



The Chronicle

Newsletter of the Council on Foreign Relations — Winter 2017

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Cover photos: Top left: Air Force Space Command Network Operations and Security Center at Peterson Air Force Base in Colorado Springs, Colorado (Rick Wilking/Reuters) Top right: Yazidis flee violence from forces loyal to the self-proclaimed Islamic State near the Syrian border. (Rodi Said/Reuters) Bottom left: U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and China's Foreign Minister Wang Yi take their seats before a meeting in Bonn, Germany. (Brendan Smialowski/Pool/Reuters) Bottom right: A U.S. M1 Abrams tank fires during a North Atlantic Treaty Organization military exercise in Adazi, Latvia. (Ints Kalnins/Reuters)

The Chronicle

Winter 2017

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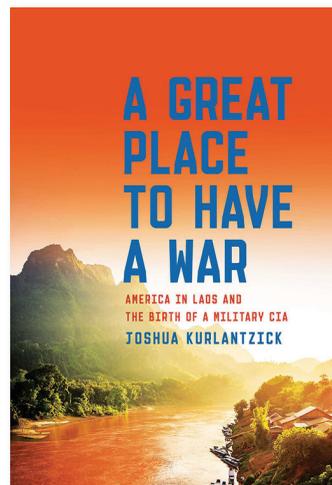
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Survey Identifies Top Potential Conflicts in 2017

A serious military confrontation between Russia and a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member state or a severe crisis in North Korea are among top international concerns for 2017 cited by a new survey of experts.

The survey, conducted by CFR's Center for Preventive Action (CPA), asked foreign policy experts to rank conflicts based on their likelihood of occurring or escalating and their potential impact on U.S. national interests. Factoring in both this likelihood and impact, the results were sorted into three priority tiers. The survey identified seven "top tier" conflicts in 2017:

- a deliberate or unintended military confrontation between **Russia** and NATO members, stemming from assertive Russian behavior in Eastern Europe
- a severe crisis in **North Korea** caused by nuclear or intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) weapons testing, a military provocation, or internal political instability
- a highly disruptive **cyberattack** on U.S. critical infrastructure
- a mass casualty **terrorist attack** on the U.S. homeland or a treaty ally by either a foreign or homegrown terrorist(s)

- increased violence and instability in **Afghanistan** resulting from a continued strengthening of the Taliban insurgency and potential government collapse
- the intensification of violence between **Turkey** and various **Kurdish** armed groups within Turkey and in neighboring countries
- the intensification of the civil war in **Syria** resulting from increased external support for warring parties, including military intervention by outside powers

"With a new presidential administration assuming office, it is important to help policymakers anticipate and avert potential crises that could arise and threaten U.S. interests. Our annual survey aims to highlight the most likely sources of instability and conflict around the world so that the government can prioritize its efforts appropriately," said **Paul B. Stares**, General John W. Vessey senior fellow for conflict prevention and director of CPA. *cf*

View the full results at www.cfr.org/pps2017. The survey was made possible by a generous grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York.



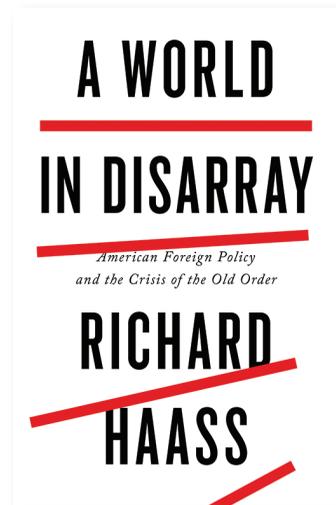
Russian submarines surface near Vladivostok, Russia. (Reuters/Yuri Maltsev)

Haass Explains in New Book How We Arrived at “A World in Disarray” and What to Do About It

“These are no ordinary times. It will not be business as usual in a world of disarray; as a result, it cannot be foreign policy as usual,” writes CFR President **Richard Haass** in his latest book, *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*—a timely examination of a world increasingly defined by disorder. In three parts, the book contemplates the history of world order from the rise of the modern state system to the end of the Cold War; accounts for the momentous shifts in the last quarter century to shed light on the current state of affairs, and outlines specific steps to tackle the many challenges ahead.

Haass argues that the fundamental elements of world order that have served the world well since World War II have largely run their course. The Middle East is unraveling. Asia is threatened by China’s rise and a reckless North Korea. Europe, for decades the world’s most stable region, is staggering under the weight of prolonged low economic growth, Russian military action, and a rise in populism and nationalism. He writes that the election of Donald J. Trump and the unexpected vote for “Brexit” signal that many in modern democracies reject globalization and international involvement, including borders open to trade and immigrants as well as a willingness to maintain alliances and overseas commitments. Add to these concerns the threats of terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, climate change, and cybersecurity, and “it is painfully evident that the twenty-first century will prove extremely difficult to manage,” says Haass.

He makes the case that the world needs a new operating system—which he calls World Order 2.0—that reflects the reality that power is widely distributed and that borders count for less. One critical element of this adjustment will be adopting a new approach to sovereignty, one that embraces its obligations and responsibilities, as well as its rights and protections. Haass also details how the United States should act toward China and Russia, as well as in Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. Finally, he asserts that the United States needs to define national security more broadly, addressing what are normally thought of as domestic issues—from dysfunctional politics to mounting debt—as well as coming to an agreement on the nature of the United States’ relationship with the rest of the world. *cf*



“A calm, reasoned look at the world today and America’s foreign policy. . . . Haass writes with brisk authority here, moving fluently between discussions of larger dynamics (like the role that astute statesmen with an understanding of the nuances of diplomacy can play in forging peace, or preventing disaster) and the specifics of tangled relationships in hot spots like Syria and Afghanistan.”

—*New York Times*

“A must-read for the new American president and all who are concerned by the state of the world and the prospect of things getting worse.”

—*Robert M. Gates, former U.S. secretary of defense*

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

March/April 2017



During last year's presidential campaign, Republican contender Donald J. Trump's statements on policy issues varied dramatically from month to month, sometimes from hour to hour, observes *Foreign Affairs* Editor Gideon Rose in his introduction to the cover package of the March/April issue. Further, President Trump's cabinet picks espoused positions different from those of Trump, one another, and Republicans in Congress. "After the most unusual election in modern U.S. history came the most unusual transition, to be followed, surely, by the most unusual presidency," notes Rose.

