†

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. Dubenbush
Michael B.G. Froman
Francis Fukuyama
John Lewis Gaddis
Melvin L. Heineman
James F. Hoge Jr.*
John P. Lipsky
Abraham F. Lowenthal
Haleh Nazeri†
Michael P. Peters*
Steven L. Rattner
Robert E. Rubin
Scott D. Sagan
Gordon C. Stewart
Peter Tarnoff
Marc A. Thiessen
Richard H. Ullman
Mimi L. Haas
Mont P. Hoyt
Lyric M. Hughes
Wyatt Thomas Johnson
Peter Bicknell Kellner†
Peter Kezirian†
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 fall Board meeting to offer perspectives on a broad range of matters of concern to the Council. IAB members are invited to comment on institutional programs and strategic directions, and on practical opportunities for collaboration between the Council and institutions abroad. They also provide invaluable international insights into U.S. foreign policy in discussions on a variety of issues—from the need for new strategies and institutions for the 21st century, to the value of multilateral approaches to world problems, to ways to foster democratization.

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

**International Advisory Board**

Kyung-Won Kim (Republic of Korea), President, Institute of Social Sciences and Seoul Forum for International Affairs; former Ambassador of South Korea to the United States

Babagana Kingibe (Nigeria), Special envoy for the Sudan, Organization of African Unity; former Foreign Minister of Nigeria

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

Rahmi M. Koç (Turkey), Honorary Chairman, Koç Holdings A.S.

Otto Lambsdorff (Germany), Partner, Taylor Wessing; former Federal Minister of Economics of Germany

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

Juan March (Spain), Chairman, Juan March Foundation and Juan March Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences

Maria Rosa Martini (Argentina), Co-founder and President, Social Sector Forum; Vice President of the Board, CIVITAS

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

Brian Mulroney (Canada), Senior Partner, Ogilvy Renault; former Prime Minister of Canada

Sari Nusseibeh (Palestinian Authority), President, Al-Quds University

Sadako Ogata (Japan), Scholar in Residence, Ford Foundation; former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Surin Pitsuwan (Thailand), Member of Parliament, Thailand

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), Director, Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand; Director, Simeka Financial Services

Washington SyCip (Philippines), Chairman and Founder, The SGV Group; Chairman, Asian Institute of Management

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

Jacob Wallenberg (Sweden), Chairman, SEB Group

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), Director, Center for the Study of Globalization, Yale University; former President of Mexico
I. All members of the Council shall be elected by the Board of Directors. All members elected to the Council, other than those whose term of membership is limited by the conditions of their election, remain members until death, resignation, or action under the last paragraph of this By-Law.

The Board of Directors may elect honorary members with such membership rights, excluding the right to vote in Council affairs, as the Board may designate.

In any fiscal year, the Board may elect up to 110 persons to five-year term membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that those elected to such membership are between the ages of 28 and 34 years 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>
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<td>30–39</td>
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<td>320</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>40 and Over</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>300</td>
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</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 in each class subject to appointment by the Board.

B. At each Annual Election of the Council, three Directors shall be elected to replace the outgoing class of elected Directors. Terms of all Directors, both elected and appointed, shall commence on the first day of September next following their election or appointment. A Director, whether elected or appointed, who has served three years or more of a five-year term shall be eligible subsequently for election or appointment to a single consecutive term.

C. Directors are expected faithfully to attend Board and Board Committee meetings to which they are assigned. A Director who fails to attend two-thirds of all such regularly scheduled Board and Board Committee meetings in any two consecutive calendar years shall be deemed to have submitted his or her resignation to be accepted at the pleasure of the Chairman of the Board. The Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy in its membership. A Director appointed to fill a vacancy created by the retirement, resignation, or death of a Director previously elected by the membership at large shall be nominated by the Nominating and Governance 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 and Governance 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 and Governance 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, a Committee on Development, a Committee on Meetings, a Committee on Washington Programs, a Committee on National Programs, a Committee on Membership, a Nominating and Governance 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 Chairmen 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 no fewer than three 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 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 Development shall be composed of no fewer than three 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 help to plan, implement, and oversee the Council’s financial development programs.

The Committee on Corporate Affairs shall be composed of no fewer than three 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 help to plan, implement, and oversee the Corporate Program.

The Committee on Meetings shall be composed of no fewer than three 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 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 no fewer than three 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 no fewer than three 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 no fewer than three 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 and Governance Committee shall be composed of no fewer than three 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 and Governance 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 and Governance Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year’s Board election, the Nominating and Governance 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 no fewer than three 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. 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 no fewer than three 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. 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 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 hereof shall be furnished to each officer or director at the time of his or her election or appointment to or by the Board and any renewal thereof, and to each person who is now or hereafter may become a member of the staff. The policy shall in an appropriate manner be reviewed annually for the information and guidance of directors, officers, and staff.”

**Archival Practice**

By resolution of the Council’s Board of Directors, adopted June 3, 1999, all substantive records of the Council more than 25 years old are open for reference use during library hours at the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University, subject to the following proviso:

“As a condition of use, the officers of the Council shall require each user of Council records to execute a prior written commitment that he or she will not directly or indirectly attribute to any living person any assertion of fact or opinion based upon any Council record without first obtaining from such person his or her written consent thereto.”
## Directors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Director</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>Lucian W. Pye</td>
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<td>Cyrus R. Vance</td>
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<td>W. Michael Blumenthal</td>
<td>1972–77, 1979–84</td>
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<td>Zbigniew Brzezinski</td>
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<td>Walter B. Wriston</td>
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<td>Lewis T. Preston</td>
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<td>Warren Christopher</td>
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<td>Alan Greenspan</td>
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<td>Clifton R. Whaton Jr.</td>
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<td>Charles McC. Mathias Jr.</td>
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<td>Ruben F. Mettler</td>
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<td>James E. Burke</td>
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### Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Strobe Talbott</td>
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<td>John L. Clendenin</td>
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<td>Charlayne Hunter-Gault</td>
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<td>John W. Davis</td>
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<td>Edwin F. Gay</td>
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<td>Frank L. Polk</td>
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<td>Anne R. Luzzatto</td>
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*Pro-tempore
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 1942–51
Devereux C. Josephs 1951–52

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. Gleyben Jr. 1987–89
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos 1989–94

Meeting of the Board of Directors, June 5, 2003

In his Chairman’s Letter, Peter G. Peterson describes some of the strengths underlying the Council’s financial position: a strong leader in our departing president, Leslie H. Gelb, and in our incoming president, Richard N. Haass; a committed and generous membership; and diverse sources of revenue. This year, the Council added an endowed chair in Africa Policy Studies; a senior fellowship in global health studies; two endowed lectureships; and broad support for its National, Term Member, and Studies Programs—to mention just a few areas of growth this year.

The Council’s investment portfolio climbed to an all-time high, ending at just over $150 million as of June 30, 2003. We thank William J. McDonough, chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee, J. Tomilson Hill, chairman of the Investment Subcommittee, and all members of the committee and subcommittee more heartily each year—and we have good reason to do so! In this “unruly and dangerous world” that Les talks about, they have kept the Council sensibly and soundly prepared to fund ongoing programs and take on new ones without sacrificing quality or compromising goals.

And, thanks to the continuing combination of careful stewardship of Council resources; support from members, foundations, and others who support the Council’s missions; keeping a close eye on expenditures; and maintaining a diverse array of resources, the Council maintained an operating surplus for this final year of Les’s presidency.

Janice L. Murray
Senior Vice President and Treasurer

### Statement of Financial Position

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<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
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<td><strong>Cash and cash equivalents</strong></td>
<td>$9,206,300</td>
<td>$10,304,000</td>
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<td><strong>Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses</strong></td>
<td>1,127,900</td>
<td>1,191,100</td>
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<td><strong>Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)</strong></td>
<td>4,026,100</td>
<td>5,258,700</td>
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<td><strong>Inventories, at lower of cost or market</strong></td>
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<td>170,700</td>
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<td><strong>Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)</strong></td>
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<td>1,346,600</td>
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<td><strong>Contributions receivable for endowment (Note 5)</strong></td>
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<td>1,116,000</td>
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<td><strong>Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)</strong></td>
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<td>22,568,600</td>
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<td><strong>Investments (Note 3)</strong></td>
<td>85,049,000</td>
<td>81,270,500</td>
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<td><strong>Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Total assets</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Liabilities:</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Accounts payable and accrued expenses</strong></td>
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<td>$3,764,300</td>
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<td><strong>Deferred subscription revenue</strong></td>
<td>2,415,800</td>
<td>2,309,200</td>
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<td><strong>Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)</strong></td>
<td>1,858,000</td>
<td>1,812,000</td>
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<td><strong>Total liabilities</strong></td>
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<td>7,885,500</td>
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<td><strong>Net assets (Notes 9 and 10):</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Unrestricted</strong></td>
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<td>75,143,800</td>
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<td><strong>Temporarily restricted</strong></td>
<td>38,404,800</td>
<td>39,080,900</td>
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<td><strong>Permanently restricted</strong></td>
<td>66,388,700</td>
<td>62,033,300</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total net assets</strong></td>
<td>184,007,700</td>
<td>176,258,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total liabilities and net assets</strong></td>
<td>$191,119,200</td>
<td>$184,143,500</td>
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See accompanying notes.
## Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 2003, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2002

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<th>Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</th>
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<td>Membership dues</td>
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<td>Meetings</td>
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<td>120,000</td>
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<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
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<td>141,300</td>
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<td>Grants and contributions for Studies</td>
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<td>Other grants and contributions</td>
<td>745,400</td>
<td>1,142,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>5,359,300</td>
<td>5,359,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book publication</td>
<td>37,800</td>
<td>37,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment income allocation (Note 4)</td>
<td>3,600,000</td>
<td>3,187,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental income</td>
<td>1,025,900</td>
<td>1,025,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>180,500</td>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total operating revenue and support</td>
<td>21,312,200</td>
<td>10,159,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net assets released from restrictions (Note 9)</td>
<td>10,159,200</td>
<td>(10,159,200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</td>
<td>31,471,400</td>
<td>31,471,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Operating expenses

**Program expenses:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies Program</td>
<td>11,463,300</td>
<td>10,387,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings Program</td>
<td>3,280,200</td>
<td>3,124,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>4,746,500</td>
<td>4,932,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book publication</td>
<td>606,200</td>
<td>596,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Program</td>
<td>769,300</td>
<td>627,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outreach Program</td>
<td>565,200</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>1,114,200</td>
<td>563,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>850,700</td>
<td>735,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total program expenses</strong></td>
<td>23,395,600</td>
<td>20,967,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Supporting services:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management and general</td>
<td>3,820,100</td>
<td>3,868,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>798,600</td>
<td>629,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fund-raising:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>303,700</td>
<td>308,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Program</td>
<td>588,200</td>
<td>661,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total fund-raising</strong></td>
<td>891,900</td>
<td>969,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total supporting services</strong></td>
<td>5,510,600</td>
<td>5,467,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total operating expenses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28,906,200</td>
<td>26,435,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,565,200</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,565,600</td>
<td>4,441,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement of Activities (continued)

Year ended June 30, 2003, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrestricted</td>
<td>Temporarily Restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses brought forward</td>
<td>$ 2,565,200</td>
<td>$ 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment gain (loss) in excess of spending rate (Note 4)</td>
<td>1,505,200 (676,500)</td>
<td>828,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endowment contributions</td>
<td></td>
<td>$ 4,355,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total nonoperating revenue</td>
<td>1,505,200 (676,500)</td>
<td>$ 4,355,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in net assets</td>
<td>4,070,400 (676,100)</td>
<td>4,355,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net assets, beginning of the year</td>
<td>75,143,800</td>
<td>39,080,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net assets, end of the year</td>
<td>$79,214,200</td>
<td>$38,404,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See accompanying notes.

