COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ANNUAL REPORT

JULY 1, 2005 - JUNE 30, 2006



www.cfr.org

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Photos on facing page:

At the Council

Iraqi Minister of Municipalities and Public Works Nasreen Barwari

Archbishop of Washington, Cardinal Theodore E. McCarrick

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh Bono, activist and lead singer of U2

Note: This list of Officers and Directors is current as of July 1, 2006.

^{*} In accordance with By-Law VII.

[†] Appointed by the Board of Directors in 2006.









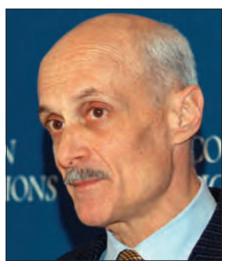
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Mission Statement

Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, national membership organization and a nonpartisan center for scholars dedicated to producing and disseminating ideas so that individual and corporate members, as well as policymakers, journalists, students, and interested citizens in the United States and other countries, can better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other governments. The Council, which is headquartered in New York with an office in Washington, DC, does this by

- Convening meetings in New York, Washington, DC, and other select American cities where senior government officials, global leaders, and prominent thinkers come together with Council members to debate and discuss the major foreign policy issues of our time;
- Conducting a wide-ranging Studies Program where Council fellows produce articles and books that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy recommendations;
- Publishing Foreign Affairs, the preeminent journal covering international affairs and U.S. foreign policy;
- Maintaining a diverse membership, including special programs to foster interest and expertise in the next generation of foreign policy leaders;
- Sponsoring Independent Task Forces whose reports help set the public foreign policy agenda; and
- Providing up-to-date information about the world and U.S. foreign policy on the Council's website, CFR.org.



In the end what we have to do is change the culture on the ground, both in the West and in the Middle East, so that we have the kinds of societies which don't encourage a subset of the population to become radicalized and violent.

—MICHAEL CHERTOFF U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security



It's been the consistent position of my government that we will not accept—we cannot accept—North Korean nuclear programs, and we want to have the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

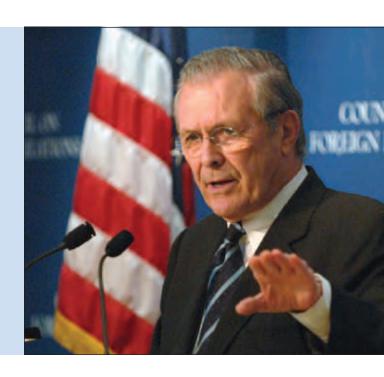
—BAN KI-MOON

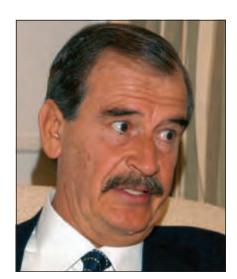
Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs
and Trade Secretary-General

AT THE COUNCIL

While al-Qaeda and extremist movements have utilized [the media] for many years and have successfully further poisoned the Muslim public's view of the West, we have barely even begun to compete in reaching their audiences.

—DONALD H. RUMSFELD U.S. Secretary of Defense





We must see migration as an asset, as an opportunity for both of our countries, because the U.S. is an aging population with a lot of retired people that need a lot of support. Mexico is a young nation, with a large youth [population], and that's an asset.

—VICENTE FOX
President of Mexico



Liberia's fragile peace is tied to the dynamics of the region. Our peace will never be secure until there is peace in the subregions, in all the neighboring countries.... So we have to get to work on the solutions... and work with the leaders in [those] countries... to ensure that they, too, can find a way to peace. That's the only way to secure our own peace.

—ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF
President of Liberia



Inasmuch as the West was surprised, if you like, by this culture of death, I can assure you that the majority of Muslims were even more surprised because this culture of death runs counter to everything that Muslims hold dear.

—PRINCE TURKI AL-FAISAL
Ambassador of Saudi Arabia
to the United States



After Afghanistan was liberated, [the] lack of a credible exit strategy at the time led to a lot of the problems we see today. . . . Getting into a theater of conflict is sometimes easier than getting out, because you need to sustain what you have achieved. . . . So the crafting of the exit strategy is more important than the entry strategy.

—SHAUKAT AZIZ
Prime Minister of Pakistan



We need to do for terror what was done to slavery. Slavery went from being an internationally accepted norm to becoming an international pariah. And the antislavery movement actually sprang from religious convictions about the worth and value of every person, convictions very similar to America's belief in the dignity of every human being.

—KAREN P. HUGHES
U.S. Undersecretary of State
for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs



Turkey has married the Islamic culture with the democratic culture. And Turkey has been very successful. That doesn't mean . . . that we don't have shortcomings. . . . But what really lies behind [the marriage] is a change of mentality, which doesn't happen in a week to ten days.

—RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN

Prime Minister of Turkey



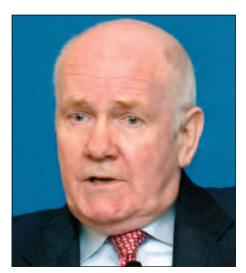
One of the things that I observed while we were in Russia is the degree to which Russians no longer want to be treated as a stepchild in the Cooperative Threat Reduction process [of securing nuclear weapons materials]. There's an enormous amount of national pride that exists, and the more we can give them a sense that they are cooperating not as supplicants but rather as full partners, the better off we will be.

—BARACK OBAMA Member, U.S. Senate (D-IL)



The terrorists' vision is based on enslavement, and it is precisely because the people the terrorists seek to enslave are powerless that they are vulnerable to its siren song. The terrorists' vision is also based on elitism, in which a privileged few decree what is best for everyone—and use terror to impose their will.

—STEPHEN J. HADLEY
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs



The struggle against global terror is not a clash of civilizations; it is a clash about civilization. It is and ought to be about the unity of civilizations against the barbarity of terrorism in its ultimate definition.

—JOHN REID U.K. Secretary of State for Defence



Most of the judges in the sharia courts are illiterate. . . . We had the problem of training judges. . . . They trained them for six to eight weeks and then sent them back to the courts. A lot of them were supposed to have written exams and passed, but our understanding is about 80 to 90 percent of them didn't.

—HAUWA IBRAHIM
Nigerian Human Rights Lawyer,
2005 Winner of the Sakharov Prize

LETTER from the CHAIRMAN

ince I first became a member of this institution in 1971, I have had the extraordinary privilege of seeing it develop in ways that I could not have imagined. As we approach the eighty-fifth anniversary of the Council's founding, I find it worthwhile to take stock—where we stand, what we once were, and what we aim to become.



Chairman Peter G. Peterson

Twenty years ago, the Council was primarily New York- and Washington-based, with a membership of just under 2,400. Today, it has increased to over 4,200 individuals across the nation. The Term Member Program consisted then of just 135 young men and women. Today, our valued term members number close to 500. Women and minority members have more than doubled.

In 1992, James F. Hoge Jr. joined *Foreign Affairs* as editor, where fourteen years later he continues his remarkable work leading the most influential magazine in the world concerned with U.S. foreign policy and international relations. Since the early 1980s, the circulation of *Foreign Affairs* has grown from 80,000 to more than 140,000, and the magazine now appears in Japanese, Spanish, and Russian versions.

In 1993, the Council welcomed Leslie H. Gelb to its presidency. During Les's tenure, the Council

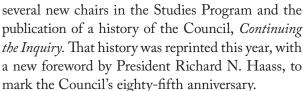
developed exponentially. Among his biggest accomplishments: first, redefining the foreign policy community to include experts from the nongovernmental organization world, experts in health care, drugs, and the environment, younger people, and business leaders with direct experience abroad; and, second, putting the Council at the public center of the policy debates in the United States and helping to define what those debates should be.

In 1995, the Council's International Advisory Board was founded. Chaired by David Rockefeller, whose deep involvement with and commitment to the Council has been of immeasurable benefit, this distinguished group of international statesmen and business leaders helps invigorate international dialogue and provides international insights on the Council's programs and its strategic direction. This period also saw the establishment of the Harold Pratt Associates to recognize our most generous donors.

Programmatically, the Council continued to increase its work in New York and Washington, DC, while expanding the scope of its National Program. In 1996, the Council held its first National Conference, bringing together members from across the country for two days of activities at the Council's New York headquarters. This important milestone helped transform the Council into a truly national organization.

The Council's work in the twenty-first century has evolved to reflect the changing international and domestic landscape.

The launch of the Council's website, CFR.org, in 1997 is a prime example of efforts to develop the Council's technical capacity and outreach. Two years later brought the opening of the Center for International Studies, a new building that provides the Council with stateof-the-art technology and primary meeting space for both staff and members—a landmark expansion and enhancement of the Council's New York headquarters. In 1996, we celebrated the Council's seventy-fifth anniversary, an occasion highlighted by the endowment of



The Council's work in the twenty-first century has evolved to reflect the changing international and domestic landscape, with the creation of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and the addition of "Terrorism Q&A" to CFR.org. The inauguration in 2001 of the Arthur Ross Book Award, which annually recognizes books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations, is yet another example of the Council's commitment to excellence.

We are equally fortunate to have a most capable successor to Les, for much of the Council's recent success is due to the efforts of Richard N. Haass. In his three years at the Council, Richard has overseen many notable developments, including strengthening the Studies Program; the introduction of a series of Council Special Reports to supplement the work of the Council's Independent Task Force program; the redesign and improvement of the Council's web-







Vice Chairman Robert E. Rubin

site, CFR.org; and an expansion of the Council's outreach to new constituencies, something Richard details in his contribution to this annual report.

The Board of Directors continues its efforts to secure a new home for the Washington Program, a necessary step to enhance the Council's operations in our nation's capital. We are also in the initial phase of the Campaign for the Council, which will help us build the capacity and resources necessary to solidify a robust future for this organization. Over the past year we have worked hard on the leadership phase, and as we formally mark our eighty-fifth anniversary this fall, we will be sharing more good news regarding this campaign.

Lastly, I would like to extend my deep thanks to the other members of the Board of Directors and to our committed and talented vice chairmen, Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin. We bid a fond farewell and warm thanks to departing directors Jeffrey L. Bewkes and Lee Cullum. We welcome new directors Colin L. Powell and Christine Todd Whitman, and look forward to working closely with them in the years to come.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

he past year has been many things, but it has hardly been tranquil or uneventful. Even a cursory list of developments over the past twelve months would include the London terrorist bombings; narrow congressional passage of the Central American Free Trade Agreement; ongoing diplomatic



President Richard N. Haass

efforts against the backdrop of genocide in western Sudan; vast changes in the relationship between Israel and the Palestinian Authority as a result of Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, followed by an unexpected Hamas victory at the Palestinian polls; announcement of a new six-party agreement designed to terminate North Korea's nuclear program in exchange for security guarantees and a mix of political

and economic benefits for Pyongyang; the signing of a strategically significant but also controversial U.S.-India accord on civilian nuclear cooperation; the decision by Bolivia's new leftist government to nationalize its energy resources; the emergence of new leadership in Germany and Italy; the resumption of U.S.-Libyan diplomatic ties; and the price of oil rising to more than \$70 per barrel, a level that translated into gasoline's costing around \$3 per gallon. Dominating the headlines this year were two additional issues: the re-

ality of intermittent political progress but continuing deadly violence in Iraq, and a gathering international storm surrounding Iran's attempts to enrich uranium and, possibly, develop nuclear weapons.

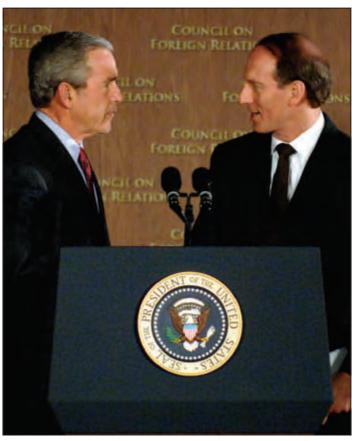
These and other issues create both opportunities and obligations for the Council. The good news is that the Council is ready for both. I inherited a remarkable institution from Leslie H. Gelb when I began as Council president in 2003. My challenge over the past three years has been to make it even better. As I stated in last year's Annual Report, we will work to do this by focusing on our core missions of making each member's experience a satisfying one and by serving as a resource for foreign policy practitioners, including senior government officials, prominent journalists, and members of Congress and their staffs. We have also begun something quite new: reaching out to those people whose voices are critical to the foreign policy challenges faced by this country but who have mostly been absent from the foreign policy debate—college and university educators and students, religious and congregational leaders, and state and local officials.

Before I expand on outreach, let me briefly discuss the work we are doing to fulfill our core missions. Programming for our membership—life, term, and corporate—remains a Council priority. The New York and Washington programs offer members a compelling array of events, from distinguished single-

Our programs offer a compelling array of events, from distinguished single-speaker meetings and film screenings to book club sessions.

speaker meetings and film screenings to book club sessions and series such as "Iraq: The Way Forward." In conjunction with the Studies Program, the New York Meetings Program convened half- and full-day symposia on such timely foreign policy challenges as homeland security, Iran's nuclear program, and rising Shia power. Our National Program organized more than 130 events and conference calls in the past year, and our Term Member Program consistently produces a vibrant calendar of meetings and trips for the Council's close to 500 term members. Corporate programming for the more than 250 corporate members is equally strong; the second annual Corporate Conference in March received rave reviews.

The Council's think tank continues to produce an impressive array of high-quality work, from Council Special Reports to books and articles written by Council fellows. The Independent Task Force program is thriving, with recent releases on Russia, Africa, and post-conflict capabilities. *Foreign Affairs* has



President George W. Bush and Council President Richard N. Haass.



Jean-Claude Trichet, president of the European Central Bank, Robert D. Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International, and Thomas R. Keene, editor-at-large of Bloomberg News.



Suzanne McDonough; Maurice R. Greenberg, chairman and CEO of C. V. Starr and Council Board member; and William J. McDonough, vice chairman and special adviser to the chairman of Merrill Lynch.



Former President Jimmy Carter, Council Honorary Chairman David Rockefeller, and Council President Richard N. Haass.

published a series of pivotal articles on Iraq, pandemic flu, and China. Through the efforts of the Washington Program, these and other Council products are increasingly reaching policymakers in the executive branch, on Capitol Hill, and within the diplomatic community. Likewise, our Communications Department held numerous dedicated press briefings drawing on the expertise and experience of Council fellows, staff, and project directors this year, further enhancing our ability to serve as a resource for the news media.

Much of this activity translated into impact. The Foreign Affairs issue on pandemic flu, distributed widely in Asia, was credited with drawing the attention of local elites to the risk of an outbreak. The Independent Task Force on Africa was the foundation document of the National Intelligence Council's annual Africa conference. The Russia Task Force was cited in a New York Times editorial urging the Bush administration to "heed the report's advice." The Department of Defense adopted one of the central recommendations of the Independent Task Force

on Post-Conflict Capabilities: to establish stability operations as a "strategic priority for the armed forces" and to put it on a level with war-fighting. The agenda outlined by the Independent Task Force on the Future of North America, to ensure the continued integration of the United States, Mexico, and Canada, was largely adopted by the 2005 and 2006 Trinational Summits.

It is not enough, however, for us to be a resource solely for the Council's traditional constituencies. Our new outreach initiative—to academics, religious leaders, and state and local officials—enables us to serve as a resource for these communities, as well as to increase the Council's familiarity with the perspectives of these important groups. Current outreach efforts include specialized conference call series, dissemination of select on-the-record events via webcast and teleconference, and customized bulletins featuring relevant Council events and publications. The redesigned CFR.org, with 108 percent more unique visitors in April 2006 than in April 2005, has fast become the premier public resource for information on and analysis of foreign policy. With a special "For Educators" section and other targeted sections in the works, CFR.org will also enhance our outreach efforts.

The initial response to these new Council outreach initiatives has been positive. Fifty-seven universities participated in our 2005–2006 Academic Conference Call Series. Approximately 300 individuals and organizations, including national health associations, state departments of public health, universities, and student health and wellness centers, joined the webcast



David M. Rubenstein, cofounder and managing director of the Carlyle Group and Council Board member, and Michael H. Jordan, chairman and CEO of Electronic Data Systems.

It is not enough for us to be a resource solely for the Council's traditional constituencies.



Bono, activist and lead singer of the rock group U2 (far right), meets with (clockwise from right foreground) James D. Wolfensohn, Tom Brokaw, Steven L. Rattner, Leon D. Black, Richard N. Haass, David Rockefeller, Jeffrey A. Rosen, and Peter G. Peterson.

of our conference on pandemic flu. Religious leaders have joined webcasts and teleconferences of Council events, including a meeting with Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and the launch of the report of the Independent Task Force on Africa.

I could go on, but won't. Council meetings end on time and it seems only fitting that I should keep this letter brief as well. I am excited about what we have accomplished in the past three years and even more

excited about our potential to accomplish more in the years ahead for our members, for our traditional constituents, and for those we are now reaching out to for the first time. This, too, is a good thing, since the need for an independent, nonpartisan Council—be it as a venue, as a publisher, or as the sponsor of new ideas—has never been greater.

> Richard N. Haass President



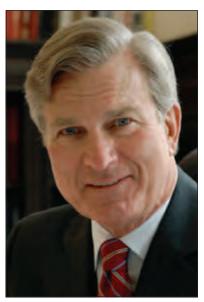
Council Board member Laura D'Andrea Tyson.



International Advisory Board members Syed Babar Ali, Khalid A. Alturki, and Khehla Shubane.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ver the past year, articles in *Foreign* Affairs not only analyzed events, they frequently made headlines themselves. Particularly noteworthy was the magazine's coverage of Iraq, which continued to influence both the public debate over U.S. policy, and U.S. policy itself. In the September/October 2005 issue,



Foreign Affairs Editor James F. Hoge Jr.

retired Army Colonel Andrew F. Krepinevich proposed that U.S. forces in Iraq follow a classic counterinsurgency strategy in an essay that was widely read in the Pentagon and in Baghdad. In November/December 2005, former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird urged the administration to begin turning over more security responsibilities to the Iraqis, mirroring the Nixon administration's

"Vietnamization" policy. Council Senior Fellow Stephen Biddle criticized both authors' ideas in "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon" (March/April 2006), arguing that the administration and its critics were wrong to think that the budding communal civil war in Iraq was similar to the Maoist people's war waged in Vietnam—and that U.S. policies such as "Iraqization" based on that mistaken belief would only cause more sectarian violence.

Foreign Affairs articles also rewrote much of the war's

history. "Saddam's Delusions," a double-length article in May/June 2006, published the first excerpts from a secret Pentagon study of the inner workings of Saddam Hussein's regime. Authors Kevin Woods (an independent defense analyst), James Lacey (a Joint Forces Command analyst), and Williamson Murray (a professor at the U.S. Naval Academy) provided a unique look at the surreal world in which Saddam and his top lieutenants worked, as gleaned from captured documents. In March/April 2006, Paul R. Pillar, the CIA's top Middle East analyst from 2000 to 2005, described how the Bush administration misused raw intelligence data in presenting its case for war, an argument that generated a media firestorm about the politicization of prewar intelligence. And the July/August 2006 issue presented a roundtable of views on what to do next in Iraq.

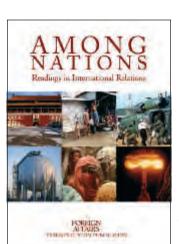
The magazine also paid attention to longer-term issues. The September/October 2005 issue focused on China, presenting a debate among Asian experts over the country's rise and what it means for Asia and the world. In July/August 2006, the lead cluster of articles spotlighted India's growing power and its implications. To mark the Hong Kong ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization in December 2005, *Foreign Affairs* published a special edition, featuring contributions from experts including Council Senior Fellow Jagdish N. Bhagwati and former U.S. Trade Representatives Carla A. Hills and Charlene Barshefsky.

The magazine's coverage of Iraq continued to influence both the public debate over U.S. policy, and U.S. policy itself.



Gideon Rose, managing editor of Foreign Affairs, and Paul R. Pillar, visiting professor at Georgetown University and former national intelligence officer for the Middle East and South Asia.

Other authors propounded radical, but rigorous, ideas. In March/April 2006, Keir Lieber of the University of Notre Dame and Daryl G. Press of the University of Pennsylvania argued that the United States is close to achieving the ability to destroy all of Russia's nuclear arsenal in a first strike—provoking vigorous responses in Moscow, including a rebuttal by Russian President Vladimir Putin and an attack on the authors in a *Financial Times* op-ed by



former Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar. Alan S. Blinder, former vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, explained in the same issue that outsourcing will radically reshape the way the Western world lives by making tens of millions of workers subject to compe-

Among Nations: Readings in International Relations, the new custom textbook partnership between Foreign Affairs and Pearson Custom Publishing. tition from workers in the developing world. And in January/February 2006, noted Stanford primatologist Robert Sapolsky wrote that the dismal, and common, prediction that humans are condemned by nature to be warlike gets the science exactly wrong.

The magazine's commercial accomplishments have been remarkable as well. Since 2001, paid circulation has climbed 31 percent to 144,486. Advertising pages have increased 68 percent and advertising revenue has more than doubled over the same period. In 2005, average newsstand sales per issue grew to nearly 33,000, a 54 percent increase in four years. And traffic on the *Foreign Affairs* website has also skyrocketed: in March 2006, both page views and unique visitors reached all-time heights (1.4 million and 299,000, respectively)—more than 40 percent greater than traffic in March 2005.

For 2007, the economic outlook appears relatively strong and the agenda of pressing issues full. Such an environment offers plenty of opportunities for *Foreign Affairs*, and we are putting in place editorial and business plans to maintain the magazine's momentum of recent years.

SPECIAL INITIATIVES

he Special Initiatives section identifies Council programs, publications, and other efforts from the past year that deserve particular recognition. Included in this year's group are the Council's outreach efforts, Task Forces, Council Special Reports, and the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies. Each of these initiatives made significant contributions to the Council's mission in 2005–2006.

OUTREACH

This year the Council spearheaded a broad set of outreach activities targeted at three constituencies whose voices are increasingly important to the national foreign policy debate: educators and students, congregational and religious leaders, and state and local officials.

The Academic Outreach Initiative, launched a year ago, is designed to connect the academic community to the Council's research and analysis. With the guidance of the Academic Advisory Group, chaired by Pepperdine University Professor Dan Caldwell, the Council offered an Academic Conference Call Series, made possible in part by a generous grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. These calls give students and professors the opportunity to talk with Council fellows and *Foreign Affairs* authors. The Council continued to build its online library of customizable academic packages, or modules, to assist educators in developing course syllabi. These modules are organized around a primary Council text and include teaching notes written by the author, second-

ary source readings, related transcripts, video and audio files of Council meetings, and *Foreign Affairs* articles—all accessible in a special "For Educators" section on the Council's website.

The Council's Religion and Foreign Policy Initiative seeks to deepen the understanding of the influence of religion on U.S. foreign policy and to serve as a source of information and analysis for religious and congregational leaders and thinkers. This year the Council increased its programming for members through a series of meetings on "Religion and Foreign Policy," which featured speakers such as the Reverend Dr. Richard D. Land, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, American University's Chair of Islamic Studies Akbar Ahmed, and authors Karen Armstrong and Reza Aslan. It also launched a dedicated conference call series that gave religious and congregational leaders the opportunity to interact with Council Senior Fellows David G. Victor on climate change and Rachel Bronson on religion and Saudi Arabia. Task Force Director Princeton N. Lyman and Task Force member Helene D. Gayle discussed their report *More Than Humanitarianism: A Strategic U.S. Approach Toward Africa* with World Vision representatives at their headquarters in the Seattle, Washington, area.

The State and Local Officials Initiative provides a forum for nonpartisan discussion of pressing international issues—from homeland security to immigration and trade—that affect the priorities and agendas of state and local governments. Council staff met with representatives of the Republican and Democratic Governors Associations in Washington, DC, to

exchange ideas on how the Council can better serve as a resource for this constituency. The Council began a conference call series with its fellows—including Laurie Garrett on pandemic flu preparedness and Stephen E. Flynn on homeland security—to brief state and local officials. It launched a monthly email bulletin and sent select Council publications to governors, mayors, and other state and local officials, including the summary of the Council's November 2005 pandemic flu conference. This summary led



International Rescue Committee President George E. Rupp and Council Board member and former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright at a "Religion and Foreign Policy" series meeting on her book, The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs.

to the inclusion of the July/August 2005 Foreign Affairs issue on pandemic flu at the Commonwealth of Virginia's first summit on this topic.

The Council also made select New York and Washington, DC, meetings available to academics, religious and congregational leaders, and state and local officials via teleconferences and webcasts. Outreach is an important part of the Council's overall mission and has the potential to make a significant contribution to American public and civic life.



Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour, Arizona Governor Janet A. Napolitano, and Houston Mayor William H. White in a plenary session titled "Foreign Policy from the State House and City Hall" at the 2006 National Conference.

TASK FORCES

The Council sponsors an Independent Task Force when an issue of critical importance to U.S. foreign policy arises that might benefit from in-depth, non-partisan analysis. A group, diverse in background and perspective, is convened to reach a policy consensus through private deliberations. Task Forces also draw on the expertise of Council membership through a series of review meetings held in New York, Washington, DC, and other major cities. Task Forces are independent of the Council and solely responsible for the content of their reports.

For the release of each Task Force report, the Council tailors a specific outreach strategy designed to engage appropriate audiences. Planning for these outreach efforts begins during Task Force deliberations and continues in the weeks following publication.

Under the stewardship of Lee Feinstein, senior fellow and executive director of the Task Force program, the Council published three Independent Task Force reports in 2005–2006. Two additional Task Forces are currently under way.

