



# Council on Foreign Relations

## ANNUAL REPORT

July 1, 2000 – June 30, 2001

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# Officers and Directors, 2001–2002

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\*Appointed by the Board of Directors in 2001.

†In accordance with By-Law VII (as amended October 2000), elected in 2001 by the Board of Directors to serve on a year-to-year basis.

Note: The list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 2001.

# Contents

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Officers and Directors	2
Mission Statement	5
Letter from the Chairman	6
Letter from the Vice Chairman	8
The President's Message	10
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	19
Special Activities	22
Term Member Program	27
Studies Program	32
National Security	32
International Economics	33
Asia	34
Africa	35
Europe	35
Latin America	36
Middle East	37
Peace and Conflict	37
Science and Technology	38
U.S. Foreign Policy	38
Other Activities	39
International Affairs Fellowship Program	39
New York Meetings Program	41
Washington Program	47
National Program	52
Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships	59
Corporate Program	61

## Contents

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Communications	67
Publications	68
Development	70
Annual Giving Donors	73
2001 Board Election	80
Committees of the Board, 2000–2001	81
International Advisory Board	83
Council By-Laws	84
Rules, Guidelines, and Practices	88
Historical Roster of Directors and Officers	90
Budget and Finance	93
Staff	101
Membership	106
Membership Selection Procedure	106
Membership Roster	109

The Council's Annual Report is designed to focus attention on the substance of its programs. A comprehensive listing of the year's activities is available on the Council's website at [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).

# Mission Statement

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Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is a nonpartisan membership organization, research center, and publisher. It is dedicated to increasing America's understanding of the world and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy. The Council accomplishes this mainly by promoting constructive discussions and by publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the leading journal on global issues. The Council is host to the widest possible range of views but an advocate of none, though its research fellows and independent task forces do take policy stands.

Like the great universities, foundations, and other think tanks in America, the Council on Foreign Relations aims to enhance the quality of study and debate on world issues, develop new generations of thinkers and leaders, and help meet international challenges by generating concrete and workable ideas.

# Letter from the Chairman

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About eight years ago, Board Vice Chairman Hank Greenberg, Council President Les Gelb, the other Board members, and I faced a challenge. How could the Council increase its impact on the real world, which by its nature involves making specific policy recommendations, without violating the Council's tradition of not taking institutional positions on policy matters? A hallmark of the Council is that we have always been an incubator of ideas across the spectrum of policy thought, free from the grinding of an ideological ax.

One solution: The Council would periodically create and convene independent task forces on the top foreign policy issues of the day. Each independent task force, comprising current and former policymakers, academics, and leaders from the private sector of varied backgrounds and political persuasions, would meet over the course of several months to forge policy proposals that would help resolve or manage international problems on a nonpartisan basis.

Today, the real-world impact of the independent task forces has exceeded our most fervent hopes. Imagine my satisfaction during a Council-sponsored trip to Cuba this year when virtually every member of our delegation and every senior Cuban official we met cited proposals in the two reports of the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on Cuba. Not that the Cubans were positive: Just before our visit, state television devoted much of its prime-time schedule on three consecutive nights to criticism of the task force's work. And in our meetings, President Fidel Castro and other top Cuban officials pulled no punches in confronting our group with their objections to many of the task force's recommendations.

But the point of the task force's work was never for Havana to like it. The objective was to prompt new thinking, in Washington, in Miami, and on the island itself. The task force did just that. At private moments during the trip, we also learned that the task force had produced the most practical and helpful suggestions to date to break the U.S.-Cuba impasse. Indeed, here in the United States, the task force's two reports would become the basis for bipartisan legislation in Congress and for concrete policy action.

After the first report, the Clinton administration announced a series of measures toward Cuba that, though more limited in scope than those the task force had urged, were consistent with the spirit of its recommendations. In the case of expanding people-to-people exchanges between the United States and Cuba, the administration explicitly adopted certain of the task force's recommendations. And at the official level, the two governments began modest cooperation in counternarcotics efforts. Proposals to begin agricultural and pharmaceutical sales to Cuba, as both task force reports recommended, have made their way directly into new legislation in the 107th Congress, introduced with strong bipartisan sponsorship.



*Peter G. Peterson*

Korea provides another example of the impact of our independent task forces. Few institutions have been as effective as the Council's Independent Task Force on North Korea in being a harbinger of change between the United States and North Korea. Through numerous meetings, reports, and letters to the president over the past few years, the task force has relentlessly encouraged Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush to engage North Korea. Most recently, within hours of President Bush's announcement that he would continue talks with North Korea, the task force reinforced him with a letter proposing the next steps, encouraging the president to support fully South Korea's efforts at reconciliation with the North.

Back in our own hemisphere again, the Council's Independent Task Force on Brazil has had resonance of major proportions. The task force recommended that the United States create a focal point to its policy in South America, and that Brazil, the world's third-largest democracy, become that focal point. The task force advised President Bush to move swiftly to establish a standing high-level dialogue with Brazil on key issues from drugs to trade to democratization to combating terrorism and international crime—stressing that this can and should be done without diminishing U.S. ties to other Latin American nations.

The task force report received immediate and sweeping coverage in Brazil and in virtually every other South American country as well, not to mention Mexico and Europe. Brazil's foreign minister immediately requested a meeting at the Council with task force members. When the president of Brazil visited Washington shortly after the report was released, its findings were a focus of his trip.

Some task force reports, of course, examine issues a bit closer to home. The Independent Task Force on State Department Reform diagnosed the U.S. State Department as being plagued by labor shortages, antiquated equipment, and dilapidated and insecure facilities, and suggested a "resources-for-reform" strategy of specific steps to rectify the department's shortcomings. Frank Carlucci, chair of this task force, and Les Gelb were asked to meet with Secretary of State Colin Powell to discuss its recommendations. The secretary spoke about the problems in his inaugural speech to department employees and vowed to take action. It is too early to tell whether change will happen, but the secretary at least has a road map.

The Council's independent task forces, in fact, have gained a widespread reputation in government. President Clinton and Secretary of the Treasury Robert E. Rubin,



*New York Presider Walter S. Isaacson, Speaker Henry A. Kissinger, Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc., Speaker Madeleine K. Albright, Chairman, National Democratic Institute, and Peter G. Peterson at the April 24, 2001, Meeting, "Videoconferenced Conversation with the Former Secretaries of State."*

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while at a meeting a couple of years ago in which the president delivered a public address to the Council, suggested we form a task force to address whether global financial institutions were sufficiently equipped to deal with financial crises such as the one that occurred in Asia. Carla A. Hills, the former U.S. trade representative, and I were honored to co-chair the blue-ribbon task force that emerged. We were pleased that the task force's recommendations were the subject of much debate and mostly praise within the press corps and the financial community.

And any time the most senior officials of the United States suggest we form an independent task force to help them solve a problem, that's a sign that our task forces—like the Council itself—are making a genuine difference.

*Peter G. Peterson*  
Chairman of the Board



# Letter from the Vice Chairman

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**M**y goal this year has been to continue to sharpen the Council's focus on the links between economic and foreign policy issues. For the past several years, I, along with Les Gelb, have pushed the Council to move aggressively to bridge the gap between policy studies that emphasize economics and those that emphasize security and other foreign policy issues. It has been my conviction that the Council, with its unique blend of academic experts, policymakers, and corporate leaders, is the perfect place to build that bridge. We've made substantial progress this year.

The institutional site for the Council's new focus will be the Goeconomics Center, the creation of which has been a goal of mine for nearly a decade. After years of planning and preparation, the center will be formally launched in the fall. It has a stellar advisory board that includes, besides me as chairman, John Browne, Martin S. Feldstein, John R. Galvin, Carla A. Hills, Winston Lord, Donald B. Marron, William J. McDonough, Peter G. Peterson, David Rockefeller, Robert E. Rubin, Richard E. Salomon, Brent Scowcroft, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, and Ernesto Zedillo. Michael M. Weinstein, BP senior fellow for international economics, is its acting director.

The center will conduct policy-related research on issues that combine economics and some other foreign policy component, from national security to science and technology. Another goal of the center will be to train the next generation of foreign policy experts, who should then be able to tackle foreign policy problems that encompass an important economic dimension.

To help achieve both goals, we are working toward making the center a joint undertaking with Columbia University. Columbia could give the center a firm academic base. Fellows from the Council and faculty members from several fields at Columbia—including law, international affairs, economics, business, and political science—have been participating in a monthly seminar on globalization, to clarify how a joint center might develop insightful ways to dissect policy issues.

Several projects underway at the Council fit neatly under the umbrella of the center. Walter Russell Mead, senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy, directs a project on American foreign policy and the global middle class. He will examine the emergence of a middle class in several developing economies and study the implication of this new force for American foreign policy.

Senior Fellows Morton H. Halperin and Michael Weinstein have begun a study to flesh out links, in the aftermath of the Cold War, between democracy and development. Their project seeks to answer whether democracy hastens economic development in poor countries and whether economic development in poor nations helps to preserve democracy, inhibiting slides toward populist authoritarianism.

Michael Weinstein will also edit a volume on globalization, documenting how the world of international trade and foreign investment has changed over the last 50 years.



*Maurice R. Greenberg*



The essays will analyze how globalization affects living standards, poverty, and the autonomy of countries in setting their economic policies—including efforts to help the poor.

Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman adjunct senior fellow in international economics and finance, directs a project on the Americanization of finance. It will analyze the economic and political consequences of a transformation from financial systems dominated by commercial banks to a freewheeling system, organized around open capital markets. He will examine how this transformation threatens entrenched elites and identify policy implications.

Jagdish N. Bhagwati, André Meyer senior fellow in international economics, is writing a book that seeks to demonstrate that globalization's harshest critics are wrong—that freeing trade is socially benign. He will recommend ways to address those problems that globalization truly exacerbates.

Benn Steil, our other André Meyer senior fellow in international economics, is directing a project that examines the use, and abuse, by government of complex financial instruments, known as derivatives, to manage public debt. Timothy F. Geithner, senior fellow in international economics, has directed a design group chaired by Robert E. Rubin, former Treasury secretary, and Kenneth M. Duberstein, former chief of staff to President Ronald Reagan, to evaluate the need for an independent task force on trade that would seek to match the interests and claims of proponents of trade expansion with the interests and claims of groups representing human rights, labor, and the environment. Timothy Geithner is also developing a proposal to reform development assistance, calling for targeting more money on needy countries with credible economic policies.

Stephen R. Sestanovich, the George F. Kennan senior fellow for Russian and Eurasian studies, will examine what went wrong in Russian-American relations over the past decade and the interaction of Russia's diplomatic and security goals with its economic agenda. Senior Fellow Henry Siegman directs a project that will produce economic and trade options for countries in the Middle



*Speaker Jiang Zemin, President, People's Republic of China, Louis V. Gerstner Jr., and Maurice R. Greenberg at the September 8, 2000, Meeting, "Together to Build a China-U.S. Relationship Oriented Toward the New Century."*

East and North Africa. Senior Fellow Caroline Atkinson, who focuses on international economics, will examine the impact on markets of financial consolidation and of a pullback by hedge funds from taking large bets on macroeconomic developments. Ronald D. Asmus, senior fellow for Europe studies, directs a project that, in part, addresses the impact of economics on the debate over NATO enlargement and the search for a new security order in Europe after the Cold War.

The creation of the Geoeconomics Center marks an exciting moment at the Council. It addresses a glaring gap that extends well beyond our confines into the sinews of the country's policymaking apparatus. I can, then, report with pride that the Council has now taken its first ambitious steps toward closing that gap.

*Maurice R. Greenberg*  
Vice Chairman of the Board

# The President's Message

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As the 21st century began to unfold, we all felt the tremors of an unsettling future. Globalization, ever oversold by its prophets, increasingly revealed itself as more promise than reality. Economic growth slowed. Oil prices leaped upward. Hopes of peace between Israelis and Palestinians drowned in bloodshed. And a small matter, an accidental collision between an American spy plane and a Chinese interceptor and the emergency landing of the American aircraft on Hainan Island, fully exposed a mean and dangerous streak in Sino-American relations. The new Bush administration damned the Kyoto Protocol on global warming and hoisted missile defense to the flagpole's top, both moves setting off international puzzlement or distress.

One might have thought that these and other such events would have triggered renewed public or, at least, congressional interest in U.S. foreign policy. Yet only blips of attention could be found here and there, and even those were not many.

On the surface, this complacency shields no mystery. Since the Cold War's end, the American people and their leaders have been enveloped in the embrace of peace and prosperity. It is as if nothing could hurt us. Cold wars and world wars, depressions and recessions, seem creatures of the past. Perhaps the wars are, but not the economic woes.

Yet, Americans have never been more involved with the world than now. Interdependence at virtually every level has created all the opportunities applauded by the prophets of globalization, as well as all the vulnerabilities ignored by the same prophets. Much of what happens anywhere in the world can now touch us here in America as never before, even hurt us—even, yes, bring us to our knees.

The specter of nuclear destruction haunted us during the Cold War, but except perhaps in the case of the Cuban missile crisis, it was always a remote possibility. The likelihood of terrorist attacks with weapons of mass destruction on U.S. cities, however, is not remote. These attacks will happen unless we are lucky. For all our history until now, economic distress in Asia would have been shrugged off by U.S. financial



*Leslie H. Gelb*



*President Leslie H. Gelb and Speaker Ehud Barak, Prime Minister of Israel, at the January 8, 2001, Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture, "Videoconferenced Conversation with Ehud Barak."*

markets. No longer. AIDS in Africa or mad cow disease in Europe can readily travel to American shores in these halcyon days of globalization. The hole in the ozone layer sits not just over Timbuktu, but also over Peoria. Those very distant bouts of ethnic and civil slaughter in Sierra Leone or East Timor or the Balkans touch us and our friends and allies quickly and repeatedly—as refugees, as terrorists, or as pricks upon our conscience. Yes, interdependence, or globalization, as we now call it, can hurt as well as help us, help us a lot and hurt us a lot.

Yet still, the intensity and quality of the public debate over U.S. foreign policy does small justice to the magnitude of the opportunities and threats facing us. Why? The inattention of the public and our leadership, a problem that has



*President Lee Cullum and Speaker Leon S. Fuerth, National Security Adviser, Office of the Vice President, at the September 20, 2000, Meeting, "Engaging Abroad: Vice President Gore and U.S. Foreign Policy."*



sources more intricate than complacency. President Clinton certainly did not make the discussion of international affairs his top priority or even his fifth one, though he may insist otherwise. President Bush remains somewhat of a mystery at this early hour in his tenure, though we are starting to see the effects of his foreign policy lightning bolts. Congressional de-

bates and hearings often fail even modest tests of enlightenment, though legislators will have their counterclaims. And many lament the decline in quality, if not in quantity, of media coverage of foreign affairs, though many media tribunes claim their reports have never been better. Ideas and messages for public debate evaporate if messengers fail to deliver them or trivialize them or insist the public does not care to hear them.

But foreign policy organizations and experts should tremble before casting even pebbles at the public, legislators, journalists, or presidents. In the end, we experts bear much of the responsibility for the decline of public debate. It is in ourselves that we must now look for the an-

swers, in the public policy schools at universities, the think tanks, and the Council on Foreign Relations in particular.

Those of us in this world of ideas do not have much influence over the media or political leaders. But we do have some, and it is roughly proportional to two things: the information we offer and the power of our ideas. We have not provided enough value on either front. A good deal has changed in the last decade, and we experts have not done much digging into what's new and what's not, or into discovering through empirical research the new rules and rhythms of international affairs, or into putting forward policies on how to solve or manage problems rang-



*Council members and students at Georgetown University during the September 25, 2000, Campaign 2000 Debate, "Future U.S. Defense Policy and Military Spending."*

ing from ethnic warfare to financial crises. Here at the Council, we have been trying to dig these tunnels of fact and climb these walls of reality, inevitably with uneven success.

Our main Studies Department effort, an ongoing one these past seven years, has been to develop policy-oriented studies in what we call “geoeconomics” or political economy, the intersection of foreign policy and economics. Almost every major world problem has an economic core or a large economic dimension. As Hank Greenberg explains in his message this year, we have a dual mission: first, to link the study of economic and financial matters to traditional national security, country and regional affairs, science and technology, and new agenda issues such as drugs, environment, and health; and second, to thereby create the next generation of foreign policy expert—the geoeconomist.

We are convinced that new insights will emerge from fusing research efforts and thinking in these ways. For example, we should be able to measure reasonably well whether and how fast China is emerging as a military power. Insights will come from statements by Chinese leaders and by paying careful attention to the state of their military industries, their technological competitiveness, and the roads and railways being constructed to transport their troops. Taken all together, these factors can either temper the warnings about Beijing's intentions or give them weight. Hank's message gives other examples of what we expect to reap. More and more of our Studies Department's activities will fall under this geoeconomic rubric, as we add value in information, insights, and policy ideas.

BP Senior Fellow for International Economics Michael M. Weinstein will serve as acting director of our new Geoeconomics Center. Michael, who has a Ph.D. in economics from M.I.T., was the head of the Economics Department at Haverford College and the lead economics writer on the editorial board of the *New York Times*. His clarity and precision are matched by his ability to write. Michael will work closely with Roger M. Kubarych, the



*Speaker Richard C. Holbrooke, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and President Leslie H. Gelb at the January 17, 2001, Term Member Trip to the United Nations.*



*Roger M. Kubarych, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, and Richard E. Salomon at the December 11, 2000, Meeting of the Advisory Board of the Geoeconomics Center.*



*William L. Nash, Robert R. King, Alton Frye, and Speaker Guenter Burghardt, Head of the European Commission Delegation to the United States, at the May 18, 2001, Congressional Staff Roundtable on International Trade and Economics, "Europe and the United States: Managing the Partnership."*



*Theodore C. Sorensen, E. John Rosenwald Jr., and Mortimer B. Zuckerman at the January 8, 2001, Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture, "Videoconferenced Conversation with Ehud Barak."*



*President Donald B. Marron and Speaker Andrés Pastrana, President of Colombia, at the September 7, 2000, Meeting, "U.S.-Colombian Relations."*



*Robert G. Wilmers, Joan E. Spero, Winston Lord, and Speaker K. H. Abdurrahman Wahid, President of Indonesia, at the September 7, 2000, Meeting, "Economic Recovery: The Key to Securing Indonesia's Democracy."*

Henry Kaufman adjunct senior fellow in international economics and finance. Roger came to the Council with a solid background in financial markets, both in the private sector and with the New York Federal Reserve Bank. Michael and Roger will work with Vice President and Director of Studies Larry Korb and our other senior fellows to produce articles and books that we hope will command the attention of political leaders and journalists.

We also hope to give our leaders and tribunes something to talk about and debate through the work of our Center for Preventive Action. The idea is to see if we can produce operational plans to head off the scourge of ethnic and civil wars. Concreteness and tangibility are key; more analyses and more moral lectures to love thy neighbor have not stayed and will not stay the bloody swords of hatred. Our center has to present strategies for concrete actions by governments and nongovernmental and international organizations. Those strategies will derive from a careful inventory of local and international groups, their influence in target areas, and the best strategy to use that influence.

The center is led by Bill Nash, a retired army major general. Bill commanded the American division that entered Bosnia pursuant to the Dayton Accords, and he served as deputy administrator for the United Nations in Kosovo. He has the experience to put together Council task forces that will be charged with developing prevention plans.

A further word about Council task forces is in order here as well. In his message this year, Pete Peterson talks about this relatively new feature of the Council landscape. Again, going back about eight years, the Council leadership felt strongly that public debate, particularly policy debates, had begun to dry up. We wanted to put some life back into this process. So we established Council-sponsored independent task forces. Once we choose members of these diverse and nonpartisan groups, what they say is entirely up to them. We launch a task force when we decide that, despite public bashing, an issue is ripe for agreement among fair-minded people of varied persuasions. When task force reports have been sharp,



pointed, and practical, they have caused ripples of debate and even changes in government policy.

Increasingly, we have taken draft task force reports out to our members around the country for their consideration and debate. Our National Program, ably led by Senior Vice President Mike Peters and National Director Irina Faskianos, is now strong enough to provide real input into all our intellectual work. One of our aims is to generate a



solid core of Council members in each key city around the country so that they can carry on discussions at times and on issues more of their own choosing. Specifically, we are looking toward establishing roundtable groups in several cities where 20 or so members can gather half a dozen times yearly to exchange views, with or without Council senior fellows.

At our Annual Term Member Conference, superbly organized by Elise Lewis, vice president of membership and fellowship affairs, and her staff, debating the big issues was very much the main event. Our younger members, mostly between the ages of 27 and 37, need to confront the central foreign policy issues. While a good deal has changed in the recent world, the foreign policy dialogue in America remains dominated by my very able generation of thinkers molded during the Cold War. It is now up to the next generation to stake its intellectual claims and put down its markers.

*Speaker Rachel Bronson, Olin Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, Speaker Michael J. Green, Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, Speaker Jordan S. Kassalow, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy, Council on Foreign Relations, Presider Walter Russell Mead, Speaker Gideon Rose, Managing Editor, Foreign Affairs, and Speaker David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations, at the March 9, 2001, Term Member Annual Conference Session, "Next Generation Problems, Next Generation Solutions."*



In our view, the most telling issue of all to debate is the definition of national security in the 21st century. Throughout our history and that of most other nations, the national interest has had a rather limited and specific definition, covering military threats to friends, allies, and one's homeland. Some nations included economic threats and opportunities as well, but often as an adjunct to the military dimension. In public opinion polls, Americans now include economic threats as high on their list



*Speaker Peter Hakim, President, Inter-American Dialogue, Speaker Thomas F. McLarty III, Vice Chairman, Kissinger McLarty & Associates, Speaker Bruce Stokes, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economic Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, Speaker Andrés Bianchi, Ambassador of Chile to the United States, Speaker John Cavanagh, Director, Institute for Policy Studies, and Presider Tara Diane Sonenshine at the April 17, 2001, "Summit of the Americas Press Briefing."*

of fears as military ones, though most of our foreign policy experts would not, I suspect.

While we are broadening our definition of security to include economics as well as traditional defense, we have another dimension to confront. Should the roster of primal threats to our lives and livelihood include environmental degradation, disease, health, drugs, crime, overpopulation, refugees, and the like? Most foreign policy experts resist this broadening. Without trivializing these matters, foreign policy experts tend to argue that these issues can be treated separately and on their own terms, apart from foreign policy or national security. But it is difficult to imagine any one of these issues being given the necessary top-level attention and resources unless they become part of the national security debate. President Dwight Eisenhower certainly understood this in the late 1950s when he

used the Soviet Union's launching of the *Sputnik* satellite to wrest new moneys from Congress to support public education in math and the sciences.

This debate will be neither easy nor pleasant. Its outcome will reshape the organization of government, the distribution of funds, and the time and attention of our leaders. But to many of us at the Council, this debate should be a principal calling for our younger members and their generation. We saw the need for this on a practical level this year when Jordan Kassalow, adjunct senior fellow for global health policy, published a short report, *Why Health Is Important to U.S. Foreign Policy*, which became an instant "best-seller."

Stimulating public debates on policy issues, and especially on foreign policy, is a task worthy of Job. We have been at it for several years now in our bread-and-butter general meetings programs in New York and Washington, D.C., which continued their tradition of success thanks to the leadership of Anne Luzzatto and Paula Dobriansky, respectively. We lifted debates into a separate and special category during the presidential election campaign. Our Campaign 2000 effort, featured on the cover of last year's Annual Report, succeeded very well in its website and on-line versions. We also did well from time to time with face-to-face debates on college campuses. Anyone who observed our Atlanta debate on national security between Newt Gingrich and Andrew Young at Georgia State University, or the one on defense policy between Senators Carl Levin and Jon Kyl at Georgetown University, can attest to this.

