

# COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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# ANNUAL REPORT

July 1, 1999 – June 30, 2000

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# OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS, 2000–2001

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## Officers

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**John C. Campbell**, Senior Fellow Emeritus, died on July 16, 2000. John first came to the Council in 1941 as a newly minted Ph.D. on a Rockefeller Fellowship. Over the next four decades he alternated between government service and, happily for us, increasingly longer stints at the Council. His main scholarly focus was on eastern Europe, especially the Balkans, and the Middle East, on which he wrote extensively. He was Director of Political Studies (1955–62), Editor of the Council's Policy Books, and Senior Research Fellow from 1962 until his retirement in 1978, serving in his final year as Director of Studies. He was a first-rate scholar, editor, analyst, and policymaker—all combined with a sense of humor that was the enduring delight of his friends and colleagues. John's integrity, nonpartisanship, and humanity represented the best traditions of the Council. We will miss him.

\*Appointed in 2000 by the Board of Directors.

†Elected in 1996 by the Board of Directors to serve a five-year term as Chairman, in accordance with By-Law VII.

Note: The list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 2000.

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The Council's Annual Report is designed to focus attention on the intellectual substance of the organization's activities. A detailed listing of all programs and events is available on the Council's website at [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).



# MISSION STATEMENT

**F**ounded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is a nonpartisan membership organization, research center, and publisher. It is dedicated to strengthening America's role in and understanding of the world by better comprehending global trends and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy. The Council does this through cutting-edge studies; serious, civil discussions; and rigorous analyses. The Council does not take institutional positions; however, Council Fellows and independent task forces do advocate certain policies as a result of their work.

The Council's highly diverse membership of over 3,800 American citizens includes the country's leaders in business, academia, the media, civil society, and government. Evenly divided among New York, Washington, D.C., and across the rest of the nation, Council members convene to hear world leaders and thinkers, and meet in small groups to work with one another and Council staff on particular issues.

The Council's Studies Department is now one of the largest foreign policy "think tanks" in the nation. It consists of experts on every region of the world as well as on particular subjects such as international economics, security, science and technology, and cul-

ture. Its more than 100 Fellows and research associates produce research-based, policy-oriented books and articles. The Fellows also are often called upon for congressional testimony, newspaper op-eds, and TV and radio commentary.

*Foreign Affairs* magazine is the jewel in the Council's publishing crown. For over 75 years it has been the preeminent international periodical, known as the place to write on world affairs for leaders and thinkers in America and abroad. The Council also publishes a new semiannual periodical, *Correspondence*, focused on the links between culture and policy. In addition, the Council publishes a number of books yearly under its own imprint.

Like the great universities, foundations, and other think tanks in America, the Council aims to uphold the quality of debate and studies about global issues, develop new generations of leaders and thinkers, and help meet the problems and challenges of the world with concrete and workable ideas.

The Council is governed by a Board of Directors chosen by its membership. It is an independent, tax-exempt organization financed by member dues and gifts, foundation and individual grants, corporate contributions, and revenues from its own endowment.

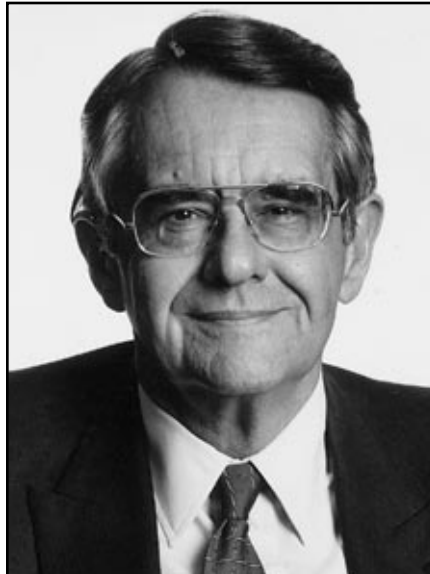
# LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

**B**oard Vice Chairman Hank Greenberg, Council President Les Gelb, and I have made it a practice for the seven years we have been working together here to focus Council operations on overarching institutional objectives. Beginning about a year ago, we chose three such priorities where we would concentrate the bulk of Council Board and senior staff time. We pay particular attention to our Studies Department, and especially to the objective of the Council's helping to create the next generation of foreign policy experts—that is, people who know both economics and something else. Hank Greenberg writes this year in the Annual Report about the good progress we are making on this front. Les Gelb writes about another of his passions, the Center for Preventive Action. For almost a decade now, Americans and others have been arguing about intervening with force in ethnic and civil conflicts. This shows that we have done little or nothing to prevent the conflicts in the first place, and Les describes the new Council efforts to do something. I'm going to be talking to you this year about our Campaign 2000 enterprise, the Council's effort to help launch a serious public debate on foreign policy issues in this election year.

The need for this kind of public debate on both broad strategic issues and specific country ones is all too palpable. It's been a decade

now since we've had anything resembling a serious exchange of views among those who seek to lead our country in the world. To sidestep these international matters is not good for our democracy, and it doesn't make a lot of sense for the candidates who would be president, either. The person in the Oval Office will need public support for difficult foreign policy choices, and the best place to get that mandate is in an election. That mandate will be given only if candidates make a real effort to explain what they propose to do in the White House and why. So we've been button-holing and cajoling all the parties, trying to move them ahead on this front. Let me stress that we are doing this not just for Council members but for the wider public. Almost all our programs are intended to reach the general public in one way or another, as you will see below.

Taking on this kind of public responsibility is a new role for the Council. But we believe that we are in a good position to do so, and that it is our responsibility to try. It remains true that no organization matches our convening power or our reputation for good and fair work and, above all, for nonpartisanship. For instance, on this last point, we have assembled an Advisory Committee for Campaign 2000 that includes the top political and media consultants and experts for both the Republicans and the Democrats.



*Peter G. Peterson*

## LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

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We are trying to accomplish this goal of helping to produce a serious foreign policy debate in a number of ways, both face-to-face and online at our Campaign 2000 website. We have been calling on the candidates themselves to debate, even sending out a joint invitation with Council member Tom Johnson of CNN. We have been gathering the political surrogates of the candidates in Congress, and they have been quite forthcoming. And we've been getting the foreign policy experts who advise the candidates to come and talk about what they believe and how they would handle the nation's problems, since many of them will be in the top jobs if their candidate prevails.

We've been making good progress toward our goal. I won't go through the list of legislators who have appeared for us in Washington and New York, but it has been a strong list on subjects from trade with China to missile defense. Condi Rice, the leader of Governor George Bush's foreign policy team, addressed our Term Member Annual Conference. Our Annual Conference for the Council's national members was replete with debates between the two sides, including an important conversation between Vice President Al Gore's supporter Graham Allison and Governor George W. Bush's stalwart Robert Zoellick. We've also been running a number of Campaign 2000 articles in *Foreign Affairs*. Let me take this opportunity to congratulate Jim Hoge and Fareed Zakaria for the splendid magazine they edit.

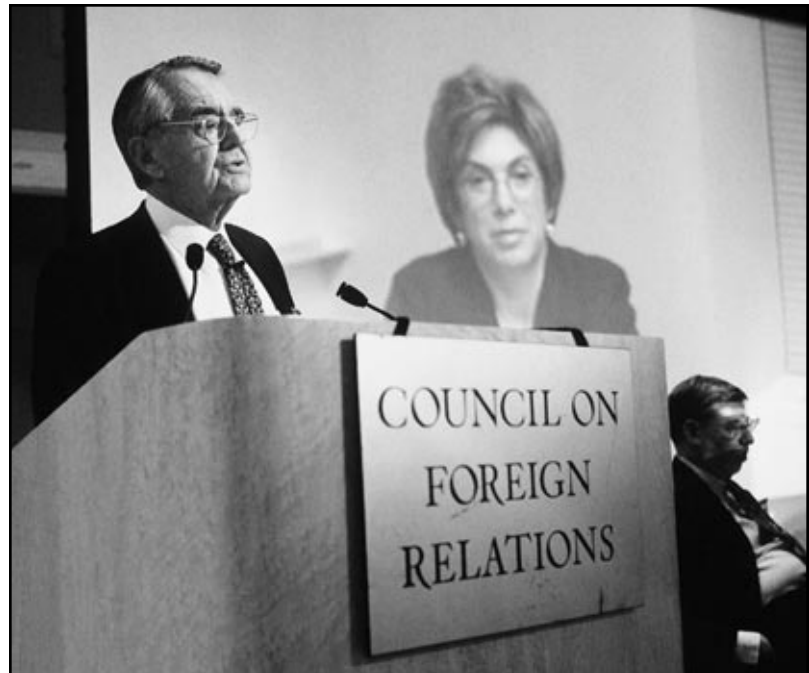
Les Gelb launched the Council in this Campaign 2000 enterprise and turned over day-to-day responsibilities to our Vice President for Meetings, Anne Luzzatto. Anne has been working closely with the head of our Washington operations, Paula Dobriansky, to develop lively events in D.C., and with her own staff in New York for a vibrant Campaign 2000 menu here. To handle the website, Anne turned to Lisa Shields, one of our term members who joined our staff full time for this project, and to member Leila Conners Petersen to mount the technical and software sides of the project. If you take a look at that website and explore its gold mine of easily retrievable informa-

tion, I think you'll agree that it is far and away the best foreign policy website; in fact, *George* magazine named it one of the top ten political sites.

We're all getting used to good years at the Council. The place is so well focused and well run by Les Gelb and his team, and I speak particularly here of Les's deputy, Mike Peters, his deputy, Jan Murray, and Corporate Vice President and *Foreign Affairs* Publisher David Kellogg. We look forward to seeing you at the Harold Pratt House in New York, in our equally active and productive home in Washington, or in one of our diverse venues around the country, as we are becoming a truly national organization.



Peter G. Peterson  
Chairman of the Board



President Peter G. Peterson, Speaker Laura D'Andrea Tyson, BankAmerica Dean of the Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley, and Speaker Morris Goldstein, Dennis Weatherstone Senior Fellow in International Finance, Institute for International Economics, at the January 13, 2000, Videoconferenced Meeting, "The Future International Financial Architecture" (between San Francisco and New York).

# LETTER FROM THE VICE CHAIRMAN

**M**y main goal as vice chairman in the last few years has been to make sure the Council focuses more and more on international economics and the links between economic issues and foreign policy questions. Call it geoeconomics or creating the new foreign policy expert—the point is that the major problems in the international arena almost always have an economic dimension as well as a political, security, technological, or cultural dimension. We need people and activities here at the Council that will continue to bring these combined economic and traditional foreign policy matters together in general meetings, Council-sponsored independent task forces, and in the Studies Department. Council President Les Gelb and I have made this a kind of joint venture along with Board Director Laura D’Andrea Tyson, who chairs the Board Committee on Studies, and Director of Studies Larry Korb.

As many of you know by now, the Council sponsors independent task forces on current policy issues. We bring the best people together for three to six months to see if we can help to solve problems through more creative solutions. And even though I was concerned at the beginning that people might mistake the independent task force reports for a position of the Council itself, this has not occurred. The consumers

of our task force reports seem to understand fully that they are solely the responsibility of the task force members themselves.

More and more of the efforts we have made in the task force realm are about economics. Just this year we had a blue ribbon task force on the future international financial architecture, cochaired by Pete Peterson and Carla Hills, with Morris Goldstein as project director. No other organization could have put together that kind of intellectual horsepower and high-level experience. Their report, I believe, offers a blueprint for practical changes to better manage regional financial crises, a plan that can be followed by a Republican or a Democratic administration. We also set in motion a task force on the economic future of the Balkan states, chaired by Steve Rattner, with Mike Froman as the project director. Everything in that sad part of the world is tied in one way or another to viable and stable economic growth. Without that, it’s hard to imagine any kind of political stability. The task force did a good job of pointing out to governments, as well as to the leaders of the Balkan countries, the hard decisions they have to make in the coming year to give themselves and their people a chance for a better future.

More and more of our Senior Fellows in the Studies Department are working on economic subjects



*Maurice R. Greenberg*

## LETTER FROM THE VICE CHAIRMAN

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*Maurice R. Greenberg and Speaker Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at the July 12–13, 2000, Corporate Program Conference, "The Next Financial Crisis: Warning Signs, Damage Control, and Impact."*

and including economics in their other concerns. We've had two accomplished economists at the Council full time this year—Roger Kubarych and Benn Steil. Roger has done some fine work on gaming financial events worldwide and on tying economic decisions to foreign policy and security decisions. A very interesting conclusion emerged from this exercise: Decision-makers tended to set aside all but the most challenging security matters in favor of financial and economic matters. Benn has been connecting his

work on international financial issues with a whole range of science and technology questions. Beginning this summer, the world-renowned economist Jagdish Bhagwati, professor of economics at Columbia University, will be joining our staff for two years; on a part-time basis, so will Charles Calomiris, professor at Columbia School of Business. Celeste Wallander, who has been an associate professor at Harvard for a number of years, will join our Washington office starting this summer to study Russian political and economic problems. Ron Asmus, formerly the chief NATO expert in the State Department, is working at the Council on Europe's future security problems. But to get at those problems, he'll also be studying European economic growth, the state of European defense industries and technology, and the growing influence of the European Union.

Let me mention one other matter. I have long been convinced that the various foreign policy think tanks need to coordinate and cooperate. This past year we had a breakthrough. Les Gelb, working with my associate at the American International Group and former career diplomat, Frank Wisner, has persuaded most of the other major foreign policy think tanks to meet on a regular basis and look at the possibility of joint studies. Frank is now chairing this group, and we hope it will lead to a real pooling of talent.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Mr. R. Greenberg".

*Maurice R. Greenberg*  
Vice Chairman of the Board



# THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

**F**oreign policy experts around the world have spent a good deal of time this past decade debating whether U.S. military forces should intervene in one civil/ethnic conflict or another. There is little agreement on whether to use U.S. military force, and it's highly unlikely there will be agreement on this matter. Some believe that stopping the violence once it erupts is a subject of the highest moral and practical concern, whereas others see these eruptions of violence as the inevitable product of historical hatreds beyond the influence of outsiders. But almost everyone agrees on the need to try to prevent these conflicts from erupting in the first place. Still, it is precisely in the realm of prevention that little or nothing has been done in the last ten years, either by governments or by international organizations. Everybody talks about prevention; almost no one does anything about it.

It is our aim and our hope that the Council's reconstituted Center for Preventive Action might help prevent violent conflicts from occurring. In the last five years, our Center for Preventive Action has been ably led by Senior Fellow Barnett Rubin. Its main objectives were to identify which preventive methods worked, which didn't, and why, and also to bring together people from nongovernmental organizations and governments to share information and experiences. Now, we intend to be much more operational, short of actually having the Council involved in negotiations.

The operating principle for our Center in its second phase is simple and practical: to harness the con-

tacts and influence of all the groups that might be able to persuade the parties to these conflicts to settle their disputes peacefully. We want to bring together the four principal outside actors in these ethnic and civil tragedies: governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and businesses. None can do the job alone. Government officials have to learn to work with international organizations; to use the power and standing of religious leaders, human rights groups, and relief organizations; and to leverage business incentives to have a chance at making prevention work. It's all well and good, and even necessary, to have the ethnic adversaries talk to each other across the table, to get to know each other better. But it's highly and tragically unlikely that anything short of tangible incentives—concrete carrots and sticks—will convince those with hatred in their hearts and a desire for power to

seek compromise. That's why all the outside groups with standing and influence in a particular region must be focused on the situation.

The means for developing the ideas and selling the prevention plans to the proper authorities will be Council task forces. We began using task forces five years ago to bring together experienced people with diverse perspectives to help solve current policy problems. It may be immodest to say, but it is nonetheless true, that no organization has more convening power than the Council. We can bring together just the right mix of people to take inventories of the outside groups that are involved in a particular country, to assess their influ-



*Leslie H. Gelb*

ence, and then to shape this information into a strategy for preventing conflict by offering tangible incentives to compromise. We expect members of the task forces to work on an issue for an average of six months. Once their strategy is in hand, their objective would be to convince the relevant governments and international organizations to assume responsibility for the strategy, to shape it along politically necessary lines, and to begin prevention efforts. We expect this will be done through direct contact between officials and task force members. But we also expect our task force members to write op-ed pieces and to testify before Congress.

Even as we move forward on this practical front, we need to make progress on broader structural issues to support preventive action. We must work with others in educating the public about the importance of prevention, about how incredibly inexpensive it is compared to actual military intervention, and about how it can contribute to a better world. We also have to work with others to put our own government in a better position to deal with these problems. I'm thinking here specifically of the famous "150" line in the federal budget, which deals with matters like economic aid and payments for peacekeeping operations. Prevention cannot be done without money; funds are needed to put police and military forces into an area before the shooting starts. We also need to help think through how to make the U.N. peacekeeping operations more viable. Prevention may well cause less dissension and division in the U.N. Security Council than actual military intervention. But political differences are not the only obstacles to the United Nations' ability to carry out a prevention mandate. The United Nations will need forces on call for policing operations before the shooting starts. It will need pledges of logistical support from countries to transport and supply troops.

No one involved in this project at the Council thinks prevention is anything but a very difficult enterprise. It is very hard to dissuade people who are determined to



*Speaker William S. Cohen, Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense, Leslie H. Gelb, and Martin S. Feldstein at the December 7, 1999, Meeting, "U.S. Defense Priorities: Engagement and Isolationism."*

kill each other. But the stakes are so high that we have to try. The very magnitude of the challenge has attracted one of the most able and qualified people to be the new director of the Center for Preventive Action. Fred Tipson brings with him a solid background in business and the communications industry, experience on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and long-standing ties with the Council. The advisory group overseeing Center operations will continue to be led by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Jack Vessey, and we are already working in close partnership with Reynold Levy, president of the International Rescue Committee.

Over the last decade, I can't think of another issue that has occasioned more argument in the foreign policy arena than this question of humanitarian intervention. I have debated Charles Krauthammer in Washington, Richard Allen in Los Angeles, and John Mearsheimer in Chicago, and I moderated a debate here in New York between Fareed Zakaria and Tony Lewis. The feelings are raw because the answer really does matter. We believe we are now focusing on a better question—how to prevent conflict rather than whether or not to intervene after the killing begins.

*Leslie H. Gelb*  
President

# COUNCIL GOALS

In keeping with its mission, membership, and heritage, the Council pursues three goals:

**A**dd value to the public debate on international affairs.

Council Senior Fellows conduct policy-oriented research, write books and articles, provide expert testimony before Congress, write op-eds, and appear on broadcast interviews. Council members provide policy recommendations through independent task force reports sponsored by the Council. *Foreign Affairs*, the Council's premier publication, offers leading articles from the best minds around the world.



*Speaker Wesley K. Clark, Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command, and President Robert E. Hunter at the November 17, 1999, Meeting, "Can NATO Ensure European Security?"*

*Hani K. Findakly, Moderator Richard K. Goeltz, Alan Wm. Wolff, Nicholas A. Bratt, and Yves-Andre Istel at the January 22, 2000, Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy, "Policy Simulation."*



## COUNCIL GOALS

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*Speaker Rachel Bronson, Olin Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, and Chair Edward P. Djerejian at the October 13, 1999, Videoconferenced Study Group on U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf, "Containment: Can and Should It Be Sustained?" (between Houston and New York).*



**E**nergize foreign policy discussions nationwide by making the Council a truly national organization with membership across the country.

Senior Fellows regularly meet with Council members around the country for intimate seminars in key U.S. cities. A large percentage of these Council members convene in New York for an annual national conference to discuss key current policy questions. Members from coast to coast are in touch with each other on a regular basis through videoconferencing, webcasting, and the Internet.

*Warren Christopher, Presider Ronald L. Olson, and Speaker Leslie H. Gelb, President, Council on Foreign Relations, at the March 24, 2000, Campaign 2000 Debate, "What's Worth Fighting and Dying For?" (in Los Angeles).*



**I**dentify and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders.

The Council has always prided itself on finding future talent, bringing these people together to talk and broaden their interests, and providing a basis for future service to the country. The Council's special five-year term membership program for young people is a keystone of this effort. In addition, the Council seeks outstanding younger scholars and policymakers through its various on-staff and one-year fellowship programs.



*Jacob Weisberg and Speaker Fareed Zakaria, Managing Editor, Foreign Affairs, at the April 25, 2000, Conversations with Senior Members Dinner, "Humanitarian Interventions: When Are They Justified?"*



*Speaker James M. Goldgeier, Acting Director of the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies and Associate Professor, George Washington University, Speaker Vinca LaFleur, former Director for Speechwriting, National Security Council, and Speaker Graham T. Allison, Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, at the November 19, 1999, Term Member Annual Conference, "Campaign 2000: What's on the Foreign Policy Agenda?"*

*Speaker Robert W. Kagan, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Speaker Marc A. Thiessen, Press Spokesman, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Speaker John Hillen, Study Group Member, U.S. Commission on National Security, at the November 19, 1999, Term Member Annual Conference, "Campaign 2000: What's on the Foreign Policy Agenda?"*





# CAMPAIGN 2000

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- One of the Council's main institutional priorities for the election year.
  - Fosters serious public debate among the presidential candidates, their political surrogates in Congress, and their advisers about America's foreign policy, international economic policy, and national security policy.
  - Focuses on face-to-face and online foreign policy debates.
  - Provides the only public website ([www.foreignpolicy2000.org](http://www.foreignpolicy2000.org)) devoted to foreign policy and the presidential election.
- 

**B**efore Americans elect the next president, they need to hear the candidates' positions on key international, economic, and security questions. The most important role the Council can play this election year is to encourage the candidates to focus on foreign policy. To foster this dialogue, the Council's Campaign 2000 initiative is designed to spur serious public debate between the parties and their candidates.

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*"The candidates and their campaigns owe the American people a serious debate on foreign policy—and this is the place to do it."*

—SENATOR WARREN B. RUDMAN

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The first phase of Campaign 2000 focused on member meetings and debates. The New York Meetings Program, the Washington Program, and the National Program devoted much of this year to programming over 50 Campaign 2000 meetings and face-to-face debates across the country. These meetings, along with the Term Member Conference and the National Conference, also focusing on Campaign 2000, added real value to election coverage across the country.

In March, the Council launched the first website dealing exclusively with foreign policy and the presidential election. In July, the website was listed by *George* magazine as one of the top ten political websites. It was also selected by the Markle Foundation as its featured nonprofit on the election hub ([www.webwhiteblue.org](http://www.webwhiteblue.org)). Designed and developed by Council member Leila Conners Petersen's Tree Media Group, this new website features the most comprehensive foreign policy briefing room on the Internet, with issue briefs crafted by Council Fellows. The site's library also contains all public statements by candidates on key foreign policy issues, so voters can quickly compare and contrast the candidates' foreign policy platforms. Additional features include a compendium of poll results provided by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, a Campaign 2000 series of *Foreign Affairs* articles in full text, and transcripts of important Campaign 2000 meetings at the Council with guests such as Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Bush foreign policy adviser Condoleezza Rice, and National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger. The website also hosted a series of online debates and live online interviews with the candidates' surrogates and key foreign policy experts.

*Lisa Shields*  
Campaign 2000 Director

## Meeting Highlights

### THAD COCHRAN

Member, U.S. Senate (R-Miss.)

### CARL M. LEVIN

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mich.)

“National Missile Defense: Two Perspectives from the Senate”

PRESIDER: LAWRENCE J. KORB

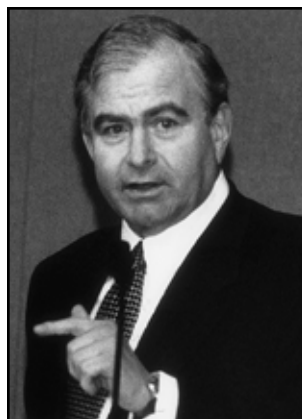
THE JACOB K. JAVITS MEMORIAL LECTURE SERIES

### WILLIAM S. COHEN

Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense

“U.S. Defense Priorities: Engagement and Isolationism”

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON



Speaker Samuel R. Berger, U.S. National Security Adviser, at the October 21, 1999, Elihu Root Lecture, “American Power: Hegemony, Isolationism, or Engagement?”

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*“Top-level insight on the critical foreign policy issues of the day. It’s the go-to site for foreign policy analysis and debate.”*

—SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

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### WILLIAM J. CROWE

U.S. Navy (Ret.); Senior Adviser, Global Options; former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

### DAVID C. JONES

U.S. Air Force (Ret.); former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

### COLIN L. POWELL

U.S. Army (Ret.); Chairman, America’s Promise; former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

### JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI

U.S. Army (Ret.); former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

### JOHN W. VESSEY

U.S. Army (Ret.); former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

“National Defense Priorities for the Next Administration”

PRESIDER: DONALD KAGAN

### JOHN DESPRES

Speaking for Senator Bill Bradley

### RICHARD GARDNER

Speaking for Vice President Al Gore

“Campaign 2000 Debate on Foreign Policy: Two Views from the Democratic Party”

PRESIDER: GARRICK UTLEY

### JOHN F. KERRY

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mass.)

“U.S.-China Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”

PRESIDER: WINSTON LORD

### ANTHONY LEWIS

Columnist, *New York Times*

### FAREED ZAKARIA

Managing Editor, *Foreign Affairs*

“Campaign 2000 Great Debate: Humanitarian Interventions—When Are They Justified?”

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

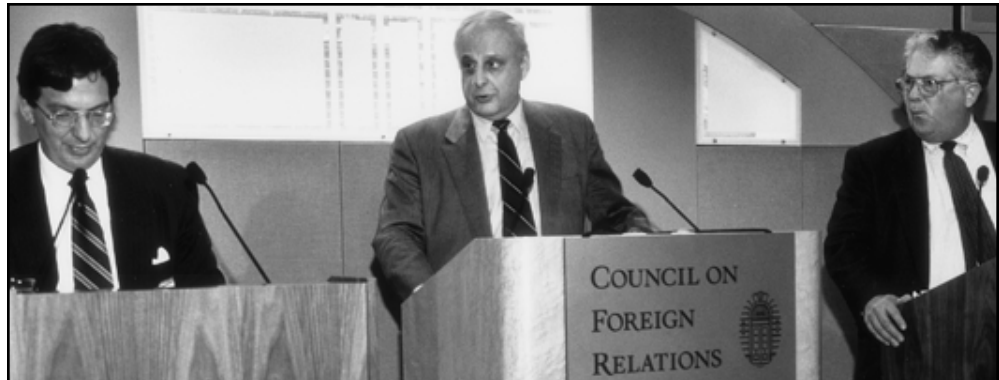
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*“Finally the facts at cyberspeed. Just when the campaign rhetoric leaves us starving for what is real, what is researched, and what matters.”*

—DIANE SAWYER

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Speaker Arthur Waldron, Director of Asian Studies, American Enterprise Institute, and Lauder Professor of International Relations, University of Pennsylvania, Presider Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker Chas. W. Freeman Jr., Chairman, Projects International, Inc., at the April 19, 2000, Campaign 2000 Debate, "If Taiwan Declares Independence and China Reacts with Force, on Whom Should the United States Lean Harder, China or Taiwan?"



### Bipartisan Advisory Committee

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Speaker Condoleezza Rice, Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to Governor George W. Bush, at the November 18, 1999, Term Member Annual Conference, "Campaign 2000: What's on the Foreign Policy Agenda?"




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*"The Foreignpolicy2000 site is a commendable effort to focus attention on what ought to be significant, substantive issues in the campaign. It could serve as a model for sites devoted to other complex policy issues."* —SLATE

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Speaker Carl M. Levin, Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mich.), Presider Lawrence J. Korb, and Speaker Thad Cochran, Member, U.S. Senate (R-Miss.), at the February 17, 2000, Jacob K. Javits Memorial Lecture, "National Missile Defense: Two Perspectives from the Senate."



# STUDIES PROGRAM

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- The largest and most influential foreign policy research organization in the nation.
  - Consists of approximately 100 scholars and research associates.
  - Advances understanding of world affairs and contributes ideas to U.S. foreign policymakers.
  - Conducts cutting-edge research on topics and regions related to U.S. foreign policy.
  - Produces books and articles based on study group meetings with Council members and other experts.
  - Encourages member participation in study groups and roundtables. (E-mail [studies@cfr.org](mailto:studies@cfr.org) for further information.)
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**T**he Studies Department is the Council's "think tank." The Studies Department focuses on issues that will shape the international agenda, with an emphasis on three areas: national security, international economics, and Asia. Cross-fertilization of ideas across regional and subject areas as well as input from the Council's diverse and informed membership allows the Studies Department to produce innovative research that has significant impact on the policy debate.

Staff members of the Studies Department include Senior Fellows, Visiting Fellows, and Next Generation Fellows (NGFs). Senior Fellows are distinguished scholars and practitioners who have significant experience in academia and/or government. Visiting Fellows, including Military, State Department, CIA, and Press Fellows, spend a year at the Council while on leave from their parent organization. Next Generation Fellows are younger scholars and/or practitioners drawn from academia, government, or the private sector. They normally spend two or three years at the Council working on specific research projects. Selected NGFs are invited to become Senior Fellows after completing their initial terms. NGFs not only provide fresh insights into Studies

projects but also gain experience that will enable them to become future foreign policy analysts or practitioners.

Council Fellows produce research-based, policy-oriented books and major articles. In addition, they add value to the foreign policy debate in a variety of other ways: they appear as commentators on television and radio shows; write op-ed pieces for major newspapers; testify before Congress; and meet with high-ranking executive and legislative branch officials with foreign policy responsibilities. These activities increase the exposure of Senior Fellows in the government and among the public, ensuring a broad and influential audience for the research produced by the Council.

Active participation by the Council's members in Studies projects adds immeasurable value to the quality of the Studies Program. Council Fellows benefit from the informed input of the diverse group of members with various professional backgrounds and political perspectives. The Studies Department generally sponsors two types of meetings that connect Fellows and members: study groups and roundtables. Study groups assist Fellows or other designated authors in writing books and articles. Members are asked to review papers circulated in advance by the Fellow for discussion.

Roundtables are informal discussion groups that allow members to keep abreast of foreign policy issues on a particular region or topic. Members who would like to participate in these projects should contact the office of the director of Studies at 212-434-9631.

In an effort to stimulate the broadest discussion of relevant foreign policy issues, the Studies Department conducts study group sessions in key cities around the country in addition to New York and Washington. The Studies Department supplements this national dialogue through the Council's website ([www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)), which provides public access to Council publications and other intellectual output of the Studies staff, including web-based discussion groups. Such intellectual exchange between Council Fellows and the entire membership is essential to the Council's broader mission.

In the 1999–2000 program year, the Studies Department implemented a comprehensive agenda. A glance at a few of the projects undertaken demonstrates the scope of Studies activities: the regionalization of Africa; the impact of domestic politics on the security policies of the Persian Gulf; global health and foreign policy; Japanese foreign policy and U.S. interests in Asia; the transnationalization of the defense industry; refugees and the displaced; ethnic conflict and partition; and technological innovation and economic performance. The Studies Department will continue its ambitious agenda in the upcoming program year.

*Lawrence J. Korb*

Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies

## NATIONAL SECURITY

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ANN R. MARKUSEN

CHAIR: RICHARD RAVITCH

Since the end of the Cold War, economic and defense industrial-base concerns have become increasingly pervasive in U.S. arms export policy. The sale of sophisticated weapons by U.S. defense companies to countries around the world may adversely affect national securi-

ty, encourage arms and capacity proliferation, and set off an expensive arms race among allies. The potential for transnational mergers that will create mega-firms complicates the arms export discussion in this era.

This study group assembled a broad range of individuals, from policymakers and academics to peace and human rights activists, to investigate the phenomenon and debate policy responses. Through monthly meetings over the last year, including a conference held in Washington, D.C., study group participants addressed the following questions: What security concerns should drive arms export policy? Have arms exports in fact kept production and R&D lines "hot" and available for next-generation systems? If so, is this necessary? Have arms exports lowered the cost of weapons to the Pentagon? How much do arms exports contribute to the U.S. trade balance, net of subsidies and offsets? Are exports creating pressure for arms innovation that would not otherwise exist? What policies can be recommended for U.S. arms export regulation and conventional arms trade negotiations?

### Study Group on Assessing the Future of Chinese Power

PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD K. BETTS AND THOMAS J. CHRISTENSEN (MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)

CHAIR: HARRY HARDING

Some of the principal issues in international politics in the next century will be how powerful China becomes, whether its military capabilities will develop commensurately with its economic output, and what challenges Chinese power will pose to regional and global



*Lawrence J. Korb, Randy Beardsworth, and James M. Loy at the October 26, 1999, Study Group, "Globalization and the Future of Border Control."*



order. Launched in January 1999, this study group held meetings in New York and Washington, D.C., to discuss the interrelationships of political, economic, and military developments in the evolution of Chinese power. Special attention was devoted to considering what might be learned from the experiences of other rising powers, the roles of other major powers in Asia (Japan, Russia, India), and problems in translating economic progress into modern military effectiveness. Richard K. Betts and Thomas J. Christensen are producing an article that draws on the discussions.

### **W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Visions of International Order**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Current debate about the nature of the emerging international landscape is disappointingly thin. Contentious theories about the end of history and the clash of civilizations aside, the analytic community has made little progress in mapping out the key elements of a new international system. This group will examine contending visions of order and generate a more fertile discussion of desirable outcomes and methods for policymakers to achieve them. Analysts working on these questions and their implications for American grand strategy will make presentations to the group. The project will lead to a "white paper" for the administration that takes office in 2001. In addition, Charles A. Kupchan will produce a book, as well as shorter articles and op-ed pieces.

### **Study Group on the Future of Arms Control**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JAN M. LODAL (LODAL & COMPANY)

This study group aims to reassess the impact of arms control, its methods, and its objectives on U.S. security interests and to derive a set of recommendations to ensure that arms control continues to serve U.S. interests in the coming decades. Existing arms control agreements are showing signs of fracture. The shortcomings that plague these initiatives, in conjunction with a changing global environment and rapidly developing technologies, have jeopardized the ability of arms control to influence the security environ-

ment and have drawn into question their value to U.S. interests. The project will recommend specific measures the United States can take to ensure that it maintains its leadership in reducing threats to U.S. and international security. The final product will be a book or a major article by Jan M. Lodal.

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: STEPHEN E. FLYNN

CHAIR: BOB GRAHAM

States have traditionally relied on physical inspections at the border to police people and goods for the purposes of restricting migration and emigration, collecting duties and fees, intercepting contraband, and satisfying important security interests. Today, the speed and volume of modern flows have overwhelmed these traditional means. Drawing upon experts from a variety of backgrounds, including academia, industry, law enforcement, and national security, this national study group assessed the implications of lax or ineffective border controls on crime, security, development, and trade. It sought to identify how states might develop new practices and capabilities to facilitate trade and travel while still filtering the bad from the good. Specifically, the study analyzed the regulatory and technological prospects for promoting greater "transparency" in the commercial transportation and logistics sectors as a means to deter and help foil customs and immigration violations, organized crime, weapons and drug smuggling, and terrorism.

In addition to conducting face-to-face meetings in five cities across the country, study group members were invited to discuss and provide feedback to draft



*Robert Filippone, Speaker Bob Graham, Member, U.S. Senate (D-Fla.), Stephen E. Flynn, and Maryann K. Cusimano at the October 26, 1999, Study Group, "Globalization and the Future of Border Control."*

chapters posted online. The final product will be a book by Stephen E. Flynn.

### Study Group on High-Impact Terrorism

PROJECT DIRECTOR:  
JESSICA STERN

Americans are vulnerable to a new form of violence: seemingly purposeless, high-impact attacks, calculated to create fear. The perpetrators are likely to be individuals or small groups who kill in the name of their personal or religious beliefs, rather than traditional states or terrorist organizations that pursue nationalist goals. This study group aims to rethink U.S. foreign policy and defense priorities in light of the increase in religious terrorism. It addresses the following questions: Who are these new terrorists? What do they hope to achieve? How will they arm themselves? How does the growth of religious fundamentalism, and the terrorism it inspires, affect U.S. foreign policy and interests? What is an appropriate response? Participants are assessing the effectiveness of current policies for reducing the threat of high-impact terrorism and will suggest additional remedies that should be considered or emphasized. The products of this study group will be a book and several shorter articles by Jessica Stern.

### Study Group on U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RACHEL BRONSON  
CHAIR: EDWARD DJEREJIAN

COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

This videoconferenced study group drew on the expertise of members in Houston, Washington, D.C., and New York to analyze key factors underpinning the long-term ability of the United States to protect its in-



*David A. Duffié, Céline S. Gustavson, David Kellogg, Paul J. Heer, Marie X. Strauss, and Michael P. Peters at the January 22, 2000, Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy, "Policy Simulation."*

terests in the Persian Gulf. It examined the increased U.S. military presence in the region and how the domestic political concerns of Gulf states have shaped and have been shaped by it. The goal of this project was to answer two questions: How will fluid Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries' domestic conditions, coupled with a continuing U.S. need to remain active in the Gulf, shape America's options in the Persian Gulf in the early 21st century? More specifically, can the United States continue its containment policy in the presence of significant political and economic change among its GCC partners? Members were linked in New York and Houston via videoconference for each interactive session. The final product will be an article by Rachel Bronson.

### Roundtable on Major Military Policy Issues

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BERNARD E. TRAINOR

This roundtable examined the military and political lessons drawn from the recent air war over the former Yugoslavia. The sudden end of the Kosovo crisis hampered serious analysis about the use of force as an element of diplomacy and foreign policy in future crises,

leaving crucial questions about the nature of military intervention and coercive diplomacy unanswered.

The roundtable focused on four major issues surrounding the air war: the role of air power as the new American way of war; the true effectiveness of the air campaign; collateral damage and effects of force projection on strategy and tactics; and the future of coalition warfare and the use of force for coercive diplomacy. The roundtable brought together members and experts in Washington, D.C., to discuss these issues.

### **John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

This ongoing roundtable, which meets in both New York and Washington, D.C., seeks to identify the critical post-Cold War questions that require more detailed study by the Council. Subjects are chosen as the sessions proceed, to take advantage of ideas that come out of the discussion. Among the topics this past year were the emerging gap between civilian culture and professional military values; the Department of Defense's humanitarian operations in Africa; the conflict in Kashmir; and transnational crime networks.

### **Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE

As recent events have shown, terrorism is one of the central national security threats the United States faces in the post-Cold War world. This ongoing roundtable brings together Council members and other experts to discuss cutting-edge research and ideas related to terrorism and counterterrorism policy. Each year approximately half a dozen meetings in New York and Washington, D.C., feature presentations by leading experts or government officials. Among last year's topics were a discussion of cyberattacks and network security and an analysis of the past and present status of Russian biological weapons programs.

### **Energy Security Group**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER

COSPONSORED WITH THE JAPAN ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM, INC. The Energy Security Group promotes better understanding and exchange of information between the United States and Japan about issues in the Middle East and elsewhere that influence economic develop-

ment and global security. Discussions focus on policy issues such as energy security, nuclear proliferation, high technology, and economic coordination, as well as population pressures on energy requirements, development, and the environment. Founding chairman William D. Rogers of Arnold & Porter and current chairman William F. Martin of Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc., provide leadership in consultation with the Energy Security Group's Japanese partner, the Japan Atomic Industrial Forum.

## **INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS**

### **Study Group on Big Emerging Economies**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS

This study group, based on the premise that some of today's big emerging economies may also be emerging big powers, surveyed the realignment their rise is forcing in U.S. foreign policy as well as the allocation of U.S. foreign aid and diplomatic resources. The study group emphasized such emerging nations as India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Korea, and Thailand. A major article by Marie-Josée Kravis will be published in late 2000.

### **Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

CO-CHAIRS: JAY ROCKEFELLER AND AMO HOUGHTON

U.S.-Japan economic relations face growing friction. Japan's trade surplus with the United States, always a political problem, is at record levels. Yet these two economic colossi are becoming ever more integrated, creating systemic friction because of differing regulatory systems and philosophies about markets. Based on the experience of the Bush administration's Strategic Impediment Initiative and the Clinton administration's Framework Talks, this study group sought to develop a new paradigm for U.S.-Japan economic negotiations, focusing on macroeconomic issues, regulatory reform, sector-specific problems, and a political dialogue. Bruce Stokes published a short paper informed by the group's deliberations.

### **Study Group on Technological Innovation**

### and Economic Performance

PROJECT DIRECTORS: BENN STEIL AND DAVID G. VICTOR

CHAIR: RICHARD FOSTER

Studies of economic performance suggest that technological innovation is a principal engine of the economy. Recent data show a striking relationship between the growth of information technology and the sustained robust growth of the U.S. economy. Yet the factors that determine innovation and its links with the wider economy are poorly understood. This project analyzes the relationship between technological innovation and economic performance through the commissioning of new assessments of the theoretical and historical literature as well as nine industry studies (e.g., Internet, securities trading, and energy) and country studies (United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Nordic group, and Japan). The primary focus is on deriving implications for effective economic policy. The final product will be an edited book and several major articles by Benn Steil and David G. Victor.

### A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BENN STEIL

This roundtable covers major issues in international economics of direct concern to American business. Prominent speakers from industry, government, and academia are featured. Recent roundtables have examined the globalization of securities trading and international trade issues emerging from biotechnology advances.

### Roundtable on Country Risk Analysis: Identifying Risks, Strategies, and Policy Implications

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARBARA CHRISTIE SAMUELS II  
(SAMUELS ASSOCIATES)

This roundtable's objective was to set forth recommendations for improving the quality of country risk analysis used by creditors, lenders, and policymakers, thereby reducing the economic and social costs of financial volatility and crisis. Participants included leading country risk practitioners from rating agencies, commercial banks, and the investor community, in addition to multilateral organizations and government offices. After the first round of discussions in the fall of 1999, roundtable participants provided recommendations around three principal categories: analytical country risk methods; structure of the country risk profession; and use of country risk analysis in decision-making, detailed in the International Monetary Fund's

1999 publication of *International Capital Markets*. During this fiscal year, the roundtable further refined these initial recommendations, focusing on how better to define principles and processes for sovereign bond restructurings, and improve the availability and quality of necessary data and analysis for the investor community.

### Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy

PROJECT DIRECTORS: BRUCE STOKES AND PAT CHOATE (ECONOMIST)

CO-CHAIRS: JIM KOLBE AND SHERROD BROWN

The purpose of this roundtable was to recommend a more inclusive process for developing U.S. trade policy through broader congressional participation in trade policymaking and negotiations, through a more open and effective USTR (United States Trade Representative) advisory system, through greater interaction between regulatory and trade officials, and through engagement with state and local governments to ensure broader public support for future trade policies. Bruce Stokes published a paper based on the roundtable findings.

### C. Peter McColough Roundtable on International Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BENN STEIL

This ongoing series of monthly lunches features some of the world's top economists as guest speakers, focusing on major policy issues in international economics. Recent speakers included Lawrence Summers,



President Walter Russell Mead and Speaker Joseph E. Stiglitz, Brookings Institution, at the March 20, 2000, Working Group on Development, Trade, and International Finance, "Reforming the Reform Agenda for Transitional Economies."

Joseph E. Stiglitz, Robert Mundell, Charles Calomiris, and Robert Gordon.

### **Roundtable on Safeguarding Globalization: Defining the Role of the Multinational**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MARCUS MABRY

The development of a global class of economic movers and shakers is challenging the supremacy of the nation-state. The most obvious embodiments of the new power may be the multinational corporation and the international class of managers who can move currencies, literally at the speed of light, and undermine governments. Their ascendancy seems to have taken even the international economic players by surprise. As a result, a movement has arisen to invest companies with a new sense of global responsibility beyond shareholder profit and the bottom line. The roundtable series examined the nature and place of corporate responsibility in the age of "globality." What are the powers and duties of international economic players in the post-Cold War era? What are American companies doing in extracommercial arenas? How are they supplanting the role of governments in international relations and in the internal affairs of states? What are the ramifications of this trend for U.S. foreign policy? The final product will be a major article by Marcus Mabry.

### **Working Group on Development, Trade, and International Finance**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

PROJECT COORDINATOR: SHERLE SCHWENNINGER

The overarching goal of this working group is to identify restructuring options for the international financial architecture that would stimulate the long-term flow of private capital to the developing world. More specifically, the working group is undertaking the development and promotion of one or more alternative working models for reform of the world financial architecture; the advancement of concrete proposals for countries interested in shifting from export-led growth to internally driven economic development; and the development of ideas to make the international financial system more open and accountable to the larger public interest. One of the final products will be a report by Walter Russell Mead and Sherle Schwenninger.

### **Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: ROGER M. KUBARYCH AND DAVID A. DUFFIÉ

The objective of this project was to develop research findings and expert advice that policymakers can use to help prepare for an unexpected financial mishap and perhaps to take steps to mitigate its adverse consequences, at both the domestic and the international levels. A four-part series of Council events provided the means to examine the links between the financial markets and broader economic, foreign policy, and national security concerns: (1) a roundtable at which the participants, including market practitioners, scholars, and former senior officials, reviewed the lessons learned from past stock market disturbances and the policy responses to them and identified the economic and financial vulnerabilities in the current environment; (2) a scenario-building roundtable; (3) a policy simulation in which a small number of experienced policy thinkers and former policymakers worked through the options and constraints facing the U.S. government in the aftermath of a sudden and significant stock market decline; (4) a conference to disseminate the findings of the roundtable and simulation. The conference, held on July 12–13, provided a forum to raise the broadest possible perspective on the intersection of financial markets, the global economy, foreign policy, and national security.