Former National Security Advisers Samuel R. Berger and Brent Scowcroft released *In the Wake*

of War: Improving U.S. Post-Conflict Capabilities in July 2005. Their Task Force concluded that nationbuilding is not just a humanitarian concern but a critical national security priority, and recommended a series of policy and organizational changes to develop civilian and military capacity to conduct stabilization operations. The chairs summarized their findings in a Washington Post op-ed, coauthored an article based on the Task Force's work for the fall 2005 issue of the National Interest, and discussed their findings on the Charlie Rose Show after the report was released. The New York Times also reported on the Task Force's recommendations, as did various newswires and other publications. Five months after the Independent Task Force on Post-Conflict Capabilities released its report, the Department of Defense adopted one of its central recommendations: to establish stability operations as a "strategic priority for the armed forces" and to put it on a level with war-fighting in terms of doctrine and training. William L. Nash, the Council's General John W. Vessey senior fellow for conflict prevention and director of the Center for Preventive Action, served as the Task Force's project director,



Africa Task Force Chairs Anthony Lake and Christine Todd Whitman with Project Directors Princeton N. Lyman and J. Stephen Morrison at the rollout of their report.



Russia Task Force Chairs Jack Kemp and John Edwards on NBC's Meet the Press, March 2006, releasing the Russia Task Force report.

with Mona K. Sutphen, managing director of Stonebridge International, LLC, as deputy director.

Former National Security Adviser Anthony Lake and former Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Christine Todd Whitman released their report, More Than Humanitarianism: A Strategic U.S. Approach Toward Africa, in December 2005. The Task Force found that "a policy based on humanitarian concerns alone serves neither U.S. interests nor Africa's," and suggested a comprehensive approach toward the continent that takes into account growing U.S. strategic interests in Africa, including assuring reliable energy supplies, combating terrorism, reducing conflict, controlling pandemic diseases, and enlarging the worldwide community of democracies. The Task Force project directors, Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies Princeton N. Lyman and Center for Strategic and International

Studies Africa Program Director J. Stephen Morrison, briefed Council members and others in ten major U.S. cities as well as London and Paris. The Council also hosted a special event in New York in January with leading Africa scholars and practitioners. In addition, the Task Force leaders presented their findings at Howard, Princeton, Northwestern, and other universities; briefed senior U.S. government officials; and met with more than a dozen members of Congress. The report remains one of the most frequently downloaded publications on CFR.org.

In their report, Russia's Wrong Direction: What the United States Can and Should Do, former Senator John Edwards (D-NC) and former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp concluded that growing authoritarianism in Russia and the increasing number of disagreements between Washington and Moscow make a "strategic partnership" unrealis-

The Russia Task Force report's findings and recommendations were covered by virtually every major newspaper in the United States and Europe.

tic. Instead, their Task Force report calls for a policy of "selective cooperation"—and, in some cases, "selective opposition"—to achieve important U.S. goals, including halting Iran's nuclear program, countering terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and securing reliable energy supplies. The chairs released their report in March 2006 on *Meet the Press*. The report's findings and recommendations were covered by virtually every major newspaper in the United States and Europe, including the *New York Times*, which urged the administration to "heed the report's advice." Available on CFR.org in

both English and Russian, the report attracted wide attention in Russia and—in the run-up to the July 2006 G8 meeting in St. Petersburg—became a feature in the transatlantic policy debate on Russia. The report benefited from a visit to Moscow in September 2005 by the chairs, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies and Project Director Stephen Sestanovich, and Task Force Program Executive Director Lee Feinstein. The Task Force leadership briefed President George W. Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, and other senior policymakers at the Departments of State and Defense.

New Task Forces

Former U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills and former Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Command Dennis Blair chair the Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward China. The Task Force, directed by Cyrus R. Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies Evans J.R.

Revere, is reviewing internal developments in China and assessing the state of the bilateral relationship. It will recommend an overall strategy and specific policies to meet the near- and long-term challenges posed by China and the complex U.S. relationship with that country.



Council Vice Chairman and Task Force Chair Carla A. Hills and Task Force Chair Dennis Blair at the first meeting of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward China.

Former Secretary of Energy and Defense James R. Schlesinger and former Director of Central Intelligence and Deputy Secretary of Energy John Deutch chair the Independent Task Force on Energy and U.S. Foreign Policy, which is examining the consequences of grow ing dependence on imported oil and gas on U.S. foreign policy and national security. The Task Force has consulted with industry leaders and leaders of environmental, human rights, and other nongovernmental organizations. Project Director David G. Victor, Council adjunct senior fellow for science and technology, has joined the chairs in review sessions with Council members in Washington, DC, New York, and other cities.

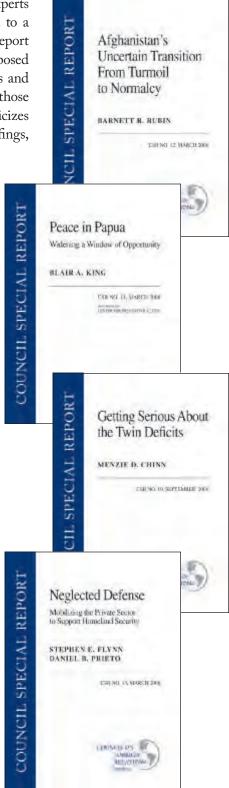
COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

Council Special Reports (CSRs), written by Council fellows or experts from outside the institution, are concise policy studies that respond to a developing crisis or contribute to an emerging policy debate. Each report is written in consultation with an independent advisory group composed of experts on the country or issue in question. A report's conclusions and recommendations reflect the views of the author (or authors), not those of the advisory group or of the Council. The Council actively publicizes each report with roll-out events, such as national meetings, press briefings, emails, and teleconferences.

The Council's Center for Preventive Action (CPA) released two CSRs in the past year. Barnett R. Rubin, director of studies and senior fellow at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, wrote *Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition From Turmoil to Normalcy*. In the report, he argues that the progress Afghanistan has made in reestablishing the basic institutions of government after the overthrow of the Taliban in 2001 will be lost unless the United States does more to make them work. Blair A. King, a senior program manager at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, wrote *Peace in Papua: Widening a Window of Opportunity*, which follows up on the CPA's 2003 Preventive Action Commission report, *Peace and Progress in Papua*. The CSR on Papua recommends steps the United States and the Indonesian government should take to resolve the decades-old conflict there.

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies released the report *Getting Serious About the Twin Deficits* as part of the Bernard and Irene Schwartz Series on American Competitiveness. The author, Menzie D. Chinn, a former member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and a professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin, discusses the economic consequences for the United States of failing to tame the federal budget deficit and the country's current account deficit.

Stephen E. Flynn, the Council's Jeane J. Kirkpatrick senior fellow for national security studies, and Daniel B. Prieto of the Reform Institute wrote *Neglected Defense: Mobilizing the Private Sector to Support Homeland Security* in consultation with a nonpartisan group of distinguished private-sector leaders. It argues that the federal government needs to become much more proactive in promoting public-private partnerships on homeland security and recommends ten specific steps that Washington should take to make Americans more secure.



COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORT Preventing Catastrophic Nuclear Terrorism CHARLES D. FERGUSON EDITORS III, MARCHETON REPORT U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation A Strategy for Moving Forward MICHAEL A. LEVI CHARLES D. FERGUSON CSENCE IN A NEWSTAWN COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORT Both Sides of the Aisle A Call for Bigartisan Foreign Policy NANCY E. ROSLAN CSE SEE 9 SEVERMENT THE REPORT Generating Momentum for a New Era in U.S.-Turkey Relations STEVEN A. COOK ELIZABETH SBERWOOD-RANDALL CHENC STRANGOS COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORT Challenges for a Postelection Mexico Issues for U.S. Policy PAMELA K. STARR 128 NO GLEVELENS DESCRIPTION OF

Charles D. Ferguson, Council fellow for science and technology, wrote Preventing Catastrophic Nuclear Terrorism. It examines how the United States and the international community have fallen short in their efforts to secure and eliminate nuclear weapons and weapons-usable nuclear materials. It also identifies a range of unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral steps the United States should take to reduce substantially the threat of

> nuclear terrorism. Michael A. Levi, Council fellow for science and technology, and Dr. Ferguson coauthored



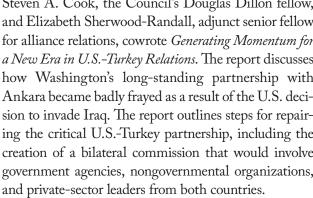
Charles D. Ferguson

U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation: A Strategy for Moving Forward. It examines the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative, which proposes lifting the U.S. ban on the export of nuclear technologies and materials for use in India's civilian nuclear program in return for India's pledge to open many of its existing and planned nuclear reactors to international inspection. The report suggests several steps that Congress could take, short of rejecting the proposal, to allay concerns that the initiative might hurt international efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons.

Nancy E. Roman, vice president and director of the Washington Program, authored Both Sides of the Aisle: A Call for Bipartisan Foreign Policy. The report, part of a broader Council initiative aimed at fostering bipartisan foreign

policy, reflects discussions with more than a dozen past and present members of Congress. The report analyzes how partisan politics hampers U.S. foreign policy and recommends several steps the administration and Congress should take to lower partisan tensions.

Steven A. Cook, the Council's Douglas Dillon fellow, and Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, adjunct senior fellow for alliance relations, cowrote Generating Momentum for a New Era in U.S.-Turkey Relations. The report discusses how Washington's long-standing partnership with Ankara became badly frayed as a result of the U.S. decision to invade Iraq. The report outlines steps for repairing the critical U.S.-Turkey partnership, including the creation of a bilateral commission that would involve government agencies, nongovernmental organizations,



In Challenges for a Postelection Mexico: Issues for U.S.



Steven A. Cook

Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall

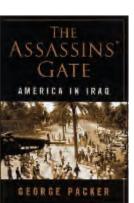
Policy, Pamela K. Starr, Latin America analyst at the Eurasia Group, examined the importance of the 2006 Mexican election and its implications for the United States. The report concludes that Mexico is likely to be more nationalistic and inward looking than during the Vicente Fox administration, presenting new challenges for Washington. The Council released the report in two versions—one in advance of the election and a second postelection.

ARTHUR ROSS BOOK AWARD

The annual Arthur Ross Book Award recognizes books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations. The prize, endowed by Council member Arthur Ross in 2001, recognizes nonfiction works published in the preceding two years, in English or in translation,

that merit special attention for

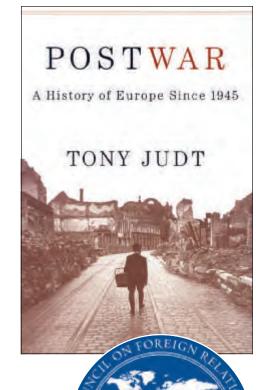




- bringing forth new information that changes our understanding of events or problems;
- developing analytical approaches that allow new and different insights into a significant issue; or
- providing new ideas to help resolve foreign policy problems.

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

In 2006, the gold medal was awarded to Tony Judt for *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. The silver medal went to Olivier Roy for *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, and an honorable mention was awarded to George Packer for *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq*.





Council President Richard N. Haass, winners George Packer and Tony Judt, Foreign Affairs Editor James F. Hoge Jr., and Arthur Ross at the 2006 Arthur Ross Book Award ceremony.

MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies works to help policymakers, journalists, and the public better understand how economic and political forces interact to influence world affairs. Under the leadership of its new director, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, the center advances its mission by promoting dialogue among policymakers and scholars and by sponsoring timely research.

The center's McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics featured prominent policymakers, including four former chairmen of the Securities and Exchange Commission—Richard C. Breeden, Arthur Levitt Jr., Harvey L. Pitt, and William H. Donaldson—who convened in February to discuss global markets. The C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics brought together Council members and leading economic figures such as Allan B. Hubbard, assistant to the president for economic policy and director of the



Douglas Holtz-Eakin, the Paul A. Volcker senior fellow for international economics and director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies.

National Economic Council, and former Treasury

Secretary Lawrence H. Summers. The Bernard and Irene Schwartz High-Level Roundtable Series on American Competitiveness explored challenges to the continued vibrancy of the U.S. economy.

In addition, Council Senior Fellow and Director of International Economics Benn Steil and Robert E. Litan's book, Financial Statecraft: The Role of Financial Markets in American Foreign Policy, was recently published by Yale University Press. Current research at the center focuses on energy, immigration, international trade, regional monetary integration, and the geopolitical consequences of global demographic shifts.



Timothy F. Geithner, Theresa A. Havell, and Jonathan A. Chanis at a Geoeconomic Series meeting on International Finance.

The Center for Geoeconomic Studies works to help policymakers, journalists, and the public better understand how economic and political forces interact.

2006 Council Counts

- 1 ranking of Foreign Affairs in survey about most influential print and broadcast media
- 4 average weekly number of op-eds published by Council fellows
- **4** languages in which *Foreign Affairs* is published (English, Japanese, Spanish, and Russian)
- 7 conferences hosted by the Meetings, Corporate, Term Member, and National Programs
- **15** senior fellows who testified before Congress
- 15 Council books, Task Force reports, and Council Special Reports published
- 20 meetings of the National Program book club
- **37** percentage of all members who are national members
- **38** percentage of term members who attended the annual Term Member Conference
- 41 percentage of Council members who contributed to the Annual Fund
- **46** briefings, roundtables, and sessions organized by the Council's congressional program
- 85 years since the Council was founded
- **93** meetings and briefings with executive-branch officials
- 99 percentage growth in newsstand sales of Foreign Affairs since 2001
- **172** on-the-record meetings and press briefings
- 218 total Council staff members and visiting/adjunct fellows (172 in New York, 46 in DC)
- **257** Corporate members
- **376** Q&As, Daily Analysis Briefs, and Interviews produced by the CFR.org editorial team
- 389 participants in the National Conference
- **465** meetings hosted by the New York and Washington Meetings, National, and Corporate programs
- **1,896** downloads from CFR.org of the Independent Task Force report on U.S. policy toward Russia in the first week after its release (March 5–12, 2006)
- **4,282** Council members (**3,794** life members, **488** term members)
- **13,169** international Foreign Affairs subscribers
- **16,000** mentions of the Council in print, television, radio, wire, and web outlets
- **144,486** paid circulation of Foreign Affairs
- **8,259,195** annual page views on CFR.org
- **12,153,882** annual page views on foreignaffairs.org
- \$35,073,000 Council annual operating expenses in fiscal year 2006

STUDIES PROGRAM

he Studies Program is the Council's world-class think tank. Over the past year, the program's twenty-seven full-time fellows and more than two dozen adjunct and visiting fellows won six awards, completed twelve books, wrote more than two hundred op-eds, testified fifteen times before Congress, ran thirty-six roundtable series on a broad spectrum of regional and topical issues, conducted more than one hundred and fifty briefings for executive-branch officials and members of Congress, and gave countless media interviews. By any yardstick, the productivity and accomplishments of Council fellows are extraordinary.



Council Vice President and Director of Studies James M. Lindsay with Chinese President Hu Jintao.

America's role in the world was examined in books by a number of fellows this year. In the second edition of the award-winning *America Unbound*, Vice President and Director of Studies James M. Lindsay and coauthor Ivo H. Daalder examined George W. Bush's foreign policy. In *Friendly Fire*, Julia E. Sweig argued that today's anti-Americanism stems from more than anger over U.S. foreign policy; it reflects resentments over America's past policies, its disproportionate power, and the consequences of globalization. Walter Russell Mead completed a book chronicling the rise of Anglo-American global supremacy, and Edward J. Lincoln finished a book on the importance of economic change in shaping American foreign policy.

National security issues dominated the nation's headlines, and Council fellows contributed to the debate. Stephen Biddle warned in Foreign Affairs that the United States faces a very different counterinsurgency challenge in Iraq than it did in Vietnam and therefore needs to pursue a different military strategy. Max Boot finished his book on how technological revolutions have transformed warfare and the global balance of power. Stephen E. Flynn completed a

Council Special Report on mobilizing the private sector to support homeland security and began a new book on the vulnerability of America's critical infrastructure to natural and man-made disasters. Richard K. Betts led the John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda.

The Islamic world was another focus of the Studies Program. In *Thicker Than Oil*, Rachel Bronson detailed how the evolution of U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia helped sow the seeds of today's Islamic radicalism. Steven A. Cook completed a book on how the militaries in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey have shaped the political evolution of those countries, and he coauthored a Council Special Report with Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall on U.S.-Turkey relations. Ray Takeyh finished a book exploring the evolution of Iran's foreign policy and argued that Washington should change its approach when

New Arrivals

Stephen Biddle, a former associate professor at the U.S. Army War College, joined the Council as a senior fellow for defense policy. His research addresses questions of U.S. national security and strategy.

Noah Feldman, a former adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq and professor of law at New York University, is an adjunct senior fellow in Middle East studies. He is exploring the compatibility of democracy and Islam.

Douglas Holtz-Eakin, former director of the Congressional Budget Office, is the new director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and the Paul A. Volcker senior fellow for international economics. His work focuses on American competitiveness.

Michael A. Levi joined the Council as a fellow for science and technology. An expert on arms control and nonproliferation, he is completing a book about defending against nuclear terrorism.

Vali R. Nasr, a professor at the Naval Postgraduate School, is an adjunct senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies. His work examines political, religious, and socioeconomic change in the Islamic world.

Steven Simon, an award-winning author and former White House counterterrorism official, is the Hasib J. Sabbagh senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies. His work focuses on terrorism, the consequences of the U.S. occupation in Iraq, and Israel and the Palestinian Authority.



Council Senior Fellow Elizabeth C. Economy with Ambassador Liu Biwei, consul general of China in New York.



Council Senior Fellow Lee Feinstein and John Deutch at a meeting of the Task Force on Energy and U.S. Foreign Policy.



Ira A. Lipman and Council Senior Fellow Stephen E. Flynn.



Lee Silver of Princeton University speaking on religion, science, and the global biotechnology landscape at a roundtable meeting with Council Fellow Michael A. Levi.



Council Senior Fellow Laurie Garrett (right) with NY1 News reporter Cheryl Willis in front of Ms. Garrett's "Rx Box"—a mobile health clinic retrofitted from a freight shipping container that can be easily transported to underserved communities in the developing world.

dealing with Iran's leaders. Isobel Coleman wrote in Foreign Affairs that Washington could usefully promote the cause of reform in the Islamic world by working with progressive religious Muslims to advance the role of women. Steven Simon launched a project on the regional and global consequences of the American invasion and occupation of Iraq. Vali R. Nasr was named a Carnegie Scholar for 2006 and began the Roundtable on the Regional Dimensions of Shia-Sunni Conflict. Noah Feldman studied the compatibility of democracy and Islam. Henry Siegman met with heads of state during a ten-day investigative trip to the Middle East, while Judith Kipper directed the Middle East Forum and led a Council delegation to the annual Jeddah Economic Forum.

Under the direction of **Douglas Holtz-Eakin**, the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies continued its pathbreaking examination of the interplay of economic and political forces in world politics. **Jagdish N. Bhagwati** worked on a book on U.S. immigration policy and wrote about the future of trade agreements in *Foreign Affairs*, **Peter B. Kenen**

worked on a book about the monetary dimensions of regional integration, and Benn Steil and his coauthor Robert E. Litan released their book *Financial Statecraft*. David Braunschvig led the Business and Foreign Policy Roundtable Series, and James P. Dougherty directed the Roundtable on Technology, Innovation, and American Primacy. Caroline Atkinson led the Global Economics Roundtable Series, which examines issues affecting global trade and financial flows. Roger M. Kubarych wrote about challenges to continued U.S. economic growth.

The Center for Preventive Action doubled its programming and publications over the past year, while its director, William L. Nash, also led the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on Post-Conflict Capabilities and oversaw the publication of two Council Special Reports.

The Studies Program continued its long-standing tradition of helping policymakers and the public better understand important regional issues. Several fellows examined political developments in Asia, while others explored events in Europe, Russia, and Africa. Elizabeth C. Economy's book The River Runs Black won the International Convention of Asian Scholars award for the best social science book published on Asia. Adam Segal continued working on his book about the rising technological prowess of China and India, and he testified before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission on the current state of China's technology policies. Mahnaz Ispahani led the South Asia Roundtable and Jerome A. Cohen directed the Winston Lord Roundtable on the Rule of Law in Asia. Charles A. Kupchan led the Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable. James M. Goldgeier led a roundtable on the future of Europe. Stephen Sestanovich directed Russia's Wrong Direction, the widely cited report of the Councilsponsored Independent Task Force on U.S. policy toward Russia. Princeton N. Lyman codirected the highly praised Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on U.S. policy toward Africa and its report, More Than Humanitarianism.

The international profile of crucial health and science issues was raised this year, in part due to the work of Council fellows. Laurie Garrett heightened public and governmental awareness of the threat

By any yardstick, the productivity and accomplishments of Council fellows are extraordinary.

of pandemic flu and detailed the lesson of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in separate articles in *Foreign Affairs*; her flu article was nominated for a National Association of Science Writers Science-in-Society Award. Charles D. Ferguson completed a Council Special Report on ways to prevent catastrophic nuclear terrorism. Michael A. Levi finished a book on strategies for defending against nuclear terrorism. Gene B. Sperling worked on universal education issues. David G. Victor directed the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on Energy and U.S. Foreign Policy.

Council fellows also addressed pressing issues of global governance. Lee Feinstein examined changing notions of the limits of sovereignty and the progress of reform at the United Nations, while Elliot Schrage led a roundtable titled "Beyond the Letter of the Law: The Global Impact of Compliance as a Foreign Policy Tool."



Steve Coll, contributing writer at the New Yorker, and Council Adjunct Senior Fellow Mahnaz Ispahani.

The Center for Preventive Action

The Center for Preventive Action works to devise strategies to help prevent, defuse, or resolve deadly conflicts around the world and to expand the body of knowledge on conflict prevention. Under the leadership of William L. Nash, the General John W. Vessey senior fellow for conflict prevention, the center advances its mission by issuing Council Special Reports, hosting roundtables on emerging conflicts, engaging policymakers and the news media, and building networks for conflict prevention.

CPA activities doubled over the past year.
CSRs produced included Afghanistan's Uncertain
Transition From Turmoil to Normalcy, by Barnett
R. Rubin, and Peace in Papua: Widening a Win-



Eduardo A. Gamarra of Florida International University with Council Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig at a Bolivia CSR advisory group meeting.

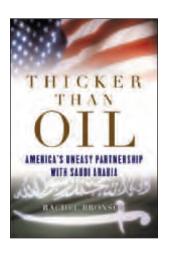


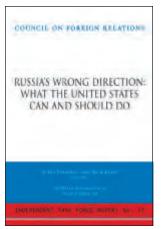
dow of Opportunity, by Blair A. King. The CPA launched a new Potential Conflict Roundtable Series to bring government attention to countries at significant risk of deadly conflict over the next two to five years and to develop recommendations for responding to these emerging trouble spots.

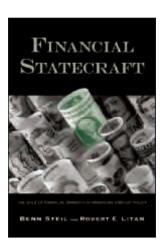
The CPA continued to convene its Preventive Action Commission on Angola, which is addressing the challenges Angola faces in its post-conflict transition, and to engage policymakers, the media, and other communities on *In the Wake of War: Improving U.S. Post-Conflict Capabilities*, the report of the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force chaired by Samuel R. Berger and Brent Scowcroft.

Director of the Council's Center for Preventive Action William L. Nash

PUBLICATIONS





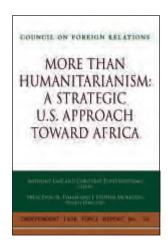


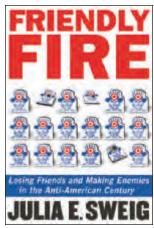
Publications are an essential part of the Council's mission and a crucial channel for disseminating the work of Council fellows and Independent Task Forces. These publications take a variety of forms in order to reach the broadest range of audiences, from policy experts and the academic community to business leaders and the general public. They include Council books, which are published and marketed by top commercial and university presses, as well as Task Force reports and Council Special Reports, which are produced by the Publications Department. This year's CSRs drew attention to issues as varied as the twin deficits, Afghanistan, and homeland security, and Task Force reports on Africa and Russia attracted media attention and website traffic at an unprecedented level.

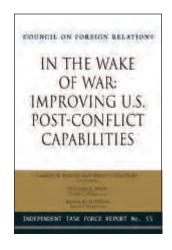
The full texts of Council Special Reports and Task Force reports are available on the website for downloading, along with excerpts from Council books. The launch of the redesigned website in August 2005 has brought significantly more attention to Council publications, and the number of users downloading reports has increased with each report released since September 2005. The Russia Task Force report was downloaded 3,500 times in its first two months of release—50 percent of which was in the first week.

Council publications have also been posted on government websites, republished in magazines from South Africa to Turkey to China, and promoted through new partnerships such as those with the International Relations and Security Network and Google Book Search. A fundamental part of the Council's effort to be the primary resource on foreign policy issues, Council publications continue to make thorough and practical research widely available to Council members, policymakers, the academic community, business leaders, and the interested public.

For additional information or to read the full text of most Council publications, including the annual report, visit CFR.org.