But getting prominent people or prominent foreign policy experts to debate turns out to be an unnatural act. Most of them do not want to debate. Some shy away from the hand-to-hand combat and the possibility of embarrassment, and that is understandable. During campaigns, many more demur for political reasons: either they or their political handlers fear rhetorical slips that might damage their candidates' prospects.

But by the time we finish understanding everyone's personal and political realities, serious debate slides out of



*Tammany D. Hobbs Miracky, Charles James McLaughlin, and Suzanne Christine Nielsen at the March 8, 2001, Term Member Annual Conference, "Challenges for the Bush Administration."*



*Arthur Schneier and Christine Todd Whitman at the September 8, 2000, Meeting, "Together to Build a China-U.S. Relationship Oriented Toward the New Century."*



*James Baker Sitrick, Robert W. Johnson IV, and George Soros at the October 12, 2000, Meeting, "Videoconferenced Conversation with Condoleezza Rice."*



*Speaker Condoleezza Rice, Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to Governor George W. Bush, and New York Governor Charlie Rose at the October 12, 2000, Meeting, "Videoconferenced Conversation with Condoleezza Rice."*



*Speaker Robert C. McFarlane, Chairman, Energy and Communications Solutions, LLC, Speaker Brent Scowcroft, President, Forum for International Policy, and Maurice R. Greenberg at the February 15, 2001, Meeting with the former National Security Advisers, "National Security Looking Forward."*



*William J. McDonough and Speaker Vern Clark, Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, at the January 4, 2001, John Train Lecture, "U.S. Defense Policy Under the New Administration."*

the public arena. And when it does, our democracy declines. For all its flaws, nothing matches serious debate—head-on give-and-take between contenders and their contending ideas. Individual speeches and one-on-one interviews surely have their place, but well-moderated direct exchanges still provide the best tool for the public to understand the issues.

To me, our foreign policy friends and political leaders owe the American people a serious debate on foreign policy. It is hard to see how our democracy can flourish without a fair and direct rendering of facts and choices. The jokes that often pass for debate too often demean facts and public choices.

This sounds melodramatic, I know. I thought I had forsworn melodrama for my tenure as Council president. But the consequence of transforming public discourse into a joke is to make democracy a joke.

Members and friends of the Council are generally accomplished people. This success and influence confers on us the heavy responsibility to maintain the quality of debates and ideas in our country. Our forefathers understood this perfectly. They gave us, among other things, the Federalist Papers and their opposition papers, almost all magnificent discourse. Equally impressive, newspapers and journals throughout the colonies carried these disquisitions for all to read. They set the standard for what those who have the time and talent to know owe to those who do not. Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas managed at once to enlighten and amuse their Illinois neighbors. Congress fathered serious debates during the Vietnam War and the Gulf War. Surely, those who would lead us and provide ideas to our leaders can muster the courage to argue and explain where they would lead us and why.

*Leslie H. Gelb*  
President



# Foreign Affairs

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The past year was one of transition, most notably from one presidential administration to another in the United States. *Foreign Affairs* staked out an early position during the election campaign with wide-ranging articles on upcoming challenges as seen through the eyes of key advisers to the major candidates. Given the Republican victory, the likely policy directions anticipated by contributors Condoleezza Rice and Robert B. Zoellick received constant attention from other media throughout the year.

Immediately following the election, *Foreign Affairs* presented Samuel R. Berger's recommendations for building on the Clinton foreign policy record. Essays on the challenges awaiting the incoming Bush administration, as well as critiques of its likely preferences, appeared in our pages. *Foreign Affairs* was prescient in several areas, such as military modernization, missile defense, energy needs, transatlantic tensions, and shifts in great power relations.

Military analyst Eliot A. Cohen (November/December 2000) provided an early call for transforming America's military forces to meet the decidedly different security challenges of the 21st century. Other military needs and forward-positioning issues were raised by former Defense Department official Ashton B. Carter (January/February 2001) and military scholar Michael O'Hanlon (March/April 2001). And Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov (September/October 2000) raised a red flag about antimissile defense efforts, particularly those that would violate the Antiballistic Missile Treaty. Former State Department consultant John Newhouse (July/August 2001) followed with a careful critique of the technical and political hurdles of various missile defense schemes.

On the economic front, *Foreign Affairs* foresaw the energy crisis with an early alert on the need to add nuclear-energy plants from Richard Rhodes and Denis Beller (January/February 2000). Noted conservationists Amory Lovins and Hunter Lovins (July/August 2001) elaborated on the subject by promoting technologically based conservation and efficiency measures, while dismissing oil drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as an unnecessary component of an energy policy.

Economist C. Fred Bergsten (March/April 2001) warned that trade tensions could fuel major disruptions in the transatlantic and transpacific relationships, and journalist David E. Sanger (January/February 2001) made the case for reinvigorating global free-trade negotiations. Mounting differences between the United States and its European allies were flagged by British parliamentarian William Wallace and French analyst Dominique Moïsi (May/June 2001 and July/August 2001). In a companion piece to Wallace's, former National Security Council staffer Antony Blinken found these differences to be of lesser consequence.

Other significant articles on Europe addressed the European defense initiative (July/August 2000), the rationality of French foreign policy (July/August 2001), and



James F. Hoge Jr.

obstacles to Turkish membership in the European Union (November/December 2000).

Although the Cold War's end is a decade old, great power relations are still of concern; political scientist Daniel Treisman (November/December 2000) reviewed the reasons for pessimism about Russia's condition.

However, the focus throughout the year was on China, its Asian neighbors, and its relations with the United States. Topics covered included the importance

uled to take place in 2002. Our synopsis of these documents (January/February 2001) revealed behind-the-scenes decision-making at the time of the 1989 student demonstrations in many Chinese cities and in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Since publication, other related documents have surfaced, suggesting a continuing effort to influence the upcoming leadership transition.

Ongoing attention was given to troubled states whose difficulties could ignite larger conflicts and destabilize whole regions. Countries covered included Colombia, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Pakistan, Ukraine, Zimbabwe, and South America's Andean states.

Also addressed during the year were problems attending globalization, peacekeeping, terrorism, U.N. funding, international criminal jurisdiction, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the spread of technology.



Gideon Rose and James F. Hoge Jr. at the January 23, 2001, Dinner in Honor of Frederick P. Rose, "Intervention in the 1990s: What Worked? What Didn't? Lessons for the New Administration."

and the difficulties of U.S. engagement with China (January/February 2001), China's nuclear weapons program (July/August 2000), its growing cyber-power (March/April 2001), tensions in the Taiwan Strait (July/August 2001), security threats in East Asia (January/February 2001), and expected political initiatives from new Chinese leadership (July/August 2001).

On the latter subject, *Foreign Affairs* also published secret government documents smuggled out of China by reform elements within the Communist Party who hoped to influence the selection of new leaders sched-

uled to take place in 2002. Our synopsis of these documents (January/February 2001) revealed behind-the-scenes decision-making at the time of the 1989 student demonstrations in many Chinese cities and in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Since publication, other related documents have surfaced, suggesting a continuing effort to influence the upcoming leadership transition.

## Transitions

As the calendar year began, Gideon Rose assumed the managing editorship of *Foreign Affairs*, succeeding Fareed Zakaria, who after eight years in the post joined *Newsweek* as a columnist and editor of its international edition. Prior to his appointment, Rose was an Olin senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a part-time senior editor at the magazine. He formerly served on the staff of the National

## Initiatives

Security Council. His broad knowledge and editing skills have made him a worthy replacement for his talented predecessor.

In December 2000, *Foreign Affairs en Español* was launched simultaneously in Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Madrid. Published three times a year in cooperation with the prestigious Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de



Speaker Richard D. Baum, Director, Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, Speaker Orville H. Schell, Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley, Presider James F. Hoge Jr., Speaker David M. Lampton, Director of China Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and Speaker J. Stapleton Roy, Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc., at the February 8, 2001, Meeting, "Roundtable on The Tiananmen Papers" (in San Francisco).

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México (ITAM), the leading private university in Mexico, the Spanish-language edition presents both translated essays from *Foreign Affairs* and articles separately commissioned by its editor, Rafael Fernández de Castro. All of the Spanish-language content is published simultaneously on the Internet at [www.foreignaffairs-esp.org](http://www.foreignaffairs-esp.org). In between issues of the print edition, the website publishes additional original Spanish articles and translations of articles from *Foreign Affairs* that do not appear in the three printed issues.

Circulation of *Foreign Affairs* totals 110,000. A recent study identified a third of our subscribers as holding government or academic positions, with the balance in the private sector. Twenty percent of our readership is international, a figure that has been growing steadily in recent years.

In January 2001, a new version of the magazine's website—[www.foreignaffairs.org](http://www.foreignaffairs.org)—was launched. Visitors, now numbering 50,000 per month and growing, may read selections from the current issue that have been augmented by additional related resources, including *Foreign Affairs* articles and online materials. Among other new features, users will find a powerful new search engine offering access to past articles that will be available on a "pay-per-view" basis, and background briefings on international developments.

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

# Special Activities

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Council-sponsored independent task forces, Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs), and the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program have over the years become major tools with which the Council has influenced policymakers and advanced the foreign policy debate around the world and in the halls of Congress. The Center for Preventive Action, a major institutional priority, will drive the much-needed search for concrete methods to prevent civil and ethnic conflict in the complicated post-Cold War era.

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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.*

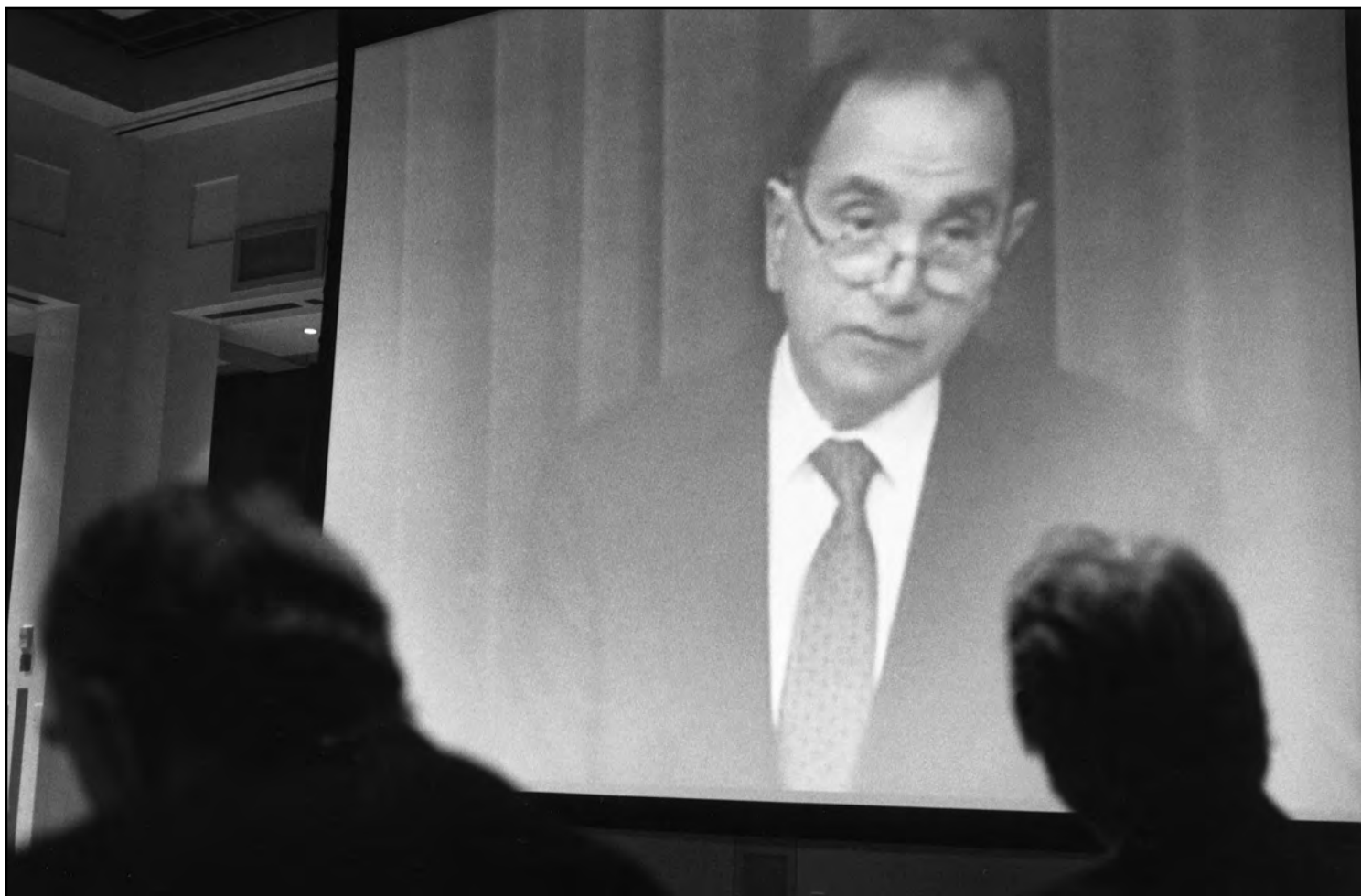
Through its independent task forces, the Council demonstrates time and again its unique ability to convene high-level groups to help resolve or manage international problems on a nonpartisan basis. Written simply and clearly and addressed to the experts as well as the interested public, these reports make a difference. This year, a number of task forces have had a particularly strong impact.

The Independent Task Force on Cuba, chaired by Bernard W. Aronson and William D. Rogers, issued a follow-on report that garnered as much interest as its first influential report of 1999. The new report recommended

*Speaker Arnold Kanter, Senior Fellow, Forum for International Policy, Speaker Dov S. Zakheim, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, and Presider Alton Frye at the October 31, 2000, Meeting, "Council Policy Initiative on Humanitarian Intervention."*







*Edward P. Djerejian at the December 18, 2000, Meeting, "Videoconferenced Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century."*

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that the United States move quickly to prepare for the next stage in U.S.-Cuban relations, setting out a number of useful steps—short of lifting general economic sanctions—that can and should be taken to prepare for the transitions in bilateral relations and in Cuba. The report calls for new initiatives beyond recent congressional actions, such as the sale of agricultural and medical products and allowing all Americans to travel to Cuba.

The Independent Task Force on Brazil issued a letter and a memorandum to the president on U.S. policy toward Brazil, urging that the United States initiate without delay a thoroughgoing review of policy. The report recommends that the United States examine where it and

Brazil can work together on vital matters such as trade, drug trafficking, and regional security and move toward high-level sustained strategic dialogue with Brazilian leaders. Chaired by Stephen Robert, this task force was extremely well received both in Brazil and in the United States and continues to generate massive interest among the press and policymakers. The task force will continue in a standby capacity, meeting at the call of the chair in the event of significant developments as a result of the report's impact in Brazil. The task force report was also translated into Portuguese.

Frank C. Carlucci chaired a task force on State Department reform that garnered intense interest at the highest



*Speaker Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley, and Presider M. Diana Helweg Newton at the October 24, 2000, Independent Task Force Meeting, "New Opportunities for U.S. Economic Policy Toward Japan."*

*Speaker Bob Graham, Member, U.S. Senate (D-Fla.), and Speaker Brent Scowcroft, President, Forum for International Policy, at the October 12, 2000, Independent Task Force Meeting, "Toward Greater Peace and Security in Colombia: Forging a Constructive U.S. Policy."*



levels. Cosponsored with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the task force presented a plan of action to reform and revitalize the Department of State, the forward edge of American national security policy that, more than ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, finds itself in a profound state of disrepair. This task force did not attempt to reinvent the many findings and recommendations of other blue-ribbon commissions but instead set out to synthesize the other reports into two brief memos for the president and the secretary of state that articulate a "resources-for-reform" strategy to redress the department's shortcomings.

The task force on U.S. policy toward North Korea, co-chaired by James T. Laney and Morton I. Abramowitz, issued an important letter to President Bush following the group's fact-finding trip to South Korea and Japan. The letter urges full support for South Korea's efforts at reconciliation with the North and recommends that the administration pursue a verifiable elimination of North Korea's long-range missiles, conduct a careful review of the 1994 nuclear accord with Pyongyang, enhance U.S.-South Korea defense cooperation, and continue robust trilateral coordination with Seoul and Tokyo. This is the fourth set of recommendations by this task force in as many years.

The central statement of the energy task force report, *Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century*, chaired by Edward L. Morse and cosponsored with the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University, is that we can no longer deny that we are in the throes of an energy crisis. The report recommends that the president tell the American people about this situation and make clear there are no easy or quick solutions. For many decades the United States has avoided adopting a comprehensive energy security policy, but today it faces the prospect of unprecedented price volatility and shortages. The report balances world energy requirements, infrastructure constraints, environmental concerns, and domestic energy use challenges and discusses in detail options and trade-offs for near- and long-term policy actions.

Chaired by former Senator J. Robert Kerrey, the task force on Southeast Asia was formed out of concern that the untended problems in that

region may erupt into developments of global proportion and threaten U.S. vital interests, as evidenced by some of the worst crises we have had to face since World War II—the Vietnam War, the Asian financial crisis, and Indonesian unrest, to name a few. U.S. engagement in Southeast Asia, and particularly with Indonesia, is a precondition for stability and a necessary safeguard to minimize further potential damage to fledgling democracies in the region.

The Japan economic task force, chaired by Laura D'Andrea Tyson, met over a two-year period to examine structural reforms under way in the Japanese economy to determine whether they were fundamentally changing the way business was being done in Japan. It issued a report in October, coming to three broad conclusions: First, the reforms that have already occurred within Japan's financial system are in keeping with the interests and goals of U.S. businesses; second, the United States could do an even better job in fostering market liberalization in Japan by shifting its priorities from traditional and controversial bilateral trade targets to more multilateral processes; and third, the United States should adopt a fresh approach in its economic negotiations with Japan to match the changes in the economic environment worldwide.

Frank G. Wisner II and Nicholas Platt are co-chairing a task force on India and South Asia cosponsored with the Asia Society on the premise that a broadened engagement between the United States and India is

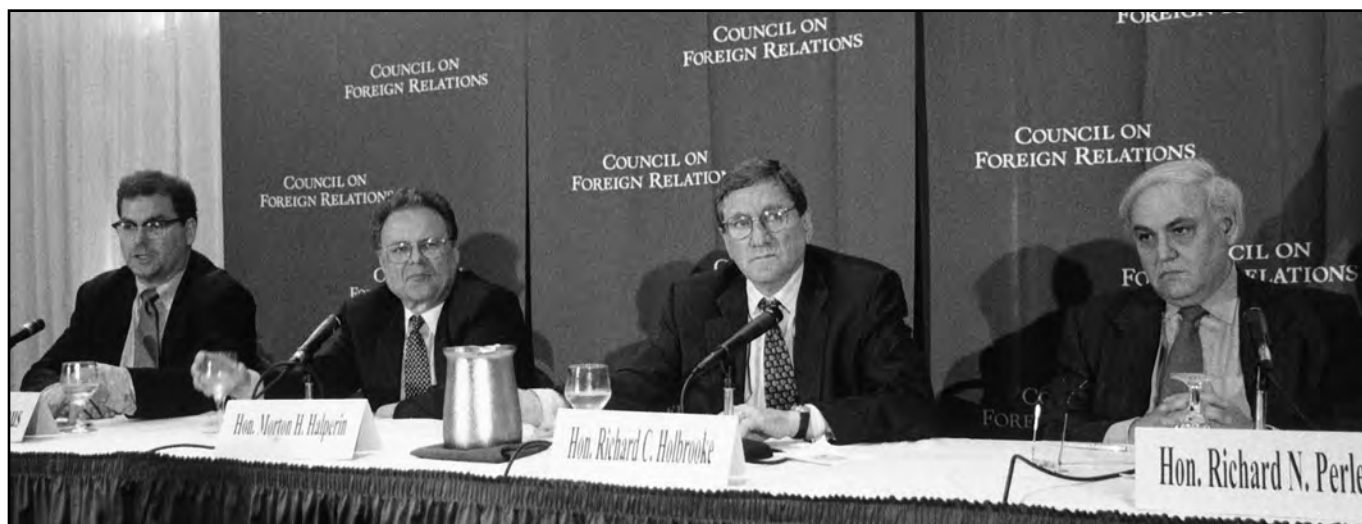
desirable. The task force will explore topics important to the interests of both India and the United States in the region. Ongoing troubles in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Sri Lanka, for example, have a direct and continuing impact on India as well as on the U.S.-India relationship.

The China and Russia economic task forces have extended their work and will be issuing reports in the next few months and in the next program year, respectively.

## Council Policy Initiatives

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

Project Director Alton Frye led a CPI on "Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine," which



*Speaker Ronald D. Asmus, Senior Fellow, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, Speaker Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, Speaker Richard C. Holbrooke, Counselor, Council on Foreign Relations, and Speaker Richard N. Perle, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, at the May 22, 2001, NATO Foreign Ministers Press Briefing, "What to Expect at NATO."*





*Speaker Carl M. Levin, Member, U.S. Senate (D-Mich.), and Speaker Jon Kyl, Member, U.S. Senate (R-Ariz.), at the September 25, 2000, Campaign 2000 Debate, "Future U.S. Defense Policy and Military Spending."*

addressed the dilemmas of humanitarian intervention through three different arguments, emphasizing the moral imperative to intervene, the strategic case to refrain from intervention, and the political prerequisite to balance moral and strategic claims. The authors of the report were Holly J. Burkhalter, Dov S. Zakheim, Stanley A. McChrystal, and Arnold Kanter.

## **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.*

Co-chaired by Thomas E. Donilon and Kenneth M. Duberstein, the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program held more than 70 meetings on Capitol Hill, providing a neutral setting for key congressional staffers from both houses of Congress to engage in nonpartisan discussion of various policy matters. This year, the program hosted meetings on State Department reform, for-

eign policy priorities, how to deal with Beijing, free trade, relations with Europe, and changing Arab attitudes toward Iraq, among others. Alton Frye directed the program.

## **Center for Preventive Action**

The Council founded the Center for Preventive Action convinced that preventive action is a desirable and attainable instrument of U.S. foreign policy. Using expert knowledge, established networks, and the Council's proven ability to run task forces and studies, the center will examine civil and ethnic crises around the world and promote strategies and actions to preempt or mitigate deadly conflict. The objective is to harmonize the contacts and influence of business, nongovernmental organizations, and international organizations with the power of governments in order to enable official actors to mobilize the political will and forge the effective programs needed to avert or alleviate crises.

The center is being relaunched with William L. Nash as acting director, with an advisory committee chaired by John W. Vessey, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

# Term Member Program

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**T**he Term Member Program is designed to encourage promising young leaders to engage in a sustained conversation on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. The program allows younger members to interact with seasoned foreign policy veterans as well as participate in a wide variety of events designed especially for them. Each year a new class of term members, all age 34 and under, is elected to a five-year membership. Committees of term members in New York, Washington, D.C., and Boston serve as advisory bodies to the Council leadership and provide term members with opportunities to help create programs of particular interest to them. This past year term members enjoyed not only a successful Annual Conference in New York but also many opportunities to hear high-profile speakers and to visit West Point, the United Nations, and the Central Intelligence Agency. For information on how to become a term member, please see pages 106–8.