Statement of Cash Flows

Years ended June 30, 2003 and 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operating activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in net assets</td>
<td>$ 7,749,700</td>
<td>$(3,666,300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash (used in) provided by operating activities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depreciation</td>
<td>1,612,700</td>
<td>1,573,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net realized and unrealized (gain) loss on investments</td>
<td>(7,013,100)</td>
<td>4,968,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions restricted for investment in endowment</td>
<td>(4,355,400)</td>
<td>(1,307,900)</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>63,200</td>
<td>(563,700)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable</td>
<td>(301,200)</td>
<td>(1,004,400)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventories</td>
<td>43,300</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts payable and accrued expenses</td>
<td>(926,600)</td>
<td>529,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deferred subscription revenue</td>
<td>106,600</td>
<td>(124,800)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued postretirement benefits</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash (used in) provided by operating activities</td>
<td>(2,974,800)</td>
<td>425,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement of Cash Flows (continued)

Years ended June 30, 2003 and 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</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>$(1,357,500)</td>
<td>$(818,500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchases of investments</td>
<td>(119,693,800)</td>
<td>(114,974,100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds from sales of investments</td>
<td>118,760,000</td>
<td>108,321,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net cash used in investing activities</strong></td>
<td>$(2,291,300)</td>
<td>$(7,470,700)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financing activities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions restricted for investment in endowment</td>
<td>4,168,400</td>
<td>4,294,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net cash provided by financing activities</strong></td>
<td>4,168,400</td>
<td>4,294,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net decrease in cash and cash equivalents</strong></td>
<td>$(1,097,700)</td>
<td>$(2,751,100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year</td>
<td>10,304,000</td>
<td>13,055,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and cash equivalents, end of year</td>
<td>$9,206,300</td>
<td>$10,304,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information**
Non-cash investing and financing activity:
Contributions receivable for investment in endowment | $1,303,000 | $1,116,000 |

See accompanying notes.

Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 2003

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.

2002 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, 2002, 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>Investment Type</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cost (June 30)</td>
<td>Carrying Value (June 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic equity securities</td>
<td>$46,719,700</td>
<td>$52,629,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International equity securities</td>
<td>12,181,300</td>
<td>14,674,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign and corporate bonds</td>
<td>11,571,200</td>
<td>12,731,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. government agency obligations</td>
<td>12,988,200</td>
<td>14,945,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedge funds</td>
<td>33,889,100</td>
<td>46,300,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money market funds</td>
<td>8,853,500</td>
<td>8,853,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$128,203,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>$150,134,700</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The hedge funds in which the Council has invested may trade various financial instruments with off-balance sheet risk. These financial instruments include securities sold short and long, options contracts, and foreign currency forward contracts. Such transactions subject the hedge funds and their investors to market risk associated with changes in the value of the underlying securities, financial instruments, and foreign currencies, as well as the risk of loss if a counterparty fails to perform. The respective hedge fund managers endeavor to limit the risk associated with such transactions.

4. Investment Allocation

It is a Council policy to make an annual investment allocation for the support of operations at 5% of the average market value of the investments for the three previous years. Amounts allocated to the unrestricted and temporarily restricted net asset classes are at the discretion of the Council. Investment income has been reported as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of $1,163,700 and $828,600 in 2003 and 2002, respectively</td>
<td>$404,000</td>
<td>$198,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net realized and unrealized gain (loss)</td>
<td>$4,701,200</td>
<td>$2,311,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total return on investments</td>
<td>$5,105,200</td>
<td>$7,615,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment return used for current operations</td>
<td>(3,600,000)</td>
<td>(6,177,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment gain (loss) in excess of amounts used for current operations</td>
<td>$1,505,200</td>
<td>$(676,500)</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></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than one year</td>
<td>$5,329,100</td>
<td>$6,374,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One to five years</td>
<td>3,078,000</td>
<td>1,520,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less discount (at rates varying from 1.5% to 6%)</td>
<td>8,407,100</td>
<td>7,894,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable, net</td>
<td>$8,209,500</td>
<td>$7,721,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>Estimated Useful Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>$1,854,300</td>
<td>$1,854,300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings and building improvements</td>
<td>26,510,800</td>
<td>25,827,000</td>
<td>10–55 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>8,161,700</td>
<td>7,488,000</td>
<td>3–15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less accumulated depreciation</td>
<td>36,526,800</td>
<td>35,169,300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14,213,400</td>
<td>12,600,700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$22,313,400</td>
<td>$22,568,600</td>
<td></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 for employees 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 $831,200 for 2003 and $786,300 for 2002. 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 disclosures under the provisions of Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 132, *Employers’ Disclosures About Pensions and Other Postretirement Benefits*, as accounted for under Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 106, *Employers’ Accounting for Postretirement Benefits Other than Pensions*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>June 30 2003</th>
<th>June 30 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefit obligation</td>
<td>$2,889,000</td>
<td>$2,348,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair value of plan assets</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfunded status</td>
<td>$2,889,000</td>
<td>$2,348,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued postretirement benefit cost in the statement of financial position</td>
<td>$1,858,000</td>
<td>$1,812,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the year ended

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefit cost</td>
<td>$239,000</td>
<td>$198,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits paid</td>
<td>$193,000</td>
<td>$186,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weighted-average assumptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discount rate</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
<td>7.0%</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 2003 and 2002 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></th>
<th>June 30 2003</th>
<th>June 30 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$24,833,700</td>
<td>$24,740,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>4,000,600</td>
<td>4,212,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>2,758,400</td>
<td>1,790,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies—Next Generation</td>
<td>1,595,000</td>
<td>2,891,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditures</td>
<td>5,217,100</td>
<td>5,446,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$38,404,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>$39,080,900</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></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$7,540,600</td>
<td>$8,050,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>539,800</td>
<td>406,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>474,200</td>
<td>504,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies—Next Generation</td>
<td>1,296,700</td>
<td>264,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditures</td>
<td>228,900</td>
<td>231,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>278,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$10,159,200</strong></td>
<td><strong>$9,735,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amounts released from restrictions of $10,159,200 and $9,735,500 in 2003 and 2002, respectively, primarily represent revenue recognized in prior years and expended in 2003 and 2002, respectively.
10. Permanently Restricted Net Assets
At June 30, 2003 and 2002, income earned on permanently restricted net assets is available for the following purposes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>June 30 2003</th>
<th>June 30 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>$40,235,000</td>
<td>$36,028,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs Fellowships</td>
<td>6,066,200</td>
<td>6,066,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>4,080,500</td>
<td>3,931,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>1,021,000</td>
<td>1,021,000</td>
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<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>$66,388,700</strong></td>
<td><strong>$62,033,300</strong></td>
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</table>

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS
Board of Directors
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statement of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. as of June 30, 2003, and the related statements of activities and cash flows for the year then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Council's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audit. The prior year summarized comparative information has been derived from the Council's 2002 financial statements and, in our report dated August 14, 2002, we expressed an unqualified opinion on those financial statements.

We conducted our audit in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audit provides a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. at June 30, 2003, and the changes in its net assets and its cash flows for the year then ended in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States.

August 8, 2003
Staff

Executive Office
Richard N. Haass  President
Michael P. Peters  Executive Vice President
Janice L. Murray  Senior Vice President and Treasurer
Abigail Zoba  Special Assistant to the President
Elva Murphy  Assistant to the President
Jennifer Manuel  Special Assistant to the Executive
Sharon Herbst  Assistant to the Senior Vice President and Treasurer
Lilita V. Gusts  Secretary of the Corporation
Lee Feinstein  Deputy Director of Studies and Director of Strategic Policy
Jeffrey A. Reinke  Director of Special Programs
Alton Frye  Of Counsel
Leslie H. Gelb  President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow
Thomas D. Sullivan  Research Associate to the President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow

Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program
Lee Feinstein  Co-Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy
Alton Frye  Presidential Senior Fellow and Co-Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy
Daryl Edwards  Program Coordinator, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy

Communications
Lisa Shields  Vice President
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
Stéphanie Giry  Associate Editor
Daniel Kurtz-Phelan  Associate Editor
Ben Moxham  Assistant Editor
Traci C. Nagle  Production Editor
Ann R. Tappert  Acting Production Editor
Rosemary Hartman  Assistant to the Editor
Ann Hathaway Coleman  Assistant to the Managing Editor
Ariosa Sidoti  Editorial Assistant

Publishing
David Kellogg  Publisher
Eugenia Chang  Circulation Manager
Peter Chiu  Circulation Analyst
Nina Johns  Permissions and Licensing Coordinator
Lynda Hammers  Academic Program Coordinator
Michael Pasuit  Marketing Coordinator
Melsha Winchester  Advertising Production Coordinator
Tom Davey  Website Marketing Coordinator
Nancy Eyde  Assistant to the Publisher

Studies Program
Director of Studies Office
James M. Lindsay  Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies
Lee Feinstein  Deputy Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law
Cynthia Tindel  Associate Director of Studies
Alicia Siebenaler  Assistant Director of Studies
Jean-Michel Oriol  Budget Coordinator

Africa
Princeton N. Lyman  Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow in Africa Policy Studies
Odette Boya  Research Associate

Asia
Elizabeth C. Economy  C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director in Asia Studies
Jerome A. Cohen  Adjunct Senior Fellow
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eric Heginbotham</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mahnaz Ispahani</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Edward Lincoln</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adam Segal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Benjamin Brake</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Earl Carr</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Kerry Fischer</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Laura Geller</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Faiza Issa</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Angela Stavropoulos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Center for Preventive Action</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>William L. Nash</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>David L. Phillips</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Janine Hill</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Kathleen Jennings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maria Kristensen</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Benn Steil</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Caroline Atkinson</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jagdish N. Bhagwati</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Roger M. Kubarych</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Edward Lincoln</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Sebastian Mallaby</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gene Sperling</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Michael M. Weinstein</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Amelia Branczik</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Tanya Finnell</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Michael Punzalan</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Uday Ram</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Business and Foreign Policy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>David Braunschvig</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Jennifer Manuel</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Charles A. Kupchan</strong></td>
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<td><strong>James M. Goldgeier</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Sheila Heslin</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Michael Mandelbaum</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Stephen R. Sestanovich</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Jamie Fly</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Rositsa Petrova</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Latin America</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Kenneth R. Maxwell</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Julia E. Sweig</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Tomás Amorim</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Michael McCarthy</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Marcio Siwi</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Alexander Sarly</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Middle East</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rachel Bronson</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Michael S. Doran</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Judith Kipper</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Richard W. Murphy</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Henry Siegman</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Rachel Abramson</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Jonathan Lincoln</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Gail Israelson</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Kareem Idriss</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Caroline Nichols</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>National Security</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lawrence J. Korb</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Richard K. Betts</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dennis C. Blair</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Max Boot</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Stephen E. Flynn</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Jamie Metzl</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Bernard E. Trainor</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Elizabeth Dahan</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Dan Dolgin</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Jamie Fly</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Scott Kemp</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Alex Tiersky</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarah Vogt</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Staff