BOOKS BY COUNCIL FELLOWS AND STAFF

- America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy (updated 2nd ed.) by Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, John Wiley & Sons (2005)
- Financial Statecraft: The Role of Financial Markets in American Foreign Policy by Benn Steil and Robert E. Litan, A Council on Foreign Relations Book, Yale University Press (2006)
- Friendly Fire: Losing Friends and Making Enemies in the Anti-American Century by Julia E. Sweig, A Council on Foreign Relations Book, PublicAffairs (2006)
- The Pro-Growth Progressive: An Economic Strategy for Shared Prosperity by Gene Sperling, Simon and Schuster (2005)
- Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia by Rachel Bronson, A Council on Foreign Relations Book, Oxford University Press (2006)

INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE REPORTS

- In the Wake of War: Improving U.S. Post-Conflict Capabilities; Samuel R. Berger and Brent Scowcroft, chairs; William L. Nash, project director; Mona K. Sutphen, deputy director (2005)
- More Than Humanitarianism: A Strategic U.S. Approach Toward Africa; Anthony Lake and Christine Todd Whitman, chairs; Princeton N. Lyman and J. Stephen Morrison, project directors (2006)
- Russia's Wrong Direction: What the United States Can and Should Do; John Edwards and Jack Kemp, chairs; Stephen Sestanovich, project director (2006)

COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

- Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition From Turmoil to Normalcy by Barnett R. Rubin (2006)
- Both Sides of the Aisle: A Call for Bipartisan Foreign Policy by Nancy E. Roman (2005)
- Challenges for a Postelection Mexico: Issues for U.S. Policy by Pamela K. Starr (2006)

Praise for Council Publications

The Council on Foreign Relations . . . raised the profile of Africa among policymakers with its comprehensive report entitled *More Than Humanitarianism*.

> —Jim Fisher-Thompson, Office of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State

[In the Wake of War is] harshly critical of the way the United States government prepares for stabilization missions after major combat, such as in Iraq, and . . . place[s] the blame on an interagency process that does little to harness the various departments and agencies for unified action.

-Thom Shanker, New York Times

The Bush administration has emphasized dealmaking with Russia while remaining too quiet about Mr. Putin's steady retreat from democracy. It should heed [the Russia Task Force] report's advice about a more balanced approach."

-New York Times

[Barnett R.] Rubin, the best of a handful of American scholars on Afghanistan before September 11, still knows Afghanistan better than anyone else.

—Ahmed Rashid, New York Review of Books, review of Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition From Turmoil to Normalcy

- Generating Momentum for a New Era in U.S.-Turkey Relations by Steven A. Cook and Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall (2006)
- Getting Serious About the Twin Deficits by Menzie D. Chinn (2005)
- Neglected Defense: Mobilizing the Private Sector to Support Homeland Security by Stephen E. Flynn and Daniel B. Prieto (2006)
- Peace in Papua: Widening a Window of Opportunity by Blair A. King (2006)
- Preventing Catastrophic Nuclear Terrorism by Charles D. Ferguson (2006)
- U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation: A Strategy for Moving Forward by Michael A. Levi and Charles D. Ferguson (2006)

NEW YORK MEETINGS PROGRAM

ne of the Council's main functions is to provide a nonpartisan forum for informed foreign policy debate. Panel discussions, interviews, lectures, book clubs, and film screenings bring Council members together with senior government officials, world leaders, academic experts, and prominent thinkers to discuss the major foreign policy issues of our time. This year, the New York Meetings Program organized more than 130 events, with a strong focus on Iraq and other developments in the Middle East, U.S. intelligence, and the war on terrorism.

Fifteen heads of state and chief ministers offered Council members their unique perspectives on world events. Mexican President Vicente Fox presented his view on Mexico's economy and democracy, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan assessed the recent history and current state of U.S.-Turkey relations, Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo discussed corruption and other challenges facing his country, and Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero focused on Spain's commitment to fighting terrorism. Insights from the Middle East were provided by Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal, who made the case for fighting extremism, and Qatari Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabir al-Thani, who outlined his view of

a strategic partnership with the United States. Pakistan's Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz addressed the state of Pakistan-U.S. relations, and Afghan Foreign Minister Abdullah Abdullah discussed the political and security situation in his country. Among the speakers from Asia were Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Indian Foreign Minister K. Natwar Singh, and South Korean Foreign Minister Ban Ki-Moon. Former President of Ireland and former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson addressed members at a half-day symposium on maternal health and foreign policy.

Council members also had the opportunity to exchange ideas with numerous current or former U.S. government officials. Former President Jimmy Carter



Indonesian President Susi. Bambang Yudhoyono



Former President of Ireland Mary Robinson



Director of National Intelligence John D. Negroponte



U.S. Senator John F. Kerry



Former Secretary of State James A. Baker III

The Meetings Program organized more than 130 events, with a focus on Iraq and other Middle East developments, U.S. intelligence, and the war on terrorism.

assessed obstacles and chances for peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld outlined the challenges for U.S. forces in today's media age, Attorney General Alberto R. Gonzales engaged members in a discussion about the war on terrorism, and Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff reviewed his priorities for maritime, air, and land security. In addition, Director of National Intelligence John D. Negroponte discussed challenges for U.S. intelligence policy, Undersecretary of State Karen P. Hughes briefed members on transformational public diplomacy, and Senator John F. Kerry (D-MA) explored the issue of security in a post-9/11 world. Special insights into the future of the U.S. military were provided by a panel of the four service chiefs: General T. Michael Moseley, Admiral Michael G. Mullen, General Peter J. Schoomaker, and General Michael W. Hagee.

The Council's History Makers series, sponsored by Home Box Office (HBO), completed its third year, featuring former Secretary of State James A. Baker III, former UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process Terje Roed-Larsen, now with the International Peace Academy, and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Richard B. Myers.

A new series of meetings titled "Iraq: The Way Forward" examined the challenges and policy options for the United States in Iraq. Council Senior Fellows Stephen Biddle, Noah Feldman, and Steven Simon assessed the situation three years after the invasion, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Chalabi offered his view on the future of Iraq, and Hajim al-Hassani, president of the Iraqi National Assembly, spoke about the difficulties of forming a national-unity government. Senator Joseph R. Biden (D-DE) outlined his conditions for a partial withdrawal of U.S. troops, and former Representative of the United Kingdom in Iraq Jeremy Greenstock explored prospects for economic reconstruction. Professor Francis Fukuyama discussed the U.S. strategy of bringing democracy to the Middle

HBO Film Screenings

Continuing a successful partnership, the Council offers its members special previews of thoughtprovoking movies produced by Home Box Office. These highly popular screenings constitute an important means by which the Council can advance its mission to help the public better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries. This year, the featured films addressed the issues of nuclear terrorism and HIV/AIDS. Last Best Chance, produced with support from the Nuclear Threat Initiative, illustrates the danger posed by unsecured nuclear weapons and materials around the world. The screening was followed by remarks by Ted Turner and Warren Buffett and a discussion with former Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA) and Senator Richard G. Lugar (R-IN). Yesterday, a film set in contemporary South Africa, gave Council members a chance to follow the struggles of a young mother with AIDS trying to secure her daughter's future. The film, produced in conjunction with the Global Business Coalition for HIV/AIDS and Artists for a New South Africa, puts a human face on the AIDS crisis and the politics surrounding the issue.



Council Board member Fouad Ajami with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad



Tom Brokaw, special correspondent for NBC News and Council Board member (center), moderates a discussion with General T. Michael Moseley, chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force; General Michael W. Hagee, commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps; General Peter J. Schoomaker, chief of staff of the U.S. Army; and Admiral Michael G. Mullen, chief of operations, U.S. Navy, at the annual John Train Lecture on the Future of the U.S. Military.

East, and journalist Michael R. Gordon and former Marine Corps General Bernard E. Trainor offered their analysis of the war. In other meetings related to Iraq, former National Intelligence Officer Paul R. Pillar spoke about U.S. intelligence leading up to the invasion, and the authors of the Pentagon study on the inner workings of Saddam Hussein's regime unveiled their findings. Paul A. Volcker briefed members on his conclusions as chair of the UN Independent Inquiry Committee of the Oil-for-Food Program, and Hans Blix discussed his work as chairman of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission.

More than twenty authors were invited to discuss their books on topics ranging from America's role in world affairs to anti-Americanism, the state of transatlantic relations, and the war on terrorism. Pro-



Malcolm H. Wiener and Michael F. Oppenheimer with speaker Nancy E. Soderberg of the International Crisis Group before a meeting on "American Power: Its Uses and Consequences."

fessor John Lewis Gaddis unveiled new insights into the Cold War, retired General Anthony C. Zinni explained how the United States can effectively use its power to secure peace in the world, French philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy offered his reflections on contemporary America, reporter James Risen discussed his insights into U.S. intelligence, and terrorism expert Peter Bergen shared his knowledge of Osama bin Laden.

This year's program also featured a broad variety of speakers focusing on business, financial, and economic issues. A panel of four former chairmen of the Securities and Exchange Commission-Richard C. Breeden, Arthur Levitt Jr., Harvey L. Pitt, and William H. Donaldson-engaged members in a discussion about regulatory standards in the financial markets. European Central Bank President Jean-Claude Trichet explained why Europe needs structural reforms, former Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo led a debate about the Doha round of international trade negotiations, and National Economic Council Director Allan B. Hubbard spoke on the state of American competitiveness. The popular World Economic Update Series, moderated by Daniel K. Tarullo, continued in its eighth year, featuring a special edition on the challenges awaiting the new chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Ben Bernanke.

Regional updates included a discussion with Secretary-General **José Miguel Insulza** of the Organiza-

Symposia on Iran, Shiism, and Homeland Security

During the 2005-2006 program year, three special halfday symposia brought experts and policymakers together for in-depth discussions of crucial foreign policy issues. In a widely acclaimed symposium on Iran's nuclear program, leading experts on nonproliferation and the Middle East assessed the current status of Iran's nuclear development; discussed the political, social, and historical forces behind the country's nuclear program; and debated policy options for the United States. In another half-day event, analysts and policymakers examined the impact of the rise of Shiite power in the Middle East and its effect on U.S. policy toward the region. A third symposium, cosponsored by the Council of American Ambassadors and the Center for Security Policy, focused on the challenges of preserving an open society in the age of terrorism. Legal and policy experts, including Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ), discussed the implications of openness versus security, and New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly offered his assessment of today's challenges for homeland security.



Deborah S. Amos, foreign correspondent for National Public Radio (second from left), moderates a discussion on "Iran's Motives and Strategies" with (left to right) Mahmood Sariolghalam of the National University of Iran, Patrick Clawson of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and Karim Sadjadpour of the International Crisis Group (videoconferenced from Washington, DC) at a symposium on Iran's nuclear program.

tion of American States; a panel of experts on North Korea's nuclear brinkmanship; perspectives on Afghanistan, India, and Russia; and various debates on the future of the Middle East peace process. China figured as a prominent topic in meetings with former Hong Kong Chief Executive C. H. Tung, Taipei Mayor Ma Ying-jeou, and Senator Max Baucus (D-MT). In another highlight, Bono, lead singer of the rock band U2 and cofounder of DATA (Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa), spoke to members and their children about his pioneering work in Africa.

A series of discussions focusing on the nexus of religion and foreign policy continued in its second year, featuring the Reverend Rick Warren, founding pastor of Saddleback Church; the Reverend Dr. Richard D. Land, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission; and former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. Another series of meetings—also in its second year—explored the role of science and technology in foreign policy. It included events on nanotechnology, HIV and national security, and China and the

Internet, and a day-long conference on the threat of pandemic flu.

This year's Book Club Series—in which a limited number of participants can enjoy an informal discussion in a salon-like setting—featured Thomas L. Friedman's *The World Is Flat* and George Packer's *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq.*



CNN Senior Political Analyst Jeff Greenfield speaking with Good Night, and Good Luck Director and Cowriter George Clooney.

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

he nation's capital provides a unique backdrop for the Council's Washington Program to undertake a rich variety of programming and outreach. Whether in small group settings that function as a laboratory of sorts for new foreign policy thinking, or in large Council meetings where the issues of today—and tomorrow—are discussed, the Washington Program is cementing its reputation as the place for intensive, deliberative, and fruitful discussions on foreign policy. By bringing together representatives from Congress, the administration, the diplomatic corps, and the business community with opinion leaders and Council members, and by drawing on the Council's robust intellectual resources, the Washington Program is facilitating conversations and building relationships to bridge partisan gaps and foster a vibrant and effective foreign policy debate.



Zhou Wenzhong, ambassador of China to the United States, with Zbigniew Brzezinski, counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and former national security adviser, at a discussion of U.S.-China relations as part of the Washington Program's Embassy Lunch Series.

The Council's diverse membership and nonpartisan tradition make it well situated to focus attention on the need for renewed bipartisanship. The Washington Program's dedication to bipartisan efforts can be seen in its successful Capitol Hill outreach; special programming for senior congressional staff, including chiefs of staff from both chambers; and the resources it provides for members of Congress, from specialized individual briefings to roundtable discussions on pressing foreign policy issues.

The Council also seeks to serve as a resource for the broader foreign policy community in Washington and has expanded its outreach efforts to the diplomatic community,

The Washington Program is cementing its reputation as the place for intensive, deliberative, and fruitful discussions on foreign policy.



Gabriel B. Pellathy speaks with Representative John Murtha (D-PA).

engaging senior embassy officials on a regular basis. Council members were fortunate to be hosted once again by several ambassadors for off-the-record discussions on a number of bilateral policy issues. Over the past year, discussions were held with Ambassadors Aziz Mekouar of Morocco, Fritz Kwabena Poku of Ghana, Roberto Abdenur of Brazil, Zhou Wenzhong of China, Wolfgang Ischinger of Germany, Giovanni Castellaneta of Italy, Nasser bin Hamad al-Khalifa of Qatar, and Alexandros P. Mallias of Greece.

The Council's convening power helped forge a program of first-rate meetings, anchored by four series:

- The Nexus of Science, Technology, and Foreign Policy;
- Iraq: The Way Forward;
- The Nexus of Religion and Foreign Policy; and
- India's Rise.

The Nexus of Science, Technology, and Foreign Policy Initiative aims to draw attention to those

Council Seeks to Bridge Chasm Between the Parties

In the wake of the divisive November 2004 election, the Council launched a new initiative aimed at fostering bipartisan discussion of foreign policy on Capitol Hill at both staff and member levels, in the White House, and within its own programming.

Nancy E. Roman, vice president and director of the Council's Washington Program and leader of the initiative, wrote a Council Special Report on bipartisanship, which concluded that collaboration between the parties produces better (although not necessarily more centrist) policy. It attributed much of the breakdown in bipartisanship to social and political changes that have made it harder for members of Congress and the administration to get to know one another and made a series of suggestions about how to bridge the divide. "What we really learned, however, is that someone has to do the heavy lifting of getting Democrats and Republicans in the same room together to have policy discussions in a nonpartisan environment," Roman said.

To that end, the Council hosted two high-level bipartisan dinners. The first, led by Madeleine K. Albright, former secretary of state, and Kenneth M. Duberstein, former presidential chief of staff, centered on Iraq. Joined by members of Congress from each party, Council Adjunct Senior Fellow Vali R. Nasr and Phebe A. Marr led a robust conversation about bridging the Sunni-Shia divide. In March, former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) invited a group of Council members to his home. He, former Representative Vin Weber (R-MN), and Council Senior Fellow Ray Takeyh led a conversation about U.S. policy toward Iran.

The Council also brought together Democratic and Republican chiefs of staff for discussions largely focused on China, and it is working to develop bipartisan working groups on the environment and trade.



President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev



Undersecretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs Paula J. Dobriansky



Zakia Hakki, Iraqi Council of Representatives



Richard D. Land, Southern Baptist Convention



Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick

critical areas where science and foreign policy intersect and explore the implications of emerging technologies on trade, security, U.S. competitiveness, and global health. The initiative, begun in the 2004–2005 program year, has held fourteen meetings in Washington, including seven during this program year. Highlights include meetings on the ways in which new technology is changing the intelligence community, terrorist use of the Internet, and China's growing clout in high technology.

In the "Iraq: The Way Forward" series, policy practitioners, journalists, military officials, Iraqi officials, and others explored different options for how to proceed constructively in that country. The fourteen meetings in this series addressed a wide range of views on how to move ahead in Iraq, including Council Senior Fellow Stephen Biddle's warning against viewing Iraq in the same rubric as Vietnam; a

discussion with Iraqi Minister of Municipalities and Public Works Nasreen Barwari on issues of local governance and priorities in terms of spending and manpower for the crucial task of rebuilding infrastructure and services; the perspectives of a panel of female Iraqi politicians and activists, including Iraqi Council of Representatives member Zakia Hakki, on the role of women in rebuilding Iraq; and former Presidential Envoy to Iraq Robert D. Blackwill's argument that the new Iraqi government cannot succeed without an enduring American commitment.

The Council's emphasis on the intersection of religion and foreign policy has led it to look at the various ways in which religious beliefs play into pressing global concerns. Topics addressed in this series include evangelicals' views of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East with the Reverend Dr. Richard D. Land, president of the

Council Reaches Out to Capitol Hill

The Council has ramped up its activity on Capitol Hill to serve as a resource to legislators engaged in the foreign policy process. "The Congress plays an important role in policy issues ranging from India's nuclear deal to the handling of port security, so it is critical to engage members," said Nancy E. Roman, vice president and director of the Washington Program.

A number of efforts have raised the Council's profile on Capitol Hill, including:

- a standing Friday Roundtable discussion with senior foreign policy staff;
- a series of foreign policy briefings for House chiefs of staff:
- a series of dinner briefings on China for Senate chiefs of staff;

- an Expert Bank consisting of Council members who provide "on-demand" briefings for members of Congress either in preparation for congressional delegations or while drafting or deciding on foreign policy initiatives; and
- breakfast meetings with new members of Congress to discuss foreign policy issues.

Members of Congress who have participated in the breakfast series include: Dan Boren (D-OK), Russ Carnahan (D-MO), Mike Conaway (R-TX), Jim Costa (D-CA), Henry Cuellar (D-TX), Geoffrey C. Davis (R-KY), Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE), Vito Fossella (R-NY), Virginia Foxx (R-NC), Dan Lungren (R-CA), Connie Mack (R-FL), Tom Price (R-GA), Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL), John J.H. "Joe" Schwarz (R-MI), and Ellen O. Tauscher (D-CA).

Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission; Cardinal Theodore E. McCarrick, archbishop of Washington, discussing the foreign policy priorities of Pope Benedict XVI; and Sunni-Shia religious rivalry with Council Adjunct Senior Fellow Vali R. Nasr.

The "India's Rise" series, following in the footsteps of last year's popular "China's Rise" series, examined the economic, strategic, and political implications of India's growing global importance. Members were fortunate to hear both the U.S. and the Indian perspectives in this series, and much discussion focused on the proposed U.S.-India nuclear deal.

President George W. Bush spoke to Council members on the progress of the war in Iraq. As only the second sitting president to address the Council (the first was Bill Clinton in 1998), he offered an assessment of the economic, political, and security situation on the ground, describing the progress in Iraq as slow and steady but hampered by corruption, the infiltration of militia groups into the security forces, and terrorism. Other administration officials who spoke to Council members at general meetings in Washington included Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns, who spoke first on India's rise and again after the president's trip to India; Undersecretary of the Treasury for International Affairs Timothy D. Adams, who spoke with Council members on the China currency issue shortly after accompanying Treasury Secretary John Snow to China; Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Eric S. Edelman and Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Robert M. Kimmitt, each of whom spoke as part of the Council's "Iraq: The Way Forward" series; Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick, who talked about pressing foreign policy issues, focusing on Sudan and China; and Undersecretary of State for Management Henrietta Holsman Fore, who discussed transformational diplomacy.

The Washington Program also undertook a series of briefings for executive-branch undersecretaries: a small number of Council members and fellows engaged undersecretaries and other senior administration officials at their request on topics including pandemic health threats, the transatlantic relationship, and the global financial architecture.



Jamie S. Gorelick, partner at WilmerHale; Carla A. Hills, Council vice chairman and CEO of Hills & Company; Thomas S. Foley, partner at Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld; and Nancy E. Roman, vice president and director of the Council's Washington Program.

Eleven sitting members of Congress also addressed Council members, including Senator Joseph I. Lieberman (D-CT) on the U.S.-China energy relationship; Senators Barack Obama (D-IL) and Richard G. Lugar (R-IN) on Russia and nonproliferation; Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East; Representative Jane Harman (D-CA), along with former Acting Director of Central Intelligence John E. McLaughlin, on intelligence support to the military; Representative Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) on U.S. foreign development assistance; and Representative Dan Lungren (R-CA) on wiretapping and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. As part of the "Iraq: The Way Forward" series, Senators John Warner (R-VA) and Jack Reed (D-RI) appeared together. Their colleagues Senator Carl M. Levin (D-MI) and Representative John Murtha (D-PA) also participated in the series.

Members were also fortunate to hear from a number of distinguished foreign dignitaries, including heads of state Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, and Ilham Aliyev of Azerbaijan. Other speaker highlights included Ivo Sanader, prime minister of Croatia; John Reid, the United Kingdom's secretary of state for defence; Algeria's foreign minister, Mohammed Bedjaoui; Haruhiko Kuroda, head of the Asian Development Bank; and Sergei Kiriyenko, director of the Russian Federal Atomic Energy Agency.

NATIONAL PROGRAM

he National Program provides a forum for members outside of New York and Washington, DC, to discuss pressing issues of the day and to contribute to the Council's work. In addition, the National Program devotes time and energy to connecting with local leaders, college and university professors and students, and others interested in international affairs as part of the Council's outreach mission.

This year the Council offered more than fifty teleconferences and webcasts and held more than 110 sessions across the country, including manuscriptreview seminars, roundtables, the national Book Club Series, a film series, and general meetings. The National Program also organized fifty public events that featured Council fellows' books and publications.

At the heart of the National Program are the intimate foreign policy dinner seminars at which Council fellows discuss their research and writing. National members review draft manuscript



Council Senior Fellow Walter Russell Mead talks with Alonzo L. McDonald and Linda Tsao Yang during the book fair at the 2006 National Conference.

chapters, articles, Task Force reports, or Council Special Reports prior to the seminar and contribute their feedback and valuable insights to help the authors or project directors shape the final product. As part of this series, Senior Fellow Lee Feinstein met with members in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle to review the draft manuscript of his forthcoming Council Special Report on the United Nations; Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies Julia E. Sweig talked with members in Miami and San Francisco about the Council's Latin America Program; and Fellow Michael A. Levi reviewed the thesis of his book on nuclear terrorism with members in Boston. Project Directors Princeton N. Lyman and J. Stephen Morrison and Task Force member Helene D. Gayle led a session in Seattle on the work of the Africa Task Force; San Francisco members discussed the findings and prospective recommendations of the Russia Task Force with Task Force member Coit D. Blacker, and of the Energy Task Force with Task Force Project Director David G. Victor and Task Force members William K. Reilly, Peter Schwartz, and James Sweeney.

The National Program Roundtable Series focused on two themes. "Iraq: The Way Forward" brought sessions led by Council President Richard N.

National Conference

This year's National Conference, the premier event of the National Program, brought together 389 participants from around the country and the world to the Council's New York headquarters for two days of discussions with fellow members and other leading thinkers and practitioners. The eleventh National Conference, "New Perspectives on U.S. Foreign Policy: Priorities and Problems in the Next Decade," featured

- Google's Eric Schmidt and the New York Times's Thomas L. Friedman on U.S. competitiveness and innovation, as part of the Bernard L. Schwartz Lecture on Business and Foreign Policy;
- The National Security Council's Elliott Abrams and Newsweek International Editor Fareed Zakaria with Council President Richard N. Haass on democracy promotion;
- Presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks Michael H. Moskow, Gary H. Stern, and Janet L. Yellen with Douglas Holtz-Eakin, the director of the Council's Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, on the United States and the global economy;
- American University's Chair of Islamic Studies Akbar Ahmed and author Karen Armstrong with National Public Radio Foreign Correspondent Deborah S. Amos on the divide between Islam and the West;



Akbar Ahmed and Karen Armstrong.

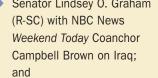


Janet L. Yellen and Michael H. Moskow.



eslie H. Gelb and H. R. McMaster.

- Senator Lindsey O. Graham (R-SC) with NBC News Weekend Today Coanchor Campbell Brown on Iraq;
- Governors Haley Barbour of Mississippi and Janet A. Napolitano of Arizona, and Mayor William H. White of the





City of Houston with NBC News Special Correspondent Tom Brokaw on foreign policy from the state house and city hall.

Members met in smaller regional and topical discussion groups led by Council fellows and other leading scholars. In addition, they had the opportunity to interact with foreign policy experts, military leaders, former high-level government officials, and leaders of nongovernmental organizations in Town Halls on

- Counterterrorism and Intelligence Reform with Lee Cullum, Paul R. Pillar, and Steven Simon;
- Iraq and the Military with Leslie H. Gelb and H. R. McMaster;
- Pandemic Flu with Laura L. Efros, Laurie Garrett, and Eric K. Noji; and
- The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Crises with Helene D. Gayle, Charles F. MacCormack, and George E. Rupp.



Richard N. Haass, Elliott Abrams, and Fareed Zakaria.



Lindsey O. Graham, Leigh Buchanan Bienen, and Henry S. Bienen.



Technology

The National Program uses the latest technology to connect with members from coast to coast and engage them in discussions on current issues and ideas in international affairs. The National Program Conference Call Series, chaired by Council Vice President Irina A. Faskianos, features foreign policy experts and Council fellows. In addition, national members have access to international and domestic policymakers through the teleconferences and webcasts of New York and Washington, DC, meetings. The audio and video files of on-the-record Council meetings are posted on the Council website, CFR.org, so that members and the general public can listen to and watch these meetings on their computers or portable media devices. These files are also available as podcasts and may be automatically downloaded to a computer, iPod, or MP3 player through an RSS feed that can be accessed at CFR.org, the iTunes Music Store, or Yahoo! Podcasts. Select files are available through Princeton's University Channel.