## Program Highlights

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### Term Member Seminars and Roundtables

#### **Kurt M. Campbell**

Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies

“Current Challenges and Future Prospects in Asia”

PRESIDER: Robert M. Scher

WASHINGTON, D.C. • OCTOBER 25, 2000

#### **William Schneider**

CNN Senior Political Analyst; Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

“Foreign Policy, Voters, and Election 2000”

PRESIDER: Samuel H. Feist

WASHINGTON, D.C. • NOVEMBER 21, 2000

#### **Mark Schneider**

Director, Peace Corps

“Peace Corps: Meeting the Challenges of the 21st Century”

PRESIDER: Eileen E. Cassidy

WASHINGTON, D.C. • DECEMBER 4, 2000

#### **Kenneth T. Jackson**

Jacques Barzun Professor of History and Social Sciences, Columbia University



*Speaker Louis V. Gerstner Jr., Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, IBM Corporation, at the April 5, 2001, Meeting, "Leadership in Foreign Affairs with Louis V. Gerstner Jr."*

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**Joseph Rose**

Chairman, City Planning Commission, City of New York

"Globalization and the City of the Future:  
New York City in the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: Angelica O. Tang  
NEW YORK • FEBRUARY 7, 2001

**Zbigniew Brzezinski**

Counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies

"The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe,  
and Russia"

PRESIDER: Alexander T.J. Lennon  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • FEBRUARY 8, 2001

**Stephen E. Biegun**

Majority Staff Director, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

**Robert R. King**

Democratic Chief of Staff, U.S. House Committee on International Relations

"Making Foreign Policy: A View from  
Capitol Hill"

PRESIDER: Alton Frye  
NEW YORK • FEBRUARY 20, 2001

**John P. Holdren**

Teresa and John Heinz Professor of Environmental Policy and Director, Program on Science, Technology, and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; and Professor of Environmental Science and Public Policy, Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences, Harvard University

"Taking the Temperature of the  
Climate-Change Debate:  
An Update on Climate Science  
and Policy"

PRESIDER: Jennifer R. Weeks  
BOSTON • MARCH 15, 2001

**Daniel B. Poneman**

Partner, Hogan and Hartson

"The U.S. Nuclear Future: Civilian and  
Military Applications"

PRESIDER: Jennifer Friedman Sklarew  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MARCH 15, 2001

**Maria Otero**

President and Chief Executive Officer, ACCION International

"From the Ground Up and the Top Down: How  
Policy Can Support Grassroots Development"

PRESIDER: William Fulbright Foote  
BOSTON • APRIL 4, 2001

**John C. Reppert**

Executive Director (Research), Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

"New Leaders Try to Redefine U.S.-Russian  
Relations: Will They Get It Right?"

PRESIDER: Charles James McLaughlin  
BOSTON • MAY 9, 2001

**Carl Samuel Gershman**

President, National Endowment for Democracy

"Advancing America's Ideals and Interests in a  
Rapidly Changing World"

PRESIDER: Paul B. McCarthy  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 17, 2001

**Thomas E. Lovejoy**

Counselor to Secretary on Biodiversity and Environment,  
Smithsonian Institution

**Jessica T. Mathews**

President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

“Global Environment and U.S. Interests:  
Why Should the United States Care, and  
What Are Our Foreign Policy Options?”

PRESIDER: P.J. Simmons

WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 30, 2001

**Caroline Atkinson**

Senior Fellow, International Economics, Council on  
Foreign Relations

“Global Economy: Risks and Opportunities”

PRESIDER: Adam Posen

WASHINGTON, D.C. • JUNE 20, 2001

**Conversations with  
Senior Members**

**Elaine F. Sciolino**

Senior Writer, *New York Times*

PRESIDER: Wendy W. Luers

NEW YORK • OCTOBER 4, 2000

**Anne-Marie Slaughter**

J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of Law, Harvard Law  
School

BOSTON • OCTOBER 4, 2000

**James B. Steinberg**

Senior Adviser, Markle Foundation

“Civil Society and Globalization”

PRESIDER: Lisa Shields

NEW YORK • JANUARY 30, 2001

**John J. Sweeney**

President, AFL-CIO

“The Future of the International Labor Movement”

PRESIDER: Jacob Weisberg

NEW YORK • APRIL 4, 2001

**Richard N. Foster**

Director, McKinsey and Company, Inc.

“Creative Destruction in the United States and  
Abroad”

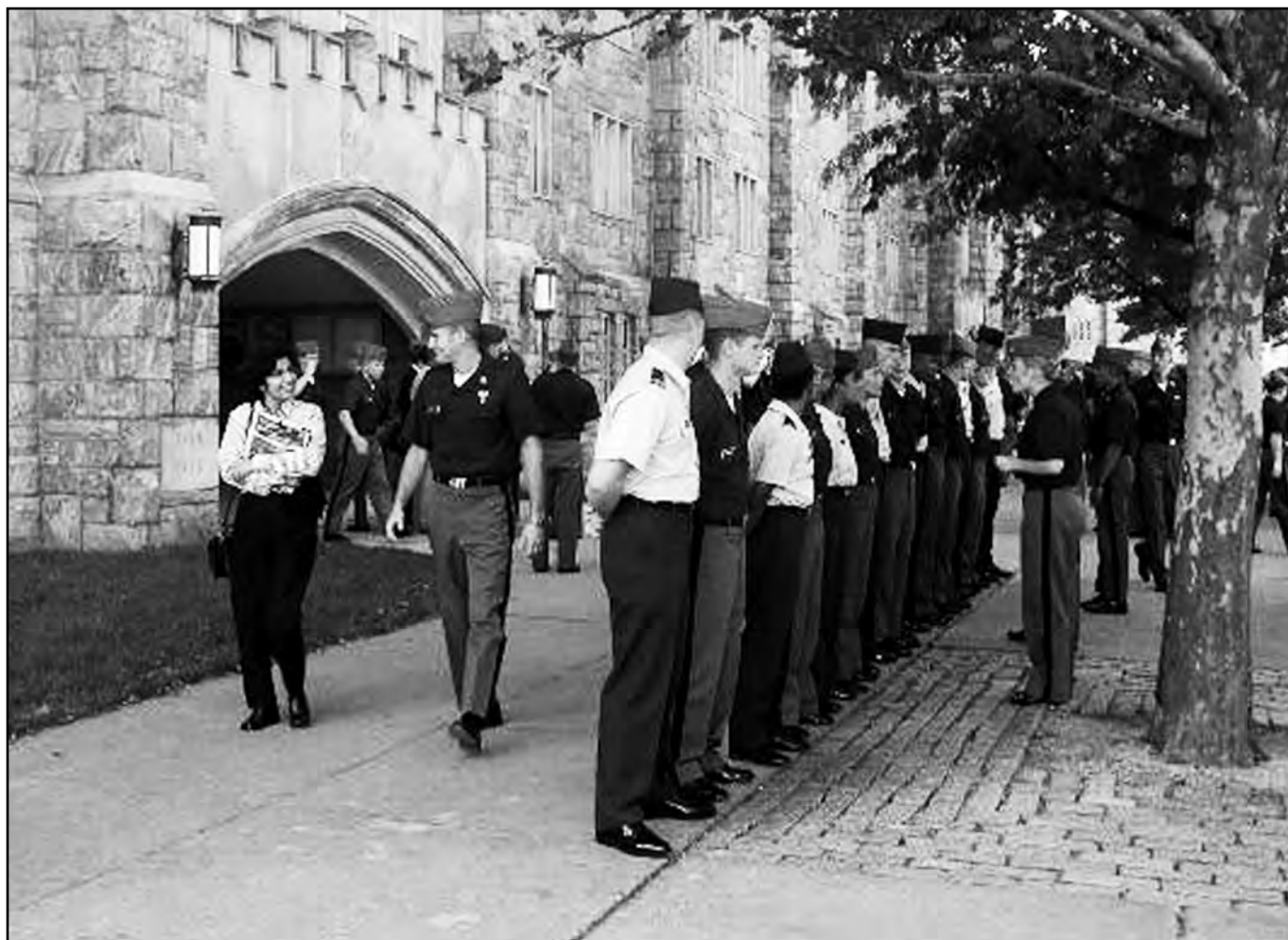
PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Beim

NEW YORK • MAY 10, 2001



Top Row (L-R): Maryann K. Cusimano Love, Jaime A. Areizaga-Soto, Scott D. Berrie, Warren Bass, Samuel D. Smoots, R. Keith Walton, Gina E. Sullivan, and Kevin P. O'Prey. Bottom Row (L-R): Elizabeth G. Tsehai, Rebecca J. Cooper, H. K. Park, Bessie Skoures, C. S. Eliot Kang, Speaker George J. Tenet, Director of Central Intelligence, Lisa Shields, Elise Carlson Lewis, Kira Kay, and Peter Kezirian at the May 30, 2001, Term Member Trip to the Central Intelligence Agency.





*Kian Beyzavi with a West Point cadet at the September 21, 2000, Term Member Trip to West Point.*

**R. James Woolsey**

Partner, Shea & Gardner

“Intelligence Challenges for the 21st Century”

PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Beim

NEW YORK • MAY 24, 2001

**Bill Bradley**

Managing Director, Allen and Company, Inc.

“Foreign Policy Priorities of the Democratic Party”

PRESIDER: Suzanne Nossel

NEW YORK • JUNE 11, 2001

## Leadership Meetings

**C. Michael Armstrong**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, AT&T

“Leadership in Foreign Affairs with C. Michael Armstrong”

PRESIDER: Ian P. Murray

NEW YORK • SEPTEMBER 26, 2000

**Louis V. Gerstner Jr.**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer,  
IBM Corporation

“Leadership in Foreign Affairs with Louis V. Gerstner Jr.”

PRESIDER: R. Keith Walton  
NEW YORK • APRIL 5, 2001

**Henry A. Grunwald**  
President, HAG Enterprises

“Leadership in Foreign Affairs with Henry A. Grunwald”

PRESIDER: L. Camille Massey  
NEW YORK • MAY 24, 2001

## Sixth Annual Term Member Conference

NEW YORK • MARCH 8–9, 2001

**Stephen J. Hadley**  
Assistant to the President and Deputy  
National Security Adviser

**Theodore C. Sorensen**  
Senior Counsel, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind,  
Wharton & Garrison

“Challenges for the Bush Administration”  
PRESIDER: Charlie Rose

**Warren B. Rudman**  
Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison,  
and Co-chair, U.S. Commission on National Security /  
21st Century

**Paula Dobriansky**  
Vice President and Director, Washington Program,  
Council on Foreign Relations

“Unconventional Challenges, New Thinking”  
MODERATOR: Leslie H. Gelb

Council on Foreign Relations Fellows:

**Rachel Bronson**  
Olin Fellow, National Security Studies

**Michael J. Green**  
Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies

**Jordan S. Kassalow**  
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy

**Gideon Rose**  
Managing Editor, *Foreign Affairs*



*Andrew S. Gundlach and Richard L. Garwin at the March 8, 2001, Term Member Annual Conference Session, “Challenges for the Bush Administration.”*

**David G. Victor**  
Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director,  
Science and Technology  
“Next Generation Problems, Next Generation Solutions”  
PRESIDER: Walter Russell Mead

## Trips

**Term Member Trip to West Point**  
NEW YORK • SEPTEMBER 21, 2000

**Term Member Trip to the United Nations**  
NEW YORK • JANUARY 17, 2001

**Term Member Tour of U.S.S. John F. Kennedy**  
NEW YORK • MAY 24, 2001

**Term Member Trip to the Central Intelligence Agency**  
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 30, 2001

# Studies Program

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The Studies Department, the Council’s “think tank,” adds value to the foreign policy debate primarily by conducting research on major foreign policy challenges facing the United States. As a result of this year’s research, which focused primarily on the interrelated areas of international economics, rethinking the national security agenda, and Asia, the Council’s 35 full-time and 22 part-time fellows produced 15 books and 20 articles in major foreign policy journals. These books included Jan Lodal’s groundbreaking study on a new arms control agenda for the United States, *The Price of Dominance*; David G. Victor’s critique of the Kyoto Protocol, *The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming*; and Robert A. Manning’s timely analysis of the energy situation in Asia, *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security, and the Pacific Future*. Fellows supplemented these efforts by writing some 100 op-eds in major newspapers, as well as by making several hundred appearances as commentators on television and radio, conducting more than 100 roundtables, and testifying before Congress.

## Program Highlights

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### National Security

Program Director: Lawrence J. Korb

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ann R. Markusen, *Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy*

CHAIR: Richard Ravitch, *Ravitch, Rice & Co.*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Stephen E. Flynn, *Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*

CHAIR: Bob Graham, *U.S. Senate (D-Fla.)*

#### Roundtable on the Geoeconomics of Military Preparedness

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ann R. Markusen, *Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy*

*Presider Ann R. Markusen, Judith V. Reppy, and Speaker Isaiah Wilson III, U.S. Military Academy, at the April 20, 2001, Roundtable on the Geoeconomics of Military Preparedness, "The Commercialization of Foreign Military Sales Reform."*



**Roundtable on the Goldwater-Nichols Act and the Joint Chiefs of Staff**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Bernard E. Trainor, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

**Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, *Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies*

**Study Group on Terrorism**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jessica E. Stern, *Adjunct Fellow*  
CHAIR: Stephen Cohen, *Brookings Institution*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Richard K. Betts, *Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*

**Nuclear Arms Control: A Program of Action**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Richard Butler, *Diplomat in Residence*

**International Economics**

Program Director: Roger M. Kubarych

**Project on the Americanization of Finance**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Roger M. Kubarych, *Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance and Director, International Economics*



*Presider Henry Kaufman, Speaker Ernst Welteke, Deutsche Bundesbank, and Roger M. Kubarych at the May 2, 2001, Meeting, "A Dialogue on European Monetary Integration with the President of the Bundesbank."*



## Studies Program

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Roger M. Kubarych, *Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance and Director, International Economics*

### **Study Group on Appropriate Governance: Managing Free Trade in the Age of Turbulence**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jagdish N. Bhagwati, *André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*

CHAIR: W. Bowman Cutter, *Warburg and Pincus*

### **Study Group on Derivatives in Public Debt Management**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, *André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*

STUDY AUTHOR: Gustavo Piga, *Adjunct Fellow, International Economics*

### **Study Group on Technological Innovation and Economic Performance**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Benn Steil, *André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*

David G. Victor, *Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology*

CHAIR: Richard N. Foster, *McKinsey & Company, Inc.*

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

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Bruce Stokes, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Economic Studies: Trade*



*President J. Stapleton Roy and Speaker Elizabeth C. Economy, Council on Foreign Relations, at the April 25, 2001, Study Group on China and the Environment, "Environmental Problems and Politics: Issues, Actors, and Options."*



*Speaker Charles A. Kupchan, Council on Foreign Relations, and President James C. Chace at the May 10, 2001, W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Visions of International Order, "After Pax Americana."*

Pat Choate, *The Economist*

CO-CHAIRS: Sherrod Brown, *U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ohio)*

Jim Kolbe, *U.S. House of Representatives (R-Ariz.)*

### **A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, *André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

### **C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, *André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

## Asia

Program Director: Robert A. Manning

### **Study Group on Asia's Coming Wars**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Robert A. Manning, *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies*

Michael J. Green, *Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies*

**Study Group on China and the Environment**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, *Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies*  
 CHAIR: J. Stapleton Roy, *Kissinger Associates, Inc.*

**Roundtable on India**

CO-CHAIRS: Frank G. Wisner II, *American International Group, Inc.*  
 Marshall M. Bouton, *Asia Society*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jerome A. Cohen, *Adjunct Senior Fellow, Asia Studies*

**James J. Shinn U.S.-Asia Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, *Adjunct Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies*

**Africa**

**Africa Roundtable Series**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gwendolyn Mikell, *Senior Fellow, Africa Studies*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Mahesh K. Kotecha, *Adjunct Senior Fellow, Africa Studies*

CHAIR: Maurice Tempelsman, *Leon Tempelsman & Son*

**Europe**

**Program Director: Charles A. Kupchan**

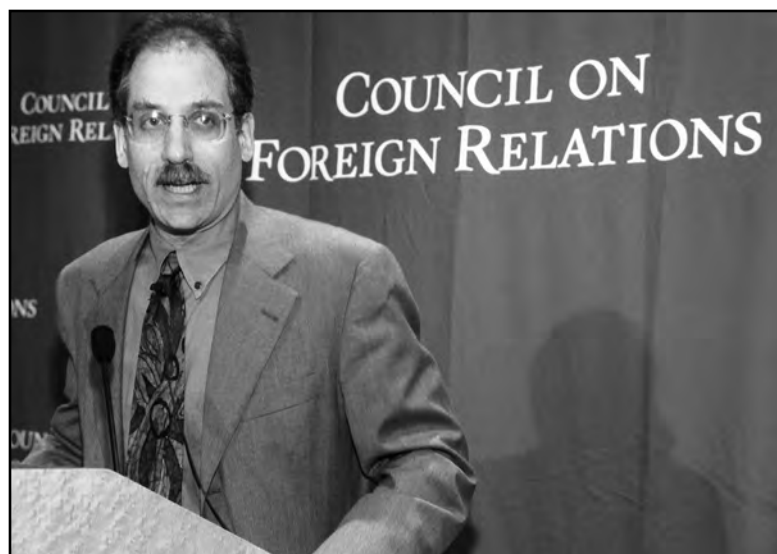
**W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Visions of International Order**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Charles A. Kupchan, *2000–2001 Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies*

CO-CHAIRS: James C. Chace, *Bard College*  
 Stephen M. Walt, *Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University*

**Study Group on New World Order**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Michael Mandelbaum, *Senior Fellow*  
 CHAIR: Lawrence J. Korb, *Council on Foreign Relations*



*President Michael M. Weinstein at the April 5, 2001, C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics, "Time for Real Reform of the Financial System."*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ronald D. Asmus, *Senior Fellow, Europe Studies*

CHAIR: Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*

**Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Charles A. Kupchan, *2000–2001 Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Paula J. Dobriansky, *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow, Russian and Eurasian Studies, and Vice President and Director, Washington Program*

**Roundtable on Russian Economics and Security**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Celeste A. Wallander, *Senior Fellow, Europe Studies*

**Roundtable on Russian Nationalism and Foreign Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Astrid S. Tuminez, *Adjunct Next Generation Fellow*



*Benn Steil and Speaker Joel Klein, Bertelsmann Inc., at the April 18, 2001, A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series, "Globalization of Antitrust Policy."*

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*Presider Stephen J. Friedman and Speaker Arthur C. Helton, Council on Foreign Relations, at the December 6, 2000, Study Group on Refugee Policy, "Remedies for Refugee Exile."*



**Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS)**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Celeste A. Wallander, *Senior Fellow, Europe Studies*

**Latin America**

Program Director: Kenneth R. Maxwell

**Study Group on Brazil**

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND CHAIR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies*

**Study Group on U.S.-Latin American Relations**

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND CHAIR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Julia E. Sweig, *Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies*  
CHAIR: George Albert Dalley, *Holland & Knight*

**Latin America Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies*  
Julia E. Sweig, *Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies*

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

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies*  
Riordan Roett, *School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies*



## Middle East

**Program Director:** Richard W. Murphy

### U.S./Middle East Project

**DIRECTOR:** Henry Siegman, *Senior Fellow*

### Study Group on Middle East Trade Options

**STUDY DIRECTOR:** Bernard Hoekman, *World Bank*

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Henry Siegman, *Senior Fellow*

**CHAIR:** Peter D. Sutherland, *Goldman Sachs*

**PROJECT COORDINATOR:** Scott Lasensky, *Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project*

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

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Henry Siegman, *Senior Fellow*

**PROJECT COORDINATOR:** Scott Lasensky, *Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project*

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

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Henry Siegman, *Senior Fellow*

**PROJECT COORDINATOR:** Scott Lasensky, *Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project*

### Middle East Roundtable

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Richard W. Murphy, *Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East and Director, Middle East Studies*

### Middle East Forum

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

### Energy Security Group

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

### Roundtable on Iraq

**PROJECT DIRECTORS:** Morton H. Halperin, *Senior Fellow*  
Judith Kipper, *Director, Middle East Forum*



*Speaker Elizabeth Jones, U.S. Department of State, Presider Richard W. Murphy, and Speaker Howard Chase, BP Amoco, at the April 24, 2001, Middle East Roundtable, "The Future of Caspian Energy."*

## Peace and Conflict

**Program Director:**  
Arthur C. Helton

### Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Radha Kumar, *Senior Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies*

**CO-CHAIRS:** Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, *Ford Foundation*  
W. Anthony Lake, *Georgetown University*

### Study Group on Refugee Policy

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

**CHAIR:** Stephen J. Friedman, *Debevoise & Plimpton*

### Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

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

### U.N. Roundtable

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Ruth Wedgwood, *Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law*

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

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

**CO-CHAIRS:** Adele Simmons, *University of Chicago*  
Jack L. Snyder, *Columbia University*



Speaker Michael Mandelbaum, Council on Foreign Relations, Walter Russell Mead, and James M. Klurfeld at the March 19, 2001, Study Group on New World Order, "The Cold War Reconsidered."

Mora L. McLean, Mahesh K. Kotecha, Speaker Callisto Madavo, World Bank, and President Maurice Tempelsman at the April 4, 2001, Roundtable on Private Capital Flows to Sub-Saharan Africa, "The Case for Private Investment in Sub-Saharan Africa."



## Science and Technology

Program Director: David G. Victor

### Study Group on Genetically Modified Organisms

PROJECT DIRECTORS: C. Ford Runge,  
*University of Minnesota*

David G. Victor, *Robert W. Johnson Jr.*  
*Senior Fellow and Director, Science  
and Technology*

CHAIR: David L. Aaron, *Dorsey & Whitney*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: David G. Victor, *Robert  
W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and  
Director, Science and Technology*

CO-CHAIRS: Jesse H. Ausubel, *Rockefeller  
University*

John Spears, *World Bank*

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jordan S. Kassalow,  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health  
Policy*

CO-CHAIRS: Jo Ivey Boufford, *New York  
University*

Princeton N. Lyman, *Aspen Institute*

### Study Group on Technology Policy and Global Warming

PROJECT DIRECTOR: David G. Victor, *Robert W.  
Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director,  
Science and Technology*

CHAIR: Rodney W. Nichols, *New York  
Academy of Sciences*

## U.S. Foreign Policy

### Project on Democracy and Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Morton H. Halperin,  
*Senior Fellow*

Michael M. Weinstein, *BP Senior Fellow,  
International Economics*

**Study Group on American Foreign Policy and the Global Middle Class**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Walter Russell Mead, *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*

**Roundtable on General Foreign Policy Topics**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Kiron K. Skinner, *Adjunct Next Generation Fellow*

CHAIR: Richard V. Allen, *Richard V. Allen Co.*

**Other Activities**

**Community of Scholars Project**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, *Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies*

**Global Kids Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTORS: Eric Aldrich, *Research Associate, China Studies*  
Alicia Siebenaler, *Assistant to the Associate Director of Studies*

**Next Generation Fellow Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Lawrence J. Korb, *Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies*

CHAIR: Allan E. Goodman, *Institute of International Education*



*Lawrence J. Korb at the November 21, 2000, Meeting, "Why Health Is Important to U.S. Foreign Policy."*



*Kenneth R. Maxwell and Linda Robinson at the June National Conference Discussion Group on Latin America*

**International Affairs Fellowship Program**

The International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding Americans between the ages of 27 and 35 by supporting a variety of policy studies and active exposure to policymaking. It encourages academics and others from the private sector to serve in a policy-oriented environment and permits government officials to study key issues in a scholarly atmosphere with the aim of bridging the gap between thought and action in foreign policy.

The International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., enables Fellows to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan and cultivating a better understanding of Japan's culture, people, and politics.

The Council organizes monthly roundtable meetings in Washington, D.C., for the fellows, and a two-day conference in New York.





Princeton N. Lyman and Jordan S. Kassalow at the November 21, 2000, Meeting, "Why Health Is Important to U.S. Foreign Policy."