Peace and Conflict
Arthur C. Helton  Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, and Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action
Robert P. DeVecchi  Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced
Mahnaz Ispahani  Senior Fellow for South and West Asia
Ruth Wedgewood  Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law
Kerry Fischer  Research Associate
Eliana Jacobs  Research Associate
Marie Jeannot  Assistant to the Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action

Science and Technology
Richard L. Garwin  Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow and Director in Science and Technology
Bruce M. DeBlois  Adjunct Senior Fellow
Jordan S. Kassalow  Adjunct Senior Fellow
Robert W. Nelson  Senior Fellow, Science and Technology
David G. Victor  Adjunct Senior Fellow
Smita Aiyar  Research Associate
James Bergman  Research Associate
Kerry Fischer  Research Associate

U.S. Foreign Policy
Isobel Coleman  Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy
Lee Feinstein  Deputy Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law
Walter Russell Mead  Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Policy
Joe Siegle  Douglas Dillon Fellow
Ronald Steel  Whitney H. Shepadson Fellow
Bryan Gunderson  Research Associate
Cheryl Igi  Research Associate
Lindsay Workman  Research Associate

Visiting Fellows, 2003–2004
John T. Boggs  USMC Military Fellow
Peter A. Henry  USA Military Fellow
L. David Marquette  USN Military Fellow
Heather Armentrout  Intelligence Fellow
Kathy M. Gannon  Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow
Christopher LaFleur  Cyrus Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies
Sunil Desai  International Affairs Fellow in Residence
Anna Gelpen  International Affairs Fellow in Residence
Stephen R. Grand  International Affairs Fellow in Residence
Konrad Huber  International Affairs Fellow in Residence
Brad Setser  Research Associate
Uday Ram  Research Associate

Meetings
Anne R. Luzzatto  Vice President, Meetings
Laura Sylvester  Assistant to the Vice President of Meetings and Deputy Director
Nancy D. Bodurtha  Associate Director
Anastasia Malacos  Assistant Director
La Follette  Program Coordinator
Carolyn Jander  Program Associate
Francesco Barbacci  Administrative Assistant/Database Coordinator
Allison Scharf  Director of Special Events
Monti Burnett  Assistant Director, Special Events
Kathy M. Gannon  Special Events Assistant

Washington Program
Lee Feinstein  Director, Washington Program
Noa Gimelli  Associate Director, Meetings
Linda Harsh  Associate Director, Washington Office
Christine Zehender  Events Manager
Milan Vaishnav  Program Coordinator
Jenna Munn  Program Associate
John W. Havens  Program Assistant

National and Outreach Programs
Irina A. Faskianos  Vice President, National and Outreach Programs

National Program
Katherine Sobong  Program Coordinator, National Program
Vaishali Patel  Program Assistant, National Program
Erika Bailey  Administrative Assistant

Outreach Program
Michael Glennon  Senior Editor, cfr.org
Bernard M. Gwertzman  Consulting Editor, cfr.org
Jennifer Sieg  Assistant Director, Outreach Program
Sharon Otterman  Staff Writer, cfr.org
Esther Pan  Staff Writer, cfr.org
Claire Miller  Research Associate, cfr.org
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David Kellogg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy Eyde</td>
</tr>
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### Corporate Affairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacqui Selbst Schein</td>
<td>Director, Corporate Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Woodruff</td>
<td>Associate Director, Corporate Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kira Burns</td>
<td>Assistant Director, Corporate Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jura Chung</td>
<td>Corporate Affairs Associate</td>
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### Council Publishing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Role</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patricia Lee Dorff</td>
<td>Director of Publishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer Anmuth</td>
<td>Assistant Editor</td>
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</table>

### Membership and Fellowship Affairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elise Carlson Lewis</td>
<td>Vice President and Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison Valencia</td>
<td>Assistant Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bessie Skoures</td>
<td>Assistant Director, Term Member Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline Osterwise</td>
<td>Program Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genna Weinstein</td>
<td>Program Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aysha Ghadiali</td>
<td>Program Assistant</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Janice L. Murray</td>
<td>Senior Vice President and Treasurer</td>
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### Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Betty Kurdys</td>
<td>Director of the Annual Fund and Major Gifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lena Moy</td>
<td>Program Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seabeen Ali</td>
<td>Program Coordinator</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Finance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Tyndale</td>
<td>Director of Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca Schain</td>
<td>Accounting Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigi Silvari</td>
<td>Staff Accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linda Copeland</td>
<td>Accounting Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon Lalla</td>
<td>Accounting Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vera Langley</td>
<td>Accounting Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myrna Morris</td>
<td>Accounts Payable Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther Kau</td>
<td>Accounting Assistant</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Library and Research Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lilita V. Gusts</td>
<td>Director and Secretary of the Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcia L. Sprules</td>
<td>Deputy Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelle McKowen</td>
<td>Reference and Documents Librarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connie M. Starnaro</td>
<td>Research Intranet and Archives Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming Er Qiu</td>
<td>Technical Services Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine Quinn</td>
<td>Library Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara K. Miller</td>
<td>Consulting Archivist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Information Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Day</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deepak Trivedi</td>
<td>Deputy Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Wawzycki</td>
<td>Associate Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Andrade</td>
<td>Senior Help Desk Technician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice McLoughlin</td>
<td>Assistant to the Director of Information Services and Data Entry Specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia Rolston Parrott</td>
<td>Training and Documentation Specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris O. Sierra</td>
<td>LAN Administrator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Facility Operations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neftali Frank Alvarez</td>
<td>Director of Facility Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phil Falcon</td>
<td>Associate Director of Facility Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Noray</td>
<td>Facility Services Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Ine Alers</td>
<td>Senior Facility Operations Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angel Cordova</td>
<td>Facility Operations and Events Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert Falcon</td>
<td>Facility Operations Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Ramirez</td>
<td>Facility Operations Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin Santiago</td>
<td>Facility Operations Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derek Velez</td>
<td>Facility Operations Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence White</td>
<td>Facility Operations Assistant</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Events Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark Hudson</td>
<td>Events Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glen Goldman</td>
<td>Audio Visual Technician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernando Browne</td>
<td>Assistant Events Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad Bowser</td>
<td>Events Assistant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Staff shown as of August 2003.
Staff

New York

Washington, D.C.
The Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York City, 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, the Women’s Membership Development Group significantly increased the number of highly qualified female candidates for regular membership.

Profile of the Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Percentage of Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York Area</td>
<td>1,345</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C., Area</td>
<td>1,369</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National/International</td>
<td>1,478</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,192</td>
<td>100</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Percentage of Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>1,299</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors, Fellows, and Researchers</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nonprofit</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University and College Administrators</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists, Correspondents, and Editors</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,192</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Membership Selection Procedure

Membership Selection

New members are named twice a year by the Board of Directors, which invites selected men and women to join based on recommendations by the Membership Committee. The committee, which meets twice a year, 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 current Council members. The roster of members is listed in the annual report.

At every meeting, the Membership Committee considers significantly more candidates than there are vacancies. Thus, it is inevitable that the names of some candidates will appear before the committee on several occasions. Given the high level of the competition generally, some candidates may never be elected even though they may be thought by some to have the individual qualifications outlined below.

Term Membership

In an effort to reach out to the next generation of leaders, the Board has 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 over 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, of whom no more than 35 are permitted to be age 30 and under.

Becoming a Member

Current procedure requires that every candidate for regular membership be formally nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of two other
individuals, at least one of whom is a Council member. To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated by one member and seconded by a minimum of one other Council member. It is recommended that at least one letter from a current or former professional colleague be included. An additional letter or two, from Council members, reflecting different perspectives are welcome but not required. Currently, an average candidacy includes four to five letters of support. All candidates must complete a nominee information form, which may be obtained from the Membership office. 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 office in a timely manner. Candidates 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, which have always been basic to the committee’s consideration of membership candidates:

• Intellectual attainment and expertise;
• Degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs or in other areas affecting international affairs;
• Promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations;
• Potential contributions to the Council’s work;
• Desire and ability to participate in Council activities; and
• 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
Membership Roster