Bard College Professor and Hudson Institute Distinguished Scholar Walter Russell Mead locates the roots of Trump's victory in a Jacksonian-style revolt fueled by populist nationalism. "For the first time in 70 years," Mead writes, "the American people

have elected a president who disparages the policies, ideas, and institutions at the heart of postwar U.S. foreign policy."

John Paulson, president of the investment management firm Paulson & Co. and an economic advisor to Trump's campaign, argues that Trump can usher in a new era of American prosperity by "establishing a globally competitive corporate tax rate, adopting a territorial corporate tax system, reducing excessive regulation, boosting domestic energy production, and introducing better trade policies."

Yonsei University Professor John Delury warns that the biggest threat the new administration will face is a nuclear North Korea. Washington, Delury argues, should "negotiate a freeze of North Korea's nuclear program in return for a U.S. security guarantee, since that is the only measure that could enable Kim to start concentrating on economic development and the belated transformation of North Korea."

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Eugene Rumer, Richard Sokolsky, and Andrew Weiss address Russia and argue, "The best course of action is for the United States to stand firm when its vital interests are threatened, to expose and counter Moscow's penchant for irregular tactics, and to carefully manage the rivalry that lies at the heart of the bilateral relationship."

University of California San Diego's Susan Shirk shows how a mainstream U.S. administration would approach its relations with China, providing a baseline for evaluating Trump's actions. "When China's leaders are tempted to pick fights with foreign countries," she writes, "they should look out to the Pacific, see a strong United States standing with its allies and partners, and think twice before acting."

Johns Hopkins University Professor Hal Brands and Duke University Professor

Peter Feaver consider U.S. counterterrorism policy and contend, “The least worst choice would be an approach close to the medium-footprint strategy being used to defeat ISIS today.” They write, “This approach is imperfect. . . . But it is the most likely way of delivering an acceptable degree of security at an acceptable price.”

Dana H. Allin and **Steven N. Simon**, authors of *Our Separate Ways: The Struggle for the Future of the U.S.-Israel Alliance*, outline the dangers of Trump’s nascent alliance with Israel’s hard right: “. . . the United States’ strategic interests and moral values call for continued opposition to Israeli settlements in occupied territory, a continued insistence that the Palestinians pursue their cause through peaceful means, a continued commitment to a two-state solution, and continued attentiveness to Israel’s strategic vulnerabilities.”

CFR Senior Fellow **Stewart M. Patrick** warns that “the steps Trump has endorsed risk driving away U.S. allies and partners, exposing Americans to global instability and

economic retaliation, and accelerating the demise of the world the United States made.” Patrick identifies some of the “canaries in the coal mine” that might signal that the U.S.-led liberal order is truly beginning to erode.

U.S. Naval War College Professor **Tom Nichols** examines why Americans have lost faith in expertise—and why that is a problem.

American Enterprise Institute President **Arthur C. Brooks** explains that Trump’s victory stemmed in large part from an erosion of a sense of dignity among white working class Americans.

U.S. Justice Action Network Executive Director **Holly Harris** lays out her vision for ending America’s incarceration epidemic.

New York University Professor **Mark A. R. Kleiman** considers how the United States can fix its broken drug policies, which have helped produce a devastating epidemic of opioid addiction on the one hand, and a widespread push for cannabis legalization on the other. *cf*

Foreign Affairs LIVE Launches Bimonthly Event Series to Focus on Each New Issue

The release of each new issue of *Foreign Affairs* will now be accompanied by an event in New York or Washington hosted by editors and authors. Open to CFR members and *Foreign Affairs* premier subscribers, the first launch event in January featured a discussion with Editor **Gideon Rose** and issue contributors **Joseph S. Nye Jr.** and **Kori Schake** on the future of the liberal international order, and the role of the United States within it. *cf*



Experts in the News

“If the Russians did indeed interfere with the election in such a way to help affect the outcome and if indeed that throws the U.S. into turmoil . . . you have to say if you’re Russia, ‘Well maybe I don’t get the sanctions relief that I wanted, but I’m kind of happy with how this is playing out because right now the entire world order is in crisis. Since I don’t like that order, I’m benefitting from this.’”

Gideon Rose, Editor, *Foreign Affairs*, on PBS’ *Charlie Rose* on February 15, 2017



“The U.S. and Japan today are facing a very different Asia. I don’t expect U.S. troop numbers to be reduced in Japan. Instead, I expect that the Japanese and American militaries will work even closer to contend both with North Korea and a rising China.”

Sheila A. Smith, senior fellow for Japan studies, on *Bloomberg Surveillance* on February 10, 2017

“A top agenda item for the president and his national security advisors at this halfway point to 100 days must be to bring structure, order, and discipline to their conduct of foreign policy.”

Lori Esposito Murray, adjunct senior fellow, in *Foreign Policy*, March 15, 2017



“Ideas matter. Ideas have no borders and you can’t build an idea wall. You can’t ban all the countries in the world from which bad ideas are sprouting. . . . It is very important to understand that both in the Bush administration and the Obama administration, we understood that the power to stop recruitment came from civil society.”

Farah Pandith, adjunct senior fellow, on CNN’s *State of the Union With Jake Tapper* on January 29, 2017

“The biggest danger we now face is no longer from foreign terrorists because border security measures have been greatly strengthened since 9/11. We still remain vulnerable, however, to U.S. citizens who have been radicalized from afar.”

Max Boot, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick senior fellow for national security studies, in *USA Today* on January 29, 2017



“There’s going to be a lot of work to try and ease the tension between the intelligence community and the president. What we’ve seen so far is undermining [the intelligence community’s] ability to attribute the attack to Russia, which is going to have negative implications on the community and our ability to try and deter future cyberattacks.”