## 2001–2002 International Affairs Fellows

**Jon B. Alterman**, *U.S. Institute of Peace*  
**Peter Andreas**, *Brown University*  
**Susan F. Bryant**, *U.S. Military Academy*  
**Aaron Louis Friedberg\***, *Princeton University*  
**Stephen R. Grand**, *German Marshall Fund of the U.S.*  
**Elizabeth Guran\***, *U.S. General Accounting Office*  
**Xiaobo Lu\***, *Columbia University*  
**Michael Lynn**, *University of California, San Francisco*  
**Stewart M. Patrick**, *New York University*  
**Nigel Purvis**, *U.S. Department of State*  
**Stephen M. Saideman**, *Texas Tech University*  
**Amy Searight**, *Northwestern University*  
**Brad W. Setser**, *U.S. Department of the Treasury*  
**Zachary Shore**, *Oxford Analytica*  
**Lawrence J. Spinetta**, *U.S. Air Force*  
**John P. Tuman\***, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

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

## Council Visiting Fellows Roundtable Series

**Michael A. Sheehan**, *Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State*

"Counterterrorism Challenges for the Next Administration"

PRESIDER: Shibley Telhami, IAF 1988–89  
NOVEMBER 30, 2000

**Halvor A. Hartz**, *Chief, Civilian Police Unit, United Nations*

"Police and Military Functions in Reestablishing the Rule of Law: Shrinking the Security Vacuum"

PRESIDER: Kimberly C. Field, IAF 2000–2001  
DECEMBER 5, 2000

**Jay C. Davis**, *Director, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, U.S. Department of Defense*

"Defense Threat Reduction Agency: Accomplishments of the Past, Tasks for the Future"

PRESIDER: Jeffrey S. Milstein, IAF 1972–73  
FEBRUARY 1, 2001

**Thomas Carothers**, *Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

"Ousting Strongmen: Lessons from Serbia"

PRESIDER: Jamie F. Metzl, IAF 1997–98  
FEBRUARY 28, 2001

**James A. Placke**, *Director, Cambridge Energy Research Associates*

"OPEC: Past and Future"

PRESIDER: Douglas B. McNary, IAF 1996–97  
MARCH 21, 2001

**Michael O'Hanlon**, *Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution*  
"The Case for Limited National Missile Defense and a Discussion on Northeast Asia Policy"

PRESIDER: Robert A. Manning  
JUNE 27, 2001



# New York Meetings Program

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The New York Meetings Program provides members in New York with the opportunity to exchange ideas with influential world figures, new leaders on the international scene, policymakers and opinion shapers, and respected experts. Each year, the Council convenes over 100 programs, including single-speaker events, debates, panels, “town hall” meetings, author interviews, videoconferences, and film screenings. Topics range from those of the moment to longer-range economic and political forecasts. This year, our meeting highlights included the World Economic Update series, videoconferences with Israeli Prime Ministers Ariel Sharon and Ehud Barak, panels with past secretaries of state and directors of central intelligence, and a debate between the top economic advisers to presidential candidates George Bush and Al Gore.

## Program Highlights

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**Mikhail S. Gorbachev**

Chairman, Foundation for the Development of  
Democracy and World Peace; former President, U.S.S.R.

“The U.S.-Russian Relationship: Current Views”\*

PRESIDER: Jack F. Matlock Jr.

SEPTEMBER 6, 2000

**Meles Zenawi**

Prime Minister, Ethiopia

“Ethiopia: An Update from the Prime Minister”\*

PRESIDER: George J. Mitchell

SEPTEMBER 6, 2000

**Alberto Fujimori**

President, Peru

“A Conversation with Alberto Fujimori”\*

PRESIDER: Thomas F. McLarty III

SEPTEMBER 7, 2000

**K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid**

President, Indonesia

“Economic Recovery: The Key to Securing  
Indonesia’s Democracy”\*

PRESIDER: Maurice R. Greenberg

SEPTEMBER 7, 2000

COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

**Andrés Pastrana**

President, Colombia

“U.S.-Colombian Relations”\*

PRESIDER: Donald B. Marron

SEPTEMBER 7, 2000

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

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New York Meetings Program

**Hugo Chávez**

President, Venezuela

“Venezuela and Its New Economy”\*

PRESIDER: William H. Luers

SEPTEMBER 8, 2000

**Jiang Zemin**

President, People’s Republic of China

“Together to Build a China-U.S. Relationship  
Oriented Toward the New Century”\*

PRESIDERS: Barber B. Conable Jr. and Frederick W. Smith

SEPTEMBER 8, 2000

COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY, THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON  
U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS, THE UNITED STATES-CHINA BUSINESS COUNCIL,  
THE U.S.-CHINA POLICY FOUNDATION, AND THE COMMITTEE OF 100

**Pervez Musharraf**

Chief Executive, Pakistan

“A Strategic Vision for Pakistan”\*

PRESIDER: Nicholas Platt

SEPTEMBER 8, 2000

COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

**Condoleezza Rice**

Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to Governor George W.  
Bush; Senior Fellow and Professor of Political Science,  
Hoover Institution, Stanford University

“Videoconferenced Conversation with Condoleezza  
Rice”

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Charlie Rose

WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESIDER: Josette Shiner

OCTOBER 12, 2000

**Alan S. Blinder**

Economic Adviser to the Gore Campaign; Professor of  
Economics, Princeton University

**Lawrence B. Lindsey**

Chief Economic Adviser to Governor George W. Bush;  
Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public  
Policy Research

“The United States and the Global Economy:  
Does It Matter Who Wins in November?”

PRESIDER: C. Shelby Coffey III

OCTOBER 13, 2000

**Hillary Rodham Clinton**

Democratic Candidate for U.S. Senate from New York

“A Conversation with Hillary Rodham Clinton”

PRESIDER: Theodore C. Sorensen

OCTOBER 17, 2000



Anne R. Luzzatto and Speaker Stansfield Turner, Professor, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park, at the May 23, 2001, “Videoconferenced Meeting: The CIA from Carter to Clinton: What’s Changed? What’s Next?”

**Lee Kuan Yew**

Senior Minister, Singapore

“Crossroads for East Asia”\*

PRESIDER: Henry A. Kissinger

OCTOBER 19, 2000

**Jagdish N. Bhagwati**

André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics,  
Council on Foreign Relations

**Robert B. Reich**

Former U.S. Secretary of Labor

“Trade Policy: The Lessons of Seattle”

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

OCTOBER 19, 2000

A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

**Robert D. Kaplan**

Author, *Eastward to Tartary*

“A Conversation with Robert Kaplan”

PRESIDER: Walter Russell Mead

NOVEMBER 9, 2000

**John P. Lipsky**

Chief Economist and Managing Director, J.P. Morgan  
Chase Corporation

**David R. Malpass**

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

**Stephen Roach**

Chief Economist and Director of Global Economics,  
Morgan Stanley Dean Witter

*Speaker Henry A. Kissinger, Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc., Speaker Richard V. Allen, Chairman, Richard V. Allen Co., Presider Richard C. Holbrooke, Speaker Robert C. McFarlane, Chairman, Energy and Communications Solutions, LLC, and Speaker Brent Scowcroft, President, Forum for International Policy, at the February 15, 2001, Meeting with the former National Security Advisers, "National Security Looking Forward."*



**Bruce Steinberg**

Chief Economist, Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.  
"World Economic Update"  
PRESIDER: Daniel K. Tarullo  
NOVEMBER 17, 2000 • FEBRUARY 8, 2001 • APRIL 12, 2001

**Peter O. Almond**

Producer, *Thirteen Days*  
**Theodore C. Sorensen**  
Senior Counsel, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; former Special Counsel and Speechwriter to President John F. Kennedy

**Philip D. Zelikow**

Director, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia; Coauthor, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis*  
"Thirteen Days"  
PRESIDER: Michael D. McCurry  
NOVEMBER 20, 2000

**Charlene Barshefsky**

U.S. Trade Representative  
"U.S. Trade Policy: A Look Back, A Look Ahead"\*  
PRESIDER: Michael B.G. Froman  
NOVEMBER 29, 2000

**John G. Ruggie**

Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations  
"The United Nations and Global Community"  
PRESIDER: William H. Luers  
NOVEMBER 29, 2000  
THE SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

**Anthony C. Zinni**

General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.); former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command  
"A Conversation with General Zinni: Security from the Gulf to Central Asia"  
PRESIDER: Guy Patrick Wyser-Pratte  
DECEMBER 4, 2000

**Vern Clark**

Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy  
**Michael E. Ryan**  
Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

**Eric K. Shinseki**

Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

**Michael J. Williams**

Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps  
"U.S. Defense Policy Under the New Administration"  
PRESIDER: William J. Crowe  
JANUARY 4, 2001  
THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE

**Ehud Barak**

Prime Minister, Israel  
"Videoconferenced Conversation with Ehud Barak"  
PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb  
JANUARY 8, 2001  
THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

**Jorge G. Castañeda**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico  
"Political Change in Mexico"\*  
PRESIDER: James R. Jones  
JANUARY 10, 2001

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

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## New York Meetings Program

### **Chas. W. Freeman Jr.**

Chairman, Projects International Inc.

### **Kenneth G. Lieberthal**

Professor of Political Science and William Davidson Professor of Business Administration, University of Michigan; former Special Assistant to the President for Asia and Senior Director for Asia, National Security Council

### **James R. Lilley**

Resident Fellow of Asian Studies, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; former U.S. Ambassador to the People's Republic of China

### **Andrew J. Nathan**

Co-editor, *The Tiananmen Papers*; Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

### **Orville H. Schell**

Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley

*"The Tiananmen Papers—Secret Documents on High-Level Meetings: Are They Authentic? What Do They Mean?"*

PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.

JANUARY 11, 2001

### **Samuel R. Berger**

U.S. National Security Adviser

*"A Foreign Policy for the Global Age"*\*

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

JANUARY 11, 2001

### **Philip Gourevitch**

Staff Writer, *The New Yorker*

### **Sidney R. Jones**

Executive Director, Human Rights Watch/Asia

### **David Rieff**

Fellow, World Policy Institute

*"Intervention in the 1990s: What Worked? What Didn't? Lessons for the New Administration"*

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

JANUARY 23, 2001

DINNER IN HONOR OF FREDERICK P. ROSE

### **Ariel Sharon**

Chairman, Likud Party, Israel

*"Videoconferenced Conversation with Ariel Sharon"*

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Marilyn Berger

WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESIDER: Judith Kipper

JANUARY 24, 2001

### **Tony Judt**

Director, Remarque Institute, New York University



*Presider Winston Lord, Speaker Sadako Ogata, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, and Robert P. DeVecchi at the November 16, 2000, Meeting, "State of the World's Refugees."*



*Speaker Wesley K. Clark, former Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and Presider Felix G. Rohatyn at the May 24, 2001, Meeting, "Waging Modern War."*

### **Martin Walker**

Public Policy Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

*"Europe Regional Update: Will 'Europe' Take New Directions?"*

PRESIDER: Harold M. Evans

JANUARY 24, 2001

COSPONSORED WITH THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON GERMANY AND THE WOMEN'S FOREIGN POLICY GROUP

### **Frank E. Loy**

Head of the U.S. Delegation to Conference in The Hague on the Kyoto Protocol; former Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State





*Presider William J. Crowe, Speaker General Michael E. Ryan, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, Speaker General Eric K. Shinseki, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, Speaker Admiral Vern Clark, Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, and Speaker General Michael J. Williams, Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps, at the January 4, 2001, John Train Lecture, "U.S. Defense Policy Under the New Administration."*



*Speaker Madeleine K. Albright, Chairman, National Democratic Institute, at the April 24, 2001, Meeting, "Videoconferenced Conversation with the Former Secretaries of State."*

**Jan Pronk**

Minister of Housing, Spatial Planning, and the Environment, Netherlands; Chairman of Conference in The Hague on the Kyoto Protocol

"Global Warming and the Kyoto Protocol: Prospects for Progress after Deadlock at The Hague"

PRESIDER: David G. Victor  
FEBRUARY 12, 2001

**Richard V. Allen**

Chairman, Richard V. Allen Co.; former U.S. National Security Adviser

**Henry A. Kissinger**

Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. National Security Adviser

**Robert C. McFarlane**

Chairman, Energy and Communications Solutions, LLC; former U.S. National Security Adviser

**Brent Scowcroft**

President, Forum for International Policy; former U.S. National Security Adviser

"National Security Looking Forward"

PRESIDER: Richard C. Holbrooke  
FEBRUARY 15, 2001  
HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

**Yoichi Funabashi**

Editorial Member and Columnist, *Asahi Shimbun*

**Stanley O. Roth**

Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

**J. Stapleton Roy**

Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, China, and Singapore

"Regional Update: Asia"

PRESIDER: Winston Lord  
MARCH 5, 2001

**Clifford G. Gaddy**

Fellow, Economic Studies and Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

**Michael McFaul**

Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Stephen R. Sestanovich**

Former Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Newly Independent States, U.S. Department of State

"Russia Update"

PRESIDER: Celeste A. Wallander  
MARCH 12, 2001

**Madeleine K. Albright**

Chairman, National Democratic Institute; former U.S. Secretary of State

"A Conversation with Madeleine Albright"

PRESIDER: Arthur Schlesinger Jr.  
APRIL 2, 2001  
THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

**Lawrence Harrison**

Associate, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Harvard University

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

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## New York Meetings Program

### **Jeffrey D. Sachs**

Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade and Director,  
Center for International Development, Harvard University

“Culture Matters”

PRESIDER: Alexander Stille

APRIL 17, 2001

### **Joel Klein**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bertelsmann Inc.;  
former Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division,  
U.S. Department of Justice

### **Mario Monti**

Commissioner for Competition Policy, European  
Commission

“Globalization of Antitrust Policy”

PRESIDER: Richard N. Gardner

APRIL 18, 2001

A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

### **Madeleine K. Albright** (New York)

Chairman, National Democratic Institute; former  
U.S. Secretary of State

### **Warren Christopher** (San Francisco)

Senior Partner, O'Melveny & Myers LLP; former  
U.S. Secretary of State

### **Henry A. Kissinger** (New York)

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

### **George P. Shultz** (San Francisco)

Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford  
University; former U.S. Secretary of State

“Videoconferenced Conversation with the Former  
Secretaries of State”\*

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Walter S. Isaacson

SAN FRANCISCO PRESIDER: Peter Tarnoff

APRIL 24, 2001

### **Bill Berkeley**

Editorial Writer, *New York Times*

### **Philip Gourevitch**

Staff Writer, *The New Yorker*

### **Ryszard Kapuscinski**

Author, *Shadow of the Sun*

“Africa Update”

PRESIDER: Marcus Mabry

MAY 3, 2001

### **John Deutch**

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

### **Stansfield Turner**

Professor, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of  
Maryland, College Park; former Director of Central  
Intelligence; Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.)

### **William H. Webster**

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

### **R. James Woolsey**

Partner, Shea & Gardner; former Director of Central  
Intelligence

“Videoconferenced Meeting: The CIA from Carter  
to Clinton: What's Changed? What's Next?”

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Daniel L. Schorr

CHICAGO PRESIDER: Mitchel B. Wallerstein

MAY 23, 2001

HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

### **Howard H. Baker Jr.**

Partner, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell; former  
White House Chief of Staff

### **Erskine B. Bowles**

General Partner, Forstmann Little & Co.; former White  
House Chief of Staff

### **John D. Podesta**

Visiting Professor, Georgetown University Law Center;  
former White House Chief of Staff

### **Samuel K. Skinner**

Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer,  
US Freightways; former White House Chief of Staff

“The Pivotal Role of the White House Chief of  
Staff—How Is It Changing?”

PRESIDER: Marvin Kalb

MAY 29, 2001

HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

### **James D. Wolfensohn**

President, World Bank

“Integrating Africa into the World Economy:  
The Challenges Ahead”

PRESIDER: Henry Kaufman

JUNE 14, 2001

THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

### **Festus G. Mogae**

President, Botswana

“Botswana's Case for Development Diamonds”

PRESIDER: Richard M. Moose

JUNE 26, 2001

THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

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

# Washington Program

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**T**his year was marked by the grand opening of our new videoconference facilities and the expansion of the D.C. office. The Washington Program pursued various formats, including videoconferenced meetings with Yasser Arafat, Ariel Sharon, and Ehud Barak. President Kim Dae-Jung of South Korea, President Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina of Bangladesh, Foreign Minister János Mártonyi of Hungary, and other international dignitaries met with members. In October, the Campaign 2000 initiative concluded, and in April, a Policy Debate Series was launched with meetings on nuclear weapons reductions, Iraq, and Plan Colombia. The D.C. office also partnered with HBO to premier three moving documentary films. Overall, it has been an exhilarating year for the Washington Program, highlighted by the continued tradition of excellence in foreign policy discussions and research.

## Program Highlights

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### **Leon S. Fuerth**

U.S. National Security Adviser, Office of the Vice President

“Engaging Abroad: Vice President Gore and U.S. Foreign Policy”

PRESIDER: Lee Cullum

SEPTEMBER 20, 2000

### **Kent Kresa**

Board Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer, Northrop Grumman Corporation

“The Future of International Cooperation in the Defense Industry”

PRESIDER: John J. Hamre

OCTOBER 11, 2000

### **Condoleezza Rice**

Senior Foreign Policy Adviser to Governor George W.

Bush; Senior Fellow and Professor of Political Science, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

“Videoconferenced Conversation with Condoleezza Rice”

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Charlie Rose

WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESIDER: Josette S. Shiner

OCTOBER 12, 2000

### **Laura D’Andrea Tyson**

Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley; Chair, Independent Economic Task Force on Japan, Council on Foreign Relations

“New Opportunities for U.S. Economic Policy Toward Japan: Findings and Recommendations of a Council-Sponsored Independent Task Force”

PRESIDER: M. Diana Helweg Newton

OCTOBER 24, 2000

## Washington Program

### Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi

Secretary-General, MIFTAH; Member, Palestinian Legislative Council

“Is Palestinian-Israeli Peace a Shattered Dream? A Palestinian Perspective on Getting Back to Negotiations”

PRESIDER: Judith Kipper

OCTOBER 30, 2000

MIDDLE EAST FORUM



Presider Marvin Kalb, Speaker Katherine Harris, Secretary of State, Florida, and Speaker Calvin M. Dooley, Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Calif.), at the March 21, 2001, Meeting, “Free Trade of the Americas: Economic Integration and Sustainable Development.”



Speaker Bill Richardson, Secretary of Energy, and Speaker Edward J. Perkins, Crowe Chair Professor and Executive Director, International Programs Center, University of Oklahoma, at the October 2, 2000, Meeting with the former U.S. Permanent Representatives to the United Nations, “The United Nations in the 21st Century.”

### Robert B. Zoellick

Former Undersecretary, U.S. Department of State; former White House Deputy Chief of Staff; former Counselor to the Secretary of the Treasury

“Governor Bush and the Century of the Americas”

PRESIDER: Bernard W. Aronson

OCTOBER 30, 2000

### Elaine F. Sciolino

Senior Writer, *New York Times*; Author, *Persian Mirrors: The Elusive Face of Iran*

“*Persian Mirrors: The Elusive Face of Iran*”

PRESIDER: Toby Trister Gati

NOVEMBER 13, 2000

MIDDLE EAST FORUM AND AUTHOR'S SPOTLIGHT SERIES

### Frank E. Loy

Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State

“Global Climate Change: A Post-Summit Update”

PRESIDER: Henrietta Holsman Fore

NOVEMBER 30, 2000

### Anthony C. Zinni

Chairman, Middle East Forum, Council on Foreign Relations; General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.); former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command

“Threats and Challenges for the Next Administration in the Middle East and South Asia”

PRESIDER: George R. Salem

DECEMBER 11, 2000

MIDDLE EAST FORUM

### Richard N. Haass

Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

### Mark Palmer

President and Chief Executive Officer, Capital Development Company, LLC

“Can We Achieve a Democratic World by 2025?”

PRESIDER: Julia Chang Bloch

DECEMBER 11, 2000

### Keith R. Hall

Assistant Secretary to the U.S. Air Force for Space; Director, National Reconnaissance Office

### Michael V. Hayden

Lieutenant General, U.S. Air Force; Director, Central Security Service, National Security Agency

### James C. King

Lieutenant General, U.S. Army; Director, National Imagery and Mapping Agency





*Speaker Chuck Hagel, Member, U.S. Senate (R-Neb.), at the December 18, 2000, Daughters and Sons Event, "America's International Role in the 21st Century."*

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**John E. McLaughlin**

Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency

**Thomas J. Pickard**

Deputy Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

**J. Stapleton Roy**

Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State

**Thomas R. Wilson**

Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy; Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

"Intelligence Challenges for the New Administration"

PRESIDER: John C. Gannon

DECEMBER 18, 2000

**Chuck Hagel**

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

"America's International Role in the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

DECEMBER 18, 2000

DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

**Janet Reno**

Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice

"Global Partners: International Cooperation Against Crime"

PRESIDER: Dick Thornburgh

JANUARY 9, 2001

**Andrew J. Nathan**

Co-editor, *The Tiananmen Papers*; Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

**Douglas H. Paal**

President and Founder, Asia Pacific Policy Center

**J. Stapleton Roy**

Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; former Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; former U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, China, and Singapore

**David Shambaugh**

Director, China Policy Program, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University

"The Tiananmen Papers"

PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.

JANUARY 17, 2001

**W. Anthony Lake**

Former U.S. National Security Adviser; author, *Six Nightmares*

"Six Nightmares"

PRESIDER: Lester M. Crystal

JANUARY 24, 2001

AUTHOR'S SPOTLIGHT SERIES

*Speaker Janet Reno, Attorney General, and Presider Dick Thornburgh at the January 9, 2001, Meeting, "Global Partners: International Cooperation Against Crime."*





*Stephen J. Solarz, Paula J. Dobriansky, and Speaker Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda, at the February 2, 2001, Meeting, "Rwanda: Finding Its Place in the New Africa."*



*Speaker Paul D. Wolfowitz, Dean, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and Speaker Richard H. Solomon, President, U.S. Institute of Peace, at the January 18, 2001, Meeting with the former Assistant Secretaries of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, "Asia and the United States: Conflict or Cooperation?"*

**David M. Abshire**

President, Center for the Study of the Presidency

**Charles G. Boyd**

Executive Director, U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century; General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

**Frank C. Carlucci**

Chairman, Carlyle Group; former U.S. Secretary of Defense

**John J. Hamre**

President and Chief Executive Officer, Center for Strategic and International Studies

**Robert E. Hunter**

Senior Adviser, RAND

**Lewis B. Kaden**

Partner, Davis, Polk & Wardwell

**Casimir A. Yost**

Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

"State Department Reform: Findings and Recommendations of an Independent Task Force"

PRESIDER: Paula J. Dobriansky

FEBRUARY 6, 2001

COSPONSORED WITH THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**Stephen R. Sestanovich**

Former Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for the New Independent States, U.S. Department of State

**Dimitri K. Simes**

President, Nixon Center

"Putin One Year Later: A Balance Sheet"

PRESIDER: Richard V. Allen

MARCH 19, 2001

**Sayed Rahmatullah**

Foreign Ministry Official, Afghanistan (Taliban Islamic Movement)

"Afghanistan: A Taliban Perspective"

PRESIDER: Selig S. Harrison

MARCH 20, 2001

MIDDLE EAST FORUM

**Zoran Djindjic**

Prime Minister, Republic of Serbia

"A Conversation with Zoran Djindjic"

PRESIDER: Lee H. Hamilton

MARCH 21, 2001

**Max M. Kampelman**

Of Counsel, Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson; former Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

**Warren Zimmermann**

Former Ambassador and Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the Vienna Review, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

“Twenty-five Years After the Helsinki Act: Did It Make a Difference?”