A
Aaron, David L.
Abbot, C. Spencer
Abbot, Charles S.
Abbott, Wilder K.
Aboud, A. Robert
Abbud, Labeeb M.
Abdelal, Rawi
Abel, Elie
Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina Kay
Abernethy, Robert John
Aboelnaga, Mona
Abramowitz, Morton I.
Abshire, David M.
Aburdene, Odeh F.
Ackerman, Peter
Adams, Gordon M.
Adams, Michael E.
Adams, Robert
Adelman, Carol C.
Adelman, Kenneth L.
Adler, Allen R.
Agnew, Harold M.
Agostinelli, Robert F.
Ahearn, William Edward
Ahn, Woodrow
Aidinoff, M. Bernard
Aizenman, Nurith
Ajami, Fouad
Albright, Madeleine K.
Alderman, Michael H.
Alderman, Peter B.
Aldrich, George H.
Alexander, Margo N.
Alexander, Robert J.
Alford, William P.
Ali, Mustafa Javed
Allaire, Paul A.
Allan, Scott
Allbritton, Joe L.
Allen, Jodie T.
Allen, Lew Jr.
Allen, Richard V.
Allen, William L.
Allison, Graham T.
Allison, Richard C.
Almon, Michael A.
Alonso, Anne L.
Alpern, Alan N.
Alter, Jonathan H.
Alter, Karen J.
Altman, Roger C.
Altman, William C.
Allshuler, David
Alvarado, Donna Maria
Alvarez, Jose E.
Amador, Angelo L.
Ames, Oakes
Amos, Deborah Susan
Andelman, David A.
Andersen, Harold W.
Anderson, Craig B.
Anderson, Desai
Anderson, Edward G. III
Anderson, Gloria B.
Anderson, John B.
Anderson, Lisa
Anderson, Mark A.
Anderson, Paul E.
Anderson, Robert O.
Andrews, Dwayne O.
Andrews, Terry Lynn
Andrews, David R.
Andrews, Michael A.
Ansour, M. Michael
Anthoine, Robert
Anthony, John Duke
Aossey, Nancy A.
Apgar, David P.
Aponte, Mari Carmen
Appiah, Kwame Anthony
Apter, David E.
Arciniega, Tomas A.
Arcos, Cresencio S.
Arkin, Stanley S.
Armacost, Michael H.
Armstrong, Anne L.
Armstrong, C. Michael
Armstrong, John Alexander Jr.
Armstrong, Lloyd Jr.
Arnhold, Henry H.
Arnold, Millard W.
Aron, Adam M.
Aronson, Bernard W.
Aronson, Jonathan David
Arsht, Adrienne
Art, Robert J.
Arthurs, Alberta
Artigiani, Carole
Asencio, Diego C.
Asmus, Ronald D.
Assoua, George E.
Athreya, Bama
Atkins, Benjamin A.
Atkins, Betsy S.
Atwood, J. Brian
Auer, James E.
Auerbach, Stuart C.
Augustine, Norman R.
Auspitz, Josiah Lee
Ausbubel, Jesse H.
Avedon, John F.
Avery, John E.
Auwah, Patrick G. Jr.
Axelrod, Robert M.
Ayers, H. Brandt
Ayres, Alyssa C.
Azim, Khalid
B
Babbitt, Bruce
Babbitt, Eileen F.
Babbitt, Harriet C.
Bacon, Kenneth H.
Bacot, J. Carter
Bader, William B.
Baer, Donald A.
Baker, Howard H. Jr.
Baker, James A. III
Baker, John R.
Baker, Nancy Kassebaum
Baker, Pauline H.
Baker, Stewart A.
Baker, Thurbert E.
Balick, Kenneth
Baliles, Gerald L.
Band, Laurence M.
Bandler, Donald K.
Barber, Benjamin R.
Barnes, Harry G. Jr.
Barnes, Michael D.
Barnett, Richard J.
Barnett, F. William
Barrett, Barbara
Barrett, John Adams
Barrow, Grace
Barry, John L.
Barry, Lisa B.
Bartlett, Joseph W.
Bartlett, Timothy J.
Bartley, Robert L.
Bartok, Kirsten Leight
Bartsch, David 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.
Bearg-Dyke, Nancy
Beatie, Richard I.
Becherer, Hans W.
Becker, Elizabeth H.
Becker, David J.
Beeler, Robert H.
Behringer, Michael R.
Bellinger, John B. Ill
Bellamy, Carol
Bell, Thomas D. Jr.
Bell-Rose, Stephanie K.
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.
Bencake, Matthew J.
Bender, Gerald J.
Benedict, Kenneth M.
Benjamin, Esther T.
Bennosche, Robert H.
Bennett, Douglas J.
Bennett, Andrew
Bennett, Christina A.
Bennett, Susan J.
Bensahel, Nora J.
Benshoof, Janet
Benson, Lucy Wilson
Berente, Douglas K.
Bergen, Margaret
Berger, Joshua A.
Berger, Marilyn
Berger, Samuel R.
Berger, Suzanne
Berger, William R.
Bergen, Howard L.
Berman, Jonathan E.
Berman, Todd R.*
Bernard, Kenneth W.
Bernhardt, John E.
Bernstein, David Scott*
Bernstein, Peter W.
Bernstein, Robert L.
Bernstein, Tom A.
Berresford, Susan Vail
Berris, Jan
Berry, Elizabeth Clay
Bersin, Alan D.
Bertini, Catherine Ann
Bertsch, Gary K.
Besheer, Peter J.
Besse, Simon Michael
Bestani, Robert M.
Bestor, Theodore C.
Betts, Richard K.
Beutner, Austin M.
Bewkes, Jeffrey
Beyzavi, Kian
Bhala, Raj
Bhatia, Kuran K.†
Bialer, Seweryn
Bialkin, Kenneth J.
Bialos, Jeffrey P.
Bibbins, Nicole M.
Bickford, Jewelle
Biddle, George C.
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, Cathleen P.*
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
Blechman, Barry M.
Bleier, Edward
Bledon, Robert Jay
Blinder, Alan S.
Blinken, Alan John
Blinken, Antony J.*
Blinken, Donald
Bloch, Julia Chang
Bloom, David A.
Bloom, Evan T.
Bloom, Mia M.+ 
Bloomfield, Lincoln P.
Bloomfield, Richard J.
Bloomgarden, 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.
Boelhouwer, Pieter
James Alexander
Bogert, Carroll R.
Boggs, Michael D.
Bohen, Frederick M.
Bohren, Avis T.
Bohn, John A.
Bolling, Landrum R.
Bollinger, Lee C.*
Bolton, John R.
Bond, George Clement
Bond, Robert D.
Bondurant, Amy L.
Bonime-Blanc, Andrea
Bonney, J. Dennis
Booher, Sally
Boot, Max
Booth, Carter
Boren, David L.
Borgen, Christopher J.
Borio, Luciana L.
Bork, Ellen
Boschwitz, Rudy
Bosco, David L.+ 
Bose, Meena
Bosworth, Stephen W.
Botts, John C.
Bouckaert, Peter N.
Boufford, Jo Ivey
Bouis, Antonina W.
Boعلام-ملرر, Kay
Bouton, Marshall M.
Bovin, Denis A.
Bowen, William G.
Bower, Joseph Lyon
Bower, Whitney A.
Bowie, Robert R.
Bower, David W.+ 
Bowles, Erskine B.
Boyd, Charles Graham
Boyer, Spencer P.+ 
Boylan, Delia M.
Bracken, Paul
Brademans, John
Bradford, Zeb B. Jr.
Bradley, Bill
Bradley, Edward R.
Bradley, William L.
Brady, Jacqueline V.
Brady, Linda Parrish
Brady, Nicholas F.
Brady, Rose
Brainard, S. Lael
Bramwell, Elizabeth R.*
Branch, Daniel H.
Branscomb, Lewis M.
Branson, Louise+
Brauchli, Marcus W.
Braunschvig, David
Brazeal, Aurelia E.
Breck, Henry R.
Breed, Henry Eltinge
Bremer, L. Paul III
Breul, George
Bresnahan, John J.
Brewer, John D.
Breyer, Chlo A.
Breyer, Stephen G.
Bridgett, Sunnada A.+ 
Brigety, Reuben E. II
Brimmer, Andrew F.
Brimmer, Dr. Esther Diane
Brinkley, Douglas G.
Britt, David V.B.
Britt, Glenn A.*
Britton, Dennis A.
Broad, Robin
Broadman, Harry G.
Brock, Steven V.
Brod, Frederick C.
Brodsky, William J.
Brody, Christopher W.
Brody, Kenneth D.
Brokaw, Tom
Bromley, D. Allan
Bronfman, Edgar M.
Bronner, Ethan S.*
Bronson, Rachel

* Elected to membership in 2003.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.
Membership Roster

Brooks, Harvey
Brooks, Karen B.
Brooks, Rosa

Burnett, Christina
Burn, Christopher J.
Burkhalter, Holly J.
Burke, James E.
Burgess, John A.
Burgess, Geoffrey P.
Burck, William A.
Bumpas, Stuart
Bullock, Mary Brown
Bugliarello, George
Buergenthal, Thomas

Burnley, James H. IV
Burns, Patrick Owen
Burns, R. Nicholas
Burns, William F.
Burns, William J.
Burrows, Mathew
Burt, Richard R.
Burton, Daniel F. Jr.
Bush, Robert C. Jr.
Bushner, Rolland H.
Bussey, John C.
Butler, Samuel C.
Butler, William J.
Buultjens, Ralph
Buxbaum, Richard M.
Byuske, Gail
Byman, Daniel L.
Byrne, Patrick M.

C
Cabot, Louis W.
Cabrera, Jose A.
Caceres, Diane Alleva
Caeiro, Camille M.
Cagle, Martha E.
Cahill, Kevin M.
Cahn, Anne Hessing
Calascibetta, Dawn T.
Calabria, Dina
Campbell, Thomas J.
Campbell, William
Cannella, Margaret
Capell, Jonathan
Cappello, Juan Carlos
Caputo, David A.
Caputo, Lisa M.
Carbonell, Nestor T.
Carey, Hugh L.
Carey, John
Carey, Sarah C.
Carlos, Manuel Luis
Carlson, Scott A.
Carlucci, Frank C.
Carmel, David A.
Carmichael, William D.
Carnesale, Albert
Carmody, Thomas
Carper, Ted Galen
Carr, John W.
Carrington, Walter C.
Carroll, J. Speed
Carroll, Katherine
Mooney
Carruth, Reba Anne
Carson, Charles
William Jr.
Carsewell, Robert
Carter, Ashton B.
Carter, Barry E.
Carter, Hedding III
Carter, James Earl
Carter, James H.
Carter, Mark Andrew
Carter, Marshall
Nichols
Casebeer, William
David
Casebeer, Gerhard
Cassel, Douglass W. Jr.
Catarinella, Elliot R.
Clifford, Kenneth I.
Chen, Richard B.
Cheney, Stephen A.
Cherian, Saj
Cherry, Pedro P.
Chester, Sheila C.
Chickering
A. Lawrence
Choi, Audrey
Choi, Stephen J.
Cholmondeley, Paula H.
Chomiak, Theodora

Bohachovsky
Choucri, Nazli
Christensen, Aimée R.
Christensen, Guillermo Santiago
Christensen, Thomas J.
Christiansen, Geryld B.
Christie, Ronald Irving
Christman, Daniel

William
Christopher, Warren
Churchill, Buntzie Ellis
Cilluffo, Frank
Cimbalo, Jeffrey L.
Cirincione, Joseph
Clapp, Priscilla A.
Clarida, Richard H.
Clark, Dick
Clark, J. H. Cullum
Clark, Mark Edmond
Clark, Noreen M.
Clark, Vernon E.
Clark, Wesley K.
Clark, William Jr.
Clarke, Jack G.
Clarke, Teresa Hillary
Clarke, Lawrence W.
Claussen, Eileen B.
Clement, Peter A.
Clementson, Lynette
Cleveland, Harlan
Cleveland, Peter

Matthews
Clifford, Donald K. Jr.
Cline, William R.
Clinger, William F. Jr.
Clint, William
Jefferson
Cloherty, Patricia M.
Cloonan, Edward T.
Clough, Michael
Coatsworth, John H.

Cobb, Charles E. Jr.
Cobb, Sue M.
Membership Roster

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, Herman J.
Cohen, Jerome Alan
Cohen, Joel E.
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.
Colby, Jonathan E.
Cole, Johnnetta B.
Cole, Jonathan R.*
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
Celsis
Conde, Cesar R.†
Condit, Philip M.
Cone, Sydney M. III
Conley, Dalton
Connelly, Matthew James

Connors Petersen, Leila Anne
Connolly, Gerald E.
Connor, John T. Jr.
Considine, Jill M.
Constable, Pamela
Conway, Jill
Cook, Frances D.
Cook, Gary M.
Cooke, Goodwin
Cooke, John F.
Cooley, Alexander A.†
Coome, George
William Jr.
Coombs, Philip H.
Coon, Jane Abell
Cooney, Joan Ganz
Cooper, Charles A.
Cooper, Chester L.
Cooper, James H.S.
Cooper, John
Milton Jr.
Cooper, Kathleen B.
Cooper, Kerry
Cooper, Laura K.†
Cooper, Richard N.
Cooper, Scott A.
Corbet, Kathleen A.
Cornelius, Wayne A.
Cornell, Henry
Cott, Suzanne
Cotter, William R.
Courtney, William H.
Cousens, Elizabeth M.*
Covey, Jock
Cowal, Sally Grooms
Cowen, Geoffrey
Cowen, L. Gray
Cowhey, Peter F.
Cox, Edward F.
Cox, Howard E. Jr.
Crahan, Margaret E.
Craner, Lorne W.
Crawford, John F.
Crawford, Timothy W.
Crebo-Rediker, Heidi E.*