## **ASIA**

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING

### **Study Group on Asian Energy Security in the 21st Century**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING

CO-CHAIRS: EDWARD MORSE AND R. JAMES WOOLSEY

This study group analyzed the impact of Asia's burgeoning demand on global energy markets and regional security dynamics. The study group assessed the energy strategies of, and competition among, China, India, Japan, Korea, and ASEAN countries over the next quarter century and identified the relevant foreign policy challenges for the United States. Robert A. Manning has written a book, *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security*



and the Pacific Future, which examines the issues raised in the group's meetings and draws relevant conclusions and recommendations for the policy community.

### **Study Group on China and the Environment**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

The importance of China's environmental practices both for its domestic stability and for the resolution of global environmental problems is growing. This study group will address three core questions that U.S. policymakers should consider. First, how are the environmental challenges in China leading to the establishment of new political institutions, actors, and alliances that may challenge the political system? Second, with which Chinese actors should the United States engage in dialogue and cooperative ventures? Finally, what do these domestic political changes suggest for China's interest in and capacity for responding to the U.S. environmental priorities, such as global climate change? Elizabeth Economy will write a book to assess environmental trends within the broader context of China's political and economic reforms and its expanding linkages to the outside world. The analysis will also serve as the basis for a set of policy recommendations for U.S. officials as they negotiate Sino-American relations.

### **Study Group on the Impact of Leadership Politics on Chinese Foreign Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PAUL J. HEER

Conventional wisdom suggests that factional politics and leadership maneuvering in Beijing are a key source of China's approach to the rest of the world. Indeed, U.S. policy toward Beijing is based in part on a set of assumptions about the role internal politics plays in Chinese foreign policymaking. This study group reviewed that conventional wisdom and those assumptions in an effort to assess the validity of the existing framework for understanding the connection between Chinese politics and foreign policy. Key topics that were explored include the parameters of the Chinese political spectrum, the relative weight to assign leadership politics among the factors influencing Beijing's foreign policy decisions, and the efficacy of policies toward China that are based on the conventional wisdom. The final product was a *Foreign Affairs* article by Paul J. Heer.

### **Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL J. GREEN

CO-CHAIRS: RICHARD SAMUELS, NATHANIEL THAYER, RICHARD SOLOMON, DOUGLAS PAAL, GERALD CURTIS, PATRICK CRONIN, AND ELLEN FROST

While the rhetoric of U.S. policy toward Asia increasingly highlights a new "strategic partnership" with China and an "alliance" with Russia, U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific region in the next century will only be as credible as the alliance the United States sustains with Japan. Despite close bilateral ties, Washington remains unsure how Tokyo might react to a China-Taiwan conflict, an American confrontation with Iran, or a reoccurrence of the Asian financial crisis.

This study group worked with a similar Tokyo-based group to review case studies that focused on contemporary aspects of Japanese commercial, strategic, cooperative, and financial diplomacy, including Japan's role in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group; Japan's Eurasian diplomacy; the emerging dynamics of Sino-Japanese security relations; and Japan's policy toward the Korean peninsula. Each case study assessed factors such as the domestic determinants of Japanese policy, the role of the United States in Japanese policymaking, the points of bilateral divergence, and the lessons for the United States and Japan in terms of policy objectives and coordination. The study group culminated in a book by Michael J. Green analyzing Japanese foreign policy and its impact on U.S. interests in Asia.

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

PROJECT DIRECTORS: JEROME A. COHEN AND MORTON HOLBROOK

This ongoing roundtable series examines the many meanings of the term "rule of law" and the role of law and legal culture in Asian countries' economic growth, institution building, and protection of human rights. Participants discuss the relevance of the rule of law to U.S. foreign policy and what measures the public and private sectors in this country might adopt to foster desired developments. In 2000, the group focused on the extent to which China adheres to a broad range of international agreements. The roundtable sought an overview of the situation in China. Building on what is known about PRC treaty behavior in political, military, diplomatic, commercial, and cultural

areas, experts from government, nongovernmental organizations, and academia were invited to analyze the record in each field. The goal was to formulate not only more reliable generalizations about China's treaty conduct but also recommendations that should be useful to U.S. negotiators as well as to Congress, the media, and the public.

### Roundtable on China's Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Arms Control

PROJECT DIRECTORS: ROBERT A. MANNING AND RICHARD K. BETTS  
COSPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY AND THE INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

This ongoing roundtable series brings together leading specialists on China and nuclear weapons to assess China's nuclear doctrine, strategy, perceptions, and modernization strategy and their implications for the United States and the region. These issues will be assessed with a view toward the prospects of nuclear arms reductions. A written analysis of the conclusions derived from last year's roundtable sessions was produced.

### U.S.-China Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

This series provides an opportunity for Council members to hear prominent speakers and to discuss the full range of issues that define the U.S. relationship with China. This year's speakers included Stephen E. Flynn, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, and commander, U.S. Coast Guard; Bi-



*Myung-Soo Lee, Speaker Yasuaki Onuma, University of Tokyo Graduate School of Law and Politics, Presider Jerome A. Cohen, and Helena Kolenda at the April 10, 2000, Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy, "How to Overcome the U.S.-China Human Rights War."*

khim Hsiao, director of the Department of International Affairs, Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan; Peter Kwong, director, Asian American Studies, and professor of sociology, Hunter College; Sheri Xiaoyi Liao, president, Global Village of Beijing, and producer, "Time for Environment," China Central Television; Ma Ying-Jeou, mayor, Taipei City; Michel Oksenberg, senior fellow, Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University; Michael Pillsbury, visiting fellow, National Defense University; James Stapleton Roy, assistant secretary of defense for intelligence and research; and Song Yongyi, librarian, Dickinson College.

### Roundtable on India

CO-CHAIRS: FRANK G. WISNER II AND MARSHALL BOUTON  
COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

The Indian nuclear tests in 1998 underscored the deep rift in the relationship between the United States and India. As a new century of America's economic and strategic interests in Asia begins, it is difficult to see how the United States can pursue its ambitions in the region without involving India. In an effort to examine the potential for improving U.S.-India relations, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Asia Society convened a set of participants from various fields, bringing fresh perspectives on U.S. goals and strategies for future relations with India. Three fundamental questions were examined during the roundtable series: What are the basic assumptions, both U.S. and Indian, underlying the relationship? Where do these assumptions converge and diverge? How can leaders formulate better policies to address the areas of divergence and to build on the areas of convergence? The roundtable produced a detailed memorandum of policy for President Clinton for his March visit to India, and its co-chairs participated in the president's briefing by experts. Op-eds were published in the *Los Angeles Times* and *India Today*. The co-chairs also took charge of or participated in a range of briefings for the press and academic and business audiences. It will continue to work on developing policy advice for the next administration.

### **James J. Shinn Roundtable on Southeast Asia**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DOV S. ZAKHEIM

The purpose of this roundtable is to identify the most salient issues that might be suitable for in-depth examination by a Council-sponsored independent task force on this subject. This series addresses a range of issues, including security, economic, environmental, and social concerns, affecting individual states in the region, the region as a whole, and major extraregional actors such as China and Japan, as well as American policy concerns relating to those issues. Each meeting addresses its theme against the backdrop of U.S. policy and highlights current and prospective issues and challenges for American policymakers.

### **Conference on Rethinking Cross-Strait Relations: The Contributions of Comparative and International Law to the Taiwan Problem**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: JEROME A. COHEN AND ROBERT A. MANNING

Taiwan remains one of the most volatile flashpoints in the Asia-Pacific region. A confrontation in the Taiwan Strait is one of the few post-Cold War scenarios that could lead the United States into a direct armed conflict with another nuclear weapons state, China. This two-day nonpartisan “track two” conference held in February 2000 brought together leading scholars and analysts from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the West in a neutral setting. The meeting assessed the issues and explored new approaches to shaping the future of greater China based on the contributions of comparative and international law.

## **AFRICA**

### **Study Group on Thinking Regionally about Africa**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

The study group discussed the conceptualization of American national interests in Africa and debated strategies to promote U.S. relationships with Africa in a manner conducive to building regional economic, security, and political cooperation with and among nations in each of Africa’s five regions. Consisting of

American and African specialists, members of the group reviewed portions of a manuscript that offered a rationale and framework for organizing America’s Africa policy around U.S. interests in each subregion and discussed criteria for prioritizing U.S. interests in Africa by subregion and function (security; democracy; and economic development, trade, and investment).

### **Africa Roundtable Series**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: GWENDOLYN MIKELL

Roundtables in New York and Washington, D.C., provide Council members and others engaged in work on Africa with regular opportunities for critical analysis of policy issues addressed by domestic and foreign policy experts. This ongoing roundtable has a dialogue format that focuses on the examination of different American and African perspectives on the process of globalization. Discussion topics include the African Trade Bill and trade policy; African strategic resources at the core of conflicts; multilateral aspects of African militarization; enhancing African intellectual production; AIDS and endogenous African diseases; and African women in politics and peace. The goal is to assess currently emerging African and American policy on the above issues and to provide dialogue for future policy.

### **Roundtable on Capital Flows to Sub-Saharan Africa**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MAHESH K. KOTECHA

CHAIR: MAURICE TEMPELSMAN

This roundtable assessed the prospects for increasing capital flows to successful African countries. It tapped the views and participation of CEOs and senior executives of American multinational corporations and investment funds, as well as academics, former and current government officials, and others with active interest in Africa, to focus on the investment prospects of the African winners, such as Botswana, Mauritius, and Uganda, among others. Participants assessed the risks and returns for investors, identified constraints to the rapid growth of investment, and determined concrete steps that might be taken by African countries, multilateral and other official agencies, and the private sector to facilitate rising debt and equity capital flows.

## EUROPE

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

### Study Group on Overcoming Europe's Divide: NATO Enlargement and the Search for a New European Security Order

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RONALD D. ASMUS

This project is about American leadership, NATO enlargement, and the search for a new security order in Europe after the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War. Ronald Asmus will examine the most far-reaching and controversial debate over Europe and the U.S. role in Europe since the North Atlantic alliance was founded in 1949 under Harry Truman and Dean Acheson—the debate over expanding NATO's membership and missions to build a Europe whole and free in ongoing alliance with the United States. This project will focus on the ideas, diplomacy, and politics that created the consensus in the United States and across the Atlantic to bring new democracies in central and eastern Europe into NATO; to intervene militarily in crises in Bosnia and Kosovo to halt ethnic cleansing; and to build a new cooperative relationship with NATO's former adversary, Russia. The project will also examine the impact of economics on the debate. It will result in a book that tells the story of this extraordinary period and shows the lessons learned to help set the future U.S. policy agenda and an article on economics and security in U.S.-European relations.

### Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Europe has recently crossed several important thresholds, including the conflict in Kosovo, the introduction of a single currency, and the initiation of efforts to build a more robust and collective defense policy. In addition, NATO has formally accepted its first new members from central Europe and is contemplating next steps. All these issues have important implications for U.S.-European relations and for the vitality of the transatlantic link. To keep pace with a rapidly changing landscape, this ongoing roundtable meets regularly in New York and Washington, D.C., addressing a range of themes, including emerging security issues, the restructuring of European capitalism, and

the evolution of European Union institutions and policies. A guest speaker leads off each session.

### George F. Kennan Roundtable on Russia at the Crossroads

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

This ongoing roundtable serves as a forum for comprehensive scrutiny of all aspects of Russia's evolving political, economic, social, foreign policy, and defense developments. The overall goal is to assess the trends underway, with a particular focus on the current political and economic crisis gripping Moscow; to grasp the interrelationships among the factors involved; and to develop a full range of alternative scenarios for Russia's future by highlighting the key policy drivers. This year's roundtable focused in particular on the ramifications and influence of the recent Kosovo crisis on Russian foreign policy. It also focused on the developments leading up to the elections for the Duma and the presidency and their impact on U.S.-Russian relations.

### Roundtable on Russian Nationalism and Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND SESSION ONE CHAIR: ASTRID S. TUMINEZ

SESSION TWO CHAIR: KIMBERLY M. ZISK

SESSION THREE CHAIR: DAVID SPEEDIE

SESSION FOUR CHAIR: ASTRID S. TUMINEZ

SESSION FIVE CHAIR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

This roundtable focuses on the evolution of Russian nationalism, especially in the context of the 1999 Duma elections and the June 2000 presidential elections. What definitions of Russian national identity and national mission will dominate Russian political discourse, and how will this discourse define the role of the United States or the collective "West" in Russia's further evolution? To what extent do Russian nationalist ideas influence, and to what extent are they influenced by, the relationship between ethnic Russians and non-Russians in the Russian Federation? Is nationalism helping to stabilize or destabilize center-periphery relations in Russia? Finally, the roundtable assesses the impact of nationalism on specific areas of U.S.-Russian relations and explores the influence of Western policies on the empowerment of benign or more aggressive strands of nationalism in Russia.

### Project on East-West Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL MANDELBAUM

The Project on East-West Relations takes an in-depth look at areas and issues of central importance to the United States and from which large-scale conflict could arise. Since its inception in 1987, the project has produced twelve books. The most recent book, *The New European Diasporas*, explores the past, present, and future of four national groups—Hungarians, Russians, Serbs, and Albanians—scattered uneasily among several sovereign states in postcommunist eastern Europe. Edited by Michael Mandelbaum, the book includes chapters by Aurel Braun, Bennett Kovrig, Susan Woodward, and Elez Biberaj. The project's previous book, *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, features essays by Leon Aron, Sherman Garnett, Rajan Menon, and Coit Blacker.

## LATIN AMERICA

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

### Study Group on Brazil

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

Although Brazil is seen by many as a country that has yet to achieve its full potential, it is often forgotten that its economy and population are larger than those of Russia. While great disparities of income exist, Brazil has a powerful entrepreneurial class; a substantial industrial base; a middle class comprising some 40 million with a purchasing power of over \$500 billion; a vibrant culture; and boisterous mass media. The study group will be organized around a series of sessions using chapters for a book by Kenneth R. Maxwell, to be titled *Brazil at 500*, as background papers. The aim is to examine some of the complex cultural, political, historical, and socioeconomic constraints that have conditioned Brazil's development and to provide an accessible text that will help explain Brazil to those in the policy, academic, journalistic, and financial communities who find themselves baffled by the vast and surprisingly little-known giant whose successes or failures will profoundly influence the future of Latin America and the Western Hemisphere as a whole.



President Astrid S. Tuminez and Maurice Tempelsman at the April 20, 2000, Roundtable on Russian Nationalism and Foreign Policy, "Nationalism and Russian National Security Policy under Putin."

### Study Group on U.S.–Latin America Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

One curious consequence of the end of the Cold War for Latin America has been its relegation to a mushy zone where hard choices seem unnecessary; the great disadvantage for U.S. policymakers is that this mindset makes any realistic assessment of interests in the region virtually impossible. But to begin any fruitful debate about U.S. policy options in the Americas, such an exercise is absolutely necessary and long overdue. This study group will look at potential "hot spots" and challenges to the "Washington consensus" in Latin America, as well as the success stories in the region. It will also assess how U.S. policy might better respond to both potential crises and potential opportunities. The result of the study group will be a succinct book, *Setting Priorities for the 21st Century: The United States and Latin America*.

### Roundtable on Cuba and U.S.-Cuban Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JULIA E. SWEIG

CO-CHAIRS: BERNARD ARONSON AND WILLIAM D. ROGERS

This roundtable, held in Washington, D.C., addresses a range of issues such as the resolution of outstanding property claims; bilateral and regional security interests;

the status of the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay; the implications for the Western Hemisphere of the restoration of a Cuban sugar quota; the impact on the Caribbean economy of resuming normal bilateral trade relations; Cuban participation in the Caribbean Basin Initiative and the Free Trade Area of the Americas; prospects for Cuba's reentry into the Organization of American States; and the integration of Cuba into the international financial system. In addition, the roundtable highlights an examination of history, culture, race, and religion as these elements pertain to current conditions on the island and to policy implications for the United States.

### Latin America Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTORS: KENNETH R. MAXWELL AND JULIA E. SWEIG  
The Latin America Roundtable provides updates on breaking economic and political events in Latin America. The seminars are designed to provide prompt, thoughtful analysis of rapidly changing political and economic developments in the region. Although the seminars may be treated as discrete topics, taken together, the series provides a broad overview and a comparative perspective on the major issues, events, and debates in the Americas. This year's seminars examined prospects for Colombia's future; the Chávez regime in Venezuela; Argentinean presidential elections; the politics of Mexican economic and political transition; Latin America's response to the global economic crisis; and the problems of development and regional integration in the Caribbean. The roundtable also expanded its activities in Washington, D.C., to examine such topics as the consolidation of democracy, U.S.-Latin American relations, and country focuses on Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, and Cuba.

### Roundtable on U.S.-Mexican Relations

PROJECT DIRECTORS: KENNETH R. MAXWELL AND RIORDAN ROETT  
(SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY)

While much has been written about recent political and economic events in Mexico, there has been little analysis of the medium- and long-term policy implications of trends in Mexico for the United States. The ongoing roundtable on U.S.-Mexican relations reviews the current atmosphere in Mexico with particular em-



*Speaker Ahmed Rashid, Far Eastern Economic Review, President Barnett R. Rubin, and Imran Riffat at the April 10, 2000, Middle East Roundtable, "The Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia."*

phasis on the consequences of the democratization of the political system; the presidential elections in 2000; the increase in the responsibility and size of the Mexican military; the implications of the emergence of guerrilla groups in different regions of Mexico; the dramatic increase in drug transfers and money laundering along the border; the future of Mexican immigration to the United States; and the outlook for political and economic stability in Mexico.

### The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series is an annual, in-depth examination of the prospects and most important issues facing Inter-American relations in the year ahead. The 2000 series will examine the economic and political outlook in Latin America.

## MIDDLE EAST

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

### Middle East Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

This roundtable series analyzes timely issues in the region and their impact on Middle Eastern countries. Meetings last year included a conversation with Kur-

dish leader Jalal Talabani on the tensions and shifting winds of the Kurdish situation in Iraq, a debate between an Israeli and a Palestinian academic who are leading the way for a revisionist history of Israel and the Palestinians, and a panel of female film directors from Iran on the role of working women in that country.

### Middle East Forum

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER

The Middle East Forum, a regional program established in 1985 in Washington, D.C., engages key policy and opinion makers from many countries to probe vital Middle East political, economic, and strategic issues. The forum promotes analysis of regional developments and historical perspectives in discussions of U.S. policy, as well as current political, economic, and strategic realities that influence foreign policy decision-making. The forum focuses on American interests in the Middle East in its candid examination of regional developments with key players and a wide spectrum of area specialists and practitioners.

## U.S./MIDDLE EAST

### U.S./Middle East Project

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

The U.S./Middle East Project organizes study groups, conferences, missions, roundtables, and consultations to forge new private/public-sector coalitions to advance the peace process in the Middle East in both its political and its economic dimensions. The International Board of the U.S./Middle East Project, which advises the project, is co-chaired by Osama el Baz, political adviser to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, and Robert K. Lifton, Council member and Chairman of Medis Technologies, with Saudi Ambassador Bandar Bin Sultan as honorary chair; it comprises senior public- and private-sector leaders from the Middle East, the United States, and Europe.

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

CHAIR: HENRY SIEGMAN

PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

The U.S./Middle East Project organizes roundtable discussions featuring major participants in the Middle East peace process. Senior political and diplomatic fig-



*Speaker Stuart E. Eizenstat, U.S. Department of the Treasury, and Presider Itamar Rabinovich at the December 6-7, 1999, U.S./Middle East Project-Tel Aviv University Conference, "The Middle East: Toward the 21st Century."*

ures such as Ehud Barak, Amre Moussa, and Dennis Ross were featured in previous roundtables. This year's speakers presented a wide array of perspectives on the peace process. They included Yousef bin al-Alawi, foreign minister of Oman; Yossi Beilin, justice minister of Israel; and Shaikh Jassem Al-Thani, crown prince and heir apparent of Qatar, with Shaikh Hamad Al-Thani, foreign minister of Qatar. Prominent academics who spoke at the U.S./Middle East Project Roundtable include Dominique Moïsi of the French Institute of International Relations; Khalil Shikaki of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research; and Ephraim Kleiman and Moshe Maoz of the Hebrew University.

### Conference on the Middle East in the 21st Century

PROJECT COORDINATORS: HENRY SIEGMAN AND JONATHAN S. PARIS  
COSPONSORED WITH TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

The second U.S./Middle East Project-Tel Aviv University conference took place at the Council on December 6-7, 1999. The conference addressed topics critical to the future of the Middle East: political transitions and security issues in the region, the implications of the Wye peace accords, the peace process, and the future of the region's economy. Speakers included Stuart E. Eizenstat, deputy secretary, U.S. Treasury; Nabil Shaath, minister of planning and international cooperation, Palestinian Authority; Jacob Frenkel, former governor of the Bank of Israel; Stanley Fischer, deputy director of

the International Monetary Fund; Itamar Rabinovich, president of Tel Aviv University; Geoffrey Kemp of the Nixon Center; and Richard W. Murphy and Henry Siegman of the Council on Foreign Relations.

### Study Group on Middle East Trade

STUDY DIRECTOR: BERNARD HOEKMAN (WORLD BANK)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

The U.S./Middle East Project has formed a study group on trade and investment in the Middle East in the context of a general state of peace in the region. The study group identifies the comparative advantages of various geographic and structural arrangements and examines political and economic obstacles to greater economic integration. To undergird the study's policy recommendations, a representative sample of the private sector in the Middle East and North Africa region was surveyed to generate information on obstacles to expanding intraregional trade (exports and imports) and investments. The study also conducted a computable general equilibrium analysis (including a gravity model) of the impact of removing barriers on overall trade and investment between Egypt and Tunisia. Following the final meeting of the group, Bernard Hoekman will complete a short book.

### U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

COSPONSORED WITH THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

The fourth annual U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East was held in Berlin on March 14–15, 2000. The consultation brought together senior government officials in the U.S. Departments of State and Defense and the U.S. intelligence community with their counterparts from seven European Union countries and the European Commission to conduct informal and confidential discussions on developments in the Middle East. The Berlin program included panels on the peace process, Iran and Iraq, regional cooperation, and the future of the Middle East in a state of peace.

### International Board Missions to the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

The International Board of the U.S./Middle East Project undertook two missions to the Middle East this year.

The October 1999 mission covered six countries, where the board held meetings with government and business leaders, including Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia; Sultan Qaboos of Oman; Sheikh Hamad, emir of Qatar; President Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen; and King Abdullah of Jordan. In March 2000, the board met Moroccan government and business leaders in a mission to Rabat and Casablanca. Led by Senior Fellow Henry Siegman, the delegation included International Board members from the United States, France, Israel, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia.

## PEACE AND CONFLICT

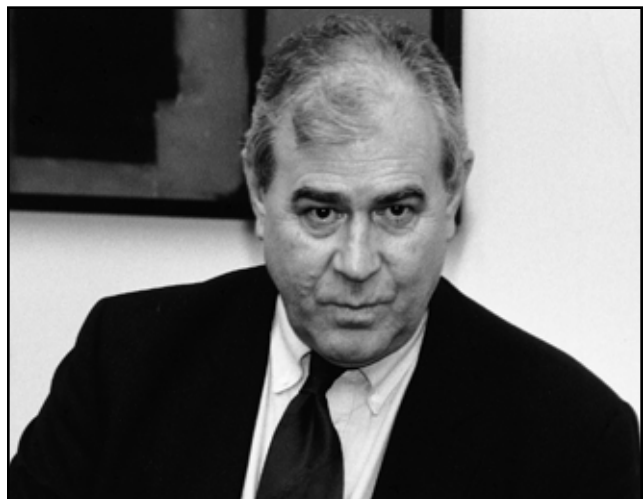
PROGRAM DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

### Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Postconflict Reconstruction

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RADHA KUMAR

CO-CHAIRS: MAHNAZ ISPAHANI AND ANTHONY LAKE

This study group is assessing the pros and cons of partition as a solution to the growing number of ethnic conflicts around the world, with a special emphasis on peace processes to bypass or overcome the hostilities of partition. The participating scholars and practitioners are undertaking a comparative study of



*Speaker Richard Butler, Council on Foreign Relations, at the September 21, 1999, Meeting, "Iraq: The Role of the Security Council."*



five cases of de facto or de jure ethnic partition—India-Pakistan, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Israel-Palestine, and Bosnia-Herzegovina—to determine what lessons can be drawn for future conflict prevention, resolution, stabilization, and reconstruction. The group's analysis and recommendations will be highlighted in a book by Radha Kumar as well as on a website and possibly a CD-ROM.

### Study Group on Refugee Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ARTHUR C. HELTON

CHAIR: STEPHEN J. FRIEDMAN

This study group analyzes recent international responses to forced migration emergencies. Particular emphasis is placed on responses to complex humanitarian crises that unfolded over the past decade in the former Yugoslavia and East Timor. To illuminate broader points, comparisons are undertaken with other recent cases, including Cambodia, northern Iraq, Haiti, and Rwanda.

Specifically, the study group reviews and comments upon drafts of a book-length manuscript by Arthur C. Helton. The book will treat issues for decision-makers of managing forced migration, including encouraging preventive policy approaches, identifying criteria for humanitarian intervention and for involving the military, evaluating the efficacy of responses to humanitarian catastrophes, and recommending a set of calibrated tools to protect refugees and the displaced. Ways to strengthen the emerging international framework to build sustainable peace after a crisis abates will also be treated in the book.

### Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT P. DEVECCHI

This roundtable brings together policymakers, practitioners, journalists, academics, and other concerned individuals for face-to-face dialogue on specific issues concerning refugees and the internally displaced. Recent subjects have included East Timor, Kosovo, Chechnya, the continuing refugee emergencies in Africa, the internally displaced in Haiti, the problem of land mines as an impediment to refugee repatriation, the role of the illicit diamond trade in perpetuating civil strife, and ways to improve collaboration



*Speaker Pierre Sané, Amnesty International, Presider Arthur C. Helton, and Speaker Kirill Speransky, Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, at the November 2, 1999, Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced, "Crisis in Chechnya: Selectivity in International Responses."*

among governments, the United Nations, humanitarian relief organizations, and human rights groups. The roundtable targets members and staff who have a special interest in refugees, the displaced, and humanitarian issues. The roundtable continues to monitor ongoing and emerging complex humanitarian emergencies and provides a forum for discussion and exchange of information. Roundtable summaries, including policy recommendations, are posted on the Council's website.

### Roundtable on Partnering for Peace: A Unified-Field Approach for the New Millennium: The United Nations, the World Bank, NGOs, and the Private Sector

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALLAN GERSON

This roundtable reviewed the dilemmas of peace building through an examination, in particular, of events in Bosnia, West Bank/Gaza, and Mozambique. It analyzed the efforts being made at the United Nations under Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and at the World Bank under President James D. Wolfensohn. Drawing on this analysis, it recommended creation of a new entity—a Peace Transitions Council—to engage the United Nations, the World Bank, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector in coordina-



*Speaker George Whitesides, Harvard University, Rodney W. Nichols, Jesse H. Ausubel, and Kerri-Ann Jones at the March 31, 2000, Roundtable, "Advances in Science and Technology: How Will They Affect U.S. Foreign Policy?"*

tion of functions and implementation of strategy. If successful, resurgence of popular and governmental support for relief, reconstruction, and creation of "civil" societies could be expected. The product was a report submitted to the World Bank in April 2000.

### **U.N. Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD

The U.N. roundtable discusses the international security crises and political problems that can be addressed by U.S. foreign policy through the United Nations. The roundtable has looked at East Timor, Kosovo, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and nuclear nonproliferation, as well as U.N. reform. Roundtable discussants are drawn from the senior ranks of U.N. diplomatic missions, nongovernmental organizations, the U.N. Secretariat, academia, business, and journalism, as well as the U.S. government.

### **Roundtable on Women's Human Rights and U.S. Interests**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER

CO-CHAIRS: JACK SNYDER AND ADELE SIMMONS

During the past decade, the extraordinary growth of ac-

tivity and effectiveness on the part of women's non-governmental organizations has helped put in place a new human rights framework for advancing the claims of women internationally. This roundtable explored the ways the increased economic and political participation of women within their various societies and at the international level may further U.S. international security goals. While women's rights have been viewed heretofore chiefly as a moral concern, the project aims to help situate the issue within the discussion of U.S. interests for both scholars and officials. Sessions focused on the impact of women's agendas on international norms and interaction, the effectiveness of grassroots women's groups as building blocks for civil society, the role of women's capacity in economic growth, and the implications of these developments for U.S. goals of democratization and stable governance. The end product will be a monograph and several op-ed pieces.

## **CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION\***

DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) was established in 1994 to study and test conflict prevention. Many of today's most serious international problems—ethnic conflicts, failing states, and humanitarian disasters—could have been averted or ameliorated with effective early attention. In order to investigate the prevention of such crises, the CPA selected four case studies through which to test the viability of conflict prevention: the Great Lakes region of Africa, the Ferghana Valley of Central Asia, Nigeria, and the south Balkans. The CPA draws on the knowledge gained from all four case studies, the experience of others, and previous studies to determine what strategies are the most effective in the field of conflict prevention. In collaboration with the Century Foundation, the CPA has established a series of preventive action reports to disseminate its recommendations and other findings.

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\*In July 2000, the Center for Preventive Action was relaunched with a more operational focus under the leadership of a new director, Frederick S. Tipson. See page 62 for more details.

### Study Group on Preventing Deadly Conflict

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

CO-CHAIRS: ANTONIA HANDLER CHAYES AND JOHN W. VESSEY

This study group is considering the Center for Preventive Action's work on its four case studies—the Great Lakes region of Africa, the Ferghana Valley, Nigeria, and the south Balkans—to draw broader lessons about conflict prevention. The group brought together experts in the field to discuss draft chapters of a forthcoming book on conflict prevention by Barnett R. Rubin.

### Great Lakes Policy Forum

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

In 1994, Rwanda suffered an outbreak of ethnic conflict that ended with the military defeat of the regime that initiated the violence. After the end of the genocide, tension remained and violence subsequently spread throughout the region, especially to neighboring Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The CPA, along with Refugees International, Search for Common Ground, and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, established the Great Lakes Policy Forum to address the problems in the region. The Great Lakes Policy Forum meets monthly to enable international actors working to prevent further violence in the region to exchange information, coordinate strategies, evaluate activities, and advocate policies to the United States and other



President Gideon Rose and Speaker Jeffrey A. Hunker, National Security Council, at the May 4, 2000, Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism, "Cyber Self-Defense: Protecting America's Critical Infrastructure."

governments. This forum meets in Washington, D.C., and is open to all. Other activities include the Confidential Security Working Group, which also meets monthly.

### Ferghana Valley Working Group

PROJECT DIRECTORS: BARNETT R. RUBIN AND NANCY LUBIN  
(JNA ASSOCIATES)

CHAIR: SAM NUNN

The Ferghana Valley region of Central Asia cuts across the three newly independent states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan and is one of the most densely populated and volatile areas of the former Soviet Union. Regional tensions arise from ethnic, religious, environmental, and economic problems. The CPA Ferghana Valley Working Group was formed to assess the potential for future conflict in the region and to suggest ways to move the region toward economic and political reform and stability. A delegation of the working group visited the region in March 1997, met with a wide range of actors, and prepared a report based on its findings. The report, "Stabilizing the Ferghana Valley: Promoting Peace in Central Asia," was released in November 1999 at a conference in Washington, D.C., cosponsored with the Open Society Institute of the Soros Foundation.

## SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD L. GARWIN

### Study Group on Global Warming Technology Policy for the United States

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR

CHAIR: RODNEY NICHOLS

With U.S. industry accounting for one-fifth of annual global emissions of carbon dioxide—the leading cause of global warming—this study group explores U.S. policies that directly target the development and deployment of less-carbon-intensive energy technologies. Since cutting emissions will require massive technological change toward clean, carbon-free fuels, the group sets its sights on long-term technological solutions for the United States and other industrial countries as well as for the developing world. The end

product will be a book by David G. Victor on U.S. policy options.

### **Study Group on the Great Restoration: Protecting the World's Forests to 2050**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR

CO-CHAIRS: JESSE AUSUBEL AND JOHN SPEARS

Despite widespread concern about the world's dwindling forestland, major international efforts to protect forests have not been very effective. This project identifies the technical potential for protecting forests around the world over the next half century. It focuses on the role of high-yield forests, such as plantations, which make it possible to shrink the area of forests that are used for supplying timber to world markets, leaving the rest of forests for other purposes such as protection of biological diversity and watersheds. Already there is evidence that this shift is under way—in all temperate and boreal forests, a “restoration” is occurring as forests expand into abandoned croplands and foresters find ways to increase the yield they squeeze from production forests. The project is exploring the technical and political obstacles to accelerating this restoration. Products include a major article on effective long-term strategies for forest protection, as well as numerous technical papers on the project website ([greatrestoration.rockefeller.edu](http://greatrestoration.rockefeller.edu)). The project has led to follow-up efforts at the Food and Agriculture Organization and at the Liu Center (University of British Columbia), and the “vision” for future forests developed by the project is now being used in regional forestry planning meetings and in planning efforts by business and environmental groups.

### **Study Group on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Improving the Health of Populations**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JORDAN S. KASSALOW

CO-CHAIRS: PRINCETON LYMAN AND JO IVEY BOUFFORD

In the post-Cold War world, the forces of globalization are making countries increasingly interdependent. Thus, transnational issues like global health threats will pose greater dangers to national security, economics, trade, and human development. Despite this new reality, the U.S. foreign policy infrastructure is not well equipped to take a leadership position in this field. This project will create the rationale for placing global health threats more squarely on the U.S. foreign policy agenda and identify effective strategies

for doing so. The project will hold at least four sessions, with final products that will include a global health agenda in line with U.S. national interests.

### **Roundtable on Advances in Science and Technology: How Will They Affect U.S. Foreign Policy?**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: DAVID G. VICTOR AND RICHARD L. GARWIN

Advances in science and technology are transforming people's lives, but are they affecting U.S. foreign policy—how the United States establishes its interests and perceives dangers as well as opportunities? Experienced U.S. foreign policy leaders were brought together with leaders in science and technology to address this question during a one-day roundtable on March 31, 2000. The group explored three important fields of science and technology—information technology, molecular biology and its applications, and national security technology—which will be revisited individually in three follow-up sessions over the next year.

## **U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**

### **Study Group on the Effect of U.S. Hegemony on Relations with Russia, China, France, and Japan**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: VICTORIA NULAND

The purpose of this project was to examine changing attitudes of Russia, China, France, and Japan toward the United States. The goal was to assess the effect of increasing U.S. international dominance on these countries' willingness and ability to cooperate with the United States. The study looked at public and government attitudes toward the United States in the four countries and U.S. interaction with them on recent major issues, including Kosovo, Iraq, the Asian financial crisis, and Taiwan. The final product will be an article by Victoria Nuland.

### **Study Group on the History of U.S. Foreign Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

CHAIR: MARIO BAEZA

The goal of this project is to support the completion of a book by Walter Mead, *Understanding the American Foreign Policy Tradition*. The book will explain how foreign policy has played a major role in domestic American politics throughout the country's history; how

foreign policy and domestic politics are much more deeply connected than the conventional wisdom acknowledges; how interest in international relations has long been a major concern of nonelite, nonmercantile elements of the American polity; and how persistent schools of thought about American foreign policy have shaped and continue to shape public debates and government policy.

### **Roundtable on U.S. Foreign Policy at the Millennium: Moving from Political Theory to Political Engineering**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KIRON K. SKINNER

This roundtable examines the relationship between domestic considerations and U.S. foreign policy during the upcoming presidential election year. The goal of the roundtable is to provide a systematic set of policy lessons about how to interpret and manage the domestic political terrain of U.S. foreign policy. Topics for discussion include the policy implications of democratic peace theory, the identification of foreign policy leadership in the United States and abroad, and the perception of domestic-international connections in the United States by other countries. The end product of this roundtable will be an article by Kiron K. Skinner.

## **OTHER ACTIVITIES**

### **Managing Global Security and Rogue States: Lessons from UNSCOM**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD BUTLER

Eight years after the establishment of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) to “destroy, remove, or render harmless” Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction (WMD), Saddam Hussein declared that UNSCOM would no longer be permitted to conduct its disarmament work. In the face of such overt defiance, the Security Council has been paralyzed by the conflicting national interests of its permanent members. Iraq’s continuing refusal to fulfill its disarmament obligations has thus not only undermined the Security Council’s capacity to enforce its resolutions as international law but may also jeopardize the international commitment to the WMD nonproliferation regime.



*Speaker Thomas Carothers, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Presider Kiron K. Skinner at the March 6, 2000, Roundtable, “U.S. Foreign Policy at the Millennium: Moving from Political Theory to Political Engineering.”*

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Richard Butler has been studying the implications of these developments while writing a book based on his recent position as UNSCOM’s executive chairman. This recently published book, *The Greatest Threat: Iraq, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and the Crisis of Global Security*, presents an analysis of specific events from his two-year tenure as the organization’s chief disarmament expert and negotiator. He specifically draws upon his experiences in guiding all UNSCOM operations; directing negotiations with the government of Iraq; leading discussions with heads of government, foreign and defense ministers, and intelligence chiefs; and advising the Security Council on relevant policy matters.

### **Global Kids Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: TRACEY A. DUNN AND ROBERT THOMSON  
COSPONSORED WITH GLOBAL KIDS, INC.

The Global Kids Roundtable is a community outreach initiative that introduces high school students to international relations issues with the hope that some will pursue degrees or careers in this area. In conjunction with Global Kids, Inc., the roundtable brings together a racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse group of students from all five boroughs of New York City and younger Council staff to explore broad foreign policy issues.

## Next Generation Fellow Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: LAWRENCE J. KORB

CHAIR: ALLAN E. GOODMAN

COSPONSORED WITH THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

This roundtable brings together the Council's Next Generation Fellows and term members with a group of Fulbright scholars and students in New York and Washington, D.C., to discuss breaking issues on the foreign policy agenda. The Council's younger scholars are the featured speakers in this series, which aims to foster networks among the next generation of foreign policy professionals as they debate the questions that drive the international agenda today and in the years to come.

## FELLOWS

### LAWRENCE J. KORB

*Vice President and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair,  
Director of Studies*

EXPERTISE: National security organization, policy, and process; U.S. foreign policy, arms control, and defense budget; NATO.

EXPERIENCE: Director, Center for Public Policy Education, and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, Brookings Institution (1988–98); Adjunct Professor, National Security Studies, Georgetown University (1981–93); Dean, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh (1986–88); Vice President, Corporate Operations, Raytheon Company (1985–86); Assistant Secretary of Defense (1981–85); Professor of Management, U.S. Naval War College (1975–80).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *American National Security: Policy and Process* (1993); *The Fall and Rise of the Pentagon* (1979); *The Joint Chiefs of Staff: The First Twenty-five Years* (1976).

HONORS: Department of Defense's Medal for Distinguished Public Service.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., State University of New York; M.A., St. John's University.

### THEOPHILOS C. GEMELAS

*Associate Director of Studies*

EXPERTISE: European security; U.S. foreign and security policy; arms control; NATO.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Professor, U.S. Naval War College (1996–2000); Deputy Director, International Programs, Center for Security Studies and Operations, Techmatics, Inc. (1995–96); Research Analyst, Institute for Defense Analyses (1988–95).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Managing Instability: A Pre-Crisis Approach* (coauthor, 2000); "The Future of the Trans-Atlantic Link in the Aftermath of the Madrid Summit" (coauthor, 1999); *Formative Peacetime Engagement* (coauthor, 1999); *NATO Naval Workshop: Change and Stability in the Southern Region* (coauthor, 1997).

EDUCATION: M.P.I.A., B.A., University of Pittsburgh.

### RONALD D. ASMUS

*Senior Fellow, Europe Studies*

EXPERTISE: U.S.-European relations and European security; central, eastern, and northern Europe; and U.S. foreign policy.

EXPERIENCE: Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Europe (1997–2000); Senior Analyst, RAND Corporation (1988–97); Research Associate, Free University, Berlin (1986–87); Senior Analyst, Radio Free Europe (1981–86).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Book chapters on U.S.-European relations, European security, European-Russian relations, as well as central and northern European politics; journal articles in *Foreign Affairs*, *Survival*, *Washington Quarterly*, *Politique Etrangère*, *Europa Archiv*, and *Aussenpolitik*; and op-eds in the *New York Times*, the *International Herald Tribune*, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

HONORS: U.S. Department of State's Order of Merit; the Republic of Poland's Commander's Cross, Order of Merit; and the Republic of Lithuania's Order of the Grand Duke Gediminas (Second Class).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., University of Wisconsin, Madison.

### RICHARD K. BETTS

*Adjunct Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies*

EXPERTISE: International conflict; U.S. defense policy; military strategy; political and military intelligence.

## STUDIES PROGRAM

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EXPERIENCE: Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University (current); Member, National Commission on Terrorism (1999–2000); Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution (1981–90); Staff Member, National Security Council (1977); Staff Member, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (1975–76); Lecturer in Government, Harvard University (1975–76).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Military Readiness* (1995); *Conflict after the Cold War* (editor, 1994); *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*, 2d ed. (1991); *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (1987); *Surprise Attack* (1982); *Cruise Missiles* (editor, 1981); *The Irony of Vietnam* (editor, 1979).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., B.A., Harvard University.

### SALIH BOOKER

*Senior Fellow, Africa Studies*

EXPERTISE: Economic, political, and security issues in Africa; Congress and U.S. foreign policy; diversity in U.S. international relations; international development cooperation in Africa.

EXPERIENCE: Consultant to Africare, Ford Foundation, African Development Foundation, Bernard van Leer Foundation, United Nations Development Program, Carnegie Corporation (1992–96); Associate Director, Catholic Relief Services, Southern Africa (1991); Professional Staff Member, House Committee on Foreign Affairs (1983–86, 1990); Program Officer, Eastern and Southern Africa, Ford Foundation (1986–88); Legislative Assistant, TransAfrica (1980–83).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Promoting U.S. Economic Relations with Africa* (1998).

EDUCATION: London School of Economics; University of Ghana (Legon); B.A., Wesleyan University.

### RACHEL BRONSON

*Olin Fellow, National Security Studies, and Next Generation Fellow*

EXPERTISE: National security; Middle East.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies (1997–99); Consultant, Center for Naval Analyses (1998–99); Fellow, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

(1994–96); Adjunct Professor, Columbia University (1995).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “NATO’s Expanding Presence in the Caucasus and Central Asia,” in Stephen J. Blank, ed., *NATO after Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces* (1998); “Diplomatic Consequences of the Coming RMA,” *Foreign Service Journal* (1998); “Cycles of Conflict in the Middle East,” in Michael E. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (1995).

HONORS: Smith Richardson research grant (1996–97); Alice Paul Dissertation Award (1995).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Columbia University; B.A., University of Pennsylvania.

### RICHARD BUTLER

*Diplomat in Residence*

EXPERTISE: Arms control; international security issues; United Nations; Middle East.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) (1997–99); Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations (1992–97); Permanent Representative of Australia, Supreme National Council of Cambodia (1991); Ambassador of Australia to Thailand (1989–92); Australian Ambassador for Disarmament (1983–88); various positions in the Australian Foreign Service (1966–82).

APPOINTMENTS: Chairman, United Nations Preparatory Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations (1995); Chairman, Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons (1995); Vice Chairman, Copenhagen World Summit on Social Development (1995); President, Economic and Social Council, United Nations (1994).

HONORS: Order of Australia, for services to international peace and disarmament (1988).

EDUCATION: D.Univ., University of New England; M.Ec., Australian National University; B.Ec., University of Sydney.

### JEROME A. COHEN

*Senior Fellow, Asia Studies*

EXPERTISE: Legal and business transactions in Asia; international law; international relations of East Asia.

## STUDIES PROGRAM

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EXPERIENCE: Professor, New York University Law School (current); Senior Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (current); Professor, Director of East Asian Legal Studies, and Associate Dean, Harvard University Law School (1964–81); Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley (1959–64).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Investment Laws in Vietnam* (1990); *Contract Laws of the People's Republic of China* (1988); *People's China and International Law* (coauthor, 1974); *Taiwan and American Policy: The Dilemma in U.S.-China Relations* (1971); *The Criminal Process in the P.R.C.: 1949–1968* (1968).

EDUCATION: J.D., A.B., Yale University.

### ROBERT P. DEVECCHI

*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced*

EXPERTISE: Refugee policy issues; emergency relief operations; humanitarian assistance programs; refugee movements and resettlement.

EXPERIENCE: President Emeritus (current), President/Executive Director (1985–97), Program Director (1980–85), Indochina Refugee Program Coordinator (1975–80), International Rescue Committee; New York and Inner Cities Program Director, Save the Children Federation (1972–75); European Director, The Conference Board (1968–72); Foreign Service Officer (1956–67) posted in Washington, Paris, Warsaw, and Rome.

EDUCATION: M.B.A., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University.

### PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

*George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Vice President, and Washington Program Director*

EXPERTISE: European political and military affairs; Russia and Ukraine; democracy and human rights; U.S. foreign policy.