Adam Segal, Ira A. Lipman chair in emerging technologies and national security and director of the digital and cyberspace policy program, on MSNBC on January 5, 2017

“The first thing [Trump] needs to understand is that everyone who steps into the Oval Office quickly learns the hard way that they have to expect the unexpected. Whatever their agenda is when they come in, they are going to quickly find that it changes. And that’s the hard truth of governing.”

Jay Winik, historian-in-residence, on Fox News’ *Happening Now* on January 4, 2017



CFR’s popular podcast, the *President’s Inbox*, has been transitioned into a weekly program that will examine the top foreign policy challenges facing President Donald J. Trump. Hosted by Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair **James M. Lindsay** and CFR.org Managing Editor **Robert McMahon**, the show has already covered a broad range of issues, including the immigration executive order, Brexit, climate change, and U.S. relations with Russia, China, Israel, and Japan.

Council Launches Largest Fundraising Campaign in Its History

In preparation for its centennial, CFR has launched the *Council at 100 Campaign*, a bold fundraising campaign. At a recent annual dinner, CFR Board Vice Chairman and Campaign Chairman David M. Rubenstein remarked, “CFR is looking ahead to its future, and we are seeking to expand the Council’s contributions to the field of foreign policy as we secure our second century. To do so, we have set an ambitious goal: to generate at least \$150 million in new gifts by the time of our hundredth anniversary in 2021, making this the largest capital campaign in the Council’s history.”

More than \$105 million has already been committed to the effort, primarily by members of the Council’s board. Many of these gifts are in the form of multiyear pledges. CFR is now turning to its other distinguished members to complete the campaign. “I believe this is a unique opportunity for our members to help secure the organization’s long-term financial health so that CFR is equipped to meet future challenges with the resources required to sustain its excellence and leadership in the field,” Rubenstein said.

President Richard N. Haass noted, “The timing of the *Council at 100 Campaign* could not be more critical. In a world increasingly defined by disorder and uncertainty and when our politics at home are so polarized, the Council’s fierce nonpartisanship, seriousness of purpose, and level-headed analysis are more important than ever. The success of this

“CFR is looking ahead to its future, and we are seeking to expand the Council’s contributions to the field of foreign policy as we secure our second century.”

—David M. Rubenstein, CFR board vice chairman and *Council at 100 Campaign* chairman



David M. Rubenstein

campaign will lay the foundation for the Council's future and ensure CFR continues to serve as a trusted and even more influential resource throughout its second century."

New funds will support the expansion of CFR's intellectual agenda, allowing the organization the flexibility to invest in emerging issues related to cybersecurity, energy and climate change, and global health, as well as to institutionalize highly successful programs on the Council's research agenda, such as the Renewing America initiative and the International Institutions and Global Governance program.

Campaign gifts will also help increase CFR's impact by enabling further investments in the Council's various outreach initiatives to nontraditional constituencies such as students and educators, religious communities, members of Congress and their staff, state and local government officials, and young professionals, as well as talent-development programs including international affairs fellowships and military fellowships that help prepare the next generation of national security leaders.

Finally, gifts to the campaign will secure the Council's strengths by enabling the organization to reinvest in some of the most distinctive aspects of its work. This includes sustaining the Council's tradition of nonpartisanship and intellectual independence, enriching the member experience, modernizing the Council's information technology infrastructure, and protecting our websites and internal systems from cyberattacks.

Annual giving, now covering more than 14 percent of the CFR operating budget each year, remains an institutional priority throughout the campaign effort. Gifts to the campaign are made in addition to support of the Annual Fund. *cf*

For more information on the Council at 100 Campaign see the case statement at www.cfr.org/Councilat100 or contact Suzanne E. Helm, vice president for philanthropy and corporate relations, at 212.434.9781 or shelm@cfr.org.

"In a world increasingly defined by disorder and uncertainty and when our politics at home are so polarized, the Council's fierce nonpartisanship, seriousness of purpose, and level-headed analysis are more important than ever."

—Richard N. Haass,
president, CFR

Niall Ferguson's *Kissinger: 1923-1968: The Idealist* Wins 2016 CFR Arthur Ross Book Award

Historian Niall Ferguson has won the fifteenth annual CFR Arthur Ross Book Award and received \$15,000 for *Kissinger: 1923-1968: The Idealist* (Penguin Press), the first in a two-volume biography of the former national security advisor Henry A. Kissinger. On December 14, CFR honored Ferguson—a senior fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and Harvard University's Center for European Studies—and the other awardees at a cocktail reception hosted by Gideon Rose, editor of *Foreign Affairs* and chair of the independent award jury.

"Ferguson's powerful intellect, deep research, and mastery of the underlying subject matter enabled him to move past the myths, legends, and hyperbole surrounding the highest profile American statesman of the second half of the twentieth century, producing a fascinating and engaging portrait of a unique, and uniquely important, historical figure," said Rose.

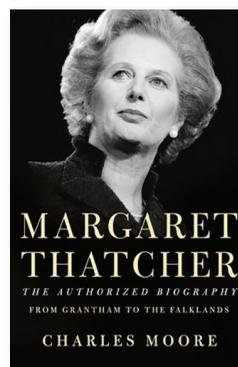
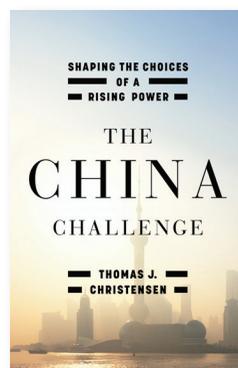
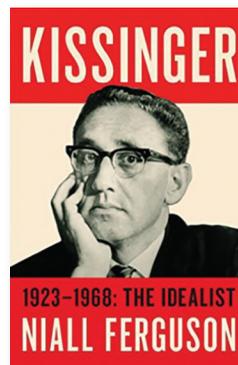
The jury awarded the Silver Medal and \$7,500 to Princeton University Professor Thomas J. Christensen for *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (W. W. Norton & Company).

The Bronze Medal and \$2,500 were awarded to journalist Charles Moore, author of *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography: Volume II* (Allen Lane).