Haass to Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Houston, Miami, London, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. In "Emerging Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy," national members explored a range of issues, including the Bush administration's foreign policy, with Council Vice President and Director of Studies James M. Lindsay, and a national security strategy for the twenty-first century with Council Board member Anne-Marie Slaughter in Dallas; the rise of China with C. V. Starr Senior Fellow Elizabeth C. Economy, and the 3rd Infantry Division in Iraq with Brigadier General Mark E. O'Neill in Atlanta; U.S. post-conflict capabilities with General John W. Vessey Senior Fellow and Center for Preventive Action Director William L. Nash, and U.S. competitiveness with Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies Director Douglas Holtz-Eakin in Los Angeles; the European Union with Senior Fellow Charles A. Kupchan, and the links between HIV and national security with Senior Fellow Laurie Garrett in San Francisco and London. International Advisory Board members Yuan Ming

and Luiz Felipe Lampreia met with Council members in Atlanta, Boston, and Dallas. Author Reza Aslan led discussions in Boston and San Francisco on the future of Islam, as part of the Council's Religion and Foreign Policy Initiative.

The National Program launched a Film Series, including screenings of the Kunhardt Productions documentary *The Road to 9/11* in seven cities, and Home Box Office's *Last Best Chance* in six cities. The screenings were followed by discussions led by Council members and local experts, including John H. Kelly and William E. Hoehn Jr. in Atlanta; Jessica E. Stern in Boston; Robert Pape and Gary Samore in Chicago; Lawrence G. Wright and Jay T. Young in Dallas; James P. Rubin and John B. Ritch III in London; James E. Dalton in Los Angeles; Joseph F. Hoar in San Diego; and Thomas B. Hayward and Frederic A. Morris in Seattle.

The National Program organized meetings and public programs across the country to highlight newly published books by Council fellows, including Rachel Bronson's Thicker Than Oil, Benn Steil and Robert E. Litan's Financial Statecraft, and Julia E. Sweig's Friendly Fire; the reports of Council-sponsored Independent Task Forces on Africa, Russia, postconflict capabilities, and Arab reform; and the Foreign Affairs/Public Agenda survey on public opinion, featured in Foreign Affairs, with Daniel Yankelovich and James F. Hoge Jr. The Council cooperated with local foreign policy organizations including the American Committees on Foreign Relations, the Bilateral U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Dallas Committee on Foreign Relations, the Greater Seattle Chamber of Commerce, the Houston Committee on Foreign Relations, the Houston World Affairs Council, the Initiative for Global Development, the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, the Pacific Council on International Policy, the Southern Center for International Studies, the World Affairs Council of Dallas/Fort Worth, the World Affairs Council of Northern California, and the World Affairs Council of Oregon.

The Council, along with the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute Policy Forum, cosponsored the national release of the report of the Task

At the heart of the National Program are the intimate foreign policy dinner seminars at which Council fellows discuss their research and writing.

Force on Arab Reform, which featured Task Force Chairs Madeleine K. Albright and Vin Weber, as well as Task Force Project Director Steven A. Cook and Task Force member Abdeslam E. Maghraoui. The National Program also worked with colleges and universities including Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government; Morehouse College; Northwestern University; Occidental College; Pepperdine University; Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; Stanford University; the University of California, Berkeley; the University of California, Los Angeles; the University of California, San Diego; the University of Miami's Center for Hemispheric Policy; and the University of Washington.

As part of the Council's Book Club Series, which is designed to stimulate debate and build a greater sense of community among the membership, the National Program organized sessions on Thomas L. Friedman's The World Is Flat and George Packer's The Assassins' Gate. The following members led and hosted: William J. Long and Judith B. Milestone in Atlanta; Joseph S. Nye Jr. in Boston; Henry H. Perritt Jr. in Chicago; James Frank Hollifield and Patricia M. Patterson in Dallas; Mary Elise Sarotte, Christopher B. Stone, and Jonathan N. Bell in London; Barry Sanders and Arthur N. Greenberg in Los Angeles; Mark B. Rosenberg and Adrienne Arsht in Miami; Roy A. Herberger and Richard Mallery in Phoenix; Michael P. Peters and Patricia A. McFate in Santa Fe; Jane M. Wales in San Francisco; and Ted Van Dyk, Donald C. Hellmann, and Helene D. Gayle in Seattle. The National Program also organized a conference call with author George Packer, through which all national members had the opportunity to participate in the Book Club Series.

The National Program, made possible in part by a generous grant from Mimi and Peter E. Haas,



Council Board member Lee Cullum with Michael P. Peters.

will continue to engage national members and other community leaders either face-to-face or virtually in substantive and sustained conversations on U.S. foreign policy and international affairs. The vitality of the National Program depends on the involvement of national members—all of whom cannot be recognized in these pages—but a special note of thanks goes to Council Board member Lee Cullum of Dallas for her leadership as she concludes her service on the Board.

IN MEMORIAM

Peter E. Haas 1918-2005

The Council is deeply saddened by the loss of longtime Council member and friend Peter E. Haas, chairman emeritus of Levi Strauss & Co. Although he will be greatly missed, Peter's memory will live on through the National Program, which he and his wife, Mimi L. Haas, supported over the years. Their generosity has helped build and expand the National Program and transform the Council into a truly national organization.

CORPORATE PROGRAM

he interaction of international political and economic forces is an increasingly important dimension of foreign policy and a primary focus of much of the Council's work. As a result, the business community plays a vital role in a wide variety of Council activities and has also come to be one of the organization's fastest-growing sources of financial support.



Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Robert M. Kimmitt discusses the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS).

In addition to individual members who work in the private sector—who account for one-third of the total membership and more than half of those living in metropolitan New York—executives from more than 250 companies are involved in the Council's activities through the Corporate Program. The active engagement of this constituency helps to distinguish the Council from other think tanks, adding to its discussions the experience and knowledge of on-the-ground experts and real-world practitioners.

Executives of member companies and individual members in the private sector took part in over seventy events in New York and Washington, DC, including the C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics, the McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics, the Corporate Program Energy Roundtable, the China Roundtable, and the World Economic Update Series. Featured speakers included four past chairs of the Securities and Exchange Commission, European Central Bank President Jean-Claude Trichet, and Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the United States Prince Turki al-Faisal.

A highlight of this past year was the Council's second annual Corporate Conference held March 9–10 in New York City. The conference explored the economic and political vulnerabilities in the global system through sessions on global energy supply, corporate governance and social responsibility, the economic threat of a flu pandemic, China, India, and Europe. The CEOs of Caterpillar, Electronic Data Systems, and Estée Lauder opened the conference with a lively panel discussion, and U.S. Trade Representative Rob Portman served as the event's key-

The second annual Corporate Conference explored the economic and political vulnerabilities in the global system.

note speaker. Building on the success of the previous year's inaugural conference, the event attracted participation from even more member companies and senior executives.

The Corporate Program also offered over thirty interactive conference calls with business and foreign policy specialists, including fellows from the Council's Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and other experts. Corporate members exchanged ideas with Council scholars in other settings as well, such as roundtable discussions, exclusive dinners and receptions, and private meetings. The deliberations of a Corporate working group on the role of the private sector in homeland security, directed by Stephen E. Flynn, the Jeane J. Kirkpatrick senior fellow for national

security studies, culminated in the publication of a Council Special Report. The success of this working group is just one example of the business community's unique contribution to the Council's substantive work.

The high perceived value of the Council's Corporate Program is demonstrated by the number of companies increasing their investment in the program. This year, 20 percent of member companies moved to the Premium or President's Circle levels of membership, and 80 percent of new members joined the Council at these higher membership tiers. Through involvement at the top levels of membership, member companies reinforce their support of the Council's mission and expand their access to Council events, resources, and special opportunities.

Benefits of Corporate Membership

at the President's Circle Level (\$50,000+)

- Invitations to two or three small, private dinners each year with world leaders.
- An annual presentation on a topic related to the member company's business by a member of the Council's research staff
- A special invitation for a company executive to participate in at least one Council-sponsored high-level tripled by a member of the Council's leadership.
- A special invitation to the annual dinner for the Council's Board of Directors and International Advisory Board.
- The opportunity to designate two young executives as "Corporate Leaders" to participate in activities organized by the Council's Term Member Program.
- Designation of a Council staff member to serve as the principal liaison to help the member company derive maximum value from its membership.
- An invitation to an exclusive roundtable discussion with the Council's president.*

- Invitations to limited-seating events each year with leading figures in business and politics.*
- Invitations for company executives to attend more than seventy events each year in New York and Washington.*
- Participation in more than thirty interactive conference calls with Council research fellows and other experts.*
- Opportunities for a select group of executives to participate in small, in-depth study groups and roundtables.*
- Identification of Council research fellows as speakers for the company's board, policy committee, clients, or internal meetings.*
- Multiple subscriptions to Foreign Affairs.*
- Access to the Council's exclusive Corporate website.*
- Access to the Council's state-of-the-art reference services and library (by appointment).*
- Special member rates for rental of the renowned Harold Pratt House meeting facilities.*
- Prominent acknowledgment in Council literature.*

The President's Circle is the highest of the corporate membership levels. Premium membership (\$25,000+) includes those benefits marked with an asterisk. For more information, contact the Corporate Program office at 212-434-9684.

Corporate Members

PRESIDENT'S CIRCLE

ALCOA Inc. American Express Company American International Group, Inc. BP p.l.c. Bridgewater Associates, Inc. Chevron Corporation Citigroup Cognizant Technology Solutions Corporation ConocoPhillips Company Drake Management LLC DynCorp International Exxon Mobil Corporation Fortress Investment Group LLC GlaxoSmithKline Guardsmark LLC H. J. Heinz Company Investcorp International, Inc. Kingdon Capital Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. Lehman Brothers The McGraw-Hill Companies McKinsey & Company, Inc. Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc. Moody's İnvestors Service Nike, Inc. OppenheimerFunds, Inc. Reliance Industries Limited The Rohatyn Group Toyota Motor North Àmerica, Inc. U.S. Chamber of Commerce Veritas Capital LLC

PREMIUM

Abbott Laboratories ABC News ACE Limited AEA Investors Inc. Airbus North America Alleghany Corporation Allen & Overy LLP American Standard Companies Apax Partners, Inc. Apollo Management, LP ARAMARK Corporation Aramco Services Company Archer Daniels Midland Company Armor Holdings, Inc. Arnhold and S. Bleichroeder Holdings, Inc. Arrow Electronics, Inc. A.T. Kearney, Inc. Avava Inc. Baker, Nye Advisers, Inc. Banco Mercantil Bank of America The Bank of New York Barclays Capital BASF Corporation The Blackstone Group L.P. **BNP** Paribas The Boeing Company Booz Allen Hamilton Inc. Boston Properties, Inc. Bristol-Myers Squibb Company CALYON Corporate and Investment Bank Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce Cantillon Capital

Management LLC

Caxton Associates **CEMEX** The Chubb Corporation Cisneros Group of Companies CIT Group Inc. The CNA Corporation The Coca-Cola Company Continental Properties Corning Incorporated Corsair Capital Corus America Inc. Credit Suisse DaimlerChrysler Corporation De Beers Deere & Company Deloitte. Deutsche Bank AG Devon Energy Corporation Dresdner Bank AG DTAP Capital Partners LLC Electronic Data Systems Corporation Eli Lilly and Company Eni S.p.A. Equinox Management Partners, L.P. Estée Lauder Companies Inc. Fannie Mae Federal Express Corporation Ford Motor Company Freddie Mac Future Pipe Industries, Inc. Galt Industries Inc. General Atlantic LLC

General Electric Company

The Goldman Sachs Group,

Grey Global Group Inc.

General Maritime

Corporation

Halliburton-KBR

Hess Corporation Hitachi, Ltd. Houlihan Lokey Howard & Zukin IBM Corporation InsCap Management, LLC Interpipe Inc. IXIS Capital Markets Jacobs Asset Management, LLC J. H. Whitney Investment Management, LLC Jones Day JPMorgan Chase & Co. Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers Kometal GMBH Austria KPMG LLP Kuwait Petroleum Corporation Lazard Lockheed Martin Corporation Loral Space & Communications Ltd. Lucent Technologies Inc. Lukoil Americas Mannheim LLC Marathon Oil Company Marsh & McLennan Companies, Inc. Marubeni America Corporation Masthead Management Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw LLP MBIA Insurance Corporation MeadWestvaco Corporation Merck & Co., Inc.



Council Senior Fellow Benn Steil (center) moderates a discussion with former Securities and Exchange Commission Chairmen (left to right) Richard C. Breeden, Arthur Levitt Jr., Harvey L. Pitt, and William H. Donaldson at a session of the McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics.



Chairman of the Council Board Committee on Corporate Affairs Kenneth M. Duberstein, Michael H. Jordan, William P. Lauder, and James W. Owens speaking at the opening session of the Corporate Conference.

MetLife Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy LLP Mitsubishi İnternational Corporation Moore Capital Management Morgan Stanley The Nasdaq Stock Market, The News Corporation New York Life International, Inc. Northrop Grumman Corporation NYSÉ Group, Inc. Occidental Petroleum Corporation The Olayan Group Paul, Hastings, Janofksy & Walker Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP PepsiCo, Inc. Pfizer Inc. Phelps Dodge Corporation Phillips-Van Heusen Corporation Pitney Bowes Inc. PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP Prudential Financial, Inc. Rho Capital Partners Rothschild North America, Inc. Sageview Capital Sandalwood Securities, Inc. Shell Oil Company Sidley Austin LLP Siemens Corporation Sony Corporation of America Soros Fund Management Standard & Poor's Standard Chartered Bank

Starwood Capital Group Sullivan & Cromwell LLP Swiss Re America Holding Corporation Symbol Technologies, Inc. Time Warner Inc. Tishman Speyer Properties, Inc. TOTAL S.A. UBS Union Pacific Corporation United Technologies Corporation U.S. Trust Corporation Verizon Communications Inc. Veronis Suhler Stevenson Vinson & Elkins LLP Visa International Volkswagen of America, Inc. Vornado Realty Trust Wyeth Wyoming Investment Corporation Xerox Corporation Young & Rubicam Inc. Ziff Brothers Investments LLC

BASIC AARP

Access Industries, Inc.
Access Industries, Inc.
American Re Corporation
American Red Cross
Andrews Kurth LLP
Apple Core Hotels Inc.
Areva US
Arnold & Porter LLP
Artemis Advisors
Baker & Hostetler LLP
Baker Capital Corp.
The Baldwin-Gottschalk
Group
Banca di Roma

Banca d'Italia Banca Intesa S.p.A. Barbour Griffith and Rogers Barst & Mukamal LLP Bloomberg L.P. Bramwell Capital Management, Inc. Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. C & O Resources, Inc. Claremont Capital Corporation Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP The Consulate General of Japan Control Risks Group Covington & Burling Craig Drill Capital Corporation The Cross Country Group Debevoise & Plimpton LLP Ehrenkranz & Ehrenkranz LLP Eisner LLP First Atlantic Capital, Ltd. French-American Chamber of Commerce Gale International GLG Inc. Granite Associates LP Hemispheric Partners IC & A Inc. Idemitsu Apollo Corporation Integrated Finance Limited Intellispace, Inc. Interaudi Bank Intracom S.A. Invus Group, LLC Japan Bank for International Cooperation IETRÔ New York Joukowsky Family Foundation

KS Management Corporation Linklaters Mark Partners Marvin & Palmer Associates, Inc. Medley Global Advisors Mine Safety Appliances Company Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LĽP Mutual of America Oxford Analytica Inc. PanAmSat Corporation Peter Kimmelman Asset Management LLC Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw Pittman LLP POSCO America Corporation Riverstone Holdings LLC Rolls-Royce North America, Inc. RWS Energy Services, Inc. Saber Partners, LLC Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LĹP Sperry Fund Management LLC Thales North America, Inc. Tiedemann Investment Group Torys LLP Transclick, Inc. Tudor Investment Corporation Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association Warburg Pincus LLC Watson Wyatt & Company Weber Shandwick Worldwide Wilpon Investors LLC Zephyr Management, L.P.

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

he Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program engages promising young leaders in a sustained conversation on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. Each year a new class of term members—individuals between the ages of 30 and 36—is elected to five-year membership. The Term Member Program allows younger members to interact with foreign policy experts as well as participate in a wide variety of events designed especially for them. Committees of term members in New York and Washington, DC, serve as advisory bodies to the Council leadership and provide opportunities for term members to help create programs of particular interest to their fellow young members.

The year began with over sixty term members convening in both New York and Washington, DC, for brainstorming sessions to determine what issues the program should tackle during its events throughout the year. In November, the Tenth Annual Term Member Conference, "Perspectives: Iraq and Beyond," drew over 200 term members from across the country and around the world to New York for



Steven V. Brock, Walid G. Chamoun, and Kristin D. Rechberger with Council International Affairs Fellow Samantha Power at the 2006 Term Member Conference.

two days. Sessions at the conference ranged in scope from Iraq's present and future, to the rise of China, the role of the military in humanitarian assistance, finance and trade, the impact of high oil prices, and nonproliferation issues.

The program was also highlighted in a Bloomberg media article titled "Wall Street's New Prize: Park Avenue Club House with World View." Council President Richard N. Haass was quoted as saying, "It's hard to imagine there are a lot more people out there who are more accomplished at their age," and Council Chairman Peter G. Peterson explained the rationale behind Council President Emeritus Leslie H. Gelb's reemphasis of the program in the early nineties: "One of our prime responsibilities was to develop a new generation of foreign policy citizens."

With over fifty events this past year, the term members enjoyed a full range of activities, including four off-site trips. Seven roundtables dominated the schedule, touching on topics such as intelligence reform, immigration policy, economic development and the private sector, and humanitarian assistance. Term members met with authors Bernard-Henri Lévy and

"One of our prime responsibilities was to develop a new generation of foreign policy citizens."



Permanent Representatives to the United Nations during the Tenth Annual Term Member Conference (left to right): John Dauth of Australia, Javad Zarif of Iran, Council Board member Thomas R. Pickering (presiding), Nabeela Al-Mulla of Kuwait, Fayssal Mekdad of Syria, and Maged Abdelaziz of Egypt.

Special Events and Trips

During spring 2006, term members made four journeys together: to Capitol Hill to examine the role of congressional leadership and its impact on foreign policy; to the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC, to learn about the IMF's changing roles in the fluctuating international economic climate; to the CIA to receive updates on crucial topics such as non-proliferation and countries such as China and Iran; and finally, to Norfolk, VA, to acquaint themselves with the roles, missions, and responsibilities of the U.S. Fleet Forces Command.

Term members also joined a working group in conjunction with the Princeton Project on National Security (PPNS) to give feedback on the PPNS's draft report, National Security in the 21st Century: A Next Generation Perspective. Council Board member Anne-Marie Slaughter led an afternoon of sessions to solicit opinions on the report from term members of diverse expertise. The sessions were moderated by PPNS chairs (and Council members) Laurie Garrett and Suzanne F. Nossel.

Peter Bergen after general meetings at the Council's New York office, attended a reception hosted by Les and Judy Gelb, and had the opportunity to meet with Council Board members Martin S. Feldstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter during seminars in Boston and New York, respectively.

The Council continues to rely on term members to shape their program, including the next Term Member Conference, slated for November 2006, and an international trip to Turkey planned for late spring 2007.



Council Vice President for Membership and Fellowship Affairs Elise Carlson Lewis with Anna-Maria Kellen and Andrew S. Gundlach at the Tenth Annual Term Member Conference. The Term Member Program is supported by a generous grant from the Anna-Maria and Stephen M. Kellen Foundation.

CFR.org

For CFR.org, the Council's website, this past year has been transformative, with a major redesign released in August 2005 and the arrival of a new executive editor: veteran online journalist Michael Moran, who joined the Council after nine years at MSNBC.com. CFR.org has emerged as a respected online publication on foreign policy, national security, and geoeconomic issues that is attracting a fast-growing audience.

The goal is to make CFR.org the "editor of the Internet," serving as a first-stop resource for anyone looking for authoritative information on and analysis of U.S. foreign policy and international affairs. The site offers not only original content, but also the best material from other sources, including think tanks, government agencies, educational institutions and nongovernmental organizations, to deliver a wide range of timely, high-quality information and insight.

In addition to the popular Background Q&As and Expert Interviews, CFR.org's editorial franchises now include new, more accessible Daily Analysis Briefs, audio podcasts on selected topics,



CFR.org Executive Editor Michael Moran at the launch of the redesigned site in New York.

"The Daily Brief" email newsletter, Online Debates between noted experts, and, where appropriate, News Briefings on newsmakers' appearances at the Council. The growth in traffic on the website has translated into more frequent links to and citations of information on CFR.org (and, in turn, of other Council content) by major Internet news aggregators (such as Google News and Yahoo! News), by search engines, and in the roiling conversation that is the "blogosphere." As Jacob Weisberg, editor of the online magazine Slate, noted, "CFR.org is rapidly becoming the Google for the foreign policy set." And Washington Post White House columnist Daniel Froomkin says that CFR.org "is an Internet hotspot for intellectual foment about foreign policy in general and Iraq in particular."

The site also plays a central role in supporting the Council's outreach initiatives, with two sections, "For Educators" and "For the Media," designed to meet the needs of these important constituencies. In addition, CFR.org offers audio and video of onthe-record events and, for members, improved online registration for Council meetings. This year, members were also able to cast their votes online for the Board election.

In the coming year, a small pilot program will introduce edited ten-to-fifteen-minute highlight packages of on-the-record Council meetings, an offering that could make some of the Council's most valuable work more accessible. Additionally, CFR.org is pursuing several new partnerships aimed at putting CFR.org headlines on major media sites, plus a new multimedia effort to create interactive "conflict" and "crisis" guides to the world's hotspots. All of these new efforts will draw heavily on expertise and content already being created by CFR.org or by other Council departments as they pursue their traditional missions.

COMMUNICATIONS

Promoting informed reporting and providing information and expert analysis to the media is central to the Council's mission. In keeping with this goal, a majority of the Council's general meetings this year were on the record and open to the press, and transcripts of most were posted on the Council's website for public consumption. Those transcripts drew significant attention, particularly those of appearances at the Council by President George W. Bush and other members of his administration, including Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick, Attorney General Alberto R. Gonzales, Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff, and Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen P. Hughes.

The Council embarked on a new marketing mission this year to broaden the audiences that receive Council content and the avenues by which they receive it. This organization-wide initiative reaches beyond traditional media outlets to Congress, the executive branch, the business and diplomatic communities, educators, government and religious leaders, nongovernmental organizations, and other constituencies, including the burgeoning world of Internet blogs.



Council President Emeritus Leslie H. Gelb talks about the situation in Iraq on the Charlie Rose Show



Council fellows brief members of the Washington press corps in advance of the G8 summit in St. Petersburg, Russia.

The Council uses a full complement of tools to reach these audiences, including the revamped website, email campaigns, eNewsletters, webcasts, podcasts, RSS feeds, conference calls, and briefings. The Council has also launched Google AdWords campaigns and used online advertising to promote the full range of its thought-provoking activity. Traditional media outreach has continued apace, with over 16,000 mentions of Council scholars, events, and publications in the media this year—the highest ever.

The Communications Department, which now has a robust Washington operation, held more than a dozen high-level press briefings this year pegged to important international events and the release of Council Task Force reports and other products. The department's weekly email bulletin, "The World This Week," which highlights the work of Council scholars, Foreign Affairs authors, and CFR.org's editorial team, reaches more than 23,500 individuals each week. The redesigned Chronicle continues to inform members of the Council's activities, and the newly relaunched CFR.org provides rich and valuable information and commentary on international issues.

ENDOWED and NAMED CHAIRS, FELLOWSHIPS, and LECTURESHIPS

ENDOWED CHAIRS, 2005-2006

- Ralph Bunche Chair in Africa Policy Studies Princeton N. Lyman
- Maurice R. Greenberg Chair/Director of Studies James M. Lindsay
- Maurice R. Greenberg Chair in China Studies

 *Adam Segal**
- George F. Kennan Chair in Russian and Eurasian Studies Stephen Sestanovich
- Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Chair in National Security Studies Stephen E. Flynn
- Henry A. Kissinger Chair in U.S. Foreign Policy Walter Russell Mead
- Peter G. Peterson Chair/Editor of Foreign Affairs James F. Hoge Jr.
- Philip D. Reed Chair in Science and Technology
- Nelson and David Rockefeller Chair in Latin America Studies *Julia E. Sweig*
- Hasib J. Sabbagh Chair in Middle East Studies Steven Simon
- C. V. Starr Chair in Asia Studies Elizabeth C. Economy
- General John W. Vessey Chair in Conflict Prevention William L. Nash
- Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics

 Douglas Holtz-Eakin

SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

The National Intelligence Fellowship

This fellowship provides an opportunity for an outstanding person from the U.S. intelligence community on the cusp of a senior position to expand his or her knowledge of international relations through study, research and reflection, extensive participation in the Council's program of meetings and study groups, and interaction with the Council's diverse and knowledgeable members. The 2005–2006 National Intelligence Fellow was Nancy Bird.

The Military Fellowships

Each year, the chief of staff of each military service nominates an outstanding candidate for a military fellowship. These fellowships enable officers to broaden their understanding of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy by spending a year in residence at the Council. Fellows participate in Council programs, engage in research, and arrange several politicomilitary trips for Council members. The military fellows for 2005–2006 were Colonel Mark A. Bucknam, U.S. Air Force, and Colonel Peter R. Mansoor, U.S. Army.

The Douglas Dillon Fellowship

Each year, the Council names one of its younger fellows the Dillon Fellow, in honor of former Council Vice Chairman Douglas Dillon. Such fellows typically combine a keen understanding of economics with cutting-edge policy research in a given field, leading to several major published articles or a book during their fellowship tenure. The Dillon Fellowship is held by Steven A. Cook.

Henry Kaufman Senior Fellowship in International Economics and Finance

This fellowship was established in 1999 with a gift from the Henry and Elaine Kaufman Foundation. The fellowship focuses on the global integration of financial markets and their significance for U.S. economic and foreign policy. The fellowship is held by Roger M. Kubarych.