Creekmore,
Marion V. Jr.
Crichton, Kyle
Cronin, George III
Crippen, Dan L.
Crittenden, Ann
Crocker, Bathsheba N.
Crocker, Chester A.
Cromwell, Adelaide
McGuinn
Cross, Devon G.
Cross, June V.
Cross, Mary S.*
Cross, Sam Y.
Cross, Theodore
Crossett, Barbara
Crowe, William J.
Crowley, Monica
Elizabeth
Crow, Lester
Cruise, Daniel Lester
Crystal, Lester M.
Cullum, Lee
Cumming, Alfred*
Cumming, Christine M.
Cunco, Donald
Cunningham, James B.
Cunningham, Nelson W.
Curley, Walter J.P. Jr.
Curran, R.T.
Currie, Kelley E.†
Curtis, Charles B.
Curtis, Gerald L.
Cutler, Lloyd N.
Cutler, Walter L.
Cutshaw, Kenneth A.
Cutter, Ana Grier
Cutter, W. Bowman
Cyr, Arthur J.
D
D'Amato, Alfonse M.
Daaldor, Ivo H.
Dabelko, Geoffrey D.
Dady, Teresa Gail
Dahm, Evelyn P.†
Dailey, Brian D.
Dale, Helle
Dale, William B.
Daley, William M.
Dallara, Charles H.
Dalley, George Albert
Dallmeyer, Dorinda G.
Dalton, James E.
Dan, Kenneth W.
Dam, Marcia Wachs
Dampolsch, Lori Fisler
Dancy, John A.G.
Danforth, William H.
Daniel, D. Ronald
Daniel, Donald C.F.
Dannin, Robert M.
Danner, Mark D.
DaSilva, Russell J.
David, Jack
Davidson, Ralph K.
Davidson, Ralph Parsons
Davis, Christina L.†
Davis, Evan A.
Davis, Florence A.*
Davis, Jacquelyn K.
Davis, Jerome
Davis, Kathryn W.
David, Kim Gordon
Davis, Lynn E.
Davis, Nathaniel
Davison, Kristina Perkin
Davison, W. Phillips
Dawisha, Karen Lea
Dawkins, Peter M.
Dawson Carr, Marion M.
Dawson, Christine L.
Dawson, Horace G. Jr.
Day, Arthur R.
Days, Drew
Saunders III
de Borchgrave, Arnaud

de Janosi, Peter E.
de la Garza,
Rodolfo O.
de Menil, George
de Menil, Joy A.
de Menil, Luis Pattison
de Rothschild, Lynn
Forester
de Saan,
Jean-Christophe
de Vries, Rimmer
Deagle, Edwin A. Jr.
Dean, Jonathan
Dean, Robert W.
Dear, Alice M.
Devevoise, 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.
DeGioia, John J.*
Deibel, Terry L.
del Olmo, Frank
Philip
Del Rosso, Stephen J.
Demeo, Marisa J.
Deming, Rust
Macpherson
Denham, Robert E.
Denison, Robert J.
Dennis, Everett E.
Denny, Brewster C.
Denoon, David B.H.
Denton, Hazel
Denton, James S.
DePoy, Phil E.
Dergam, Raghida
Deri, Christopher
Alt†
Derian, Patricia
Murphy

* Elected to membership in 2003.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.
Membership Roster

Fenzel, Michael R.  
Ferguson, Charles H.  
Ferguson, James L.  
Ferguson, Tim W.*  
Fellic, Suzanne R.  
Fernandes, Anthony C.  
Fernandez, Jose W.  
Ferrari, Frank E.  
Ferraro, Geraldine A.  
Ferrazzi, Keith Edward  
Ferré, Antonio Luis  
Ferre, Helen Aguirre  
Ferre, Maurice A.  
Fesharaki, Fereidun  
Fessenden, Helent  
Fessenden, Hart  
Fessenden, Hart  
Fiedler, Jeffrey L.  
Fields, Bertram H.  
Fifield, Russell Hunt  
Firmage, Edwin B.  
Findakly, Hani K.  
Finberg, Barbara D.  
Filippone, Robert J.  
Filippone, Desiree Genevät  
Filippone, Eugene V.  
Fifield, Russell Hunt  
Figueroa Küpçı, Maria C.  
Filiñone, Brenda Lei  
Foss, Michelle Michot*  
Foster, Brenda Lei  
Foster, Charles C.  
Foster, Richard N.  
Fisk, Daniel W.  
Fitchett, Mercedes Carmela  
Fitts, Sarah A.W.*  
Fitz-Pegado, Lauri J.  
FitzGerald, Frances  
Fitzgibbon, Harold E.  
Flaherty, Pamela  
Flaherty, Peter  
Flake, L. Gordon  
Flanagan, Peter L.  
Flanagan, Stephen J.  
Flanders, Stephanie  
Flanigan, Peter M.  
Fleischmann, Alan H.  
Flom, Joseph H.*  
Flournoy, Michele A.  
Flynn, George J.  
Flynn, Stephen E.  
En'Piere, Patrick John  
Foeg, William H.  
Foegleman, Ronald R.  
Foglesong, Robert H.  
Foey, S.R. Jr.  
Foey, Thomas S.  
Folsom, George A.  
Fonts, Carlos E.  
Foote, Edward T. II  
Foote, William Fullbright  
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  
Foster, Gail D.  
Foss, Michelle Michot*  
Foster, Brenda Lei  
Foster, Charles C.  
Foster, Richard N.  
Fourquet, José A.*  
Fowler, Jeffrey L.*  
Fowler, Wyche Jr.  
Fox, Daniel M.  
Fox, Donald T.  
Fox, Eleanor M.  
Fox, Joseph Carrere  
Frages, Arminio  
Franck, Thomas M.  
Francke, Albert  
Frank, Andrew D.  
Frank, Barney  
Frank, Brian L.  
Frank, Charles R. Jr.  
Frank, Charles R. Jr.  
Frank, Nathan  
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.  
Freeman, Bennett  
Freeman, Constance J.  
Freeman, Harry L.  
Freidheim, Cyrus F.  
Freidheim, Stephen C.  
Freimuth, Ladeene A.  
Frelingshusen, Peter H.B.  
Frey, Donald N.  
Freayer, Dana H.*  
Fretyag, 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.  
Friel, Wendy  
Friend, Theodore W.  
Fri, 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, Jacquelline Cobb†  
Fuller, Kathryn S.  
Fuller, William P.  
Fung, Mark T.  
Fung, Victor K.  
Furlaud, Richard M.  
Furman, Gail  
Futter, Ellen V.  
Geidt, John Lewis  
Gadgesh, Orit B.  
Gadsden, Amy Epstein  
Gaer, Felice D.  
Gaines, James R.  
Gallbraith, Evan G.  
Gallbraith, Peter W.  
Gallagher, Dennis  
Gallagher, Lacey Wingham*  
Gallucci, Robert L.  
Galper, Joshua P.  
Galvis, Sandra  
Galvis, Sergio J.  
Ganguly, Sumit  
Gann, Pamela B.  
Gannon, John C.  
Ganoe, Charles S.  
Gantcher, Nathan  
Garcia, Marlen  
Garcia-Passalacqua, Juan M.  
Gard, Robert G.  
Gardels, Nathan P.  
Gardner, Anthony Laurence  
Gardner, James A.  
Gardner, Nina Luzzatto  
Gardner, Richard N.  
Garment, Leon  
Garment, Suzanne R.  
Garnett, Sherman  
Garrett, John  
Gart, Murray J.  
Garten, Jeffrey E.  
Garthoff, Raymond L.  
Garvin, Richard L.  
Gaston, Patricia E.  
Gates, Henry Louis Jr.  
Gates, Philomena E.  
Gates, Robert M.  
Gatti, Charles  
Gatti, Toby Trister  
Gaudiani, Claire L.  
Gauce, F. Gregory III  
Gavin, Michelle D.†  
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.  
George, Robert P.*

* Elected to membership in 2003.  
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.
Hart, Gary
Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Harris, Joseph E.

Harrison, Selig S.

Harrison, William B. Jr.

Hart, Brett J.

Hart, Gary

Hart, Todd
Christopher

Hartley, Jane D.

Hartman, Arthur A.

Hartzell, Jon K.

Hasek, William Alan*

Haskell, John H.F. Jr.

Hatfield, Robert S.

Hathaway, Robert M.

Hatheway, Gina Marie L.

Hauge, John Resor

Hausser, Rita E.

Hauver, William Locke

Havil, Theresa A.

Hawkins, Ashton

Hawley, F. William

Hawthorne, Amy W.†

Hawthorne, Steronica

Dunston

Hayden, Michael V.∗

Hayek, Alexandre P.

Hayes, Margaret Daly

Hayes, Rita Derrick

Haynes, Fred

Haynes, Lukas

Harrison

Haynes, Ulric

Hayward, Thomas B.

Heald, Lisa W.†

Healy, Harold H. Jr.

Heck, Charles B.

Hecker, Siegfried S.

Hedges, Christopher

Lynn∗

Hedstrom, Mitchell W.

Heep-Richter, Barbara D.

Heer, Paul

Hegedin, Stanley J.

Hehir, Bryan

Heimann, John G.

Heimbold, Charles A. Jr.

Heimowitz, James B.

Heinemann,
Benjamin W. Jr.

Heinemann, Melvin L.

Heintz, Stephen B.

Heintzen, Harry

Leonard

Heinz, Teresia

Hejlik, Dennis J.

Helander, Robert C.

Heldring, Frederick

Helena, David W.

Helfer, Ricki Tigert

Helgerson, John L.†

Heller, Richard M.

Hellman, F. Warren

Helm, Robert W.

Helm, Robert A.

Helman, Robert A.

Helprin, Mark

Helton, Arthur C.

Hendrickson, David C.

Henkin, Alice H.

Henkin, Louis

Hennessy, John M.

Henniger, Daniel P.

Henriksen, Alan K.

Henry, Nancy L.

Hentges, Harriet

Herberger, Roy A. Jr.

Hermann, Charles F.

Hernandez Colon, Rafael

Hernandez, Antonia

Hernandez,
Ernesto P. III†

Hermstad, Owen

Edward

Herskovits, Jean

Hersman,
Rebecca K.C.

Herspring, Dale R.

Herter, Christian A. Jr.

Herter, Frederick P.

Herzig, Roger

Hertzberg, Arthur

Hertzberg, Hendrik

Herz, Barbara

Herzfeld, Charles M.

Herzlein, Robert E.

Hesburgh, Theodore M.

Hess, John B.

Hessler, Curtis A.

Hewlett, Sylvia Ann

Hiatt, Fred

Hicks, Irving

Hicks, John F. Sr.

Hicks, Peggy L.

Hiday, Jack D.†

Higginbotham, F. Michael

Higgins, Robert F.

Higgins, Tracy E.

Hight, B. Boyd

Hightower, Edward T.

Hill, Fiona∗

Hill, J. Tomilson

Hill, James T.

Hill, Pamela

Hill, Raymond D.

Hillen, John

Hillenbrand, Martin J.

Hillgren, Sonja

Hills, Carla A.

Hilton, Robert P.

Hinerfeld, Ruth

Hines, Rachel

Hinton, Deane R.

Hirschi, John L.

Hirsh, Michael P.

Hitz, Frederick P.†

Hoagland, Jim

Hoa, Joseph Paul

Hobart, Matthew Todd

Hobbs, Mirarchy, Tammany D.

Hobson, E. Lee

Hobson, Melody†

Hoch, Frank W.

Hodin, Michael W.

Hoeber, Amorettta M.

Hoehn, Andrew R.

Hoehn, William E. Jr.

Hoenlein, Malcolm L.

Hoffman, A. Michael

Hoffman, Adonis E.

Hoffman, Aaron

Hoffman, Bruce

Hoffmann, Stanley

Hofman, Steven I.

Hogan, Jeffrey N.†

Hoge, James F. Jr.

Hoge, Warren M.

Hoguet, George

Hofner, George

Hollis, Duncan Baker†

Holloway, Dwight F. Jr.

Holmes, Alan F.

Holmes, Henry Allen

Holmes, Kim R.

Holmes, Stephen T.

Holst, Eric Allan

Holt, Pat M.

Holum, John D.

Hooker, Richard D. Jr.

Hoopec, Townsend W.

Hope, Justice Richard

Hope, Richard O.

Horelick, Arnold L.

Horlick, Gary N.