Additional shortlist nominees:

- Bloomberg View's Nisid Hajari for *Midnight's Furies: The Deadly Legacy of India's Partition* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt)
- Yale University's Jackson Institute for Global Affairs' Emma Sky for *The Unravelling: High Hopes and Missed Opportunities in Iraq* (PublicAffairs)
- Yale University's Timothy D. Snyder for *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (Penguin Random House)

Endowed by the late Arthur Ross in 2001, this award honors nonfiction works, in English or translation, that bring forth new information that changes the understanding of events or problems, develop analytical approaches that offer insight into critical issues, or introduce ideas that help resolve foreign policy problems. The jury consists of CFR members, but reaches its decision independently of the institution. *cf*



Ambassador Michael Froman Joins CFR as Distinguished Fellow

This January, former U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) **Michael Froman** joined the Council as a distinguished fellow. His work will focus on international economic policy and trends, trade and investment policy, and globalization and populism.

“We are thrilled to have someone with Mike’s experience and knowledge come to the Council,” remarked CFR President **Richard N. Haass**. “It is difficult to imagine someone better positioned to develop ideas for how best to rethink U.S. trade policy and how to rebuild domestic support for it.”

As USTR, Froman was President Barack Obama’s principal advisor, negotiator, and spokesperson on international trade and investment issues. He led the negotiations of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership trade agreements. He was instrumental in pursuing trade enforcement at the World Trade Organization and in securing Congressional approval of trade bills such as Trade Promotion Authority and the renewal of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

Prior to becoming USTR, Froman served at the White House as assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs. He served as the U.S. sherpa for the Group of Twenty and Group of Eight summits and staffed the president for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation leaders meetings. In addition, he chaired or co-chaired the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate, the Transatlantic Economic Council, the U.S.-India CEO Forum, and the U.S.-Brazil CEO Forum. He played a leading role in the launch of the Obama administration’s Power Africa, Trade Africa, and Feed the Future development initiatives.

Froman has written on international trade, international relations, and international law, and has received numerous fellowships and scholarships, including a White House Fellowship and a Fulbright Scholarship. He was previously a CFR Next Generation fellow in 1999. He received a bachelor’s degree in public and international affairs from Princeton University, a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, and a law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Law Review*. *fr*



Charles A. Kupchan and Ely Ratner Join CFR as Senior Fellows

Charles A. Kupchan has returned to CFR as a senior fellow after serving as special assistant for national security affairs to President Barack Obama and senior director for European affairs on the National Security Council from 2014 to 2017. His research will focus on U.S. grand strategy, European affairs, and transatlantic relations and he will direct a roundtable series on transatlantic and European issues.

Kupchan is also professor of international affairs in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and the government department at Georgetown University. He previously served on the National Security Council as director for European affairs during the Bill Clinton administration. Before that, he worked in the U.S. Department of State on the Policy Planning Staff and at Princeton University as an assistant professor.

Kupchan is the author of numerous books on international and strategic affairs—most recently *No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn* and *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace*. From 2013 to 2014, he was a senior fellow at the Transatlantic Academy, and from 2006 to 2007, he was the Henry A. Kissinger scholar at the Library of Congress and was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He received a BA from Harvard University and MPhil and DPhil degrees from Oxford University.



Ely Ratner joins CFR as the Maurice R. Greenberg senior fellow in China studies. His work will focus on China and regional security in Asia.

From 2015 to 2017, Ratner served as the deputy national security advisor to Vice President Joe Biden, focusing primarily on Asia and China policy within his global portfolio. From 2011 to 2012, while a CFR international affairs fellow, he served on the China desk at the State Department. He also previously worked in the U.S. Senate on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and in the office of Senator Biden.

Outside of government, Ratner has worked as a senior fellow and deputy director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security and as an associate political scientist at the RAND Corporation. He received his BA from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University and his PhD from the University of California, Berkeley. *cf*





A mobile medical clinic, or “Doc-in-a-Box” (Courtesy: PMMI)

Six Thousand “Doc-in-a-Box” Clinics Deployed to Ghana

In November 2016, Senior Fellow for Global Health Laurie Garrett’s thought experiment about a new way to fight infectious diseases in the developing world became real in a massive way: Primary Mobile Med International (PMMI)—a global health nonprofit—signed a contract with the Ghana Health Service to provide up to six thousand “Doc-in-a-Box” mobile medical clinics over the next three to five years.

As Garrett writes in her 2007 *Foreign Affairs* essay, “The Challenge of Global Health,” she conceived of Doc-in-a-Box as a way to “convert abandoned shipping containers into compact transportable clinics suitable for use in the developing world.” These durable containers, universally standardized to be transportable to anywhere in the world, were wastefully piling up in the United States due to trade imbalances. At the same time, Garrett knew that ongoing Western efforts to combat diseases

were failing to develop indigenous medical personnel while too narrowly focusing on a few big-name diseases like HIV/AIDS. By employing local paramedics in each Doc-in-a-Box, Garrett envisioned solving both problems at once.

“It’s tremendously exciting to see an idea turn into such a large-scale reality in Ghana, with interest from Kenya, as well. For countries poor not only in capital, but also in trained medical personnel, this approach—coordinating franchised Doc-in-a-Boxes run by low-skilled health workers via cell phone with central hubs of physician talent—could be a real game-changer,” said Garrett.

The Ghana Health Service will contribute to 35 percent of the cost and PMMI is campaigning for financial support to meet the remaining 65 percent. *cf*

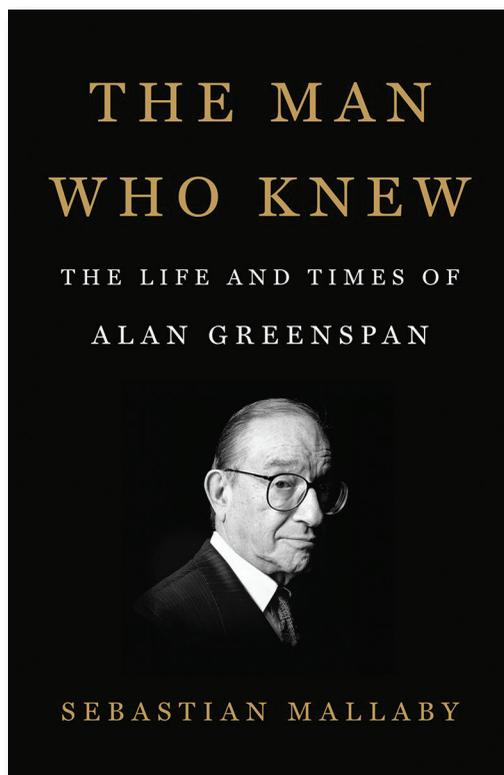
For more information, visit www.primarymobilemed.com.