EXPERIENCE: Senior International Affairs and Trade Adviser, Hunton & Williams (1994–97); Co-host, *WorldWise* (1997); Foreign Policy Coordinator for Robert Dole's 1996 presidential campaign; Host, *Freedom's Challenge* (1994–96); Associate Director for Policy and Programs, U.S. Information Agency (1990–93); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights (1987–90); Deputy Head, 1990 U.S. Delegation, Copenhagen Conference

on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Director of European and Soviet Affairs, National Security Council (1980–87).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Book chapters on U.S. foreign policy, NATO, Ukraine, and Russia; articles in the *Washington Quarterly*, *National Interest*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*.

HONORS: State Department's Superior Honor Award; Poland's highest medal of merit.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Harvard University; B.S.F.S., Georgetown University.

### DAVID A. DUFFIÉ

*1999–2000 Military Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Naval warfare; employment of naval forces in Europe; submarines; Europe and Central America; NAFTA; international security studies.

EXPERIENCE: Commanding Officer, USS *Simon Lake* (AS-33), La Maddalena, Sardinia, Italy (1997–99); Joint Secretariat to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pentagon (1995–97); Prospective Commanding Officer Instructor, COMSUBPAC Staff, Pearl Harbor (1992–94); Commanding Officer, USS *Helena* (SSN 725) (1990–92).

EDUCATION: M.S., National Defense University; B.S., United States Naval Academy.

### ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

*Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies*

EXPERTISE: Chinese domestic and foreign policy; global environmental issues.

EXPERIENCE: Co-chair, Woodrow Wilson Center Working Group on China and the Environment (1997–99); Professorial Lecturer, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (1997); Research Fellow, Columbia University (1994); Visiting Assistant Professor of Chinese Foreign Policy, University of Washington (1993–94).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: "Reforming China," *Survival* (1999); "Painting China Green," *Foreign Affairs* (1999); *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (co-editor, 1999); *Reforms and Resources: The Implications for State Capacity in the People's Republic of China* (1997); *The In-*



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*ternationalization of Environmental Protection* (co-editor, 1997).

HONORS: University of Michigan Outstanding Teaching Award (1990); SSRC–MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in International Peace and Security Studies.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., University of Michigan; A.M., Stanford University; B.A., Swarthmore College.

### STEPHEN E. FLYNN

*Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*

EXPERTISE: Border control; international crime and the drug trade; transportation security.

EXPERIENCE: Commander, U.S. Coast Guard (current); Associate Professor, U.S. Coast Guard Academy (current); Director, Office of Global Issues, National Security Council (1997); Guest Scholar, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution (1991–93); Commanding Officer, U.S. Coast Guard (1992–93, 1984–86).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “The Global Drug Trade vs. the Nation State: Why the Thugs Are Winning,” in Maryann Cusimano, ed., *Beyond Sovereignty* (1999); numerous articles and book chapters on the illicit drug trade and organized crime.

HONORS: Distinguished Graduate, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University (1998); Annenberg Scholar-in-Residence, University of Pennsylvania (1993–94); International Affairs Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations (1991–92).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A.L.D., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; B.S., U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

### ALTON FRYE

*Presidential Senior Fellow, and Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy*

EXPERTISE: National security strategy; arms control; legislative-executive branch relations.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor of Political Science, Harvard University (1996); President, Council on Foreign Relations (1993); Visiting Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles (1964); Staff member for strategic analysis, RAND Corporation (1961–68); frequent consultant to both

legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Toward an International Criminal Court?* (editor, 1999); “Banning Ballistic Missiles,” *Foreign Affairs* (1996); *A Responsible Congress: The Politics of National Security* (1975).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Yale University; B.S., St. Louis University.

### RICHARD L. GARWIN

*Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology, and Director, Science and Technology Studies*

EXPERTISE: Science and technology for communication; computation; transportation; national security; and health care.

EXPERIENCE: IBM Fellow Emeritus, IBM Research Division (current); Adjunct Professor of Physics, Columbia University (current); Chair, Arms Control and Non-proliferation Advisory Board, Department of State (current).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy* (1997); *Feux Follets et Champignons Nucléaires* (1997); *Management and Disposition of Excess Weapons Plutonium* (1994); *The Future of the U.S.–Soviet Nuclear Relationship* (1991).

HONORS: 1996 Enrico Fermi Award of the President and the Department of Energy; 1996 R.V. Jones Intelligence Award of the U.S. Government Foreign Intelligence Community; Member, National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, Institute of Medicine.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.S., Case Institute of Technology.

### ALLAN GERSON

*Senior Fellow, International Law and Organizations*

EXPERTISE: International law and international organizations; Middle East and North Africa; terrorism; government accountability and immunity.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Director, Morocco-U.S. Council on Trade and Investment (1997–98); Distinguished Professor of International Law and Transactions, George Mason University (1991–97); Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute (1987–91); Deputy Assistant Attorney General, International and National

Security Affairs (1986–87); Counsel to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations (1981–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Kirkpatrick Mission: Diplomacy without Apology—America at the United Nations, 1981 to 1985* (1991); *Lawyers' Ethics: Contemporary Dilemmas* (1980); *Israel, the West Bank, and International Law* (1978).

EDUCATION: J.S.D., Yale Law School; LL.M., Hebrew University of Jerusalem; J.D., New York University School of Law; B.A., University of Buffalo.

### MICHAEL J. GREEN

*Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies*

EXPERTISE: Japan; Korea; East Asian security; U.S. foreign policy toward Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Acting Director, Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (current); Consultant, Office of the Secretary of Defense (current); Professional Research Staff Member, Strategy, Forces, and Resources Division, Institute for Defense Analyses (1995–97); Visiting Assistant Professor of Asian Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (1994–95); Senior Research Associate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1990–1997); Special Assistant, Japanese National Diet (1987–89).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present, and Future* (co-editor, 1999); *State of the Field: Japanese Security Policy* (1998); *Arming Japan: Defense Production, Alliance Politics, and the Post-War Search for Autonomy* (1995); contributor to *Survival*, *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, and other journals on security and Asia studies.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., Kenyon College.

### PAUL J. HEER

*1999–2000 Intelligence Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Chinese foreign policy and internal politics; East Asian regional relations; U.S. diplomatic history.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Analyst, Central Intelligence Agency; former chief, Chinese political assessments.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., George Washington University; M.A., University of Iowa; B.A., Loras College.

### ARTHUR C. HELTON

*Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action*

EXPERTISE: Human rights; refugee and asylum policy; complex emergencies; humanitarianism; immigration; crisis prevention; international law and organizations.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor, International Relations and European Studies Department, Central European University (current); Adjunct Professor, New York University School of Law (1986–99); Founder and Director, Forced Migration Projects, the Open Society Institute (1994–99); Director, Refugee Project of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (1982–94).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Over 80 scholarly articles and several books concerning refugees and the displaced; op-eds in several major newspapers.

HONORS: The President of the Republic of the Philippines' Ninoy Aquino Refugee Recognition Award; NYU Law Alumni Association's Public Interest Award.

EDUCATION: J.D., New York University School of Law; A.B., Columbia College.

### MORTON HOLBROOK

*1999–2000 State Department Fellow*

EXPERTISE: U.S.-China relations; Chinese foreign policy; Chinese domestic events.

EXPERIENCE: Foreign Service Officer since 1975: Commercial Officer, Beijing (1998–99); Deputy Chief, Political Section, Beijing (1996–98); Deputy Chief, Political Section, Tokyo (1993–96); Consul General, Shenyang, China (1990–93); Attorney Adviser, Legal Adviser's Office, U.S. Department of State (1986–87); Country Officer, Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs, U.S. Department of State (1984–86); Political Officer and Special Assistant to the Ambassador, Beijing (1979–83); Economics Officer, Taipei (1977–78).

EDUCATION: LL.M., Columbia University; J.D., University of Chicago; M.A., University of Michigan; B.A., Vanderbilt University.

### JORDAN S. KASSALOW

*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy*

EXPERTISE: International global health policy; international development; humanitarian assistance programs; multilateral institutions.

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EXPERIENCE: Partner, Drs. Farkas, Kassalow, Farkas PC (current); Lecturer, Faculty of Medicine, Columbia University (current); Chairman, Nongovernmental Development Organization for Ivermectin Distribution (1998–99); Senior Adviser (current) and Director, Onchocerciasis Division (1993–99), Helen Keller International; Technical Adviser, World Health Organization (1996–99); Consultant, River Blindness Foundation (1990–91).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Various articles and manuals in the public health literature.

EDUCATION: M.P.H., Johns Hopkins University; O.D., New England College of Optometry; B.A., University of Vermont.

### JUDITH KIPPER

*Director, Middle East Forum*

EXPERTISE: Regional developments and threats; Arab-Israeli peace process; Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria; Persian Gulf; Iran; Iraq; Islamic trends; U.S. Middle East policy.

EXPERIENCE: Codirector, Middle East Studies Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (current); consultant to ABC News (current); Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution (1987–95); Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (1980–86); former consultant to the RAND Corporation on international affairs.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Middle East in Global Perspective* (co-editor, 1991).

EDUCATION: B.A., University of California, Los Angeles.

### MAHESH K. KOTECHA

*Adjunct Senior Fellow*

EXPERTISE: International capital markets; securitization; credit ratings; investment banking; multilateral lending institutions.

EXPERIENCE: President, Structured Credit International Corp. (current); International Security Adviser, Thailand (current); Managing Director, MBIA Insurance Corp. and Capital Markets Assurance Corp. (1989–98); Senior Vice President, Kidder, Peabody & Co. (1987–89); Senior Vice President, Standard & Poor's (1979–87); Senior Investment Officer, Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1975–79); Planning Officer, United Nations Development Program (1973–75).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Numerous articles in professional publications and journals; contributes to several investment handbooks concerning credit ratings, sovereign risks, and international securitization.

HONORS: Member, International Advisory Panel, East African Development Bank.

EDUCATION: S.M., Alfred P. Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.S., Harvey Mudd College.

### MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS

*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economics*

EXPERTISE: International economics; public policy analysis; strategic planning.

EXPERIENCE: Columnist, *National Post* (current); Member of the Board and Senior Fellow (current), and Executive Director (1973–94), Hudson Institute, Inc.; Director, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Ford Motor Company, Hasbro, Inc., Hollinger International, Inc., and Seagram Company Ltd.; Trustee, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Director, StarMedia Networks, Inc.; Trustee, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Western European Adjustment to Structural Economic Problems* (coauthor, 1987); *Canada HAS a Future* (1978).

EDUCATION: LL.D., University of Windsor; Ph.D., University of Sudbury; M.A., B.A., University of Ottawa.

### ROGER M. KUBARYCH

*Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow, International Economics and Finance*

EXPERTISE: International finance and economics.

EXPERIENCE: Managing Member and C.I.O., Kaufman & Kubarych Advisors, LLC (1997–99); General Manager, Henry Kaufman & Company, Inc. (1988–97); Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, New York Stock Exchange (1986–88); Vice President and Chief Economist, Conference Board (1985–86); Senior Vice President and Deputy Director of Research, Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1972–85); Special Assistant to the Undersecretary for Monetary Affairs, U.S. Department of the Treasury (1978–79).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Foreign Exchange Markets in the United States* (1978); numerous papers and articles in leading journals and newspapers.

## STUDIES PROGRAM

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EDUCATION: A.M., Harvard University; M.A., Oxford University; B.A., Williams College.

### **RADHA KUMAR**

*Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies*

*Expertise:* Ethnic conflict; partition; civil society; South Asia; the Balkans.

*Experience:* Weaver Fellow, Rockefeller Foundation (1996–97); Associate Fellow, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University (1994–96); Executive Director, Helsinki's Citizen's Assembly, Prague (1992–94); Research Fellow, World Institute of Economics Research, Helsinki (1989–91); Research Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University (1988).

*Selected Publications:* *Divide and Fall? Bosnia in the Annals of Partition* (1997); *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Between War and Peace* (editor, 1993); *A History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800–1900* (1993); and articles in such publications as *Foreign Affairs*, *Feminist Review*, *The Times of India*, and *The Nation* (Pakistan).

*Honors:* U.S. Committee, Index on Censorship.

*Education:* Ph.D., M.Phil, Jawaharlal Nehru University; M.A., B.A., Cambridge University.

### **CHARLES A. KUPCHAN**

*Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies*

*Expertise:* U.S.-European relations; NATO; European Union; economics; national security; regionalism; nationalism; the Balkans.

*Experience:* Associate Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University (current); Director for European Affairs, National Security Council (1993–94); Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University (1986–92).

*Selected Publications:* *Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community* (1999); *Atlantic Security: Contending Visions* (1998); *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe* (1995); *The Vulnerability of Empire* (1994); *The Persian Gulf and the West: The Dilemma of Security* (1987); and numerous articles on international and strategic affairs in prominent newspapers, magazines, and academic journals.

EDUCATION: D.Phil., M.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Harvard University.

### **MARCUS MABRY**

*1999–2000 Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow*

*Expertise:* Africa; France; European Union; corporate responsibility; genocide and ethnic conflict.

*Experience:* Africa Bureau Chief (1996–99), Paris Correspondent (1993–95), State Department Correspondent (1991–92), Associate Editor (1989–90), *Newsweek*.

*Selected Publications:* *White Bucks and Black-eyed Peas: Coming of Age Black in White America* (1995); articles in the *New Republic*, *EMERGE*, *The Source*, the online magazine *Cirius-B*, and the *Yearbook of the South African Institute on International Affairs*.

*Education:* M.A., B.A., Stanford University; Certificat, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris.

### **MICHAEL MANDELBAUM**

*1999–2000 Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow*

*Expertise:* Eastern Europe; Russia; CIS; U.S. foreign policy.

*Experience:* Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (current); faculty member at Harvard University, Columbia University, and the U.S. Naval Academy.

*Selected Publications:* *The New European Diasporas* (editor, 2000); *The New Russian Foreign Policy* (editor, 1998); *The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe* (editor, 1997); *Postcommunism: Four Perspectives* (editor, 1996); *The Strategic Quadrangle: Russia, China, Japan, and the United States in East Asia* (editor, 1995); *Central Asia and the World* (editor, 1994).

*Education:* Ph.D., Harvard University; M.A., King's College, Cambridge University; B.A., Yale University.

### **ROBERT A. MANNING**

*C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies, and Director, Asia Studies*

*Expertise:* Nuclear issues; national security; Asia-Pacific region (Korea, Japan, China, ASEAN); international economics; energy policy.

## STUDIES PROGRAM

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EXPERIENCE: Senior Fellow, Progressive Policy Institute (1994–97); Research Associate, Gaston Sigur Center, George Washington University (1993–95); Adviser for Policy, Department of State (1989–93); Adviser, Office of the Secretary of Defense (1988–89); Diplomatic Correspondent, *U.S. News and World Report* (1985–87); Correspondent, *Far Eastern Economic Review* (1979–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security and the Pacific Future* (2000); *Rethinking the Transatlantic Partnership: Security and Economics in a New Era* (editor, 1996); *Back to the Future: Toward a Post-Nuclear Ethic—The New Logic of Nonproliferation* (1994); *Asian Policy: The New Soviet Challenge in the Pacific* (1988); articles in such publications as *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*.

EDUCATION: B.A., State University of California, Northridge.

### ANN R. MARKUSEN

*Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy*

EXPERTISE: Defense economics; international economics; arms trade; defense industry; regional development.

EXPERIENCE: Professor and Director, Urban and Regional Planning Program, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota (current); Director, Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, and State of New Jersey Professor of Urban Planning and Policy Development, Rutgers University (1989–99); economic adviser to the Clinton administration (1992–96), to the city of Chicago (1985–87), and to the states of California (1978–82) and Michigan (1971–73); faculty positions at Northwestern University (1986–89), University of California, Berkeley (1977–86), and University of Colorado (1973–77).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century* (co-editor, 1999); *Second Tier Cities* (co-editor, 1999); *Trading Industries, Trading Regions* (1993); articles in such journals as *Economic Affairs* and *American Prospect*.

HONORS: Brookings Institution Economic Policy Fellowship; Fulbright Lectureship in Brazil.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Michigan State University; B.A., Georgetown University.

### KENNETH R. MAXWELL

*Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow, Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies*

EXPERTISE: U.S.–Latin American relations; Brazil; Portuguese-speaking world.

EXPERIENCE: Book reviewer for *Foreign Affairs* (current); Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations (1996); Program Director, Tinker Foundation (1979–85); Professor at Yale, Princeton, and Columbia Universities (1976–84).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Chocolate Piratas e outros Malandros: Ensaio Tropicais* (1999); *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (1995); *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (1995); *The New Spain: From Isolation to Influence* (coauthor, 1994); articles in the *New York Review of Books*, *World Policy Journal*, *Wilson Quarterly*, and *Folha de São Paulo*.

HONORS: Corresponding Member, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro (1994–present); Commander of the Order of Rio Branco, Brazil (1997).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Princeton University; M.A., B.A., St. John's College, Cambridge University.

### STANLEY A. MCCHRYSTAL

*1999–2000 Military Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Information age warfare; joint special operations.

EXPERIENCE: Commander, 75th Ranger Regiment, Fort Benning, Ga. (1997–99); National Security Fellow, Harvard University (1996–97); Commander, 2nd Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment, Fort Lewis, Wash. (1994–96); Commander, 2nd Battalion, 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 82d Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, N.C. (1993–94); Operations Officer, Joint Special Operations Command, Fort Bragg, N.C. (1990–93).

EDUCATION: M.A., Salve Regina University; M.A., Naval War College; B.S., U.S. Military Academy.

### KIMBER L. MCKENZIE

*1999–2000 Military Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Aerospace warfare; global employment of aerospace forces.

## STUDIES PROGRAM

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EXPERIENCE: Operations Group Commander, Malstrom Air Force Base, Mont. (1998–99); Chief, Commander's Action Group, Air Force Materiel Command, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio (1997–98); Secretary of Defense Fellowship, Sarnoff Corporation, Princeton, N.J. (1996–97); Member, Chief of Staff Air Force Operations Group, Pentagon (1995–96); Commander, 4th Space Operations Squadron, Falcon Air Force Base, Colo. (1993–95); Air Staff Strategy Division and JCS/NSC matters, Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Programs, Pentagon (1985–91).

EDUCATION: M.A., Webster University; B.A., Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

### WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

*Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*

EXPERTISE: U.S. foreign policy; international political economy; Cuba.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Contributing Editor, *Worth* (current); Contributing Editor, Opinion Page, *Los Angeles Times* (current); President's Fellow, World Policy Institute at the New School (1987–97); Contributing Editor, *Harper's Magazine* (1986–91).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Mortal Splendor: The American Empire in Transition* (1987); and articles in *Esquire*, *Worth*, *New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *The New Yorker*.

EDUCATION: B.A., Yale University.

### GWENDOLYN MIKELL

*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Africa Studies*

EXPERTISE: Economic and political development; African women and development; the politics of peace in Africa.

EXPERIENCE: Director of the Africa Studies Program in the School of Foreign Service and Professor of Anthropology, Georgetown University (current); Visiting Fellow, Institute for Developing Economies (JETRO), Japan (1999); President of the African Studies Association (1996–97); Senior Fellow, United States Institute of Peace (1995–96); Chair, Sociology Department, Georgetown University (1992–95); Visiting Fellow, University of Natal, South Africa (1992); Visiting Fellow, University of Ghana, Legon (1985, 1990).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *African Feminism: The Politics of Survival in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1997); *Cocoa and Chaos*

*in Ghana* (1992; 1989); and articles in the *Yale Journal of International Law*, *African Studies Review*, and *International Journal of World Peace*.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Columbia University; M.A., Columbia University; B.A., University of Chicago.

### STANLEY MOSKOWITZ

*1999–2000 Intelligence Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Arab-Israeli affairs; international terrorism; U.S. intelligence system.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Deputy Director, Intelligence; Director of Training; Director of Congressional Affairs; National Intelligence Officer—Soviet Union, Central Intelligence Agency.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Duke University; M.P.A., Harvard University; A.B., Alfred University.

### RICHARD W. MURPHY

*Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East, and Director, Middle East Studies*

EXPERTISE: Middle East; South Asia.

EXPERIENCE: President, Chatham House Foundation, United States (current); Chairman, Middle East Institute (current); Trustee, American University of Beirut (current); John Adams Memorial Lecturer in the United Kingdom on a grant from the Fulbright Commission (1989); Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (1983–89); U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1981–83), the Philippines (1978–81), Syria (1974–78), and Mauritania (1971–74).

HONORS: Honorary Doctorates from New England College and Baltimore Hebrew University.

EDUCATION: B.A., Harvard University; A.B., Emmanuel College, Cambridge University.

### VICTORIA NULAND

*Next Generation Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Russia and the former Soviet Union; Europe, national security, and arms control; nonproliferation; international peacekeeping.

EXPERIENCE: Deputy for Russia and Eurasia, Office of Newly Independent States, Department of State (1997–99); State Department Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (1996–97); Chief of Staff to the Deputy Secretary of State (1994–96); Political Officer, U.S. Em-

## STUDIES PROGRAM

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bassy, Moscow (1991–93); Tours of duty for the Department of State in Ulan Bator, Mongolia; the Bureau of European and East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and Guangzhou, China (1984–91).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Russia, Its Neighbors and an Expanding NATO* (1997).

HONORS: Defense Meritorious Civilian Service Award (1999); several Department of State Superior and Meritorious honor awards.

EDUCATION: B.A., Brown University.

### JONATHAN S. PARIS

*Fellow, U.S./Middle East Project*

EXPERTISE: Arab-Israeli conflict; Palestinian-Israeli relations; Middle East/North Africa; Indonesia and Southeast Asia; economic development; ethnic conflict.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting lecturer, modern Middle East, Yale University (1997–98); Vice President, European Investors, Inc. (1989–92); investment banker, Salomon Brothers (1983–89); attorney, Coudert Brothers, Singapore office (1980–83).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “Regional Cooperation and the MENA Economic Summits,” in G. Shafir and Y. Peled, eds., *The New Israel: Peacemaking and Liberalization* (2000); *The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia* (co-editor, 1999); “Minority Rules: How Indonesia’s Chinese Can Survive,” *New Republic* (1998); “Will Democracy Lead to Peace in the Middle East?,” *Israel Studies Bulletin* (1997); “Step-by-Step Towards Indonesian-Israeli Relations,” *Israel Affairs* (1996); “When to Worry in the Middle East,” *Orbis* (1993).

HONORS: Editor, *Stanford Law Review* (1978).

EDUCATION: J.D., Stanford Law School; B.A., Yale University.

### GIDEON ROSE

*Olin Senior Fellow, Deputy Director, National Security Studies*

EXPERTISE: International conflict; Middle East/Persian Gulf/South Asia; terrorism; economic sanctions.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University (1998–99); Lecturer, Department of Politics, Princeton University (1996–97); Associate Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council (1994–95);

Assistant Editor, *National Interest* (1986–87); Assistant Editor, *Public Interest* (1985–86).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “Present Laughter or Utopian Bliss?” *National Interest* (2000); “It Could Happen Here: Facing the New Terrorism,” *Foreign Affairs* (1999); “The Rollback Fantasy,” *Foreign Affairs* (coauthor, 1999); “The Exit Strategy Delusion,” *Foreign Affairs* (1998); “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy,” *World Politics* (1998).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University.

### BARNETT R. RUBIN

*Senior Fellow, Director, Center for Preventive Action, and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies*

EXPERTISE: Conflict prevention (Afghanistan, Nigeria, Central Africa, Central Asia, South Balkans); human rights; failed states.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Professor of Political Science, and Director of the Center for the Study of Central Asia, Columbia University (1990–96); Assistant Professor of Political Science, Yale University (1982–89); Jennings Randolph Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace (1989–90); consultant to the United Nations on Afghanistan.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Calming the Ferghana Valley: Development and Dialogue in the Heart of Central Asia* (coauthor, 1999); *Stabilizing Nigeria* (coauthor, 1998); *Cases and Strategies for Preventive Action* (editor, 1998); *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans* (editor, 1996); *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan* (1995); *The Search for Peace in Afghanistan* (1995).

HONORS: Member, Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.A., Yale University.

### HENRY SIEGMAN

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

EXPERTISE: Middle East peace process; Arab-Israeli relations; U.S.–Middle East policy; interreligious relations.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Director, American Jewish Congress (1978–94); Resident Scholar, Rockefeller Study Center, Bellagio, Italy (1992); Founder, International

Jewish Committee for Inter-religious Consultations (1968); Director, American Association for Middle East Studies, and Editor, *Middle East Studies* (1958–63).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions* (1999); *U.S. Middle East Policy and the Peace Process* (1997); “Arab Unity and Disunity,” in *The Contemporary Middle East* (1965); author of over one hundred articles and essays on the Middle East in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Commentary*, *International Herald Tribune*, *The Nation*, *Middle East Journal*, *Islamic World*, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, *Jerusalem Post*, *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Hayat*, and *Ashraq al-Awsat*.

EDUCATION: B.A., New School for Social Research.

### KIRON K. SKINNER

*Adjunct Next Generation Fellow*

EXPERTISE: International relations and security.

EXPERIENCE: Assistant Professor, Carnegie Mellon University (current); Research Fellow, Hoover Institution (current); Assistant Professor, Hamilton College (1998–99); President’s Fellow (1996–98) and Visiting Assistant Professor (1994–95), University of California, Los Angeles.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Turning Points in the Ending of the Cold War* (co-editor, forthcoming); *Linkage and Power: The Demise of Carter’s Détente* (forthcoming); and articles in such journals and publications as the *Wall Street Journal* and *National Interest*.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Harvard University; B.A., Spelman College.

### BENN STEIL

*Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Economic Policy*

EXPERTISE: International finance and economics: securities trading; financial market regulation; risk management; decision theory; international trade.

EXPERIENCE: Editor, *International Finance* (current); Member, European Shadow Financial Regulatory Committee (current); consultant and analyst, investment banks, securities exchanges, and governments (1985–present); Director of the International Economics Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs (1992–98).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Institutional Investors* (2000); “Automation, Trading Costs, and the Structure of the

Securities Trading Industry,” *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Financial Services* (1999); *The European Equity Markets* (1996); *International Financial Market Regulation* (1994); numerous articles in journals and periodicals such as *Economica*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Financial Times*, *National Review*, and *Wall Street Journal Europe*.

HONORS: Fellow, British-American Project.

EDUCATION: D.Phil, M.Phil, Oxford University; B.S., Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

### JESSICA STERN

*Adjunct Fellow, Superterrorism*

EXPERTISE: Terrorism; weapons of mass destruction; chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons; proliferation; Russia.

EXPERIENCE: National Fellow, Hoover Institution (1995–96); Director, Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council (1994–95); Postdoctoral Fellow, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (1991–94); Assistant to the Commercial Attaché, Russia (1983–84).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “Terrorist Motivations and Unconventional Weapons,” in Peter Lavoy, Scott Sagan, and Jim Wirtz, eds., *Planning the Unthinkable* (forthcoming); “The Public Health Consequences of Terrorism,” in C. Everett Koop, ed., *Global Health in the 21st Century* (2000); “The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord,” in Jonathan Tucker, ed., *Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons* (2000); “Larry Wayne Harris,” in Jonathan Tucker, ed., *Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons* (2000); *The Ultimate Terrorists* (1999).

HONORS: MacArthur Foundation, Reading and Writing Grantee; Sigma Xi (engineering honors society).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; M.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Barnard College.

### BRUCE STOKES

*Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade*

EXPERTISE: International trade; U.S. economic relations with Asia and Europe.

EXPERIENCE: Columnist, *National Journal* (current); international economics correspondent, *National Journal* (1984–94).



## STUDIES PROGRAM

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SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *A New Beginning for the New Millennium: The Future of U.S.-Japan Economic Relations* (2000); *Partners or Competitors? The Prospects for U.S.-European Cooperation on Asian Trade* (1999); *Future Visions for U.S. Trade Strategy* (editor, 1998); *Trade Strategies for a New Era: Ensuring U.S. Leadership in a Global Economy* (coeditor, 1998); *Open for Business: Creating a Transatlantic Marketplace* (editor, 1996); *The Inevitability of Managed Trade* (1990); *Japanese Investment in the United States: Its Causes and Consequences* (1989).

HONORS: Member, Presidential Commission on United States–Pacific Trade and Investment Policy (1996).

EDUCATION: M.A., Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., Georgetown University.

### **JULIA E. SWEIG**

*Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies*

EXPERTISE: U.S.–Latin American relations; Cuba; Caribbean basin.

EXPERIENCE: Consultant, American Association of World Health (1997–98); Adjunct Professor, American University (1996); Editor, CubaINFO, Johns Hopkins University (1992–96).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Cuban Insurrection Declassified* (forthcoming); “After Elián, Whither U.S.–Cuba Policy?” *Los Angeles Times* (2000); “Cuba after the Wall,” *Milken Review* (2000).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., University of California, Santa Cruz.

### **BERNARD E. TRAINOR**

*Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security*

EXPERTISE: Defense and national security.

EXPERIENCE: Associate, Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (current); Military Analyst, NBC News (current); Director, National Security Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1990–96); Military Analyst, ABC News (1990–91); Military Correspondent, *New York Times* (1986–90); career in the Marine Corps, retiring as Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans, Policies, and Operations, and Marine Corps Deputy to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1951–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Generals’ War* (coauthor, 1995); *After the Storm* (1993).

HONORS: Member, Presidential Commission on Roles and Missions; Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies; Member of the Board of Visitors, Air Force Academy; Member of the Board of Directors, World Affairs Council; Member of the Editorial Board, *Joint Force Quarterly*; Editorial Adviser, *Naval War College Review*; Adviser, Center for Naval Analysis.

EDUCATION: Graduate, Air War College; M.A., University of Colorado; B.A., Holy Cross College.

### **ASTRID S. TUMINEZ**

*Adjunct Next Generation Fellow, Europe Studies*

EXPERTISE: Russia and the former Soviet Union; nationalism and conflict prevention; private equity in developed markets; corporate, banking, and sovereign credit risk.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Director of Research, Alternative Investments, AIG Global Investment Corp. (current); Executive Associate, Credit Risk Management, AIG (1999); Consultant, Carnegie Corporation of New York (current); Consultant, World Bank (1998–99); Institutional Equity Sales/Research, Brunswick Warburg, Inc. (1998); Program Officer, Carnegie Corporation of New York (1994–98); Director, Moscow Office, Harvard Project on Strengthening Democratic Institutions (1991–92).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Russian Nationalism since 1856: Ideology and the Making of Foreign Policy* (2000); “Hobbling Along: Russian Banking Reform” (2000); “Russian Nationalism and the National Interest in Russian Foreign Policy,” in Celeste Wallander, ed., *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy* (1996).

HONORS: SSRC Fellowships (1988, 1992); Peace Scholar Award, U.S. Institute of Peace (1993).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; A.M., Harvard University; B.A., Brigham Young University.

### **DAVID G. VICTOR**

*Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow in Science and Technology*

EXPERTISE: International environmental law; trade and environment; energy technology; global warming.

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EXPERIENCE: Director, project on implementation of international environmental treaties, the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) (1993–97).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *The Implementation and Effectiveness of International Environmental Commitments* (editor, 1998); articles in *Nature*, *Scientific American*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Washington Post*, and *International Journal of Hydrogen Energy*.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Harvard University.

### RUTH WEDGWOOD

*Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law*

EXPERTISE: United Nations; peacekeeping and peace operations; international law.

EXPERIENCE: Professor of Law, Yale University Law School, and faculty member, International Security Studies Program, Yale University (current); Director of Studies, American Society of International Law (current); Stockton Professor of International Law, U.S. Naval War College (1998–99); amicus curiae, Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal (1997); federal prosecutor (1980–86); Supreme Court law clerk (1977–78).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Toward an International Criminal Court?* (coauthor, 1999); *American National Interest and the United Nations* (coauthor, 1996); *The Revolutionary Martyrdom of Jonathan Robbins* (1990); articles in the *American Journal of International Law*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Washington Post*, and *New York Times*.

HONORS: Member, Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on International Law; Member, National Security Study Group Hart-Rudman Commission on Security in 2025.

EDUCATION: J.D., Yale University Law School; B.A., Harvard University.

### JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER

*Adjunct Senior Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Women and foreign policy; Africa; international environment.

EXPERIENCE: Deputy Director of the National Program, and Senior Fellow (1995–98), Director, Committees on Foreign Relations Program (1987–95), Senior Fellow for Africa (1983–87), Council on Foreign Relations;

Codirector, Committee on African Development Strategies (1984–86); Associate Editor, *Foreign Affairs* (1974–83).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Salvaging the Land of Plenty* (1994); *How Can Africa Survive?* (1988).

HONORS: World Hunger Media Award (1987).

EDUCATION: M.A., Stanford University; B.A., Trinity College.

### DOV S. ZAKHEIM

*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Asia Studies*

EXPERTISE: National security; arms control; western Europe; Middle East; East Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Chief Executive Officer, SPC International and Corporate Vice President, System Planning Corp. (current); Member, Secretary of Defense Task Force on Defense Reform (1997); Deputy Undersecretary of Defense (Planning and Resources) (1985–87); Adjunct Professor at Trinity College, Yeshiva University, Columbia University, and the National War College.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: *Congress and National Security in the Post–Cold War Era* (1998); *Flight of the Lavi* (1996); numerous articles, chapters in books, and op-eds in major U.S. and overseas newspapers.

HONORS: Member, Defense Science Board Task Force on Health of U.S. Defense Industry (current); Bronze Palm to the DoD Distinguished Public Service Medal (1987); Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal (1986); Congressional Budget Office Director's Award for Outstanding Service (1979).

EDUCATION: D.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Columbia University.

## SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

### Next Generation Fellowship

The Next Generation Fellowship Program nurtures outstanding thinkers and writers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become foreign policy leaders. The program recruits individuals whose principal mission will be frontier policy scholarship, leading to several major published articles or a book during the

fellowship tenure. Next Generation Fellows (NGFs) are an integral component of the Studies Department staff and have substantial contact with other Fellows, Council members, and experts in their field. Working with Council term members and International Affairs Fellows, NGFs form the heart of a larger community and network of people at the outset of their careers who are interested in international relations.

NGFs from the 1999–2000 program year were Rachel Bronson, Victoria Nuland, Kiron Skinner, and Astrid Tuminez. Rachel Bronson directed a study group on “U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf,” Victoria Nuland ran a study group on “The Effect of U.S. Hegemony on Relations with Russia, China, France, and Japan,” Kiron Skinner conducted a roundtable series on “U.S. Foreign Policy at the Millennium,” and Astrid Tuminez led a roundtable series on “Russian Nationalism and Foreign Policy.”

### **Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship**

The Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to the study of 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 publications related to a major foreign policy issue.

The 1999–2000 Shepardson Fellowship was awarded to Michael Mandelbaum, who is a professor of American foreign policy at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He directed the Project on East-West Relations and edited a book titled *The New European Diasporas*.

### **Military Fellowships**

Every year, the chiefs of staff of the Army and the Air Force, the chief of naval operations, and the commandant of the Marine Corps each nominate an outstanding candidate for a Military Fellowship. The Council usually awards two or three such fellowships annually. The program enables the officers selected to broaden their understanding of foreign affairs by spending a year in residence at the Council’s headquarters in New York, or, in special circumstances, at Council offices in Washington, D.C. Fellows participate in programs, meet with members and staff, and engage in

Council studies. They also arrange several military trips for Council members during the year.

The Military Fellowship Selection Board, chaired in 1999 by former Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney and in 2000 by former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, chose the following Military Fellows: for 1999–2000, Navy Capt. David A. Duffié, Air Force Col. Kimber L. McKenzie, and Army Col. Stanley A. McChrystal; and for 2000–2001, Marine Col. John M. Paxton Jr., Navy Capt. William P. Nash Jr., and Army Col. James Sikes Jr.

### **Intelligence Fellowship**

Modeled after the Council’s successful Military Fellowships, the Intelligence 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 a program of individual 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 membership.

The 1999–2000 Intelligence Fellows are Paul J. Heer and Stanley Moskowitz. The 2000–2001 Intelligence Fellow is Virginia L. Ehelebe.

### **Edward R. Murrow Fellowship**

Each year, the Council offers a resident fellowship for a correspondent serving abroad. Named in honor of legendary newsman Edward R. Murrow and funded by the CBS Foundation, the Fellowship gives the recipient a period of nine months for sustained study and writing, free from the usual pressure of deadlines that characterize journalistic life.

The 1999–2000 Murrow Fellow was Marcus Mabry, Africa Bureau Chief, *Newsweek*. The 2000–2001 Murrow Fellow is Jaime FlorCruz, Beijing Bureau Chief, *Time*.

### **Department of State Fellowship**

The Department of State Fellowship is offered to a foreign service officer chosen by a selection committee from candidates nominated by the U.S. Department of State. The Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, with time away from public service to reflect on issues of foreign policy and to participate in Council programs. The recipient of the 1999–2000 Fellowship was Morton Holbrook.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWSHIPS

Launched in 1967, the International Affairs Fellowship (IAF) Program offers approximately a dozen outstanding young American men and women between the ages of 27 and 35 an opportunity to broaden their understanding of international affairs and to add a unique dimension to their careers. The fellowship encourages a cross-fertilization of experience, offering academics and others from the private sector operational experience in a policy-oriented environment. Conversely, the IAF program allows government officials to study issues in the scholarly atmosphere of universities or think tanks. Through this exchange, the Fellows and their projects help to bridge the gap between thought and action in foreign policy. The main source of funding for the program is an endowment of \$10 million, sufficient to support ten fellows annually.

In 1997, the Council established a new International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, funded by Hitachi, Ltd., to enable outstanding young Americans to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan. The program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between the emerging leaders of the two nations. The following are the Fellows, their home institution, and their fellowship project.

### 2000–2001 International Affairs Fellows

#### ERICA J. BARKS-RUGGLES

U.S. Department of State  
“HIV/AIDS: Case Studies on the Economic Costs of the Epidemic and Implications for National Security”

#### DELIA BOYLAN

University of Chicago  
“The Political Economy of Bank Regulation in the Developing World”

#### SCOTT A. COOPER

U.S. Marine Corps  
“Carry a Big Stick, but Be Careful about Using It”

#### KIMBERLY C. FIELD

U.S. Military Academy  
“Toward a U.N. Police Force: Demonstrating the Determination of the World Community”

#### ANNA GELPERN

U.S. Department of the Treasury  
“Buying Policy: A Review of Cofinancing Strategies in the New Markets”

#### LAURA HAYES HOLGATE

U.S. Department of Energy  
“Applying Threat Reduction Techniques outside the Former Soviet Union”

#### THEODORE OSIUS\*

Office of the Vice President  
“The Evolving U.S.-Japan Security Alliance”

#### ADAM POSEN

Institute for International Economics  
“Strategies and Limits of G-3 Macroeconomic Coordination after Globalization”

#### SAMANTHA POWER

Harvard University  
“U.S. Genocide Prevention: A Structural, Semantic, and Domestic Examination”

#### NICHOLAS J. RASMUSSEN

U.S. Department of State  
“Is Cold Peace the Best We Can Do? Lessons from the Israel-Egypt Experience and Implications for U.S. Peacemaking in the Middle East”

#### SAMANTHA F. RAVICH

Center for Strategic and International Studies  
“Crafting the Foundation for a New U.S.-Indonesian Relationship”

#### DANIEL C. THOMAS

University of Illinois, Chicago  
“Dual or Dueling Institutions? NATO and the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy”

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

**ANDREW S. WEISS**

National Security Council  
“The Sources of Russian Behavior in the  
Post-Yeltsin Era”

**KIMBERLY MARTEN ZISK\***

Barnard College  
“Japan’s U.N. Peacekeeping Dilemma”

**COUNCIL FELLOWS  
ROUNDTABLE SERIES**

**SALIH BOOKER**

Senior Fellow for Africa Studies, Council on  
Foreign Relations  
“The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: U.S. Policy  
toward Africa”  
PRESIDER: MELANIE BIXBY (IAF, 1996–97)

**STEVE COLL**

Managing Editor, *Washington Post*  
“India and Pakistan: Emerging Nuclear Doctrines  
and Deterrents”  
PRESIDER: PAULA NEWBURG

**ROSE E. GOTTEMOELLER**

Assistant Secretary for Nonproliferation and Na-  
tional Security (IAF, 1989–90)  
“Changing Nonproliferation Dynamics between  
the United States and Russia: The Rise of Threat  
Reduction Cooperation”  
PRESIDER: LEE WOLOSKY ( IAF, 1999–2000)

**MORTON H. HALPERIN**

Director of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State

“The Development of the Community of  
Democracies Project as a Case Study in  
Bureaucratic Politics”

PRESIDER: PUNEET TALWAR (IAF, 1999–2000)

**BRUCE STOKES**

Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade, Council  
on Foreign Relations  
“Seattle: The WTO and the Future of World Trade”  
PRESIDER: MARCUS NOLAND (IAF, 1990–91)

**LARRY D. WELCH**

President and CEO, Institute for Defense Analyses  
“National Missile Defense: Progress and  
Challenges”  
PRESIDER: JON J. ROSENWASSER (IAF, 1999–2000)

**ANNUAL SEMINAR,  
PRESENTED BY THE  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
FELLOWS**

**GRAHAM T. ALLISON**

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs,  
Harvard University (IAF, 1968–69)  
“Everything You Always Wanted to Know about  
Russia but Were Afraid to Ask”  
PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

**MICHAEL MANDELBAUM**

Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow, Council  
on Foreign Relations (IAF, 1982–83)  
“The Post–Cold War World Is a Three-Ring Circus”  
PRESIDER: LAWRENCE J. KORB

# NAMED CHAIRS AND FELLOWSHIPS



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3



4



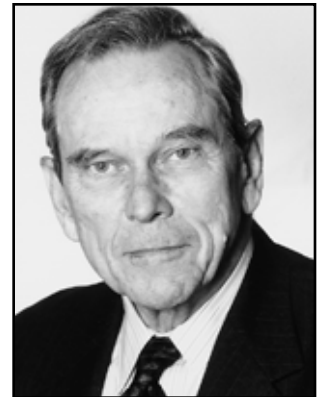
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1) Paula J. Dobriansky, *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*

2) Richard L. Garwin, *Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology*

3) James F. Hoge Jr., *Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor, Foreign Affairs*

4) Lawrence J. Korb, *Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies*

5) Roger M. Kubarych, *Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow for International Economics and Finance*

6) Robert A. Manning, C.V., *Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies*

7) Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies*

8) Richard W. Murphy, *Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East*

9) Benn Steil, *Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Economic Policy*

10) David G. Victor, *Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow in Science and Technology*

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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- Generally considered to be the world's preeminent international affairs periodical.
  - Published by the Council since 1922; worldwide paid circulation of 110,000; distributed in 137 countries; available in Japanese and Portuguese editions; website at [www.foreignaffairs.org](http://www.foreignaffairs.org).
  - Reviews more than 325 books a year.
  - Has long been required reading for scholars and students, yet a full 65 percent of the magazine's readers are in the business and financial communities.
  - Found to be the most influential of all print media among government decision-makers in a recent survey.
  - Editor, James F. Hoge Jr.; Managing Editor, Fareed Zakaria.
- 

**F**oreign Affairs opened its pages to a wide range of opinions on old and new challenges in 1999–2000.

Of the new, a hard-edged assessment of the fight over genetically modified crops was provided by Professor Robert Paarlberg. He argued that transgenic food has no proven downsides to justify the strong resistance among consumers in the developed world. The real losers, wrote Paarlberg, will be the poor farmers and underfed citizens of the tropics, who desperately need all the help that gene science can deliver. A companion piece by scholars C. Ford Runge and Benjamin Senauer documented the growing need among Southern Hemisphere populations for more varied and nutritious diets, and better access to Northern markets.

Another emerging topic—the backlash to globalization—was addressed in the wake of the Seattle WTO meeting by labor leader Jay Mazur. He made a case that freer trade must be accompanied by stronger efforts to protect the environment, human rights, and decent working conditions. Economist Jagdish Bhagwati took strong exception to the specifics of Mazur's remedies.



*Speaker Ellen Laipson, Vice Chairman, National Intelligence Council, and President James F. Hoge Jr. at the February 24, 2000, Screening of CNN's "Revolutionary Journey: Christiane Amanpour's Personal Odyssey to Re-Discover Modern-Day Life in Iran."*



*Speaker Susan L. Woodward, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, University of London, and Charles G. Boyd at the November 9, 1999, Meeting, "A European 'New Deal' for the Balkans."*

For the second year in a row, the magazine devoted considerable space to international finance, including an eight-point reform proposal from economist Alan Blinder and a summary of the Council-sponsored independent task force report on the future architecture of international finance.

China remained the focus of a number of articles. The late scholar Gerald Segal provoked strong pro and con reaction to his downgrading of the Middle Kingdom to middle-power status and his resulting advice to treat it as such. Russia's prospects under President Vladimir Putin were examined in articles on plutocrat power, the bloodbath in Chechnya, and weakening central rule. An intriguing debate focused on the question of whether Japan is yet again retreating from reform or about to emerge from economic doldrums.

The disrupting force of Islamic fundamentalism in Iran, Kashmir, Afghanistan, and its Central Asian neighbors was reflected in a number of articles. So too were the efforts of the United Nations to cope with ethnically based conflicts in Africa and the Balkans, and arms inspections in Iraq.

As ever, the performance of the United States in the world was scrutinized by several authors with differing judgments on both the role chosen by and the performance of the Clinton administration. Finally, as part of Campaign 2000, Republicans Condoleezza Rice and Robert B. Zoellick and Democrats Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Joan Spero, and W. Bowman Cutter presented competing views on what should be the international priorities of the next president.