Hormats, Robert D.

Horn, Karen N.

Horn, Sally K.

Horner, Matina

Souris

Horunik, Richard H.

Horowitz, Irving

Louis

Horton, Alan W.

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.
Horton, Robert Scott
Hosmer, Bradley C.
Hston, Germaine A.
Hottelet, Richard C.
Houghton, Amory Jr.
Houghton, James R.
Houlihan, Kathleen
House, Karen Elliott
Howard, A.E. Dick
Howard, Christopher
Howard, John R.
Howard, Lyndsay C.
Howard, John R.
Howard, Christopher
Howard, John R.
House, Karen Elliott
Houghton, James R.
Huntington, David S.
Huntington, Patricia
Huntington, Samuel
Hurd, Joseph
Humphrey, John
Hunt, Swanee
Hunter, Robert E.
Hunter, Shireen T.
Hunter, David L.
Hunter-Gault,
Charlayne
Huntington, David S.
Huntington, David S.
Huntington, David S.
Huntington, Samuel
Hurd, Joseph
Hunt, Swanee
Hunter, Robert E.
Hunter, Shireen T.
Hunter, William Curt
Hunter-Gault,
Charlayne
Huntington, David S.
...
Katz, Abraham
Katz, Daniel Roger
Katz, Sherman E.
Katz, Stanley N.
Katzenstein, Peter J.
Kaufman, Daniel J.
Kaufman, Henry
Kaufman, Robert R.
Kaufmann, William W.
Kay, Kira
Kay, Charles R.*
Kay, Dalia Dassa
Kaysen, Carl
Kaye, Charles R.*
Kaye, Dalia Dassa
Kaye, Kira
Kaufmann, William W.
Kaufman, Robert R.
Kaufman, Henry
Kaufman, Daniel J.
Kazemi, Farhad
Kayyem, Juliette N.
Kaysen, Carl
Kaye, Charles R.*
Kaye, Dalia Dassa
Kaysen, Carl
Kayyem, Juliette N.
Kazemi, Farhad
Keene, Lonnie S.
Kemp, Geoffrey
Kempe, Frederick S.
Kempner, Maximilian W.
Kendall, Donald M.
Kenen, Peter B.
Keniston, Kenneth
Kennan, Christopher J.
Kennan, Elizabeth T.
Kennan, George F.
Kennedy, Caroline
Kennedy, Craig
Keohane, Nannerl O.
Keohane, Robert O.
Kern, Paul J.
Kerr, Ann Zwicker
Kerrey, Bob
Kerry, John F.
Kerry, Peggy
Kessler, Martha Neff
Kester, W. Carl
Khalidzad, Zalmai M.
Khemlani, Neeraj L.
Khosrowshahi, Cameron Kamran†
Khuri, Nicola N.
Kiermaier, John W.
Kiley, Robert R.
Kim, Andrew B.
Kim, Hanya Marie
Kim, Sukhan
Kimmitt, Robert M.
Kimsey, James V.
Kinane, William P.*
King, Henry L.
King, John A. Jr.
King, Kay
King, Robert R.
King, Susan Robinson*
Kipper, Judith
Kirkland, Richard L.
Kirkpatrick, Jeanne J.
Kirkpatrick, Melanie M.
Kiser, Stephen D.
Kissinger, Henry A.
Kittrie, Orde E.*
Kizer, Karin L.
Kladakis, Monica
Vegeta
Klasky, Helaine S.
Kleiman, Robert
Klein, David
Klein, Edward
Klein, George
Klein, Jacques Paul
Klein, Joseph A.
Klimp, Jack Wilbur
Kline, Roger C.
Klotz, Frank G.
Klurfeld, James M.
Knell, Gary E.
Knight, Edward S.
Knight, Jessie J. Jr.
Knight, Robert
Huntington
Knowlton, William
Allen
Knuelsen, Christine M.
Koch, Jennie M.
Kogan, Richard Jay
Kohut, Andrew
Kojac, Jeffrey Stanley
Kolb, Charles E.M.
Kolbe, Jim
Kolodziej, Edward A.
Kolt, George
Kolcai, Steven R.
Komisar, Lucy
Kondrachke, Morton
Koornin, Steven E.
Korb, Lawrence J.
Korbonski, Andrzej
Kormos, Cyril Frederic
Korn, Jessica
Kornblum, John C.
Kostiw, Michael
Vincent
Kotecha, Mahesh K.
Kotler, Steven
Kraar, Louis
Kraemer, Lillian E.
Kramek, Robert E.
Kramer, Helen M.
Kramer, Jane
Kramer, Michael
Kramer, Orin S.*
Kramer, Reed
Kramer, Steven Philip
Kranwinkle,
C. Douglas
Kranz, Thomas F.
Krasner, Stephen D.
Krasno, Richard M.
Krause, Lawrence B.
Krauss, Clifford
Krauthammer, Charles
Kravis, Henry R.
Krawchuk, Fred T. Jr.
Kreek, Mary Jeanne
Krens, Thomas
Krepinevich, Andrew F.
Krepon, Michael
Kriegel, Jay L.
Krikorian, Victoria
Reznik
Krisher, Bernard
Kristof, Nicholas D.*
Kristof, Sandra J.
Kristol, Irving
Kronman, Anthony
Townsend
Krug, Anne O.
Krueger, Harvey
Krubak, Charles
Chandler
Ku, Charlotte
Kubarych, Roger M.
Kubisch, Jack B.
Kuenstner, Nancy Jo
Kull, Steven G.
Kumar, Nishat
Kumar-Sinha, Punita
Kuniholm, Bruce
Robellet
Kunstadter, Geraldine S.
Kupchan, Charles A.
Kupchan, Clifford A.
Kupperman, Robert H.
Kurth, James R.
Kushen, Robert A.
Kux, Dennis
Kwoh, Stewart
Lader, Philip
Ladd, Edward
Lader, Philip
Ladner, Drew J.
Ladner, Joyce A.
LaFleur, Vinca*
Lagomasino, Maria
Elena*
Lagon, Mark P.
Lainston, Ellen
Lake, David A.
Lall, Betty Goetz
Lamb, Denis
Lambeth, Benjamin S.
Lamont, Lansing
Lampton, David M.
Lancaster, Carol J.
Landau, George W.
Landé, Jim Alfred
Landers, James M.
Landis, Lauren R.
Lane, Charles M.
Lane, David J.
Laney, James T.
Langlois, John D.
Langlois, Robert J.
LaPalombara, Joseph
Lapham, Lewis H.
Lapham, Nicholas
Payne
Lapidus, Gail W.
Lardy, Nicholas R.
Larrabee, F. Stephen
Larsen, Randall J.*
Larson, Charles R.
Lasensky, Scott B.
Lash, Jonathan
Lasser, Lawrence J.
Lateef, Noel V.
Lau, Edwina†
Lauder, Leonard A.
Lauder, Ronald S.
Laudicina, Paul A.
Lautinger, Philip C. Jr.
Laurenti, Jeffrey
Lautenbach, Ned C.
Laventhal, David A.
Lawrence, Richard D.
Lawrence, Robert Z.
Lawson, Chappell H.
* Elected to membership in 2003.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.
Membership Roster

Lawson, Eugene K.
Layne, Christopher
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Leclerc, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
Nathaniel
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, Nancy
Lee, Thea Mei
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Thea Mei
Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Lee, Thea Mei
Lederberg, Joshua
Leclerc, Paul
Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Leclerc, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
Nathaniel
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
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Lee, Bryce
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Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Lee, Thea Mei
Lederberg, Joshua
Leclerc, Paul
Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
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Leach, James A.
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Lee, Ernest S.
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Lee, Thea Mei
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Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Lee, Thea Mei
Lederberg, Joshua
Leclerc, Paul
Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
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Lederman, Gordon
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Lee, Thea Mei
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Leach, James A.
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Leach, James A.
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Leach, James A.
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Lee-Kung, Dinah
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Lederberg, Joshua
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Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
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Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
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Lee, Ernest S.
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Lee, Bryce
Lee, Thea Mei
Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Lee, Thea Mei
Lederberg, Joshua
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Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
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Lederman, Gordon
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Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, Nancy
Lee, Thea Mei
Lee, Bryce
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Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Lee, Thea Mei
Lederberg, Joshua
Leclerc, Paul
Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Leclerc, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
Nathaniel
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, Nancy
Lee, Thea Mei
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Thea Mei
Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Lee, Thea Mei
Lederberg, Joshua
Leclerc, Paul
Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Leclerc, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
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Lee, Chong-Moon
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Lee, Bryce
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Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Lee, Thea Mei
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Leclerc, Paul
Leach, James A.
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Leclerc, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
Nathaniel
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, Nancy
Lee, Thea Mei
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Thea Mei
Leebron, David W.
Lee-Kung, Dinah
Lee, William L.
Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Matteson, William B.
Matias, Edward J.
Matthews, John
Mathew, Michael S.
Mathew, Jessica T.
Matheson, Michael J.
Mathews, Sylvia M.
Mathias, Charles McC. Jr.
Mathias, Edward J.
Mathis, Brian Pierre
Matlock, Jack F. Jr.
Matsui, Michael K.
Matsukata, Naotaka
Matterson, William B.
Matthews, Eugene A.
Matthews, John
Mayer, Claude
McAfee, William Gage
McAllister, Jef
McAfee, John B.
McAfee, Richard H.
Maxwell, Kenneth R.
May, Ernest R.
May, Michael M.
Mayer, Claudette
Mayer, Geraldine M. Jr.
Maybell, Alice E.
Mayes, Charles
William
Mazur, Jay
McAfee, William Gage
McAllister, Jef
Olivia
McAlister, Singleton B.
McCaffrey, Barry R.
McCaffrey, Cynthia
Lillian
McCain, John S. III
McCall, H. Carl
McCann, Edward
McCarter, Patrick F.
McCartan, Patrick F.
McCarty, John W. Jr.
McCarthy, James P.
McCarthy, Kathleen D.
McChesney, Stanley A.
McClean, Lilyanne H.
McCoy, John J. II
McClure, Robert L.*
McCormack, Elizabeth J.
McCouch, Donald G.
McCracken, Paul W.
McCurdy, Dave K.
McDermott, Jim
McDevitt, Sean
Daniel*
McDonald, Alonzo L.
McDonald, Tom
McDonald, Ken J.
McEntee, Joan M.
McFarlane, Jennifer A.
McFarlane, Robert C.
MCFate, Patricia Ann
McFaul, Michael A.
McGarr, Cappy R.
McGiffert, Carol H.+
McGiffert, David E.
McGovern, George S.
McGovern, Alan H.
McGrath, Eugene R.
McGurn, William
McHenry, Donald F.
McIntosh, Laura A.
McKeown, Elizabeth A.
McKeown, Mark C.
McLarty, Thomas F. III
McLaughlin, Andrew
McLaughlin, Charles
James
McLaughlin, David T.
McLaughlin, John E.
McLean, Mora L.
McLean, Sheila Avrin
McLindon, Jon Blythe
McMahan, Darrin
Michael
McManus, Doyle
McManus, Jason D.
McNamara, Dennis L.
McNamara, Robert S.
McNamara, Thomas E.
McNaughton, Thomas L.
McNerney, Patricia
Ann
McPeak, Merrill A.
McPhee, Brian C.
McPherson, M. Peter
McQuade, Lawrence C.
McWade, Jessica C.
Meadham, Carl E.
Meacham, Jon
Meade, Dana G.
Mead, E. Scott*
Meade, Walter Russell
Meadows, Jeanne
Terry
Meagher, Robert F.
Mearsheimer, John J.
Medawar, Adrien
Medeirs, Amy
Houp
Medeiros, Evan
Sabinot
Medina, David S.
Medina, Kathryn B.
Medish, Mark
Christian*
Medley, Richard
Meers, Sharon I.
Mehlman, Bruce Paul
Mehretab, Ghebre
Selassie
Mehta, Ved
Meiman, Kellie A.+
Meissner, Doris M.
Meister, Irene W.
Mejia, James E.
Melby, Eric D.K.
Mello, Judy Hendren
Melloan, George R.
Melville, Richard Allen
Mendelson, Richard
Mendlovitz, Saul H.
Mendoza, Roberto G.
Menges, Carl B.
Menke, John R.
Menon, Rajan
Merkel, Claire Schier*
Meron, Theodor
Merow, John E.
Merrill, Philip
Merritt, Jack Neil
Mersie, Zoltan
Meselson, Matthew S.
Messing, F. Andy Jr.
Messina, Zach P.
Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr.
Mettler, Ruben F.
Metzger, Barry
Metz, Jamie Frederic
Meyer, Carl J.
Meyer, Edward C.
Meyer, Robyn
Meyer, Karl E.
Meyer, Michael Ryder
Meyerson, Harold J.
Meyerson, Martin
Michaels, Margaret
Mickle, Edward L.
Mikell, Gwendolyn
Miles, Edward L.
Milestone, Judith B.
Millard, Robert
Miller, Benjamin R.
Miller, Charles R.
Miller, David
Charles Jr.
Miller, Debra L.
Miller, Franklin C.
Miller, J. Irwin
Miller, Judith
Miller, Kent
Miller, Linda B.
Miller, Marcia E.
Miller, Matthew L.
Miller, Roberta Balstad
Miller, Scott L.
Miller, William Green
Miller, William
Scott II*
Miller-Muro, Layfi
Millett, Allan R.
Millington, John A.
Mills, Bradford
Mills, Karen Gordon
Mills, Susan Linda
Milner, Helen V.
Mims, Valerie A.
Minow, Newton N.
Mintz, Daniel R.
Miranda, Lourdes R.
Mirkow, Frank J.
Mischak, Judith A.*
Mishkin, Alexander V.*
Mitchell, Arthur M. III
Mitchell, George H. Jr.
Mitchell, George Jr.
Mitchell, Patricia E.*
Mitchell, Wanda G.
Mize, David M.
Meyerman, Harold J.
Meyerson, Martin
Michaels, Margaret
Mickle, Edward L.
Mikell, Gwendolyn
Miles, Edward L.
Milestone, Judith B.
Millard, Robert
Miller, Benjamin R.
Miller, Charles R.
Miller, David
Charles Jr.
Miller, Debra L.
Miller, Franklin C.
Miller, J. Irwin
Miller, Judith
Miller, Kent
Miller, Linda B.
Miller, Marcia E.
Miller, Matthew L.
Miller, Roberta Balstad
Miller, Scott L.
Miller, William Green
Miller, William
Scott II*
Paal, Douglas Haines
Pachios, Harold C.*
Pachon, Harry P.
Packard, George R.
Page, Carter W.
Paine, George C. II
Paisner, Bruce
Lawrence
Pakula, Hannah C.
Pallesen, Edward S.
Palmer, Mark
Palmer, Matthew A.
Palmer, Ronald D.
Palmerlee, April