Sebastian Mallaby Wins *Financial Times* and McKinsey Business Book of the Year Award

Sebastian Mallaby's biography of former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, *The Man Who Knew: The Life and Times of Alan Greenspan*, has been named the *Financial Times* and McKinsey Business Book of the Year. Mallaby is CFR's Paul A. Volcker senior fellow for international economics, a *Washington Post* contributing columnist, and a two-time Pulitzer Prize finalist.

The first biography to win in the prize's twelve-year history, *The Man Who Knew* was selected as the "most compelling and enjoyable" title of the year from a competitive shortlist of five other books. "It's a masterpiece of political economy and, above all, it's a great and enjoyable read," said *Financial Times* Editor Lionel Barber.

Mallaby accepted the award in London on November 22. He remarked, "Winning the *Financial Times* and McKinsey book prize is wonderful—after five years of work, it is terrific to have such a distinguished panel of judges rule that the effort was worthwhile. In this age of shortened attention spans and postmodern post-truth, there is still something special about deeply reported books. I hope the prize will draw attention to some of the lessons that Greenspan's life teaches: that, to deliver stable growth, central banks must respond more forcefully to asset bubbles; and that, to secure independence from politicians, central bankers must themselves be political." *cf*



"A tour de force, the story not just of Alan Greenspan's career but equally of America's economic triumphs and failures over five decades. This carefully researched and elegantly written book will be essential reading for those who aspire to make policy and for anyone who wants to divine what drives the choices that our leaders make."

—*Wall Street Journal*

Joshua Kurlantzick Chronicles CIA's Secret War in Laos in New Book

“Over the course of the war, U.S. bombing of Laos would become so intense that it averaged one attack every eight minutes for nearly a decade,” observes **Joshua Kurlantzick** in his new book, *A Great Place to Have a War: America in Laos and the Birth of a Military CIA*. Kurlantzick, CFR’s senior fellow for Southeast Asia, mines extensive interviews and recently declassified Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) records to give a definitive account of the secret war—the largest covert operation in U.S. history—which was waged from 1961 to 1973 in the tiny Southeast Asian nation of Laos.

The book explores how the responsibility for U.S. military conflicts shifted from the uniformed armed services to a U.S. intelligence agency operating with less scrutiny. Kurlantzick asserts that it began when President Dwight D. Eisenhower approved Operation Momentum, a plan to create a proxy army of ethnic Hmong to fight communist forces in Laos, in order to minimize U.S. military involvement and keep the war hidden from the public at home, as well as most of Congress.

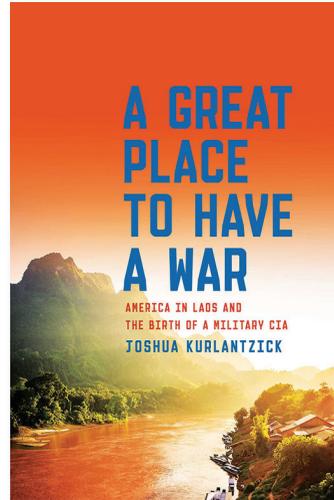
Kurlantzick’s account follows the war’s central characters: the CIA operative who came up with the

idea; the charismatic general who led the Hmong army in the field; the State Department careerist who took control over the war as it grew; and the wild card paramilitary specialist who trained the Hmong army and is believed to be an inspiration for Marlon Brando’s character in *Apocalypse Now*.

The book reveals that

- the United States dropped more bombs on Laos than on any other country in history;
- 80 percent of all bombing casualties in Laos were civilians; the war killed 10 percent of the population; and
- one third of the bombs dropped on Laos remained unexploded after the war ended in 1975, and those bombs killed 20,000 Laotians in the three decades that followed.

The secret war in Laos created a CIA that fights with real paramilitary forces and weapons as much as it gathers secrets, contends Kurlantzick. The war became a template for CIA proxy wars all over the world, from Central America in the 1980s to today’s war on terrorism, where the CIA and Special Forces operate with little oversight. *cf*



“Engrossing... [Kurlantzick’s] book shows how critical it is for American leaders to be clear-eyed about their purposes and honest with their public before embarking on a war that will inevitably take on a gruesome momentum of its own.”

—New York Times

“The war’s entire compelling tale can be found in the lucid prose and revelatory reporting of Joshua Kurlantzick’s new book.”

—Economist

COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORT

ENDING SOUTH SUDAN'S CIVIL WAR

by: KATHERINE ALMQUIST KNOPF

COUNCIL on
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON PATINKIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

New Report Calls for International Transitional Administration to Run War-Torn South Sudan

Following South Sudan's independence in 2011, three years of civil war have left the country on the cusp of full-scale genocide and famine, with its sovereignty discredited by warring elites, asserts a new report, *Ending South Sudan's Civil War*. The report, written by Katherine Almquist Knopf and produced by CFR's Center for Preventive Action, recommends the United Nations and the African Union (AU) run the country through a transitional administration for ten to fifteen years. She argues this would maintain the country's territorial integrity, provide basic governance and public services, rebuild the shattered economy, and establish the political and constitutional framework for the shift to full sovereignty.

Knopf, director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies based at the National Defense University, makes the case that an international transitional administration is the only realistic path to end the violence and to allow South Sudan the kind of "clean break" from its leaders and power structures that can

restore the country to viability. Moreover, she argues that an international transitional administration would not cost more than what the United States is already spending on humanitarian assistance.