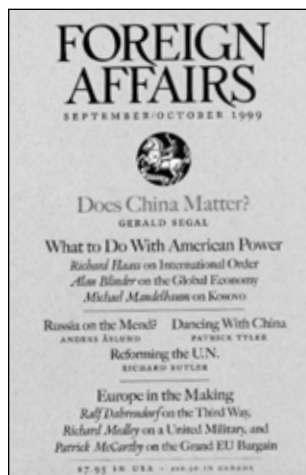
Defense analyst Michael O'Hanlon offered a dispassionate primer on the technical and political challenges of missile defense, a key campaign issue.

*James F. Hoge Jr.*

Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor  
*Foreign Affairs*



September/October 1999  
Volume 78, Number 5



**COMMENTS**

A Perfect Failure  
Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered  
The Third Way and Liberty  
Europe's Next Big Idea

**ESSAYS**

Does China Matter?  
What to do With American Primacy  
Eight Steps to a New Financial Order  
Russia's Collapse  
Learning to Love the WTO  
The (Ab)normalization of U.S.-Chinese  
Relations  
Civil War by Other Means

**REVIEWS AND RESPONSES**

The Importance of Being English  
The Grand Bargain  
Missing the Mark

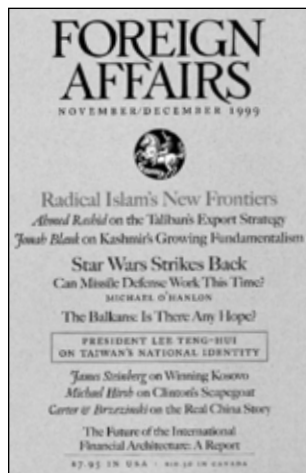
Michael Mandelbaum  
Richard Butler  
Ralf Dahrendorf  
Richard Medley

Gerald Segal  
Richard N. Haass  
Alan S. Blinder  
Anders Åslund  
Marcus Noland  
Patrick Tyler

Michael Lind

David Fromkin  
Patrick McCarthy  
Ben Bernanke, Thomas Laubach,  
Frederic Mishkin, and Adam Posen

November/December 1999  
Volume 78, Number 6



**COMMENTS**

The Fall Guy  
Understanding Taiwan  
Alone or With Others

**ESSAYS**

The Taliban: Exporting Extremism  
Kashmir: Fundamentalism Takes Root  
Saving NATO's Foundation  
  
Star Wars Strikes Back  
Mbeki's Uphill Challenge  
A European "New Deal" for the Balkans  
Dayton's Incomplete Peace

NATO's Success in Kosovo

**REVIEWS AND RESPONSES**

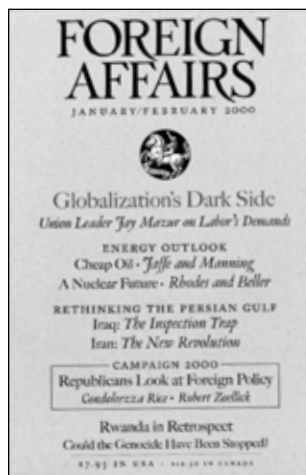
Rethinking the Nation-State  
A Perfect Polemic  
Dazed and Confused  
The Future of the International Financial  
Architecture: A Report

Michael Hirsh  
Lee Teng-hui  
Robert W. Tucker

Ahmed Rashid  
Jonah Blank  
John Deutch, Arnold Kanter, and  
Brent Scowcroft  
Michael O'Hanlon  
Leonard Thompson  
Benn Steil and Susan L. Woodward  
Ivo H. Daalder and  
Michael B.G. Froman  
Javier Solana

Josef Joffe  
James B. Steinberg  
Joris Vos, Joseph A. Califano Jr., et al.  
Morris Goldstein

January/February 2000  
Volume 79, Number 1



**COMMENTS**

The Bullied Pulpit  
States' Rights and Foreign Policy

**ESSAYS**

The Shocks of a World of Cheap Oil

The Need for Nuclear Power  
Promoting the National Interest

A Republican Foreign Policy  
Labor's New Internationalism

Rwanda in Retrospect

A Farewell to Arms Inspections

Iran's New Revolution

The Second Nuclear Age

**REVIEWS AND RESPONSES**

New History for a New Israel

The Road From Serfdom

The Dreamer

Strange Bedfellows

A Chance for Peace in Afghanistan

A Poor Case for Quitting

Sebastian Mallaby  
Brannon P. Denning and Jack H. McCall

Amy Myers Jaffe and  
Robert A. Manning

Richard Rhodes and Denis Beller

Condoleezza Rice

Robert B. Zoellick

Jay Mazur

Alan J. Kuperman

Daniel Byman

Robin Wright

Paul Bracken

Yaron Ezrahi

Richard N. Cooper

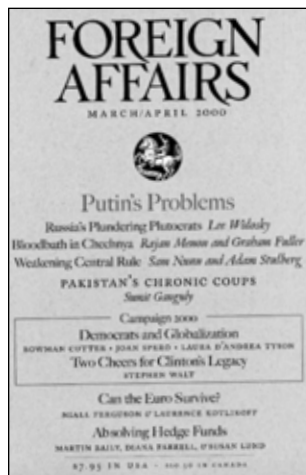
Jack F. Matlock Jr.

Mark Gevisser

Peter Tomsen

Chester Crocker

March/April 2000  
Volume 79, Number 2



**COMMENTS**

Pakistan's Never-Ending Story  
Come Together

The Immigration Safety Valve

**ESSAYS**

Putin's Plutocrat Problem

Russia's Ruinous Chechen War

The Many Faces of Modern Russia

Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy

New World, New Deal

The Color of Hot Money

The Degeneration of EMU

The Italians in Europe

**REVIEWS AND RESPONSES**

The Empire Strikes Out

Paving the Road to Hell

Money for Nothing

Sumit Ganguly  
Elizabeth Pond  
Stephan-Götz Richter

Lee S. Wolosky

Rajan Menon and Graham E. Fuller

Sam Nunn and Adam N. Stulberg

Stephen M. Walt

W. Bowman Cutter, Joan Spero, and

Laura D'Andrea Tyson

Martin N. Baily, Diana Farrell, and

Susan Lund

Niall Ferguson and

Laurence J. Kotlikoff

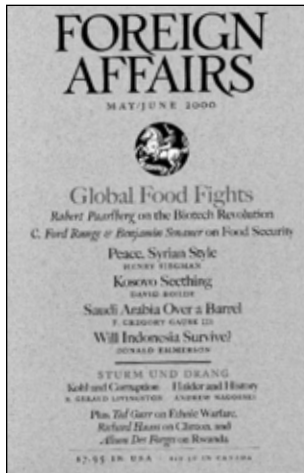
G. Federico Mancini

David Greenberg

Max Boot

Lawrence Korb et al.

May/June 2000  
Volume 79, Number 3



**COMMENTS**

Being Hafiz al-Assad  
War Logs On  
The Party's Over  
The Politics of Guilt

**ESSAYS**

The Global Food Fight  
A Removable Feast  
Ethnic Warfare on the Wane  
Kosovo Seething  
Saudi Arabia Over a Barrel  
Will Indonesia Survive?  
Brazil's New Capitalism  
China's Big Mac Attack

**REVIEWS AND RESPONSES**

The Squandered Presidency  
Shame

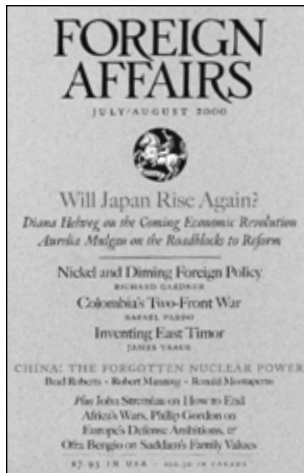
Don't Panic  
Sorting Out the Balkans

Henry Siegman  
Bruce D. Berkowitz  
Robert Gerald Livingston  
Andrew Nagorski

Robert Paarlberg  
C. Ford Runge and Benjamin Senauer  
Ted Robert Gurr  
David Rohde  
F. Gregory Gause III  
Donald K. Emmerson  
Juan de Onis  
James L. Watson

Richard N. Haass  
Alison L. Des Forges and  
Alan J. Kuperman  
G. John Ikenberry  
Ivo Banac

July/August 2000  
Volume 79, Number 4



**COMMENTS**

The One Percent Solution  
Their Own Army?  
A House United

**ESSAYS**

Japan: A Rising Sun?  
Japan: A Setting Sun?  
China: The Forgotten Nuclear Power

Colombia's Two-Front War  
Inventing East Timor  
How Does Saddam Hold On?  
The French Exception  
Ending Africa's Wars

**REVIEWS AND RESPONSES**

Globalization in Your Face  
Full Steam Ahead

Richard N. Gardner  
Philip H. Gordon  
Paul Heer

M. Diana Helweg  
Aurelia George Mulgan  
Brad Roberts, Robert A. Manning,  
and Ronald N. Montaperto  
Rafael Pardo  
James Traub  
Ofra Bengio  
Sophie Meunier  
John Stremmel

Jagdish Bhagwati  
James D. Robinson III

# SPECIAL ACTIVITIES

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- Include Council-sponsored independent task forces, Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs), the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program, and the Center for Preventive Action.
  - Use Council members, contacts, and resources to help resolve or manage current major policy problems where there is too little debate and too few concrete ideas being offered.
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**F**rom North Korea to the Balkans, in the halls of Congress and around the country, Council-sponsored independent task forces, Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs), and the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program have influenced policymakers and informed the foreign policy debate. A complete list of CPI and Task Force reports can be found on pages 102 and 103.

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## TASK FORCES

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

Peter G. Peterson and Carla A. Hills chaired a blue ribbon task force on “Safeguarding Prosperity in a Global Financial System: The Future International Financial Architecture,” which garnered extensive congressional and media attention for the ambitious reform agenda outlined in its report. The task force recommended more burden-sharing among private lenders and smaller rescue packages from the International Monetary Fund.

The task force on “Promoting Sustainable Economies in the Balkans,” chaired by Steven L. Ratner, issued a report saying that the countries in the region have only a few years to demonstrate real progress before the international community turns its focus elsewhere. Specifically, these countries will have to deal not only with a range of macroeconomic and structural reforms but with political instability, corruption, legal and regulatory reform, and civil society and institution-building to create an environment likely to attract investment.

Bob Graham and Brent Scowcroft co-chaired a task force on “U.S. Policy toward Colombia,” cosponsored with the Inter-American Dialogue. Their interim report urged policymakers to find a proper balance between providing arms aid and training to deal with drug and security problems on the one hand, and helping Colombia build the legitimacy and effectiveness of its government on the other.

In its most recent report, the task force on “U.S. Policy toward North Korea,” co-chaired by James T. Laney and Morton I. Abramowitz, laid out recommendations to help reinforce the consensus in Washington and the region for continued conditional engagement of the North.

Following its influential report, the task force on “U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century,” co-chaired by Bernard W. Aronson and William D. Rogers, continued in a standby capacity, meeting at



Speaker Brent Scowcroft, former National Security Adviser, and Speaker Bob Graham, Member, U.S. Senate (D-Fla.), at the March 23, 2000, Press Conference for the Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Colombia.

the call of the chairs in the event of significant developments in Cuba.

At the request of Palestinian National Authority Chairman Yasir Arafat, the Council extended the Task Force on “Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions,” chaired by Michel Rocard, to examine the necessary steps for the proper implementation of the recommendations in its initial report.

The task force on South Asia, cosponsored with the Brookings Institution and chaired by Richard N. Haass, reconvened in March 2000 and issued an open letter to President Clinton on the eve of his trip to India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

The Council’s four task forces on economics will each issue reports in the next few months examining economic policy in specific countries. Stephen Robert chairs the Brazil task force, Robert D. Hormats chairs the China task force, Laura D’Andrea Tyson chairs the Japan task force, and Paul A. Volcker and Graham T. Allison chair the Russia task force.

## COUNCIL POLICY INITIATIVES

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

Through the National Program, the Council sponsored debates in key cities nationwide on the Council Policy Initiative “Toward an International Criminal Court?” CPI authors Ruth Wedgwood, John R. Bolton, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Kenneth Roth examined whether the United States should endorse, reject, or revise the proposal to create an international criminal court.

Project Director Alton Frye led a new CPI on “Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine,” which clearly laid out the arguments for and against U.S. military intervention to stop massive humanitarian abuses. Holly J. Burkhalter, Dov S. Zakheim, Stanley A. McChrystal, and Arnold Kanter authored the report.



Speaker Kenneth Roth, Executive Director, Human Rights Watch, Presider Griffin Bell, and Speaker John R. Bolton, Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, at the February 22, 2000, Council Policy Initiative Debate, “Toward an International Criminal Court?” (in Atlanta).



Speaker Edwin J. Feulner, President, Heritage Foundation, Speaker Sherrod Brown, Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ohio), Speaker Carla A. Hills, Chairman and CEO, Hills and Company, Speaker Philip M. Crane, Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ill.), and Speaker Sander M. Levin, Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Mich.), at the May 5, 2000, Conference, "China's Bid for Permanent Normal Trade Relations: A Hearing on the Debate."

## CONGRESS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAM

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

The Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program, co-chaired by Thomas E. Donilon and Kenneth M. Duberstein, held its seventieth meeting this year. The program continues to provide a neutral setting for key congressional staffers from both houses of Congress to engage in reflective, nonpartisan discussion of Asian politics and security, national security, and international trade and economics. Alton Frye is the Project Director.

## CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION

The Center for Preventive Action has spent the last several years as part of the Studies Department focused on assessing efforts at prevention and bringing various groups involved in this effort together at the center to exchange information. In its second phase, launched in July 2000, the center will move into more operational activities—well short of doing actual negotiations. Basically, the center will develop plans to harmonize the contacts and influence of nongovernmental organizations and business with the power of governments and international organizations, in order to make peaceful compromise more appealing to the contending parties than killing. The center will then market these plans publicly and to those who would carry them out.

# MEETINGS PROGRAM

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- Provides members in New York with the opportunity to exchange ideas with each other and with other influential world leaders.
  - Brings members together to interact with international and domestic policymakers and opinion shapers, new faces on the international scene, respected experts, and provocative debaters on international affairs and American foreign policy.
  - Convenes well over 100 programs, including debates, panel discussions, film screenings, author interviews, and single-speaker events.
  - Spearheads the Council's Campaign 2000 initiative, including a website ([www.foreignpolicy2000.org](http://www.foreignpolicy2000.org)) and a series of debates and meetings intended to draw critical foreign policy issues into the presidential campaigns.
- 

**T**he Council's Meetings Program is the quickest, most efficient means of keeping members abreast of events all over the world. Members can get a feel for what leaders of other countries are thinking, for the problems policymakers are tackling, for events "on the ground" in areas of conflict, and for the most interesting new scholarship on recent history.

The presidential election year provided a good opportunity to launch a serious public discussion of foreign policy among our country's presidential candidates and political leaders. The country has gone almost a decade—through and past the Cold War's end—without such a debate. So for this new series, Campaign 2000, the Council formed a distinguished bipartisan advisory committee, designed a website for online debate and discussion, and held issue-related meetings in the form of debates and panels. Highlights of these Campaign 2000 meetings have included a national missile defense debate between Senators Thad Cochran (R-Miss.) and Carl Levin (D-Mich.), a debate between the foreign policy

spokespersons for Senator Bill Bradley and Vice President Al Gore, a debate on humanitarian intervention, a debate on the defense of Taiwan, and a panel of campaign advisers discussing the role of foreign policy in the national election campaign.

This year also marked the launch of two additional new series. First, in Reflections on the Twentieth Century, the Council paved the way for some very interesting looks back over the last 100 years. British historian Niall Ferguson talked with Yale's Paul Kennedy about his provocative new book, *The Pity of War*, on the origins of World War I, and veteran Vietnam War reporters R.W. Apple Jr., Morley Safer, Stanley Karnow, and Frances FitzGerald reflected on America's first television war. The second series, Science and New Technologies, began with Sun Microsystems's Chief Scientist and Corporate Executive Officer Bill Joy warning of the dangers of the emerging technologies: robotics, genetic modification, and nanotechnology; and a panel with Rockefeller Foundation President Gordon Conway looking at the challenges and opportunities presented by the growth of biotechnology.

## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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The health of the world economy is an increasingly important issue—one inextricably bound to security relationships around the world. The Council hosted this year's Nobel laureate in economics, Robert Mundell, World Bank Chief Economist Joseph E. Stiglitz, outgoing International Monetary Fund Managing Director Michel Camdessus, and U.S. Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers. U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky set out the U.S. trade agenda, and a panel including *New York Times* economics correspondent David Sanger looked back at the Seattle debacle, the World Trade Organization, and the geopolitics of trade.

To address questions of future U.S. security, the Council hosted National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen, and Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.). In three separate and lively panels—one with the sitting joint chiefs of staff and the other two with former chairmen of the joint chiefs and former secretaries of defense—debate centered on defense policy and the use of American power for the 21st century.

The Council also took hard looks at several of the new global issues—those without specific regional focus that have dramatically increased in importance over the last several years. The devastating effects of civil conflict on children was the subject of a screening of the HBO documentary *Children in War* and a discussion led by Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke and U.N. Special Representative Olara A. Otunnu. Other meetings were organized to allow a closer look at such issues as the global infectious disease threat and its implications for national security, the political and moral challenges posed for humanitarian and relief organizations, and an especially brutal manifestation of international crime—trafficking in persons.

And the Meetings Program toured the globe. As the year began, the world was focused on the worsening crises in Asia—a twin missile and nuclear threat from North Korea, political upheaval in East Timor, and the growing potential for a severe China-Taiwan confrontation. Those who helped interpret these developments included *New York Times* correspondent Patrick Tyler on China policy, Nobelist José Ramos-Horta on

upheaval in Indonesia, North Korean Foreign Minister Nam-sun Paek on the internal politics of his country, and Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad on the international economy. The region's security fault lines were discussed by former Defense Secretary William J. Perry, and Falun Gong explained its challenge to Beijing's orthodoxy.

Balkan economic and political reconstruction, the development of European military capability, and the launch of the euro were central to much of the Council's European focus. "What follows Yeltsin?" was the question on Russia, along with concerns about the war in Chechnya. These developments were discussed by the Russian, European, and American officials, scholars, and reformers closest to their unfolding.

The Council hosted CNN's screening of Christiane Amanpour's documentary film about her return to an Iran on the cusp of reform, and in two separate panel discussions, experts debated the meaning of Iran's parliamentary election results. Palestinian National Authority Chairman Yasir Arafat spoke of prospects for a final peace settlement in the Middle East, as did former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. Former UNSCOM chief Richard Butler looked at the role of the Security Council in Iraq.

Latin America's pressure points—the challenge to civil society in Mexico and Peru and a Colombian narco-state at civil war—drew several Council speakers this year, including Peru's presidential hopeful Alejandro Toledo.

This year the focus of the popular Culture and Foreign Policy lecture was on the rise of Anti-Americanism—"America: Cultural Empire or Cultural Wasteland? Does It Matter?"—in which Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Professor Fouad Ajami led a discussion among three distinguished scholars, including Mexico's Enrique Krauze.

As in past years, the Council continued to experiment with new formats, new approaches to "old" issues, and new ways of grouping issues and ideas so that they can be seen in fresh ways.

Anne R. Luzzatto  
Vice President, Meetings



## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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*Speaker Richard C. Holbrooke, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, and Presider Louis V. Gerstner Jr. at the December 16, 1999, Meeting, "A Special Briefing by the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations."*

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## PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

### AFRICA

**FREDERICK CHILUBA**

President, Zambia

**JOAQUIM ALBERTO CHISSANO**

President, Mozambique

**JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS**

President, Angola

**KETUMILE MASIRE**

Former President, Botswana

**ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE**

President, Zimbabwe

**YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI**

President, Uganda

**SALIM AHMED SALIM**

Secretary-General, Organization  
of African Unity

"U.N. Security Council's Africa Month"\*

PRESIDER: RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE

**HERMAN J. COHEN**

Former Assistant Secretary of State  
for African Affairs

**CHESTER A. CROCKER**

Former Assistant Secretary of State  
for African Affairs

**RICHARD M. MOOSE**

Former Assistant Secretary of State for  
African Affairs

"U.S. Policy toward Africa"\*

PRESIDER: MORA L. MCLEAN

### ASIA

**CHAS. W. FREEMAN JR.**

Chairman, Projects International, Inc.

**ARTHUR WALDRON**

Director of Asian Studies, American Enterprise  
Institute for Public Policy Research; Lauder  
Professor of International Relations, University  
of Pennsylvania

"If Taiwan Declares Independence and China  
Reacts with Force, on Whom Should the United  
States Lean Harder, China or Taiwan?"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

**JOHN F. KERRY**

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mass.)

"U.S.-China Relations: Opportunities and Challenges"

PRESIDER: WINSTON LORD

THE JACOB K. JAVITS MEMORIAL LECTURE SERIES



*Speaker John F. Kerry, Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mass.), and Marian Javits at the March 15, 2000, Jacob K. Javits Memorial Lecture, "U.S.-China Relations: Opportunities and Challenges."*

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

## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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Speaker Mahathir bin Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia, and President Frank G. Wisner II at the September 28, 1999, Meeting, "Surviving the Economic Crisis."

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### **MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD**

Prime Minister, Malaysia

"Surviving the Economic Crisis"\*

PRESIDER: FRANK G. WISNER II

### **JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA**

Vice President, National Council of Timorese Resistance; 1996 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

"The Crisis in East Timor and the Path to Recovery"

PRESIDER: SHEPARD L. FORMAN

### **J. STAPLETON ROY**

Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research; former U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia  
"Fragile State: The Future of Indonesia"

PRESIDER: BETTE BAO LORD

## **CULTURE AND FOREIGN POLICY**

### **ENRIQUE KRAUZE**

Editor in Chief, *Letras Libres*; author, *Mexico: Biography of Power*; former Deputy Editor, *Vuelta*

### **DENIS LACORNE**

Director of Research, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales; Professor, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris; co-editor, *The Rise and Fall of Anti-Americanism: A Century of French Perception*

### **NICHOLAS PLATT**

President, Asia Society; former U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan and the Philippines

"America: Cultural Empire or Cultural Wasteland? Does It Matter?"

PRESIDER: FOUAD AJAMI

THE SPIELVOGEL/DIAMONSTEIN LECTURE

## **EUROPE**

### **MARTTI AHTISAARI**

President, Republic of Finland

"The Upcoming Russian Elections: Prospects for E.U.- and U.S.-Russian Relations"\*

PRESIDER: STROBE TALBOTT

### **WESLEY K. CLARK**

Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command

"Can NATO Ensure European Security?""\*

PRESIDER: ROBERT E. HUNTER

### **JOSCHKA FISCHER**

Vice Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany

"Ten Years after the Fall of the Wall: Prospects for a Transatlantic Partnership in the 21st Century"\*

PRESIDER: HAROLD BROWN

### **YEGOR GAIDAR**

Chairman, Democratic Choice of Russia Party; Director, Institute for the Economy in Transition  
"The State of Political and Economic Reforms in Russia"

PRESIDER: PADMA DESAI

### **TONY JUDD**

Director, Remarque Institute, New York University

### **MARTIN WALKER**

Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

"A New Europe in a New Century?"

PRESIDER: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

### **BERNARD KOUCHNER**

Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the U.N. Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo; Founder, Médecins sans Frontières

"The Challenge of Kosovo"

PRESIDER: REYNOLD LEVY

THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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### JOHN MAJOR

Member of Parliament and former Prime Minister,  
United Kingdom

“A Conversation with John Major”\*

PRESIDER: HAROLD M. EVANS

### GEORGE ROBERTSON

Secretary-General, NATO

“European Defense: The Only Thing to Fear  
Is Fear Itself”

PRESIDER: ROBERT E. HUNTER

THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

## LATIN AMERICA

### MORRIS BUSBY

Former U.S. Ambassador to Colombia; former  
U.S. Special Envoy to Central America

### RAFAEL PARDO

Former Minister of Defense, Colombia

### FRANCISCO SANTOS

Managing Editor, *El Tiempo*; founder, *País Libre*

### MICHAEL SHEEHAN

Coordinator for Counterterrorism,  
U.S. Department of State

“Colombia: Walking a Tightrope”

PRESIDER: ANA ARANA

### ALBERTO BUSTAMANTE

Prime Minister, Peru

“Stability, Confidence, and Integration with the  
World: Peru Facing the 21st Century”\*

PRESIDER: SERGIO J. GALVIS

### LUIZ FELIPE LAMPREIA

Foreign Minister, Brazil

“Democracy and Stability in South America”\*

PRESIDER: STEPHEN ROBERT

## MIDDLE EAST

### YASIR ARAFAT

Chairman, Palestinian National Authority

“Prospects for Final Settlement of the Palestinian-  
Israeli Conflict”\*

PRESIDER: HENRY SIEGMAN

### RICHARD BUTLER

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign  
Relations; former Executive Chairman,  
U.N. Special Commission

“Iraq: The Role of the Security Council”

PRESIDER: BARBARA CROSSETTE

### JOHN L. ESPOSITO

Founding Director, Center for Muslim-Christian  
Understanding, Georgetown University

### BERNARD LEWIS

Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern  
Studies, Professor Emeritus, Princeton University

### DANIEL PIPES

Director, Middle East Forum; Senior Lecturer,  
University of Pennsylvania

“Middle East Update: How Much Should the  
United States Worry about Radical Islamism?”

PRESIDER: EDWARD L. MORSE

### BILL RICHARDSON

Secretary, U.S. Department of Energy

“Safeguarding America’s Global Energy Interests”\*

PRESIDER: EDWARD L. MORSE

## NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

### SAMUEL R. BERGER

U.S. National Security Adviser

“American Power: Hegemony, Isolationism, or  
Engagement?”

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

### JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR.

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Del.)

“Rebuilding Consensus on U.S. Strategic Doctrine”

PRESIDER: RICHARD RAVITCH

THE JACOB K. JAVITS MEMORIAL LECTURE SERIES

### HAROLD BROWN

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

### ROBERT S. MCNAMARA

Former U.S. Secretary of Defense

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

## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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*Speaker James L. Jones, Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps, Speaker Jay L. Johnson, Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, Presider William J. Crowe, Speaker Michael E. Ryan, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, and Speaker Eric K. Shinseki, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, at the January 6, 2000, John Train Lecture, the Joint Chiefs of Staff on "U.S. Defense Policy after 2000."*

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### **WILLIAM J. PERRY**

Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor, School of Engineering, Stanford University; Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution; former U.S. Secretary of Defense

### **CASPAR W. WEINBERGER**

Chairman, Forbes Inc.; former U.S. Secretary of Defense

"Defining Defense Priorities"\*

PRESIDER: GARY HART

### **THAD COCHRAN**

Member, U.S. Senate (R-Miss.)

### **CARL M. LEVIN**

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mich.)

"National Missile Defense: Two Perspectives from the Senate"

PRESIDER: LAWRENCE J. KORB

THE JACOB K. JAVITS MEMORIAL LECTURE SERIES

### **WILLIAM S. COHEN**

Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense

"U.S. Defense Priorities: Engagement and Isolationism"\*

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

### **WILLIAM J. CROWE**

U.S. Navy (Ret.); Senior Adviser, GlobalOptions; former Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff

### **DAVID C. JONES**

U.S. Air Force (Ret.); former Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff

### **COLIN L. POWELL**

U.S. Army (Ret.); Chairman, America's Promise; former Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff

### **JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI**

U.S. Army (Ret.); Visiting Professor, Stanford University; former Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff

### **JOHN W. VESSEY**

U.S. Army (Ret.); former Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff

"National Defense Priorities for the Next Administration"\*

PRESIDER: DONALD KAGAN

### **JAY L. JOHNSON**

Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy

### **JAMES L. JONES**

Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps



*Daniel Rose and George Soros at the October 21, 1999, Elihu Root Lecture, "American Power: Hegemony, Isolationism, or Engagement?"*

## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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**MICHAEL E. RYAN**  
Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force  
**ERIC K. SHINSEKI**  
Chief of Staff, U.S. Army  
The Joint Chiefs of Staff on  
"U.S. Defense Policy after 2000"  
PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. CROWE  
THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE

### NEW GLOBAL ISSUES

**KOFI A. ANNAN**  
Secretary-General, United Nations  
"A Conversation with Kofi Annan"  
PRESIDER: CHARLIE ROSE  
ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

**DAVID BLOOM**  
Professor of Economics and Demography,  
Harvard University  
**RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE**  
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations  
**PETER PIOT**  
Executive Director, UNAIDS  
**DONNA E. SHALALA**  
Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human  
Services  
**SANDRA THURMAN**  
Director, Office of National AIDS Policy  
"AIDS: A New Priority for International Security"\*  
PRESIDER: JORDAN KASSALOW

**GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND**  
Director-General, World Health Organization

"Why Investing in Global Health is Good Politics"\*  
PRESIDER: J. BRIAN ATWOOD

**FRANK LOY**  
Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs  
"Trafficking in Women and Children"  
PRESIDER: NANE ANNAN

**OLARA A. OTUNNU**  
Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-  
General for Children and Armed Conflict  
Screening of *Children in War*, an HBO documentary  
by Alan and Susan Raymond  
PRESIDER: RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE

### REFLECTIONS ON THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

**R. W. APPLE JR.**  
Chief Correspondent, *New York Times*  
**STANLEY KARNOW**  
Journalist; author, *Vietnam: A History*  
**MORLEY SAFER**  
Co-editor, *60 Minutes*; author, *Flashbacks:  
On Returning to Vietnam*  
"Vietnam Reporters"  
PRESIDER: FRANCES FITZGERALD

**NIALL FERGUSON**  
Fellow, Jesus College, University of Oxford; author,  
*The Pity of War*  
"The First World War and the Twentieth Century"  
PRESIDER: PAUL KENNEDY

*Presider Jessica T. Mathews, Speaker Bill Joy, Chief Scientist and Corporate Executive Officer, Sun Microsystems, Inc., Speaker Joshua Lederberg, President Emeritus, and Sackler Foundation Scholar, Rockefeller University, and Speaker W. Daniel Hillis, Founder, Applied Minds, at the March 13, 2000, Meeting, "Technology and Madness: Three Time Bombs of the 21st Century."*



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

## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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*Lee Cullum, Theodore C. Sorensen, and Speaker Bill Richardson, Secretary, U.S. Department of Energy, at the December 10, 1999, Special Meeting, "Department of Energy Briefing."*

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### SCIENCE AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

**GORDON CONWAY**

President, Rockefeller Foundation

**L. VAL GIDDINGS**

Vice President for Food and Agriculture,  
Biotechnology Industry Organization

**MARGARET MELLON**

Agriculture and Biotechnology Program Director,  
Union of Concerned Scientists

"Is There a Future for Genetically Engineered Food?"

PRESIDER: CHARLIE ROSE

**BILL JOY**

Chief Scientist and Corporate Executive Officer,  
Sun Microsystems, Inc.

**JOSHUA LEDERBERG**

President Emeritus, and Sackler Foundation  
Scholar, Rockefeller University

**W. DANIEL HILLIS**

Founder, Applied Minds

"Technology and Madness: Three Time Bombs  
of the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: JESSICA T. MATHEWS

### THE WORLD ECONOMY

**CHARLENE BARSHEFSKY**

U.S. Trade Representative

"Seattle and Beyond: The Future of the Global  
Trading System"\*

PRESIDER: ROGER M. KUBARYCH

**MICHEL CAMDESSUS**

Managing Director, International Monetary  
Fund

"An Agenda for the IMF at the Start of the 21st  
Century"\*

PRESIDER: JOAN E. SPERO

**GAIL D. FOSLER**

Senior Vice President and Chief Economist,  
The Conference Board



*Speaker John P. Lipsky, Chief Economist and Managing Director, Chase Manhattan Corporation, Speaker Gail D. Fosler, Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, The Conference Board, Presider Daniel K. Tarullo, and Speaker Bruce Steinberg, Chief Economist, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc., at the October 19, 1999, Meeting, "World Economic Update."*

## MEETINGS PROGRAM

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### **JOHN P. LIPSKY**

Chief Economist and Managing Director, Chase Manhattan Corporation

### **DAVID R. MALPASS**

Chief International Economist, Bear Stearns & Co., Inc.

### **BRUCE STEINBERG**

Chief Economist, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.  
“World Economic Update”

PRESIDER: DANIEL K. TARULLO

### **JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ**

Economic Adviser, World Bank; Professor of Economics, Stanford University; former Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, World Bank  
“Can the Washington Consensus Ensure a Fairer Marketplace?”

PRESIDER: JEFFREY E. GARTEN

### **LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS**

Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury  
“The Right Priorities for International Development”\*

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

### **JEAN-CLAUDE TRICHET**

Governor, Banque de France; member, Governing Council, European Central Bank  
“The Euro after 15 Months”\*

PRESIDER: ALAN S. BLINDER

## LECTURESHIPS

### **The Jacob K. Javits Memorial Lecture Series**

The Jacob K. Javits Memorial Lecture Series was inaugurated in 1999 in honor of Senator Javits, who served as New York’s senator from 1957 to 1981 and was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. The series is supported by a gift from the Jacob K. Javits Foundation.

This lecture invites leading congressional thinkers on U.S. foreign policy to the Council. The 1999–2000 Javits lecturers were Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. on

U.S. strategic doctrine; Senator Thad Cochran and Senator Carl M. Levin on national missile defense; and Senator John F. Kerry on U.S.-China relations.

### **The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture**

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture, inaugurated in 1969, was named for a charter member of the Council on Foreign Relations who served as its president from 1944 to 1946 and as its chairman from 1946 to 1953.

This lecture invites a distinguished foreign official to address Council members on a topic of major international significance. This year the Leffingwell lecturer was Lord George Robertson, secretary-general of NATO.

### **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.

This lecture invites speakers to focus on one of David Morse’s many concerns, which included North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and U.S. relations with Asia. Bernard Kouchner, special representative of the secretary-general for the U.N. Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo and founder of Médecins sans Frontières, delivered the Morse Lecture this year.

### **The David Rockefeller Lecture**

The David Rockefeller Lecture was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1985 for an annual African lecturer from either the governmental or nongovernmental sector. No David Rockefeller Lecture was delivered in 1999–2000.

### **The Elihu Root Lecture**

The Elihu Root Lecture was inaugurated in 1958 to honor Elihu Root, a founder of the Council on Foreign Relations who served as its honorary president from 1921 to 1937.

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



*Anne R. Luzzatto, Nancy Bodurtha, Stacey Malacos, and Speaker Kofi A. Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, at the December 20, 1999, Annual Daughters and Sons Event, "A Conversation with Kofi Annan."*

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This lecture invites a distinguished American to reflect on his or her professional experience and how it applies to contemporary American foreign policymaking. Samuel R. Berger, U.S. national security adviser, delivered the Elihu Root Lecture this year.

### **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.

This lecture invites speakers intimately involved with the workings and issues of the United Nations to address Council members. No Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations was delivered in 1999–2000.

### **The Spielvogel/Diamonstein Lecture**

The Spielvogel/Diamonstein Lecture was inaugurated in 1999. Supported by a gift from Carl Spielvogel

and Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel, this annual meeting focuses on culture and foreign policy. The series is dedicated to expanding the understanding of culture in society's political conduct and the impact of currents in religion, civil society, the arts, and the mass media on foreign policy. This year's lecture included speakers Fouad Ajami, M. Khadduri professor of Middle Eastern studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; Enrique Krauze, editor in chief, *Letras Libres*; Denis Lacorne, director of research, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, and professor, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris; and Nicholas Platt, president, Asia Society, who all addressed the question "America: Cultural Empire or Cultural Wasteland? Does It Matter?"

### **The John Train Lecture**

The John Train Lecture and dinner was established in 1997. Funded by Council member John Train, the series focuses on new issues in military affairs and the future of the U.S. military. This year's John Train Lecture featured the joint chiefs of staff, who discussed defense policy for the 21st century.



*Speaker Colin L. Powell, Chairman, America's Promise, Bette Bao Lord, and Winston Lord at the March 9, 2000, Meeting, "National Defense Priorities for the Next Administration."*



# WASHINGTON PROGRAM

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- Supports a membership and meetings program on a par with that of New York.
  - Holds over 100 meetings a year, including general meetings, targeted-audience discussions, and Middle East Forum sessions.
  - Conducts Campaign 2000, Eyewitness to History, Conversations with the Former Secretaries of State, Author Spotlight, Capitol Commentary, and Western Hemisphere: Challenges and Opportunities series.
  - Features heads of state and foreign officials from all over the world, and congressional leaders from both sides of the aisle.
  - Sponsors conferences on topics such as the Baltics, Belarus, China/WTO, and Panama.
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Some of the most popular programs this year featured revealing insights into the thinking of former secretaries of state, directors of central intelligence (DCIs), and assistant secretaries of state for inter-American affairs. Former Secretaries James A. Baker III, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, and Henry A. Kissinger were interviewed separately in a conversational format with CNN's Frank Sesno. These exchanges covered current events as well as various historical retrospectives. Former DCIs Richard Helms, James R. Schlesinger, William H. Webster, R. James Woolsey, and John Deutch came together in a first-ever meeting to reflect on the role of intelligence in the development and execution of American foreign policy. This meeting was made possible by Council member Kenneth A. Moskow, a former CIA employee. And in another first, former assistant secretaries of state for inter-American affairs, from Ambassador Lincoln Gordon (1966–67) to Bernard W. Aronson (1989–93), and also including incumbent Peter F. Romero, discussed the evolution of U.S. policies toward Latin America and economic and political trends in the region.

Another highlight this year was the Campaign 2000 series—informed debates and serious discussions on key foreign policy issues in the U.S. presidential campaign. Meetings in the series considered such topics as “What’s Worth Fighting and Dying For?” “Foreign Policy and Public Opinion,” and “A View from Abroad.”

Members acclaimed the mock National Security Council (NSC) meeting on China-Taiwan Cross-Strait Relations, a session in which Council President Leslie H. Gelb played the role of secretary of state, Winston Lord was national security adviser, and Richard Armitage was secretary of defense. This realistic meeting, involving participants with extensive government experience, gave members a rare window into the NSC decision-making process.

Other subjects covered in this year’s program included U.S.-China relations, the World Trade Organization, and Russia’s presidential elections. The two “Daughters and Sons Events” featured current DCI George J. Tenet speaking about post-Cold War challenges for the intelligence community and Reverend Jesse L. Jackson Sr. offering his views on the 2000 presidential campaign.

The intimate embassy lunches continued to be welcomed by members as a unique opportunity to engage foreign ambassadors in discussions on important foreign policy and trade issues in a relaxed and informal setting. Participating embassies this year included Argentina, Bahrain, Belgium, Brazil, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Japan, Jordan, Malaysia, Pakistan, South Africa, and Venezuela.

All in all, it was a vibrant and dynamic year, filled with exciting substantive discussions about pivotal foreign policy issues for the new century.

*Paula J. Dobriansky*  
Vice President and Washington Director

### PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

#### DAVID L. AARON

Undersecretary for International Trade,  
U.S. Department of Commerce  
“The U.S. Trade Agenda After Seattle”

PRESIDER: SUSAN C. SCHWAB

#### ELLIOTT ABRAMS

President, Ethics and Public Policy Center;  
former Assistant Secretary for Inter-American  
Affairs, U.S. Department of State

#### BERNARD W. ARONSON

Managing Partner, ACON Investments;  
former Assistant Secretary for Inter-American  
Affairs, U.S. Department of State

#### LINCOLN GORDON

Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution; former  
Assistant Secretary for Inter-American  
Affairs, U.S. Department of State

#### WILLIAM D. ROGERS

Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates; Senior  
Partner, Arnold & Porter; former Assistant  
Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, U.S.  
Department of State

#### PETER F. ROMERO

Acting Assistant Secretary for Western  
Hemisphere Affairs, U.S. Department  
of State

#### HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN

Former Assistant Secretary for Inter-Ameri-  
can Affairs, U.S. Department of State

#### TERENCE A. TODMAN

President, Todman & Associates; former Assistant  
Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, U.S. Depart-  
ment of State

#### VIRON P. VAKY

Senior Fellow, Inter-American Dialogue; former  
Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs,  
U.S. Department of State

“Western Hemisphere Affairs and Opportunities  
in 2000”

PRESIDERS: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY AND PETER HAKIM  
(COSPONSORED WITH INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE)

#### FRANCISCO XAVIER AGUIRRE SACASA

Ambassador of Nicaragua to the United States

#### RUBENS ANTONIO BARBOSA

Ambassador of Brazil to the United States

#### RICHARD L. BERNAL

Ambassador of Jamaica to the United States

#### MARLENE FERNANDEZ

Ambassador of Bolivia to the United States

#### GUILLERMO ENRIQUE GONZÁLEZ

Ambassador of Argentina to the United States



*Speaker Yasir Arafat, Chairman, Palestinian National Authority, Judith Kipper, and Presider Lee H. Hamilton at the January 20, 2000, Middle East Forum, “Palestinian Perspective on Peace.”*

## WASHINGTON PROGRAM

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*Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Speaker James A. Baker III, Senior Partner, Baker & Botts, and President Frank W. Sesno at the January 31, 2000, Meeting, "Former Secretaries of State Series."*



### **LUIS ALBERTO MORENO**

Ambassador of Colombia to the United States

### **ALFREDO TORO HARDY**

Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States  
"Western Hemisphere Affairs and Opportunities  
in 2000: A View from Abroad"

PRESIDERS: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY AND PETER HAKIM  
(COSPONSORED WITH INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE)

### **YASIR ARAFAT**

Chairman, Palestinian National Authority  
"Palestinian Perspective on Peace"

PRESIDER: LEE H. HAMILTON  
(MIDDLE EAST FORUM)

### **RICHARD ARMITAGE**

President, Armitage Associates; former Assistant  
Secretary of Defense for International Security  
Affairs

### **THOMAS E. DONILON**

Senior Vice President, Fannie Mae Corporation;  
former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

### **RONALD R. FOGLEMAN**

U.S. Air Force (Ret.); former Chief of Staff, U.S. Air  
Force

### **LESLIE H. GELB**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

### **SANDRA J. KRISTOFF**

Senior Vice President, New York Life International,  
Inc.; former Assistant to the President and Senior  
Director for Asian Affairs, National Security Council  
"Mock NSC Meeting: Crisis over Taiwan"

PRESIDER: WINSTON LORD

### **JAMES A. BAKER III**

Senior Partner, Baker & Botts; former  
U.S. Secretary of State  
"Former Secretaries of State Series"

PRESIDER: FRANK W. SESNO

### **DOUGLAS K. BEREUTER**

Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Neb.)

### **JEREMY D. ROSNER**

Vice President, Greenberg Quinlan Research

### **DOV S. ZAKHEIM**

CEO, SPC International

"The Congressional Role in Making Foreign  
Policy"

PRESIDER: ALTON FRYE

### **SAMUEL R. BERGER**

U.S. National Security Adviser

"Winning the Peace in Kosovo"

PRESIDER: CHUCK HAGEL

### **JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR.**

Member, U.S. Senate (D-Del.)

"U.S.-Russia Relations and the Prospects for Arms  
Control"

PRESIDER: DON OBERDORFER

### **DENNIS C. BLAIR**

Admiral, U.S. Navy; Commander in Chief,  
U.S. Pacific Command

"U.S. Security Challenges in the  
Pacific Rim"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. CROWE JR.

## WASHINGTON PROGRAM

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### **TONY BLANKLEY**

Panelist, *McLaughlin Group*; former Press Secretary, Office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives

### **TED GALEN CARPENTER**

Vice President for Defense and Foreign Policy Studies, Cato Institute

### **CAROL MUTTER**

Member, National Advisory Board of the Alliance for National Defense

### **RON SILVER**

Actor; Chairman, NYC 2000, Office of the Mayor of New York City

### **R. JAMES WOOLSEY**

Partner, Shea & Gardner; former Director, Central Intelligence  
"What's Worth Fighting and Dying For?"

PRESIDER: FAREED ZAKARIA

### **RICHARD BUTLER**

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations; former Executive Chairman, U.N. Special Commission

"Iraq: The Role of the Security Council"

PRESIDER: JUDITH KIPPER

### **JAMES FRANKLIN COLLINS**

U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation

"The New Russian Leadership and U.S.-Russia Relations"

PRESIDER: BRENT SCOWCROFT

### **PAUL D. COVERDELL**

Member, U.S. Senate (R-Ga.)