Palmieri, Victor H.
Pan, Eric J.+ 
Pan, Michael
Pandith, Farah Anwar
Panofsky, Wolfgang K.H.
Paperin, Stewart J.
Pardee, Scott E.
Pardes, Herbert
Pardew, James W. Jr.
Parent, Louise M.
Park, Jonathan
Park, H.K.
Park, Elizabeth
Parker, Elizabeth
Rindskopf
Parker, Jason H.
Parker, Jay M.
Parker, Penny
Parker, Richard B.
Parkinson, Roger P.
Parks, Michael
Christoph
Parsky, Gerald L.
Parsons, Richard D.
Pascual, Carlos E.
Passer-Muslin, Juliette M.
Pastor, Howard G.
Pastor, Ed
Pastor, Robert A.
Patel, Parag
Patrick, Hugh T.
Patrick, Stewart M.
Patrick, Thomas
Harold
Patricof, Alan Joel
Patrikis, Ernest T.
Patterson, Patricia M.
Paul, Douglas L.
Paul, Roland A.
Paulson, Henry M. Jr.
Paulus, Judith K.
Pavel, Barry
Pavilonis, Brigid
Myers

Payne, Donald M.
Pear, Frank H.
Pearlstine, Norman
Peckham, Gardner G.
Pedersen, Richard
Foote
Pederson, Ren A.
Pell, Claiborne
Pelletreau, Robert H. Jr.
Pelofsky, Eric J.
Peña, Federico F.
Penfield, James K.
Penn, Lawrence
Edward III
Penn, Mark Jeffrey
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
Perlmuter, 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, Michael A.+ 
Peterson, Peter G.
Peterson, Rudolph A.
Petraeus, David H.
Petree, Richard W.
Petree, Richard W. Jr.
Petri, Thomas E.
Petschek, Stephen R.
Pettibone, Peter J.
Petty, John R.

Peyronnin, Joseph F.
Pezzullo, Lawrence A.
Pflanzgraff,
Robert L. Jr.
Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill
Pfeiffer, Leon K.
Pfeiffer, Steven B.
Pharr, Susan J.
Phelan, John J. Jr.
Phillips, Cecil M.
Phillips,
Christopher H.
Phillips, David L.
Phillips, Jeanne L.*
Picker, Harvey
Pickering, Thomas R.
Pieczenik, Steve R.
Piedra, Alberto M. Jr.
Pierce, Lawrence W.
Pierce, Ponchita
Piercy, Jan
Pierre, Andrew J.
Pingot, Charles M.
Pike, John E.
Pilgrim, Kathryn
Pilling, Donald L.
Pilliod, Charles J. Jr.
Pillsbury, Marnie S.
Pillsbury, Michael
Piloo, Juliana Gerar
Pincus, Lionel I.
Pincus, Walter H.
Pinkerton, W. Stewart Jr.
Pino, John Anthony
Pipes, Daniel
Pipes, Richard
Pisano, Jane G.
Pitts, Joe W. III
Pizer, William A.
Pizzarello, Louis D.
Plaiks, Livia B.
Platt, Alan A.
Platt, Alexander H.
Platt, Nicholas
Platt, Sheila Maynard*

* Elected to membership in 2003.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.
Membership Roster

Preston, Stephen W.
Prewitt, Kenneth
Price, Daniel M.
Price, Hugh
Price, John R. Jr.
Price, Raymond K. Jr.
Price, Robert
Prickett, Glenn T.
Priest, William W. Jr.
Prieto, Daniel B. III
Prillaman, Charles A.
Prince, Charles O. III
Pritzker, Thomas J.
Proenza, Luis M.
Prueher, Joseph W.
Pryce, Jeffrey F.
Pryce, William T.
Puchala, Donald James
Puckett, Robert H.
Pulling, Edward L.
Pulling, Thomas L.
Purcell, Susan
Kaufman
Pursley, Robert E.
Putris, Nigel
Putnam, Robert D.
Pye, Lucian W.
Pyle, Kenneth B.

Q
Quainton,
Anthony C.E.
Quandt, William B.
Quester, George H.
Quigley, Kevin F.J.
Quigley, Leonard V.
Quinn, Jane Bryant
Quinn, John M.

R
Rabb, Bruce*
Rabinowitch,
Alexander
Rabinowitch, Victor
Raine, Fernande
Scheid
Raines, Franklin D.
Raisian, John
Ramakrishna, Kilaparti
Ramirez, Lilia L.
Ramo, Simon
Randolph, R. Sean
Randle, Clark T. Jr.*
Rangel, Charles B.
Ranis, Gustav
Rankin, Clyde E. III
Raphel, Robin Lynn
Rappaport, Alan H.
Ratchford, Thomas
Rather, Dan
Ratnesar, Romesh M.
Rattner, David
Ravin,
ALBERT V.
Ravich, Samantha F.*
Ravitch, Richard
Raymond, David A.
Raymond, Jack
Raymond, Lee R.
Rade, Claire E.*
Realuyo, Celina B.
Reckberger, Kristin
Denise
Redman, Charles E.
Reed, Charles B.
Reed, Jack
Reed, Joseph Verner
Reed, Lucy*
Rees, Matthew R.*
Reese, William Sears
Regan, Ned
Reichert, William M.
Reid, Ogden
Reiling, Peter A.
Reilly, Saskia S.
Reilly, William K.
Reimer, Dennis Joe
Reinhardt, John E.
Reinhart, Carmen M.
Reinharz, Jehuda
Reisman, William
Michael
Reiss, Mitchell B.
Remick, Elizabeth J.
Remington, Thomas F.
Renfrew, Charles
Byron
Rennie, Milbrey
Rennie, Renee
Reppert, John C.
Repp, Judith V.
Resnick, Arnold E.*
Resor, Stanley R.
Rey, Nicholas A.
Rhine, Eric Scott
Rhinelander, John B.
Rhodes, John B. Sr.
Rhodes, William R.
Riccardi, Mira R.
Rice, Condoleezza
Rice, Donald S.
Rice, Joseph A.
Rice, Susan E.
Rich, Michael D.
Richard, Anne C.
Richard, James J.†
Richards, Anne W.
Richards, Paul G.
Richards, Stephen H.
Richardson, Benjamin F.†
Richardson, David B.
Richardson,
Henry J. III
Richardson, John
Richardson,
Richard W.
Richardson, William B.
Richardson, William R.
Richardson,
Yolanda C.
Richman, Joan F.
Richer, Anthony H.
Riddell, Malcolm C.
Ridgway, Rozanne L.
Rieff, David
Riley, John E.
Riffkin, Imran
Rikkind, Robert S.
Riordan, Michael L.
Ritch, John B. III
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
Roberts, Bradley H.
Roberts, John J.
Roberts, Walter R.
Robertson, Cara W.
Robinson, Barbara
Paul
Robinson, David Z.
Robinson, Davis R.
Robinson, Eugene
Harold
Robinson,
James D. III
Robinson,
Leonard H. Jr.
Robinson, Linda
Robinson, Pearl T.
Robinson, Torrance W.
Robinson, Olin C.
Roca, Christina B.*
Roche, V. Manuel†
Roche, James G.
Rockefeller, David
Rockefeller, David Jr.
Rockefeller, John D. IV
Rockefeller, Nicholas
Rockwell, Hays H.
Rockwell, Keith
McElroy
Rodman, Peter W.
Rodriguez, Alex
Rodriguez, Rita M.
Rodriguez, Vincent A.
Rodrik, Dani
Roett, Riordan
Roff, J. Hugh Jr.
Rogers, John M.
Rogers, William D.
Roggero, Frederick F.
Rohan, Karen M.
Rohatyn, Felix G.
Rohlen, Thomas P.