PRESIDER: Mark Palmer  
APRIL 11, 2001



*The new Washington office conference room.*

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**Robert H. Bork**

Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

**Lee Casey**

Partner, Baker & Hostetler

**Theodor Meron**

Counselor on International Law, U.S. Department of State

**Ruth Wedgwood**

Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law, Council on Foreign Relations

“International Law: Myths and Realities”

PRESIDER: David B. Rivkin Jr.  
APRIL 25, 2001

**Daniel L. Schorr**

Author, *Staying Tuned: A Life in Journalism*; Senior News Analyst, National Public Radio

“A Conversation with Daniel L. Schorr”

PRESIDER: Marvin Kalb  
MAY 15, 2001  
AUTHOR'S SPOTLIGHT SERIES

**Chen Shui-bian**

President, Republic of China

“From Taipei to Washington: Looking Toward the Future”

PRESIDER: John J. Hamre  
MAY 16, 2001

**George A. Papandreou**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Greece

“Greece’s Foreign Policy: Objectives and Strategies”

PRESIDER: Paula Stern  
MAY 22, 2001

**Wesley K. Clark**

Managing Director, Merchant Banking, Stephens Group, Inc.; Distinguished Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic and International Studies; former Supreme Allied Commander Europe; General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

“America’s Leadership and Emerging Crises in the World”

PRESIDER: Scott A. Cooper  
JUNE 4, 2001  
DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

**Stuart E. Eizenstat**

Special Representative for the President and Secretary of State on Holocaust Issues; former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury

“Negotiating Holocaust Assets: A Study in Multilateral Diplomacy”

PRESIDER: Sidney Harman  
JUNE 12, 2001

# National Program

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The National Program provides a forum for members to discuss international affairs and U.S. foreign policy and to contribute their expertise and knowledge to the Council's research and publications. The key elements of the National Program are foreign policy dinner seminars featuring Council senior fellows and their work in ten key U.S. cities; videoconferencing, conference calls, and webcasts; and the annual National Conference in New York. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice kicked off this year's National Conference, June 7–9, with a major address on the Bush administration's priorities and challenges, and participants discussed the bureaucratic and political obstacles to foreign policymaking with former government officials, members of Congress, business leaders, heads of nongovernmental organizations, and journalists.

## Program Highlights

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### Atlanta

#### **Newt Gingrich**

Chief Executive Officer, Gingrich Group

#### **Ernest J. Wilson III**

Director, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, College Park

#### **Andrew Young**

Chairman, GoodWorks International, LLC

#### **Dov S. Zakheim**

Chief Executive Officer, SPC International Corporation

"Campaign 2000 Debate: What Are the Threats Facing the United States? Who—Bush or Gore—Will Handle Them Better and Why?"

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

OCTOBER 25, 2000

COSPONSORED WITH GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY

#### **Lawrence J. Korb**

Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

"Council Policy Initiative on Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy"

CHAIR: Linda Parrish Brady

MARCH 27, 2001

COSPONSORED WITH THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

#### **Jordan S. Kassalow**

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

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

CHAIR AND HOST: Helene D. Gayle

APRIL 24, 2001



*Speaker Newt Gingrich, Chief Executive Officer, Gingrich Group, Speaker Andrew Young, Chairman, GoodWorks International, LLC, Presider Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker Ernest J. Wilson III, Director, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, College Park, at the October 25, 2000, Campaign 2000 Debate, "What Are the Threats Facing the United States? Who—Bush or Gore—Will Handle Them Better and Why?" (in Atlanta).*



## Boston

### Lawrence J. Korb

Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Council Policy Initiative on Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy”

CHAIR: John P. White  
DECEMBER 7, 2000

COSPONSORED WITH THE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

## Chicago

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Roger M. Kubarych

Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance, Council on Foreign Relations

“Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy”

CHAIRS: Kenneth W. Dam, Michael H. Moskow, and John E. Rielly  
SEPTEMBER 26, 2000

### Stephen J. Hadley

Partner, Shea & Gardner

### Jack Mendelsohn

Vice President and Executive Director, Lawyers Alliance for World Security

“Campaign 2000 Debate: Should the New Administration Deploy a National Missile Defense?”

PRESIDER: Henry S. Bienen  
OCTOBER 30, 2000

### Stephen E. Flynn

Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control”

CHAIR: John E. Rielly  
MARCH 21, 2001

### Michael Mandelbaum

Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on a New World Order”

CHAIR: John E. Rielly  
MAY 21, 2001

### John Deutch

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

### Stansfield Turner

Professor, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park; former Director of Central Intelligence; Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.)

### William H. Webster

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

### R. James Woolsey

Partner, Shea & Gardner; former Director of Central Intelligence

“Videoconferenced Meeting: The CIA from Carter to Clinton: What’s Changed? What’s Next?”

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Daniel L. Schorr

CHICAGO PRESIDER AND HOST: Mitchel B. Wallerstein

MAY 23, 2001

HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

## National Program



*Speaker Fred Thompson, Member, U.S. Senate (R-Tenn.), and Speaker George J. Mitchell, Special Counsel, Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand, at the June National Conference, "Washington Gridlock: Is It Possible to Shape and Sustain a Coherent Foreign Policy?"*

## Dallas

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### M. Diana Helweg Newton

Research Fellow, John Goodwin Tower Center for Political Studies, Southern Methodist University; Project Director, Independent Economic Task Force on Japan, Council on Foreign Relations

"Independent Economic Task Force on Japan"

CHAIR: J.H. Cullum Clark  
OCTOBER 3, 2000

### Charles A. Kupchan

2000–2001 Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

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

CHAIR: Rena M. Pederson • HOST: Jay M. Vogelson  
MAY 31, 2001

## Houston

### Julia E. Sweig

Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

"Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba"

CHAIR: Edward P. Djerejian  
OCTOBER 16, 2000

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

### Edward L. Morse (New York)

Executive Adviser, Hess Energy Trading Company, LLC; Chair, Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century, Council on Foreign Relations

### Amy Myers Jaffe (Houston)

Senior Energy Adviser, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University; Project Director, Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century, Council on Foreign Relations

"Videoconferenced Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century"

DECEMBER 18, 2000 • JANUARY 10, 2001 • FEBRUARY 12, 2001  
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

## Miami

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DANTE B. FASCELL NORTH-SOUTH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

### Walter Russell Mead

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

### William D. Rogers

Senior Partner, Arnold & Porter; Co-Chair, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

"Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba"

CHAIR: Ambler H. Moss Jr.  
OCTOBER 19, 2000



*Speaker Gerald M. Levin, Chief Executive Officer, AOL Time Warner Inc., Speaker Ellen M. Hancock, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Exodus Communications, and Speaker Donald B. Marron, Chairman, UBS America and UBS PaineWebber Inc., at the June National Conference Plenary Session, "Have CEOs Become America's New Foreign Policymakers?"*

**Arthur C. Helton**

Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Refugee Policy”

CHAIR: Ambler H. Moss Jr.  
DECEMBER 12, 2000

**Kenneth R. Maxwell**

Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies; Project Director, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Brazil, Council on Foreign Relations

“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Brazil”

CHAIR: Ambler H. Moss Jr.  
APRIL 26, 2001

**Minneapolis**

**Walter Russell Mead**

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

“Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba”

CHAIR: Kenneth H. Keller  
OCTOBER 12, 2000

COSPONSORED WITH THE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

**Los Angeles**

**Judith Kipper**

Director, Middle East Forum, Council on Foreign Relations

“Roundtable on Is Peace at Hand in the Middle East?”

CHAIR: Michael Christopher Parks  
AUGUST 28, 2000



Speaker Warren B. Rudman, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, Speaker Gary Hart, Of Counsel, Coudert Brothers, Speaker Frank C. Carlucci, Chairman, Carlyle Group, Speaker Newt Gingrich, Chief Executive Officer, Gingrich Group, at the June National Conference Plenary Session, “The Executive Branch: Is It Broken? Can It Be Fixed?”

**Walter Russell Mead**

Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

“Working Group on Development, Trade, and International Finance”

CHAIR: Greyson L. Bryan  
SEPTEMBER 26, 2000

**David G. Victor**

Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations

“Study Group on Technology Policy and Global Warming”

CHAIR: David B. Olsen  
DISCUSSANT: Robert J. Lempert  
JANUARY 10, 2001

James S. Gilmore III, Winston Lord, Elizabeth C. Economy, and John E. Rielly at the June National Conference Discussion Group on China.



## National Program

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### **Richard D. Baum**

Director, Center for Chinese Studies, and Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

### **David M. Lampton**

George and Sadie Hyman Professor and Director, China Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Director, China Studies, Nixon Center

### **J. Stapleton Roy**

Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.

### **Orville H. Schell**

Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley

*“Roundtable on The Tiananmen Papers”*

PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.

FEBRUARY 8, 2001

### **Susan Kaufman Purcell**

Vice President, Americas Society/Council of the Americas; Member, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

### **William D. Rogers**

Senior Partner, Arnold & Porter; Co-Chair, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

### **Julia E. Sweig**

Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

*“Videoconferenced Meeting on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century: Findings and Recommendations of a Council-Sponsored Independent Task Force”*

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Stuart E. Eizenstat

LOS ANGELES PRESIDER AND HOST: Geoffrey Cowan

FEBRUARY 26, 2001

### **Richard L. Garwin**

Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations

*“Roundtable on National Missile Defense: Can It Work? Is It Needed?”*

CHAIR: Albert Carnesale

MAY 10, 2001



*Garrick Utley, F. Gregory Campbell, Michael P. Peters, and Randolph Baxter at the June National Conference Town Hall Meeting.*

## San Francisco

### **Richard L. Garwin**

Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations

*“Roundtable on National Missile Defense: Can It Work? Is It Needed?”*

CHAIR: Amy Sands

OCTOBER 2, 2000

### **Padma Desai**

Gladys and Roland Harriman Professor of Comparative Economic Systems and Director, Center for Transition Economies, Columbia University

### **Celeste A. Wallander**

Senior Fellow, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

*“Videoconferenced Roundtable on Economic Policy and Security Issues: The Russian Conundrum”*

NEW YORK CHAIR: Lawrence J. Korb

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Jane M. Wales

OCTOBER 18, 2000

### **David G. Victor**

Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations

*“Study Group on Technology Policy and Global Warming”*

CHAIR: William K. Reilly

NOVEMBER 6, 2000





Michael P. Peters and Irina A. Faskianos at the June National Conference, "Washington Gridlock: Is It Possible to Shape and Sustain a Coherent Foreign Policy?"

**Arthur C. Helton**

Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

"Study Group on Refugee Policy"

CHAIR: William P. Fuller

NOVEMBER 28, 2000

**Rafael Pardo**

President, Fundación Milenio (Bogotá)

**Robin Kirk**

Researcher for Colombia, Human Rights Watch

**Michael Shifter**

Senior Fellow, Inter-American Dialogue; Project Director, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Colombia, Council on Foreign Relations

"Videoconferenced Meeting on the Colombia Task Force Report: A Symposium"

SAN FRANCISCO PRESIDER: Mathea Falco

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

DECEMBER 7, 2000

**Lawrence J. Korb**

Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

"Council Policy Initiative on Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy"

CHAIR: Tyrus W. Cobb

DECEMBER 11, 2000

**Richard D. Baum**

Director, Center for Chinese Studies, and Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

**David M. Lampton**

George and Sadie Hyman Professor and Director of China Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Director, China Studies, Nixon Center

**J. Stapleton Roy**

Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, Inc.

**Orville H. Schell**

Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley

"Roundtable on *The Tiananmen Papers*"

PRESIDER: James F. Hoge Jr.

FEBRUARY 8, 2001

**Madeleine K. Albright** (New York)

Chairman, National Democratic Institute; former U.S. Secretary of State

**Warren Christopher** (San Francisco)

Senior Partner, O'Melveny & Myers, LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

**Henry A. Kissinger** (New York)

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

**George P. Shultz** (San Francisco)

Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University; former U.S. Secretary of State

"Videoconferenced Conversation with the Former Secretaries of State"

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Walter S. Isaacson

SAN FRANCISCO PRESIDER: Peter Tarnoff

APRIL 24, 2001

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

The Council on Foreign Relations continued to hold foreign policy dinner seminars featuring its Fellows and their work in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and San Diego with its western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy. The Pacific Council offered additional meetings that were open to Council members.



*Participants at the November 30, 2000, Videoconferenced Roundtable on Africa and the Processes of Globalization, "Gender, Politics, and Peace."*

**Jordan S. Kassalow**

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

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

CHAIR: A. Lawrence Chickering  
MAY 24, 2001

**Seattle**

**Stephen E. Flynn**

Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

"Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control"

CHAIR: Raymond J. Waldmann  
OCTOBER 24, 2000

**Multiple Cities**

**Roger M. Kubarych**

Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance, Council on Foreign Relations

"Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy"

DALLAS CHAIR AND HOST: Scott L. Miller  
JANUARY 24, 2001

HOUSTON CHAIR: Richard D. Quay  
JANUARY 24, 2001

LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Robert E. Denham  
JANUARY 25, 2001

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Judith K. Paulus  
JANUARY 26, 2001

**Gwendolyn Mikell**

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Africa Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

"Videoconferenced Roundtable on Africa and the Processes of Globalization"

LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Edmond J. Keller

LOS ANGELES HOST: Mark R. Steinberg  
OCTOBER 5, 2000

CHICAGO CHAIR AND HOST: Mitchel B. Wallerstein  
NOVEMBER 30, 2000

ATLANTA CHAIR AND HOST: Herschelle S. Challenor  
JANUARY 18, 2001

# Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

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## Named Chairs and Fellowships

Jagdish N. Bhagwati, *André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*

Charles G. Boyd, *Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in National Security and European Affairs*

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

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

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

Roger M. Kubarych, *Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance*

Charles A. Kupchan, *Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies*

Robert A. Manning, *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies*

Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies and Director, Latin America Studies*

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

Stephen R. Sestanovich, *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*

Calvin Sims, *Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow*

Benn Steil, *André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*

David G. Victor, *Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology*

Michael M. Weinstein, *BP Senior Fellow for International Economics*

## Chairs Vacant as of August 31, 2001

Maurice R. Greenberg Chair in China Studies

Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics

## Special Fellowships

### Douglas Dillon Next Generation Fellow

Each year, one of the Council's Next Generation Fellows will be named the Dillon Fellow, in honor of long-time Council member and former Vice Chairman Douglas Dillon. Creating the next generation of foreign policy experts, who understand how economics relates to every aspect of international affairs today, is one of the Council's top priorities.

### The Intelligence Fellowship

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

### Military Fellowships

Each year, the chief of staff of each military service nominates an outstanding candidate for the Military Fellowships. The fellowships enable officers to broaden their understanding of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy by spending a year in residence at the Council. Fellows participate in Council programs, including task forces, engage in research, and arrange several politico-military trips for Council members.

### Edward R. Murrow Fellowship

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

### Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship

The Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in

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## Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

public or academic affairs related to international relations. A Shepardson Fellow is expected to spend about a year affiliated with the Council, participating in Council programs while working on a book or other significant publication on a major foreign policy issue.

### **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. With time away from the day-to-day press of diplomacy, the State Department Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, reflecting on issues of foreign policy and participating in Council programs.

## **Endowed and Specially Funded Programs**

The Council has several named programs that support staff and activities—meetings, study groups, roundtables—in the following areas:

Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series

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

W. Averell Harriman Program, Europe

Walter Hochschild Fund, International Economics

A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series, International Economics

Winston Lord Program, Asia

John J. McCloy Program, International Relations

C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series, International Economics

James J. Shinn U.S.-Asia Roundtable

Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program, International Relations

## **Lectureships**

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

The Javits Lecture was inaugurated in 1999 in honor of Senator Javits, who was New York's senator from 1957 to 1981 and a Council member. The series is supported by a gift from the Jacob K. Javits Foundation. The Council invites leading congressional thinkers on U.S. foreign policy to deliver the Javits lecture.

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

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

### **The David A. Morse Lecture**

The David A. Morse Lecture was inaugurated in 1994 and supports an annual meeting and dinner with a distinguished speaker. It honors the memory of David A. Morse, an active Council on Foreign Relations member for nearly 30 years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist. Morse lecturers are invited to focus on one of Morse's many concerns, which included North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and relations with Asia. The lecture program is funded by gifts from Council members and friends of the Morse family.

### **The David Rockefeller Lecture**

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

### **The Elihu Root Lecture**

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

### **The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations**

The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations was established in 1996 by Theodore C. Sorensen to honor his wife, Gillian Martin Sorensen, and to commemorate her years of service to the United Nations. The Sorensen lecture is given by speakers intimately involved with the workings and issues of the United Nations.

### **The John Train Lecture**

The John Train Lecture and dinner was established in 1997. Funded by Council member John Train, the series focuses on new issues in military affairs and the future of the U.S. military.



# Corporate Program

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**T**he Corporate Program, the Council's primary point of contact with the private sector, enlists the business community's participation in and support of the Council's activities. Corporate members include over 200 U.S. and non-U.S. firms representing nearly all business sectors, including financial services, law, manufacturing, consulting, technology, and media. Each year, the program hosts over 70 events in New York and Washington, including the C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics, the A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series, and an annual conference, as well as interactive conference calls with senior fellows and other experts.

## Program Highlights

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### **K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid**

President, Indonesia

"Economic Recovery: The Key to Securing  
Indonesia's Democracy"

PRESIDER: Maurice R. Greenberg

SEPTEMBER 7, 2000

COSPONSORED WITH THE ASIA SOCIETY

### **Hugo Chávez**

President, Venezuela

"Venezuela and Its New Economy"

PRESIDER: William H. Luers

SEPTEMBER 8, 2000

### **Kent Kresa**

Board Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer,  
Northrop Grumman Corporation

"The Future of International Cooperation in the  
Defense Industry"

PRESIDER: John J. Hamre

OCTOBER 11, 2000

WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **Jeffrey D. Sachs**

Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade and  
Director, Center for International Development,  
Harvard University

"A New Approach for U.S. Foreign Assistance"

PRESIDER: James R. Silkenat

OCTOBER 12, 2000

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL  
ECONOMICS

### **Alan S. Blinder**

Economic Adviser to the Gore Campaign; Professor  
of Economics, Princeton University

### **Lawrence B. Lindsey**

Chief Economic Adviser to Governor George W. Bush;  
Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public  
Policy Research

"The United States and the Global Economy: Does It  
Matter Who Wins in November?"

PRESIDER: Shelby Coffey III

OCTOBER 13, 2000



*Speaker Mario Monti, Commissioner for Competition Policy, European Commission, Presider Richard N. Gardner, and Michael W. Hodin at the April 18, 2001, A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series, "Globalization of Antitrust Policy."*

**Melanie A. Kenderdine**

Director of Policy, U.S. Department of Energy

**Adam E. Sieminski**

Director and Global Oil Strategist, Deutsche Bank

**Matthew R. Simmons**

President, Simmons & Company

*"The New Middle East Crisis: How Does It Affect Oil Prices and Energy Policy?"*

PRESIDER: Edward L. Morse

OCTOBER 18, 2000

**Robert B. Reich**

Former U.S. Secretary of Labor

**Jagdish N. Bhagwati**

André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations

*"Trade Policy: The Lessons of Seattle"*

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

OCTOBER 19, 2000

A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES



*Speaker Robert B. Reich, former U.S. Secretary of Labor, Presider Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker Jagdish N. Bhagwati, André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations, at the October 19, 2000, A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series, "Trade Policy: The Lessons of Seattle."*

**Lee Kuan Yew**

Senior Minister, Singapore

“Crossroads for East Asia”

PRESIDER: Henry A. Kissinger

OCTOBER 19, 2000

**Kumar Mahadeva**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Cognizant  
Technology Solutions

“The Impact of India’s High-Tech Sector on the  
Global Economy”

MODERATOR: Roger M. Kubarych

OCTOBER 31, 2000

CONFERENCE CALL

**Rolf-Ernst Breuer**

Spokesman, Board of Managing Directors, Deutsche Bank  
Group

“Europe: Which Path to Follow?”

PRESIDER: William J. McDonough

NOVEMBER 3, 2000

**Charlene Barshefsky**

U.S. Trade Representative

“U.S. Trade Policy: A Look Back, A Look Ahead”

PRESIDER: Michael B.G. Froman

NOVEMBER 29, 2000

**Janet Reno**

Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice

“Global Partners: International Cooperation  
Against Crime”

PRESIDER: Dick Thornburgh

JANUARY 9, 2001

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Celeste A. Wallander**

Senior Fellow, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign  
Relations

“Russia Update”

JANUARY 10, 2001

CONFERENCE CALL

**Rudi Dornbusch**

Ford Professor of Economics and International  
Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

“Where Is the Upside for Latin America? The Next  
Investment Opportunities”

PRESIDER: Arturo C. Porzecanski

JANUARY 16, 2001

C. PETER MCCOULOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL  
ECONOMICS



*Robert Byrne and David Kellogg at the May 2, 2001, Meeting,  
“A Dialogue on European Monetary Integration with the President of  
the Bundesbank.”*

**Jeffrey E. Garten**

Dean, Yale School of Management

**Henry M. Paulson**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Goldman Sachs

“Today’s Global CEOs in the World Economy: What  
Responsibilities Do They Bear?”

PRESIDER: Thomas L. Friedman

FEBRUARY 13, 2001

**Susan Kaufman Purcell**

Vice President, Americas Society/Council of the  
Americas; Member, Independent Task Force on U.S.  
Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

**William D. Rogers**

Senior Partner, Arnold & Porter; Co-Chair, Independent  
Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on  
Foreign Relations



*Speaker Paul A. Volcker, former Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, and Henry H. Arnhold at the April 5, 2001, C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics, "Time for Real Reform of the Financial System."*

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**Julia E. Sweig**

Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies, and Codirector, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Cuba, Council on Foreign Relations

*"Videoconferenced Meeting on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century: Findings and Recommendations of a Council-Sponsored Independent Task Force"*

NEW YORK PRESIDER: Stuart E. Eizenstat  
LOS ANGELES PRESIDER: Geoffrey Cowan  
FEBRUARY 26, 2001

**Shimon Peres**

Foreign Minister, Israel

*"The Future of Peace Negotiations"*

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb  
MARCH 14, 2001

**Paul A. Volcker**

Former Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

*"Time for Real Reform of the Financial System"*

PRESIDER: Michael M. Weinstein  
APRIL 5, 2001

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

**John P. Lipsky**

Chief Economist and Managing Director, J.P. Morgan Chase Corporation

**David R. Malpass**

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

**Stephen Roach**

Chief Economist and Director of Global Economics, Morgan Stanley Dean Witter

*"World Economic Update"*

PRESIDER: Daniel K. Tarullo  
APRIL 12, 2001

**Joel Klein**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bertelsmann Inc.; former Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, U.S. Department of Justice

**Mario Monti**

Commissioner for Competition Policy, European Commission

*"Globalization of Antitrust Policy"*

PRESIDER: Richard N. Gardner  
APRIL 18, 2001  
A.T. KEARNEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

**Kazuo Ueda**

Member, Policy Board, Bank of Japan

*"Japan's Economic Outlook and the Bank of Japan's Monetary Policy"*

PRESIDER: Paul A. Volcker  
MAY 11, 2001  
C. PETER MCCOLOUGH ROUNDTABLE SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS



## Corporate Members

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## Corporate Program

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Marubeni America Corporation  
Marvin & Palmer Associates, Inc.  
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MBIA Insurance Corporation

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Shearman & Sterling  
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Simpson Thacher & Bartlett  
Sony Corporation of America  
Soros Fund Management

Southern California Edison  
Company  
Standard & Poor's  
State Street Bank and Trust  
Company  
Sullivan & Cromwell  
Texaco, Inc.  
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Toyota Motor North America, Inc.  
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Zephyr Management, LP  
Zurich Scudder Investments



*Speaker James D. Wolfensohn, President, World Bank, and Jacqui Selbst Schein at the June 14, 2001, Elihu Root Lecture, "Integrating Africa into the World Economy: The Challenges Ahead."*

# Communications

The Communications Department's main priority is to connect members and media with the Council's staff and programs. The Council began an initiative this year to expand outreach to the media by holding press briefings in advance of major international events, like the Summit of the Americas and the biannual meeting of NATO foreign ministers. The Council has also teamed with the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press to jointly release polls throughout the year on key foreign policy issues.