"A New Vision for the Western Hemisphere: Policy Priorities toward Latin America"

PRESIDER: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

### **CHRISTOPHER COX**

Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Calif.)  
"The Effects of Chinese Nuclear Espionage on U.S. National Security"

PRESIDER: JANE HARMAN

### **JOHN M. DEUTCH**

Institute Professor, Department of Chemistry, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; former Director of Central Intelligence



*President Jane Harman and Speaker Christopher Cox, Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Calif.), at the October 4, 1999, Meeting, "The Effects of Chinese Nuclear Espionage on U.S. National Security."*

### **RICHARD HELMS**

Former Director of Central Intelligence

### **JAMES R. SCHLESINGER**

Senior Adviser, Lehman Brothers; former Director of Central Intelligence

### **WILLIAM H. WEBSTER**

Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy; former Director of Central Intelligence

### **R. JAMES WOOLSEY**

Partner, Shea & Gardner; former Director of Central Intelligence

"A Conversation with the Former Directors of Central Intelligence"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

### **LINDA DIVALL**

President, American Viewpoint; Republican pollster

### **CELINDA LAKE**

President, Lake, Snell, Perry & Associates; Democratic pollster

"Campaign 2000: Canvassing Public Opinion"

PRESIDER: TARA DIANE SONENSHINE

### **LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER**

Senior Foreign Policy Adviser, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell; former U.S. Secretary of State

"Former Secretaries of State Series"

PRESIDER: FRANK W. SESNO

## WASHINGTON PROGRAM

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*Presider Leslie H. Gelb, Speaker Richard Helms, Speaker James R. Schlesinger, Senior Adviser, Lehman Brothers, Kenneth A. Moskow, Speaker William H. Webster, Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy, Speaker R. James Woolsey, Partner, Shea & Gardner, and Speaker John M. Deutch, Institute Professor, Department of Chemistry, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, at the February 23, 2000, Meeting, "A Conversation with the Former Directors of Central Intelligence."*

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### **MORRIS GOLDSTEIN**

Dennis Weatherstone Senior Fellow in International Finance, Institute for International Economics

### **CARLA A. HILLS**

Chairman and CEO, Hills and Company

### **PETER G. PETERSON**

Chairman, Blackstone Group; Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations

"The Future International Financial Architecture"

### **JOHN HAMRE**

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense  
"The Case for Homeland Defense"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM H. TAFT IV

### **JESSE L. JACKSON**

President and Founder, Rainbow/PUSH Coalition;  
President and Secretary of State's Special Envoy  
for the Promotion of Democracy and Human  
Rights in Africa

"U.S. Foreign Policy and a Presidential Campaign"

PRESIDER: NANCY H. RUBIN

DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

### **HENRY A. KISSINGER**

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

"Former Secretaries of State Series"

PRESIDER: FRANK W. SESNO

### **LI ZHAOXING**

Ambassador of the People's Republic of China  
to the United States

"U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: PETER W. RODMAN

### **KLAUS NAUMANN**

Managing Director for Europe, Teledesic; former  
Chairman, North Atlantic Military Committee, NATO  
"Lessons Learned from Kosovo"

PRESIDER: CHARLES GRAHAM BOYD



*Speaker Li Zhaoxing, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the United States, at the December 8, 1999, Meeting, "U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century."*

## WASHINGTON PROGRAM

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*President Warren B. Rudman, Paula J. Dobriansky, and Speaker George J. Tenet, Director of Central Intelligence, at the December 16, 1999, Daughters and Sons Event, "U.S. Intelligence on the Eve of the 21st Century."*

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### **ROBERT L. MALLET**

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Commerce  
"America's Economic Interests in Africa"

PRESIDER: GEORGE ALBERT DALLEY

### **NADEZHDA MIHAILOVA**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria  
"Bulgaria's Role in the Future of Southeastern Europe"

PRESIDER: AVIS T. BOHLEN

(COSPONSORED WITH THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM)

### **MIKE MOORE**

Director-General, World Trade Organization  
"Challenges for the Global Trading System in the New Millennium"

PRESIDER: PETER S. WATSON

### **WENDY R. SHERMAN**

Counselor, U.S. Department of State  
"U.S. Policy toward North Korea"

PRESIDER: DOUGLAS K. BEREUTER

### **STROBE TALBOTT**

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of State  
"The Future of U.S.-Russia Relations after Yeltsin"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM G. HYLAND

### **GEORGE J. TENET**

Director of Central Intelligence  
"U.S. Intelligence on the Eve of the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: WARREN B. RUDMAN

DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

### **VAIRA VIKE-FREIBERGA**

President, Republic of Latvia  
"A New Latvia in a New Europe"

PRESIDERS: PATRICIA ELLIS AND DAVID J. KRAMER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND THE WOMEN'S FOREIGN POLICY GROUP)

## **Eyewitness to History Series**

### **RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE**

U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations  
"As Yugoslavia Disintegrated: Reflections on and Prescriptions for U.S. Policy toward Bosnia and Kosovo"

PRESIDER: LESTER M. CRYSTAL

### **GEORGE J. MITCHELL**

Special Counsel, Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand; Chairman of the Multi-Party Talks for the Northern Ireland Peace Accords; former Member, U.S. Senate  
"The Challenges of Being a Peacemaker"

PRESIDER: ALTON FRYE

### **ROBERT S. STRAUSS**

Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLP; former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union  
"Mikhail Gorbachev's Farewell Address: The Collapse of the Soviet Union and Its Impact on Superpower Relations"

PRESIDER: DIMITRI K. SIMES

# NATIONAL PROGRAM

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- Engages members outside of New York and Washington in discussions on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy.
  - Holds Council studies seminars, task forces, and policy debates in ten key U.S. cities—San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Atlanta, Dallas–Fort Worth, Miami, Seattle, Boston, and Minneapolis.
  - Provides a forum for members to contribute their expertise and knowledge to the Council’s intellectual work directly and via videoconferencing and the Internet.
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One of the Council’s institutional priorities, the National Program engages members outside of New York and Washington in discussions on international affairs and provides a forum for foreign policy problems to be worked through in nontraditional and innovative ways.

Intimate foreign policy dinner seminars, featuring Council Senior Fellows and their research, are the cornerstone of the National Program. These conversations provide Fellows valuable feedback on their research projects and take place in ten key U.S. cities.

Technology is a key element of the National Program—linking members from coast to coast for a truly national conversation through the regular use of videoconferencing and the Internet.

The June National Conference is the premier event of the National Program—convening members from across the country in New York to discuss current foreign policy questions with leaders from business, government, non-governmental organizations, the media, and academia.

The National Program moved into the new century with remarkable growth—bringing together more national members than ever before. This was a year of “firsts”:

- *The first regional working group.* Based in San Francisco, the Working Group on Colombia was linked to the Council and Inter-American Dialogue—sponsored Independent Task Force on Colombia to bring the West Coast perspective to the deliberations. Council and task force member Mathea Falco chaired the sessions and conveyed the working group’s views to the task force.
- *The first national Campaign 2000 series.* Debates and meetings, launched by Council President Leslie H. Gelb, extended the Campaign 2000 series offered in New York and Washington to encourage a nationwide discussion on America’s foreign policy during the presidential campaign.
- *The first videoconferenced study group.* Led by Council member and Baker Institute Director Edward P. Djerejian in Houston and Council Fellow Rachel Bronson in New York, the Council and the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University connected the two cities for interactive sessions on U.S. security policy in the Persian Gulf.
- *The first online national study group.* Council Fellow Stephen E. Flynn integrated a national dialogue on the Internet with face-to-face sessions on globaliza-

tion and the future of border control in Washington, Miami, Houston, and Los Angeles.

- *The first live webcast general meeting.* Secretary of Energy Bill Richardson discussed U.S. policy on energy and answered questions from around the country.
- *The first videos on the public and members' websites.* Videos of general meetings with world leaders, government officials, and experts included Yasir Arafat, John Major, Samuel R. Berger, and Condoleezza Rice.
- *The first series of interactive conference calls.* Through the Corporate Program, national members were able to have extended conversations from their homes and offices with Council Fellows in their areas of expertise—from David G. Victor on global warming to Jerome A. Cohen on the Taiwan elections.

The Council continued to work with its Western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy, and with local foreign policy organizations elsewhere to hold Council foreign policy dinner seminars. In addition, the National Program cooperated with the leading law schools in Atlanta, Boston, and Chicago to stage Council Policy Initiative debates on the pros and cons of establishing an International Criminal Court.

Pushing ahead with the technological innovations launched last year, the National Program videoconferenced key U.S. cities with New York for study group sessions and larger meetings. Former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry spoke from Menlo Park, California, to members there and in New York on the transnationalization of the defense industry. Members gathered with Laura D'Andrea Tyson in San Francisco and with Peter G. Peterson, Paul A. Volcker,

and Morris Goldstein in New York for a videoconferenced meeting on the future international financial architecture.

The fifth annual National Conference brought more than 200 national members to New York on June 9 and 10 to discuss "U.S. Foreign Policy in Campaign 2000: Focusing the Debate." The turnout—the largest to date—ended the year on a high note as participants talked with policymakers, scholars, business leaders, and journalists about foreign policy in the next administration. A mock National Security Council meeting led by Winston Lord provided an inside look at how the inner circle of the White House formulates policy recommendations for the president.

The foreign policy dinner seminars, the increased use of videoconferencing and the Internet, and the National Conference are at the heart of the National Program. With the expansion of events and advances in technology, the National Program is bringing even more members and community leaders together for serious and sustained conversations on pressing foreign policy issues of the day—and laying the foundation for a dynamic future for the Council nationwide.

*Irina A. Faskianos*  
Deputy National Director

*Michael P. Peters*  
National Director

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE

"U.S. Foreign Policy in Campaign 2000: Focusing the Debate"

**HAROLD BROWN**

Partner, Warburg, Pincus & Co.

**LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER**

Senior Foreign Policy Adviser, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell

"What Foreign Policy Problems Need Urgent Solutions?"

PRESIDER: GERALD M. LEVIN

**RICHARD BUTLER**

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations

**RICHARD N. PERLE**

Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

"Is Regime Change Essential to Our Strategy toward Iraq?"

PRESIDER: EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN



*Speaker Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Senior Foreign Policy Adviser, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, Presider Gerald M. Levin, and Speaker Harold Brown, Partner, Warburg, Pincus & Co., at the June National Conference Plenary Session, "What Foreign Policy Problems Need Urgent Solutions?"*



## NATIONAL PROGRAM

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*Speaker David R. Gergen, Contributor, The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Speaker Kurt M. Campbell, Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, CSIS, Presider Winston Lord, Speaker John M. Deutch, Institute Professor, MIT, Speaker David L. Aaron, Senior International Adviser, Dorsey & Whitney, and Speaker Charles R. Larson, USN (Ret.), former CINCPAC, at the June National Conference Plenary Session, "Mock National Security Council Meeting on Taiwan."*



*Michael P. Peters, Helene D. Gayle, and Kathleen B. Cooper at the June National Conference, "U.S. Foreign Policy in Campaign 2000: Focusing the Debate."*

### **THOMAS E. DONILON**

Executive Vice President, Law and Policy, Fannie Mae

### **JESSICA T. MATHEWS**

President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### **WARREN B. RUDMAN**

Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

### **DOV S. ZAKHEIM**

CEO, SPC International Corporation

"Can Any Administration—Republican or Democrat—Make and Carry Out a Coherent and Effective Foreign Policy?"

PRESIDER: BRIAN WILLIAMS

### **THOMAS GRAHAM JR.**

President, Lawyers Alliance for World Security

### **STEPHEN J. HADLEY**

Partner, Shea & Gardner

"Should the United States Deploy a National Missile Defense?"

PRESIDER: JAMES F. HOGE JR.

### **GRAHAM T. ALLISON**

Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

### **ROBERT B. ZOELICK**

Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States

"What Should the U.S. Foreign Policy Priorities Be? Who—Bush or Gore—Will Handle Them Better and Why?"

PRESIDER: LEE CULLUM

### **DAVID L. AARON**

Senior International Adviser, Dorsey & Whitney  
In the role of Secretary of State

### **KURT M. CAMPBELL**

Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies

In the role of Secretary of Defense

### **JOHN M. DEUTCH**

Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

In the role of Director of Central Intelligence

### **DAVID R. GERGEN**

Editor-at-Large, *U.S. News & World Report*;  
Contributor, *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*

In the role of White House Political Adviser

### **CHARLES R. LARSON**

U.S. Navy (Ret.); former Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command

In the role of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

### **WINSTON LORD**

Co-chairman, International Rescue Committee  
Presiding in the role of National Security Council Adviser

"Mock National Security Council Meeting on Taiwan"

## NATIONAL PROGRAM EVENTS

### Atlanta

#### JOHN R. BOLTON

Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

#### KENNETH ROTH

Executive Director, Human Rights Watch  
“Council Policy Initiative: Toward an International Criminal Court?”

PRESIDER: GRIFFIN BELL

(COSPONSORED WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM AT EMORY UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW; THE CLAUS M. HALLE INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL LEARNING AT EMORY UNIVERSITY; AND THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)

#### JIMMY CARTER

Chairman, The Carter Center

#### LEE HONG-KOO

Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States

#### JAMES T. LANEY

Former U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea  
“Campaign 2000 Series: North Korea and Security on the Korean Peninsula”

PRESIDER: EASON T. JORDAN

(COSPONSORED WITH THE CLAUS M. HALLE INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL LEARNING AT EMORY UNIVERSITY; THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY; AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE; CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY; MOREHOUSE COLLEGE; AND SPELMAN COLLEGE)

#### PAT CHOATE

Chairman, Reform Party

#### BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations

“Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy”

CHAIR: RAYMOND D. HILL

(COSPONSORED WITH THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE ROBERTO C. GOIZUETA BUSINESS SCHOOL AT EMORY UNIVERSITY)

### Boston

#### JOHN R. BOLTON

Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

#### RUTH WEDGWOOD

Senior Fellow for International Organizations and Law, Council on Foreign Relations

“Council Policy Initiative: Toward an International Criminal Court?”

PRESIDER: ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL GRADUATE PROGRAM; CARR CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AT THE KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; AND THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES)



Presider Brian Williams, Speaker Dov S. Zakheim, CEO, SPC International Corporation, Speaker Thomas E. Donilon, Executive Vice President, Law and Policy, Fannie Mae, Speaker Jessica T. Mathews, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Speaker Warren B. Rudman, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rife, Wharton & Garrison, at the June National Conference Plenary Session, “Can Any Administration—Republican or Democrat—Make and Carry Out a Coherent and Effective Foreign Policy?”

## NATIONAL PROGRAM

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### Chicago

**JOHN R. BOLTON**

Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

**KENNETH ROTH**

Executive Director, Human Rights Watch  
“Council Policy Initiative: Toward an International Criminal Court?”

PRESIDER: JOHN R. SCHMIDT

(COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS AND THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW)

**LESLIE H. GELB**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

**JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER**

R. Wendell Harrison Distinguished Service Professor, University of Chicago  
“Campaign 2000 Series: What’s Worth Fighting and Dying For?”

PRESIDER: JOHN E. RIELLY

**JEAN-MARIE GUÉHENNO**

Chief Auditor, Department of Defense at the Cour des Comptes, France

**STEFANO SILVESTRI**

Vice President, International Affairs Institute, Italy  
“Roundtable on Perspectives on European Security”

PRESIDER: JOHN E. RIELLY

**RICHARD W. MURPHY**

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

**GIDEON ROSE**

Olin Senior Fellow and Deputy Director for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on a New Security Structure for the Middle East”

CHAIR: JOHN E. RIELLY

**SASKIA SASSEN**

Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago  
“Roundtable on Chicago as a Global City”

DISCUSSANT: RICHARD C. LONGWORTH

CHAIR: JOHN E. RIELLY

**PAUL SIMON**

Director, Public Policy Institute, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

**RICHARD SALISBURY WILLIAMSON**

Partner, Mayer, Brown & Platt  
“Campaign 2000 Series: Democracy or Balance of Power: Which Should Take Precedence in U.S. Foreign Policy?”

PRESIDER: JEROME McDONNELL

(ALL SIX MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

### Dallas

**RICHARD BUTLER**

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Roundtable on Dealing with Rogue States”

CHAIR: PHILIP O’BYRAN MONTGOMERY III

**ROGER M. KUBARYCH**

Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics & Finance, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Roundtable on ‘Is There Light at the End of the Tunnel for Japan?’”

CHAIR: STEPHEN M. CHIPMAN

**ROBERT A. MANNING**

C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Asian Energy-Security”

CHAIR: WILLIAM E. HALE

(ALL THREE MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

### Houston

**RACHEL BRONSON (NEW YORK)**

Olin Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Videoconferenced Study Group on U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf”

**First Session:** “Containment: Can and Should It Be Sustained?”

**Second Session:** “The U.S. Military in the Persian Gulf—Postured for Success?”

**Third Session:** “A Static U.S. Policy toward a Changing Persian Gulf”

CHAIR: EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN (HOUSTON)

(COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY)

## NATIONAL PROGRAM



*Chair Edward P. Djerejian on screen at the March 21, 2000, Video-conferenced Study Group on U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf (between Houston and New York).*

### **STEPHEN E. FLYNN**

Senior Fellow, National Security, Council on Foreign Relations  
"Online Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control"

CHAIR: RICHARD J. STOLL  
(COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY)

### **RICHARD BUTLER**

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations

"Roundtable on Dealing with Rogue States"  
CHAIR: JOSEPH MCFADDEN

### **BRUCE STOKES**

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations  
"Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy"

CHAIR: EWELL E. MURPHY JR.  
(BOTH MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE HOUSTON COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

## **Miami**

### **MAURICE A. FERRÉ**

Former Mayor of Miami

### **PETER HAKIM**

President, Inter-American Dialogue  
"Campaign 2000 Series: U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America"

PRESIDER: HODDING CARTER III

### **STEPHEN E. FLYNN**

Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
"Online Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control"

CHAIR: AMBLER H. MOSS JR.  
(BOTH MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DANTE B. FASCELL NORTH-SOUTH CENTER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI)

## **Minneapolis**

### **MICHAEL J. GREEN**

Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
"Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia"

DISCUSSANT: WALTER F. MONDALE  
CHAIR: KENNETH H. KELLER

### **ANN R. MARKUSEN (MINNEAPOLIS)**

Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

### **LEE FEINSTEIN (NEW YORK)**

Principal Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State

### **LORA LUMPE (NEW YORK)**

Consultant, International Peace Research Institute  
"Videoconferenced Study Group on the Arms Trade and Transnationalization of the Defense Industry"

CHAIR: KENNETH H. KELLER (MINNEAPOLIS)  
CHAIR: RICHARD RAVITCH (NEW YORK)  
(BOTH MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA)



*Speaker Maurice A. Ferré, former Mayor of Miami, Presider Hodding Carter III, and Speaker Peter Hakim, President, Inter-American Dialogue, at the February 15, 2000, Campaign 2000 Debate, "U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America" (in Miami).*

## NATIONAL PROGRAM

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*Bill Kahel and Speaker Bruce Stokes, Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations, at the September 14, 1999, Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations (in Los Angeles).*

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### Los Angeles

#### **RICHARD BUTLER**

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Roundtable on Rogue States”

CHAIR: GREGORY F. TREVERTON

#### **STEPHEN E. FLYNN**

Senior Fellow, National Security, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Online Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control”

CHAIR: JUDITH HICKS STIEHM

#### **LESLIE H. GELB**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

#### **RICHARD V. ALLEN**

Chairman, Richard V. Allen Co.  
“Campaign 2000 Series: What’s Worth Fighting and Dying For?”

PRESIDER: RONALD L. OLSON

#### **RADHA KUMAR**

Fellow, Peace and Conflict, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Postconflict Reconstruction”

CHAIR: EDWIN BACON

#### **WALTER RUSSELL MEAD**

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Campaign 2000 Series: A Look at U.S. Foreign Policy on the Eve of the California Primary”

CHAIR: STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

#### **BRUCE STOKES**

Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations”

DISCUSSANT: ROBERT M. URIU; CHAIR: DEBBIE LEILANI SHON

### Menlo Park

#### **WILLIAM J. PERRY (MENLO PARK)**

Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor, Stanford University; Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution  
“Videoconferenced Study Group on the Arms Trade and the Transnationalization of the Defense Industry”

DISCUSSANT: JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI (MENLO PARK)

CHAIR: ANN R. MARKUSEN (MENLO PARK)

HOST: SHARON I. MEERS (MENLO PARK)

CHAIR: RICHARD RAVITCH (NEW YORK)

### San Diego

#### **LESLIE H. GELB**

President, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Campaign 2000 Series: Are We Crazy to Expect a Serious Foreign Policy Debate?”

PRESIDER: MILES KAHLER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PACIFIC STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO; AND PCIP)

### San Francisco

#### **RICHARD K. BETTS**

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on Assessing the Future of Chinese Power”

CHAIR: ROBERT A. THELEEN



*John E. Rielly, Chair Garrick Utley, Roy M. Huffington, and Juan M. Garcia-Passalacqua at the June National Conference Discussion Group, “Was the Clinton Administration a Success or a Failure in U.S. Foreign Policy?”*

## NATIONAL PROGRAM

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### **PAT CHOATE**

Chairman, Reform Party

### **BRUCE STOKES**

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council  
on Foreign Relations

“Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy”

CHAIR: STEPHEN S. COHEN

### **MATHEA FALCO**

President, Drug Strategies

#### **First Session: MICHAEL SHIFTER**

Senior Fellow and Program Director, Inter-American  
Dialogue

#### **Second Session: LINDA ROBINSON**

Latin America Bureau Chief, *U.S. News & World Report*

### **LUIS FERNANDO RAMÍREZ ACUÑA**

Minister of Defense, Colombia

#### **Third Session: THOMAS A. MARKS**

Professor, Academy of the Pacific in Honolulu

“Working Group on Colombia”

HOST: GEORGE H. SHENK

### **LESLIE H. GELB**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

“Campaign 2000 Series: Are We Crazy to Expect a  
Serious Foreign Policy Debate?”

PRESIDER: JANE M. WALES

### **MORRIS GOLDSTEIN (NEW YORK)**

Dennis Weatherstone Senior Fellow in International  
Finance, Institute for International Economics

### **GEORGE J.W. GOODMAN (NEW YORK)**

Chairman and CEO, Adam Smith Global Television

### **LAURA D'ANDREA TYSON (SAN FRANCISCO)**

BankAmerica Dean, Haas School of Business,  
University of California, Berkeley

### **PAUL A. VOLCKER (NEW YORK)**

Henry Kaufman Visiting Professor, Stern School of  
Business, New York University

“Videoconferenced General Meeting on the Future  
International Financial Architecture”

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON (NEW YORK)

### **MICHAEL J. GREEN**

Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies, Council  
on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S.  
Interests in Asia”

CHAIR: CHRISTOPHER J. SIGUR

### **LAWRENCE J. KORB**

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

### **CHARLES A. KUPCHAN**

Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies,  
Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Contending Visions of Inter-  
national Order”

CHAIR: PETER TARNOFF

## **Seattle**

### **JAMES ELLES**

Member, European Parliament

### **BRUCE STOKES**

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council  
on Foreign Relations

“Roundtable on the WTO and the Future of World  
Trade”

CHAIR AND HOST: DAVID K. Y. TANG

### **LESLIE H. GELB**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

“Campaign 2000 Series: Are We Crazy to Expect a  
Serious Foreign Policy Debate?”

CHAIR AND HOST: DAVID K. Y. TANG

## **PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY**

### *Western Partner of the Council on Foreign Relations*

During 1999–2000, the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP) offered more than 30 meetings in Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, and Seattle, which were open to joint Council and PCIP members. The Council enriched the partnership with foreign policy dinner seminars, featuring Council Fellows and their work, and with a select number of other events on the West Coast as listed above.

# CORPORATE PROGRAM

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- Ensures that Council discussions and research projects include the private sector's perspectives on the critical linkages among U.S. foreign policy, international economics, finance, and business.
- Offers executives of 200 member companies the opportunity to interact with world leaders, the Council's research fellows, and other professionals from the business, foreign policy, and national security communities.
- Includes all business sectors among its members, with the largest number in financial services, law, manufacturing, consulting, technology, and media.
- Invites Corporate members to over 70 programs each year in New York and Washington and across the country; including invitations to major Corporate conferences, such as the May 2000 conference, "Latin America: Sustaining Economic and Political Reform," and the July 2000 conference, "The Next Financial Crisis."
- Provides Corporate members with the opportunity to participate in interactive conference calls with Council experts on topics of current concern to the international business and financial community; access to the Council's renowned research staff; participation in small group discussions and study groups run by the Fellows.

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**F**irms belong to the Corporate Program because it generates important new ideas for their business. The Council is the place world leaders and top thinkers come when they have something important to discuss with those who influence both the private and the public sector. That's why Corporate members find Council meetings well worth fitting into their crowded schedules.

The Council also houses the most influential group of foreign policy experts—on staff. No international think tank staff does more TV appearances, op-ed pieces, or congressional testimony than Council Senior Fellows.

Perhaps the most important benefit members derive from the Corporate Program comes informally—in private chats they have with other members when they come to the Council, in the telephone calls with Senior Fellows, in watching the body language and

reading between the lines of speeches by the likes of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad or U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky.

Corporate members of the Council include the leading firms in international banking and finance, law, insurance, manufacturing, communications, media, and consulting. The program provides these firms' executives with opportunities to address critical issues in international business and finance. Each month, members attend meetings and seminars to exchange ideas with political and economic experts from the United States and abroad. Corporate members also have access to the Council's research staff and receive timely information and analysis through a regular series of conference calls with Council experts.

The Corporate Program invites its members to participate in over 70 programs each year in New York and Washington, some of which are listed below.

The year saw the continuation of a popular quarterly series, "World Economic Update," in which top economists from major financial institutions assess the state of the global economy.

In response to members' requests, this year the Corporate Program increased to three per month its series of interactive conference calls with Council research fellows on topics of particular concern to member companies. These exchanges engage corporate members who find it difficult to take part in other Council programs.

This year's Corporate Conference, organized with the Council's Latin America Program, focused on "Latin America: Sustaining Economic and Political Reform." Participants included leaders such as former U.S. Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, Chile's President Ricardo Lagos, and Mexico's Energy Minister Luis Téllez; investors and business trailblazers, like Fernando Espuelas and Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski; and leading policy experts and economists such as Roberto Mangabeira, Moisés Naím, José Goldemberg, Ricardo Hausmann, Eduardo Aninat, Guillermo Perry, and William J. McDonough.

What made the conference special was that it didn't deal just with investment opportunities and trade but also connected these issues with broader political and economic forces and with the internal politics of the key states. The conference also looked at these problems from both ends of the telescope—from North America and from Latin America.

And in July, a first-of-its-kind conference for the Council—"The Next Financial Crisis: Warning Signs, Damage Control, and Impact," with Chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan as keynote speaker—probed the implications for markets and policymakers of the new vulnerabilities in the international economic and political systems.

These conferences exemplify the Corporate Program at its best, in the caliber of speakers and the participants, and in the intellectual rigor of the discussions. No other organization delivers either as well as the Council.

Highlights of the 1999–2000 schedule follow. A comprehensive listing is available on the Council's website at [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org) and the new Corporate Members' site.

*Jacqui Selbst Schein*  
Director  
Corporate Affairs

*David Kellogg*  
Vice President  
Corporate Affairs



*David Rockefeller, David Kellogg, and Speaker Robert E. Rubin, Director, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Member of the Office of the Chairman, Citigroup, Inc.; former U.S. Treasury Secretary, at the May 18–19, 2000, Corporate Program Conference, "Latin America: Sustaining Economic and Political Reform—A Working Conference on the Underlying Realities."*

## PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

### DAVID L. AARON

Undersecretary for International Trade,  
U.S. Department of Commerce  
"The U.S. Trade Agenda after Seattle"

PRESIDER: SUSAN C. SCHWAB  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### FRANCISCO XAVIER AGUIRRE SACASA

Ambassador of Nicaragua to the United States

### RUBENS ANTONIO BARBOSA

Ambassador of Brazil to the United States

### RICHARD L. BERNAL

Ambassador of Jamaica to the United States

### MARLENE FERNANDEZ

Ambassador of Bolivia to the United States

### GUILLERMO ENRIQUE GONZÁLEZ

Ambassador of Argentina to the United States

### LUIS ALBERTO MORENO

Ambassador of Colombia to the United States

### ALFREDO TORO HARDY

Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States

"Western Hemisphere Affairs and Opportunities  
in 2000: A View from Abroad"

PRESIDERS: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY AND PETER HAKIM  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

(COSPONSORED WITH INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE)



## CORPORATE PROGRAM

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### **PAUL ARLMAN**

Secretary-General, Federation of European Stock Exchanges

### **BRANDON BECKER**

Partner, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering; former Director, Division of Market Regulation, Securities and Exchange Commission

“The Coming Revolution in Cross-Border Equity Trading: The Stock Exchange as a Global Private Enterprise”

PRESIDER: BENN STEIL

### **CHARLENE BARSHEFSKY**

U.S. Trade Representative

“Seattle and Beyond: The Future of the Global Trading System”

PRESIDER: ROGER M. KUBARYCH

### **GORDON BROWN**

Chancellor of the Exchequer, United Kingdom

“Economic Stability and the World Economy”

PRESIDER: FRANK G. ZARB

### **ALBERTO BUSTAMANTE**

Prime Minister, Peru

“Stability, Confidence, and Integration with the World: Peru in the 21st Century”

PRESIDER: SERGIO J. GALVIS

### **MICHEL CAMDESSUS**

Managing Director, International Monetary Fund

“An Agenda for the IMF at the Start of the 21st Century”

PRESIDER: JOAN E. SPERO

### **VICTOR S. CHERNOMYRDIN**

Chairman, Gasprom; former Prime Minister, Russian Federation

“Russia’s Recovery and Prospects for 2000”

PRESIDER: GRAHAM T. ALLISON

### **TADAO CHINO**

President, Asian Development Bank; former Vice Minister of Finance for International Affairs, Japan

“An End to Asia’s Poverty in the New Millennium?”

PRESIDER: BARBARA HACKMAN FRANKLIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **GEORGE DAVID**

Chairman and CEO, United Technologies Corporation  
“How the United States and Europe Should Respond to the Outbreak of Anti-globalization”

PRESIDER: JOHN DEUTCH

### **ROBERT J. GORDON**

Stanley G. Harris Professor of Social Sciences, Department of Economics, Northwestern University  
“Is the New Economy a True Industrial Revolution?”

PRESIDER: PAUL A. ALLAIRE

THE C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **RYUTARO HASHIMOTO**

Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister; former Prime Minister, Japan

“Japan’s Initiatives in Building a Better Future”

PRESIDER: W. BOWMAN CUTTER

### **AMY MYERS JAFFE**

Senior Energy Analyst, Energy Research Program, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University

### **ROBERT A. MANNING**

Senior Fellow and Director for Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“The Shocks of a World of Cheap Oil”

Conference Call

### **JAMES R. JONES**

Senior Counsel, Manatt, Phelps & Phillips; former U.S. Ambassador to Mexico

### **JESUS REYES HEROLEZ**

Ambassador of Mexico to the United States

“Mexico and the United States: Intimately Linked?”

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

### **BILL JOY**

Chief Scientist and Corporate Executive Officer, Sun Microsystems, Inc.

### **JOSHUA LEDERBERG**

President Emeritus and Sackler Foundation Scholar, Rockefeller University

### **W. DANIEL HILLIS**

Founder, Applied Minds

“Technology and Madness: Three Time Bombs of the 21st Century”

PRESIDER: JESSICA T. MATHEWS

## CORPORATE PROGRAM

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*Speaker Robert J. Gordon, Stanley G. Harris Professor of Social Sciences, Department of Economics, Northwestern University, and Presider Paul A. Allaire at the November 29, 1999, Meeting, "Is the New Economy a True Industrial Revolution?"*

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### **LEE HSIEN LOONG**

Deputy Prime Minister, Republic of Singapore  
"Can East Asia Make It?"

PRESIDER: MAURICE R. GREENBERG

### **LI ZHAOXING**

Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the United States

"U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: PETER W. RODMAN  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **JOHN P. LIPSKY**

Chief Economist and Managing Director, Chase Manhattan Corporation

### **DAVID R. MALPASS**

Chief International Economist, Bear, Stearns & Co. Inc.

### **BRUCE STEINBERG**

Chief Economist, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

"Emerging Markets 2000: Risks and Opportunities"

PRESIDER: DANIEL K. TARULLO

### **JOHN MAJOR**

Member of Parliament and former Prime Minister, United Kingdom

"A Conversation with John Major"

PRESIDER: HAROLD M. EVANS

### **ROBERT L. MALLETT**

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Commerce  
"America's Economic Interests in Africa"

PRESIDER: GEORGE ALBERT DALLEY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD**

Prime Minister, Malaysia

"Surviving the Economic Crisis"

PRESIDER: FRANK G. WISNER II

### **TOMMASO PADOA-SCHIOPPA**

Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

"The Euro as Seen from Frankfurt: Lessons from the First Year"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. McDONOUGH

THE C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **MORRIS GOLDSTEIN (NEW YORK)**

Dennis Weatherstone Senior Fellow in International Finance, Institute for International Economics

### **GEORGE J.W. GOODMAN (NEW YORK)**

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### **LAURA D'ANDREA TYSON (SAN FRANCISCO)**

BankAmerica Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley

### **PAUL A. VOLCKER (NEW YORK)**

Henry Kaufman Visiting Professor, Stern School of Business, New York University

"Videoconferenced General Meeting on the Future International Financial Architecture"

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON (NEW YORK)

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### **MARTÍN POBLETE**

Chairman, Columbia University Seminar on Latin America; Permanent Adviser on Latin America Affairs at the Northeast Hispanic Catholic Center

"Emerging Markets 2000: Risks and Opportunities"

### **PAUL SIGMUND**

Professor of Political Science, Princeton University

### **ANDRÉS VELASCO**

Professor of Economics and Director of the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University

"Chile: Post-Election Challenges"

PRESIDER: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

### **BILL RICHARDSON**

Secretary, U.S. Department of Energy

"Safeguarding America's Global Energy Interests"

PRESIDER: EDWARD L. MORSE



*Judith K. Paulus, Presider Alan S. Blinder, and Speaker Jean-Claude Trichet, Governor of the Banque de France, at the April 18, 2000, Meeting, "The Euro After 15 Months."*

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**J. STAPLETON ROY**

Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research,  
U.S. Department of State; former U.S. Ambassador  
to Indonesia

*"Fragile State: The Future of Indonesia"*

PRESIDER: BETTE BAO LORD

**JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ**

Economic Adviser, World Bank; Professor of Eco-  
nomics, Stanford University; former Senior Vice  
President and Chief Economist, World Bank  
*"Can the Washington Consensus Ensure a Fairer  
Marketplace?"*

PRESIDER: JEFFREY E. GARTEN

**LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS**

Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury  
*"The Right Priorities for International Development"*

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

**STROBE TALBOTT**

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of State  
*"The Future of U.S.-Russia Relations after Yeltsin"*

PRESIDER: WILLIAM G. HYLAND  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

**JEAN-CLAUDE TRICHET**

Governor, Banque de France; Member, Governing  
Council, European Central Bank

*"The Euro after 15 Months"*

PRESIDER: ALAN S. BLINDER

**DMITRY V. VASILIEV**

Chairman, Federal Commission of the Securities  
Markets, Russian Federation

*"Economics, Politics, and Corruption in Russia"*

PRESIDER: LEE S. WOLOSKY

**MARINA V.N. WHITMAN**

Professor of Business Administration and Public  
Policy, University of Michigan

*"The Changing Role of the American  
Corporation"*

PRESIDER: RICHARD N. FOSTER

**HAKUO YANAGISAWA**

Minister of State; Chairman, Financial Reconstruction  
Commission, Japan

*"Revitalization through Financial Reconstruction"*

PRESIDER: JEFFREY R. SHAFER

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*Peter G. Peterson and Speaker Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at the July 12-13, 2000, Corporate Program Conference, "The Next Financial Crisis: Warning Signs, Damage Control, and Impact."*



# TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

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- Finds and nurtures the next generation of leaders and thinkers.
  - Includes over 460 young leaders, elected to a five-year membership term; they are some of the more devoted and active members of the Council.
  - Organizes events specifically for term members.
  - Advised by committees of term members in New York, Washington, D.C., and Boston.
- 

**T**he Term Member Program not only allows young leaders to interact with seasoned foreign policy veterans, it also offers term members a wide variety of events designed especially for them. Each year a new class of term members, all age 34 and under, is elected to a five-year term. Committees of term members in New York, Washington, D.C., and Boston serve as advisory bodies to the Council leadership, while providing term members with the opportunities to help create programs such as roundtables, seminars, trips, receptions, and an annual conference.

This past year, term members debated one another at their fifth annual conference, “Campaign 2000: What’s on the Foreign Policy Agenda?” The gathering also featured keynote speakers Condoleezza Rice, senior foreign policy adviser to Governor George W. Bush; Mike McCurry, former Clinton administration press secretary; and Tom Brokaw, anchor and managing editor, *NBC Nightly News*.

Today many of the most qualified term members are elevated to full membership when their terms expire, thus fulfilling the goal of identifying and helping to develop a robust Council membership of foreign policy leaders and thinkers.

To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of one other Council member. All candidates must complete a nominee information form

and submit a curriculum vitae or chronological resume. For more information, please see pages 140 and 141.

As the meeting highlights illustrate, these young members dedicated to the Council are actively engaged in diverse aspects of U.S. foreign policy.

*Elise Carlson Lewis*

Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

## TERM MEMBER SEMINARS AND ROUNDTABLES

**CAROL BELLAMY**

Executive Director, UNICEF

**MARK MALLOCH BROWN**

Administrator, U.N. Development Program

“Challenging the Relevance of the United Nations in the 21st Century”

PRESIDER: KAMAL AHMAD

NEW YORK

**PAMELA B. BERKOWSKY**

Assistant Chief of Staff to the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense

**RICHARD A. FALKENRATH**

Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard University

## TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

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**“Bioterrorism: Understanding the Threat and Preparing to Respond”**

PRESIDER: REBECCA K.C. HERSMAN  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **RICHARD BUTLER**

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations;  
former Chairman, U.N. Special Commission  
**“A Conversation with Richard Butler”**

PRESIDER: BARBARA CROSSETTE  
NEW YORK

### **IVO H. DAALDER**

Author, *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America’s Bosnia Policy*

### **JAMES M. GOLDGEIER**

Author, *Not Whether but When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO*

**“The Clinton Legacy in Europe”**

PRESIDER: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY**

Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Asia Studies,  
Council on Foreign Relations

**“The Emergence of Civil Society and the Role of Environmental NGOs in China”**

PRESIDER: JULIE ANN FISHER  
BOSTON

### **RICHARD W. FISHER**

Deputy U.S. Trade Representative  
**“Trade: Where to Next?”**

PRESIDER: PETER F. NAJERA  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **MICHELE FLOURNOY**

Distinguished Research Professor,  
National Defense University

### **TONY THOMAS**

Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Special  
Operations Forces-Delta

**“Communications Breakdown: The Real World Consequences of Policy/Execution Disconnects—A Case Study on Somalia”**

PRESIDERS: SEAN McDEVITT AND OWEN WEST  
NEW YORK

### **LESLIE H. GELB**

President, Council on Foreign Relations  
**“Exploding Anti-Americanism”**

PRESIDER: SWANEE HUNT  
BOSTON

### **RICHARD GOLDSTONE**

Justice, South African Constitutional Court;  
former Chief Prosecutor, Yugoslav and Rwandan  
War Crimes Tribunals

**“International Human Rights Law in the 21st Century”**

PRESIDER: SUZANNE NOSSEL  
NEW YORK

### **TIM O’BRIEN**

Banking and Wall Street Reporter, *New York Times*

### **BRUCE OHR**

Chief of Organized Crime and Racketeering Section,  
U.S. Department of Justice

### **RICK PALMER**

Former CIA Agent

**“Russian Money Laundering, Organized Crime, and Corruption: What Does It All Mean?”**

PRESIDER: LEE S. WOLOSKY  
NEW YORK

### **WILLIAM R. RHODES**

Vice Chairman, Citigroup/Citibank

**“A Conversation with William R. Rhodes”**

PRESIDER: JENNIFER A. SHORE  
NEW YORK



*Raymond Tanter, Shepard L. Forman, and Minky Worden at the April 25, 2000, Conversations with Senior Members Dinner, “Humanitarian Interventions: When Are They Justified?”*

## TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

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*Michael R. Tomz, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Anya A. Schmemmann, and Thomas J. Christensen at the May 1, 2000, Term Member Roundtable, "Building Wealth in the Global Knowledge-Based Economy."*

### **FRANK SESNO**

Senior Vice President and Washington Bureau Chief, CNN

"From the Inside Out: The World According to Washington"

PRESIDER: SAMUEL FEIST  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **PAUL A. VOLCKER**

Henry A. Kaufman Visiting Professor, Stern School of Business, New York University  
"Leadership in Foreign Affairs"

PRESIDER: RAFFIQ A. NATHOO  
NEW YORK

## **DINNERS AND LUNCHEONS**

### **LISA ANDERSON**

Dean, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University  
NEW YORK

### **WILLIAM J. MCDONOUGH**

President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York  
NEW YORK

### **WALTER H. PINCUS**

Reporter, *Washington Post*  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **NICHOLAS PLATT**

President, Asia Society  
NEW YORK

### **DAVID ROCKEFELLER**

Honorary Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations

NEW YORK

### **ANGELA STENT**

Professor, Georgetown University  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

## **SPECIAL EVENTS**

**Term Member Annual Conference:**  
**"Campaign 2000: What's on the Foreign Policy Agenda?"**

### **CONDOLEEZZA RICE**

Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to Governor George W. Bush

"Leadership in a Changing World: American Foreign Policy for the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: C. SHELBY COFFEY III

### **GRAHAM T. ALLISON**

Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

### **JAMES M. GOLDGEIER**

Acting Director and Associate Professor, George Washington University

### **JOHN HILLEN**

Member, U.S. Commission on National Security

### **ROBERT W. KAGAN**

Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



## TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

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### VINCA LAFLEUR

Former Director for Speechwriting at the National Security Council

### MARC A. THIESSEN

Press Spokesman, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

“Successes and Failures of the Clinton Administration Foreign Policy”

PRESIDER: CHARLIE ROSE

### MIKE MCCURRY

Former White House Press Secretary

“The Internet, the Media, and International Affairs: A Plenitude of Information but a Paucity of Understanding”

PRESIDER: TOM BROKAW

### Boston Term Member Conference

#### MARTIN S. FELDSTEIN

President, National Bureau of Economic Research; former Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

#### TIMOTHY GEITHNER

Undersecretary for International Affairs, U.S. Department of the Treasury

#### ROBERT D. HORMATS

Vice Chairman, Goldman Sachs International

#### FELIPÉ LARRAIN

Director, Central America and Andean Projects, Harvard Institute for International Development;

Visiting Professor of Economics, Harvard University  
“U.S. Foreign Policy Imperatives for the Global Financial Future”

MODERATOR: MILES KAHLER

BOSTON

COSPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

### Term Member Trip to Costa Rica

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

### Visit to the National Geographic Society

WASHINGTON, D.C.

### Visit to the Central Intelligence Agency

WASHINGTON, D.C.

## RECEPTIONS

### NEW ENGLAND TERM MEMBER HOLIDAY PARTY

BOSTON

### TERM MEMBER WINTER COCKTAIL RECEPTION

HOSTED BY JENNY PYLE AND BENJAMIN NYE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Anne Stetson, Gina Celcis-Concepcion, Joseph C. Hill, Speaker Oscar Arias, former President of Costa Rica, Christine M.Y. Ho, Daniel B. Prieto III, Jennifer F. Sklarew, Daniel R. Katz, and Anne B. Popkin at the March 11–18, 2000, Term Member Trip to Costa Rica.*



# COMMUNICATIONS

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- Provides the main avenue for members and the public to connect with the Council's staff and activities.
  - Encompasses websites, newsletters, brochures, annual reports, photography, media relations, and more.
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The Council communicates with its members and the public through websites, newsletters, brochures, annual reports, and press conferences. The combination of Council-sponsored research, Fellows' public speaking and writing, and meetings across the country puts the Council in the news throughout the year.

Several websites offer access to Council activities and publications. The general site, [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org), attracts visitors from Virginia to Vietnam who:

- download Council publications;
- browse transcripts of on-the-record meetings;
- access Council experts' résumés;
- register for conferences;
- take virtual tours of the Council's special events space;
- learn about career opportunities;
- join the media list; and
- contact Council staff.

In addition to its home page, the Council also maintains several other targeted websites:

- Campaign 2000 ([www.foreignpolicy2000.org](http://www.foreignpolicy2000.org)), the only public website dealing exclusively with foreign policy and the 2000 presidential election;
- *Foreign Affairs* magazine ([www.foreignaffairs.org](http://www.foreignaffairs.org));
- corporate and members' websites;
- online roundtable discussions on U.S. foreign policy;
- conference sites; and
- member trip sites.

The *Calendar & Chronicle* is the organization's main vehicle for communicating with its members and keeping them informed of all that is going on at the Council. The monthly newsletter is published on paper and online.

The Communications Department also disseminates guides filled with information about Council policy experts and their areas of study. These guides are available on paper or online.

Supplementing the traditional not-for-attribution major speaker meetings held throughout the year, the Council also hosts many on-the-record meetings. In 1999–2000, the Council held dozens of such meetings, press conferences, and public presentations that were carried on television, radio, and the Internet and covered in major newspapers and other publications. These meetings featured senior administration officials, U.S. legislators, business leaders, and foreign dignitaries interacting with Council members. Press conferences were also convened to publicize the findings of Council-sponsored research. And although the Council takes no institutional position, its Fellows vigorously promote their policy arguments and research findings in their public speaking and writing as well as in congressional hearings.