Edward R. Murrow Fellowship

The Council offers a resident fellowship for a correspondent, editor, or producer involved with international news. Named in honor of Edward R. Murrow and funded by the CBS Foundation, the fellowship offers a nine-month period for sustained study and writing, free from the pressures that characterize journalistic life. The 2005–2006 Murrow Fellow was Jane Arraf.

Bernard L. Schwartz Fellowship in Business and Foreign Policy

This fellowship was established in 2002 with a gift from the Bernard and Irene Schwartz Foundation and focuses on the global integration of financial markets and their significance for U.S. economic and foreign policy. The 2005–2006 Schwartz Fellow was David Braunschvig.

Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship

The Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to international relations. A Shepardson Fellow is expected to spend about a year affiliated with the Council, participating in Council programs while working on a book or other significant publication on a major foreign policy issue. **Peter B. Kenen** was the 2005–2006 Shepardson Fellow.

Cyrus R. Vance Fellowship in Diplomatic Studies

The Vance Fellowship is offered to a foreign service officer chosen by a selection committee from candidates nominated by the U.S. Department of State. With time away from the day-to-day pressures of diplomatic life, the Vance Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, reflecting on issues of foreign policy and participating in Council programs. The Vance Fellowship is held by Evans J.R. Revere.

Endowed and Specially Funded Programs

Pieter A. Fisher Program, International Relations Gulf Program, Middle East

W. Averell Harriman Program, Europe

Walter Hochschild Program, International Economics

Winston Lord Program, Asia

John J. McCloy Program, International Relations

C. Peter McColough Program, International Economics

McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series, International Economics

Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program

LECTURESHIPS

The Darryl G. Behrman Lecture on Africa Policy

The Darryl G. Behrman Lecture on Africa Policy was funded by members of the Behrman family in memory of Darryl G. Behrman, who came to the United States from South Africa. He had a strong interest in the continent of his birth and in international peace and cooperation.

The Arthur C. Helton Memorial Lecture

The Arthur C. Helton Memorial Lecture was established by the Council and the family of Arthur C. Helton, who died in the August 2003 bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad. The Helton Lecture is an annual event at which one or more speakers address pressing issues in the broad field of human rights and humanitarian concerns. The Helton Lecture this year featured Francis M. Deng and Roberta J. Cohen on "Divided Nations: The Dilemmas of International Protection for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons."

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 series is funded by the Hurford Foundation and features individuals who represent critical new thinking in international affairs and foreign policy. This year, **Josef Joffe**, editor of *Die Zeit*, spoke on his new book, *Überpower: The Imperial Temptation of America*.

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 Leffingwell Lecture this year featured Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey.

The David A. Morse Lecture

The David A. Morse Lecture was inaugurated in 1994 and supports an annual meeting and dinner with a distinguished speaker. It honors the memory of David A. Morse, an active Council member for nearly thirty years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist. Morse lecturers are invited to focus on one of Morse's many concerns, which include North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and relations with Asia. The lecture program is funded by gifts from Council members and friends of the Morse family.

The David Rockefeller Lecture

The David Rockefeller Lecture was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1985 for an annual African lecturer from either the governmental or the nongovernmental sector. This year's lecture featured Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the newly elected president of Liberia.

The Elihu Root Lecture

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

The Russia and Russian-American Relations Lecture

This annual lecture was endowed by Alfa Bank to help establish a more secure footing for Russian-American relations. The Russia and Russian-American Relations Lecture this year featured Sergey Kiriyenko, director of the Russian Federal Atomic Energy Agency.

The Bernard L. Schwartz Lecture on Business and Foreign Policy

This lecture series was established in fall 2002 and is funded by the Bernard and Irene Schwartz Foundation. Mr. Schwartz is the retired chairman and CEO of Loral Space and Communications. The series fo-

cuses 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. This year's Schwartz Lectures featured Craig Mundie, senior vice president and chief technical officer, advanced strategies and policy, at Microsoft Corporation, and Eric Schmidt, chairman and CEO of Google.

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 UN. The Sorensen lecturer this year was Paul A. Volcker, chair of the independent inquiry into the UN Oil-for-Food Program.

The John Train Lecture

The John Train Lecture and dinner were 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 John Train Lecture this year featured the service chiefs: General Michael W. Hagee, U.S. Marine Corps; General Peter J. Schoomaker, U.S. Army; Admiral Michael G. Mullen, U.S. Navy; and General T. Michael Moseley, U.S. Air Force.

The Paul C. Warnke Lecture on International Security

The annual Paul C. Warnke Lecture on International Security, endowed by a number of members and family and friends of Paul C. Warnke, commemorates his legacy of courageous service to the nation and international peace. The Warnke Lecture this year featured Hans Blix, chairman of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission and former executive chairman of the UN Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC).

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 important 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.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS 2006-2007

- Alyssa C. Ayres, University of Pennsylvania, "In Other Words: The Challenge of Public Diplomacy in a Changing World"
- Jarrett N. Blanc, International Foundation for Election Systems, "Elections During Conflict"
- Reuben E. Brigety II, George Mason University, "Deriving Strategic Influence from Humanitarian and Developmental Assistance"

- Michelle D. Gavin, Office of Senator Ken Salazar, "The Implications of Youth Bulge for U.S. Foreign Policy"
- Vanessa W. Golding, U.S. Department of State, "Redefining U.S. Democracy and Human Rights Policy: Enabling a Pro-Active Approach to Accountability and Transitional Justice"
- Stephanie S. Holden, Al-Arabiya, "Engaging Arab Media to Pursue Conflict Resolution and Public Diplomacy"
- Mala N. Htun,* New School for Social Research, "Gender Equality and the State in Japan"
- Frank Jannuzi,* Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, "Honor, Fear, and Interest: Avoiding a Zero-Sum Game in Sino-Japanese Relations"
- Prem G. Kumar, U.S. Department of State, "Could Turkey Accept an Independent Iraqi Kurdistan?"
- Kara C. McDonald, U.S. Department of State, "Interagency and Multilateral Planning for Stabilization, Reconstruction, and Complex Contingencies"
- Evan Sabino Medeiros, RAND Corporation, "Hedging Against the Rise of China"
- Carl F. Minzner, Congressional-Executive Commission on China, "A Common Interest: Social Stability in the Sino-U.S. Human Rights and Rule of Law Discourse"
- Jonathan S. Spaner, U.S. Coast Guard, "The Framework for a Trade and Security Initiative between the European Union and the United States"
- Asako Maria Toyoda,* Villanova University, "Are Development Banks Still Relevant in an Era of Global Capital? Lessons from Japan"

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

DEVELOPMENT

Each year, the Council relies on charitable contributions from individual members, corporations, private foundations, and various institutional donors to support its ongoing programs and new initiatives. Maintaining the quality and variety of the work and programs for which the Council is known requires a steady stream of independent support from a variety of sources. The Council receives grant support from foundations and other outside sources for the Studies Program, outreach activities, and other special activities. Contributions to the Annual Fund, a pool of unrestricted funds used to provide general institutional support, are critical to keeping the Council's operating budget in the black. Gifts may also be designated to support special programs and activities such as Independent Task Forces or roundtables; to bolster the unrestricted endowment, the income from which is used to support annual operations; or to endow or add to existing endowments for specific chairs, fellowships, lectures, or other programs.

The Council extends its deepest gratitude to all of its donors and volunteers who give so generously of their time and resources in support of its mission.

THE ANNUAL FUND

Contributions to the Annual Fund are one of the most important sources of revenue for the Council, providing roughly 14 percent of the operating budget each year.

Annual Fund gifts are used for a variety of purposes across the organization, from funding the Meetings Program, to providing salary support for Council fellows and staff, and supporting member services. These gifts, like all gifts to the Council, are tax-deductible to the full extent provided by U.S. law, and are contributed over and above annual membership dues.

In fiscal year 2006, 1,696 members, representing about 41 percent of the membership, contributed over \$5 million to the Annual Fund. Once again, annual giving to the Council set a new record, surpassing last year's total of nearly \$4.3 million. The Council benefited further when thirty-five members increased their gifts by virtue of being an employee or board member of an organization with a matching gift program. We are honored to recognize our Annual Fund donors in the listing that begins on page 59.

The Council's recognition group for members who donate \$10,000 or more to the Annual Fund, the Harold Pratt Associates, continued to grow, with 237 members. Of those, 71 qualified for the Chairman's Circle, which distinguishes those who have made gifts of \$25,000 or more. The Council is indebted to these leadership donors who recognize the importance of providing such significant annual support for its work.

Term member contributions to the Annual Fund reached a new high, as well. The Term Member Committee on Annual Giving solicited term members this spring, coinciding with the launch of the Council's new website offering the convenience of online donations. More than half of the term members contributed close to \$200,000 to the Annual Fund, an impressive commitment by the youngest members of the Council. Term members are designated with an asterisk in the list of Annual Fund donors that begins on page 59.

CONGRESSIONAL ROUNDTABLE PROGRAM

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Mary Elizabeth Hoinkes John L. Holden Henry Allen Holmes Pat M. Holt John D. Holum Gary N. Horlick Bradley C. Hosmer Amory Houghton Jr. Kathleen Houlihan* Brett E. House* A. E. Dick Howard John R. Howard Gary C. Hufbauer R. John Hughes Ellen H. Hume J. C. Hurewitz Sol Hurwitz

Sol Hurwitz
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Note: Please contact Suzanne E. Helm, vice president, development, at shelm@cff.org or 212-434-9781 to advise of any additions or corrections.

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2006 BOARD ELECTION

The Council's By-Laws provide for a Board consisting of thirty 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 June 30, 2006, were Jeffrey L. Bewkes, Henry S. Bienen, Lee Cullum, Richard C. Holbrooke, Joan E. Spero, and Vin Weber.

The Nominating and Governance Committee was composed of Henry S. Bienen (Chairman), Madeleine K. Albright (Vice Chairman), Jeffrey Bewkes, Daniel William Christman, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Richard N. Foster, Bart Friedman, Nancy A. Jarvis, Maria Elena Lagomasino, Sylvia M. Mathews, Edward J. Mathias, Theodore Roosevelt IV, James B. Sitrick, G. Richard Thoman, James A. Thomson, and R. Keith Walton. On January 9, 2006, the Chairman invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating and Governance Committee met on March 13 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: Richard C. Holbrooke, Alberto Ibargüen, Colin L. Powell, Penny Pritzker, Donna E. Shalala, and Christine Todd Whitman. On March 27, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition process available to them in accordance with the By-Laws. Michael E. Bryant was nominated by petition signed by no fewer than ten members in accordance with By-Law V(B) and was included on the ballot.

This year the membership was also asked to vote on a resolution to expand the Board. In November 2005, Peter G. Peterson, Chairman of the Board of Directors, and Henry S. Bienen, Chairman of the Nominating and Governance Committee, sent a letter to the membership outlining the need for greater diversity on the Board of Directors and proposing that the number of Directors be increased—by five appointed Directors—from thirty-one to thirty-six, and soliciting comments from the membership. Forty-two members responded, a minority of whom expressed concerns about tilting the balance to appointed

Directors and that enlarging the Board would make it less able to function effectively. Mr. Peterson and Mr. Bienen, in a joint letter to members published in the April issue of the Council newsletter, addressed their particular concerns. The opportunity to vote "yes" or "no" on the Board Expansion Resolution was included on the ballot for the Annual Election of Directors.

The formal Notice of Meeting for the Annual Election of Directors and the text of proposed changes in the By-Laws and the Certificate of Incorporation that would enable a Board expansion were mailed to all members on April 7.

The election process this year, for the first time, offered members the opportunity to vote online via the members' password-protected website. The ballot was emailed (for members with email addresses) or mailed to all Council members on April 17.

On May 23, at the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors, 2,322 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 2007 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. Sarah A.W. Fitts, Donald S. Rice, and Nancy Young served as election overseers. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning July 1, 2006, and expiring June 30, 2011: Richard C. Holbrooke, Colin L. Powell, and Christine Todd Whitman.

1,671 members voted for the Board Expansion Resolution and 651 members voted against. The affirmative votes constituted both a majority of those voting and a quorum (one-third of the membership). The Certificate of Incorporation has been amended. By-Law IV(A) has been updated, and new guidelines for Board composition will take effect in fiscal year 2007.

Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating and Governance Committee, at its June 8 meeting the Board appointed three Council members to serve five-year terms in the Class of 2011, beginning July 1, 2006, and expiring June 30, 2011: Henry S. Bienen, Joan E. Spero, and Vin Weber. Additionally, the Board confirmed appointment of Peter G. Peterson to the Class of 2007 and Carla A. Hills to the Class of 2009.*

* 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 a Chairman and/or Vice Chairman to continue to serve, on a year-to-year basis.

CHAIRMAN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Chairman's Advisory Council, established to assist the Board in overseeing a number of important program areas, is composed of the following Council members from around the country:

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman
Thomas E. Donilon
Vice Chairman
David K.Y. Tang
Vice Chairman
Robert John Abernethy
Stanley S. Arkin

Stephanie K. Bell-Rose Jewelle Bickford Denis A. Bovin Patrick M. Byrne Dan Caldwell Bart Friedman Michael B.G. Froman Sergio J. Galvis Timothy F. Geithner Joachim Gfoeller Jr. Mimi L. Haas J. Tomilson Hill Alberto Ibargüen Merit E. Janow Eason T. Jordan Arnold Kanter

Maria Elena Lagomasino Ira A. Lipman Marcus Mabry Sylvia M. Mathews Richard L. Plepler Penny S. Pritzker Steven L. Rattner Scott D. Sagan David E. Sanger Thomas Schick Douglas E. Schoen Barbara Shailor Alice Young

INTERNATIONAL Advisory board

The International Advisory Board (IAB), established by the Board of Directors in 1995 under the chairmanship of David Rockefeller, Honorary Chairman of the Council, meets annually in conjunction with the 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 twenty-first century, to the value of multilateral approaches toward world problems, to ways to foster democratization.

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

Syed Babar Ali (Pakistan), Adviser, Packages Limited; Chairman, Interbank; former Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs, and Planning, Pakistan

Khalid A. Alturki (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, Trading and Development Company (TRADCO)

Mukesh D. Ambani (India), Chairman and Managing Director, Reliance Industries, Ltd.

Franco Bernabè (Italy), Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe

Carl Bildt (Sweden), Chairman, Kreab AB; former Prime Minister of Sweden

Ahmed E. Bishara (Kuwait), Secretary-General, National Democratic Movement; Professor, Kuwait University

John Browne (United Kingdom), Group Chief Executive, BP plc

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

Gustavo A. Cisneros (Venezuela), Chairman and CEO, Cisneros Group of Companies

Gerhard Cromme (Germany), Chairman of the Supervisory Board, ThyssenKrupp AG

Abdel Raouf El Reedy (Egypt), Chairman, Mubarak Public Library; former Ambassador of Egypt to the United States

 ${\bf Niall\,W.A.\,FitzGerald\ (Ireland),\,Chairman,\,Reuters\ Group\ plc}$

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

Jacob A. Frenkel (Israel), Vice Chairman, American International Group, Inc.; former Governor, Bank of Israel

Mikhail Fridman (Russia), Chairman of the Board, Alfa Bank Toyoo Gyohten (Japan), President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs; Senior Adviser, Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.

Baba Gana Kingibe (Nigeria), Special Envoy for Sudan, African Union; former Foreign Minister, Nigeria

Yotaro Kobayashi (Japan), Chief Corporate Adviser, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.

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

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

Maurice Lévy (France), Chairman of the Management Board and CEO, Publicis Groupe S.A.

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

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

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

Sadako Ogata (Japan), President, Japan International Cooperation Agency; former UN High Commissioner for Refugees

Lubna Olayan (Saudi Arabia), CEO, Olayan Financing Company

Ana Palacio (Spain), Senior Vice President and General Counsel, World Bank; former Foreign Minister, Spain

Surin Pitsuwan (Thailand), Member of Parliament, Thailand; former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand

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

Zalman Shoval (Israel), Head, Foreign Policy Bureau, Likud Party; former Ambassador of Israel to the United States

Khehla Shubane (South Africa), Director, Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand; Director, Simeka Financial Services

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

Horst Teltschik (Germany), former President, Boeing Germany; former National Security Advisor, Germany

Jacob Wallenberg (Sweden), Chairman, Investor AB

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, United Kingdom

Yuan Ming (China), Director, Institute for International Relations, Beijing University

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (Mexico), Director, Center for the Study of Globalization, Yale University; former President of Mexico.

BY-LAWS of the COUNCIL

I. All members of the Council shall be elected by the Board of Directors. All members elected to the Council, other than those whose term of membership is limited by the conditions of their election, remain members until death, resignation, or action under the last paragraph of this By-Law.

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

In any fiscal year, the Board is not constrained in the number of persons elected to five-year term membership so long as the total number of term members does not exceed 15 percent of the total 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 30 and 36 on January 1 of the year in which their election would take place, 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, DC, 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:

	BUSINESS	NONBUSINESS	
NEW YORK AREA			
Under 40	\$1,470	\$350	
40 and Over	2,860	640	
WASHINGTON, DC, AREA			
Under 40	\$1,180	\$280	
40 and Over	2,290	510	
NATIONAL			
Under 40	\$ 800	\$200	
40 and Over	1,550	350	

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 36 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 four 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 four 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 four 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 July 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 made available to all members in advance of the Annual Election and may be cast in person or by proxy authorized in writing

or by electronic transmission. 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 writein votes in the preceding election. For their ballots to be counted, members must 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 or any other meeting of the members. Notice of any meeting of the members may be written or electronic. 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, an Audit Committee, 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 Audit Committee shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than two additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have general oversight of the annual audit of the Council and related matters as may be designated by the Board from time to time.

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, DC.

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, DC.

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 coopting 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 Chairman of the Board, or in his or her absence, a Vice Chairman designated by the Chairman, may call meetings of the Board and shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors.

The President, subject to the overall direction of the Board of Directors, shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the corporation.

The Vice Presidents in order of seniority shall discharge the duties of the President in his or her absence, and shall perform such other duties as from time to time shall be assigned them by the Board of Directors.

The Treasurer shall have custody of the funds of the corporation.

The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the corporation, and shall keep its records.

VIII. The Board shall appoint the Editor of *Foreign Affairs* and the Director of Studies, if any, and shall annually fix their compensation.

IX. The funds of the corporation shall be invested by the Committee on Finance and Budget or shall be deposited with trust companies or banking institutions designated by either the Board of Directors or the Committee on Finance and Budget. Disbursements shall be made only upon checks or vouchers approved by any one of the following for amounts up to \$5,000 and by any two of the following for amounts of \$5,000 and over: the President, any Vice President, the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Director of Finance, the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and such other employees of the corporation as may from time to time be designated by the Committee on Finance and Budget.

X. The Annual Meeting of the Board shall be held as soon as practicable after the first day of September, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. One-third of the Directors in office shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Board.

XI. These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors, provided notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a previous meeting or circulated in writing to the members of the Board not less than five days in advance.

XII. Any person made, or threatened to be made, a party to any action or proceeding, whether civil or criminal, by reason of the fact that he or she, his or her testator or intestate, is or was a Director or Officer of the Council, shall be indemnified by the Council, and his or her expenses incurred in defending such an action or proceeding shall be advanced by the Council, to the full extent authorized or permitted by law.

RULES, GUIDELINES, and PRACTICES

The following items describe important Rules, Guidelines, and Practices of the Council on Foreign Relations, with which members and staff should familiarize themselves.

RULE ON FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS

The following has been the policy of the Council since its origin, reconfirmed by resolution of the Board of Directors on September 11, 1973:

"The Council shall not take any position on questions of foreign policy, and no person is authorized to speak, or purport to speak, for the Council on such matters."

RULE ON NONATTRIBUTION

"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 Nonattribution 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 Nonattribution 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 Nonattribution Rule governing what is said at meetings.

POLICY ON CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted June 9, 2005, the following policy concerning actual or potential conflicts of interest was approved:

"The Directors, Officers, and staff of the Council on Foreign Relations (the 'Council') owe a duty of loyalty to the Council, which requires that in their positions, they act in the interest of the Council and not in their personal interests. Directors, Officers, and staff members may not use their positions or nonpublic information about the Council they obtain through their positions in a manner that allows them to secure a significant economic benefit, either directly or indirectly, for themselves or their immediate family. In sum, it is the policy of the Council that its Directors, Officers, and staff have the obligation to avoid ethical, legal, financial, or other conflicts of interest, and the appearance thereof, and to ensure that their activities and interests do not conflict with their obligations to the Council or to its welfare.

"A conflict of interest or the appearance thereof may exist but is not limited to a circumstance when any Director, Officer, or staff member, or member of his or her immediate family (defined for these purposes as a spouse or domestic partner, parents, children, siblings, and in-laws) or an affiliated entity, would have a significant economic interest, directly or indirectly, in a transaction with the Council or any other matter that may come before the Board or a Board Committee.

"Conflicts of interest or appearances thereof are not limited to financial interests, but include affiliations or other divided loyalties which may influence a decision or appear to cause favoritism in a matter involving the Council.

"All conflicts shall be fully disclosed in writing to the Chair of the Nominating and Governance Committee, or to the Director of Human Resources and Deputy Chief Operating Officer in the case of staff members who are not Officers. After receipt of such notice, the Board may authorize the transaction at issue, provided that (i) it does not violate the law and (ii) the Director or Officer having such conflict refrains from voting or otherwise attempting to influence the decision thereon. The minutes of the meeting shall reflect such disclosure and abstention.

"In the case of a staff member who is not an Officer, after disclosure by the Director of Human Resources and Deputy Chief Operating Officer to the Chief Operating Officer and the President, those Officers may choose to submit the question to the Board or an appropriate Committee of the Board for a decision or to proceed with the transaction at issue, provided that proceeding does not violate the law.

"When there is doubt as to whether a conflict of interest exists, the matter shall be resolved by a vote of the Board, excluding the person concerned.

"Nothing herein shall prevent the Council from the payment of salary and other compensation or the reimbursement of expenses for personal services which are reasonable and necessary to carrying out the purpose of the Council, provided such payments or reimbursements are reasonable and not excessive.

"A copy of this policy shall be furnished to each Director at the time of his or her election or appointment to the Board and any renewal thereof, to each Officer who is a staff member annually at the time of their appointment at the fall meeting of the Board, and to other key staff members at the time of hire. As a condition of service, the Council shall require each Director, Officer, and key staff member to sign the conflict of interest disclosure statement annually."