The report notes that "opposition to a UN and AU transitional administration could be mitigated through a combination of politics and force—by working with important South Sudanese constituencies frustrated with [South Sudanese] President Salva Kiir, former First Vice President [and current adversary] Riek Machar, and their cronies; and then deploying a lean and agile peace intervention force to combat and deter the remaining spoilers once they have been politically isolated." Knopf contends [the South Sudanese] transitional administration "would empower its people to take ownership of their future and develop a new vision for their country." *cf*

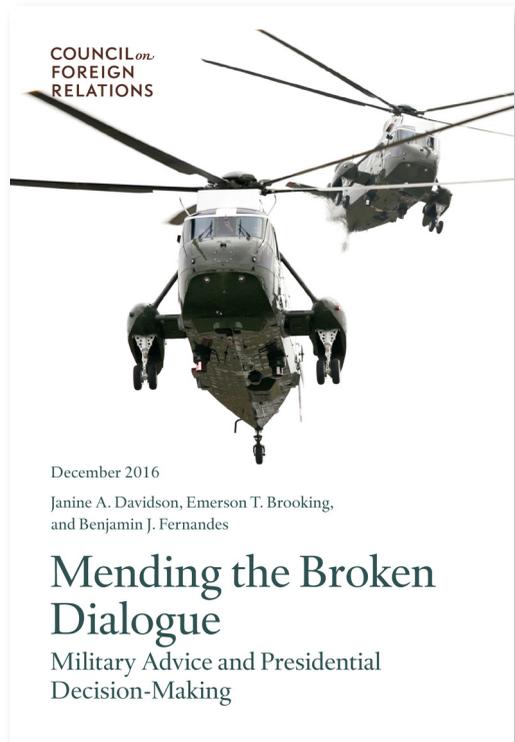
Read the full report at www.cfr.org/SouthSudanCivilWar.

Improved Civil-Military Dialogue Crucial to National Security, Argues New Paper

“Because many presidents and senior civilian appointees lack military experience, they rely on senior military advisors to provide viable, realistic, and timely advice to inform critical decisions. Unfortunately, what the military leadership provides is often not what presidents are looking for,” write former CFR Senior Fellow for Defense Policy **Janine A. Davidson**, Research Fellow **Emerson T. Brooking**, and Lieutenant Colonel for U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command **Benjamin J. Fernandes** in a new discussion paper.

In “Mending the Broken Dialogue: Military Advice and Presidential Decision-Making,” the authors explain that civil-military policymaking breaks down when there is either too much or too little friction—“when civilian and military leaders descend into open conflict or when one side acquiesces to the other and embraces groupthink.” They offer several recommendations for fostering the kind of empathy and empowerment in the civil-military dialogue that can enable both sides to speak candidly:

- *Close the knowledge gap.* “Civilian appointees should be offered regular opportunities to familiarize themselves with military parlance.”
- *Build an effective national security team.* Senior civilian and military leaders should attend group retreats and regular trainings that test their ability to work together.
- *Set the tone of the civil-military dialogue.* “A clearer distinction should be drawn between taskings (which are formal orders) and simple requests for information that need not always travel the official chain of command.”
- *Redesign the military options process.* There should be a permanent staff dedicated to



convening regular, low-level meetings to discuss military options.

- *Facilitate interagency communications.* “Administrative barriers to collaboration, from lack of common email directories to redundant badge procedures, should be eliminated.”
- *Plant the seeds of future change.* Military education should teach the reality of civil-military dialogue, Foreign Service officers should receive training in military affairs earlier in their careers, and courses on U.S. national security should be encouraged in civilian colleges and universities. *cf*

Read the full paper at www.cfr.org/mendingdialogue.

CYBER BRIEF

CREATING FEDERAL CYBER INSURANCE

by: ROBERT K. KNAKE

COUNCIL on
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

PHOTOGRAPH BY NASA

Federal Cyber Insurance Needed to Mitigate Catastrophic Losses, Warns Robert Knake in New Cyberbrief

In order to mitigate financial losses in the event of a catastrophic cyberattack, the United States needs to create a federally sponsored cyber insurance program, argues CFR Whitney Shepardson Senior Fellow **Robert K. Knake** in a new Cyber Brief.

While a report by PricewaterhouseCoopers estimates that the U.S. market for cyber insurance will grow to \$7.5 billion by 2020, a cyberattack on the U.S. East Coast power grid could result in \$1 trillion in economic losses and \$71 billion in insurance industry losses. In order to encourage more firms to adopt cyber insurance coverage, increase coverage limits offered by insurers, and incentivize the data sharing that is needed to better assess risk, Knake proposes a federally supported program that covers insurers' and reinsurers' liability over a certain limit.

The Cyber Brief identifies two programs, established to address liability concerns following the 9/11 attacks, that could be expanded to cover cybersecurity risks. Such an expansion should be developed carefully so that it does not “displace the private market [for cyber insurance] and leave taxpayers to foot the bill” in the event of a catastrophe, explains Knake.

If established, federally backstopped cyber insurance could “significantly reduce the economic risk of a cyberattack, allow the insurance market to more accurately price cyber risk, and encourage the adoption of best practices that can make the internet more secure for everyone over time,” contends Knake.

Read the brief at www.cfr.org/federalcyberinsurance.

Silicon Valley and Washington Must Rebuild Trust to Meet Cyber Threats, Argues Adam Segal in New Report

Cyber threats to the United States are escalating in sophistication and magnitude, but mistrust between Washington and Silicon Valley continues to stymie progress on cybersecurity. In a new Council Special Report, Adam Segal examines the security risks exacerbated by the divide between government and the technology community, and offers policy recommendations to help restore trust.

“In addition to rising cybersecurity threats, the Trump administration will inherit a growing political divide between Washington and U.S. tech firms that stems in large part from the disclosures by NSA contractor Edward Snowden,” writes Segal, Ira A. Lipman chair in emerging technologies and national security and director of the digital and cyberspace policy program.

“Although numerous government officials have traveled to Silicon Valley over the past several years, narrowing the gap will not be easy in part because technology firms operating as global platforms have strong economic motivations to keep Washington at a distance. Potential adversaries will continue to use hardware

and software developed by U.S. companies and thus law enforcement and intelligence agencies will persist in exploiting the vulnerabilities in these products,” he adds.