The Council's published work continues to reach a significant audience. By publishing online, the Council is able to bring specialized texts to important new audiences, especially overseas. Council books, reports, papers, journals, and studies are widely read by and discussed among world leaders, international busi-

# COMMUNICATIONS

ness executives, and journalists. Council Fellows regularly contribute opinion and commentary pieces to newspapers such as the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Dallas Morning News*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *Chicago Tribune*. Fellows are also quoted frequently in international news features. In addition, several Fellows have regular writing assignments in leading publications: Walter Russell Mead in *Worth* and the *Los Angeles Times*, Kenneth Maxwell in *Foreign Affairs*, Roger

Kubarych in *Die Zeit* and *Nikkei*, and Bruce Stokes in the *National Journal*. Benn Steil edits the journal *International Finance*.

The Communications Department helps the Council to connect with its members and the public to examine U.S. interests and improve Americans' understanding of foreign policy.

April W. Palmerlee  
Director of Communications



# PUBLISHING

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- Provides the principal means of connecting with audiences beyond the Council membership.
  - Produces comprehensive treatments of critical policy issues to inform and spark debate among decision-makers, business leaders, and academics.
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## Council Publishing Goals

The Council seeks to animate the current debate on issues of profound consequence for U.S. foreign policy with the rapid dissemination of its publications. Both in print and online, the Council publishes the results of its study groups and roundtables, reports of independent task forces and Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs), information about its staff and programs, and summaries and transcripts of selected events. The Council's website ([www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)) reaches an ever-growing audience nationally and internationally, while a steady stream of high-quality books and reports are read by increasing numbers of policymakers. Publishing via the web has greatly reduced the time between manuscript and publication and has also increased readership, especially for shorter publications.

## Correspondence

This year the Council on Foreign Relations began publishing, on a trial basis, a semiannual review of culture and foreign policy, *Correspondence: An International Review of Culture and Society*. Through its articles, this publication examines the links between foreign policy ideas and political culture and fills the almost total void in the attention paid to cultural issues.

## Books

Council publications in 1999–2000 had a substantive impact on readers and decision-makers. In *Growing Apart: The Causes and Consequences of Global Wage In-*

*equities*, Albert Fishlow and Karen Parker attacked the debate on the effects of free trade on domestic wages. Their book showed there is no simple link between the forces of globalization and wage inequities in the United States and elsewhere. Rather, several interrelated market integration developments—expanded trade and foreign investment, more rapid technology diffusion, and changes in labor market structure—all influence wages. Also, focusing on market integration, the results of the first-ever, day-long Council-sponsored simulation on financial vulnerabilities, in which members, experts, and staff worked through the challenges of a hypothetical global financial meltdown, will be available in the fall.

In the military arena, the well-timed Council book *Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century* documented the upheavals of U.S. military-industrial firms in the 1990s and assessed the industry's capabilities to regroup for the future, as well as demonstrating that the Clinton administration's current "two-theater, go it alone" policy places tremendous and conflicting demands on the country's military-industrial base.

## Independent Task Force Reports

Task Force Reports are the written conclusions of Council-sponsored independent groups charged with finding a meaningful consensus on a current foreign policy problem.

Many of the difficulties in the Balkans were foreshadowed by a timely task force report, *Promoting Sus-*

*tainable Economies in the Balkans*, which argued that the Balkans are unlikely to achieve sustainable economic growth unless they intensify their efforts to pursue a broad agenda of reforms and the United States and the European Union support them appropriately. This theme was echoed by a Council symposium, *After Dayton: Lessons of the Bosnian Peace Process*. The resulting publication highlighted the lessons that the West should incorporate in its continued efforts to stabilize Kosovo.

Establishing an effective U.S. aid package was the subject of another task force report, *U.S. Policy toward Colombia*. This report argued that U.S. policy toward Colombia is misguided and explained how security assistance aimed at reducing drug production and trafficking is only one piece of a broader effort needed to extend legitimate authority in the country.

In Asia, recent attempts by North and South Korea to reconcile past differences were anticipated by the task force report *U.S. Policy toward North Korea: A Second Look*, which argued that in spite of tensions the United States should continue to support South Korea's engagement policy and keep the comprehensive Perry proposal on the table.

### Council Policy Initiatives

Council Policy Initiatives are concise treatments of alternative policy choices, usually presented in the form of presidential speeches.

Authors of the CPI, *Toward an International Criminal Court?*, presented three separate cases for the United States to endorse, reject, or revise the proposed estab-

lishment of a permanent International Criminal Court to deal with war crimes and genocide. This widely discussed publication and its related meetings across the country helped to define the issues that continue to confront U.S. policymakers in the aftermath of the Balkan wars.

### Other Publications

Other publications included a book on the implications of the European upheavals of the twentieth century on national minorities in eastern Europe; an independent task force report on the use of nonlethal weapons as an alternative tool for achieving U.S. foreign policy goals; the CPI *Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine*, which examined U.S. willingness to intervene militarily against large-scale humanitarian abuses; and papers on China's growing nuclear power, the creation of a U.S.-Japan open marketplace, and Islamic fundamentalism, among others.

For instant information about Council publications, the introductory chapters of Council books and the full text of reports and papers are posted on the Council's website—which also offers online ordering—along with the full text of nearly 500 reports, papers, meetings, and transcripts of selected events. Copies of Council publications are also available directly from the Brookings Institution Press, the Council's distributor to bookstores, individuals, libraries, and university classrooms.

Patricia Lee Dorff  
Director of Publications

David Kellogg  
Publisher

All Council on Foreign Relations Press books, independent task force reports, Council Policy Initiatives, and papers are marketed and distributed by the Brookings Institution Press. To order, please call 1-800-275-1447.



**PUBLICATIONS  
1999–2000**

**Books**

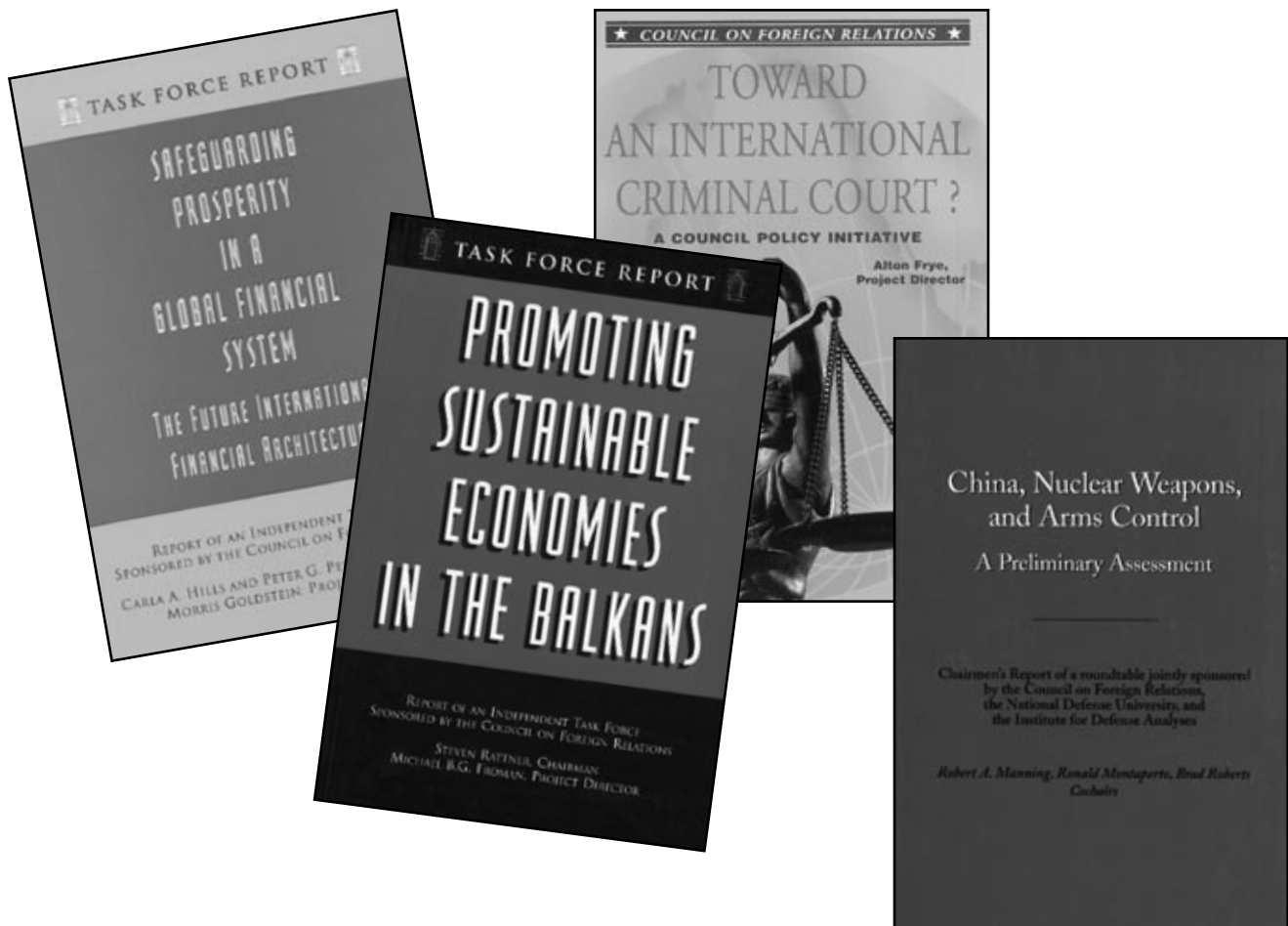
- *Alliance Adrift*, by Yoichi Funabashi (1999).
- *Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century*, co-edited by Ann R. Markusen and Sean S. Costigan (1999).
- *Behind the Open Door: Foreign Enterprises in the Chinese Marketplace*, by Daniel H. Rosen (1999). Copublished with the Institute for International Economics.
- *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects*, edited by Elizabeth Economy and Michel Oksenberg (1999).

- *Economic Strategy and National Security: A Next Generation Approach*, edited by Patrick J. DeSouza (2000). Published by Westview Press.
- *Growing Apart: The Causes and Consequences of Global Wage Inequality*, co-edited by Albert Fishlow and Karen Parker (1999).
- *The New European Diasporas: National Minorities and Conflict in Eastern Europe*, edited by Michael Mandelbaum (2000).
- *The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia*, edited by Adam Schwarz and Jonathan Paris (1999).
- *The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Michael J. Green and Patrick M. Cronin (1999).

**Independent Task Force Reports**

- *Promoting Sustainable Economies in the Balkans*. Steven Rattner, Chairman; Michael B.G. Froman, Project Director (2000).
- *Safeguarding Prosperity in a Global Financial System: The Future International Financial Architecture*. Carla A. Hills and Peter G. Peterson, Co-chairs; Morris Goldstein, Project Director (1999).

## PUBLISHING



- *U.S. Policy toward Colombia*. Brent Scowcroft and Bob Graham, Co-chairs; Michael Shifter, Project Director (forthcoming).
- *U.S. Policy toward North Korea: Next Steps*. Morton I. Abramowitz and James T. Laney, Co-chairs; Michael J. Green, Project Director (1999).

### Council Policy Initiatives

- *Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine*. Alton Frye, Project Director (forthcoming).
- *Toward an International Criminal Court?* Alton Frye, Project Director (1999).

### Council Papers

- *China, Nuclear Weapons, and Arms Control: A Preliminary Assessment*, by Robert A. Manning, Ronald Montaperto, and Brad Roberts (2000).

- *A New Beginning: Recasting the U.S.-Japan Economic Relationship*, by Bruce Stokes (2000).
- *The United States, Japan, and China: Setting the Course*, by Neil E. Silver (2000).

### Other Council Publications

- *After Dayton: Lessons of the Bosnian Peace Process*, a Council symposium, edited by Ruth Wedgwood (1999).
- *Muslim Politics Project*, by William Maley, Muhammad Muslih, Vali Nasr, Augustus Richard Norton, Olivier Roy, and Robert Satloff (2000).

# DEVELOPMENT

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- Encourages contributions from members, foundations, and other donors for the Council's programs, enabling the Council to tackle the tough problems described elsewhere in this report; to engage members and others concerned with American foreign policy in study, debate, and writing on these issues; and, equally important, to do so in a timely fashion.
  - Raises more than one-third of the Council's operating budget each year.
  - Expresses gratitude, on behalf of the Board and staff, to every donor and volunteer who assisted in this year's efforts. Such support is a testament to their belief in the Council.
- 

**M**uch of the substantive work of the Council is made possible through grants and gifts from individuals, foundations, and corporations. The Council is deeply grateful to the many generous donors whose contributions made this another extremely successful year. We also thank the loyal members who volunteered their fund-raising efforts on the Council's behalf. Their dedication makes the Council a stronger organization. This year's development activities are described in the following pages. All donors are listed on pages 105–112.

## The Annual Fund

Annual Giving—an “independence fund”—helps keep the Council what it must be: independent of outside monies, if need be; independent of political pressure; and able to act quickly and be relevant.

This year Annual Giving grew both in dollars and number of donors to a record high of \$2,348,230 from 1,603 donors, representing approximately 44 percent of the membership. Forty-two additional gifts were received through corporate and foundation matching gifts programs.

Harold Pratt Associates, who contribute \$10,000 or more, continue to be crucial to the success of the Annual Fund. Among this group are a number of members and friends who give \$25,000 or more. To recognize their

generosity, a new category of Annual Fund donors was added this year—the Chairman's Circle. Chairman's Circle and Harold Pratt Associate gifts accounted for the lion's share of revenue to the Annual Fund this year.

Term member participation in Annual Giving, helped by Camille Caesar and Raffiq Nathoo, who wrote letters to their colleagues, with follow up by David Altshuler, Lisa Shields, and Clint Smith, grew to 38 percent.

## Grants and Gifts from Foundations and Individual Donors

During the year, new term grants from foundations and other special contributions helped launch several major initiatives aimed at nurturing the next generation of leaders and fostering a national debate on foreign policy. The Council's Economics and National Security Fellows Program—a key initiative to create a new kind of foreign policy expert—received generous support from the Olin Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Smith Richardson Foundation. The Council also extends special thanks to the Bernard Bergreen Foundation for its contribution to the Council's Campaign 2000 Initiative, and to the Jacob K. Javits Foundation for the Jacob K. Javits Memorial Lecture Series, both designed to drive the national debate on foreign policy during the presidential campaign. The Patrick A. Gerschel Foundation



## DEVELOPMENT

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made a generous pledge to establish the André Meyer Senior Fellowships in international economics.

New support was also received from the Starr Foundation, for the Geoeconomics Center; the Open Society Institute for a multiyear study on refugees and the displaced; the Ford Foundation for the Latin America program; McKinsey and Co., the Xerox Foundation, and Peter J. Solomon, for the technological innovation and economic performance project; Maurice Tempelsman for the Africa Program; and Julie Finley for the project on NATO enlargement.

The Council continued to receive vital support for its programs and activities from a number of foundations, including the Arca Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Starr Foundation, the Henry and Elaine Kaufman Foundation, the Xerox Foundation, and the Freedom Forum.

The Council acknowledges with gratitude the following individuals for their ongoing generosity: Maurice R. Greenberg for the Next Generation Fund, Mimi and Peter Haas for the National Program, Stephen M. Kellen for Term and Younger Members Programs, Washington SyCip for the Southeast Asia Program, Arthur Ross for the Rapid Response Program, Linda J.

Wachner for the Wachner Senior Fellowship in Foreign Economic Policy, Helena Franklin for the Franklin International Affairs Fellow, and Ronnie C. Chan, Victor K. Fung, and C.C. Tung for the Council's China Program.

### Gifts-in-Kind

Council member Pranay Gupte and his colleague Louis Silverstein generously redesigned the monthly members' newsletter, *The Calendar & Chronicle*, and the general information brochure. The Earth Times Foundation assists with design and production of each month's newsletter, and BP Amoco provides support for its publication. IBM provided support for the Council's computer systems.

Council member Robert C. Waggoner contributed Burrelle's Information Office, an electronic clipping service, for the benefit of Council members and staff, and its broadcast database for the Council's Library.

Edward Auchincloss gave the Council a bust of Colonel Edward M. House, one of Woodrow Wilson's leading aides.

The Council was able to upgrade its videoconferencing capabilities through the generosity of Joachim Gfoeller Jr. and his colleague Jeffrey Gilfix at GMS Capital Partners.

*Janice L. Murray*  
Vice President and Treasurer

# 2000 BOARD ELECTION

The Council's By-Laws provide for a Board consisting of 30 Directors (plus the President, ex officio), divided into five classes of six Directors. Each class serves for a term of five years. In each class, three Directors are elected by the membership and three are appointed by the Board.

Directors with terms expiring on August 31, 2000, were Jessica P. Einhorn, Louis V. Gerstner Jr., Maurice R. Greenberg, George J. Mitchell, and Warren B. Rudman.

The Nominating Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (Chairman), Mario L. Baeza (Vice Chairman), John E. Bryson, Linda Chavez, Kenneth W. Dam, Robert E. Denham, Thomas R. Donahue, William H. Donaldson, David R. Gergen, Robert H. Legvold, Steven L. Rattner, Adele Simmons, James B. Sitrick, Anne Wexler, and Nancy Young. On January 19, 2000, Ms. Hills invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating Committee met on March 16 to consider the large pool of names suggested by Council members for the three elective vacancies. Mindful of its mandate to consider "the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background," the Nominating Committee developed the following slate of nominees: Judith H. Bello, George J. Mitchell, William A. Owens, Warren B. Rudman, Joan E. Spero, and Andrew Young. On March 24, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition

process available to them in accordance with the By-Laws. One candidate, Roderick K. von Lipsey, was nominated by petition, and his name was included on the ballot mailed to all Council members on April 18.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 17, 2000, 1,635 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. No member's name was written on ten or more ballots cast at the meeting, and, therefore, no member was nominated for the 2001 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning September 1, 2000, and expiring August 31, 2005: George J. Mitchell, Warren B. Rudman, and Andrew Young. Edward F. Cox, Matthew Nimetz, and Donald H. Rivkin served as election overseers.

Under current procedures, the Board completed the Class of 2005 by appointing three Directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee, at its June 8 meeting the Board appointed the following three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning September 1, 2000, and ending August 31, 2005: Jessica P. Einhorn, Louis V. Gerstner Jr., and Robert E. Rubin. Additionally, the Board appointed Maurice R. Greenberg to the Class of 2001, filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Richard C. Holbrooke, in accordance with By-Law IV(C).

*Michael P. Peters*  
Senior Vice President

# COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD, 1999–2000

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\*Ex officio.

†Designated Term Member.

‡Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee.

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# INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

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The International Advisory Board (IAB), established by the Board of Directors in 1995 under the chairmanship of David Rockefeller, Honorary Chairman of the Council, meets annually in conjunction with the October Board meeting to offer perspectives on a broad range of matters of concern to the Council. IAB members are invited to comment on institutional programs and strategic directions, and on practical opportunities for collaboration between the Council and institutions abroad. They also provide invaluable international insights into U.S. foreign policy in discussions of a variety of issues—from the need for new strategies and institutions for the 21st century, to the value of multilateral approaches toward world problems, to ways to foster democratization.

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

**MARICLAIRE ACOSTA** (Mexico), President, Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights

**GIOVANNI AGNELLI** (Italy), Chairman, Istituto Finanziario Industriale S.p.A.; Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.

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**OTTO GRAF LAMBSDORFF** (Germany), Member of the Bundestag; Partner, Wessing & Partners

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**MUHAMMAD YUNUS** (Bangladesh), Managing Director, Chief Executive Officer, and Founder, Grameen Bank

# 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 may elect up to 110 persons to five-year term membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that no person shall be elected to such membership who is more than 34 years of age on January 1 of the year in which his or her election would take place, and that of the total number of persons elected each year no more than 35 shall be age 30 or under, and that so long as their term continues such members will have the full rights and privileges of Council membership.

The Board of Directors may establish such other special categories of membership having such rights and privileges, and subject to such conditions, as the Board may designate.

Of the total membership of the Council, the stated membership shall not exceed 3,700. Stated membership is defined as the total of those members who at the time of computation are under the age of 70, who are residing within the United States, and who are neither honorary members nor five-year term members. A New York Area member is one whose residence or principal place of business is within 50 miles of City Hall in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York. A Washington, D.C., Area member is one whose resi-

dence 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:

## BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

	Business	Nonbusiness
<b>NEW YORK AREA</b>		
Under 30	\$ 660	\$180
30-39	1,340	320
40 and Over	2,600	580
<b>WASHINGTON, D.C., AREA</b>		
Under 30	\$ 450	\$150
30-39	900	260
40 and Over	1,750	450
<b>NATIONAL</b>		
Under 30	\$ 360	\$110
30-39	650	180
40 and Over	1,300	300

For purposes of this By-Law, nonbusiness members are those who are regular members of the faculty of any accredited educational institution, who are in the public service, who are on the staff of a voluntary organization, or who are accredited writers, commentators, journalists, or other media correspondents. All other members, except honorary members, are business members.

All dues shall be paid annually or semiannually in equal installments in advance. Default in the payment of any dues for a period of 60 days may be deemed to be equivalent to resignation.

**IV A.** There shall be a Board of not more than 31 Directors. The President of the corporation shall be a Director, *ex officio*. The remaining members shall be divided into five equal classes, each class to serve for a term of five years and until their successors are elected and take office. Each class shall consist of three Directors elected directly by the membership at large and three Directors appointed by the Board. Following each Annual Election but prior to the commencement of the term of the new Directors, the Board shall appoint three Directors to serve in the same class as the three Directors elected at the Annual Election.

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

**C.** Directors are expected faithfully to attend Board and Board Committee meetings to which they are

assigned. A Director who fails to attend two-thirds of all such regularly scheduled Board and Board Committee meetings in any two consecutive calendar years shall be deemed to have submitted his or her resignation to be accepted at the pleasure of the Chairman of the Board. The Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy in its membership. A Director appointed to fill a vacancy created by the retirement, resignation, or death of a Director previously elected by the membership at large shall be nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate in the next Annual Election to complete the balance of the unexpired term.

**V A.** The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held in New York City as soon as practicable after the end of the fiscal year, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. At this meeting the Board of Directors shall present a report of the activities of the Council during the past year, and such other business shall be considered as shall be brought forward by or with the sanction of the Board of Directors and that shall have been stated in the notice convening the meeting.

One-third of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Members may be represented by proxy.

**B.** The Annual Election of Directors of the Council shall be held at a meeting in New York City on a date set by the President or the Chairman of the Board within 13 months of the preceding meeting at which Directors were elected. Directors shall be elected by ballot. Ballots will be mailed to all members in advance of the Annual Election and may be returned by mail or may be delivered in person or by proxy. The ballot shall contain (i) the name of each member who is nominated by the Nominating Committee as a candidate for the class of Directors scheduled for election in that year, (ii) the name of any member appointed to a vacancy in the Board and nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate to complete the balance of the unexpired term, (iii) the name of any member who is nominated in each class by a petition signed by not fewer than ten members, and (iv) the name of any member who received not fewer than ten write-in votes in the preceding election. Members may cast one vote for each of as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled on the Board, and the candidates with the highest number of votes in each class will be declared elected as Directors. One-third of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at the Annual Election Meeting. Administrative details necessary to implement the Council's nomination and elec-

tion procedures shall be as prescribed by the President in consultation with the Chairman of the Board.

**VI** The Board shall constitute such Committees as may from time to time be appropriate, including an Executive Committee, a Committee on Finance and Budget, a Committee on Corporate Affairs and Development, a Committee on Meetings, a Committee on Washington Programs, a Committee on National Programs, a Committee on Membership, a Nominating Committee, a Committee on *Foreign Affairs*, and a Committee on Studies. Elections of Board members to Committees shall be held at Annual Meetings of the Board, except that, on the nomination of the Chairman of the Board, a Director may be elected at any meeting of the Board to fill a Committee vacancy.

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

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

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

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

The Committee on Washington Programs shall be

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

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

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

The Nominating Committee shall be composed of five members of the Board. The Committee shall present names for Directors, Officers, and Committee members. For the purpose of nominating candidates to stand for election to the Board, the Committee shall co-opt ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall be selected by the Chairman of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President shall be an ex officio member of the Nominating Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Nominating Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background. In nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Committee is also charged (i) to solicit the entire membership for the names of possible candidates and (ii) except as provided in By-Law IV(C) to nominate twice as many candidates



## BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

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as there are directorships to be filled at the election by the membership at large.

The Committee on *Foreign Affairs* shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least ten of whom are not members of the Board. All matters relating to the oversight and management of the magazine shall be referred to the Committee.

The Committee on Studies shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least ten of whom are not members of the Board. All suggestions relating to matters of research shall be referred to it, and it shall be responsible for the initiation of research projects. The Committee on Studies shall submit regular reports of its activities to the Board.

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

**VII** The Officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman, 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. 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 the Vice Chairman, may call meetings of the Board and shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors.

The President, subject to the overall direction of the

Board of Directors, shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the corporation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# RULES, GUIDELINES, AND PRACTICES

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

## Rule on Foreign Policy Positions

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

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

## Rule on Non-Attribution

“The Council is a research and educational institution. Everyone who participates in a Council meeting is encouraged to use and disseminate ideas and information developed in the meeting. It is recognized, at the same time, that many Council guests and members are, by reason of their governmental or other institutional affiliations, subject to inevitable constraints upon their latitude to express opinions, take positions, or offer tentative judgments on public affairs issues if they are speaking in a public forum or if their statements will be later attributed to them in public media or a public forum.

“Full freedom of expression is encouraged at Council meetings. Participants are assured that they may speak openly, as it is the tradition of the Council that others will not attribute or characterize their statements in public media or forums or knowingly transmit them to persons who will. All participants are expected to honor that commitment.

“An appropriate officer of the Council may, however, by advance announcement declare this Rule inap-

plicable in whole or in part to any particular Council meeting, and the presentation portion of the meeting may be recorded and broadcast on electronic media and/or covered in the print media with the agreement of the speaker and advance announcement to other participants.

“Notwithstanding the above Rule, the Board of Directors may, from time to time, prescribe rules governing the subsequent release of any Council records.

“While the substance of the above Rule has been in effect since the formation of the Council, its present formulation was adopted by the Board of Directors on June 6, 1977, on the recommendation of a special Advisory Panel on the Non-Attribution Rule, and subsequently amended on June 7, 1994. The minutes of the June 1977 meeting contain the following explanatory comments about the Rule:

“The report recognizes that ‘media’ and ‘public forum’ are vague terms. But they can nevertheless be rationally interpreted in the light of the purpose of the Rule. For example, the reformulation would make it legitimate for a U.S. governmental official to report by memo to his colleagues and superiors what he learned at a Council meeting. Similarly, the reformulation recognizes that a lawyer may give such a memo to his partners, or a corporate officer to other corporate officers. It would not be in compliance with the reformulated Rule, however, for any meeting participant (i) to publish a speaker’s statement in attributed form in a newspaper; (ii) to repeat it on television or radio, or on a speaker’s platform, or in a classroom; or (iii) to go beyond a memo of limited circulation, by distributing the attributed statement in a company or government agency newsletter. The language of the Rule also goes out of its way to make it clear that a meeting participant is forbidden knowingly to transmit the attributed

statement to a newspaper reporter or other such person who is likely to publish it in a public medium. The essence of the Rule as reformulated is simple enough: participants in Council meetings should not pass along an attributed statement in circumstances where there is substantial risk that it will promptly be widely circulated or published."

### Guidelines on Meetings

By resolution adopted on February 28, 1972, as subsequently amended, the Board of Directors has prescribed the following Guidelines governing Council meetings:

"The purpose of meetings sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations is to promote understanding of international affairs through the free interchange of ideas among participants.

"In order to encourage to the fullest a free, frank, and open exchange of ideas in Council meetings, the Board of Directors has prescribed, in addition to the Non-Attribution Rule, the following guidelines. All participants in Council meetings are expected to be familiar with and adhere to these Guidelines.

**"1.** Since the Council invites guests representing many different viewpoints, since it selects topics regardless of, or because of, their controversiality, and since there is a wide divergence of viewpoints among members, it is to be expected that Council meetings will sometimes be marked by sharp dispute.

**"2.** Meetings chairmen are expected to stimulate open expression of opinion by all participants and should not attempt to mute controversy or stifle differences of viewpoint where they exist. To this end it is the responsibility of chairmen to see to it that all viewpoints expressed are treated with respect and that parliamentary decorum is maintained.

**"3.** Principal speakers should expect to be questioned vigorously on any point relevant to their intellectual interest, experience, or expertise in international affairs. It is recognized, however, that some speakers, particularly those holding official positions, may not feel free to answer some questions, and, in such case, their declination will be respected."

Apart from the traditional meetings for spouses and for sons and daughters of the members, occasional meetings are also open to guests of members. Guest privileges are for those who have special expertise or experience that relates directly to the meeting, as well as the general qualifications of potential candidates

for Council membership. Members bringing guests should secure the permission of the Council department organizing the meeting and acquaint their guests with the Council's Non-Attribution Rule governing what is said at meetings.

### Rule on Conflicts of Interest

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted January 28, 1992, the following policy concerning actual or potential conflicts of interest was approved:

**"1.** It is the policy of the Council on Foreign Relations that the Board, officers, and staff of the Council be sensitive to conflict-of-interest issues.

**"2.** Any potential conflict of interest shall be disclosed to an Officer of the Board by the person concerned. When relevant to a matter requiring action by the Board, the person concerned shall absent him- or herself from the final discussion of such matter, and shall not vote thereon, and the minutes of the meeting shall so disclose. When there is doubt as to whether a conflict of interest exists, the matter shall be resolved by vote of the Board, excluding the person concerning whose situation the doubt has arisen.

**"3.** This resolution shall remain in full force and effect unless and until modified by vote of the Board, and a copy hereof shall be furnished to each officer or director at the time of his or her election or appointment to or by the Board and any renewal thereof, and to each person who is now or hereafter may become a member of the staff. The policy shall in an appropriate manner be reviewed annually for the information and guidance of directors, officers, and staff."

### Archival Practice

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

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

# HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

## Directors

Isaiah Bowman	1921-50	Arthur H. Dean	1955-72	C. Peter McColough	1978-87
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921-28	Charles M. Spofford	1955-72	Richard L. Gelb	1979-88
Paul D. Cravath	1921-40	Adlai E. Stevenson	1958-62	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979-88
John W. Davis	1921-55	William C. Foster	1959-72	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979-83
Norman H. Davis	1921-44	Caryl P. Haskins	1961-75	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980-84
Stephen P. Duggan	1921-50	James A. Perkins	1963-79	George P. Shultz	1980-82
John H. Finley	1921-29	William P. Bundy	1964-74	William D. Rogers	1980-90
Edwin F. Gay	1921-45	Gabriel Hauge	1964-81	Walter B. Wriston	1981-87
David F. Houston	1921-27	Carroll L. Wilson	1964-79	Lewis T. Preston	1981-88
Otto H. Kahn	1921-34	Douglas Dillon	1965-78	Warren Christopher	1982-91
Frank L. Polk	1921-43	Henry R. Labouisse	1965-74	Alan Greenspan	1982-88
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921-66	Robert V. Roosa	1966-81	Robert A. Scalapino	1982-89
William R. Shepherd	1921-27	Lucian W. Pye	1966-82	Harold Brown	1983-92
Paul M. Warburg	1921-32	Alfred C. Neal	1967-76	Stanley Hoffmann	1983-92
George W. Wickersham	1921-36	Bill Moyers	1967-74	Juanita M. Kreps	1983-89
Allen W. Dulles	1927-69	Cyrus R. Vance	1968-76,	Brent Scowcroft	1983-89
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927-60		1981-87	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983-92
George O. May	1927-53	Hedley Donovan	1969-79	Donald F. McHenry	1984-93
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927-34	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970-72	B.R. Inman	1985-93
Owen D. Young	1927-40	Bayless Manning	1971-77	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-94
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972-77,	Peter Tarnoff	1986-93
Charles P. Howland	1929-31		1979-84	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986-92
Walter Lippmann	1932-37	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972-77	Ruben F. Mettler	1986-92
Clarence M. Woolley	1932-35	Elizabeth Drew	1972-77	James E. Burke	1987-95
Frank Altschul	1934-72	George S. Franklin	1972-83	Richard B. Cheney	1987-89,
Philip C. Jessup	1934-42	Marshall D. Shulman	1972-77		1993-95
Harold W. Dodds	1935-43	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972-82	Robert F. Erburu	1987-98
Leon Fraser	1936-45	Paul C. Warnke	1972-77	Karen Elliott House	1987-98
John H. Williams	1937-64	Peter G. Peterson	1973-83,	Glenn E. Watts	1987-90
Lewis W. Douglas	1940-64		1984-	Thomas S. Foley	1988-94
Edward Warner	1940-49	Robert O. Anderson	1974-80	James D. Robinson III	1988-91
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-53	Edward K. Hamilton	1974-83	Strobe Talbott	1988-93
Myron C. Taylor	1943-59	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974-77	John L. Clendenin	1989-94
Henry M. Wriston	1943-67	Elliot L. Richardson	1974-75	William S. Cohen	1989-97
Thomas K. Finletter	1944-67	Franklin Hall Williams	1975-83	Joshua Lederberg	1989-98
William A.M. Burden	1945-74	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975-86	John S. Reed	1989-92
Walter H. Mallory	1945-68	Paul A. Volcker	1975-79,	Alice M. Rivlin	1989-92
Philip D. Reed	1945-69		1988-99	William J. Crowe Jr.	1990-93
Winfield W. Riefler	1945-50	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976-85	Thomas R. Donahue	1990-
David Rockefeller	1949-85	Lane Kirkland	1976-86	Richard C. Holbrooke	1991-93,
W. Averell Harriman	1950-55	George H.W. Bush	1977-79		1996-99
Joseph E. Johnson	1950-74	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977-79	Robert D. Hormats	1991-
Grayson Kirk	1950-73	Philip L. Geyelin	1977-87	John E. Bryson	1992-
Devereux C. Josephs	1951-58	Henry A. Kissinger	1977-81	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992-
Elliott V. Bell	1953-66	Winston Lord	1977-85	Karen N. Horn	1992-95
John J. McCloy	1953-72	Stephen Stamas	1977-89	James R. Houghton	1992-96
		Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-87	Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992-98

## HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

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Kenneth W. Dam	1992–	Warren Christopher	1987–91	John A. Millington	1987–96
Donna E. Shalala	1992–93	Harold Brown	1991–92	Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1987–93
Alton Frye	1993	B.R. Inman	1992–93	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94
Richard N. Cooper	1993–94	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1993–94	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Rita E. Hauser	1993–97	Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–
E. Gerald Corrigan	1993–95			Janice L. Murray	1995–
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–	<b>Presidents</b>		David J. Vidal	1995–97
Paul A. Allaire	1993–	John W. Davis	1921–33	Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Robert E. Allen	1993–96	George W. Wickersham	1933–36	Frederick C. Broda	1996–97
Theodore C. Sorensen	1993–	Norman H. Davis	1936–44	Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Garrick Utley	1993–	Russell C. Leffingwell	1944–46	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Carla A. Hills	1994–	Allen W. Dulles	1946–50	David Kellogg	1997–
Helene L. Kaplan	1994–96	Henry M. Wriston	1951–64	Paula J. Dobriansky	1997–
Frank G. Zarb	1994–96	Grayson Kirk	1964–71	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–
Robert B. Zoellick	1994–	Bayless Manning	1971–77	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–
Les Aspin	1995	Winston Lord	1977–85	Elise Carlson Lewis	1999–
Mario L. Baeza	1995–	John Temple Swing*	1985–86		
Peggy Dulany	1995–	Peter Tarnoff	1986–93	<b>Executive Directors</b>	
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995–	Alton Frye	1993	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922–28
William J. McDonough	1995–	Leslie H. Gelb	1993–	Malcolm W. Davis	1925–27
Frank Savage	1995–			Walter H. Mallory	1927–59
George Soros	1995–	<b>Honorary President</b>		George S. Franklin	1953–71
Hannah Holborn Gray	1995–98	Elihu Root	1921–37		
George J. Mitchell	1995–			<b>Secretaries</b>	
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995–	<b>Executive Vice President</b>		Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Lee Cullum	1996–	John Temple Swing	1986–93	Allen W. Dulles	1933–44
Vincent A. Mai	1997–			Frank Altschul	1944–72
Warren B. Rudman	1997–	<b>Senior Vice Presidents</b>		John Temple Swing	1972–87
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997–	Alton Frye	1993–98	Judith Gustafson	1987–2000
Roone Arledge	1998–	Kenneth H. Keller	1993–95	Lilita V. Gusts	2000–
Diane Sawyer	1998–99	Larry L. Fabian	1994–95		
Martin S. Feldstein	1998–	Michael P. Peters	1995–	<b>Treasurers</b>	
Bette Bao Lord	1998–			Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Michael H. Moskow	1998–	<b>Vice Presidents</b>		Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42
John Deutch	1999–	Paul D. Cravath	1921–33	Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51
Robert E. Rubin	2000–	Norman H. Davis	1933–36	Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
Andrew Young	2000–	Edwin F. Gay	1933–40	Elliott V. Bell	1952–64
		Frank L. Polk	1940–43	Gabriel Hauge	1964–81
<b>Chairmen of the Board</b>		Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44	Peter G. Peterson	1981–85
Russell C. Leffingwell	1946–53	Allen W. Dulles	1944–46	C. Peter McColough	1985–87
John J. McCloy	1953–70	Isaiah Bowman	1945–49	Lewis T. Preston	1987–88
David Rockefeller	1970–85	Henry M. Wriston	1950–51	James E. Burke	1988–89
Peter G. Peterson	1985–	David Rockefeller	1950–70	David Woodbridge	1989–94
		Frank Altschul	1951–71	Janice L. Murray	1994–
<b>Vice Chairmen of the Board</b>		Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52		
Grayson Kirk	1971–73	David W. MacEachron	1972–74	<b>Editors of Foreign Affairs</b>	
Cyrus R. Vance	1973–76, 1985–87	John Temple Swing	1972–86	Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–28
		Alton Frye	1987–93	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72
Douglas Dillon	1976–78	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89	William P. Bundy	1972–84
Carroll L. Wilson	1978–79				

## HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

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William G. Hyland	1984–92	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94	Melvin Conant	1954–55,*
James F. Hoge Jr.	1992–	Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95		1956–57,*
		Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96		1957–59
<b>Directors of Studies</b>		Kenneth Maxwell	1996	George V.H. Moseley III	1959–62
Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98	Harry Boardman	1962–69
Philip E. Mosely	1955–63	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–	Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969–78
Richard H. Ullman	1973–76			Marilyn Berger	1978–79
Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976–77	<b>Directors of Meetings</b>		Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
John C. Campbell	1977–78	George S. Franklin	1949–50	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Paul H. Kreisberg	1981–87	William Henderson	1952–54,	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–
William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89		1955–56		

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\*Pro-tempore



**Judith Gustafson**, secretary of the corporation since 1987, left the Council in May 2000 after nearly 35 years on staff. She is shown here at her May 16, 2000, farewell party with Leslie H. Gelb, Winston Lord, David Rockefeller, Peter G. Peterson, Alton Frye, John Temple Swing, and Bayless Manning.

She worked closely with members of the Board of Directors and the International Advisory Board, as well as overseeing the annual election of Directors.

Beginning in 1965 as assistant to the executive director, George Franklin, Ms. Gustafson worked with a number of presidents and served as associate director of the Council’s think tank, the Studies Department, from 1987 to 1996.

At a festive farewell party given by the Council, President Leslie H. Gelb said, “Judith’s dedication to the Council is legendary. She will be greatly missed.”



# BUDGET AND FINANCE

The Council ended the fiscal year with an operating surplus of \$1.7 million: the seventh consecutive year in which it has maintained a surplus. The financial health of the organization is due in great part to the generous support of individual members, which shows most dramatically in the annual fund; increased strength in the Corporate Program; special grants from members, foundations, and other donors; and constant vigilance on cost containment.

The Council's investment portfolio stood at \$131.5 million as of June 30, reflecting some new contributions and, especially, continuing growth in the markets. We are most grateful to the Finance and Budget Committee, chaired by William McDonough, and to the Investment Subcommittee, headed by J. Tomilson Hill, for both their time and expertise, which they give us unstintingly.

Even in these best of times, we continue to budget conservatively, making certain that we have assured sources of funding to meet the Council's priorities and general operating needs, while remaining buttressed against the possibility of a downturn in revenues.

This year we are pleased to welcome a new director of finance, Russell Pomeranz, who joined the Council staff in May, bringing a wide range of experience in the nonprofit sector. And we owe a special word of thanks this year to our associate director of finance, Peter Tynedale, for his key role in the Council's transition to a new accounting system.

*Janice L. Murray*  
Vice President and Treasurer

## Statements of Financial Position

	June 30	
	2000	1999
<b>Assets</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 12,460,000	\$ 12,754,800
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	731,600	924,800
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)	4,526,900	4,947,700
Inventories, at lower of cost or market	180,300	307,000
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)	836,300	1,273,400
Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures (Note 5)	663,100	714,500
Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)	23,705,500	22,572,000
Investments (Note 3)	83,052,400	74,013,500
Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)	48,483,200	48,988,300
Total assets	<u>\$174,639,300</u>	<u>\$166,496,000</u>
<b>Liabilities and net assets</b>		
Liabilities:		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 2,299,000	\$ 2,414,700
Deferred subscription revenue	2,326,200	2,056,200
Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)	1,802,000	1,817,000
Total liabilities	<u>6,427,200</u>	<u>6,287,900</u>
Net assets (Notes 9 and 10):		
Unrestricted	78,036,800	75,286,800
Temporarily restricted	41,073,500	35,718,500
Permanently restricted	49,101,800	49,202,800
Total net assets	<u>168,212,100</u>	<u>160,208,100</u>
Total liabilities and net assets	<u>\$174,639,300</u>	<u>\$166,496,000</u>

See accompanying notes.

## BUDGET AND FINANCE

### Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 2000, with summarized financial information for 1999

	2000			Total	1999 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted		
<b>Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</b>					
Membership dues	\$ 2,459,400			\$ 2,459,400	\$ 2,607,000
Annual giving	2,349,600			2,349,600	2,158,500
Corporate memberships and related income	2,680,900			2,680,900	2,383,200
Meetings	702,500			702,500	142,900
International Affairs Fellowships		\$ 355,400		355,400	613,300
Grants and contributions for Studies	50,800	5,053,500		5,104,300	7,655,700
Other grants and contributions	250,000	896,500		1,146,500	721,500
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,811,400			4,811,400	5,063,100
Book publication	53,700	50,800		104,500	98,800
Investment income allocation ( <i>Note 4</i> )	3,600,000	1,833,000		5,433,000	4,894,600
Miscellaneous	771,900			771,900	494,300
Total operating revenue and support	17,730,200	8,189,200		25,919,400	26,832,900
Net assets released from restrictions ( <i>Note 9</i> )	8,021,500	(8,021,500)		—	—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	25,751,700	167,700		25,919,400	26,832,900
<b>Operating expenses</b>					
Program expenses:					
Studies Program	8,993,200			8,993,200	7,280,500
Meetings Program	3,434,400			3,434,400	2,395,200
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,659,300			4,659,300	4,955,300
Book publication	445,200			445,200	484,700
National Program	469,400			469,400	451,500
International Affairs Fellowships	729,600			729,600	541,800
Communications	395,000			395,000	327,300
Total program expenses	19,126,100			19,126,100	16,436,300
Supporting services:					
Management and general	3,469,200			3,469,200	3,173,700
Membership	472,300			472,300	442,200
Fund-raising:					
Development	344,000			344,000	420,800
Corporate Program	636,500			636,500	488,000
Total fund-raising	980,500			980,500	908,800
Total supporting services expenses	4,922,000			4,922,000	4,524,700
Total operating expenses	24,048,100			24,048,100	20,961,000
<b>Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses carried forward</b>	1,703,600	167,700		1,871,300	5,871,900

See accompanying notes.



## BUDGET AND FINANCE

### Statement of Activities (continued)

	2000			Total	1999 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted		
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses brought forward	\$ 1,703,600	\$ 167,700		\$ 1,871,300	\$ 5,871,900
<b>Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)</b>					
Investment income earned in excess of spending rate (Note 4)	1,046,400	4,177,300		5,223,700	5,806,600
Contributions for capital expenditures				—	500,000
Endowment contributions			\$ 909,000	909,000	—
Net assets released from restrictions		1,010,000	(1,010,000)	—	—
Total nonoperating revenue	1,046,400	5,187,300	(101,000)	6,132,700	6,306,600
Change in net assets	2,750,000	5,355,000	(101,000)	8,004,000	12,178,500
Net assets at the beginning of the year	75,286,800	35,718,500	49,202,800	160,208,100	148,029,600
Net assets at the end of the year	<u>\$78,036,800</u>	<u>\$41,073,500</u>	<u>\$49,101,800</u>	<u>\$168,212,100</u>	<u>\$160,208,100</u>

See accompanying notes.