ARCHIVAL PRACTICE

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

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

HISTORICAL ROSTER of DIRECTORS and OFFICERS

DIRECTORS		Alfred C. Neal	1967–76	Robert F. Erburu	1987–98
Isaiah Bowman	1921-50	Bill Moyers	1967–74	Karen Elliott House	1987–98,
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921–28	Cyrus R. Vance	1968–76,	Raten Emott House	2003-
Paul D. Cravath	1921–40	Cyrus R. Vance	1981–87	Glenn E. Watts	1987–90
John W. Davis	1921–55	Hedley Donovan	1969–79	Thomas S. Foley	1988–94
Norman H. Davis	1921–44	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970–72	James D. Robinson III	1988–91
Stephen P. Duggan	1921–50	Bayless Manning	1971–77	Strobe Talbott	1988–93
John H. Finley	1921–29	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972–77,	John L. Clendenin	1989–94
Edwin F. Gay	1921–45	vv. Michael Blumenthai	1979–84	William S. Cohen	1989–97
David F. Houston	1921–27	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972–77		1989–98
Otto H. Kahn	1921–34	Elizabeth Drew	1972–77	Joshua Lederberg John S. Reed	1989–92
Frank L. Polk	1921–43	George S. Franklin	1972–83	Alice M. Rivlin	1989–92
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921–66	Marshall D. Shulman	1972–83	William J. Crowe Jr.	1990–93
William R. Shepherd	1921–00	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972–82		1990–2001
Paul M. Warburg	1921–27	Paul C. Warnke	1972–82 1972–77	Thomas R. Donahue Richard C. Holbrooke	1991–93,
George W. Wickersham	1921–36	Peter G. Peterson		Richard C. Holbrooke	1996–99,
Allen W. Dulles	1927–69	reter G. reterson	1973–83, 1984–		2001–
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927–60	Dahant O Andaraan	1974–80	Robert D. Hormats	1991–2004
	1927–53	Robert O. Anderson			
George O. May Wesley C. Mitchell	1927–33	Edward K. Hamilton	1974–83	John E. Bryson	1992–2002
	1927–34	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974–77	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992–2002,
Owen D. Young Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72	Elliot L. Richardson	1974–75	V N II	2004-
Charles P. Howland	1928–72 1929–31	Franklin Hall Williams	1975–83	Karen N. Horn	1992–95
	1932–31	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975–86	James R. Houghton	1992–96
Walter Lippmann	1932–37 1932–35	Paul A. Volcker	1975–79, 1988–99	Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992–98
Clarence M. Woolley		Tl 1 M II 1		Kenneth W. Dam	1992–2001
Frank Altschul	1934–72	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976–85	Donna E. Shalala	1992–93
Philip C. Jessup	1934–42	Lane Kirkland	1976–86	Alton Frye	1993
Harold W. Dodds	1935–43	George H.W. Bush	1977–79	Richard N. Cooper	1993–94
Leon Fraser	1936–45	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977–79	Rita E. Hauser	1993–97
John H. Williams	1937–64	Philip L. Geyelin	1977–87	E. Gerald Corrigan	1993–95
Lewis W. Douglas	1940–64	Henry A. Kissinger	1977–81	Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2001,
Edward Warner	1940–49	Winston Lord	1977–85	D 1 A A11 ·	2002–2003
Clarence E. Hunter	1942–53	Stephen Stamas	1977–89	Paul A. Allaire	1993–2002
Myron C. Taylor	1943–59	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977–87	Robert E. Allen	1993–96
Henry M. Wriston	1943–67	C. Peter McColough	1978–87	Theodore C. Sorensen	1993–2004
Thomas K. Finletter	1944–67	Richard L. Gelb	1979–88	Garrick Utley	1993–2003
William A.M. Burden	1945–74	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979–88	Carla A. Hills	1994–
Walter H. Mallory	1945–68	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979–83	Helene L. Kaplan	1994–96
Philip D. Reed	1945–69	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980–84	Frank G. Zarb	1994–96
Winfield W. Riefler	1945–50	George P. Shultz	1980-82	Robert B. Zoellick	1994–2001
David Rockefeller	1949–85	William D. Rogers	1980–90	Les Aspin	1995
W. Averell Harriman	1950–55	Walter B. Wriston	1981–87	Mario L. Baeza	1995–2001
Joseph E. Johnson	1950–74	Lewis T. Preston	1981–88	Peggy Dulany	1995–2003
Grayson Kirk	1950–73	Warren Christopher	1982–91	Jessica P. Einhorn	1995–2005
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–58	Alan Greenspan	1982–88	William J. McDonough	1995–2004
Elliott V. Bell	1953–66	Robert A. Scalapino	1982–89	Frank Savage	1995–2002
John J. McCloy	1953–72	Harold Brown	1983–92	George Soros	1995–2004
Arthur H. Dean	1955–72	Stanley Hoffmann	1983–92	Hannah Holborn Gray	1995–98
Charles M. Spofford	1955–72	Juanita M. Kreps	1983–89	George J. Mitchell	1995–2005
Adlai E. Stevenson	1958–62	Brent Scowcroft	1983–89	Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995–2005
William C. Foster	1959–72	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983–92	Lee Cullum	1996–2006
Caryl P. Haskins	1961–75	Donald F. McHenry	1984–93	Vincent A. Mai	1997–2003
James A. Perkins	1963–79	B. R. Inman	1985–93	Warren B. Rudman	1997–2005
William P. Bundy	1964–74	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985–94	Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997–
Gabriel Hauge	1964–81	Peter Tarnoff	1986–93	Roone Arledge	1998–2002
Carroll L. Wilson	1964–79	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986–92	Diane Sawyer	1998–99
Douglas Dillon	1965–78	Ruben F. Mettler	1986–92	Martin S. Feldstein	1998-
Henry R. Labouisse	1965–74	James E. Burke	1987–95	Bette Bao Lord	1998–2003
Robert V. Roosa	1966-81	Richard B. Cheney	1987–89,	Michael H. Moskow	1998-
Lucian W. Pye	1966–82		1993–95	John Deutch	1999–2004

Robert E. Rubin	2000-	Alton Frys	1993	Walter H. Mallery	1927–59
Andrew Young	2000-2005	Alton Frye Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2003	Walter H. Mallory George S. Franklin	1953–71
Kenneth M. Duberstein	2000-2003	Richard N. Haass	2003-	George 5. Franklin	1/33-/1
Henry S. Bienen	2001-	Idenaid IV. Haass	2003	SECRETARIES	
Joan E. Spero	2001–	PRESIDENT EMERITUS		Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Vin Weber	2001–	Leslie H. Gelb	2003-	Allen W. Dulles	1933-44
Fouad Ajami	2002-	HONORARY PRESIDENTS		Frank Altschul	1944–72
Ronald L. Olson	2002-	Elihu Root	1921–37	John Temple Swing	1972–87
Thomas R. Pickering	2002-	Henry M. Wriston	1964–78	Judith Gustafson	1987–2000
Jeffrey L. Bewkes	2002-2006	•		Lilita V. Gusts	2000-
Helene D. Gayle	2003-	EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT		HONORARY SECRETARY	
Richard N. Haass	2003-	John Temple Swing	1986–93	Frank Altschul	1972-1981
Richard E. Salomon	2003-	Michael P. Peters	2002–2005		
Anne-Marie Slaughter	2003-	SENIOR VICE PRESIDENTS		TREASURERS	1021 22
Madeleine K. Albright	2004-	Alton Frye	1993-98	Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Richard N. Foster	2004-	Kenneth H. Keller	1993-95	Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42
Joseph S. Nye Jr.	2004-	Larry L. Fabian	1994–95	Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51 1951–52
Fareed Zakaria	2004-	Michael P. Peters	1995-2002	Devereux C. Josephs Elliott V. Bell	1951–52
Peter Ackerman	2005-	Paula Dobriansky	2001	Gabriel Hauge	1964-81
Charlene Barshefsky	2005-	Charles G. Boyd	2001–2002	Peter G. Peterson	1981–85
Stephen W. Bosworth	2005-	David Kellogg	2002-	C. Peter McColough	1985–87
Tom Brokaw	2005-	Janice L. Murray	2002-	Lewis T. Preston	1987–88
David M. Rubenstein	2005-	VICE PRESIDENTS		James E. Burke	1988–89
Colin L. Powell	2006-	Paul D. Cravath	1921–33	David Woodbridge	1989–94
Christine Todd Whitman	2006-	Norman H. Davis	1933–36	Janice L. Murray	1994–
CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD		Edwin F. Gay	1933–40	•	
Russell C. Leffingwell	1946-53	Frank L. Polk	1940–43	EDITORS OF FOREIGN AFFAI	
John J. McCloy	1953-70	Russell C. Leffingwell	1943-44	Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–28
David Rockefeller	1970-85	Allen W. Dulles	1944-46	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72
Peter G. Peterson	1985-	Isaiah Bowman	1945-49	William P. Bundy	1972-84
HONORARY CHAIRMEN		Henry M. Wriston	1950-51	William G. Hyland	1984–92
	4050 4000	David Rockefeller	1950-70	James F. Hoge Jr.	1992–
John I McClov	197/0_1989		1,00 ,0		
John J. McCloy David Rockefeller	1970–1989 1985–	Frank Altschul	1951–71	DIRECTORS OF STUDIES	
David Rockefeller	1985–	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs		Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO	1985– DARD	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely	1955-63
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk	1985– PARD 1971–73	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman	1955–63 1973–76
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO	1985– PARD 1971–73 1973–76,	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance	1985– PARD 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon	1985– PARD 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson	1985– PARD 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher	1985– PARD 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94
David Rockeféller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller*	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95
David Rockeféller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman	1985– PARD 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1996
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001–	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1995–96	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1996 1997–98 1998–2002
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1995–96 1996–97	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1996 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003 2003–	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1995–96 1996–97	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1996 1997–98 1998–2002
David Rockeféller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BOGrayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA	1985- DARD 1971-73 1973-76, 1985-87 1976-78 1978-79 1987-91 1991-92 1992-93 1993-94 1994-2002 2001- 2002-2003 2003- N	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1995–96 1996–97 1996	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1996 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003–
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003 2003–	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer David Kellogg	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1995–96 1996–97 1996 1997–98	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS George S. Franklin	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1996 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003–
David Rockeféller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BOGrayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA	1985- DARD 1971-73 1973-76, 1985-87 1976-78 1978-79 1987-91 1991-92 1992-93 1993-94 1994-2002 2001- 2002-2003 2003- N	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1995–96 1996–97 1996	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1996 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003–
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA Maurice R. Greenberg	1985- DARD 1971-73 1973-76, 1985-87 1976-78 1978-79 1987-91 1991-92 1992-93 1993-94 1994-2002 2001- 2002-2003 2003- N	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer David Kellogg Paula J. Dobriansky	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1996 1996–97 1996 1997–98 1997–2002 1997–2001	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS George S. Franklin William Henderson	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003–
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA Maurice R. Greenberg PRESIDENTS	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003 2003– N 2002–	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer David Kellogg Paula J. Dobriansky Anne R. Luzzatto	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1996 1997–98 1997–2002 1997–2001 1998–2005	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS George S. Franklin	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1996 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003– 1949–50 1952–54, 1955–56 1954–55,*
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA Maurice R. Greenberg PRESIDENTS John W. Davis	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003 2003– N 2002–	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer David Kellogg Paula J. Dobriansky Anne R. Luzzatto Lawrence J. Korb	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1996 1997–98 1997–98 1997–2002 1997–2001 1998–2005 1998–2005	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS George S. Franklin William Henderson	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003– 1949–50 1952–54, 1955–56 1954–55,* 1956–57,*
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA Maurice R. Greenberg PRESIDENTS John W. Davis George W. Wickersham	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003 2003– N 2002– 1921–33 1933–36	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer David Kellogg Paula J. Dobriansky Anne R. Luzzatto Lawrence J. Korb Elise Carlson Lewis	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2002 1995–2002 1995–97 1996 1997–98 1997–2002 1997–2001 1998–2005 1998–2002 1999–	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS George S. Franklin William Henderson Melvin Conant	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003– 1949–50 1952–54, 1955–56 1954–55,* 1956–57,*
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA Maurice R. Greenberg PRESIDENTS John W. Davis George W. Wickersham Norman H. Davis	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003 2003– N 2002– 1921–33 1933–36 1936–44 1944–46 1946–50	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer David Kellogg Paula J. Dobriansky Anne R. Luzzatto Lawrence J. Korb Elise Carlson Lewis Robert C. Orr Irina A. Faskianos Lisa Shields	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2002 1995–2002 1995–96 1996–97 1996–97 1997–2002 1997–2001 1998–2005 1998–2002 1999–2002 1999–2002 1999–2003 2002–2003	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS George S. Franklin William Henderson Melvin Conant George V.H. Moseley III	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003– 1949–50 1952–54, 1955–56 1954–55,* 1956–57,* 1957–59 1959–62
David Rockefeller VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BO Grayson Kirk Cyrus R. Vance Douglas Dillon Carroll L. Wilson Warren Christopher Harold Brown B. R. Inman Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Maurice R. Greenberg Carla A. Hills William J. McDonough Robert E. Rubin HONORARY VICE CHAIRMA Maurice R. Greenberg PRESIDENTS John W. Davis George W. Wickersham Norman H. Davis Russell C. Leffingwell	1985– 1971–73 1973–76, 1985–87 1976–78 1978–79 1987–91 1991–92 1992–93 1993–94 1994–2002 2001– 2002–2003 2003– N 2002– 1921–33 1933–36 1936–44 1944–46	Frank Altschul Devereux C. Josephs David W. MacEachron John Temple Swing Alton Frye William H. Gleysteen Jr. John A. Millington Margaret Osmer-McQuade Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Karen M. Sughrue Abraham F. Lowenthal Janice L. Murray David J. Vidal Ethan B. Kapstein Frederick C. Broda Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer David Kellogg Paula J. Dobriansky Anne R. Luzzatto Lawrence J. Korb Elise Carlson Lewis Robert C. Orr Irina A. Faskianos	1951–71 1951–52 1972–74 1972–86 1987–93 1987–89 1987–96 1987–93 1989–94 1993–98 1995–2005 1995–2002 1995–97 1996–97 1996–97 1997–2002 1997–2001 1998–2005 1998–2005 1998–2002 1999–2002 1999–2003 2002–2003 2003–2003	Percy W. Bidwell Philip E. Mosely Richard H. Ullman Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell Paul H. Kreisberg William H. Gleysteen Jr. Nicholas X. Rizopoulos Kenneth H. Keller* Ethan B. Kapstein Kenneth R. Maxwell Gary C. Hufbauer Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters James M. Lindsay DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS George S. Franklin William Henderson Melvin Conant George V.H. Moseley III Harry Boardman	1955–63 1973–76 1976–77 1977–78 1981–87 1987–89 1989–94 1994–95 1995–96 1997–98 1998–2002 2002–2003 2003– 1949–50 1952–54, 1955–56 1954–55,* 1956–57,* 1957–59 1959–62 1962–69
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FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The Council's financial position was enhanced during the fiscal year through generous gifts and pledges for operating expenses and endowment, through continued growth in the portfolio, which increased 11 percent over the prior fiscal year, and through growth in other major sources of revenue, particularly the Corporate Program, which increased 24 percent over fiscal year 2005, and annual giving, which grew 18 percent over last year. *Foreign Affairs* also had an exceptionally strong year; revenues increased 22 percent.

As always, we are deeply grateful to the Investment Subcommittee, chaired by J. Tomilson Hill, for structuring the Council's investment portfolio to achieve significant growth in good economic times while buffering our resources during down markets. The Board Committee on Finance and Budget, chaired by Michael H. Moskow, oversees the Council's budget and finances, and, as of July 1, 2006, the Council's audit committee is an independent standing committee of the Board, further strengthening financial oversight of the institution.

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

STATEMENTS OF FINANCIAL POSITION

As of June 30, 2006 and 2005

•	2006	2005
Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents (Note 2)	\$ 7,691,000	\$ 3,572,300
Accounts receivable (net of allowance of		
\$113,700 in 2006 and \$238,600 in 2005) and		
prepaid expenses (Note 2)	1,677,100	1,140,100
Grants and contributions receivable (Notes 2 and 4)	2,268,400	2,219,800
Contributions receivable for endowment (Notes 2 and 4)	32,445,900	2,605,500
Inventories (Note 2)	98,200	246,600
Investments (Notes 2 and 3)	208,008,400	187,797,200
Land, buildings and building improvements,		
and equipment, net (Notes 2 and 5)	24,455,000	24,478,800
Total assets	\$276,644,000	\$222,060,300
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses (Note 2)	\$ 4,741,400	\$ 4,671,600
Deferred subscription revenue	2,959,300	2,563,300
Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 7)	2,230,000	2,037,000
Total liabilities	9,930,700	9,271,900
Commitments (Note 10)		
Net assets (Notes 2, 8, and 9)		
Unrestricted	116,907,100	102,460,900
Temporarily restricted	41,766,300	39,129,800
Permanently restricted	108,039,900	71,197,700
Total net assets	266,713,300	212,788,400
Total liabilities and net assets	\$276,644,000	\$222,060,300

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES

For the year ended June 30, 2006, with comparative totals for 2005

, ,	, ,	Doot	ricted	2007	2005
	Unrestricted	. =	Permanently	2006 Total	2005 Total
Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	Uniestricted	i Temporarny	remanently	10121	10121
Membership dues (<i>Note 2</i>)	\$ 4,361,500) \$	\$	\$ 4,361,500	\$ 4,396,700
Annual giving	5,031,000		49	5,031,000	4,277,000
	6,758,300			6,823,600	5,504,200
Corporate memberships and related income					
Meetings	1,000			239,200	114,300
International Affairs Fellowships	204.000	59,900		59,900	85,000
Grants and contributions for Studies	304,000			6,073,200	3,941,450
Other grants and contributions	168,700			320,600	586,300
Foreign Affairs	7,522,200			7,522,200	6,329,100
Book publication	32,800			32,800	39,900
Investment return used for current operations (<i>Note 3</i>)	817,500			4,690,800	5,257,200
Rental income	1,204,500			1,204,500	1,324,500
Miscellaneous	267,200	66,000		333,200	184,450
Total operating revenue and support	26,468,700	10,223,800		36,692,500	32,040,100
Net assets released from restrictions (Note 8)	9,727,700	(9,727,700)			
Total operating revenue, support, and					
reclassifications	36,196,400	496,100		36,692,500	32,040,100
		770,100		30,072,300	32,010,100
Operating expenses					
Program expenses:					
Studies Program	11,916,900)		11,916,900	11,000,600
Meetings Program	3,203,800)		3,203,800	2,939,200
Special Events	623,000)		623,000	609,500
Foreign Affairs	6,435,700)		6,435,700	5,931,700
Book publication	433,200)		433,200	383,200
National Program	1,008,700)		1,008,700	882,500
Websites	1,275,500)		1,275,500	1,042,500
International Affairs Fellowships	888,000)		888,000	456,300
Communications	1,173,500)		1,173,500	994,300
Total program expenses	26,958,300			26,958,300	24,239,800
Supporting services:	,,.			,,.	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
Management and general	5,203,000)		5,203,000	4,187,800
Membership	897,700			897,700	1,301,000
*	697,700	,		697,700	1,301,000
Fundraising:	700 400	`		700 400	220,000
Development Comment Programme	788,400			788,400	328,000
Corporate Program	1,225,600			1,225,600	1,224,300
Total fundraising	2,014,000			2,014,000	1,552,300
Total supporting services	8,114,700)		8,114,700	7,041,100
Total operating expenses	35,073,000)		35,073,000	31,280,900
Excess of operating revenue, support, and					
reclassifications over operating expenses	1,123,400	496,100		1,619,500	759,200
Nonoperating revenue (<i>Note 2</i>)					
Investment gain in excess of spending rate	12 222 900	2 1 4 0 4 0 0		15 462 200	12 042 000
(Notes 2 and 3)	13,322,800	2,140,400	36,842,200	15,463,200 36,842,200	12,843,900
Endowment contributions	12 222 000	2 1 4 0 4 0 0			3,039,000
Total nonoperating revenue	13,322,800		36,842,200	52,305,400	15,882,900
Change in net assets	14,446,200		36,842,200	53,924,900	16,642,100
Net assets, beginning of year	102,460,900	39,129,800	71,197,700	212,788,400	196,146,300
Net assets, end of year	\$ 116,907,100	\$41,766,300	\$108,039,900	\$266,713,300	\$212,788,400

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

STATEMENTS OF CASH FLOWS

For the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005

Cash flows from operating activities: \$ 53,924,900 \$ 16,642,100 Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash used in operating activities: 1,713,600 1,555,300 Depreciation 1,713,600 1,555,300 Net realized and unrealized gain on investments (20,170,500) (18,210,800) Bad debt expense 42,800 36,500 Contributions restricted for investment in endowment (36,842,100) 1,630,200 Changes in operating assets and liabilities: (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories (48,600) 1,147,000 Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,52,500) (155,200) Cash flows from investing activities (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Purchases of biuliding improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments (130,185,800) 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (2,00,170,700) <td< th=""><th></th><th></th><th>2006</th><th>2005</th></td<>			2006	2005
Change in net assets \$ 53,924,900 \$ 16,642,100 Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash used in operating activities: 1,713,600 1,555,300 Net realized and unrealized gain on investments (20,170,500) (18,210,800) Bad debt expense 42,800 36,500 Contributions restricted for investment in endowment (36,842,100) (1,630,200) Changes in operating assets and liabilities: (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable and prepaid expenses (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment 1,689,800 255,335,000 Proceeds from sales of investments (130,226,500) 255,335,000 Net cash used in investing activities 7,001,700	Cash flows from operating activities:			
Depreciation 1,713,600 1,555,300 Net realized and unrealized gain on investments (20,170,500) (18,210,800) Bad debt expense 42,800 36,500 Contributions restricted for investment in endowment (36,842,100) (1,630,200) Changes in operating assets and liabilities: (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable and prepaid expenses (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments (130,185,800) 255,387,000 Net cash		\$	53,924,900	\$ 16,642,100
Depreciation 1,713,600 1,555,300 Net realized and unrealized gain on investments (20,170,500) (18,210,800) Bad debt expense 42,800 36,500 Contributions restricted for investment in endowment (36,842,100) (1,630,200) Changes in operating assets and liabilities: (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable and prepaid expenses (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments (130,185,800) 255,387,000 Net cash	Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash used in operating activities:			
Bad debt expense 42,800 36,500 Contributions restricted for investment in endowment (36,842,100) (1,630,200) Changes in operating assets and liabilities: Total properties and contributions receivable (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,700) Proceeds from sales of investments (130,326,500) (255,933,700) Net cash used in investing activities (20,000) (255,933,700) Proceeds from financing activities (1,730,500) 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 1,766,900 <td></td> <td></td> <td>1,713,600</td> <td>1,555,300</td>			1,713,600	1,555,300
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment (36,842,100) (1,630,200) Changes in operating assets and liabilities: 30,000 250,900 Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities (1,700,700) 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equi	Net realized and unrealized gain on investments		(20,170,500)	(18,210,800)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities: (579,800) 250,900 Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities 193,000 66,000 Cash flows from investing activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities (1,700,700) 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, be	Bad debt expense		42,800	36,500
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses (579,800) 250,900 Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities: (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities (2,001,700) 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 3,572,300 Supplemental noncash inf	Contributions restricted for investment in endowment		(36,842,100)	(1,630,200)
Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,52,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: (2,700,1700) 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: 1 2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash in	Changes in operating assets and liabilities:			
Grants and contributions receivable (48,600) 1,147,000 Inventories 148,400 (148,100) Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,52,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: (2,700,1700) 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: 1 2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash in	Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses		(579,800)	250,900
Accounts payable and accrued expenses 69,800 (72,200) Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities: ***Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: ***Contributions restricted for investment in endowment 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:			(48,600)	1,147,000
Deferred subscription revenue 396,000 248,300 Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities: *** Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: ** 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease \$2,700 \$2,700	Inventories		148,400	(148,100)
Accrued postretirement benefits 193,000 66,000 Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities: ***Cash flows from investing activities* Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: ***Contributions restricted for investment in endowment 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease \$2,700	Accounts payable and accrued expenses		69,800	(72,200)
Net cash used in operating activities (1,152,500) (115,200) Cash flows from investing activities: (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of building improvements and equipment (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Purchases of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Proceeds from sales of investments (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: \$2,700 \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities: \$2,700	Deferred subscription revenue		396,000	248,300
Cash flows from investing activities: Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: T,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: \$2,700 \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities: \$2,700	Accrued postretirement benefits		193,000	66,000
Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: \$2,700 \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities: \$2,700	Net cash used in operating activities	_	(1,152,500)	(115,200)
Purchases of building improvements and equipment (1,689,800) (964,600) Purchases of investments (130,226,500) (255,933,500) Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: \$2,700 \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities: \$2,700	Cash flows from investing activities:			
Proceeds from sales of investments 130,185,800 255,387,000 Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities:			(1,689,800)	(964,600)
Net cash used in investing activities (1,730,500) (1,511,100) Cash flows from financing activities: Contributions restricted for investment in endowment 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:	Purchases of investments	(1	130,226,500)	(255,933,500)
Cash flows from financing activities: Contributions restricted for investment in endowment Net increase in cash Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year Cash and cash equivalents, end of year Cash and cash equivalents, end of year Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:	Proceeds from sales of investments	1	130,185,800	255,387,000
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:	Net cash used in investing activities		(1,730,500)	(1,511,100)
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment 7,001,700 1,766,900 Net increase in cash 4,118,700 140,600 Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year 3,572,300 3,431,700 Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:	Cash flows from financing activities:			
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year Cash and cash equivalents, end of year Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:			7,001,700	1,766,900
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year \$7,691,000 \$3,572,300 Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease \$2,700 Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:	Net increase in cash		4,118,700	140,600
Supplemental noncash information: Interest paid on capital lease Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:	Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year		3,572,300	3,431,700
Interest paid on capital lease Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities: \$ 2,700	Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	\$	7,691,000	\$ 3,572,300
Interest paid on capital lease Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities: \$ 2,700	Supplemental noncash information:			
		\$	2,700	
	Supplemental disclosure of noncash investing and financing activities:			
		\$	314,100	

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

As of and for the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005

1. ORGANIZATION AND NATURE OF ACTIVITIES

Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (the "Council"), is an independent, national membership organization and a nonpartisan center for scholars dedicated to producing and disseminating ideas so that individual and corporate members, as well as policymakers, journalists, students, and interested citizens in the United States and other countries, can better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other governments. The Council, which is headquartered in New York with an office in Washington, DC, does this by convening meetings; conducting a wide-ranging Studies Program; publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the preeminent journal covering international affairs and U.S. foreign policy; maintaining a diverse membership; sponsoring Independent Task Forces; and providing up-to-date information about the world and U.S. foreign policy on the Council's website, CFR.org.

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

Basis of Accounting—The financial statements are prepared on the accrual basis. The Council adheres to accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America, which include some specialized requirements described more fully in publications of the Financial Accounting Standards Board and the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants.

Cash and Cash Equivalents—The Council considers all highly liquid investments purchased with a maturity of three months or less, excluding cash and money market funds held as investment, to be cash equivalents.

Investments—The Council's investments in marketable debt and equity securities are classified as available for sale and are recorded at their fair values, which are based on quoted market prices. Donated securities are recorded at their fair market value on the date received using an average of the high and low price on the date received. Interest income is recorded on an accrual basis and dividend income is recorded based on the exdividend date.

It is Council policy to make an annual investment allocation for the support of operations up to 5 percent of the average market value of investments for the three previous years. Amounts allocated to the unrestricted net asset class are at the discretion of the Council. Amounts allocated to the temporarily restricted net asset class are based on the donor's stipulation.

The Council's investment in 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. The Council has the ability to liquidate its investments in limited partnerships only periodically in accordance with the provisions of respective partnership agreements.

The fair value of certain of the Council's investments without readily quoted market prices is determined on an estimated basis by the investment managers. Because of the inherent uncertainty of valuation, the values determined by the investment managers may differ from values that would be used had a ready market for these investments existed, and the differences could be material.

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 5). Leasehold improvements are capitalized and amortized over the shorter of the period of the lease or the life of the improvements. The fair value of donated property and equipment is similarly capitalized and depreciated.

Deferred Compensation—The Council has deferred compensation arrangements with certain current employees. Investment earnings accrue to the benefit of the employees. The bonus payments and accrued earnings are included in accounts payable and accrued expenses in the financial statements. As of the year ended June 30, 2006, the amount is \$168,600.

Inventory—Inventory consists of paper that is stored offsite and used in the printing of the bimonthly publication Foreign Affairs. Inventory is stated at the lower of cost (first in, first out method) or market.

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 percent spending policy (see Note 2), 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 consist of 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 consist of funds that are restricted by donors for a specific time period or purpose. When restriction expires (that is, when a stipulated time restriction ends or purpose restriction is accomplished), temporarily restricted net assets are reclassified to unrestricted net assets and reported in the statement of activities as net assets released from restrictions.

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 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, using the estimated useful life of the asset.