The high-quality expertise of Council fellows has made the Council on Foreign Relations the first stop for journalists seeking expert opinion and in-depth analysis on international issues. Council fellows and their work are ubiquitous

in the news, primarily through articles and op-eds they author in magazines and newspapers around the world.

As part of the Council's efforts to reach beyond its own walls to the interested public, this year the Council sponsored over 60 on-the-record events, including panel discussions, press briefings, addresses by world leaders, videoconferences, and study groups. These events and Council-sponsored publications were all covered by major news outlets, including network and cable television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet.

The Communications Department also produces the members' monthly newsletter, *Calendar & Chronicle*, and has redesigned and updated all Council websites.



# Publications

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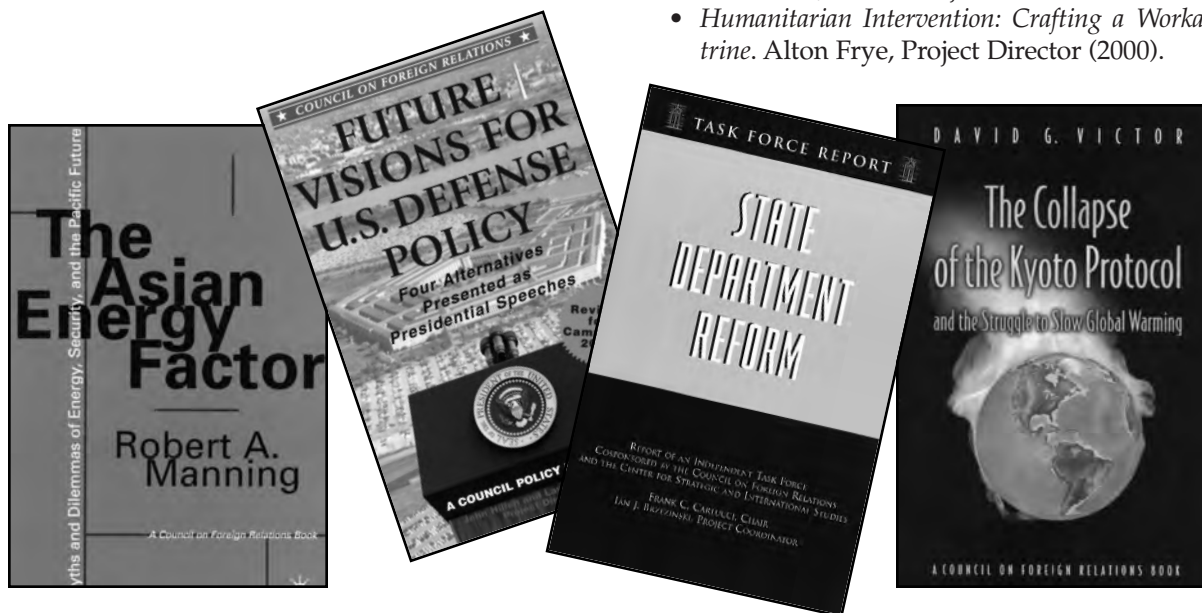
Much of the Council's value lies in the discussions emanating from its study groups, roundtables, and other forums. The Publications Department—with books, task force reports, Council Policy Initiatives, papers, and reports—delivers these ideas to a larger audience, helping to inform and transform the policy debate. *The Price of Dominance*, Jan Lodal's provocative and important book published in January 2001, identified what changes must be made in U.S. strategic defense policy to ameliorate international opposition to American-led efforts against weapons of mass destruction. The Council's task force reports on Cuba, State Department reform, and energy offered the new administration viable solutions to real-world problems and reflected the meaningful consensus and policy recommendations reached by the task forces through nonpartisan debate. Because foreign policy discussions too often ignore the key dimension of culture, the Council publishes the semiannual journal *Correspondence: An International Review of Culture and Society*. The full text of the current and past issues is available on the Council's website ([www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)).

## Council on Foreign Relations Books

- *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security, and the Pacific Future*, by Robert A. Manning. St. Martin's Press (2000).
- *The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming*, by David G. Victor. Princeton University Press (2001).
- *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power*, by Michael J. Green. St. Martin's Press (2001).
- *The Price of Dominance: The New Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Challenge to American Leadership*, by Jan Lodal. Council on Foreign Relations Press (2001).
- *Russian Nationalism Since 1856*, by Astrid S. Tuminez. Rowman & Littlefield (2000).

## Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs)

- *Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy: Four Alternatives Presented as Presidential Speeches*. John Hillen and Lawrence J. Korb, Project Directors (revised, 2000).
- *Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine*. Alton Frye, Project Director (2000).





**Independent Task Force Reports**

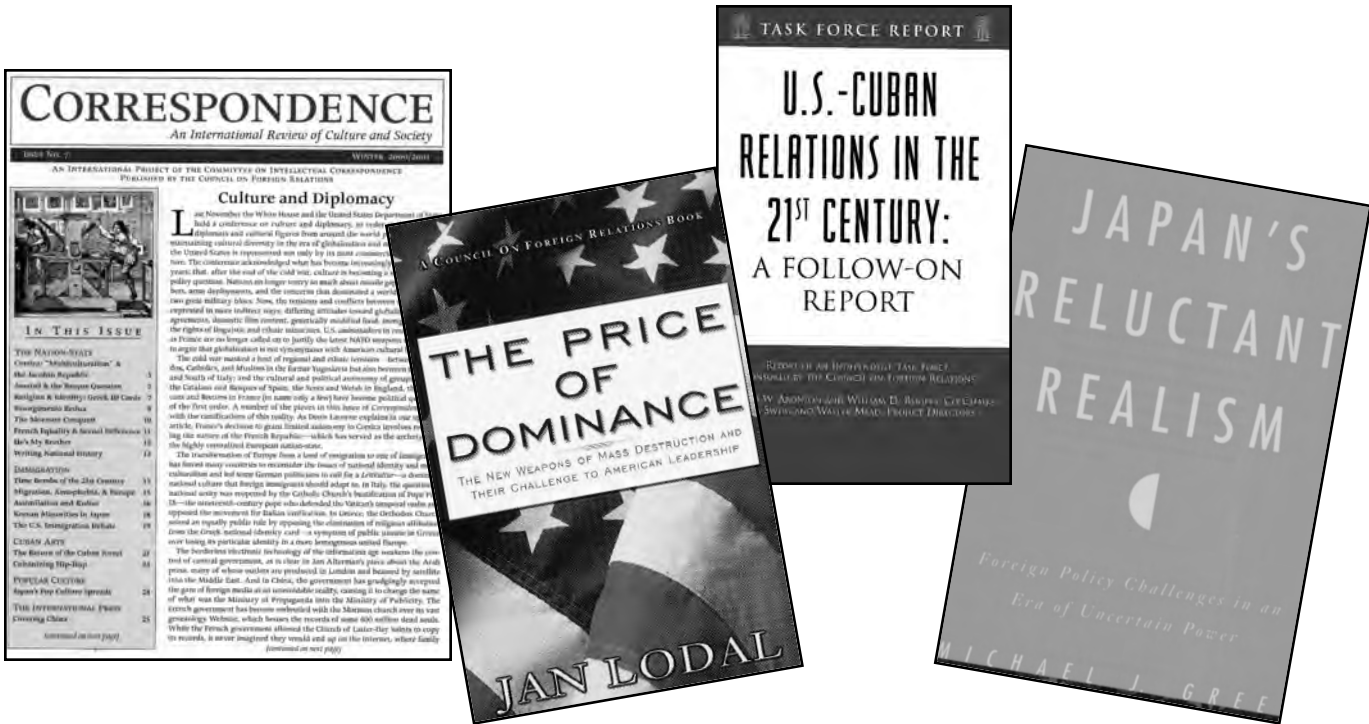
- *Future Directions for U.S. Economic Policy Toward Japan.* Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Chair; M. Diana H. Newton, Project Director (2000).
- *A Letter to the President and a Memorandum on U.S. Policy Toward Brazil.* Stephen Robert, Chair; Kenneth R. Maxwell, Project Director (2001).
- *State Department Reform.* Frank C. Carlucci, Chair; Ian J. Brzezinski, Project Coordinator. Cosponsored with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (2001).
- *Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century.* Edward L. Morse, Chair; Amy Myers Jaffe, Project Director. Cosponsored with the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University (2001).
- *Toward Greater Peace and Security in Colombia.* Bob Graham and Brent Scowcroft, Co-chairs; Michael Shifter, Project Director (2000). Cosponsored with the Inter-American Dialogue.

- *The United States and Southeast Asia: A Policy Agenda for the New Administration.* J. Robert Kerrey, Chair; Robert A. Manning, Project Director (2001).
- *U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century, A Follow-on Report.* Bernard W. Aronson and William D. Rogers, Co-chairs; Julia E. Sweig and Walter Russell Mead, Project Directors (2001).

**Council Papers**

- *A New Beginning: Recasting the U.S.-Japan Economic Relationship,* by Bruce Stokes, Project Director (2000).
- *Twelve Papers on the Project on Development, Trade, and International Finance,* edited by Walter Russell Mead, Project Director (2000).
- *Why Health Is Important to U.S. Foreign Policy,* by Jordan S. Kassalow. Copublished with Milbank Memorial Fund (2001).

All Council on Foreign Relations books, CPIs, and independent task force reports are marketed and distributed by the Brookings Institution Press. To order, please call 1-800-275-1447. These and other Council publications are also available on the Council's website at [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).



# Development

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**T**he Council is deeply grateful to all donors and volunteers whose support made possible many of its activities. Generous gifts and grants from individuals, foundations, and corporations contributed to the financial strength of the institution and enabled it to expand its key programs and launch new initiatives. New and ongoing support provided financial backing to numerous projects conducted by the Council's Studies Department, as well as its Meetings, National, and Membership programs. In addition, a number of noncash goods and services from members and friends provided important assistance. Special thanks go to the volunteers who helped the Council immeasurably in reaching our fundraising goals.

## The Annual Fund

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Annual Giving—the Council's Independence Fund—this year rose to its highest level ever at \$2,826,350, from 1,661 donors, or about 44 percent of the membership. Sixty-three members increased their gifts through corporate or foundation matching gift programs. Major contributions from the Council's Harold Pratt Associates (HPAs), who give \$10,000 or more annually, and Chairman's Circle members of the HPAs, who contribute \$25,000 or more annually, account for 68 percent of the annual fund total. HPA fundraising efforts were assisted by volunteers from the Council's Board of Directors and Corporate Affairs and Development Committee. Term member giving was also on the rise this year, with 39 percent of term members participating. Rebecca K.C. Hersman and R. Keith Walton wrote letters to their term member colleagues, with follow-up help by a team of volunteers. Donors to the Annual Fund are listed on pages 73–79.



*Douglas Dillon and David Rockefeller at the May 9, 2001, Dinner to Commemorate the Naming of the Douglas Dillon Room.*

## Term Grants, Endowment, Restricted, and Special Gifts

### The Geoeconomics Center

The purpose of the Geoeconomics Center is to create the next generation of foreign policy experts able to link economics and foreign policy, national security, and other subjects (science and technology, environment, refugees, etc.). The center was established with two major endowment gifts from the following donors:

David Rockefeller  
The Starr Foundation

In addition, a number of grants support the work of individual fellows in the center:

BP International Ltd.  
The Patrick A. Gerschel Foundation  
Henry & Elaine Kaufman Foundation  
The Washington SyCip Family Foundation

### Center for Preventive Action (CPA)

The CPA seeks concrete, hardheaded incentives to head off civil/ethnic crises before they explode into violence. It benefited from grants by:

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation  
The Nathan Cummings Foundation  
United States Institute of Peace

### Next Generation Fellows Program

Designed to find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers, this program brings outstanding younger scholars onto the Council staff to undertake frontier policy research.

Carnegie Corporation of New York  
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation  
John M. Olin Foundation

### Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program

The program, now entering its fourth year, engages key congressional staff members in study and dialogue on international issues to help build professionalism among them.

American Express Foundation  
Carnegie Corporation of New York  
The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation  
W. Alton Jones Foundation  
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation  
The Pew Charitable Trusts  
The Starr Foundation

### Studies Projects

Anonymous (2)  
Allen R. Adler  
Stanley Arkin  
Henry H. Arnhold  
The Boeing Company  
Cargill, Inc.  
Carnegie Corporation of New York  
The Century Foundation  
Ronnie C. Chan  
Robert J. Chaves  
Kimball Chen  
Congressional Economic Leadership Institute  
The Ford Foundation  
Victor K. Fung  
General Service Foundation  
German Marshall Fund of the United States  
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James H. Carter  
Eileen E. Cassidy

Richard Edward  
Cavanagh  
James C. Chace  
Cory Charles  
Robert Bruce Charles  
Robert Chartener  
Stephen A. Cheney  
Marjorie Ann Chorlins  
Thomas J. Christensen  
Jeffrey L. Cimbalo  
Peter A. Clement  
Harlan Cleveland  
Joseph I. Coffey  
Shelby Coffey III  
Vance Coffman  
Herman J. Cohen  
Julius E. Coles  
John T. Connor Jr.  
Jill Conway  
Frances D. Cook  
Gary M. Cook  
Goodwin Cooke  
Charles A. Cooper  
Suzanne Cott  
Sally Grooms Cowal  
Margaret E. Crahan  
Ann Crittenden  
Adelaide McGuinn  
Cromwell  
R. T. Curran  
Walter L. Cutler  
Kenneth A. Cutshaw  
Charles H. Dallara  
Dorinda G. Dallmeyer  
James E. Dalton  
William H. Danforth  
Mark D. Danner  
Kathryn W. Davis  
Nathaniel Davis  
Marion M. Dawson  
Carr  
Arnaud de Borchgrave  
Joy A. de Menil  
Edwin A. Deagle Jr.  
Jonathan Dean  
Alfred C. DeCrane Jr.  
Roxanne J. Decyk  
Ralston H.  
Deffenbaugh Jr.  
Marisa J. Demeo



- Brewster C. Denny  
David B. H. Denoon  
Phil E. DePoy  
Patricia Murphy  
Derian  
Gina H. Despres  
I. M. Destler  
Philip J. Deutch  
M. Colette Devine  
Joan Didion  
William Diebold Jr.  
Justin W. Doebele  
David J. Doerge  
Harold C. Donnelly  
Norman Dorsen  
Grant R. Doty  
Michael W. Doyle  
Joy E. Drucker  
Seth H. Dubin  
Charles A. Duelfer  
Robin Chandler Duke  
Kempton Dunn  
Lewis A. Dunn  
Philip A. Dur  
Donald B. Easum  
Ralph E. Eberhart  
Randolph P. Eddy III  
Marian Wright  
Edelman  
Mark D. W. Edington  
Karl Eikenberry  
Hermann Frederick  
Elts  
Patricia Ellis  
Ainslie T. Embree  
David B. Ensor  
Claude E. Erbsen  
Susan G. Esserman  
Robert H. Estabrook  
Daniel C. Esty  
Richard M.  
Fairbanks III  
David M. Fairman  
Mathea Falco  
J. Rodney Faraon  
Evelyn N. Farkas  
Irina A. Faskianos  
Evan A. Feigenbaum  
Ava S. Feiner  
Samuel H. Feist
- Daniel F. Feldman  
Michael R. Fenzel  
Charles H. Ferguson  
Frank E. Ferrari  
Russell Hunt Fifield  
Barbara D. Finberg  
Seymour Maxwell  
Finger  
Lawrence S.  
Finkelstein  
Edwin B. Firmage  
Stanley Fischer  
Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado  
George J. Flynn  
Ronald R. Fogleman  
S. R. Foley Jr.  
Edward T. Foote II  
William Fulbright  
Foote  
Gerald R. Ford  
Brenda Lei Foster  
Donald T. Fox  
Thomas M. Franck  
Charles R. Frank Jr.  
Isaiah Frank  
Constance J. Freeman  
Roger C. Freeman  
Edward R. Fried  
Alexander Stephen  
Friedman  
Benjamin M. Friedman  
Michael B. G. Froman  
Kathryn S. Fuller  
William P. Fuller  
Evan G. Galbraith  
Robert L. Gallucci  
Sandra Galvis  
Charles S. Ganoe  
Murray J. Gart  
Charles Gati  
Toby Trister Gati  
Catherine C. Gay  
Inge Gedo  
Philip O. Geier  
Louis Gerber  
Elliot F. Gerson  
Ralph J. Gerson  
Michael Getler  
Tatiana C. Gfoeller  
Loren Ghiglione
- Michael James Gillette  
Ruth Bader Ginsburg  
Robert R. Glauber  
William H. Gleysteen Jr.  
Norma Globerman  
Carol Gluck  
Robert F. Goheen  
Ronnie L. Goldberg  
James M. Goldgeier  
Marshall I. Goldman  
Merle D. Goldman  
Natalie J. Goldring  
Neil Goldschmidt  
David L. Goldwyn  
Paul D. Golob  
George J. W. Goodman  
Sherri W. Goodman  
Andrew J. Goodpaster  
Lincoln Gordon  
Joseph T. Gorman  
Kurt Gottfried  
Peter G. Gould  
Peter A. Gourevitch  
Robert D. Graff  
Thomas Graham Jr.  
Stephen Richards  
Graubard  
Judy S. Grayson  
Joseph N. Greene Jr.  
G. Jonathan  
Greenwald  
Hugh D. S. Greenway  
Vartan Gregorian  
Richard Grenier  
Louisa Coan Greve  
Julie M. Grimes  
Brandon H. Grove Jr.  
Paul C. Grove  
Edwin O. Guthman  
Bernard M.  
Gwertzman  
Robert D. Haas  
Richard N. Haass  
Alexander M. Haig Jr.  
Paul Hallingby Jr.  
Ted Halstead  
D. Holly Hammonds  
Larry Hanauer  
Herbert J. Hansell  
Carl Thor Hanson
- Giselle P. Hantz  
Evie Hantzopoulos  
George N. Harben  
Conrad K. Harper  
Todd C. Hart  
Arthur A. Hartman  
John H. F. Haskell Jr.  
John Resor Hauge  
William Locke Hauser  
Margaret Daly Hayes  
Lukas Harrison  
Haynes  
Thomas B. Hayward  
Charles B. Heck  
Barbara D. Heep-  
Richter  
Harry Leonard  
Heintzen  
Dennis J. Hejlik  
Robert C. Helander  
Richard M. Heller  
Alan K. Henrikson  
Roy A. Herberger Jr.  
Rebecca K.C. Hersman  
Arthur Hertzberg  
Charles M. Herzfeld  
Sylvia Ann Hewlett  
Kathleen Holland  
Hicks  
Edward T. Hightower  
Sonja Hillgren  
Ruth Hinerfeld  
Deane R. Hinton  
Tammany D. Hobbs  
Miracky  
Amoretta M. Hoeber  
Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Auren Hoffman  
Bruce Hoffman  
Stanley Hoffmann  
Warren M. Hoge  
George Roberts  
Hoguet  
Mary Elizabeth  
Hoinkes  
John L. Holden  
Henry Allen Holmes  
Pat M. Holt  
John D. Holum  
Gary N. Horlick
- Alan W. Horton  
Bradley C. Hosmer  
Amory Houghton Jr.  
Lee W. Huebner  
Gary C. Hufbauer  
Duane L. Hughes  
R. John Hughes  
Ellen H. Hume  
David S. Huntington  
J. C. Hurewitz  
Sol Hurwitz  
Alice Stone Ilchman  
Robert S. Ingersoll  
Michael D. Intriligator  
Kaleil D. Isaza-  
Tuzman  
John Jay Iselin  
Steven L. Isenberg  
Sarah Jackson  
Francis J. James  
Karen H. Johnson  
Robert H. Johnson  
Willene A. Johnson  
Benjamin Felt Jones  
David C. Jones  
James R. Jones  
Amos A. Jordan  
Geri M. Joseph  
Kenneth I. Juster  
Robert P. Kadlec  
Bernard Kalb  
Marvin Kalb  
Jan H. Kalicki  
C. S. Eliot Kang  
Arnold Kanter  
Stanley Karnow  
Jordan S. Kassalow  
Allen H. Kassof  
Abraham Katz  
Stanley N. Katz  
Kira Kay  
Carl Kaysen  
Farhad Kazemi  
Charlotte G. Kea  
Thomas H. Kean  
Edmond J. Keller  
Barbara L. Kellerman  
David Kellogg  
John H. Kelly  
Geoffrey Kemp