### Statements of Cash Flows

	Year ended June 30	
	2000	1999
<b>Operating activities</b>		
Change in net assets	\$ 8,004,000	\$12,178,500
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation	1,370,400	1,241,700
Net realized and unrealized gains on investments	(9,037,400)	(9,590,800)
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	(909,000)	—
Contributions restricted for capital expenditures	—	(500,000)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities:		
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	193,200	(27,000)
Grants and contributions receivable	857,900	(1,551,800)
Inventories	126,700	(66,600)
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	(115,700)	618,700
Deferred subscription revenue	270,000	(279,300)
Accrued postretirement benefits	(15,000)	2,000
Net cash provided by operating activities	<u>745,100</u>	<u>2,025,400</u>

## BUDGET AND FINANCE

### Statements of Cash Flows (continued)

	Year ended June 30	
	2000	1999
<b>Investing activities</b>		
Purchases of building, building improvements, equipment, and construction in progress	\$(2,503,900)	\$(7,741,200)
Purchases of investments	(61,752,900)	(86,155,100)
Proceeds from sales of investments	62,256,500	91,358,000
Net cash used in investing activities	(2,000,300)	(2,538,300)
<b>Financing activities</b>		
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	505,000	1,213,300
Contributions for capital expenditures	455,400	3,100,000
Net cash provided by financing activities	960,400	4,313,300
Net (decrease) increase in cash and cash equivalents	(294,800)	3,800,400
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	12,754,800	8,954,400
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	<u>\$12,460,000</u>	<u>\$12,754,800</u>
<b>Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information</b>		
Non-cash investing and financing activity:		
Contributions receivable for investment in endowment	\$ 618,500	\$ 214,500
Contributions receivable for capital expenditures	<u>\$ 44,600</u>	<u>\$ 500,000</u>

*See accompanying notes.*

### Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 2000

#### 1. Organization

The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (the "Council"), headquartered in New York City, is a nonprofit and nonpartisan membership organization dedicated to improving the understanding of U.S. foreign policy and international affairs through the exchange of ideas. The Council, established in 1921, serves as a center for scholarship and policy analysis, mobilizing resident senior staff, members, and other experts in dialogue, study, and the publications programs. It serves as a membership organization, comprising an ever-more diverse and multiprofessional community of men and women involved in international affairs. The Council also serves as a public education organization, reaching out nationally and internationally to disseminate ideas and collaborate with other institutions.

The Council is a Section 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization exempt from federal income taxes under Section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code (the "Code") and is a publicly supported organization as described in Section 509(a)(1) of the Code. The Council is also exempt from state and local income taxes. It is subject to tax on unrelated business income, which has not been significant.

#### 2. Summary of Significant Accounting Policies

##### Fund Accounting and Net Asset Classifications

The Council considers all contributions and grants to be available for unrestricted use unless specifically restricted by the donor or grantor. Endowment contributions are invested; and pursuant to the Council's 5% policy (see Note 4), an investment allocation is made for general purposes (unrestricted) and specific program activities (temporarily restricted).

In the accompanying financial statements, funds that have similar characteristics have been combined into three net asset classes: unrestricted, temporarily restricted, and permanently restricted.

Unrestricted net assets represent funds that are fully available, at the discretion of management and the Board of Directors, for the Council to utilize in any of its program or supporting services.

Temporarily restricted net assets comprise funds that are restricted by donors for a specific time period or purpose.

Permanently restricted net assets consist of funds that must be maintained intact in perpetuity, but permit the Council to expend part or all of the income derived from the investment of the donated assets for either specified or unspecified purposes.



## BUDGET AND FINANCE

### 1999 Summarized Financial Information

The financial statements include certain prior year summarized comparative information in total but not by net asset class. Such information does not include sufficient detail to constitute a presentation in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles. Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Council's financial statements for the year ended June 30, 1999, from which the summarized information was derived.

### Support and Revenue

Contributions, including a portion of membership dues, are recorded when received unconditionally, at their fair value. Gifts received with donor stipulations that limit the use of donated assets are reported as either temporarily or permanently restricted support. When a donor restriction expires, that is, when a time restriction ends or purpose restriction is fulfilled, temporarily restricted net assets are reclassified as unrestricted net assets and reported in the statement of activities as net assets released from restrictions. It is the Council's policy to imply a time restriction on gifts of long-lived assets and contributions to be used to acquire long-lived assets in the absence of explicit donor restrictions to that effect.

Conditional contributions, such as grants with matching requirements, are recognized in the appropriate net asset class when the conditions have been met.

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

### Cash and Cash Equivalents

The Council considers all highly liquid investments purchased with a maturity of three months or less, excluding cash equivalents held as investments, to be cash equivalents.

### Investments

The Council's investments are recorded at their fair values, which are based on quoted market prices for individual debt and marketable equity securities. The Council's hedge funds, which consist of interests in investment limited partnerships and investment companies, are carried as follows:

- The Council's investments in investment companies, represented by share ownership, are carried at the aggregate net asset value of the shares held by the Council. The net asset value is based on the net market value of the investment company's investment portfolio as determined by the management of the investment company.
- The carrying values of investments in investment limited partnerships reflect the Council's net contributions to the respective partnerships and its share of realized and unrealized investment income and expenses of the respective partnerships. Investments held by the investment limited partnerships generally are carried at fair value as determined by the respective general partners.

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

The Council follows the practice of capitalizing expenditures for land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, and generally depreciates these assets on the straight-line basis over their estimated useful lives (see Note 6). The fair value of donated property and equipment is similarly capitalized and depreciated.

### Measure of Operations

The Council includes in its definition of operations all revenues and expenses that are an integral part of its programs and supporting activities, including an authorized investment income allocation (see Note 4) and all contributions except for those that are restricted for capital expenditures or have been permanently restricted by donors. Investment income, including net realized and unrealized gains and losses, earned in excess of (or less than) the Council's aggregate authorized spending amount, contributions for capital expenditures, and contributions to permanently restricted net assets are recognized as nonoperating activity.

### Use of Estimates

The preparation of financial statements in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles 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.

### 3. Investments

The components of the Council's long-term investments were as follows:

	Year ended June 30			
	2000		1999	
	Cost	Carrying Value	Cost	Carrying Value
Domestic equity securities	\$ 53,455,900	\$ 60,048,400	\$ 51,016,900	\$ 58,868,700
International equity securities	16,418,200	18,810,700	14,165,900	18,416,500
Foreign and corporate bonds	9,936,300	9,802,000	10,800,000	10,532,800
U.S. government and agency obligations	10,755,900	10,434,000	11,051,700	10,834,000
Hedge funds	24,081,000	26,884,800	24,000,000	22,942,000
Money market funds	5,555,700	5,555,700	1,407,800	1,407,800
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$120,203,000</b>	<b>\$131,535,600</b>	<b>\$112,442,300</b>	<b>\$123,001,800</b>



## BUDGET AND FINANCE

The hedge funds in which the Council has invested may trade various financial instruments with off-balance sheet risk. These financial instruments include securities sold short and long, options contracts, and foreign currency forward contracts. Such transactions subject the hedge funds and their investors to market risk associated with changes in the value of the underlying securities, financial instruments, and foreign currencies, as well as the risk of loss if a counterparty fails to perform. The respective hedge fund managers endeavor to limit the risk associated with such transactions.

### 4. Investment Allocation

It is a Council policy to make an annual investment allocation for the support of operations at 5% of the average market value of the investments for the three previous years. In 2000 and 1999, additional gains of \$577,300 and \$1,940,500, respectively, were also utilized to fulfill donor restrictions. Investment income has been reported as follows:

	Year ended June 30			1999
	2000	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Total
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$746,600 and \$751,200 in 2000 and 1999, respectively	\$ 706,000	\$ 913,300	\$ 1,619,300	\$ 1,110,400
Net realized and unrealized gains	3,940,400	5,097,000	9,037,400	9,590,800
Total return on investments	4,646,400	6,010,300	10,656,700	10,701,200
Investment return used for current operations	(3,600,000)	(1,833,000)	(5,433,000)	(4,894,600)
Investment return in excess of amounts used for current operations	\$1,046,400	\$4,177,300	\$ 5,223,700	\$ 5,806,600

### 5. Grants and Contributions Receivable

Receivables consist substantially of promises to give and are due from individuals, corporations, and foundations. Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures are primarily due within one year. Grants and contributions receivable are due to be collected as follows:

	June 30	
	2000	1999
Less than one year	\$5,190,000	\$5,662,200
One to five years	1,000,000	1,400,000
After five years	—	150,000
	6,190,000	7,212,200
Less discount (using 6% rate)	163,700	276,600
Grants and contributions receivable, net	\$6,026,300	\$6,935,600

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

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

	June 30		Estimated Useful Life
	2000	1999	
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	25,201,600	23,447,300	10-55 years
Equipment	6,186,400	5,436,800	3-15 years
	33,242,300	30,738,400	
Less accumulated depreciation	9,536,800	8,166,400	
	\$23,705,500	\$22,572,000	

### 7. Retirement Plan

The Council has a defined contribution retirement plan covering all employees who meet the minimum service requirements. Payments, which are 12.5% of each participant's salary hired prior to July 1, 1998, and 10% for each participant hired after this date, are made to Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equity Fund to purchase individual annuities for plan members. The expense for the plan was \$706,900 for 2000 and \$703,200 for 1999. Participants must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.

## BUDGET AND FINANCE

### 8. Other Postretirement Benefits

The Council provides certain health care and life insurance benefits for retired employees. Employees are eligible for those benefits when they meet the criteria for retirement under the pension plan.

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

	June 30	
	2000	1999
Benefit obligation	\$1,757,000	\$1,512,000
Fair value of plan assets	—	—
Unfunded status	<u>\$1,757,000</u>	<u>\$1,512,000</u>
Accrued postretirement benefit cost in the statement of financial position	<u>\$1,802,000</u>	<u>\$1,817,000</u>
<b>For the year ended:</b>		
Benefit cost	\$ 130,000	\$ 108,000
Benefits paid	145,000	106,000
<b>Weighted average assumptions</b>		
Discount rate	7.75%	7.75%

For purposes of calculating the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation and the net periodic postretirement benefit cost, the average annual assumed rate of increase in the per capita cost of medical and dental benefits is 6% and 6.5% for 2000 and 1999, respectively, remaining at 6% hereafter.

### 9. Temporarily Restricted Net Assets

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

	June 30	
	2000	1999
Studies	\$23,567,400	\$20,403,900
International Affairs Fellowships	4,691,900	3,783,600
Meetings	3,489,700	2,328,700
Studies—Next Generation	3,551,700	2,599,600
Capital expenditures	5,772,800	6,602,700
	<u>\$41,073,500</u>	<u>\$35,718,500</u>

In fiscal 2000, temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for fulfillment of the following:

<b>Purposes and time periods:</b>	
Studies	\$6,083,400
International Affairs Fellowships	627,100
Meetings	726,000
Studies—Next Generation	63,500
Capital expenditures	248,100
Other	273,400
	<u>\$8,021,500</u>

The above amount released from restrictions primarily represents revenue recognized in prior years and expended in 2000.



## BUDGET AND FINANCE

### 10. Permanently Restricted Net Assets

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

	June 30	
	2000	1999
Studies	\$24,415,100	\$24,961,200
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,100	6,066,100
Meetings	3,502,700	3,853,200
Library	156,700	156,700
Unrestricted as to use	14,961,200	14,165,600
	<u>\$49,101,800</u>	<u>\$49,202,800</u>

In fiscal 2000, \$1,010,000 in permanently restricted net assets was released to temporarily restricted net assets to conform 1 the prior year's presentation with the current year.

 **ERNST & YOUNG LLP**

■ 787 Seventh Avenue  
New York, New York 10019

■ Phone: 212-773-3000

### REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS

Board of Directors  
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statements of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. as of June 30, 2000 and 1999, and the related statements of cash flows for the years then ended and the statement of activities for the year ended June 30, 2000. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Council's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

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

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. at June 30, 2000 and 1999, and its cash flows for the years then ended and the changes in its net assets for the year ended June 30, 2000, in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States.

August 14, 2000

*Ernst & Young LLP*

Ernst & Young LLP is a member of Ernst & Young International, Ltd.

# STAFF

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New York



Washington, D.C.

## STAFF

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MICHAEL P. PETERS *Senior Vice President, Chief Operating Officer, and National Director*  
JANICE L. MURRAY *Vice President and Treasurer, and Deputy Chief Operating Officer*  
MARIE X. STRAUSS *Special Assistant to the President*  
ELVA MURPHY *Assistant to the President*  
AMANDA EDWARDS *Assistant to the Senior Vice President, Chief Operating Officer, and National Director*  
CHONG-LIM LEE *Assistant to the Vice President and Treasurer*  
LILITA V. GUSTS *Secretary of the Corporation*  
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JOHN TEMPLE SWING *Of Counsel*

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MICHAEL P. PETERS *National Director*  
IRINA A. FASKIANOS *Deputy National Director*  
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KATHERINE A. SARROCA *Program Assistant*

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LEIGH MORRIS SLOANE *Program Coordinator, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy*

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FREDERICK S. TIPSON *Senior Fellow and Director*  
CHLOÉ BASZANGER *Research Associate*

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ROSEMARY HARTMAN *Assistant to the Editor*  
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JUDITH ADAMS *Assistant to the Vice President and Director of Studies*  
ALICIA SIEBENALER *Assistant to the Associate Director of Studies*  
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## STAFF

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ERIC ALDRICH	<i>Research Associate, China Studies</i>	DAVID STEVENS	<i>Research Associate, Europe Studies</i>
JEROME A. COHEN	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow, Asia Studies</i>	ASTRID S. TUMINEZ	<i>Adjunct Next Generation Fellow</i>
MICHAEL J. GREEN	<i>Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies</i>	LEONARDO ARRIOLA	<i>Research Associate</i>
DOV S. ZAKHEIM	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow, Asia Studies</i>	CELESTE A. WALLANDER	<i>Senior Fellow, Europe Studies</i>
		HEIDI PENIX	<i>Research Associate</i>
		<b><i>Latin America</i></b>	
<b><i>Economics</i></b>		KENNETH R. MAXWELL	<i>Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies</i>
JAGDISH BHAGWATI	<i>Senior Fellow, International Economics</i>		
CHRISTOPHER THURBER	<i>Research Associate, International Economics</i>		
CHARLES W. CALOMIRIS	<i>André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics</i>	TOMÁS AMORIM	<i>Research Associate, Latin America Studies</i>
MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economics</i>	JULIA E. SWEIG	<i>Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies</i>
ROGER M. KUBARYCH	<i>Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance</i>	JESSICA DUDA	<i>Research Associate, Latin America Studies</i>
		<b><i>Middle East</i></b>	
CÉLINE S. GUSTAVSON	<i>Research Associate, International Economics and Finance</i>	RICHARD W. MURPHY	<i>Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East, and Director, Middle East Studies</i>
ANN R. MARKUSEN	<i>Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy</i>	NEGAR KATIRAI	<i>Research Associate</i>
BENN STEIL	<i>Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign and Economic Policy</i>	JUDITH KIPPER	<i>Director, Middle East Forum</i>
		PAULINE SHAMS	<i>Program Associate, Middle East Forum</i>
PHUONG ANH LE	<i>Research Associate, International Finance and Economics</i>	HENRY SIEGMAN	<i>Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project</i>
BRUCE STOKES	<i>Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade</i>	JONATHAN S. PARIS	<i>Fellow, U.S./Middle East Project</i>
MARY DINH	<i>Research Associate, Economic Studies</i>	AFAF SHAWWA	<i>Research Associate, U.S./Middle East Project</i>
		BARBARA MCCURTAIN	<i>Assistant to the Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project</i>
		<b><i>National Security</i></b>	
<b><i>Europe</i></b>		RICHARD K. BETTS	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies</i>
PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY	<i>Vice President/George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies</i>		
DANIEL P. FATA	<i>Research Associate, Russian and Eurasian Studies</i>	GIDEON ROSE	<i>Olin Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, National Security Studies</i>
RONALD D. ASMUS	<i>Senior Fellow, Europe Studies</i>		
JESSICA FUGATE	<i>Research Associate, Europe Studies</i>	ROBERT THOMSON	<i>Program Associate, National Security Studies</i>
SHEILA HESLIN	<i>Adjunct Fellow</i>	RACHEL BRONSON	<i>Olin Fellow, National Security Studies</i>
CHARLES A. KUPCHAN	<i>Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies</i>		
MICHAEL MANDELBAUM	<i>Senior Fellow</i>		

## STAFF

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NEGAR KATIRAI  
JESSICA P. STERN  
STEPHEN E. FLYNN  
SEAN BURKE  
BERNARD E. TRAINOR

*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Fellow,*  
*Superterrorism*  
*Senior Fellow, National*  
*Security Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### ***Peace and Conflict***

ARTHUR C. HELTON  
MARIE JEANNOT  
ELIANA JACOBS  
ROBERT P. DEVECCHI  
ELIZABETH ARCHANGELI  
RADHA KUMAR  
RUTH WEDGWOOD  
JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER

*Senior Fellow for Refugees*  
*Studies and Preventive Action*  
*Assistant to the Senior Fellow*  
*for Refugees Studies and*  
*Preventive Action*  
*Research Associate, Refugee*  
*Studies and Preventive Action*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow,*  
*Refugees and the Displaced*  
*Research Associate, Refugees*  
*and the Displaced*  
*Senior Fellow, Peace and*  
*Conflict Studies*  
*Senior Fellow, International*  
*Organizations and Law*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### ***Science and Technology***

RICHARD L. GARWIN  
DAVID G. VICTOR  
NORA KAHN  
REBECCA U. WEINER  
JORDAN S. KASSALOW  
DENISE GOMES

*Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow*  
*for Science and Technology, and*  
*Director, Science and*  
*Technology Studies*  
*Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior*  
*Fellow in Science and*  
*Technology*  
*Research Associate*  
*Research Associate, Science*  
*and Technology*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global*  
*Health Policy*  
*Research Associate*

### ***U.S. Foreign Policy***

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD  
BENJAMIN SKINNER  
DEREK LUNDY  
KIRON K. SKINNER

*Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign*  
*Policy*  
*Research Associate, U.S.*  
*Foreign Policy*  
*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Next Generation*  
*Fellow*

### ***Diplomat in Residence***

RICHARD BUTLER  
LEONARDO ARRIOLA

*Diplomat in Residence*  
*Research Associate*

### ***Visiting Fellows, 2000–2001***

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN  
WILLIAM P. NASH JR.  
JOHN M. PAXTON JR.  
JAMES SIKES JR.  
PARAG KHANNA  
VIRGINIA EHELEBE  
STANLEY MOSKOWITZ  
JAIME FLORCRUZ  
SCOTT A. COOPER  
ANNA GELPERN  
JEFFREY KAPLAN  
NICHOLAS RASMUSSEN  
ANDREW WEISS

*Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow*  
*USN Military Fellow*  
*USMC Military Fellow*  
*USA Military Fellow*  
*Program Associate*  
*Intelligence Fellow*  
*Intelligence Fellow*  
*Edward R. Murrow Press*  
*Fellow*  
*IAF in Residence*  
*IAF in Residence*  
*IAF in Residence*  
*IAF in Residence*  
*IAF in Residence*

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### **MEETINGS**

ANNE R. LUZZATTO  
NANCY D. BODURTHA  
JEFFREY A. REINKE  
ANASTASIA MALACOS  
LAETITIA CASH  
NOA GIMELLI  
PEGGY PAPADAKIS  
VALERIE BRAZILL  
KRISTINE HAAN  
MARK HUDSON

*Vice President, Meetings*  
*Associate Director, Meetings*  
*Assistant Director, Conferences*  
*and Special Projects*  
*Assistant Director, New York*  
*Program*  
*Program Associate*  
*Program Associate, New York*  
*Program*  
*Program Associate*  
*Director of Special Events*  
*Special Events Assistant*  
*Events Manager*

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### **WASHINGTON PROGRAM**

PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY  
LINDA HARSH  
KATHLEEN HOULIHAN  
DANIEL P. FATA  
AMY R. DRAPEAU  
ALICE E. BRENNAN  
ALTON FRYE  
LEIGH MORRIS SLOANE

*Vice President and Director*  
*Associate Director*  
*Assistant Director*  
*Assistant to the Director*  
*Program Associate*  
*Program Assistant*  
*Presidential Senior Fellow and*  
*Director, Congress and U.S.*  
*Foreign Policy*  
*Program Coordinator, Congress*  
*and U.S. Foreign Policy*

## STAFF

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DAVID KELLOGG *Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher*  
NANCY BARRA *Assistant to the Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher*

### CORPORATE AFFAIRS

JACQUI SELBST SCHEIN *Director, Corporate Affairs*  
ALEXANDRA MERLE *Corporate Affairs Associate*  
MARTA CHYLINSKA *Corporate Affairs Associate*

### COUNCIL PUBLISHING

PATRICIA LEE DORFF *Director of Publishing*  
LEAH SCHOLER *Editorial Assistant*

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### MEMBERSHIP AND FELLOWSHIP AFFAIRS

ELISE CARLSON LEWIS *Vice President and Director*  
GINA CELCIS-CONCEPCION *Assistant Director*  
EVA FEARN *Program Associate*  
CAITLIN HICKERSON *Program Associate*  
ABIGAIL LEIBIG *Program Associate*  
GRACE PARK *Program Associate*

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JANICE L. MURRAY *Vice President and Treasurer, and Deputy Chief Operating Officer*

### DEVELOPMENT

ELIZABETH KURDYS *Director of the Annual Fund and Major Gifts*  
LENA MOY *Program Associate*  
ROSSANA IVANOVA *Associate Director of Development*  
ERIKA BAILEY *Grants Development Associate*

### FINANCE

RUSSELL POMERANZ *Director of Finance*  
PETER TYNDALE *Associate Director*  
SIGI SILVANI *Staff Accountant*  
SHARON LALLA *Assistant to the Director*  
LINDA COPELAND *Accounting Associate*  
VERA LANGLEY *Accounting Associate*

JAMES SMITH *Accounts Payable Associate*

### HUMAN RESOURCES

JAN MOWDER HUGHES *Director*  
CHRISTI HAMILTON *Associate Director*  
INGRID TURNER *Human Resources Coordinator*

### Reception

CRISTY LEMPERLE *Receptionist*

### FACILITIES MANAGEMENT

NEFTALI FRANK ALVAREZ *Director of Facilities*  
PHIL FALCON *Assistant Director*  
IAN NORAY *Supervisor, Mail and Duplicating Services*  
ANTHONY RAMIREZ *Work Request Coordinator*  
SANTO INE ALERS *Senior Facilities Assistant*  
GILBERT FALCON *Facilities Assistant*  
MARIO PEDRAZA *Facilities Assistant*  
DEREK VELEZ *Facilities Assistant*  
LAWRENCE WHITE *Facilities Assistant*

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### LIBRARY AND RESEARCH SERVICES

LILITA V. GUSTS *Director*  
MARCIA L. SPRULES *Associate Director*  
BARBARA K. MILLER *Documents Librarian and Archivist*  
CONNIE M. STAGNARO *Public Services Associate*  
MING ER QIU *Technical Services Associate*  
ROSALBA PATRUNO *Library Assistant*

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### INFORMATION SERVICES

CHARLES DAY *Director*  
DEEPAK TRIVEDI *Associate Director*  
RICHARD WAWZYCKI *Database Administrator*  
VIRGINIA ROLSTON PARROTT *Training and Documentation Specialist*  
ALICE MCLOUGHLIN *Assistant to the Director of Information Services/Data Entry Specialist*  
CHRIS O. SIERRA *Senior Help Desk Technician*

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Note: Staff shown as of August 31, 2000.

# MEMBERSHIP

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- The Council relies on its members for their active engagement, substantive contributions, and support. They are the main reason world leaders want to speak at the Council and why top writers in international affairs want to be Council Fellows.
  - The Council counts on its members to identify and propose qualified prospects for membership.
- 

**T**he Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and the rest of the nation. Its ranks include nearly all past and present senior U.S. government officials who deal with international matters, renowned scholars, and leaders of business, science and technology, media, human rights, humanitarian, and other nongovernmental groups. Its members choose new members, who aim to educate themselves and others.

Membership proactivity continues to be a top priority for the Council as it strives to become a more diverse and more national organization. Toward these goals, membership development groups are focused on identifying potential Council members from a variety of professional sectors, geographic areas, and racial and ethnic groups.

With the support of the Council's Board of Directors, which in 1997 approved the addition of 500 slots for members beyond New York and Washington, as well as another 250 slots for both the New York and Washington, D.C., areas, Council members have been working with staff in more than a dozen membership development groups.

On the West Coast, Warren Christopher and Peter Tarnoff co-chair a group working to identify and bring forward qualified candidates from Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay Area leadership. Their efforts have resulted in a 26 percent increase in candidates over the past two years. Linda Brady leads the efforts in Atlanta, where the

number of candidates has doubled over two years. In Chicago, Kenneth W. Dam and Michael Moskow's group has increased the pool of Chicago-based candidates fourfold. And in Texas, Lee Cullum is heading up the effort to build membership in Dallas and Houston. The candidate pool there has increased sevenfold over two years. The newest regional effort underway is in Miami, where Ambler Moss has led efforts that have more than doubled the number of candidates from the previous year.

To ensure a steady stream of high-quality candidates from key professional sectors, the Council has also created membership development groups in New York and Washington, D.C., focused on four professional areas: individuals in the fields of business and finance, law, the nongovernmental organization and foundation communities, and younger scholars and academics. Under the leadership of Richard Beattie, Kenneth Juster, Charles Kupchan, Reynold Levy, John Ruggie, and Thomas Schick, these groups are working to ensure that the Council's ranks include the up-and-coming as well as the established leaders in these fields.

The Council's Advisory Committee on Diversity established a Subcommittee on Membership Development chaired by George Dalley. The efforts of the Subcommittee this past year have resulted in larger candidate pools of individuals from diverse backgrounds for both term and regular membership.

*Elise Carlson Lewis*  
Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

## MEMBERSHIP

### Profile of the Membership

As of June 30, 2000, the Council had 3,819 members, an increase of 214 (5.6 percent) over last year. Broadly categorized, the membership profile is as follows:

LOCATION	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
New York Area	1,215	32
Washington, D.C., Area	1,208	32
National (including overseas)	1,396	36
Total	3,819	100
PROFESSION		
Business Executives (including banking)	1,003	26
Academic Scholars and Administrators	785	21
Nonprofit Institution Scholars and Administrators	742	19
U.S. Government Officials	548	14
Journalists, Correspondents, and Communications Executives	386	10
Lawyers	326	9
Other	29	1
Total	3,819	100

## MEMBERSHIP SELECTION PROCEDURE

### Membership Selection

New members are named twice a year by the Board of Directors, which invites selected men and women to join based on recommendations by the Membership Committee. The Committee also meets twice a year and is composed of six members of the Board and such other members as the committee chair deems appropriate. To be considered by the Membership Committee, candidates must be proposed for membership by Council members. The roster of members is listed in the annual report.

At every meeting, the Membership Committee considers significantly more candidates than there are vacancies. Thus, it is inevitable that the names of some candidates will appear before the Committee on several occasions. Given the high level of the competition

generally, some candidates may never be elected even though they may be thought by some to have the individual qualifications outlined below.

### Term Membership

In an effort to reach out to the next generation of leaders, the Board has also established a separate Term Membership Committee. This committee meets annually in the spring to evaluate candidates age 34 and younger for consideration as five-year term members of the Council. The selection process for term membership is nearly identical to, although separate from, that for regular members. Initiated 30 years ago, the program has grown to the point where the Board has gradually raised the yearly limit on the number of term members who may be elected. At present, the limit is 110, and no more than 35 of these are permitted to be age 30 and under.

### Becoming a Member

Current procedure requires that every candidate for regular membership be formally nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of two other individuals, at least one of whom is a Council member. An additional letter or two, from Council members, reflecting different perspectives is welcome but is not technically required. Currently, an average candidacy includes four to five letters of support. All candidates must complete a nominee information form. For information on how to access the form through the Council's website, please contact the Membership office. The candidate must provide the following information: curriculum vitae or chronological resume that must include the candidate's date of birth and, if foreign-born, a statement that he or she has been naturalized or is a permanent resident who has made formal application for citizenship. Additionally, the nominator or candidate should submit a list of the names of up to ten Council members by whom the candidate is well known.

### Rules and Regulations to Keep in Mind

A candidate's nominator bears the chief responsibility for seeing to it that filing deadlines for a candidacy are met and that all required documents are submitted to the Council's membership affairs office in a timely manner. Candidates and/or their nominators are responsible for securing Council members to write seconding letters within the content guidelines prescribed below. Council members are advised to

commit themselves to supporting a candidacy only when they can fairly meet the requirements of the process and the expectations of the candidates who depend on them for assistance. Please also know:

- Council membership is restricted to U.S. citizens (native-born or naturalized) and permanent residents who have applied to become citizens.
- Members of the Council's Board of Directors and Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, and writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as parent, brother or sister, cousin, etc.), or near in-law of a candidate may not formally propose or second that candidate for membership in the Council. Members should also refrain from writing on behalf of clients.
- Members should write only in support of candidates whom they know well.

### Nominating Letters

Letters nominating a candidate for consideration by the Membership Committee should address the following criteria that have always been basic to the Committee's consideration of membership candidates:

- Intellectual attainment and expertise;
- Degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs or in other areas affecting international affairs;
- Promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations;
- Potential contributions to the Council's work;
- Desire and ability to participate in Council activities;
- Standing among his or her peers.

### Seconding Letters

Seconding letters need not be so comprehensive but should amplify why, in the opinion of the writer, a given candidate should be considered for Council membership. Thoughtful, candid, and succinct comments are far more important in seconding and proposing letters than formal endorsements of candidates. In seconding letters particularly, writers should express why a given candidate should be considered for Council membership for reasons beyond the basic criteria above.

While only two seconding letters are required to assure that a candidate's name will be forwarded to the Membership Committee, one or two additional letters are frequently submitted at the initiative of either the

nominator or the candidate. Such letters are particularly helpful to the Membership Committee when they add information or insights about a candidate not already contained in a previous letter. All membership proposing, seconding, and supporting letters should be mailed to the address indicated at the end of this section.

### Deadlines

Strict observance of deadlines is essential to staff support of the Membership Committee's work, and we request your continuing cooperation. The preparation of individual membership files for submission to the Membership Committee is a continuing process. Candidates whose files are not completed in time for any given meeting of the Committee have their files carried forward, without prejudice, to the subsequent meeting, but are considered only if completed.

#### REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

For prospective regular members, the deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the Committee to consider regular membership candidates are March 1 and September 15.

#### TERM MEMBERSHIP

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

### Notification of Candidates

Candidates recommended by the Membership Committee and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates who are unsuccessful at any given meeting are not notified, as they remain eligible for consideration at subsequent meetings of the Committee, and may continue to submit new materials and secure additional letters of support. The process is entirely one of affirmative selection, i.e., from the large and evolving pool of nominees, the Committee and the Board choose a number of members without prejudice to the candidacies of those remaining in the pool.

### Contact for All Membership Matters and Correspondence

Elise Carlson Lewis, Vice President of Membership and Fellowship Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021. Telephone: (212) 434-9400 Fax: (212) 434-9801. E-mail: [membership@cfr.org](mailto:membership@cfr.org). Visit the website at [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).



# MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

## A

- Aaron, David L.  
 Abbot, Charles S.  
 Abbott, Wilder K.  
 Abboud, A. Robert  
 Abboud, Labeeb M.  
 Abel, Elie  
 Abercrombie-  
     Winstanley, Gina Kay  
 Abernethy, Robert John  
 Abram, Morris B.  
 Abramowitz, Morton I.  
 Abrams, Elliott  
 Abshire, David M.  
 Aburdene, Odeh F.  
 Ackerman, Peter  
 Adams, Gordon M.  
 Adams, Robert  
     McCormick  
 Adelman, Carol C.  
 Adelman, Kenneth L.  
 Adler, Allen R.  
 Agnew, Harold M.  
 Agostinelli, Robert F.  
 Ahearn, William  
     Edward  
 Ahmad, Kamal  
 Ahn, Woodrow  
 Aho, C. Michael  
 Aidinoff, M. Bernard  
 Aizenman, Nurith  
 Ajami, Fouad  
 Akins, James E.  
 Albright, Madeleine  
 Alderman, Michael H.  
 Aldrich, George H.  
 Alexander, Margo\*  
 Alexander, Robert J.  
 Alford, Roger P.  
 Alford, William P.  
 Allaire, Paul A.  
 Allbritton, Joe L.  
 Allen, Jodie T.  
 Allen, Lew Jr.  
 Allen, Richard V.  
 Allison, Graham T.  
 Allison, Richard C.  
 Almond, Michael A.  
 Alpern, Alan N.  
 Alter, Karen J. †  
 Alterman, Jon B.  
 Altman, Roger C.  
 Altman, William \*  
 Altman, William \*  
 Altschul, Arthur G.  
 Altshuler, David  
 Alvarado, Donna  
     Maria  
 Alvarez, Jose E.  
 Ames, Oakes  
 Amos, Deborah  
     Susan  
 Andelman, David A.  
 Andersen, Harold W.  
 Anderson, Craig B.  
 Anderson, Desaix  
 Anderson, John B.  
 Anderson, Joseph A.  
 Anderson, Lisa  
 Anderson, Marcus A.  
 Anderson, Mark A.  
 Anderson, Paul F.  
 Anderson, Robert O.  
 Andreas, Dwayne O.  
 Andreas, Terry Lynn  
 Andrews, David R.  
 Andrews, Michael A.  
 Ansour, M. Michael  
 Anthoine, Robert  
 Anthony, John Duke  
 Apgar, David P.  
 Apodaca, Jerry  
 Aponte, Mari Carmen  
 Appiah, Kwame  
     Anthony  
 Apter, David E.  
 Archambeau, Shellye L.  
 Arciniega, Tomas A.  
 Arcos, Cresencio S.  
 Areizaga-Soto, Jaime A.  
 Arkin, Stanley S.  
 Arledge, Roone  
 Armacost, Michael H.  
 Armstrong, Anne L.  
 Armstrong, C. Michael  
 Armstrong, John A. Jr.  
 Armstrong, Lloyd Jr. \*  
 Arnavat, Gustavo  
 Arnhold, Henry H.  
 Arnold, Millard W.  
 Aron, Adam M.  
 Aronson, Bernard W.  
 Aronson, Jonathan  
     David  
 Aronson, Michael  
 Arredondo, Fabiola R.  
 Arsht, Adrienne \*  
 Art, Robert J.  
 Arthurs, Alberta  
 Artigiani, Carole  
 Artzt, Edwin L.  
 Asencio, Diego C.  
 Ashton, Sarah S.  
 Asmus, Ronald D.  
 Assousa, George E.  
 Atherton, Alfred  
     Leroy Jr.  
 Athreya, Bama  
 Atwood, J. Brian  
 Auer, James E.  
 Augustine, Norman R.  
 Auspitz, Josiah Lee  
 Ausubel, Jesse H.  
 Avedon, John F.  
 Avery, John E.  
 Axelrod, Robert M.  
 Ayers, H. Brandt  
 Azim, Khalid †  
**B**  
 Babbitt, Bruce  
 Babbitt, Eileen F.  
 Babbitt, Harriet C.  
 Bacon, Kenneth H.  
 Bacot, J. Carter  
 Bader, William B.  
 Baer, Donald A. \*  
 Baer, M. Delal  
 Baeza, Mario L.  
 Bagley, Elizabeth  
     Frawley  
 Bailey, Charles Waldo  
 Bains, Leslie E.  
 Baird, Charles F.  
 Baird, Peter W.  
 Baird, Zoe  
 Baker, Howard H. Jr.  
 Baker, James A. III  
 Baker, James E.  
 Baker, John R.  
 Baker, Nancy  
     Kassebaum  
 Baker, Pauline H.  
 Baker, Stewart A.  
 Bakhash, Shaul  
 Bakstansky, Peter \*  
 Balaran, Paul  
 Baldwin, David A.  
 Baldwin, H. Furlong  
 Baldwin, Robert  
     Edward  
 Baldwin, Sherman \*  
 Bales, Carter F.  
 Balick, Kenneth  
 Baliles, Gerald L.  
 Band, Laurence Merrill  
 Bandler, Donald K.  
 Baratta, Mira  
     Radelovic \*  
 Barber, Charles F.  
 Barber, James Alden  
 Bardel, William G.  
 Barger, Teresa C.  
 Barkan, Joel D.  
 Barkey, Henri J.  
 Barks-Ruggles, Erica †  
 Barnds, William J.  
 Barnes, Harry G. Jr.  
 Barnes, Michael D.  
 Barnett, Richard J.  
 Barnett, F. William \*  
 Barr, Michael S.  
 Barr, Thomas D.  
 Barrett, Barbara  
     McConnell  
 Barrett, John Adams  
 Barry, John L.  
 Barry, Lisa B.  
 Barry, Thomas  
     Corcoran  
 Barshay, Jill  
 Barshefsky, Charlene  
 Bartholomew, Reginald  
 Bartlett, Joseph W.  
 Bartlett, Thomas A.  
 Bartlett, Timothy J. †  
 Bartley, Robert L.  
 Bartsch, David A.  
 Basek, John T.  
 Bashir, Layli Miller †  
 Basora, Adrian A.  
 Bass, Peter E.  
 Bass, Warren †  
 Bassolino, Francis  
     Keith †  
 Batkin, Alan R.  
 Bator, Francis M.  
 Battaglia, Charles C.  
 Bauer, Joanne R.  
 Baumann, Carol Edler  
 Beattie, Richard I.  
 Becherer, Hans W.  
 Bechky, Perry S.  
 Beckler, David Z.  
 Bedrosian, Gregory R.  
 Beeman, Richard E.  
 Begley, Louis  
 Behrman, Jack N.  
 Beim, David O.  
 Beim, Nicholas F.  
 Beinecke, William S.  
 Beitler, Ruth Margolies  
 Belfer, Robert A.  
 Bell, Burwell B.  
 Bell, David E.  
 Bell, Gordon P.  
 Bell, J. Bowyer  
 Bell, Joseph C. \*  
 Bell, Peter Dexter  
 Bell, Robert G.  
 Bell, Ruth Greenspan  
 Bell, Steve  
 Bellamy, Carol



## MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Bellinger, John B. III	Biddle, George C.	Blumenthal, W.	Brady, Linda Parrish	Brown, Frederic J.
Bello, Judith H.	Biegun, Stephen E.	Michael	Brady, Nicholas F.	Brown, Gwendolyn A.
Bell-Rose, Stephanie K.	Biel, Eric R.	Blumrosen,	Brady, Rose	Brown, Harold
Bender, Gerald J.	Biemann, Betsy	Alexander B. *	Brainard, S. Lael *	Brown, Kathleen
Benedict, Kennette M.	Bieren, Henry S.	Bob, Daniel E.	Bramlett, David A.	Brown, L. Carl
Benjamin, Esther T. †	Bierley, John C.	Bobbitt, Philip Chase	Branch, Daniel H. *	Brown, Lester R.
Bennet, Douglas J.	Bijur, Peter I.	Bode, Ken A. *	Branscomb, Lewis M.	Brown, Michael
Bennett, Andrew Owen	Bilder, Richard B.	Bodea, Andy S. *	Branson, William	Arrington
Bennett, Susan J.	Bindenagel, James D.	Boeker, Paul H.	Hoban	Brown, Michael E.
Bensahel, Nora J. †	Binger, James Henry	Bogert, Carroll R.	Brauchli, Marcus W. *	Brown, Phoebe W. †
Benshoof, Janet *	Binkley, Nicholas	Boggs, Michael D.	Braunschvig, David	Brown, Richard P. Jr.
Benson, Lucy Wilson	Burns	Bohen, Frederick M.	Breck, Henry R.	Brown, Tobias Josef
Bereuter, Douglas K.	Binnendijk, Hans	Bohlen, Avis T.	Breed, Henry Eltinge	Browne, Robert S.
Bergen, Margaret †	Birdsall, Nancy	Bohn, John A.	Bremer, L. Paul III	Browning, David S.
Bergen, Peter Lampert	Birenbaum, David E.	Bolling, Landrum R.	Breslauer, George	Bruce, Judith
Berger, Joshua A. †	Birkelund, John P.	Bolton, John R. *	William	Bruemmer, Russell J.
Berger, Marilyn	Birnbaum, Eugene A.	Bond, George Clement	Bresnan, John J.	Bryan, Greyson L.
Berger, Samuel R.	Bishop, Sanford D. Jr.	Bond, Jean Carey	Brevnov, Gretchen	Bryant, Michael E. *
Berger, Suzanne	Bissell, Richard E.	Bond, Robert D.	Wilson	Bryant, Ralph C.
Bergsten, C. Fred	Black, Joseph E.	Bonime-Blanc, Andrea	Brewer, John D. *	Bryson, John E.
Bering, Helle	Black, Shirley	Bonney, J. Dennis	Breyer, Stephen G.	Brzezinski, Ian Joseph
Berkowitz, Bruce D.	Temple	Booker, Salih	Brimmer, Andrew F.	Brzezinski, Mark F.
Berkowsky, Pamela B.	Black, Stanley Warren	Bookout, John F.	Brimmer, Esther Diane	Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Berman, Howard L.	Blacker, Coit D.	Boot, Max †	Brinkley, David	Buchman, Mark E.
Bernard, Kenneth W.	Blackwell, James	Boren, David L.	Brinkley, Douglas G.	Buckley, William F. Jr.
Berndt, John E.	Allen Jr.	Bork, Ellen E. *	Britt, David V. B.	Bueno de Mesquita,
Bernstein, Peter W.	Blackwell, John	Boschwitz, Rudy	Brittenham,	Bruce
Bernstein, Robert L.	Kenneth	Bose, Meena	Raymond L.	Buergenthal, Thomas
Bernstein, Tom A.	Blackwill, Robert D.	Bosworth, Stephen W.	Broad, Robin	Bugliarello, George
Berresford, Susan Vail	Blahous, Charles P.	Botts, John C.	Broadman, Harry G.	Bullock, Mary Brown
Berrie, Scott D.	Blake, Robert O.	Boufford, Jo Ivey *	Broda, Frederick C.	Bumpas, Stuart M. *
Berris, Jan C.	Blank, Stephen	Bouis, Antonina W.	Brodsky, William J. *	Bundy, William P.
Bersin, Alan D.	Blechman, Barry M.	Bouton, Marshall M.	Brody, Christopher W.	Bunzel, Jeffrey H.
Bertsch, Gary K. *	Bleier, Edward	Bovin, Denis A.	Brody, Kenneth D.	Burand, Deborah K.
Beshar, Peter J.	Blendon, Robert Jay	Bowen, Vincent E. III	Broitman, Elana	Burck, William A.
Bessie, Simon Michael	Blinder, Alan S.	Bowen, William G.	Brokaw, Tom	Burgess, Geoffrey P.
Bestani, Robert M.	Blinken, Alan John	Bower, Joseph Lyon	Bromley, D. Allan	Burgess, John A.
Bestor, Theodore C.	Blinken, Donald	Bowie, Robert R.	Bronfman, Edgar M.	Burke, James E.
Betts, Richard K.	Bloch, Julia Chang	Bowles, Erskine B.	Bronson, Rachel	Burkhalter, Holly J.
Beutner, Austin M.	Bloom, Evan T.	Bowman, Richard C.	Brookins, Carole L.	Burn, Christopher J.
Bewkes, Jeffrey	Bloomberg, Michael R.	Boyd, Charles Graham	Brooks, Harvey	Burnley, James H. IV
Beyer, John C.	Bloomfield, Lincoln P.	Bracken, Paul	Brower, Charles N.	Burns, Patrick Owen
Bhala, Kara Tan *	Bloomfield, Richard J.	Brademas, John	Brown, Alice L.	Burns, R. Nicholas
Bhala, Raj *	Bloomgarden, Kathy	Bradford, Zeb B. Jr.,	Brown, Bartram S. *	Burns, William F.
Bialer, Seweryn	Finn	Bradley, Bill	Brown, Brian	Burns, William J.
Bialkin, Kenneth J.	Blum, Richard C.	Bradley, Edward R.	Alexander	Burt, Richard R.
Bickford, Jewelle *	Blumenthal, Sidney S.	Bradley, William L.	Brown, Carroll	Burton, Daniel F. Jr.

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† Elected to five-year membership in 2000.



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Dyson, Esther

### E

Eagleburger,  
Lawrence S.  
Earle, Ralph II  
East, Maurice A.  
Easum, Donald B.  
Eberhart, Ralph E.  
Eberle, William D.  
Eberstadt, Nicholas N.  
Echols, Marsha A.  
Economy, Elizabeth C.  
Ecton, Donna R.  
Eddleman, Linda  
Hiniker \*  
Eddy, Randolph P. III  
Edelman, Albert I.  
Edelman, Gerald M.  
Edelman, Marian  
Wright  
Edelman, Richard  
Winston  
Edelstein, Julius C.C.  
Edington, Mark D.W.  
Edley, Christopher Jr.  
Edwards, Howard  
Edwards, Mickey  
Edwards, Robert H.  
Efros, Laura L.  
Eggers, Thomas E.  
Ehrlich, Thomas  
Eichengreen, Barry J.  
Eikenberry, Karl  
Eilts, Hermann  
Frederick  
Einaudi, Luigi R.  
Einhorn, Jessica P.  
Einhorn, Robert J.  
Eisendrath, Charles R.  
Eisner, Michael  
Eizenstat, Stuart E.  
Ellingwood, Susan K.  
Elliott, Inger McCabe  
Elliott, Osborn  
Ellis, James Reed

Ellis, Mark S. \*  
Ellis, Patricia  
Ellis, Rodney \*  
Ellison, Keith Paty  
Ellsberg, Daniel  
Ellsworth, Robert F.  
Elson, Edward E.  
Ely, John Hart  
Ely-Raphel, Nancy  
Halliday  
Embree, Ainslie T.  
Ensor, David B.  
Enthoven, Alain C.  
Entwistle, L. Brooks  
Epstein, Barbara  
Epstein, Jason  
Epstein, Jeffrey  
Epstein, Joshua M.  
Erb, Guy F.  
Erb, Richard D.  
Erbsen, Claude E.  
Erburu, Robert F.  
Ercklentz, Alexander T.  
Esfandiari, Haleh \*  
Esserman, Susan \*  
Estabrook, Robert H.  
Esty, Daniel C.  
Evans, Gail H.  
Evans, Harold M.  
Evans, Rowland Jr.  
Evans, Tatjana H.  
Ewing, Anthony P.