Rokke, Ervin J.
Roman, Nancy Ellen
Romanowski, Alina L.
Romberg, Alan D.
Romero, Anthony D.
Romero, Philip Joseph
Romero-Barcelo,
Carlos A.
Rondeau, Ann E.
Roosevelt, Theodore IV
Rosen, Eric
Alexander†
Rose, Charles Peete Jr.
Rose, Daniel
Rose, Elihu
Rose, Gideon
Rose, Marshall
Roscance, Richard
Rosen, Arthur H.
Rosen, Daniel H.†
Rosen, Gary
Rosen, Jane K.
Rosen, Robert L.
Rosen, Stephen Peter
Rosenberg, Mark B.
Rosenblatt, Lionel A.
Rosenblatt, Peter R.
Rosenblum, Mort L.
Rosenfeld, Stephen S.
Rosenfield, Allan
Rosenfield, Patricia L.
Rosenkranz, Robert
Rosenstock, Robert
Rosenstreich, Jeffrey A.
Rosenthal, A.M.
Rosenthal, Douglas
Eurico
Rosenthal, Jack
Rosenthal, Mitchell S.
Rosenwald, E. John Jr.
Rosenwald, Nina
Rosenwasser, Jon J.
Rosenzweig, Robert
Rosett, Claudia A.†
Roskens, Ronald W.
Rosner, Jeremy D.
Rosovsky, Henry
Ross, Arthur
Ross, Christopher W.S.
Ryan, Patrick G. Jr.*
Ryan, Michael E.
Ryan, John T. Ill
Ryan, Arthur F.
Ryan, Robert E.
Ryan, Michael E.
Ryan, Patrick G. Jr.*
Ryder, Michael J.
Rybicki, John F.
Rynders, John A.*
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Rynders, John A.
Membership Roster

Simmons, Adele
Simes, Dimitri K.
Simmons, Matthew R.
Simmons, Jamal N.
Silvers, Robert B.
Silver, Ron
Silver, Daniel B.
Silkenat, James R.
Silberstein, Alan M.
Silberman, Stanley S.
Siegel, William D.
Siegel, Bippy M.
Shultz, George P.
Shulman, Marshall D.
Shiller, Eric
Shinn, James J.
Shiner, Josette S.
Shifter, Michael
Silber, Laura J.
Silas, C.J.
Silber, Laura J.
Silberman, Laurence H.
Silberman, Robert S.
Silberman, Alan M.
Silkenat, James R.
Silver, Allison
Silver, Daniel B.
Silver, Ron
Silvers, Robert B.
Simes, Dimitri K.
Simmons, Adele
Simmons, Jamal N.
Simmons, Matthew R.
Simmons, P.J.
Simmons, Ruth J.
Simon, Françoise L.
Simon, Hugh V. Jr.
Sims, Calvin G.*
Sims, Robert B.
Sinclair, Paula J.
Sinding, Steven W.
Singer, Peter Warren
Singham, Shankar A.
Sinkin, Richard N.
Sisco, Joseph John
Sitrick, James Baker
Skidmore, Thomas E.
Skinner, Elliot P.
Skinner, Kiron Kanina
Sklarew, Jennifer Friedman*
Skl, Michael M.
Skolnikoff, Eugene B.
Slade, David R.
Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Slaughter, Matthew J.
Slaughter, Richard A.
Slavin, Barbara
Sawson, Paul S.
Sloane, Ann Brownell
Sloane, Margarett
Slocum, Walter B.
Small, Lawrence M.
Smalley, Kathleen
Smalley, Patricia T.
Smart, Christopher W.*
Smart, S. Bruce Jr.
Smeall, Christopher
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 McCull
Smith, Jean Kennedy
Smith, Jeffrey H.
Smith, John T. II
Smith, Malcolm B.
Smith, Michael B.
Smith, Michelle A.
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.
Smoots, Samuel D.
Snider, Don M.
Snider, L. Britt
Snow, Robert Anthony
Snowe, Olympia J.
Snyder, Jed C.
Snyder, Richard E.
Snyder, Scott A.
Snyder, Timothy D.
Sobol, Dorothy Meadow
Soderberg, Nancy E.
Sofaer, Abraham David
Soh, 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, Juliet S.
Sorensen, Theodore C.
Soros, George
Soros, Jonathan Tivadar Allant†
Soros, Paul Soudrette, Richard W.*
Sovrtn, Michael L.
Spahn, Blake†
Spain, James W.
Spaner, Jonathan S.+ Spangler, Scott M.
Spears, Suzanne Alexandrat†
Spector, Leonard S.
Speedie, David C.
Spencer, Edson W.
Sperling, Gene B.*
Spero, Joan E.
Spero, Joshua B.
Speth, James Gustave
Spey, Jerry I.
Spiegel, Daniel L.
Spiegel, John W.
Spievogel, Carl
Spiers, Ronald I.
Spindler, J. Andrew
Spinelli-Nosedal, Carlos J.†
Spiro, Herbert John
Spratt, John M. Jr.
Stack-O’Connor, Alisa Stacks, John
Stahl, Lesley R.
Sialson, Helena
Stam, Allan C.
Stamas, Stephen
Stanford, Nina
Zinterhofer†
Stanley, Peter W.
Stellay-Mitchell, Elizabeth A.
Stanton, Frank
Staples, Eugene S.
Staples, Steven E.
Steadman, Richard C.
Steel, Ronald
Steiger, Paul E.
Stein, David F.
Stein, Elliot
Steinberg, David J.
Steinberg, James B.
Steinberg, Mark R.
Steinberg, Richard H.*
Steinbruner, John D.
Steiner, Daniel
Steiner, Joshua L.
Steiner, Steven E.
Steinfeld, Edward S.
Stempel, John D.
Stent, Angela Evelyn
Stepan, Alfred C.
Stern, David J.
Stern, Fritz
Stern, H. Peter
Stern, Jeffrey
Stern, Jessica E.
Stern, Paula
Stern, Todd D.
Stern, Walter P.
Stemberg, Seymour†
Stern, Michael E.
Stetson, Anne
Stevens, Charles R.
Stevens, James W.
Stevens, Paul Schott
Stevenson, Adlai E.
Stevenson, Charles A.
Stewart, Donald M.
Stewart, Evan†
Stewart, Gordon C.
Stewart, James B. Jr.*
Stewart, Ruth Ann
Stid, Daniel D.
Stiehm, Judith Hicks
Stiglitz, Joseph E.
Stiles, Deborah F.
Stith, Kate
Stobaugh, Robert B.
Stockman, David A.
Stoessinger, John G.
Stoga, Alan J.
Stokes, Bruce
Stokes, Louis
Stoll, Ira E.
Swiers, Peter Bird
Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Szporluk, Roman

Swing, John Temple

Swid, Scott L.

Swenson, Eric P.

Sweeney, John J.

Sweitzer, Brandon W.

Sweig, Julia E.

Sweitzer, Brandon W.

Swenson, Eric P.

Swid, Scott L.

Swid, Stephen Claar

Swiers, Peter Bird

Swing, John Temple

Szporluk, Roman

T

Taft, Julia Vadala
Taft, William H. IV
Tagliabue, Paul
Tahir-Khel, Shirin R.
Talbot, Phillips
Talbott, Strobe
Taliaferro, Jeffrey W.
Talwar, Puneet
Tan Bhala, Kara W.Y.
Tang, David K.Y.
Tanner, Harold
Tanter, Raymond
Tapia, Raul R.
Tarnoff, Peter
Tarter, C. Bruce
Tarullo, Daniel K.
Tasco, Frank J.
Tashkovich, Gligor A.
Tauber, Charles E.
Taubman, William
Taylor, Arthur R.
Taylor, James S.
Taylor, Kathryn
Pelgrift
Tece, David J.
Teeter, Robert M.
Teichner, Martha A.
Teitel, Ruti G.
Teitelbaum, Michael S.
Telhami, Shibley
Tellis, Ashley Joachim*
Templeman, Maurice
Temple-Raston, Dina
Simone*
Tetet, George J.
Tennyson, Leonard B.
Terracciano,
Anthony P.
Terry, Sarah M.
Theobald, Thomas C.
Thieme, Donald
Joseph II
Thiessen, Marc
Alexander
Thiessen, Pamela Beth
Thoman, G. Richard
Thomas, Barbara S.
Thomas, Brooks
Thomas, Evan W. III
Thomas, Franklin A.
Thomas, Lee B. Jr.
Thomas, Lydia Waters
Thomas, Troy S.
Thompson, Fred
Thompson, Robert L.
Thompson, W. Scott
Thomson, James A.
Thomsburgh, Dick
Thornell, Richard P.
Thorton, John L.
Thoron, Louise
Tierney, Paul E. Jr.
Tiersky, Ronald
Till, Kimberly
Tillman, Seth P.
Tillou, Susan Lynne
Timothy, Dick
Tomlinson, Sarah" Livingston
Tison, Frederick S.
Tirana, Amina
Tisch, Andrew
Herbert*
Tisch, Laurence Alan
Tisch, Preston Robert*
Todman, Terence A.
Toft, Monica Duffy
Toll, Maynard J. Jr.
Tolou, Ramin
Tomlinson,
Alexander C.
Tomz, Michael R.
Topping, Audrey
Ronning
Topping, Seymour
Torano, Maria Elena
Torres, Art
Torres, Gerald
Toricelli, Robert G.
Toth, Robert C.
Tounga, Jeanne
Maddox
Townsend, Kathleen
Kennedy
Trachtenberg,
Stephen Joel
Train, Harry D. II
Train, John
Train, Russell E.
Trainor, Bernard E.
Tran, Ly K.
Trani, Eugene P.
Travis, Martin B. Jr.
Treadway, Stephen J.
Trench, Mark C.
Treat, John Elting
Trebat, Thomas J.
Treverton, Gregory
Frye
Trice, Robert H. Jr.
Trimble, Charles R.
Trojan, Vera M.
Trooboff, Peter D.
Trowbridge,
Alexander B.
Truitt, Nancy
Sherwood
Truman, Edwin M.
Tsehai, Elizabeth G.*
Tsengos, Basilios E.*
Tsipis, Kosta
Tucher, H. Anton
Tucker, Cynthia A.
Tucker, Jonathan B.
Tucker, Nancy
Bernkopf
Tucker, Richard Frank
Tucker, Robert W.
Tuggle, Clyde C.*
Tuminez, Astrid S.
Tung, Ko-Yung
Tunnell, David R.*
Turck, Nancy B.
Turner, J. Michael
Turner, James M.
Turner, Robert F.
Turner, Stansfield
Tusiani, Michael D.
Tyrrell, R. Emmett Jr.

* Elected to membership in 2003.
† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

U

Udovitch,
Abraham L.
Uhlig, Mark
Ullman, Richard H.
Ulman, Cornelius M.
Ulrich, Marybeth
Peterson
Unger, Sanford J.
Unger, David C.
Upton, Maureen T.
Usher, William R.
Utgoff, Victor A.
Uteley, Garrick
Uzeta, Jaime Ernesto†

V

Vaccaro, Jonathan
Matthew
Vaglino,
Alexander M.
Vagliano, Sara
Vagis, Detlev F.
Vaitheeswaran,
Vijay V.†
Vaky, Viron P.
Valenta, Jiri
Valentine, Debra A.
Valenzuela, Arturo A.
van der Vink,
Gregory E.
Van Dusen, Michael H.
Van Dyk, Ted
Van Evera, Stephen
Van Fleet, James
Alward
Van Oudenharen, John
Van Zandt, David
Edgar
Vande Berg, Marsha

Tyson, Carole
Henderson
Tyson, Laura
D'Andrea

Membership Roster
von Eckartsberg, Katrina
Von Heuvel, William J.
Vandenbergen, Martina E.
Vander Lugt, Robert D.
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