Frederick S. Kempe	Robert E. Litan	Sheila Avrin McLean	Richard M. Murphy	David H. Petraeus
Peter B. Kenen	Robert S. Litwak	Doyle McManus	Douglas P. Murray	Richard W. Petree
Ann Zwicker Kerr	William J. Long	Jason D. McManus	Ian P. Murray	Steven B. Pfeiffer
W. Carl Kester	Bevis Longstreth	Thomas L. McNaugher	Martha Twitchell Muse	Christopher H. Phillips
Peter Kezirian	Stephen Low	Michael J. McNerney	Peter F. Najera	Lawrence W. Pierce
John W. Kiermaier	James G. Lowenstein	M. Peter McPherson	John D. Negroponte	Andrew J. Pierre
Henry L. King	Abraham F. Lowenthal	Robert S. McWade	Merlin E. Nelson	Donald L. Pilling
Judith Kipper	James Milton Loy	Jon Meacham	Robert L. Nelson Jr.	Michael Pillsbury
David Klein	Edward C. Luck	Robert F. Meagher	Richard A. Nenneman	Rutherford M. Poats
Edward Klein	William H. Luers	Amy Houpt Medearis	Stephanie G. Neuman	Gerald A. Pollack
William Allen	Jane Holl Lute	Irene W. Meister	David D. Newsom	Kenneth M. Pollack
Knowlton	Princeton N. Lyman	Judy Hendren Mello	M. Diana H. Newton	Marquita J. Pool- Eckert
Jennie M. Koch	Richard W. Lyman	Sarah Elizabeth Mendelson	Rosemary Neahr Niehuss	Arturo C. Porzecanski
George Kolt	Thomas F. Lynch III	Saul H. Mendlovitz	Richard H. Nolte	Wesley W. Posvar
Andrzej Korbonski	Richard Kent Lyons	Rajan Menon	Eric S. Nonacs	Averill L. Powers
Jessica Korn	Charles Frederick MacCormack	Claire Sechler Merkel	Lynne Dominick Novack	Thomas Powers
Louis Kraar	Shawn A. MacDonald	Theodor Meron	Jeffrey D. Nuechterlein	John R. Price Jr.
Vinca LaFleur	Frances MacEachron	George Rich Metcalf	J. Benjamin H. Nye	William T. Pryce
Betty Goetz Lall	Christopher Ma	Jamie Frederic Metzl	Robert B. Oakley	Robert H. Puckett
Denis Lamb	William B. Macomber	Carl J. Meyer	Don Oberdorfer	Lucian W. Pye
Lansing Lamont	John David Maguire	Harold J. Meyerman	Carol O'Cleireacain	William B. Quandt
Virginia A. Lampley	Thomas H. Mahoney IV	Elizabeth Midgley	Walter F. O'Connor	John Raisian
Charles M. Lane	Charles S. Maier	Gwendolyn Mikell	William E. Odom	Robin Lynn Raphael
George D. Langdon Jr.	Christopher J. Makins	Charles R. Miller	L. Jay Oliva	J. Thomas Ratchford
Joseph LaPalombara	Kim Malone	Debra L. Miller	William Clinton Olson	Jack Raymond
Nicholas R. Lardy	Audrey Forbes Manley	Roberta Balstad Miller	John R. Opel	Lee R. Raymond
Charles R. Larson	J. Eugene Marans	Bradford Mills	John E. Osborn	Charles E. Redman
David C. Leavy	David E. Mark	Susan Linda Mills	William A. Owens	Charles B. Reed
Ernest S. Lee	Hans M. Mark	Frank J. Mirkow	Mark Palmer	William Sears Reese
Robert Legvold	Phebe A. Marr	George D. Moffett	Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker	William M. Reichert
Orin Lehman	Anthony D. Marshall	Mark C. Montgomery	Gerald L. Parsky	John E. Reinhardt
John Foster Leich	Katherine Marshall	William S. Moody	Juliette M. Passer- Muslin	Jehuda Reinharz
Marc E. Leland	Lynn Morley Martin	Julia A. Moore	Gerald L. Parsky	Mitchell B. Reiss
J. Stuart Lemle	L. Camille Massey	Paul Moore Jr.	Juliette M. Passer- Muslin	Charles Byron Renfrew
Robert J. Lempert	Walter E. Massey	George E. Moose	Hugh T. Patrick	Renate Rennie
Alexander T.J. Lennon	Gerald M. Mayer Jr.	Theodore H. Moran	Stewart M. Patrick	Nicholas A. Rey
Sarah G.J. Lennon	Cynthia Lillian McCaffrey	Lloyd N. Morrisett	Roland A. Paul	Carolyn Ann Reynolds
James F. Leonard	Edward McCann	Kenneth P. Morse	Barry Pavel	John B. Rhinelanders
Marne L. Levine	John W. McCarter Jr.	Alfred H. Moses	Richard Foote Pedersen	John H. Rich Jr.
Marc Levinson	John J. McCloy II	Michael David Mosettig	James K. Penfield	Stephen H. Richards
Samuel J. Levy	Elizabeth J. McCormack	David A. Moss	Richard D. Perera	David B. Richardson
Bernard Lewis	David H. McCormick	Joel W. Motley	Don Peretz	Henry J. Richardson III
Stephen R. Lewis Jr.	David E. McGiffert	Lucia Mouat	David Perez	Yolonda C. Richardson
Cynthia C. Lichtenstein	Charles James McLaughlin	John Edwin Mroz	Edward J. Perkins	Anthony H. Richter
Kenneth G. Lieberthal	David T. McLaughlin	Margaret Farris Mudd	Arthur King Peters	Donald H. Rivkin
Sally L. Lilienthal		Steven Muller	Michael P. Peters	Alice M. Rivlin
Beverly Lindsay		Emily Moto Murase	Holly Peterson	Richard Todd Roberts
Jonathan S. Linen		Deroy Murdock		Walter R. Roberts
Thomas W. Lippman				



- David Z. Robinson  
 Davis R. Robinson  
 Pearl T. Robinson  
 John M. Rogers  
 Ervin J. Rokke  
 Nancy Ellen Roman  
 Alan D. Romberg  
 Arthur H. Rosen  
 Daniel H. Rosen  
 David S. Rosenblatt  
 Patricia L. Rosenfield  
 Mitchell S. Rosenthal  
 Ronald W. Roskens  
 Thomas B. Ross  
 Elspeth Davies Rostow  
 Stanley Owen Roth  
 William M. Roth  
 Kathryn Roth-  
 Douquet  
 Linda D. Rottenberg  
 Arthur Mark Rubin  
 Neil L. Rudenstine  
 Carol Knuth Sakoian  
 Jeswald William  
 Salacuse  
 Steven B. Sample  
 Michael A. Samuels  
 Miriam Sapiro  
 Stephen Thomas  
 Sargeant  
 Ralph Southey Saul  
 Harold H. Saunders  
 Phillip C. Saunders  
 Nadia C. Schadow  
 Frank W. Schiff  
 Anya A. Schmemann  
 James L. Schoff  
 G. Edward Schuh  
 Jill A. Schuker  
 Susan Carroll Schwab  
 Adam Schwarz  
 William W. Schwarzer  
 Stephen M. Schwebel  
 Elaine F. Sciolino  
 Brent Scowcroft  
 Norman P. Seagrave  
 Robert C. Seamans Jr.  
 Jonathan E. Sears  
 James B. Seaton III  
 Sheldon J. Segal
- Eugene A. Sekulow  
 John W. Sewell  
 Jeffrey R. Shafer  
 Donna E. Shalala  
 Andrew J. Shapiro  
 Judith R. Shapiro  
 Daniel A. Sharp  
 Eleanor B. Sheldon  
 Sally Swing Shelley  
 Gary M. Shiffman  
 Jennifer A. Shore  
 Donald W. Shriver  
 Karlan Sick  
 Robert B. Silvers  
 P.J. Simmons  
 Gretchen Crosby Sims  
 Joseph John Sisco  
 Elliott P. Skinner  
 Eugene B. Skolnikoff  
 Anne-Marie Slaughter  
 Matthew J. Slaughter  
 Richard A. Slaughter  
 Ann Brownell Sloane  
 Leon Sloss  
 Lawrence M. Small  
 S. Bruce Smart Jr.  
 James McCall Smith  
 Jeffrey H. Smith  
 Malcolm B. Smith  
 L. Britt Snider  
 Jed C. Snyder  
 Stephen J. Solarz  
 Peter O. A. Solbert  
 Andrew Wallace  
 Solomon  
 Anthony M. Solomon  
 Joshua N. Solomon  
 Lisa J. Solomon  
 Robert Solomon  
 Tara Diane Sonenshine  
 Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
 Richard W.  
 Sonnenfeldt  
 Ronald I. Spiers  
 J. Andrew Spindler  
 Howard M. Squadron  
 Stephen Stamas  
 Eugene S. Staples  
 Paul E. Steiger  
 Eric Stein
- Edward S. Steinfeld  
 Alfred C. Stepan  
 Fritz Stern  
 Jessica E. Stern  
 Paula Stern  
 Roger D. Stone  
 Robert Strausz-Hupe  
 Niara Sudarkasa  
 Francis X. Sutton  
 Cedric Suzman  
 John Temple Swing  
 Julia Vadala Taft  
 William H. Taft IV  
 Phillips Talbot  
 Jeffrey W. Taliaferro  
 Kara W.Y. Tan Bhala  
 Angelica O. Tang  
 Raymond Tanter  
 Peter Tarnoff  
 C. Bruce Tarter  
 Gligor A. Tashkovich  
 William Taubman  
 Dina Simone Temple-  
 Raston  
 Leonard B. Tennyson  
 Barbara S. Thomas  
 John K. Tien Jr.  
 Paul E. Tierney Jr.  
 Ronald Tiersky  
 Sarah Livingston  
 Timpson  
 Cynthia A. Tindell  
 Amina Tirana  
 Terence A. Todman  
 Monica Duffy Toft  
 Alexander C.  
 Tomlinson  
 Stephen Joel  
 Trachtenberg  
 Harry D. Train II  
 Bernard E. Trainor  
 Eugene P. Trani  
 Thomas J. Trebat  
 Peter D. Trooboff  
 Alexander B.  
 Trowbridge  
 Edwin M. Truman  
 Sirina Tsai  
 Elizabeth G. Tsehai  
 Katherine K. Tucker
- Laura D'Andrea Tyson  
 Richard H. Ullman  
 Cornelius M. Ulman  
 Marybeth Peterson  
 Ulrich  
 Sanford J. Ungar  
 Gregory E. van der  
 Vink  
 Ted Van Dyk  
 James Alward  
 Van Fleet  
 Marta B. Varela  
 Nicholas A. Veliotos  
 Toni G. Verstandig  
 Elizabeth G. Verville  
 Richard Noyes Viets  
 Adis M. Vila  
 Milton Viorst  
 George J. Vojta  
 Christine I. Wallich  
 Ian Kennard Walsh  
 Anthony John Walton  
 R. Keith Walton  
 Katherine T. Ward  
 John William Warner  
 Gerald L. Warren  
 Lewis M. Warren Jr.  
 Alexander F. Watson  
 William Watts  
 Dennis Weatherstone  
 Hoyt K. Webb  
 Vin Weber  
 William H. Webster  
 Jennifer R. Weeks  
 Leroy Snyder Wehrle  
 George B. Weiksner Jr.  
 Sidney Weintraub  
 Jacob Weisberg  
 Charles Weiss Jr.  
 Edith Brown Weiss  
 Elizabeth Anne Weiss  
 Samuel F. Wells Jr.  
 Allan Wendt  
 Mitzi Mallina  
 Wertheim  
 Owen Driscoll West  
 Clifton R. Wharton Jr.  
 Jennifer Seymour  
 Whitaker  
 Julia A. White
- Robert J. White  
 Charles S. Whitehouse  
 Richard A. Wiley  
 Eddie Nathan  
 Williams  
 Harold M. Williams  
 Paul R. Williams  
 Donald M. Wilson  
 Thomas Winship  
 Philip S. Winterer  
 John D. Wirth  
 Frank G. Wisner II  
 Charles Wolf Jr.  
 Ira Wolf  
 Paul D. Wolfowitz  
 R. James Woolsey  
 L. Patrick Wright  
 Mona Yacoubian  
 Linda Tsao Yang  
 Phoebe L. Yang  
 Daniel Yankelovich  
 David B. Yoffie  
 Edgar B. Young  
 M. Crawford Young  
 Frederick T. C. Yu  
 Raul H. Yzaguirre  
 Donald S. Zagoria  
 Dov S. Zakheim  
 Marvin Zonis  
 Barry Zorthian

# 2001 Board Election

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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, 2001, were Mario L. Baeza, Lee Cullum, Thomas R. Donahue, Maurice R. Greenberg, Peter G. Peterson, and Robert B. Zoellick.\*

The Nominating Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (Chairman), John E. Bryson (Vice Chairman), 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, Andrew Young, and Nancy Young. On January 19, 2001, Ms. Hills invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating Committee met on March 13 to consider the large pool of names suggested by Council members for the three elective vacancies. Mindful of its mandate to consider "the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background," the Nominating Committee developed the following slate of nominees: Mario L. Baeza, Lee Cullum, Richard C. Holbrooke, Barbara Shailor, Joan E. Spero, and James Gustave Speth. On March 23, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition process available to them in

accordance with the By-Laws. No petition candidate was put forth. A ballot was mailed to all Council members on April 17.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 16, 2001, 1,532 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. Thomas R. Pickering's name was written on ten or more ballots cast at the meeting, and, therefore, he was nominated for the 2002 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws.

The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning September 1, 2001, and expiring August 31, 2006: Lee Cullum, Richard C. Holbrooke, and Joan E. Spero. Edward F. Cox, Matthew Nimetz, and Barbara Robinson served as election overseers.

Under current procedures, the Board completed the Class of 2006 by appointing three Directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee, at its June 7 meeting the Board appointed the following three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning September 1, 2001, and ending August 31, 2006: Henry S. Bienen, Maurice R. Greenberg, and Vin Weber. Additionally, the Board appointed Kenneth M. Duberstein to the Class of 2002, filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Kenneth W. Dam, in accordance with By-Law IV.C.

*Lilita V. Gusts*  
Secretary

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\*To ensure an orderly transition in Council leadership, the Board of Directors at its October 2000 meeting approved changes in the By-Laws that enable Mr. Peterson and Mr. Greenberg to continue as Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively, on a year-to-year basis and that permit the Council to have more than one Vice Chairman. President Leslie H.

Gelb has stepped down as a Director, ex officio, to enable Mr. Peterson to temporarily fill the 31st slot as a Director. The Board asked Mr. Peterson to accept an interim appointment as Chairman and Director, effective September 2001, on a year-to-year basis. The Council President will resume the directorship after a new Board Chairman takes office.



# Committees of the Board, 2000–2001

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## **Executive**

Peter G. Peterson, *Chair*  
Maurice R. Greenberg,  
*Vice Chair*  
Carla A. Hills,  
*Vice Chair*  
Paul A. Allaire  
Thomas R. Donahue  
Martin S. Feldstein  
William J. McDonough  
Michael H. Moskow  
Warren B. Rudman  
Frank Savage  
Laura D'Andrea Tyson  
Garrick Utley

## **Corporate Affairs and Development**

Paul A. Allaire, *Chair*  
Vincent A. Mai,  
*Vice Chair*  
Allen R. Adler  
Roone Arledge  
Marshall Nichols Carter  
Jonathan E. Colby  
Henrietta Holsman Fore  
Richard N. Foster  
Bart Friedman  
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.  
Joseph M. Ha  
Karen N. Horn  
Morton L. Janklow  
Sherman R. Lewis Jr.  
J. Eugene Marans

Ken Miller  
Leonard Murray II†  
E. John Rosenwald Jr.  
Frank Savage  
Maurice Sonnenberg  
I. Peter Wolff  
Mortimer B. Zuckerman

## **Finance and Budget**

William J. McDonough,  
*Chair*  
Jessica P. Einhorn,‡  
*Vice Chair*  
Roger C. Altman‡  
Peggy Dulany  
Gail D. Fosler  
Joachim Gfoeller Jr.  
Richard K. Goeltz  
Michael D. Granoff  
J. Tomilson Hill‡  
Henry Kaufman‡  
Carl Braun Menges‡  
George J. Mitchell  
Joel W. Motley  
Priscilla A. Newman  
J. Benjamin H. Nye†  
Karen Parker Feld†  
Richard E. Salomon‡  
George Soros  
Robert G. Wilmers‡  
Don M. Wilson III‡

## **Foreign Affairs**

Martin S. Feldstein,  
*Chair*  
Henry A. Grunwald,  
*Vice Chair*  
Fouad Ajami  
Warren Bass†  
Derek H. Chollett  
John Lewis Gaddis  
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.  
Rita E. Hauser  
Jim Hoagland  
Karen Elliott House  
John J. Mearsheimer  
Rodney W. Nichols  
Robert E. Rubin  
Elisabeth N. Sifton  
Theodore C. Sorensen  
Joshua L. Steiner  
Garrick Utley  
Anita Volz Wien  
Philip D. Zelikow

## **Correspondence**

Martin S. Feldstein,  
*Chair*  
Fouad Ajami  
Daniel Bell  
Frances FitzGerald  
Wolf Lepenies  
Esther R. Newberg  
Ron Silver  
Robert B. Silvers  
Carl Spielvogel

Fritz Stern  
Stephen Claar Swid  
Ronald Steel  
Garrick Utley  
Masakazu Yamazaki

## **Meetings**

Garrick Utley, *Chair*  
Roone Arledge  
Carole Artigiani  
Barbara Crossette  
Thomas E. Donilon  
Peggy Dulany  
Sergio J. Galvis  
James F. Hoge Jr.\*  
Robert D. Hormats  
Morton L. Janklow  
Melanie M. Kirkpatrick  
Bette Bao Lord  
L. Camille Massey†  
Raffiq A. Nathoo  
Peter L.W. Osnos  
Ponchitta Pierce  
Richard L. Plepler  
Douglas E. Schoen  
Jason T. Shaplent†  
Ron Silver

## **Membership**

Frank Savage, *Chair*  
Robert D. Hormats,  
*Vice Chair*  
Peter Dexter Bell  
Judith H. Bello

Lee Cullum  
George Albert Dalley  
Rodolfo O. de la Garza  
Frank Phillip del Olmo  
Merit E. Janow  
Kenneth I. Juster  
Richard Mallery  
Michael H. Moskow  
William K. Reilly  
John B. Rhinelander  
Thomas Schick  
Anne-Marie Slaughter  
Theodore C. Sorensen  
Chang-Lin Tien

## **Term Membership**

Anne-Marie Slaughter,  
*Chair*  
Deborah K. Burand  
Robert J. Chaves  
Shelby Coffey III  
Stephen E. Flynn  
Todd C. Hart  
Kenneth A. Moskow  
April A. Oliver  
Elliot Stein  
Kimberly Marten Zisk

## **Atlanta Group on Membership and Programs**

Linda Parrish Brady,  
*Chair*  
Harry G. Barnes Jr.

\**Ex officio.*

†Designated Term Member.

‡Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee.

## Committees of the Board, 2000–2001

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Peter Dexter Bell  
Zeb B. Bradford Jr.  
Julius E. Coles  
Marion V. Creekmore Jr.  
Kenneth A. Cutshaw  
Gail H. Evans  
Wyatt Thomas Johnson  
Eason T. Jordan  
James T. Laney  
Audrey Forbes Manley  
Judith B. Milestone  
Sam Nunn  
Julia A. White  
Peter C. White  
Andrew Young

### ***Chicago Group on Membership and Programs***

Michael H. Moskow,  
*Chair*  
Henry S. Bienen  
Lester Crown  
Cyrus F. Freidheim  
David D. Hale  
Arthur L. Kelly  
Rashid I. Khalidi  
John W. McCarter Jr.  
Henry H. Perritt Jr.  
John E. Rielly  
David J. Rosso  
Adele Simmons  
Thomas C. Theobald  
Mitchel B. Wallerstein

### ***Miami Group on Membership and Programs***

Ambler H. Moss Jr.,  
*Chair*  
Cresencio S. Arcos  
Diego C. Asencio  
W. Hodding Carter

Patricia Murphy Derian  
George W. Landau  
Bernard H. Oxman  
Joseph F. Peyronnin  
Maria Elena Torano  
Adis M. Vila

### ***Texas Group on Membership and Programs***

Lee Cullum, *Chair*  
Anne L. Armstrong  
Rodolfo O. de la Garza  
Edward P. Djerejian  
Mont P. Hoyt  
Roy M. Huffington  
Leo Sidney Mackay Jr.  
Rena M. Pederson

### ***West Coast Group on Membership and Programs***

Warren Christopher,  
*Co-Chair*  
Peter Tarnoff, *Co-Chair*  
Robert John Abernethy  
John E. Bryson\*  
John F. Cooke  
Frank Phillip del Olmo  
Robert F. Erburu\*  
Henrietta Holsman Fore  
Linda Griego  
Edward K. Hamilton  
Jessie J. Knight Jr.  
Ronald Frank Lehman II  
Richard Mallery  
Sharon I. Meers  
Leila Conners Petersen  
Philip Joseph Romero  
J. Stanley Sanders  
George H. Shenk  
Paula J. Sinclair  
Kiron Kanina Skinner

David K.Y. Tang  
Chang-Lin Tien  
Laura D'Andrea Tyson\*  
Harold M. Williams

### **National Programs**

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

### **Nominating**

Carla A. Hills, *Chair*  
John E. Bryson,  
*Vice Chair*  
Linda Chavez  
Kenneth W. Dam  
Robert E. Denham  
Thomas R. Donahue  
William H. Donaldson  
David R. Gergen  
Robert Legvold  
Steven L. Rattner  
Adele Simmons  
James Baker Sitrick  
Anne Wexler  
Andrew Young  
Nancy Young

### **Studies**

Laura D'Andrea Tyson,  
*Chair*  
Martin S. Feldstein,  
*Vice Chair*  
Richard V. Allen  
Jesse H. Ausubel  
Laurence Merrill Band†  
Hans Binnendijk  
Avis T. Bohlen  
W. Bowman Cutter  
David B.H. Denoon  
Padma Desai  
John Deutch  
Kenneth M. Duberstein  
Michael B.G. Fromant†  
Francis Fukuyama  
John Lewis Gaddis  
Melvin L. Heineman  
James F. Hoge Jr.\*  
Lawrence J. Korb\*  
John P. Lipsky  
Abraham F. Lowenthal\*  
Robert E. Rubin  
Scott D. Sagan  
Gordon C. Stewart

Peter Tarnoff  
Marc A. Thiessent  
Richard H. Ullman  
Marta B. Varela  
Ernest James Wilson III  
Frank G. Wisner II  
Daniel H. Yergin

### **Washington Programs**

Warren B. Rudman,  
*Chair*  
Thomas E. Donilon,  
*Vice Chair*  
Pauline H. Baker  
Judith H. Bello  
Mark F. Brzezinski†  
Elizabeth L. Cheney†  
Edwin A. Deagle Jr.  
Thomas R. Donahue  
Kenneth M. Duberstein  
Marsha A. Echols  
Jessica P. Einhorn  
Douglas J. Feith  
Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado  
Charles Gati  
Carl Samuel Gershman  
Michael H. Haltzel  
Robert W. Helm  
Carla A. Hills  
Kim R. Holmes  
James V. Kimsey  
Mark P. Lagon  
Dave K. McCurdy  
Alberto J. Mora  
Mark Palmer  
Peter R. Rosenblatt  
Josette S. Shiner  
Tara Diane Sonenshine  
Terence A. Todman  
Michael H. Van Dusen  
W. Bruce Weinrod  
R. James Woolsey

# International Advisory Board

The International Advisory Board (IAB), established by the Board of Directors in 1995 under the chairmanship of David Rockefeller, meets annually in conjunction with the fall Board meeting to offer perspectives on a broad range of matters of concern to the Council. IAB members are invited to comment on institutional programs and strategic directions, and on practical opportunities for collaboration between the Council and institutions abroad. They also provide invaluable international insights into U.S. foreign policy in discussions on a variety of issues—from the need for new strategies and institutions for the 21st century, to the value of multilateral approaches toward world problems, to ways to foster democratization.

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

**Giovanni Agnelli** (Italy), Chairman, Instituto Finanziario Industriale; Honorary Chairman, Fiat SpA

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

**Moshe Arens** (Israel), Member, Knesset; former Ambassador of Israel to the United States

**Hanan Ashrawi** (West Bank), Secretary General, Miftah—The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy; Founder, The Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights

**Percy N. Barnevik** (Sweden), Chairman, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**María Rosa Martini** (Argentina), Cofounder and President, Social Sector Forum; Founder, CONCIENCIA Argentina

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

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

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

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

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

**Khehla Shubane** (South Africa), Research Officer and Director, Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand

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

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

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

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

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

**Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León** (Mexico), former President of Mexico



# Council By-Laws

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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 residence or principal place of business is within 50 miles of the Capitol in the District of Columbia. All other members are National. All members other than honorary members shall be citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.

A member may be dropped or suspended from membership for a period of six months or more only by a unanimous vote of those Directors attending a meeting of

the Board at which a quorum is present and voting, for any violation of the By-Laws or rules or regulations of the Board of Directors, or for any conduct even though not in actual violation of a By-Law or rule that, in the opinion of the Board, is nevertheless prejudicial to the best interests, reputation, and proper functioning of the Council. A member's privileges may be suspended for a period of up to six months by action of the President subject to approval by the Chairman of the Board.

II. It is an express condition of membership in the Council, to which condition every member accedes by virtue of his or her membership, that members will observe such rules and regulations as may be prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors concerning the conduct of Council meetings or the attribution of statements made therein, and that any disclosure, publication, or other action by a member in contravention thereof may be regarded by the Board of Directors in its sole discretion as ground for termination or suspension of membership pursuant to Article I of the By-Laws.