### F

Fabian, Larry L.  
Fairbanks,  
Charles H. Jr.  
Fairbanks,  
Richard M. III  
Fairman, David M.  
Falco, Mathea  
Falcoff, Mark  
Falk, Pamela S.  
Falk, Richard A.  
Falkenrath, Richard A.  
Fallon, Robert E. \*  
Fallows, James  
Fanning, Katherine W.

Fanton, Jonathan Foster  
Faraon, Joseph  
Rodney †  
Farer, Tom J.  
Farkas, Evelyn N. †  
Farmer, Thomas L.  
Farrar, Jay C. \*  
Farrar, Stephen P. \*  
Faskianos, Irina A. †  
Fawaz, Leila  
Feigenbaum, Evan A.  
Feinberg, Richard E.  
Feiner, Ava S.  
Feinstein, Lee  
Feissel, Gustave  
Feist, Samuel H.  
Feith, Douglas J.  
Feldman, Daniel F. †  
Feldman, Mark B.  
Feldstein, Martin S.  
Fenzel, Michael †  
Ferguson, Charles H.  
Ferguson, Glenn W.  
Ferguson, James L.  
Ferguson, Ronald E.  
Ferlic, Suzanne R.  
Fernandez, Jose W.  
Ferrari, Frank E.  
Ferraro, Geraldine A.  
Ferre, Antonio Luis  
Ferre, Helen Aguirre \*  
Ferre, Maurice A.  
Ferrell, Lisa Carolyn  
Fesharaki, Fereidun  
Fessenden, Hart  
Fiedler, Jeffrey L.  
Fields, Bertram H.  
Fields, Craig I.  
Fife, Eugene V.  
Fifield, Russell Hunt  
Finberg, Barbara D.  
Findakly, Hani K.  
Finel, Bernard †  
Finger, Seymour  
Maxwell  
Finkelstein,  
Lawrence S.  
Finn, James  
Finnemore, Martha G. \*  
Finney, Paul B.

Firestone, Charles M.  
Firmage, Edwin B.  
Fischer, David Joseph  
Fischer, Stanley  
Fisher, Julie Ann  
Fisher, Peter R.  
Fisher, Richard W.  
Fisher, Roger  
Fishlow, Albert  
Fisk, Daniel W. \*  
Fitts, Sarah A.W.  
FitzGerald, Frances  
Fitzgibbons, Harold E.  
Fitz-Pegado, Lauri J.  
Flaherty, Pamela \*  
Flaherty, Peter  
Flanagan, Peter L.  
Flanagan, Stephen J.  
Flanders, Stephanie †  
Flanigan, Peter M.  
Fleischmann, Alan H. \*  
Fleishman, Rachel  
Flournoy, Michele A.  
Flynn, George J.  
Flynn, Stephen E.  
Foege, William H.  
Fogleman, Ronald R.  
Foley, S.R. Jr.  
Foley, Thomas S.  
Folsom, George A.  
Foote, Edward T. II  
Foote, William  
Fulbright †  
Ford, Gerald R.  
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Fore, Henrietta  
Holsman  
Forester, Lynn  
Forman, Shepard L.  
Forstmann, Theodore J.  
Forsythe, Rosemarie \*  
Fortna, Virginia Page †  
Fosler, Gail D.  
Foster, Brenda Lei  
Foster, Charles C. \*  
Foster, Richard N.  
Fowler, Wyche Jr. \*  
Fox, Donald T.  
Fox, Eleanor M.  
Fox, Joseph Carrere

Fraga, Arminio  
Franck, Thomas M.  
Francke, Albert  
Frank, Andrew D.  
Frank, Barney  
Frank, Charles R. Jr.  
Frank, Isaiah  
Frank, Richard A.  
Frankel, Francine R.  
Frankel, Jeffrey A.  
Franklin, Barbara  
Hackman  
Franklin, Melinda Yee  
Franklin, William  
Emery  
Frazer, Jendayi E.  
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Fredman, Jonathan M.  
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Freeman, Harry L.  
Freeman, Roger C.  
Freidheim, Cyrus F.  
Freidheim, Stephen C.  
Frelinghuysen,  
Peter H.B.  
Frey, Donald N.  
Freytag, Richard A.  
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Alexander S. †  
Friedman, Bart  
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Friedman, Elisabeth J. †  
Friedman, Fredrica S.  
Friedman, Jordana D.  
Friedman, Stephen  
Friedman, Stephen J.  
Friedman, Thomas L.  
Frieman, Wendy  
Friend, Theodore W.  
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Fromkin, David  
Fromm, Joseph  
Frost, Ellen L.  
Fry, Earl H.  
Frye, Alton



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 Fuller, Kathryn S.  
 Fuller, William P.  
 Fung, Victor K.  
 Furlaud, Richard M.  
 Futter, Ellen V.

### G

Gaddis, John Lewis  
 Gadiesh, Orit B.  
 Gaer, Felice D.  
 Gaines, James R.  
 Galbraith, Evan G.  
 Galbraith, Peter W.  
 Gallagher, Dennis  
 Gallucci, Robert L.  
 Galvin, John R.  
 Galvis, Sandra †  
 Galvis, Sergio J.  
 Ganguly, Sumit  
 Gann, Pamela B.  
 Gannon, John C.  
 Ganoe, Charles S.  
 Gantcher, Nathan  
 Garcia, Marlen \*  
 Garcia-Passalacqua,  
 Juan M.  
 Gard, Robert G.  
 Gardels, Nathan P.  
 Gardner, Anthony L.  
 Gardner, James A.  
 Gardner, Nina Luzzatto  
 Gardner, Richard N.  
 Garment, Leonard  
 Garment, Suzanne R.  
 Garnett, Sherman  
 Gart, Murray J.  
 Garten, Jeffrey E.  
 Garthoff, Raymond L.  
 Garwin, Richard L.  
 Gaston, Patricia E.  
 Gates, Henry Louis Jr.

Gates, Philomene A.  
 Gates, Robert M.  
 Gati, Charles  
 Gati, Toby Trister  
 Gaudiani, Claire L.  
 Gause, F. Gregory III  
 Gay, Catherine C.  
 Gayle, Helene D.  
 Gebhard, Paul R.S.  
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 Gedo, Inge  
 Geertz, Clifford  
 Geier, Philip O.  
 Geithner, Timothy F.  
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 Gelb, Bruce S.  
 Gelb, Leslie H.  
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 Georgescu, Peter  
 Andrew  
 Gephardt, Richard A.  
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 Gergen, David R.  
 Gerhart, Gail M.  
 Germain, Adrienne  
 Gerschel, Patrick A.  
 Gershman, Carl  
 Samuel  
 Gerson, Allan  
 Gerson, Elliot F.  
 Gerson, Ralph J.  
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 Gevirtz, Don Lee \*  
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 Geyer, Georgie Anne  
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 Gfoeller, Michael  
 Gfoeller, Tatiana C.  
 Ghiglione, Loren  
 Giacomo, Carol Ann  
 Gibbons, John Howard  
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Giffen, James Henry  
 Gilbert, Jackson B.  
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 Gilbert, Steven J.  
 Gill, Bates \*  
 Gillette, Michael James  
 Gilmore, Kenneth O.  
 Gilmore, Richard  
 Gilpin, Robert G. Jr.  
 Gingrich, Newton L.  
 Ginn, Samuel L.  
 Ginsberg, Marc  
 Charles  
 Ginsburg, David  
 Ginsburg, Jane C.  
 Ginsburg, Ruth Bader  
 Glaser, Bonnie S. \*  
 Glassman, Charisse  
 Glauber, Robert R.  
 Gleysteen, Peter  
 Gleysteen,  
 William H. Jr.  
 Globerman, Norma  
 Gluck, Carol  
 Gluck, Frederick W.  
 Glueck, Jeffrey Scott  
 Glusker, Peter Henry  
 Godchaux, Frank A. III  
 Goekjian, Samuel V.  
 Goeltz, Richard K.  
 Goheen, Robert F.  
 Goins, Charlynn  
 Goldberg, Michael †  
 Goldberg, Ronnie L.  
 Goldberger, Marvin L.  
 Golden, James R.  
 Golden, William T.  
 Goldgeier, James M. \*  
 Goldin, Harrison J.  
 Goldman, Charles N.  
 Goldman, Guido  
 Goldman, Marshall I.  
 Goldman, Merle D.  
 Goldmark, Peter C. Jr.  
 Goldschmidt, Neil  
 Goldsmith, Jack L. III \*  
 Goldsmith, Robert S. †

Goldstein, Gordon \*  
 Goldstein, Jeffrey A.  
 Goldwyn, David L. \*  
 Golob, Paul D.  
 Golob, Stephanie  
 Ruth †  
 Gomory, Ralph E.  
 Gompert, David C.  
 Gonzalez, Nelson R. †  
 Goodby, James E.  
 Goodman,  
 George J.W.  
 Goodman, Herbert I.  
 Goodman, Nancy F.  
 Goodman, Roy M.  
 Goodman, Sherri W.  
 Goodpaster, Andrew J.  
 Gordon, Albert H.  
 Gordon, John A.  
 Gordon, Lincoln  
 Gordon, Michael R.  
 Gordon, Philip H.  
 Gorelick, Jamie S.  
 Gorman, Joseph T.  
 Goss, Porter J.  
 Gotbaum, Victor  
 Gottemoeller, Rose  
 Eilene  
 Gottfried, Kurt  
 Gottlieb, Gidon A.G.  
 Gottlieb, Stuart †  
 Gottsegen, Peter M.  
 Gould, Peter G.  
 Gourevitch, Peter A.  
 Graff, Henry Franklin  
 Graff, Robert D.  
 Graham, Bob  
 Graham, Carol L.  
 Graham, Katharine  
 Graham, Lawrence  
 Otis  
 Graham, Thomas Jr.  
 Graham, Thomas  
 Wallace  
 Grand, Stephen R.  
 Granoff, Michael D.  
 Grant, Stephen A.

Graubard, Stephen  
 Richards  
 Graves, Howard D.  
 Gray, Charles D.  
 Gray, Hanna Holborn  
 Grayson, Judy S.  
 Greathead, R. Scott  
 Green, Bill  
 Green, Carl J.  
 Green, Ernest G.  
 Green, Jerrold D.  
 Green, Michael J. \*  
 Green, Shane  
 Greenberg, Arthur N.  
 Greenberg, David  
 Greenberg, Evan G.  
 Greenberg, Jeffrey W. \*  
 Greenberg, Karen J.  
 Greenberg, Maurice R.  
 Greenberg, Sanford D.  
 Greenberger, Robert  
 Stephen  
 Greene, Joseph N. Jr.  
 Greene, Margaret L.  
 Greene, Wade  
 Greenfield, James L.  
 Greenspan, Alan  
 Greenwald, G.  
 Jonathan \*  
 Greenwald, Joseph A.  
 Greenway, Hugh D.S.  
 Gregg, Donald P.  
 Gregorian, Vartan  
 Gregson, Wallace C.  
 Grenier, Richard  
 Greve, Louisa Coan  
 Griego, Linda  
 Griffin, Anne-Marea  
 Griffiths, Alessandra J.  
 Grikscheit, Alyssa A. †  
 Grimes, Joseph A. Jr.  
 Grimes, Julie M.  
 Grose, Peter  
 Gross, Patrick W.  
 Grove, Brandon H. Jr.  
 Grove, Paul  
 Cheremeteff †

\* Elected to membership in 2000.

† Elected to five-year membership in 2000.



## MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Groves, Ray J.  
 Grundfest, Joseph  
 Grunwald, Henry A.  
 Guerra-Mondragon,  
 Gabriel  
 Guisinger, Stephen E.  
 Gundlach, Andrew S.  
 Gupte, Pranay  
 Gutfreund, John H.  
 Guth, John H.J.  
 Guthman, Edwin O.  
 Gwertzman,  
 Bernard M.  
 Gwin, Catherine

### H

Ha, Joseph M. \*  
 Haas, Mimi L.  
 Haas, Peter E.  
 Haas, Robert D.  
 Haass, Richard N.  
 Habsburg, Inmaculada  
 Hachigian, Nina L.  
 Haddad, Yvonne  
 Yazbeck  
 Hadley, Stephen J.  
 Hafner, Joseph A. Jr.  
 Hagel, Chuck  
 Hagen, Katherine A.  
 Haggard, Stephan  
 Hahn, Keith D.  
 Haig, Alexander M. Jr.  
 Hakim, Peter  
 Halaby, Najeeb E.  
 Hale, David D.  
 Hall, Kathryn W. \*  
 Hall, C. Barrows  
 Hall, John P.  
 Hallerberg, Mark S.  
 Hallingby, Paul Jr.  
 Halperin, David R.  
 Halperin, Morton H.  
 Halstead, Ted  
 Haltzel, Michael H.  
 Hamburg, David A.  
 Hamburg, Margaret  
 Ann  
 Hamburg-Coplan, Jill

Hamilton, Ann O.  
 Hamilton, Charles V.  
 Hamilton, Daniel  
 Hamilton, Edward K.  
 Hamilton, Jonathan C.  
 Hamilton, Lee H.  
 Hamilton, Michael P.  
 Hamilton, Ruth  
 Simms  
 Hammonds, D. Holly  
 Hanauer, Laurence S. †  
 Hancock, Ellen  
 Hand, Scott M.  
 Handelman, Stephen  
 Hansell, Herbert J.  
 Hansen, Carol Rae  
 Hanson, Carl Thor  
 Hantz, Giselle P.  
 Hantzopoulos, Evie †  
 Harari, Maurice  
 Harding, Harry  
 Hardt, John P.  
 Hargrove, John  
 Lawrence  
 Harman, Jane  
 Harman, Sidney  
 Harmon, James A.  
 Harpel, James W.  
 Harper, Conrad K.  
 Harris, Jay T. \*  
 Harris, John M.  
 Harris, Joseph E.  
 Harris, Martha  
 Caldwell  
 Harrison, Selig S.  
 Harrison,  
 William B. Jr. \*  
 Hart, Brett J.  
 Hart, Gary  
 Hart, Todd C.  
 Hartman, Arthur A.  
 Haskell, John H.F. Jr.  
 Hatfield, Robert S.  
 Hatheway, Gina  
 Marie L. †  
 Hauge, John Resor  
 Hauser, Rita E.  
 Hauser, William Locke  
 Havell, Theresa A.  
 Hawkins, Ashton

Hawley, F. William  
 Hayek, Alexandre P. \*  
 Hayes, Margaret Daly  
 Hayes, Rita Derrick \*  
 Haynes, Fred  
 Haynes, Lukas  
 Harrison †  
 Haynes, Ulric  
 Hayward, Thomas B.  
 Healy, Harold H. Jr.  
 Hearn, Ruby P.  
 Heck, Charles B.  
 Hecker, Siegfried S.  
 Hedstrom, Mitchell W.  
 Heep-Richter,  
 Barbara D.  
 Heginbotham,  
 Stanley J.  
 Hehir, J. Bryan  
 Heimann, John G.  
 Heimbold,  
 Charles A. Jr.  
 Heimowitz, James B.  
 Heineman,  
 Benjamin W. Jr.  
 Heineman, Melvin L.  
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 Heintzen, Harry  
 Leonard  
 Heinz, Teresa  
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 Helander, Robert C.  
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 Heller, Michael A.  
 Heller, Richard M.  
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 Hellmann, Donald  
 Charles  
 Helm, Robert W.  
 Helman, Robert A. \*  
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 Helton, Arthur C.  
 Hendrickson, David C.  
 Henkin, Alice H.  
 Henkin, Louis  
 Hennessy, John M.  
 Henninger, Daniel P.  
 Henrikson, Alan K.

Henry, Nancy L.  
 Hentges, Harriet  
 Herberger, Roy A. Jr.  
 Hermann, Charles F.  
 Hernandez, Antonia  
 Herskovits, Jean  
 Hersman,  
 Rebecca K.C.  
 Herter, Frederic P.  
 Hertzberg, Arthur  
 Hertzberg, Hendrik  
 Herz, Barbara  
 Herzfeld, Charles M.  
 Herzstein, Robert E.  
 Hesburgh,  
 Theodore M.  
 Hess, John B.  
 Hessler, Curtis A.  
 Hewlett, Sylvia Ann  
 Hiatt, Fred  
 Hicks, Irvin  
 Hicks, Irvin Jr.  
 Hicks, John F. Sr.  
 Hicks, Kathleen  
 Holland  
 Higginbotham, F.  
 Michael  
 Higgins, Robert F.  
 Higgins, Tracy E.  
 Highet, Keith  
 Hight, B. Boyd  
 Hightower, Edward T. †  
 Hill, J. Tomilson  
 Hill, James T.  
 Hill, Joseph C.  
 Hill, Pamela  
 Hill, Raymond D. \*  
 Hillen, John  
 Hillenbrand, Martin J.  
 Hillgren, Sonja  
 Hills, Carla A.  
 Hilsman, Roger  
 Hilton, Robert P.  
 Hinerfeld, Ruth  
 Hinton, Deane R.  
 Hirsch, John L. \*  
 Hirschman, Albert O.  
 Ho, Christine M.Y.  
 Hoagland, Jim  
 Hoar, Joseph Paul

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 Hoch, Frank W.  
 Hoeber, Amoretta M.  
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 Hoehn, William E. Jr.  
 Hoenlein, Malcolm I.  
 Hoffenberg, Mark  
 Raymond  
 Hoffman, Adonis E.  
 Hoffman, Auren †  
 Hoffman, Bruce  
 Hoffmann, Stanley  
 Hoge, James F. Jr.  
 Hoge, Warren M.  
 Hoguet, George  
 Roberts  
 Hoinkes, Mary  
 Elizabeth  
 Holbrooke, Richard C.  
 Holden, John L. \*  
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 Holgate, Laura S.  
 Hayes  
 Hollick, Ann Lorraine  
 Holliday, Stuart W. †  
 Holloway, Dwight F. Jr.  
 Holmer, Alan F. \*  
 Holmes, Henry Allen  
 Holmes, Kim R.  
 Holmes, Stephen T.  
 Holt, Pat M.  
 Holum, John D.  
 Hooker, Richard D. Jr.  
 Hoopes, Townsend W.  
 Hope, Judith Richards  
 Hope, Richard O.  
 Horelick, Arnold L.  
 Horlick, Gary N.  
 Hormats, Robert D.  
 Horn, Garfield H.  
 Horn, Karen N.  
 Horn, Sally K.  
 Horner, Matina  
 Souretis  
 Hornik, Richard H.  
 Horowitz, Irving Louis  
 Horton, Alan W.  
 Horton, Robert Scott  
 Hosmer, Bradley C.  
 Hoston, Germaine A.



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 Houghton, James R.  
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     Amy †  
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 Howard, Christopher †  
 Howard, John R.  
 Howard, Lyndsay C.  
 Howard, M. William Jr.  
 Howell, Ernest M.  
 Howell, Peter  
 Howson, Nicholas C.  
 Hoyt, Mont P.  
 Hrynkow, Sharon H.  
 Hsu, Ta-Lin \*  
 Huber, Richard L.  
 Huberman, Benjamin  
 Hudson, Manley O. Jr.  
 Hudson, Michael C.  
 Huebner, Lee W.  
 Hufbauer, Gary C.  
 Huffington, Roy M.  
 Hughes, Duane L.  
 Hughes, Justin  
 Hughes, Lyric M. \*  
 Hughes, R. John  
 Hughes, Thomas Lowe  
 Huizenga, John W.  
 Hultman, Tamela  
 Hultquist, Timothy A.  
 Hume, Cameron R.  
 Hume, Ellen H.  
 Hummel, Arthur W. Jr.  
 Hunker, Jeffrey A. \*  
 Hunt, Swanee  
 Hunter, Robert E.  
 Hunter, Shireen T.  
 Hunter-Gault,  
     Charlayne  
 Huntington, David  
 Huntington, Patricia  
     Skinner  
 Huntington, Samuel P.  
 Hurewitz, J. C.  
 Hurlock, James B.

Hurlock, Matthew  
     Hunter  
 Hurst, Robert J.  
 Hurwitz, Seth L.  
 Hurwitz, Sol  
 Hutchings, Robert L.  
 Hutchins, Glenn H.  
 Hutzler, Charles  
 Huyck, Philip M.  
 Hyland, William G.  
 Hyman, Allen I.

### I

Ignatius, David R.  
 Ijaz, Mansoor \*  
 Ikenberry, G. John  
 Ikle, Fred C.  
 Ilchman, Alice Stone  
 Immergut, Mel M.  
 Inderfurth, Karl F.  
 Ingersoll, Robert S.  
 Inman, B. R.  
 Intriligator, Michael D.  
 Irish, Leon E.  
 Irvin, Patricia L.  
 Irwin, Steven M.  
 Isaacs, Maxine  
 Isaacson, Walter S.  
 Iselin, John Jay  
 Isenberg, Steven L.  
 Isham, Christopher  
 Ispahani, Mahnaz Z.  
 Istel, Yves-Andre  
 Itoh, William H.  
 Ivester, M. Douglas  
 Izlar, William H. Jr.

### J

Jabber, Paul  
 Jackelen, Henry \*  
 Jacklin, Nancy P.  
 Jackson, Bruce P.  
 Jackson, Eric K.

Jackson, Jesse L.  
 Jackson, John Howard  
 Jackson, Lois M.  
 Jackson, Sarah  
 Jacob, John E.  
 Jacobs, Eli S.  
 Jacobs, Nehama  
 Jacobson, Harold K.  
 Jacobson, Jerome  
 Jacoby, Tamar  
 Jaffe, Amy Myers \*  
 Jakub, Jay  
 James, Francis J.  
 Janes, Jackson \*  
 Janis, Mark Weston  
 Janklow, Morton L.  
 Janow, Merit E.  
 Jaquette, Jane S.  
 Jarvis, Nancy A.  
 Jastrow, Robert  
 Jebb, Cindy R.  
 Jenkins, Bonnie D. \*  
 Jervis, Robert  
 Jessup, Alpheus W.  
 Jessup, Philip C. Jr.  
 Jeter, Howard F.  
 Joffe, Robert D.  
 Johns, Lionel Skipwith  
 Johnson, Howard W.  
 Johnson, James A.  
 Johnson, James E. \*  
 Johnson, Jay L.  
 Johnson, Karen H. \*  
 Johnson, L. Oakley  
 Johnson, Larry D.  
 Johnson, Nancie S.  
 Johnson, Robbin S.  
 Johnson, Robert H.  
 Johnson, Robert W. IV  
 Johnson, Thomas S.  
 Johnson, Willene A.  
 Johnson, Wyatt  
     Thomas  
 Jones, Alan Kent  
 Jones, Anita K.  
 Jones, Benjamin Felt  
 Jones, David C.

Jones, David L. \*  
 Jones, James L. \*  
 Jones, James R.  
 Jones, Kerri-Ann  
 Jones, Sidney R.  
 Jones, Thomas V.  
 Jones, Thomas W.  
 Joost, Peter Martin  
 Jordan, Amos A.  
 Jordan, Eason T.  
 Jordan, Vernon E. Jr.  
 Joseph, Geri M.  
 Joseph, Ira B.  
 Joseph, James A.  
 Joseph, Richard A.  
 Josephson, William  
 Joyce, John T.  
 Jumper, John P.  
 Junz, Helen B.  
 Juster, Kenneth I.

### K

Kaden, Lewis B.  
 Kadlec, Robert P.  
 Kagan, Robert W.  
 Kahan, Jerome H.  
 Kahler, Miles  
 Kaiser, Miranda M.  
 Kaiser, Philip M.  
 Kaiser, Robert G.  
 Kalb, Bernard  
 Kalb, Marvin  
 Kalicki, Jan H.  
 Kalil, Thomas  
     Amadeus  
 Kamarck, Andrew  
     Martin  
 Kamarck, Elaine C.  
 Kaminsky, Howard  
 Kampelman, Max M.  
 Kamsky, Virginia Ann  
 Kanak, Donald P.  
 Kandell, Jonathan  
 Kanet, Roger E.  
 Kang, C.S. Eliot

Kann, Peter R.  
 Kansteiner,  
     Walter H. III  
 Kanter, Arnold  
 Kanter, Rosabeth Moss  
 Kantor, Mickey  
 Kaplan, Gilbert E.  
 Kaplan, Helene L.  
 Kaplan, Mark N.  
 Kaplan, Stephen S.  
 Kapp, Robert A.  
 Kapstein, Ethan B.  
 Karalekas, Anne  
 Karamanian, Susan L.  
 Karatnycky, Adrian  
 Karatz, Bruce E.  
 Karis, Thomas G.  
 Karl, Terry Lynn  
 Karnow, Stanley  
 Karns, Margaret P.  
 Kartman, Charles  
 Kasdin, Robert  
 Kass, Stephen L.  
 Kassalow, Jordan S.  
 Kassof, Allen H.  
 Kathwari, M. Farooq  
 Katz, Abraham  
 Katz, Daniel Roger \*  
 Katz, Ronald S.  
 Katz, Stanley N.  
 Katzenstein, Peter J.  
 Kaufman, Daniel J.  
 Kaufman, Henry  
 Kaufman, Robert R.  
 Kaufmann, William W.  
 Kay, Kira †  
 Kaye, Charles Robert  
 Kaye, Dalia Dassa  
 Kaysen, Carl  
 Kazemi, Farhad  
 Kea, Charlotte G. \*  
 Kean, Christopher  
 Kean, Thomas H.  
 Kearney, Jude  
 Keel, Alton G. Jr.  
 Keene, Lonnie S.  
 Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr.

\* Elected to membership in 2000.

† Elected to five-year membership in 2000.



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- Kelleher, Catherine M.  
 Kellen, Stephen M.  
 Keller, Edmond J.  
 Keller, Kenneth H.  
 Kellerman, Barbara L.  
 Kelley, Paul X.  
 Kellner, Peter Bicknell  
 Kellogg, David  
 Kelly, Arthur L.  
 Kelly, James P.  
 Kelly, John H.  
 Kelman, Herbert C.  
 Kemble, Eugenia  
 Kemp, Geoffrey  
 Kempe, Frederick S.  
 Kempner,  
     Maximilian W.  
 Kendall, Donald M.  
 Kenen, Peter B.  
 Keniston, Kenneth  
 Kennan, Christopher J.  
 Kennan, Elizabeth T.  
 Kennan, George F.  
 Kennedy, Craig  
 Kent, William H.  
 Keohane, Nannerl O.  
 Keohane, Robert O.  
 Kern, Paul J.  
 Kerr, Ann Zwicker  
 Kerrey, J. Robert \*  
 Kerry, John F.  
 Kessler, Martha Neff  
 Kester, John G.  
 Kester, W. Carl  
 Kezirian, Aram  
     Peter Jr.  
 Khalidi, Rashid I.  
 Khalilzad, Zalmay M.  
 Khuri, Nicola N.  
 Kiermaier, John W.  
 Kiley, Robert R.  
 Kim, Andrew B.  
 Kim, Hanya Marie  
 Kimmitt, Robert M.  
 Kimsey, James V.  
 Kinde, Lawrence John  
 King, Charles  
 King, Henry L.  
 King, John A. Jr.  
 King, Kay
- Kipper, Judith  
 Kirkland, Richard I.  
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.  
 Kirkpatrick,  
     Melanie M.  
 Kissinger, Henry A.  
 Kittrie, Orde F.  
 Kizer, Karin L.  
 Klasky, Helaine S.  
 Kleiman, Robert  
 Klein, David  
 Klein, Edward  
 Klein, George  
 Klein, Joseph A.  
 Klotz, Frank G.  
 Klurfeld, James M.  
 Knight, Edward S.  
 Knight, Jessie J. Jr.  
 Knight, Robert  
     Huntington  
 Knoppers, Antonie  
     Theodore  
 Knowlton, William  
     Allen  
 Knox, John H.  
 Kobak, Deborah J.  
 Koch, Jennie M. †  
 Koehler, John E. \*  
 Kogan, Richard Jay  
 Kohut, Andrew  
 Kolbe, Jim  
 Kolodziej, Edward A.  
 Kolt, George  
 Koltai, Steven R.  
 Komisar, Lucy  
 Kondracke, Morton  
 Korb, Lawrence J.  
 Korbonski, Andrzej  
 Korn, Jessica  
 Kornblum, John C.  
 Korry, Edward M.  
 Kostiw, Mike Vincent  
 Kotecha, Mahesh K.  
 Kotler, Steven \*  
 Kraar, Louis  
 Kraemer, Lillian E.  
 Kraeutler, Kirk  
 Kramek, Robert E.  
 Kramer, David J.  
 Kramer, Helen M.
- Kramer, J. Reed  
 Kramer, Jane  
 Kramer, Michael  
 Kramer, Steven Philip  
 Kranwinkle, C.  
     Douglas  
 Kranz, Thomas F.  
 Krasner, Stephen D.  
 Krasno, Richard M.  
 Krause, Lawrence B.  
 Krauss, Clifford  
 Krauthammer, Charles  
 Kravis, Henry R.  
 Krawchuck, Fred †  
 Krens, Thomas  
 Krepinevich,  
     Andrew F.  
 Krepon, Michael  
 Kreps, Juanita Morris  
 Kriegel, Jay L.  
 Krisher, Bernard  
 Kristoff, Sandra J.  
 Kristol, Irving  
 Kronman, Anthony  
     Townsend  
 Krueger, Anne O.  
 Krueger, Harvey  
 Krulak, Charles  
     Chandler  
 Ku, Charlotte  
 Kubarych, Roger M.  
 Kubisch, Jack B.  
 Kull, Steven G.  
 Kuniholm, Bruce  
     Robellet  
 Kunstadter,  
     Geraldine S.  
 Kupchan, Charles A.  
 Kupchan, Clifford A.  
 Kupperman, Robert H.  
 Kurth, James R.  
 Kurtzer, Daniel C.  
 Kushen, Robert A. \*  
 Kwoh, Stewart
- L**
- Laber, Jeri L.  
 Labrecque, Thomas G.
- Ladd, Edward  
 Lader, Philip  
 Ladner, Joyce A.  
 LaFleur, Vinca  
 Lagon, Mark P. \*  
 Laipson, Ellen  
 Laird, Vanessa A.  
 Lake, David A. \*  
 Lake, W. Anthony  
 Lake, William T.  
 Lall, Betty Goetz  
 Lamar, Stephen E.  
 Lamb, Denis  
 Lambert, Brett B.  
 Lambeth, Benjamin S.  
 Lamont, Lansing  
 Lampley, Virginia A.  
 Lampton, David M.  
 Lancaster, Carol J.  
 Lance Rogoff, Natasha  
 Landau, George W.  
 Landers, James M.  
 Landis, Lauren R.  
 Landy, Joanne  
 Lane, David J. \*  
 Laney, James T.  
 Langdon, George D. Jr.  
 Langlois, John D.  
 LaPalombara, Joseph  
 Lapham, Lewis H.  
 Lapidus, Gail W.  
 Lardy, Nicholas R.  
 Larrabee, F. Stephen  
 Larson, Charles R.  
 Lash, Jonathan  
 Lasser, Lawrence J.  
 Lateef, Noel V.  
 Lauder, Leonard A.  
 Lauder, Ronald S.  
 Laudicina, Paul A.  
 Lauinger, Philip C. Jr.  
 Laurenti, Jeffrey  
 Lautenbach, Ned C.  
 Laventhol, David A.  
 Lavin, Franklin L.  
 Lawrence, Richard D.  
 Lawrence, Robert Z.  
 Lawson, Eugene K.  
 Layne, Christopher  
 Lazarus, Shelly B. \*
- Lazarus, Steven  
 Leach, James A.  
 Leavy, David C.  
 Leclerc, Paul  
 Lederberg, Joshua  
 Lederman, Gordon  
     Nathaniel †  
 Lee, Bryce †  
 Lee, Chong-Moon  
 Lee, Ernest S.  
 Lee, John J.  
 Lee, William L.  
 Leebron, David W.  
 Leeds, Roger S.  
 Lee-Kung, Dinah  
 Leet, Mildred Robbins  
 Lefever, Ernest W.  
 Leghorn, Richard S.  
 Legvold, Robert  
 Lehman, John F.  
 Lehman, Orin  
 Lehman, Ronald  
     Frank II  
 Lehr, Deborah M.  
 Lehrer, Jim  
 Leich, John Foster  
 Leigh, Monroe  
 Leland, Marc E.  
 Lelyveld, Joseph  
 LeMelle, Tilden J.  
 LeMelle, Wilbert J.  
 Lemle, J. Stuart \*  
 Lempert, Robert J. \*  
 Leness, Amanda V.  
 Lennon,  
     Alexander T.J. †  
 Lennon, Sarah  
     Jacobson †  
 Lenzen, Louis C.  
 LeoGrande,  
     William M.  
 Leonard, James F.  
 Leonard, James G.  
 Leonard, Kenneth L. †  
 Leone, Richard C.  
 Lerner-Lam, Eva  
 Lesch, Ann Mosely  
 Lesser, Ian O.  
 Levin, Gerald M.  
 Levin, Herbert



## MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Levin, John A.	Link, Troland S.	Loy, Frank E.	Macomber, John Dewitt	Marr, Phebe A.
Levin, Michael Stuart	Linowes, David F.	Loy, James Milton	Macomber, William B.	Marron, Donald B.
Levin, Neil D.	Linowitz, Sol M.	Lozano, Ignacio E.	Macy, Robert M. Jr.	Marsh, Tom F. *
Levine, Irving R.	Lipper, Kenneth	Lozano, Monica C.	Madrid, Arturo	Marshall, Andrew W.
Levine, Marne L.	Lippman, Thomas W.	Lu, Donald †	Maguire, John David	Marshall, Anthony D.
Levine, Mel	Lipscomb, Thomas H.	Lubin, Nancy	Mahoney, Margaret E.	Marshall, Dale Rogers
Levine, Susan B.	Lipset, Seymour Martin	Lubman, Stanley B.	Mahoney, Thomas H. IV	Marshall, F. Ray
Levinson, Marc	Lipsky, John P.	Lucas, C. Payne	Mai, Vincent A.	Marshall, Katherine
Levit, Ken †	Lipsky, Seth	Luck, Edward C.	Maier, Charles S.	Marshall, Zachary Blake
Levitas, Mitchel	Lissakers, Karin M.	Lucy, William	Makins, Christopher J.	Martin, Daniel Richard
Levy, Marion J. Jr.	Litan, Robert E.	Luers, Wendy W.	Mako, William P.	Martin, Lisa L.
Levy, Philip I.	Litt, David G.	Luers, William H.	Malek, Frederic V.	Martin, Lynn Morley
Levy, Reynold	Little, David	Luke, John A. Jr.	Mallery, Richard	Martin, Susan F.
Levy, Samuel J.	Litwak, Robert S.	Lustick, Ian S.	Mallett, Robert L. *	Martin, William F.
Lewis, Anthony	Liu, Eric P.	Lute, Jane Holl	Malmgren, Harald B.	Martin-Brown, Joan C.
Lewis, Bernard	Liu, Margaret C.	Luttwak, Edward N.	Malone, Kim	Martinez, Armando Bravo
Lewis, Edward T.	Livingston, Robert Gerald	Luu, Ky	Malpass, David R. *	Martinuzzi, Leo S. Jr.
Lewis, Elise E. Carlson *	Llewellyn, J. Bruce	Luzzatto, Anne R.	Mamdani, Mahmoud A.	Marton, Kati I.
Lewis, Flora	Lodal, Jan M.	Lyall, Katharine C.	Manca, Marie Antoinette	Masin, Michael T.
Lewis, John P.	Lodge, George Cabot	Lyman, Princeton N.	Mandelbaum, Michael	Massey, L. Camille
Lewis, Samuel W.	Loeb, Marshall	Lyman, Richard W.	Manilow, Lewis	Massey, Walter E.
Lewis, Sherman R. Jr.	Logan, Francis D.	Lynch, Thomas F. III	Manley, Audrey Forbes	Massie, Suzanne Rohrbach
Lewis, Stephen R. Jr.	London, Herbert I. *	Lynch, William Jr.	Mann, Hillary P.	Mastanduno, Michael
Lewis, W. Walker	Long, Susan Mitchell	Lynk, Myles V.	Mann, Michael D.	Masters, Carlton A. *
Lewy, Glen S.	Long, William J.	Lynn, James T.	Mann, Thomas E.	Mathews, Jessica T.
Li, Victor H.	Longstreth, Bevis	Lynn, Laurence E. Jr.	Mansfield, Edward D.	Mathews, Michael S.
Libby, I. Lewis	Longworth, Richard C. *	Lyon, David W.	Manzi, Jim	Mathews, Sylvia M.
Lichtblau, John H.	Loranger, Donald Eugene	Lyons, Gene M.	Marans, J. Eugene	Mathias, Charles McC. Jr.
Lichtenstein, Cynthia C.	Lord, Bette Bao	Lyons, James E.	Marchick, David	Mathis, Brian P. *
Lieber, James E.	Lord, Winston	Lyons, Richard Kent	Marcucci, Anna Patricia	Matlock, Jack F. Jr.
Lieber, Robert J.	Lorentzen, Oivind III	<b>M</b>	Marcum, John Arthur	Matsui, Robert T.
Lieberman, Jodi Beth	Louis, William Roger	Ma, Christopher	Marder, Murrey	Matsukata, Naotaka
Lieberman, Joseph I.	Lourie, Linda †	Mabus, Raymond E.	Margolis, David I.	Matteson, William B.
Lieberman, Nancy A.	Loury, Glenn Cartman *	MacCormack, Charles Frederick	Marinzoli, A. Roger	Matthews, Eugene A.
Lieberthal, Kenneth G.	Lovejoy, Thomas E.	MacDonald, Gordon J.	Mark, David E.	Mattox, Gale A.
Lifton, Robert K.	Lovelace, Jon B.	MacDonald, Shawn A.	Mark, Hans M.	Matuszewski, Daniel C.
Light, Timothy	Low, Stephen	MacDougal, Gary E.	Mark, Rebecca P.	Maxwell, Kenneth Robert
Lighthizer, Robert E.	Lowenfeld, Andreas F.	MacFarquhar, Emily	Marks, Leonard H.	May, Ernest R.
Lilienthal, Sally L.	Lowenkron, Barry F.	MacGillivray, Adrien C.	Marks, Paul A.	May, Michael M.
Lilley, James R.	Lowenstein, James G.	Mack Bell, Holley	Marks, Russell E. Jr.	Mayer, Claudette
Lincoln, Edward J.	Lowenthal, Abraham F.	Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr.	Markusen, Ann R.	Mayer, Gerald M. Jr.
Lindberg, Tod *		MacLaury, Bruce K.	Marlin, Alice Tepper	Mayer, Lawrence A.

\* Elected to membership in 2000.

† Elected to five-year membership in 2000.



## MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Mayhew, Alice E.	McLaughlin, Charles James	Merow, John	Mirsky, Yehudah	Mosbacher, Robert A.
Maynes, Charles William	McLaughlin, David T.	Merrill, Philip	Mishkin, Alexander V.	Moses, Alfred H.
Mazur, Jay	McLean, Mora L.	Merritt, Jack Neil	Mitchell, Arthur M. III	Mosettig, Michael David
McAfee, William Gage	McLean, Sheila Avrin	Merszei, Zoltan	Mitchell, George H. Jr.	Moskow, Kenneth A.
McAllister, Jef Olivarius	McLin, Jon Blythe	Mertus, Julie Ann	Mitchell, George J.	Moskow, Michael H.
McAllister, Singleton B. *	McMahon, Darrin M. †	Meselson, Matthew S.	Mitchell, Wandra G.	Moss, Ambler H. Jr.
McCaffrey, Barry R.	McManus, Doyle	Messitte, Zach P.	Mize, David M.	Moss, David A.
McCaffrey, Cynthia L. †	McManus, Jason D.	Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr.	Mochizuki, Kiichi	Motley, Joel W.
McCain, John S. III	McNamara, Dennis L. *	Metcalf, George Rich	Mochizuki, Mike M.	Mottahedeh, Roy P.
McCall, H. Carl	McNamara, Kathleen R.	Mettler, Ruben F.	Moe, Sherwood G.	Motulsky, Daniel T.
McCann, Edward	McNamara, Robert S.	Metzl, Jamie Frederic	Moffett, George D.	Mouat, Lucia *
McCartan, Patrick F.	McNamara, Thomas E.	Meyer, Carl J. †	Moffett, Julia	Moynihan, Daniel P.
McCarter, John W. Jr.	McNaugher, Thomas L.	Meyer, Cord	Molano, Walter Thomas	Mroz, John Edwin
McCarthy, James P.	McNerney, Michael J.	Meyer, Edward C.	Mondale, Walter F.	Mudd, Margaret Farris
McCarthy, Paul B.	McPeak, Merrill A.	Meyer, John Robert	Montgomery, George Cranwell	Mulford, David C.
McClary, Tonya D.	McPeek, Brian C. †	Meyer, Karl E.	Montgomery, Mark C.	Mulholland, William D.
McCloy, John J. II	McPherson, M. Peter	Meyer, Michael Ryder	Montgomery, Parker G.	Muller, Edward R.
McCormack, Elizabeth J.	McQuade, Lawrence C.	Meyerman, Harold J.	Montgomery, Philip O'Bryan III	Muller, Henry
McCormick, David H.	McWade, Robert S.	Meyerson, Martin	Moock, Joyce Lewinger	Muller, Steven
McCouch, Donald G.	Meacham, Jon	Michaels, Marguerite	Moody, Jim	Mullins, Janet G.
McCracken, Paul W.	Mead, Dana G.	Mickiewicz, Ellen	Moody, William S.	Mulvenon, James C. †
McCurdy, Dave K.	Mead, Walter Russell	Midgley, Elizabeth	Moore, John J. Jr.	Mundy, Carl E. Jr.
McDermott, Jim	Meagher, Robert F.	Mihaly, Eugene B.	Moore, John M.	Munger, Edwin S.
McDevitt, Sean Daniel	Mearsheimer, John J.	Mikell, Gwendolyn	Moore, John Norton	Munroe, George B.
McDonald, Alonzo L.	Medina, David S. †	Miles, Edward L.	Moore, Jonathan	Munyan, Winthrop R.
McDonald, Tom	Medina, Kathryn B.	Milestone, Judith B.	Moore, Julia A.	Murase, Emily Moto *
McDonough, William J.	Medley, Richard *	Miller, Charles †	Moore, Paul Jr.	Muravchik, Joshua
McDougall, Gay J.	Meers, Sharon I.	Miller, David Charles Jr.	Moorman, Thomas S. Jr.	Murdoch, Rupert
McEntee, Joan M.	Mehta, Ved	Miller, Debra L.	Moose, George E.	Murdock, Deroy
McFarlane, Jennifer A.	Meissner, Doris M.	Miller, Franklin C.	Moose, Richard M.	Murdy, William F.
McFarlane, Robert C.	Meister, Irene W.	Miller, J. Irwin	Mora, Alberto J.	Murphy, Caryle Marie
McFate, Patricia Ann	Melby, Eric D.K.	Miller, Judith	Mora, Antonio G. *	Murphy, Richard M. Jr. †
McGarr, Cappy R. *	Mello, Judy Hendren	Miller, Ken	Moragoda, Asoka Milinda	Murphy, Richard W.
McGiffert, David E.	Melloan, George R.	Miller, Linda B.	Moran, Theodore H.	Murphy, Thomas S.
McGovern, George S.	Melville, Richard Allen	Miller, Marcia E.	Morris, Max King	Murray, Allen E.
McGowan, Alan	Mendelson, Sarah Elizabeth	Miller, Matthew L.	Morris, Milton D.	Murray, Douglas P.
McGrath, Eugene R.	Mendlovitz, Saul H.	Miller, Roberta Balstad	Morris-Eck, Bailey	Murray, Ian P. *
McGurn, William	Mendoza, Roberto G.	Miller, Scott L. *	Morrisett, Lloyd N.	Murray, Janice L.
McHale, Thomas R.	Menges, Carl Braun	Miller, William Green	Morrissey, Arthur C. *	Murray, Leonard II
McHenry, Donald F.	Menke, John R.	Millett, Allan R.	Morse, Edward L.	Murray, Lori Esposito
McKeon, Elizabeth A.	Menon, Rajan	Millington, John A.	Morse, Kenneth P.	Muse, Martha Twitchell
McKinney, Robert Moody	Merkel, Claire Sechler	Mills, Bradford	Mortimer, David H.	Musham, Bettye Martin
McLarty, Thomas F. *	Merkel, David A.	Mills, Karen Gordon		
	Meron, Theodor	Mills, Susan Linda		
		Mims, Valerie A.		
		Minow, Newton N.		
		Miranda, Lourdes R.		
		Mirkow, Francisco J. †		



## MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

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