Membership dues are recorded as membership dues revenue in the period in which the dues relate to the member's duration of membership. Conditional contributions, such as grants with matching requirements, are recognized in the appropriate net asset class when the conditions

have been met. Bequests are recognized as receivables at the time unassailable rights to the gifts have been established and the proceeds are measurable.

Payments for subscriptions to Foreign Affairs are recognized as revenue over the period during which the subscriptions are fulfilled.

Allowance for Doubtful Accounts—As of June 30, 2006 and 2005, the Council determined that an allowance for uncollectible accounts of \$113,700 and \$238,600, respectively, is necessary. This determination is based on a combination of factors, such as management's estimate of the creditworthiness of its members and contributors, a review of individual accounts outstanding, the aged basis of receivable, current economic conditions, and historical experience.

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 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 activities.

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.

Allocation of Expenses—The cost of providing the various programs and the supporting services has been summarized on a functional basis in the statements of activities. Accordingly, certain costs have been allocated by management among the programs and supporting services benefited as a percentage of all direct program expenses.

Reclassifications—Certain 2005 amounts have been reclassified to conform to the 2006 presentation. These reclassifications did not affect total net assets.

3. INVESTMENTS

The components of the Council's long-term investments as of June 30, 2006 and 2005, respectively, are as follows:

	2006	2005
Domestic equity securities	\$ 57,955,100	\$ 48,137,100
International equity securities	33,015,200	26,367,600
Foreign and corporate bonds	8,990,800	13,083,500
U.S. government agency obligations	15,502,800	13,019,800
Alternate investments:		
Equity hedge funds	54,663,900	46,026,300 A
Absolute return fund of funds	23,870,100	27,318,500 B
Private equity funds	4,029,500	942,500 ^C
Real estate fund of funds	1,524,800	266,400 ^D
Money markets	8,456,200	12,635,500
Total	\$208,008,400	\$187,797,200

- A. Hedge funds are investments in limited partnerships that invest primarily in domestic and international equity securities. The hedge funds may also trade various financial instruments with off-balance-sheet risk. These financial instruments include securities sold short and long, option 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. These instruments do not subject the Council to off-balance-sheet risk.
- B. The absolute return fund of funds is an investment in limited partnership that invests primarily through a diversified group of other funds. The goal of the fund is to achieve consistent long-term growth of capital with reduced volatility. The underlying assets consist primarily of equity and fixed-income securities.
- C. Private equity funds are funds whose purpose is to achieve capital appreciation through investments primarily in foreign and domestic securities of companies that are not publicly traded.
- D. The real estate fund of funds is an investment in a limited partnership that invests in real estate managers pursuing traditional commercial property strategies.

Investments, in general, are exposed to various risks, such as interest rate, credit, and overall market volatility. As such, it is reasonably possible that changes in the values of investments will occur in the near term and that such changes could materially affect the amounts reported in the statements of financial position and activities.

Investment return consists of the following for the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005:

	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total	2005
Dividends and interest (net of invest- ment expenses of \$2,561,900 and \$2,182,600 in 2006 and				
2005, respectively)	\$ (11,500)	\$ (4,900)	\$ (16,400)	\$ (109,700)
Realized gain	6,508,700	2,768,000	9,276,700	14,231,200
Unrealized gain	7,643,100	3,250,600	10,893,700	3,869,600
Net realized and unrealized gain	14,151,800	6,018,600	20,170,400	18,210,800
Total return on investments	14,140,300	6,013,700	20,154,000	18,101,100
Investment return used for				
current operations	(817,500)	(3,873,300)	(4,690,800)	(5,257,200)
Investment gain in excess of				
spending rate	\$13,322,800	\$ 2,140,400	\$ 15,463,200	\$ 12,843,900

4. GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVABLE AND CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVABLE FOR ENDOWMENT

Receivables consist substantially of promises to give and are due from individuals, corporations, and foundations. Grants and contributions receivable and contributions receivable for endowment as of June 30, 2006 and 2005, respectively, are due to be collected as follows:

	2006	2005
Amount due in less than one year:		
Grants and contributions receivable	\$ 1,555,300	\$1,442,100
Contributions receivable for endowment	28,094,500	2,434,500
Total	29,649,800	3,876,600
Amount due in one to five years:		
Grants and contributions receivable	780,000	825,000
Contributions receivable for endowment	4,878,100	184,000
Total	5,658,100	1,009,000
Gross receivable	35,307,900	4,885,600
Less discount (at rates varying from 2.27% to 5.12%)	(593,600)	(60,600)
Total net	\$34,714,300	\$4,825,000

The amortization of pledge discount is reflected as additional contribution revenue.

The Council embarked on an endowment campaign in 2006. Contributions totaling \$36,100,000 were received in pledges during the year ended June 30, 2006. Included in this total is \$26,050,000 in contributions from Board members, of which \$26,040,000 was receivable as of June 20, 2006. The principal contributions are permanently restricted for the endowment campaign. The earnings can be used for general or specified purposes.

5. LAND, BUILDINGS AND BUILDING IMPROVEMENTS, AND EQUIPMENT

Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, at cost, as of June 30, 2006 and 2005, are summarized as follows:

			Estimated
	2006	2005	Useful Life
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	31,240,200	30,828,600	10-55 years
Construction in progress		114,000	
Equipment	6,208,500	5,854,400	3-15 years
Total	39,303,000	38,651,300	
Less accumulated depreciation	(14,848,000)	(14,172,500)	
Total net	\$ 24,455,000	\$ 24,478,800	

Depreciation expense was \$1,713,600 and \$1,555,300 for the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005, respectively. During 2006, assets that are fully depreciated were written off in the amount of \$1,038,100.

Certain long-term leases for equipment are classified as capital leases. Accordingly, such equipment is capitalized and depreciated on a straight-line basis over the life of the lease. The corresponding obligation of approximately \$306,200 as of June 30, 2006 (included in accounts payable and accrued expenses), under the capital lease represents the present value of the rental payments discounted by the interest rates implicit in the lease agreements of 10.13 percent. The obligations are all maturing in 2009. The minimum future lease payments subsequent to June 30, 2006, are included in Note 10.

6. RETIREMENT PLAN

The Council has a defined contribution retirement plan covering all employees who meet the minimum service requirements. Payments, which are 12.5 percent of each participant's salary for employees hired prior to July 1, 1998, and 10 percent for each participant hired after that date, are made to Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund to purchase individual annuities for plan members. The expense for the plan was \$1,037,400 for 2006 and \$977,400 for 2005, respectively. Participants must contribute 2.5 percent of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.

7. OTHER POSTRETIREMENT BENEFITS

The Council provides certain health care and life insurance benefits for its retired employees. Employees are eligible for those benefits when they meet the criteria for retirement under the Postretirement Plan (the "Plan").

Obligations and funded status as determined as of the end of the year measurement date:

	2006	2005
Benefit obligation, end of year	\$(3,723,000)	\$(3,541,000)
Net amount recognized in the		
statements of financial position	\$(2,230,000)	\$(2,037,000)

The Council funds expenses and benefit payments as they are incurred annually and has not contributed funds to separate trusteed accounts to fund the accumulated postretirement benefit obligations. The discount rate used to determine the end of year obligation is 6.25 percent and 5.5 percent for the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005, respectively. The postretirement benefits paid during the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005, respectively, were \$227,000 and \$228,000.

The postretirement benefit cost for the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005, respectively, was \$193,000 and \$66,000 and was based on actuarial assumptions and a discount rate set as of the beginning of the year. The discount rate was 6.5 percent and the projected credit unit method was used for determining benefits earned during the year.

Assumed health care cost trend rates at June 30:

	2006	2005
Health care cost trend rate assumed for next year	8%	9%
Rate to which the cost trend rate is assumed to decline	5%	5%
Year that the rate reaches the ultimate trend rate	2009	2009

Increasing the assumed medical care cost trend rates by 1 percent in each year would increase the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation at June 30, 2006, by \$42,000. Decreasing the assumed health care cost trend rates by 1 percent would decrease the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation by \$35,000.

The following postretirement benefit payments, which reflect expected future service, as appropriate, are expected to be paid:

Year ending June 30,	
2007	\$ 239,000
2008	242,000
2009	257,000
2010	268,000
2011	271,000
2012-2016	1.377.000

The Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and Modernization Act of 2003 (the "Act") was signed into law in December 2003. The Act introduces a prescription drug benefit under Medicare. The Council applied for the subsidy in 2005. The accumulated postretirement benefit obligation was reduced in 2005 by \$332,000, with no further impact in 2006.

8. TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

Temporarily restricted net assets as of June 30, 2006 and 2005, are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

	2006	2005
Studies	\$29,448,900	\$27,616,100
International Affairs Fellowships	4,379,600	4,391,800
Next Generation Fellowship	935,500	
Meetings	2,123,500	2,331,500
Capital expenditures	4,492,100	4,745,300
Other	386,700	45,100
Total	\$41,766,300	\$39,129,800

Temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions by incurring expenses satisfying the restricted purposes or by the occurrence of other events specified by the donors for the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005, as follows:

	2006	2005
Studies	\$8,309,900	\$7,248,900
International Affairs Fellowships	596,400	474,800
Meetings	536,200	514,700
Capital expenditures	260,000	260,000
Other	25,200	11,600
Total	\$ 9,727,700	\$8,510,000

9. PERMANENTLY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

Income earned on permanently restricted net assets is available for the following purposes as of June 30, 2006 and 2005:

	2006	2005
Studies	\$ 45,176,200	\$44,442,700
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,200	6,066,200
Meetings	4,686,400	4,681,800
Library	1,021,000	1,021,000
Unrestricted as for use	51,090,100	14,986,000
Total	\$108,039,900	\$ 71,197,700

10. COMMITMENTS

The Council leases certain office facilities and equipment under operating lease arrangements. These leases consist of the Washington, DC, office space and various office equipment rentals.

Future minimum payments for capital and noncancelable operating leases as of June 30, 2006, are as follows:

Year ending June 30,	Real Property	Equipment	Total
2007	\$241,500	\$223,300	\$ 464,800
2008	241,500	203,600	445,100
2009	_	164,500	164,500
2010	_	17,700	17,700
2011		1,400	1,400
Total	\$483,000	\$610,500	\$1,093,500

Rent expense under the operating leases was \$241,500 and \$280,000 for the years ended June 30, 2006 and 2005, respectively.



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MEMBERSHIP

The Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York City, Washington, DC, 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 individuals for membership. Membership development efforts are focused on identifying potential Council members from various professions, geographic areas, and racial and ethnic groups, as well as on finding qualified female candidates.

MEMBERSHIP SELECTION PROCEDURES

New members are named twice a year by the Board of Directors, which invites selected men and women to join based on the recommendations of the Membership Committee. The committee, which meets twice a year, is composed of five members of the Board and other non-Board members that the committee chair appoints. To be considered by the Membership Committee, candidates must be proposed for membership by current Council members. The roster of members is listed at the end of this annual report.

At every meeting, the Membership Committee considers significantly more candidates than there are vacancies. Thus, it is inevitable that some nominations will appear before the committee on several occasions. Given the high level of the competition, some candidates may never be elected even though they may embody many of 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 30 and 36 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 life members. Initiated more than thirty years ago, the program has grown to the point where the Board has decided to index the number of term members to no more than 15 percent of the total Council membership.

BECOMING A MEMBER

Every candidate for life membership must be formally nominated in writing by one member and seconded by three other individuals. To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated by one member and seconded by two other individuals. The seconding letters do not need to be from Council members, but letters from members are strongly encouraged. It is recommended that at least one letter from a current or former professional colleague be included. All candidates must complete a nominee information form, which can be found on the Council's website, and provide a curriculum vitae or chronological resume. If foreign-born, the candidate must submit a statement that he or she has been naturalized or is a permanent resident who has made formal application for citizenship. All materials should be sent electronically to membership@cfr.org. Emailed letters must include an electronic signature or letterhead or must be supplemented with a signed hard copy, sent via mail or fax.

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 Department in a timely manner. Candidates or their nominators are responsible for securing seconding letters within the 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 the following:

- Council membership is restricted to citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.
- Members of the Council's Board of Directors and Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, or writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- ◆ A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as a parent, sibling, 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. Additionally, members are encouraged to make comparative judgments about candidates, where appropriate. The committee also advises members to write no more than two letters per round (either one nominating letter and one seconding letter, or two seconding letters).

NOMINATING LETTERS

Letters nominating a candidate for consideration by the Membership Committee should be no more than 500 words in length. Please 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 as comprehensive (and should be no more than 300 words in length) 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 nominating and seconding 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.

Although only three seconding letters are required to complete the application (only two seconding letters for term membership), additional letters may be submitted. 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. It is strongly recommended, however, that applications contain no more than four seconding letters.

All membership nominating and seconding letters should be emailed as text or Microsoft Word documents to membership@cfr.org.

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.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP

The deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the Membership Committee to consider life membership candidates are March 1 and October 1.

TERM MEMBERSHIP

The deadline for receipt of all materials for the annual meeting of the Term Membership Committee to consider term membership candidates is November 1.

NOTIFICATION OF CANDIDATES

All membership candidates and their nominators will receive notification of the committee's decisions according to the schedule below. Seconders of elected candidates will also be notified.

	APPLICATION DEADLINE	NOTIFICATION
Life Membership	March 1	June
Term Membership	November 1	June
Life Membership	October 1	February

Candidates who are unsuccessful at any given meeting remain eligible for consideration at a subsequent meeting of the committee. An application is reactivated when new materials are received. It is strongly recommended that candidates submit at least one new letter of support, an updated curriculum vitae, and a new nominee information form. If a candidate is not elected after two consecutive meetings, the application will be placed on hold for a period of three years for life membership candidates

and one year for term membership candidates. After the hold period, the candidate may reactivate the file for consideration.

The process is entirely one of affirmative selection 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.

PROFILE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIP
LOCATION		
New York Area	1,406	33
Washington, DC, Area	1,292	30
National/International	1,584	37
Total	4,282	100
PROFESSION		
Business	1,367	32
Professors, Fellows,		
and Researchers	777	18
Nonprofit	646	15
Government Officials	464	11
Lawyers	288	7
University and College		
Administrators	271	6
Correspondents, Journalists,		
and Editors	254	6
Other	215	5
Total	4,282	100

Contact for all membership matters and correspondence:

Elise Carlson Lewis
Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs
Council on Foreign Relations
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Fax: (212) 434-9801
Email: membership@cfr.org

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

A
Aaron, David L.
Abbot, Charles S.
Abbott, Wilder K.
Abboud, A. Robert
Abboud, Labeeb M.
Abell, Keith W.
Abercrombie, Cara L.†
Abercrombie-Winstanley,
Gina K.
Abernethy, Robert John
Abizaid, John P.

Abramowitz, Michael J.
Abramowitz, Morton I.
Abrams, Elliott
Abrams, Stacey Y:†
Abshire, David M.
Aburdene, Odeh F.
Ackerman, Peter
Adams, Gordon M.
Adams, Michael F.
Adams, Robert McCormick
Adams, Timothy Dees*
Adelman, Carol C.

Adelman, Kenneth L. Adler, Allen R. Aggarwal, Vinod K. Agnew, Harold M. Agostinelli, Robert F. Ahearn, William E. Ahern, Stephanie R.† Aidinoff, M. Bernard Ajami, Fouad Albion, Alexis K.† Albright, Madeleine K. Alderman, Michael H. Alderman, Peter Belmont Aldrich, George H. Alexander, Margo N. Alexander, Robert I.

Alford, William P. Ali, Mustafa Javed Allaire, Paul A. Allan, Scott Hazzard Jr. Allbritton, Joe L. Allen, J. Michael III Allen, Jodie T. Allen, Lew Jr. Allen, Richard V. Allen, William L. Allison, Graham T. Allison, Richard C. Almond, Michael A. Alonzo, Anne L. Alter, Jonathan H. Alterman, Jon B.

* Elected to membership in 2006.

†Elected to five-year term membership in 2006. Note: Membership shown as of August 31, 2006.

Altman, Roger C. Altman, William C. Altshuler, David Alvarado, Donna Maria Alvarez, Jose E. Alvarez, Kira M. Alving, Amy E. Amador, Angelo I. Amanat, Omar S. Amerine, Jason L. Amlani, Ajay Kishan Amos, Deborah Susan Amr, Hady A. Andelman, David A. Andersen, Harold W. Anderson, Craig B. Anderson, Desaix Anderson, Edward G. III Anderson, Gloria B. Anderson, John B. Anderson, Lisa Anderson, Mark A. Anderson, Paul F. Anderson, Wendy R.† Andreas, Terry Lynn Andrews, David R. Andrews, Michael A. Angelson, Mark A. Ansour, M. Michael Anthoine, Robert Anthony, John Duke Aossey, Nancy A. Apgar, David P. Aponte, Mari Carmen Appenteng, Kofi Appiah, Kwame Anthony Applebaum, Anne E. Apter, David E. Arcos, Cresencio S. Arend, Anthony Clark Arkin, Stanley S. Armacost, Michael H. Armstrong, Anne L. Armstrong, C. Michael Armstrong, Lloyd Jr. Arnhold, Henry H. Arnold, Millard W. Aron, Adam M. Aronson, Bernard W. Aronson, Jonathan David Arsenian, Deana* Arsht, Adrienne Art, Robert J. Arthurs, Alberta Artigiani, Carole Asencio, Diego C. Aslan, Rezat Asmus, Ronald D. Assousa, George E. Atkins, Benjamin A. Atkins, Betsy S. Atkinson, Caroline* Atwood, J. Brian Auer, James E.

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Awuah, Patrick G. Jr.
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Ayers, H. Brandt
Ayres, Alyssa C.
Azim, Khalid

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Barry, Grace

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Cattarulla, Elliot R.

^{*} Elected to membership in 2006.

[†]Elected to five-year term membership in 2006.

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Haas, Mimi L.
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Hadley, Stephen J.
Hafner, Joseph A. Jr.
Hagel, Chuck
Hagen, Katherine A.

Haggard, Stephan Haider, D. Blake Haig, Alexander M. Jr. Hailston, Earl B. Hajari, Nisid J. Hakim, Peter Hale, David D. Hale, Lyric Hughes Hall, C. Barrows Hall, John P. Hall, Kathryn Walt Halper, James D. Halperin, David R. Halperin, Morton H. Halsted, Thomas A. Haltzel, Michael H. Hamburg, David A. Hamburg, Margaret Ann Hamel, Michael A. Hamilton, Ann O. Hamilton, Charles V. Hamilton, Daniel Hamilton, Edward K. Hamilton, Hugh Gerard Jr. Hamilton, John Maxwell Hamilton, Lee H. Hammond-Chambers, Rupert J. Hammonds, D. Holly Hamre, John J. Hancock, Ellen Hand, Lloyd N. Hand, Scott M. Handelman, Stephen Hansell, Herbert J. Hansen, Carol Rae Hanson, Carl Thor Hantz, Giselle P. Hantzopoulos, Evie* Harari, Maurice Hardin, Edward J. Hardin, Katherine Anderson Harding, Deborah A. Harding, Harry Hardt, John P. Hargrove, John Lawrence Harman, Jane Harman, Sidney Harmon, James A. Harpel, James W. Harper, Conrad K. Harrington, Maureen Ann Harris, David A. Harris, Jay T. Harris, Joshua J. Harris, Katherine Harris, Martha Caldwell Harrison, Hope M. Harrison, Selig S. Harrison, William B. Jr. Hart, Gary Hart, Robert C.

Hart, Todd Christopher

Hartley, Jane D.

* Elected to membership in 2006.

[†]Elected to five-year term membership in 2006.

Hartman, Arthur A. Hartogensis, Gordon A. Hartzell, Jon K. Haseltine, William Alan Haskell, John H.F. Jr. Hathaway, Robert M. Hauge, John Resor Hauser, Rita E. Hauser, William Locke Havell, Theresa A. Hawkins, Ashton Hawley, F. William Hawthorne, Amy W. 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. Healey, Kerry Murphy Healy, Harold H. Jr. Heaney, Andrew P.† Heck, Charles B. Hecker, Siegfried S. Heckman, Leila Hedges, Christopher Lynn Hedstrom, Mitchell W. Heep-Richter, Barbara D. Heer, Paul Heginbotham, Stanley J. Hehir, J. Bryan Heimann, John G. Heimbold, Charles A. Jr. Heimowitz, James B. Heineman, Benjamin W. Jr. Heineman, Melvin L. Heintz, Stephen B. Heintzen, Harry Leonard Heinz, Christopher D. Heinz, Teresa Hejlik, Dennis J. Helander, Robert C. Heldring, Frederick Heleniak, David W. Helfer, Ricki Tigert Helgerson, John L. Heller, Jane J. Heller, Richard M. Hellman, F. Warren Hellman, Steven E. Hellmann, Donald Charles Helm, Robert W. Helm, Suzanne Helman, Robert A. Helprin, Mark Hendricks, Darryll E. Hendrickson, David C. Henkin, Alice H. Henkin, Louis Hennessy, John M. Henninger, Daniel P.

Henrikson, Alan K. Henry, Nancy L. Henry, Peter A. Hentges, Harriet Herberger, Roy A. Jr. Hermann, Charles F. Hernandez Colon, Rafael Hernandez, Antonia Hernandez, Ernesto P. III Herrera-Flanigan, Jessica Rae Herrnstadt, Owen Edward Herskovits, Jean Hersman, Rebecca K.C. Herspring, Dale R. Herter, Frederic P. Hertog, Roger Hertzberg, Hendrik Hertzberg, Robert M. Herz, Barbara Herzfeld, Charles M. Herzstein, Jessica A.* Herzstein, Robert E. Hesburgh, Theodore M. Hess, John B. Hess, Marlene Hessler, Curtis A. Hewlett, Sylvia Ann Heyman, William H. Hiatt, Fred Hicks, Irvin Hicks, John F. Sr. Hicks, Kathleen Holland* Hicks, Peggy L. Hidary, Jack D. Higginbotham, F. Michael Higgins, Heather Richardson Higgins, Neal Higgins, Robert F. Hight, B. Boyd Hill, Fiona Hill, J. Tomilson Hill, James T. Hill, Janine W. Hill, Joseph C. Hill, Pamela Hill, Raymond D. Hillen, John Hillgren, Sonja Hills, Carla A. Hindery, Leo J. Jr.* Hinerfeld, Ruth Hines, Rachel Hinton, Deane R. Hirsch, John L. Hirsh, Michael P. Hitz, Frederick P. Hoagland, Jim Hoar, Joseph Paul Hobbs Miracky, Tammany D. Hobson, H. Lee Hobson, Mellody Hoch, Frank W. Hodin, Michael W.

Hoeber, Amoretta M.

Hoehn, Andrew R. Hoehn, William E. Jr. Hoenlein, Malcolm I. Hoffman, A. Michael Hoffman, Bruce Hoffmann, Stanley Hofman, Steven I. Hogan, Jeffrey N. Hoge, James F. Jr. Hoge, Warren M. Hoguet, George Roberts Hoinkes, Mary Elizabeth Holbrooke, Richard C. Holcomb, M. Scott† Holden, John L. Holdren, John P. Holford, Mandë N.† Holgate, Laura S.H. Hollick, Ann Lorraine Holliday, Stuart W.* Hollifield, James Frank Hollis, Duncan Baker Holloway, Dwight F. Jr. Holmer, Alan F. Holmes, Henry Allen Holmes, Kim R. Holmes, Stephen T. Holst, Eric Allan Holt, Pat M. Holtz-Eakin, Douglas Holum, John D. Hooker, Richard D. Jr. Hope, Judith Richards Hope, Richard O. Horelick, Arnold L. Horlick, Gary N. Hormats, Robert D. Horn, Karen N. Horn, Sally K. Horner, Matina Souretis Hornik, Richard H. Hornthal, James Horowitz, Irving Louis Horton, Robert Scott Hosmer, Bradley C. Hoston, Germaine A. Hottelet, Richard C. Houghton, Amory Jr. Houghton, James R. Houlihan, Kathleen House, Brett E. House, Karen Elliott Howard, A. E. Dick Howard, Christopher Bernard* Howard, John R. Howard, Lyndsay C. Howard, M. William Jr. Howell, Ernest M. Howson, Nicholas C. Hoyt, Kendall L. Hoyt, Mont P. Hrinak, Donna J.* Hrynkow, Sharon H.

Hsu, Ta-Lin

Huang, Yanzhong† Huber, Richard L. Huberman, Benjamin Hudson, Manley O. Jr. Hudson, Michael C. Huebner, Lee W. Huey, John W. Jr. Hufbauer, Gary C. Huffington, Roy M. Hughes, Lynn N. Hughes, R. John Hughes, Thomas Lowe Hull, Edmund J. Hulsman, John C. Hultman, Tamela Hultquist, Timothy A. Hume, Cameron R. Hume, Ellen H. Hunker, Jeffrey A. Hunt, Swanee Hunter, Robert E. Hunter, Shireen T. Hunter, Thomas O.* Hunter, William Curt Hunter-Gault, Charlayne Huntington, Patricia Skinner Huntington, Samuel Phillips Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman† Hurd, Joseph Kindall III Hurewitz, J. C. Hurlock, James B. Hurowitz, Richard A. Hurst, Robert J. Hurwitz, Sol Hutchings, Robert L. Hutchins, Glenn H. Huyck, Philip M. Hyatt, Joel Z. Hyland, Richard* Hyland, William G. Hyman, Allen I.

Ibargüen, Alberto Ignatius, David R. Ijaz, Mansoor Ikenberry, G. John Ikle, Fred C. Ilchman, Alice Stone Immergut, Mel M. Inderfurth, Karl F. Indyk, Martin S. Ingersoll, Robert S. Inglis, Shelley Case† Inman, Bobby R. Intriligator, Michael D. Irish, Leon E. Irvin, Patricia L. Isaacs, Maxine Isaacson, Walter S. Iselin, John Jav Iseman, Frederick J. Isenberg, Steven L. Isham, Christopher

Ispahani, Mahnaz Istel, Yves-Andre Itoh, William H. Ivester, M. Douglas Izlar, William H. Jr.