Segal asserts that “repairing the rift will not be easy, but there are areas where the two sides can find common ground.” The report, notes that the two sides can work together to create a vibrant workforce, fight the global trend of forced data localization, deter state attackers, and forge a compromise over the deployment and use of encryption and lawful access to data.

Segal also outlines several policies the U.S. government should pursue on these issues:

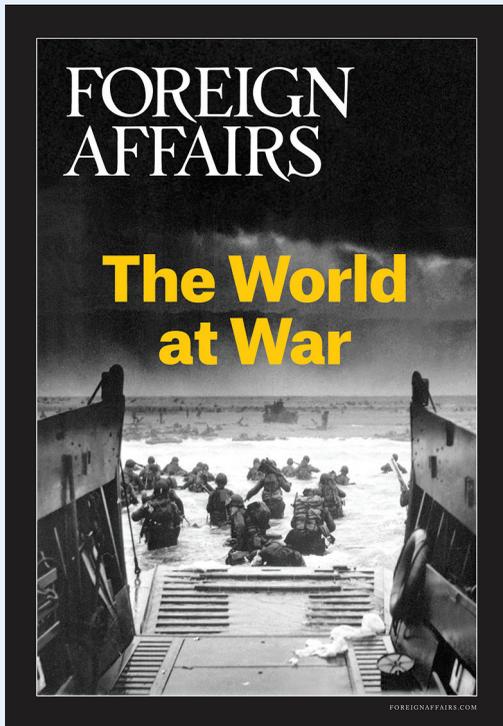
- continue support for the U.S. Digital Service, a technology consulting team drawn from the private sector, and create a highly specialized cybersecurity service within the U.S. government
- amend provisions of the Electronic Communications Privacy Act, using the U.S.-UK agreement as a template, to allow technology companies to provide data to foreign governments



- attribute attacks more frequently and, for cyberattacks that fall below the use of force and armed attack threshold, devise and implement forceful responses, such as covert cyber operations designed to disrupt future attacks
- strengthen law enforcement’s ability to conduct lawful hacking under strict judicial oversight and clearly defined protocol on when to disclose information about computer software security vulnerabilities *cfr*

Read the full report at www.cfr.org/WashingtonSiliconValleyCSR.

The World at War: A Foreign Affairs Anthology on the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of Pearl Harbor



Seventy-five years ago, the United States entered World War II after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. To commemorate the occasion, *Foreign Affairs* has issued a special anthology, *The World at War*, with highlights of the magazine's coverage of the war from the rise of fascism in the 1930s through the creation of a liberal international order a decade and a half later.

In his introduction, *Foreign Affairs* Editor Gideon Rose writes, "we offer this collection to showcase all that remarkable coverage, giving today's readers a taste of how things looked to knowledgeable observers watching events in real time."

THE CLOUDS GATHER

Pester Lloyd Foreign Editor *Desider Kiss* in 1937's "The Jews of Eastern Europe": "The fact remains that a great and highly civilized European nation has excommunicated half a million people merely because they adhere to the Jewish religion or belong to the so-called Jewish 'race,' and thus has given other lands a dangerous example of positive anti-Semitism."

Council on Foreign Relations' *Edgar Packard Dean* in 1935's "The Expansion of Japanese Rule": "The expansion of the Empire was not an affair of logic. It had begun even before Japan was mistress of her own household. . . . Japan is, indeed, free to become a continental power because she is already a Pacific power."

THE STORM BREAKS

Foreign Affairs Editor *Hamilton Fish Armstrong* in 1943's "Datum Point": "Our aim in this war is the complete material and psychological defeat of our enemies. We have rejected the idea of an armistice or negotiated peace and have pledged ourselves not to accept either at any stage or in any guise. When we have beaten Germany, Japan, Italy and their satellites, together or seriatim, into unconditional surrender, and while we are making sure that our accomplishment cannot be evaded or undone, we shall not recognize any limitations on our action except those imposed by our own consciences or any commitments except those which have been arrived at openly among the United Nations."

Journalist *Victor Vinde* in 1942's "The Spirit of Resistance": "Businessmen and the well-to-do bourgeoisie were the slowest to comprehend and to react. Many of

them regarded the defeat as punishment for those who had toyed with democratic ideas and had strayed from the traditional ways of healthy conservative politics. Others felt that France no longer was able to stand on her own feet and that she could recover her prosperity and greatness only by fitting herself into a new Europe under German leadership. They had lost all real faith in their country.”

THE WINDS BLOW

New York Times’ Correspondent **Hanson W. Baldwin** in 1946’s “America at War: The Triumph of the Machine”: “The Second World War was a war of mass, but not, like the First, of massed manpower; it was a war of massed machines. In view of this, American production and construction, which reached Wellsian proportions, can be said to have been directly responsible for the victory over Germany and Japan. . . . Perhaps the chief military lesson of the ordeal through which we have just passed is that although size of armies is an important element in modern warfare, as the Russian campaigns showed, wars today are not won by ‘big battalions’ but by big industries.”

Stanford University Professor **Barton J. Bernstein** in 1995’s “The Atomic Bombings Reconsidered”: “America was not morally unique—just technologically exceptional. Only it had the bomb, and so only it used it. To understand this historical context does not require that American citizens or others should approve of it. But it does require

that they recognize that pre- and post-Hiroshima dissent was rare in 1945. Indeed, few then asked why the United States used the atomic bomb on Japan. But had the bomb not been used, many more, including numerous outraged American citizens, would have bitterly asked that question of the Truman administration.”

AFTER THE STORM

Union Theological Seminary Professor **Reinhold Niebuhr** in 1949’s “The Illusion of World Government”: “The immediate political situation requires that we seek not only peace, but also the preservation of a civilization which we hold to be preferable to the universal tyranny with which Soviet aggression threatens us. Success in this double task is the goal; let us not be diverted from it by the pretense that there is a simple alternative.”