Jabber, Paul Jackelen, Henry Jacklin, Nancy P. Jackson, Bruce P. Jackson, Jesse L. Sr. Jackson, John H. Jackson, Lois M. Jackson, Sarah Jackson, Shirley Ann Jacob, John E. Jacobs, Eli S. Jacobs, Jack H. Jacobs, Jennifer A.† Jacobs, Nehama Jacobson, Jerome Jaffe, Amy Myers Jamal, Amaney A. James, Francis John Janes, David P. Janes, Jackson Janis, Mark Weston Janklow, Morton L. Janow, Merit E. Jaquette, Jane S. Jarvis, Nancy A. Jastrow, Robert Jebb, Cindy R. Jefferson, Ian Markus† Jenkins, Bonnie D. Jenkins, Jennifer Cecelia Jensen, Kenneth M. Jervis, Robert Jessup, Alpheus W. Jessup, Philip C. Jr. Jeter, Howard F. Jett, Dennis C. Jillson, Calvin C. Joffe, Robert D. Johns, Lionel Skipwith Johnson Ward, L. Celeste Johnson, Howard W. Johnson, James A. Johnson, James E. Johnson, Jay L. Johnson, Jeh Charles Johnson, Jerry L.† Johnson, Karen H. Johnson, L. Oakley Johnson, Larry D. Johnson, Nancie S. Johnson, Robbin S. Johnson, Robert W. IV Johnson, Scott S.

Johnson, Willene A. Johnson, Wyatt Thomas Jones, Alan Kent Jones, Anita K. Jones, David C. Jones, David L. Jones, Frederick L. II Jones, James R. Jones, Jeffrey B. Jones, Kali Chantelle Jones, Kerri-Ann Jones, Thomas V. Jones, Thomas W. Joost, Peter Martin Jordan, Eason T. Jordan, Robert W. Jordan, Vernon E. Jr. Joseph, Geri M. Joseph, James A. Joseph, Jofi John Joseph, Richard A. Josephson, William Judge, Barbara Thomas Juhasz, Christina S. Jumper, John P. Junz, Helen B. Juster, Kenneth I. Jutkowitz, Alexander S.

Kadel, Eric John Jr. Kaden, Lewis B. Kadlec, Robert P. Kagan, Robert W. Kahan, Jerome H. Kahler, Miles Kahn, Thomas S. Kaiser, Miranda Margaret Kaiser, Philip M. Kaiser, Robert G. Kalb, Bernard Kalb, Marvin Kalicki, Jan H. Kamarck, Andrew Martin Kamarck, Elaine C. Kaminsky, Howard Kampelman, Max M. Kamsky, Virginia Ann Kanak, Donald P. Kanet, Roger E. Kang, C. S. Eliot Kang, Richard S. Kann, Peter R. Kansteiner, Walter H. III Kanter, Arnold Kanter, Rosabeth Moss Kantor, Mickey Kaplan, Eloise D.

Kaplan, Gilbert

Kaplan, Joel D.

Kaplan, Helene L.

Kaplan, Mark N. Kaplan, Richard N.* Kaplan, Stephen S. Kapnick, Scott Bancroft Kapp, Robert A. Kapstein, Ethan B. Karabell, Zachary Karalekas, Anne Karamanian, Susan L. Karatnycky, Adrian Karatz, Bruce E. Karis, Thomas G. Karl, Jonathan David* Karl, Terry Lynn Karnow, Stanley Karns, Margaret P. Karp, Jonathan D. Kartman, Charles Kasdin, Robert Kass, Stephen L. Kassalow, Jordan S. Kassinger, Theodore W.* Kassof, Allen H. Kathwari, Farooq Katulis, Brian M. Katz, Abraham Katz, Daniel Roger Katz, Robert J. Katz, Sherman E. Katz, Stanley N. Katzenstein, Peter J. Kauffman, Richard L.* Kaufman, Daniel J. Kaufman, Henry Kaufman, Robert R. Kaufmann, William W. Kavoukjian, Michael E. Kay, Kira* Kave, Charles R. Kave, David A. Kaysen, Carl Kazemi, Farhad Kea, Charlotte G. Kean, Thomas H. Keane, John M.* Keel, Alton G. Jr. Keene, Lonnie S. Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr. Kelleher, Catherine M. Keller, Edmond J. Keller, Kenneth H. Kellerman, Barbara L. Kelley, Paul X. Kellner, Peter Bicknell Kellogg, David Kelly, Alfred F. Jr. Kelly, Arthur L. Kelly, Francis J. Kelly, James P. Kelly, John H. Kelman, Herbert C. Kemble, Eugenia Kemp, Geoffrey

Kempe, Frederick S.

Kempner, Maximilian W. Kendall, Donald McIntosh Kenen, Peter B. Keniston, Kenneth Kennan, Christopher J. Kennan, Elizabeth T. Kennedy, Caroline Bouvier Kennedy, Craig Kennedy, David W. Keohane, Nannerl O. Keohane, Robert O. Kern, Paul J. Kerr, Ann Zwicker Kerrey, Bob Kerry, John F. Kerry, Peggy Kessler, Glenn Andrew Kessler, Martha Neff Kester, W. Carl Khalidi, Rashid I. Khalilzad, Zalmay M. Khan, Moushumi M. Khosrowshahi, Cameron Kamran Khuri, Nicola N. Kifayat, Adnan Kiley, Robert R. Kim, Andrew Byong-Soo Kim, Hanya Marie Kim, Sukhan Kimmitt, Robert M. Kimsey, James V. Kinane, William Patrick King, Henry L. King, Kay King, Robert R. King, Susan Robinson Kinsella, Kevin J.* Kipper, Judith Kireopoulos, Antonios S.* Kiriakou, Heather Katherine Kirkland, Richard I. Kirkpatrick, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, John David* Kirkpatrick, Melanie M. Kishkovsky, Leonid Kissinger, Henry A. Kittrie, Orde F. Kizer, Karin L. Kladakis, Monica Vegas Klein, David Klein, Edward Klein, George Klein, Jacques Paul Klein, Joseph A. Kleine-Ahlbrandt, Stephanie T.† Klimp, Jack Wilbur Kline, Roger C. Klotz, Frank G. Klurfeld, James M. Knell, Gary E. Knight, Edward S.

Knight, Jessie J. Jr.

* Elected to membership in 2006.

Johnson, Thomas S.

[†]Elected to five-year term membership in 2006.

Knowlton, William Allen Knudsen, Christine M. Kogan, Richard Jay Kohut, Andrew Kojac, Jeff Kolb, Charles E.M. Kolbe, Jim Kolodziej, Edward A. Koltai, Steven R. Komisar, Lucy Kondracke, Morton Koonin, Steven E. Korb, Lawrence I. Korbonski, Andrzej Kormos, Cyril Frederic Kornblum, John C. Kornblut, Anne E. Kostiw, Michael Vincent Kotecha, Mahesh K. Kotler, Steven Kovner, Bruce S. Kraft, Robert K. Kramek, Robert E. Kramer, J. Reed Kramer, Jane Kramer, Michael Kramer, Orin S. Kramer, Steven Philip Kranwinkle, C. Douglas Kranz, Thomas F. Krasner, Stephen D. Krasno, Richard M. Krauss, Clifford Krauthammer, Charles Kravis, Henry R. Kravis, Marie-Josée Kreek, Mary Jeanne Krens, Thomas Krepinevich, Andrew F. Krepon, Michael Kriegel, Jay L. Krikorian, Victoria Reznik Krisher, Bernard Kristof, Nicholas D. Kristoff, Sandra J. Kroeger, Kate M.J. Kronman, Anthony Townsend Krueger, Anne O. Krueger, Harvey Krulak, Charles Chandler Ku, Charlotte Kubarych, Roger M. Kubisch, Jack B. Kuenstner, Nancy Jo Kull, Steven G. Kulma, Michael G. Kumar, Nisha Kumar, Raj U. Kumar-Sinha, Punita Kuniholm, Bruce Robellet Kunstadter, Geraldine S. Kupchan, Charles A. Kupchan, Clifford A.

Kupperman Thorp, Tamara‡ Kupperman, Robert H. Kurth, James R. Kurtzer, Daniel C. Kushen, Robert A. Kux, Dennis Kwoh, Stewart

Laber, Jeri L. Labott, Elise S.† Ladd, Edward Lader, Philip Ladner, Drew J. LaFleur, Vinca Lagomasino, Maria Elena Lagon, Mark P. Laipson, Ellen Lake, David A. Lal, Venkateshwar Lamb, Denis Lambert, Brett B. Lambeth, Benjamin S. Lambright, James H. Lamont, Lansing Lampton, David M. Lancaster, Carol J. Land, Richard D.* Landau, George W. Landers, James M. Lane, Charles M. Lane, David I. Laney, James T. Langlois, John D. Jr. Langlois, Robert J. Lanskoy, Miriam Lantz, Matthew P. LaPalombara, Joseph Lapenn, Jessica E. Lapham, Lewis H. Lapham, Nicholas Payne Lapidus, Gail W. Lardy, Nicholas R. Lariviere, Richard W.* Larrabee, F. Stephen Larsen, Randall J. Larson, Charles R. Lasensky, Scott B. Lash, Jonathan Lasry, Marc* Lasser, Lawrence J. Lateef, Noel V. Latif, S. Amer Lau, Edwin Lauder, Leonard A. Lauder, Ronald S. Lauder, William Philip* Laudicina, Paul A. Lauinger, Philip C. Jr. Laurenti, Jeffrey Lautenbach, Ned C. Lautz, Terrill E. Laventhol, David A.

Lawrence, Richard D.

Lawrence, Robert Z. Lawson, Chappell H. Lawson, Eugene K. Layne, Christopher Lazarus, Shelly B. Lazarus, Steven Leach, James A. Leclerc, Paul Lederberg, Joshua Lederman, Gordon Nathaniel* Lee, Chong-Moon Lee, Nancy Lee, Thea Mei Leebron, David W. Leed, Maren Leeds, Jeffrey T. Leeds, Roger S. Lee-Kung, Dinah Leet, Kenneth H.M. Leet, Mildred Robbins Leffall, LaSalle D. III Leghorn, Richard S. Legro, Jeffrey W. Legvold, Robert Lehman, John F. Lehman, Orin Lehman, Ronald Frank II Lehrer, Jim Leich, John Foster Leklem, Erik James Leland, Marc E. Lelyveld, Joseph LeMelle, Gerald A. LeMelle, Tilden J. Lemkin, Bruce S.* Lemle, J. Stuart Lempert, Robert J. Lempert, Yael Lennon, Alexander T.J. Lennox, William J. Jr. Lenti, Sarah M. Lenzen, Louis C. LeoGrande, William M. Leonard, James F. Leone, Richard C. Lesch, Ann Mosely Leslie, John W. Jr. Lesser, Ian O. Levensohn, Pascal N. Leverett, Flynt L. Levin, Gerald M. Levin, Herbert Levin, John A. Levin, Michael Stuart Levine, Irving R. Levine, Mel Levine, Susan B. Levinson, Marc Levitt, Arthur Jr. Levitt, Matthew A. Levy, Reynold Lew, Jacob J.*

Lewis, Anthony

Lewis, Bernard Lewis, Edward T. Lewis, John P. Lewis, Maureen A.* Lewis, Stephen R. Jr. Lewis, W. Walker Lewy, Glen S. Li, Lu* Libby, I. Lewis Jr. Lichtblau, John H. Lichtenstein, Cynthia C. Lieber, James E. Lieber, Robert I. Lieberman, Joseph I. Lieberman, Nancy A. Lieberthal, Keith L. Lieberthal, Kenneth G. Liebman, Benjamin Lesler Liebowitz, Jessica K. Lifton, Robert K. Light, Timothy Lighthizer, Robert E. Lilienthal, Sally L. Lillevik, Line Lincoln, Edward J. Lindberg, Tod Lindborg, Nancy E.* Linden, Josephine Lindsay, Beverly Lindsay, Franklin A. Lindsay, James M. Linen, Jonathan S. Ling, Lisa J. Link, Troland S. Linnington, Abigail T. Linowes, David F. Lipman, Ira A. Lippard, Joshua J. Lipper, Kenneth Lippert, Mark W. Lippey, Brian C. Lippman, Thomas W. Lipset, Seymour Martin Lipsitz, Rochelle J. Lipsky, John P. Lipsky, Seth Lissakers, Karin M. Litan, Robert E. Little, David Little, Milton J. Jr. Littlefield, Elizabeth L. Littles, Sean-Noel Litwak, Robert S. Liu, Eric P. Livingston, Robert Gerald Llewellyn, J. Bruce Lodal, Jan M. Lodge, George Cabot Loeb, Marshall Logan, Francis D. Lombardi, Clark B. London, Herbert I. Long, William J. Longmuir, Shelley A.

Longstreth, Bevis Longworth, Richard C. Loranger, Donald Eugene Lord, Bette Bao Lord, Winston Lorentzen, Oivind III Louis, William Roger Loury, Glenn Cartman Lovejoy, Thomas E. Low, Stephen Lowenfeld, Andreas F. Lowenkron, Barry F. Lowenstein, James G. Lowenthal, Abraham F. Lowry, Glenn D. Lowry, Richard A. Lov, Frank E. Lozano, Ignacio E. Lozano, José Ignacio Lozano, Monica C. Lu, Xiaobo Lubin, Nancy Lubman, Stanley B. Lucas, C. Payne Lucas, Sarah T. Luck, Edward C. Lucy, William Ludes, James M. Luers, Wendy W. Luers, William H. Lugo, Luis E. Luke, John A. Jr. Lustick, Ian S. Lute, Jane Holl Luttwak, Edward N. Luzzatto, Anne R. Lyall, Katharine C. Lyman, Princeton N. Lyman, Richard W. Lynch, Thomas F. III Lynk, Myles V. Lynn, James T. Lynn, Laurence E. Jr. Lynton, Michael M.* Lyon, David W. Lyons, Gene M. Lyons, James E. Lyons, Richard Kent

Ma, Christopher Mabry, Marcus B.* Mabus, Raymond E. MacCormack, Charles Frederick MacDonald, Bruce Walter MacDougal, Gary E. Mack, Consuelo Cotter Mack, J. Curtis II Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr. Mackevich, Eileen R.

MacLaury, Bruce K. Macomber, John Dewitt Macy, Robert M. Jr. Madigan, John W. Magras, Krista M. Maguire, John David Mahmoud, Adel* Mahnken, Thomas G.* Mahoney, Margaret E. Mahoney, Paul G. Mahoney, Thomas H. IV Mai, Vincent A. Maier, Charles S. Makin, John Holmes Makinson, Carolyn Mako, William P. Makovsky, David Maldonado, Wendy A. Malek, Frederic V. Malik, Arslant Malinowski, Tom Mallery, Richard Mallett, Robert L. Malmgren, Harald B. Malmgren, K. Philippa Malone, Kim Maloney, Jason D.† Malpass, David R. Manatt, Charles T. Manca, Marie Antoinette Mandelbaum, Michael Maniatis, Gregory A. Manilow, Lewis Mann, James H. Mann, Michael D. Mann, Sloan C.† Mann, Thomas E. Manyin, Mark E. Manzi, Jim Marans, J. Eugene Marcom, John E. Jr. Marcum, John Arthur Marder, Murrey Margolis, David I. Mariotti, Steven J. Mark, Hans M. Markey, Daniel S. Mark-Jusbasche, Rebecca P. Marks, Paul A. Marlin, Alice Tepper Marquet, L. David Marr, Phebe A. Marron, Donald B. Marsh, Tom F. Marshall, Andrew W. Marshall, Anthony D. Marshall, Dale Rogers Marshall, F. Ray Marshall, Katherine Marshall, Zachary Blake

Marten, Kimberly Joy

Martin, Daniel Richard Martin, Lynn Morley Martin, Susan F. Martin, William F. Martinez, Jennifer S. Martinez, Roman IV Marton, Kati I. Masin, Michael T. Massey, L. Camille Massey, Walter E. Massimino, Elisa C. Mastanduno, Michael Masters, Carlton A. Matheson, Michael J. Mathews, Jessica T. Mathews, Michael S. Mathews, Sylvia M. Mathias, Charles McC. Jr. Mathias, Edward J. Mathis, Brian Pierre Matlock, Jack F. Jr. Matney, William Alan Matsukata, Naotaka Matteson, William B. Matthews, Barbara C. Matthews, Eugene A. Mattingly, Amanda Curtis† Mattox, Gale A. Matuszewski, Daniel C. Matzke, Richard H. Maxwell, Kenneth R. May, Ernest R. May, Michael M. Mayer, Claudette Mayer, Gerald M. Jr. Mayhew, Alice E. Maynes, Charles William Mazur, Jay McAfee, William Gage McAllister, Jef Olivarius McAllister, Singleton B. McCaffrey, Barry R. McCain, John S. III McCann, Edward F. II McCartan, Patrick F. McCarter, John W. Jr. McCarthy, James P. McCarthy, Kathleen D. McChrystal, Stanley A. McClean, Lilyanne H. McCloy, John J. II McClure, Robert L. McCormack, Elizabeth J. McCouch, Donald G. McCoy, Debra R.† McCoy, Jennifer L. McCracken, Paul W. McCray, Ronald David* McCurdy, Dave K. McDermott, Jim McDevitt, Sean Daniel McDonald, Alonzo L. McDonald, James S.*

McDonald, Kara C.†

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Melby, Eric D.K. Melloan, George R. Melton, Carol A.* Mendelson, Sarah E. Mendelson-Forman, Johanna Mendlovitz, Saul H. Mendoza, Roberto G. Menges, Carl B. Menke, John R. Menon, Rajan Merkel, Claire Sechler Merkel, David Austin Meron, Theodor Merow, John E. Merritt, Jack Neil Merszei, Zoltan Mesdag, Willem Meselson, Matthew S. Messing, F. Andy Jr. Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr. Metzger, Barry Metzl, Jamie Frederic Meunier, Sophie Meyer, Edward C. Meyer, John Robert Meyer, Karl E. Meyer, Michael Ryder Meyer, Paul H.† Meyerman, Harold J. Meyerson, Martin Michaels, Marguerite Mickiewicz, Ellen Midgley, Elizabeth Mihaly, Eugene B. Mikell, Gwendolyn Miles, Edward L. Milestone, Judith B. Millard, Robert Miller, Aaron David* Miller, Charles R. Miller, Christopher D. Miller, David Charles Jr. Miller, Debra Lynn Miller, Franklin C. Miller, Judith Miller, Ken Miller, Linda B. Miller, Marcia E. Miller, Martha Miller, Matthew L. Miller, Michael T. Miller, Scott L. Miller, William Green Miller, William Scott II Millett, Allan R. Millington, John A. Mills, Bradford Mills, Karen Gordon Mills, Susan Linda Milner, Helen V. Minow, Newton N. Mintz, Daniel R. Miranda, Lourdes R.

Miscik, Judith A.

Mishkin, Alexander V. Mitchell, Andrea Mitchell, Arthur M. III Mitchell, George J. Mitchell, Patricia E. Mitchell, Wandra G. Mize, David M. Mochizuki, Kiichi Moe, Sherwood G. Moffett, George D. Molano, Walter Thomas Mondale, Walter F. Moniz, Ernest J. Montelongo, Michael Montgomery, George Cranwell Montgomery, Harold H. Montgomery, Parker G. Montgomery, Philip O'Bryan III Moock, Joyce Lewinger Moody, Jim Moody, William S. Moore, Joanne C. Moore, John J. Jr. Moore, John M. Moore, John Norton Moore, Jonathan Moore, Julia A. Moorman, Thomas S. Jr. Moose, George E. Moose, Richard M. Mora, Alberto J. Mora, Antonio G. Moran, Theodore H. Moravcsik, Andrew Morey, David Edward Morgan, Betsy Lake Morgan, Charlotte M. Morningstar, Richard L. Morris, Charles R. Morris, Frederic A. Morrison, J. Stephen Morrissey, Arthur C. Morse, Edward L. Morse, Kenneth P. Morse, Stephen S.* Mortimer, David H. Mosbacher, Robert A. Moseley, Teed Michael Moses, Alfred H. Mosettig, Michael David Moskow, Kenneth A. Moskow, Michael H. Moss, Ambler H. Jr. Mossman, James Motley, Joel W. Mottahedeh, Roy P. Motulsky, Daniel T. Mouat, Lucia Moyer, Homer E. Jr.

Mroz, John Edwin

Mudd, Margaret F.

Mudd, Daniel H.

Mujal-Leon, Eusebio Mulberger, Virginia A. Mulcahy, Anne M. Mulford, David C. Muller, Edward R. Muller, Steven Mulvaney, Sean Mundie, Craig James Mundy, Carl E. Jr. Munger, Edwin S. Muñoz, George Munroe, Alexandra K.* Munroe, George B. Munsch, Stuart B. Munyan, Winthrop R. Murase, Emily Moto Muravchik, Joshua Murdoch, Rupert Murdock, Deroy Murdy, William F. Murillo, Maria Victoria Murphy, Caryle Marie Murphy, Ewell E. Jr. Murphy, Richard W. Murphy, Sean Patrick Murphy, Thomas S. Murray, Alan S. Murray, Douglas J. Murray, Douglas P. Murray, Ian P. Murray, Janice L. Murray, Lori Esposito Murray, Robert J. Muse, Martha Twitchell Musham, Bettye Martin Mustafa, Herro K. Myers, Richard B. Myerson, Toby S. Myrow, Stephen A.

Nachmanoff, Arnold Nacht, Michael Nadiri, M. Ishaq Nagl, John A.* Nagorski, Andrew Nagorski, Zygmunt Nakhleh, Emile A. Naplan, Steven J. Napolitano, Janet A.* Nash, Jack Nash, William L. Nasher, Raymond Donald Nasr, Vali R. Nathan, Andrew J. Nathan, James A. Nathan, Scott Andrew Nathanson, Marc B. Nathoo, Raffig A. Nau, Henry R. Nauert, Heather Anne Neal, Jeffrey C. Neal, Stephen L. Nealer, Kevin G.

Nederlander, Robert Ir. Negroponte, Diana Villiers Negroponte, John D. Neier, Aryeh Neilson, Trevor David† Nelson, Anne Nelson, Daniel N. Nelson, Jodi Lee Nelson, Merlin E. Nelson, Richard D. Nelson, Robert L. Ir. Nemazee, Hassan Nenneman, Richard A. Nepomnyashchy, Catharine Theimer Nesbit, Lynn Neuger, Win J. Neuman, Stephanie G. Neureiter, Norman P. Newberg, Esther R. Newburg, Andre Newcomb, Nancy S. Newell, Barbara W. Newhouse, John Newman Hood, Alisa Newman, Jay H. Newman, Pamela I. Newman, Pauline Newman, Priscilla A. Newman, Richard T. Newsom, David D. Newstead, Jennifer Gillian Newton, M. Diana Helweg Ney, Edward N. Nicholas, N. J. Jr. Nichols, Mark Alexander Nichols, Rodney W. Nicholson, Jan Nicocelli, Ann M.† Nides, Thomas R. Niehuss, John M. Niehuss, Rosemary Neaher Nielsen, Nancy Nilsson, A. Kenneth Nilsson, Keith R. Nimetz, Matthew Nitze, William A. Noam, Eli M. Nogales, Luis G. Nolan, Janne Emilie Noland, Marcus Nolte, William M." Nonacs, Eric S. Nooter, Robert Harry Norman, William S. Norquist, Grover Glenn Norton, Augustus Richard Norton, Eleanor Holmes Nossel, Suzanne F. Noto, Lucio A. Novack, Lynne Dominick Novogratz, Jacqueline Novy-Marx, Milena K. Nuechterlein, Jeffrey D.

Nunn, Sam Nussbaum, Bruce Nye, Joseph S. Jr.

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Owens, James W.
Owens, William A.
Oxman, Bernard H.
Oxman, Stephen A.
Oxnam, Robert B.
Oye, Kenneth A.

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Pavel, Barry

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[†] Elected to five-year term membership in 2006.

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Silver, Brian M.

Sanger, David E.

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U
Udovitch, Abraham L.
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Ulman, Cornelius M.
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Ungar, Sanford J.
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FRONT COVER PHOTOS (left to right)*

A protester marches at a rally against Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez in Caracas, Venezuela (February 4, 2006).

Two Sudanese children look out of a thatched hut at the refugee camp of Zamzam in Sudan (June 9, 2006).

A Pakistani Rangers soldier and an Indian Border Security Force soldier shake hands during a flag-off ceremony at the joint Indian and Pakistani border checkpost at Wagah, India (August 13, 2005).

A young man rides his bicycle by a poster in Baghdad, Iraq, showing Islamic fundamentalist Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr and his late father, former spiritual leader Ayatollah Mohammed Sadiq al-Sadr (December 10, 2005).

A member of the Palestinian veterinary medical team examines a chicken for avian flu at a poultry farm in Beit Lahiya in northern Gaza City (February 23, 2006).

BACK COVER PHOTOS (left to right)*

General view of the Hutchison international container port in Hong Kong (March 25, 2006).

Gas prices rise to over \$3 per gallon at a gas station in San Francisco (August 31, 2005).

Seen from a NASA satellite, Hurricane Katrina turns slightly eastward before slamming into shore (August 29, 2005).

South Korean protesters stage an anti-U.S. rally opposing a plan to deploy upgraded versions of Patriot antimissile batteries in Seoul, South Korea (June 28, 2005).

A Palestinian woman attends a rally in support of the Islamic group Hamas in Gaza City (February 17, 2006).

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