University of Pennsylvania Professor **G. John Ikenberry** in 1996’s “The Myth of Post-Cold War Chaos”: “The common wisdom is wrong. What ended with the Cold War was bipolarity, the nuclear stalemate, and decades of containment of the Soviet Union—seemingly the most dramatic and consequential features of the postwar era. But the world order created in the middle to late 1940s endures, more extensive and in some respects more robust than during its Cold War years. Its basic principles, which deal with organization and relations among the Western liberal democracies, are alive and well.” *cf*

Foreign Affairs Builds Readership

Foreign Affairs has for the first time passed a total paid circulation of 200,000, according to the Alliance for Audited Media’s December 2016 Snapshot. This marks an increase of 30 percent over the past five years, and of 100 percent over the past twenty. The magazine’s reputation is also growing. For the third consecutive year in a row, *Foreign Affairs* was nominated for a National Magazine Award for General Excellence. The magazine was also recognized in February by *Forbes* as one of the ten top journalism brands where readers can find “real facts rather than alternative facts.” *cf*

Symposium Convenes CFR Members and Tech Industry Experts in Silicon Valley

This December, CFR Board Director and Alphabet and Google Chief Financial Officer **Ruth Porat** welcomed over 170 participants from across the country and around the world to the second annual National Symposium in Menlo Park, California. The symposium provided an opportunity for members, fellows, and industry experts to connect with each other, and allowed the Council to tap into talent on the West Coast.

Former Director of the Office of Management and Budget **Peter R. Orszag**, currently at Lazard, and CFR President **Richard N. Haass** opened with a discussion on the challenges facing the incoming Trump administration, from driving economic growth to the uncertain future of trade. Other panels focused on applications of big data and artificial intelligence; how the political and economic landscape in China affects business opportunities; and the way technology and skills in the labor force will spur U.S. competitiveness.

The symposium is one of the newest of many events held by the National Program for the plurality of members outside Washington and New York—in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Houston, London, Los Angeles, Miami, San Francisco, and Seattle.

The 2017 National Conference will be held from June 15 to 17 in New York. *cfr*

For more information, contact Irina A. Faskianos, vice president for the National Program and Outreach, at 212.434.9465 or national@cfr.org.



National members converse during the symposium.



CFR's Edward Alden, Vorto Consulting's Deborah Perry Piscione, and New America's Byron Auguste discuss the relationship among technology, skills, and U.S. competitiveness.



CFR's Richard N. Haass and Lazard's Peter R. Orszag consider the kinds of foreign policy challenges facing the new administration.

Symposium Analyzes How Women's Participation in Peace and Security Processes Advances U.S. Interests

In December 2016 the Women and Foreign Policy program held a symposium on the role of women in preventing conflict and building peace. Panelists discussed issues including countering violent extremism, women's participation in conflict mitigation in fragile states, sexual violence in war, and policies to broaden women's inclusion in peace and security processes around the world. The symposium was made possible by the support of the Compton Foundation.

Presider **Jessica E. Stern** opened the symposium with a question to the panelists.



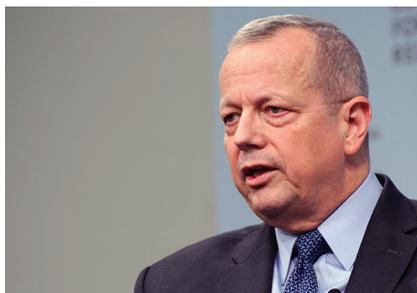
“What would you say if you were asked to brief the incoming president about what you’ve learned about the importance of empowering women? Is there a specific message you would have for this particular incoming president?”

—**Jessica E. Stern**, research professor, Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University



“... the importance of ensuring that women’s empowerment and women’s rights are promoted as ends in of themselves, that it’s not just a means to securing a national security outcome... If you set women’s rights up as a means to an end, you make them amenable to bartering.”

—**Jayne Huckerby**, director, International Human Rights Clinic, Duke University School of Law



“No society has ever successfully transitioned from being a conflict-ridden society to a developing society or better, unless women were a part of the mainstream of that society.”

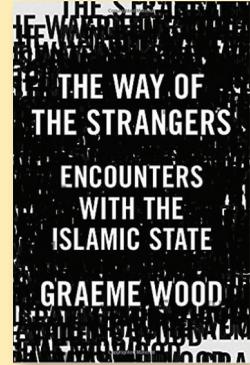
—**John R. Allen**, retired general, U.S. Marine Corps; codirector, Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, Brookings Institution

Watch full symposium www.cfr.org/events.

New Book by Former Murrow Press Fellow Graeme Wood Depicts the Strategy, Psychology, and Theology Driving the Islamic State

Atlantic National Correspondent **Graeme Wood's** new book, *The Way of the Strangers*—written in part while he was a CFR Edward R. Murrow press fellow between 2015 and 2016—is an intimate journey into the minds of the self-proclaimed Islamic State's true believers. From the streets of Cairo to the mosques of London, Wood

interviews supporters, recruiters, sympathizers of the group, and non-Islamic State Muslim scholars and jihadists. By exploring the theology, law, and emotional appeal of the Islamic State, Wood helps readers understand the group's followers and what they may do next. *cfr*



News From the Corporate Program

Unipol Gruppo Finanziario S.p.A., one of Italy's largest insurance companies, and Univision Communications Inc., the leading media company serving Hispanic America, join over 150 prominent companies that participate in the Council's Corporate Program.

The program provides member-company executives with timely analyses on global issues and policy debates that affect their businesses.

The Corporate Program thanks Bank of America Merrill Lynch for the loan from

its art collection, "Shaping the Future: Artists of the New Deal Era," now on display in CFR's Washington office. CFR was also pleased to host **Brian Moynihan**, chairman and chief executive officer of Bank of America, who recently spoke as part of the CEO Speaker Series. *cfr*

For more information, visit www.cfr.org/corporate.

Next Membership Deadlines: November 1, 2017, and January 3, 2018

CFR relies on members to identify and nominate accomplished leaders in international affairs as candidates for membership. The next membership application deadline is November 1, 2017, and the next term membership deadline for individuals between the ages of thirty and thirty-six is January 3, 2018.

If you know of strong candidates for membership, encourage them to contact Membership at 212.434.9456 or applications@cfr.org to initiate an application. *cfr*

For more information, visit www.cfr.org/about/membership.