III. Members other than honorary members of the Council shall pay the following dues per annum:

	<b>Business</b>	<b>Nonbusiness</b>
<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, unless otherwise provided by resolution of the Board of Directors and agreed to by the President. The remaining members of the Board of Directors shall be divided into five equal classes, each class to serve for a term of five years and until their successors are elected and take office. Each class shall consist of three Directors elected directly by the membership at large and three Directors appointed by the Board. Following each Annual Election but prior to the commencement of the term of the new Directors, the Board shall appoint three Directors to serve in the same class as the three Directors elected at the Annual Election. Any Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Board elected on an interim basis pursuant to Article VII who is not a Director at the time of his or her election shall during the period of such interim service be a Director and, at the time of his or her election, shall be designated by the Board of Directors to occupy either (i) the position on the Board that would otherwise be occupied by the President, if the President is not then serving as a Director, ex officio, or (ii) any vacancy among the three Directors in each class subject to appointment by the Board.

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

**C.** Directors are expected faithfully to attend Board and Board Committee meetings to which they are assigned. A Director who fails to attend two-thirds of all such regularly scheduled Board and Board Committee meetings in any two consecutive calendar years shall be deemed to have submitted his or her resignation to be accepted at the pleasure of the Chairman of the Board.

The Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy in its membership. A Director appointed to fill a vacancy created by the retirement, resignation, or death of a Director previously elected by the membership at large shall be nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate in the next Annual Election to complete the balance of the unexpired term.

**V A.** The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held in New York City as soon as practicable after the end of the fiscal year, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. At this meeting the Board of Directors shall present a report of the activities of the Council during the past year, and such other business shall be considered as shall be brought forward by or with the sanction of the Board of Directors and that shall have been stated in the notice convening the meeting.

One-third of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Members may be represented by proxy.

**B.** The Annual Election of Directors of the Council shall be held at a meeting in New York City on a date set by the President or the Chairman of the Board within 13 months of the preceding meeting at which Directors were elected. Directors shall be elected by ballot. Ballots will be mailed to all members in advance of the Annual Election and may be returned by mail or may be delivered in person or by proxy. The ballot shall contain (i) the name of each member who is nominated by the Nominating Committee as a candidate for the class of Directors scheduled for election in that year, (ii) the name of any member appointed to a vacancy in the Board and nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate to complete the balance of the unexpired term, (iii) the name of any member who is nominated in each class by a petition signed by not fewer than ten members, and (iv) the name of any member who received not fewer than ten write-in votes in the preceding election. Members may cast one vote for each of as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled on the Board, and the candidates with the highest number of votes in each class will be declared elected as Directors. One-third of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at the Annual Election Meeting. Administrative details necessary to implement the Council's nomination and election procedures shall be as prescribed by the President in consultation with the Chairman of the Board.

**VI.** The Board shall constitute such Committees as may from time to time be appropriate, including an Exec-

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

The Committee on Finance and Budget shall be composed of 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, serv-

ices, and other initiatives to enhance participation in the Council by members in Washington, D.C.

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

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

The Nominating Committee shall be composed of five members of the Board. The Committee shall present names for Directors, Officers, and Committee members. For the purpose of nominating candidates to stand for election to the Board, the Committee shall co-opt ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall be selected by the Chairman of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President shall be an ex officio member of the Nominating Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Nominating Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background. In nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Committee is also charged (i) to solicit the entire membership for the names of possible candidates and (ii) except as provided in By-Law IV(C) to nominate twice as many candidates as there are directorships to be filled at the election by the membership at large.

The Committee on *Foreign Affairs* shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least ten of whom are not members of the Board. All matters relating to the over-



sight and management of the magazine shall be referred to the Committee.

The Committee on Studies shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least ten of whom are not members of the Board. All suggestions relating to matters of research shall be referred to it, and it shall be responsible for the initiation of research projects. The Committee on Studies shall submit regular reports of its activities to the Board.

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

**VII.** The Officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, one or more Vice Chairmen, a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other Officers as in the Board's judgment may be required. The Board shall annually fix their compensation. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected for a term of five years and shall be eligible for reelection to a second term. The Chairman shall be eligible to complete any such term without regard to By-Law limitations on the number or tenure of Directors. Pending election of a Chairman to a five-year term and subject to the By-Law limitation on the number of Directors, for purposes of assuring an orderly transition in governance, the Board may elect a Chairman and/or Vice Chairman to serve, on an interim basis, for one or more terms of up to 12 months each. The Chairman and any Vice Chairman shall be eligible for election to any such term, on an interim basis, without regard to By-Law limitations on the tenure of Directors or Officers. The other Officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors.

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

The President, subject to the overall direction of the

Board of Directors, shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the corporation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Rule on Foreign Policy Positions**

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

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

## **Rule on Non-Attribution**

“The Council is a research and educational institution. Everyone who participates in a Council meeting is encouraged to use and disseminate ideas and information developed in the meeting. It is recognized, at the same time, that many Council guests and members are, by reason of their governmental or other institutional affiliations, subject to inevitable constraints upon their latitude to express opinions, take positions, or offer tentative judgments on public affairs issues if they are speaking in a public forum or if their statements will be later attributed to them in public media or a public forum.

“Full freedom of expression is encouraged at Council meetings. Participants are assured that they may speak openly, as it is the tradition of the Council that others will not attribute or characterize their statements in public media or forums or knowingly transmit them to persons who will. All participants are expected to honor that commitment.

“An appropriate officer of the Council may, however, by advance announcement declare this Rule inapplicable in whole or in part to any particular Council meeting, and the presentation portion of the meeting may be recorded

and broadcast on electronic media and/or covered in the print media with the agreement of the speaker and advance announcement to other participants.

“Notwithstanding the above Rule, the Board of Directors may, from time to time, prescribe rules governing the subsequent release of any Council records.

“While the substance of the above Rule has been in effect since the formation of the Council, its present formulation was adopted by the Board of Directors on June 6, 1977, on the recommendation of a special Advisory Panel on the Non-Attribution Rule, and subsequently amended on June 7, 1994. The minutes of the June 1977 meeting contain the following explanatory comments about the Rule:

“The report recognizes that ‘media’ and ‘public forum’ are vague terms. But they can nevertheless be rationally interpreted in the light of the purpose of the Rule. For example, the reformulation would make it legitimate for a U.S. governmental official to report by memo to his colleagues and superiors what he learned at a Council meeting. Similarly, the reformulation recognizes that a lawyer may give such a memo to his partners, or a corporate officer to other corporate officers. It would not be in compliance with the reformulated Rule, however, for any meeting participant (i) to publish a speaker’s statement in attributed form in a newspaper; (ii) to repeat it on television or radio, or on a speaker’s platform, or in a classroom; or (iii) to go beyond a memo of limited circulation, by distributing the attributed statement in a company or government agency newsletter. The language of the Rule also goes out of its way to make it clear that a meeting participant is forbidden knowingly to transmit the attributed statement to a newspaper reporter or other such person who is likely to publish it in a public medium. The essence of the Rule as reformulated is simple enough: participants in Council meetings should not pass along

an attributed statement in circumstances where there is substantial risk that it will promptly be widely circulated or published.”

### **Guidelines on Meetings**

By resolution adopted on February 28, 1972, as subsequently amended, the Board of Directors has prescribed the following Guidelines governing Council meetings:

“The purpose of meetings sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations is to promote understanding of international affairs through the free interchange of ideas among participants.

“In order to encourage to the fullest a free, frank, and open exchange of ideas in Council meetings, the Board of Directors has prescribed, in addition to the Non-Attribution Rule, the following guidelines. All participants in Council meetings are expected to be familiar with and adhere to these Guidelines.

“1. Since the Council invites guests representing many different viewpoints, since it selects topics regardless of, or because of, their controversiality, and since there is a wide divergence of viewpoints among members, it is to be expected that Council meetings will sometimes be marked by sharp dispute.

“2. Meetings chairmen are expected to stimulate open expression of opinion by all participants and should not attempt to mute controversy or stifle differences of viewpoint where they exist. To this end it is the responsibility of chairmen to see to it that all viewpoints expressed are treated with respect and that parliamentary decorum is maintained.

“3. Principal speakers should expect to be questioned vigorously on any point relevant to their intellectual interest, experience, or expertise in international affairs. It is recognized, however, that some speakers, particularly those holding official positions, may not feel free to answer some questions, and, in such case, their declination will be respected.”

Apart from the traditional meetings for spouses and for sons and daughters of the members, occasional meetings are also open to guests of members. Guest privileges are for those who have special expertise or experience that relates directly to the meeting, as well as the general qualifications of potential candidates for Council membership. Members bringing guests should

secure the permission of the Council department organizing the meeting and acquaint their guests with the Council’s Non-Attribution Rule governing what is said at meetings.

### **Rule on Conflicts of Interest**

By resolution of the Council’s Board of Directors, adopted January 28, 1992, the following policy concerning actual or potential conflicts of interest was approved:

“1. It is the policy of the Council on Foreign Relations that the Board, officers, and staff of the Council be sensitive to conflict-of-interest issues.

“2. Any potential conflict of interest shall be disclosed to an Officer of the Board by the person concerned. When relevant to a matter requiring action by the Board, the person concerned shall absent him- or herself from the final discussion of such matter, and shall not vote thereon, and the minutes of the meeting shall so disclose. When there is doubt as to whether a conflict of interest exists, the matter shall be resolved by vote of the Board, excluding the person concerning whose situation the doubt has arisen.

“3. This resolution shall remain in full force and effect unless and until modified by vote of the Board, and a copy hereof shall be furnished to each officer or director at the time of his or her election or appointment to or by the Board and any renewal thereof, and to each person who is now or hereafter may become a member of the staff. The policy shall in an appropriate manner be reviewed annually for the information and guidance of directors, officers, and staff.”

### **Archival Practice**

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

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

# Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

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## Directors

Isaiah Bowman	1921–50	David Rockefeller	1949–85	Elliot L. Richardson	1974–75
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921–28	W. Averell Harriman	1950–55	Franklin Hall Williams	1975–83
Paul D. Cravath	1921–40	Joseph E. Johnson	1950–74	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975–86
John W. Davis	1921–55	Grayson Kirk	1950–73	Paul A. Volcker	1975–79, 1988–99
Norman H. Davis	1921–44	Devereux C. Josephs	1951–58	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976–85
Stephen P. Duggan	1921–50	Elliott V. Bell	1953–66	Lane Kirkland	1976–86
John H. Finley	1921–29	John J. McCloy	1953–72	George H.W. Bush	1977–79
Edwin F. Gay	1921–45	Arthur H. Dean	1955–72	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977–79
David F. Houston	1921–27	Charles M. Spofford	1955–72	Philip L. Geyelin	1977–87
Otto H. Kahn	1921–34	Adlai E. Stevenson	1958–62	Henry A. Kissinger	1977–81
Frank L. Polk	1921–43	William C. Foster	1959–72	Winston Lord	1977–85
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921–66	Caryl P. Haskins	1961–75	Stephen Stamas	1977–89
William R. Shepherd	1921–27	James A. Perkins	1963–79	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977–87
Paul M. Warburg	1921–32	William P. Bundy	1964–74	C. Peter McColough	1978–87
George W. Wickersham	1921–36	Gabriel Hauge	1964–81	Richard L. Gelb	1979–88
Allen W. Dulles	1927–69	Carroll L. Wilson	1964–79	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979–88
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927–60	Douglas Dillon	1965–78	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979–83
George O. May	1927–53	Henry R. Labouisse	1965–74	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980–84
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927–34	Robert V. Roosa	1966–81	George P. Shultz	1980–82
Owen D. Young	1927–40	Lucian W. Pye	1966–82	William D. Rogers	1980–90
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72	Alfred C. Neal	1967–76	Walter B. Wriston	1981–87
Charles P. Howland	1929–31	Bill Moyers	1967–74	Lewis T. Preston	1981–88
Walter Lippmann	1932–37	Cyrus R. Vance	1968–76, 1981–87	Warren Christopher	1982–91
Clarence M. Woolley	1932–35	Hedley Donovan	1969–79	Alan Greenspan	1982–88
Frank Altschul	1934–72	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970–72	Robert A. Scalapino	1982–89
Philip C. Jessup	1934–42	Bayless Manning	1971–77	Harold Brown	1983–92
Harold W. Dodds	1935–43	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972–77, 1979–84	Stanley Hoffmann	1983–92
Leon Fraser	1936–45	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972–77	Juanita M. Kreps	1983–89
John H. Williams	1937–64	Elizabeth Drew	1972–77	Brent Scowcroft	1983–89
Lewis W. Douglas	1940–64	George S. Franklin	1972–83	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983–92
Edward Warner	1940–49	Marshall D. Shulman	1972–77	Donald F. McHenry	1984–93
Clarence E. Hunter	1942–53	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972–82	B.R. Inman	1985–93
Myron C. Taylor	1943–59	Paul C. Warnke	1972–77	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985–94
Henry M. Wriston	1943–67	Peter G. Peterson	1972–77, 1973–83, 1984–	Peter Tarnoff	1986–93
Thomas K. Finletter	1944–67	Robert O. Anderson	1974–80	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986–92
William A.M. Burden	1945–74	Edward K. Hamilton	1974–83	Ruben F. Mettler	1986–92
Walter H. Mallory	1945–68	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974–77	James E. Burke	1987–95
Philip D. Reed	1945–69			Richard B. Cheney	1987–89, 1993–95
Winfield W. Riefler	1945–50				



Robert F. Erburu 1987–98  
 Karen Elliott House 1987–98  
 Glenn E. Watts 1987–90  
 Thomas S. Foley 1988–94  
 James D. Robinson III 1988–91  
 Strobe Talbott 1988–93  
 John L. Clendenin 1989–94  
 William S. Cohen 1989–97  
 Joshua Lederberg 1989–98  
 John S. Reed 1989–92  
 Alice M. Rivlin 1989–92  
 William J. Crowe Jr. 1990–93  
 Thomas R. Donahue 1990–2001  
 Richard C. Holbrooke 1991–93,  
 1996–99,  
 2001–  
 Robert D. Hormats 1991–  
 John E. Bryson 1992–  
 Maurice R. Greenberg 1992–  
 Karen N. Horn 1992–95  
 James R. Houghton 1992–96  
 Charlayne Hunter-Gault 1992–98  
 Kenneth W. Dam 1992–2001  
 Donna E. Shalala 1992–93  
 Alton Frye 1993  
 Richard N. Cooper 1993–94  
 Rita E. Hauser 1993–97  
 E. Gerald Corrigan 1993–95  
 Leslie H. Gelb 1993–2001  
 Paul A. Allaire 1993–  
 Robert E. Allen 1993–96  
 Theodore C. Sorensen 1993–  
 Garrick Utley 1993–  
 Carla A. Hills 1994–  
 Helene L. Kaplan 1994–96  
 Frank G. Zarb 1994–96  
 Robert B. Zoellick 1994–2001  
 Les Aspin 1995  
 Mario L. Baeza 1995–2001  
 Peggy Dulany 1995–  
 Jessica P. Einhorn 1995–  
 William J. McDonough 1995–  
 Frank Savage 1995–  
 George Soros 1995–  
 Hannah Holborn Gray 1995–98  
 George J. Mitchell 1995–  
 Louis V. Gerstner Jr. 1995–  
 Lee Cullum 1996–  
 Vincent A. Mai 1997–  
 Warren B. Rudman 1997–

Laura D'Andrea Tyson 1997–  
 Roone Arledge 1998–  
 Diane Sawyer 1998–99  
 Martin S. Feldstein 1998–  
 Bette Bao Lord 1998–  
 Michael H. Moskow 1998–  
 John Deutch 1999–  
 Robert E. Rubin 2000–  
 Andrew Young 2000–  
 Kenneth M. Duberstein 2001–  
 Henry S. Bienen 2001–  
 Joan E. Spero 2001–  
 Vin Weber 2001–

**Chairmen of the Board**

Russell C. Leffingwell 1946–53  
 John J. McCloy 1953–70  
 David Rockefeller 1970–85  
 Peter G. Peterson 1985–

**Vice Chairmen of the Board**

Grayson Kirk 1971–73  
 Cyrus R. Vance 1973–76,  
 1985–87  
 Douglas Dillon 1976–78  
 Carroll L. Wilson 1978–79  
 Warren Christopher 1987–91  
 Harold Brown 1991–92  
 B.R. Inman 1992–93  
 Jeane J. Kirkpatrick 1993–94  
 Maurice R. Greenberg 1994–  
 Carla A. Hills 2001–

**Presidents**

John W. Davis 1921–33  
 George W. Wickersham 1933–36  
 Norman H. Davis 1936–44  
 Russell C. Leffingwell 1944–46  
 Allen W. Dulles 1946–50  
 Henry M. Wriston 1951–64  
 Grayson Kirk 1964–71  
 Bayless Manning 1971–77  
 Winston Lord 1977–85  
 John Temple Swing\* 1985–86  
 Peter Tarnoff 1986–93  
 Alton Frye 1993  
 Leslie H. Gelb 1993–

**Honorary President**

Elihu Root 1921–37

**Executive Vice President**

John Temple Swing 1986–93

**Senior Vice Presidents**

Alton Frye 1993–98  
 Kenneth H. Keller 1993–95  
 Larry L. Fabian 1994–95  
 Michael P. Peters 1995–  
 Paula J. Dobriansky 2001  
 Charles G. Boyd 2001–

**Vice Presidents**

Paul D. Cravath 1921–33  
 Norman H. Davis 1933–36  
 Edwin F. Gay 1933–40  
 Frank L. Polk 1940–43  
 Russell C. Leffingwell 1943–44  
 Allen W. Dulles 1944–46  
 Isaiah Bowman 1945–49  
 Henry M. Wriston 1950–51  
 David Rockefeller 1950–70  
 Frank Altschul 1951–71  
 Devereux C. Josephs 1951–52  
 David W. MacEachron 1972–74  
 John Temple Swing 1972–86  
 Alton Frye 1987–93  
 William H. Gleysteen Jr. 1987–89  
 John A. Millington 1987–96  
 Margaret Osmer-McQuade 1987–93  
 Nicholas X. Rizopoulos 1989–94  
 Karen M. Sughrue 1993–98  
 Abraham F. Lowenthal 1995–  
 Janice L. Murray 1995–  
 David J. Vidal 1995–97  
 Ethan B. Kapstein 1995–96  
 Frederick C. Broda 1996–97  
 Kenneth Maxwell 1996  
 Gary C. Hufbauer 1997–98  
 David Kellogg 1997–  
 Paula J. Dobriansky 1997–2001  
 Anne R. Luzzatto 1998–  
 Lawrence J. Korb 1998–  
 Elise Carlson Lewis 1999–

**Executive Directors**

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

## Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

### Secretaries

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

### Treasurers

Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42
Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
Elliott V. Bell	1952–64
Gabriel Hauge	1964–81
Peter G. Peterson	1981–85
C. Peter McColough	1985–87
Lewis T. Preston	1987–88
James E. Burke	1988–89

David Woodbridge	1989–94
Janice L. Murray	1994–

### Editors of Foreign Affairs

Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–28
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72
William P. Bundy	1972–84
William G. Hyland	1984–92
James F. Hoge Jr.	1992–

### Directors of Studies

Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53
Philip E. Mosely	1955–63
Richard H. Ullman	1973–76
Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976–77
John C. Campbell	1977–78
Paul H. Kreisberg	1981–87
William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94
Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95

Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Lawrence J. Korb	1998–

### Directors of Meetings

George S. Franklin	1949–50
William Henderson	1952–54, 1955–56
Melvin Conant	1954–55,* 1956–57,* 1957–59
George V. H. Moseley III	1959–62
Harry Boardman	1962–69
Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969–78
Marilyn Berger	1978–79
Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–

\*Pro-tempore

## January 23, 2001, Meeting of the Board of Directors



Top Row (L-R): Theodore C. Sorensen, Lee Cullum, Jessica P. Einhorn, Robert E. Rubin, Bette Bao Lord, Martin S. Feldstein, George Soros, and Vincent A. Mai. Middle Row (L-R): Garrick Utley, Paul A. Allaire, Carla A. Hills, Thomas R. Donahue, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Mario L. Baeza, and Kenneth W. Dam. Bottom Row (L-R): Maurice R. Greenberg,

Peter G. Peterson, and Leslie H. Gelb at the January 23, 2001, Meeting of the Board of Directors. Not pictured: Roone Arledge, John E. Bryson, Peggy Dulany, Louis V. Gerstner Jr., Robert D. Hormats, William J. McDonough, George J. Mitchell, Michael H. Moskow, Warren B. Rudman, Frank Savage, Andrew Young, and Robert B. Zoellick.

# Budget and Finance

Thanks to the diversity of the Council's financial resources and the steadfast support of its members, the Council maintained an operating surplus—\$1.4 million this year—for the eighth year in a row.

The Council's investment portfolio stood at \$140.5 million as of June 30, 2001. The Council has been well-guided through the ups and downs of the past year by the Finance and Budget Committee, chaired by William McDonough, and by the Investment Subcommittee, chaired by J. Tomilson Hill. We are deeply grateful for their dedication to the Council's financial well-being.

The major construction projects in the New York and Washington offices are now complete. Our physical plants are sound and our infrastructure up-to-date. We have endowment funds and term grants in hand to cover our institutional priorities for the next several years. And we have budgeted conservatively to meet our operating needs. So we believe that, whatever the financial weather in the coming year, the Council is well-positioned to pursue its goals.

*Janice L. Murray*  
Vice President and Treasurer

## Statement of Financial Position

June 30, 2001, with summarized financial information at June 30, 2000

	2001	2000
<b>Assets</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 13,055,100	\$ 12,460,000
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	627,400	731,600
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)	5,044,600	4,526,900
Inventories, at lower of cost or market	179,700	180,300
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)	556,300	836,300
Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures (Note 5)	4,102,500	663,100
Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)	23,323,500	23,705,500
Investments (Note 3)	83,881,200	83,052,400
Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)	56,622,900	48,483,200
Total assets	<u>\$187,393,200</u>	<u>\$174,639,300</u>
<b>Liabilities and net assets</b>		
Liabilities:		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 3,234,900	\$ 2,299,000
Deferred subscription revenue	2,434,000	2,326,200
Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)	1,800,000	1,802,000
Total liabilities	<u>7,468,900</u>	<u>6,427,200</u>
Net assets (Notes 9 and 10):		
Unrestricted	77,370,300	78,036,800
Temporarily restricted	41,828,600	41,073,500
Permanently restricted	60,725,400	49,101,800
Total net assets	<u>179,924,300</u>	<u>168,212,100</u>
Total liabilities and net assets	<u>\$187,393,200</u>	<u>\$174,639,300</u>

See accompanying notes.



## Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 2001, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2000

	2001			Total	2000 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted		
<b>Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</b>					
Membership dues	\$ 3,032,600			\$ 3,032,600	\$ 2,459,400
Annual giving	2,826,400			2,826,400	2,349,600
Corporate memberships and related income	2,570,600	\$ 152,200		2,722,800	2,680,900
Meetings	1,032,700			1,032,700	702,500
International Affairs Fellowships		344,300		344,300	355,400
Grants and contributions for Studies		6,705,000		6,705,000	5,104,300
Other grants and contributions		898,800		898,800	1,146,500
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,447,100			4,447,100	4,811,400
Book publication	67,600			67,600	104,500
Investment income allocation ( <i>Note 4</i> )	3,600,000	2,324,300		5,924,300	5,433,000
Miscellaneous	672,600	200,000		872,600	771,900
Total operating revenue and support	18,249,600	10,624,600		28,874,200	25,919,400
Net assets released from restrictions ( <i>Note 9</i> )	8,059,000	(8,059,000)		—	—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	26,308,600	2,565,600		28,874,200	25,919,400
<b>Operating expenses</b>					
Program expenses:					
Studies Program	9,426,800			9,426,800	8,993,200
Meetings Program	3,300,500			3,300,500	3,434,400
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,597,000			4,597,000	4,659,300
Book publication	542,000			542,000	445,200
National Program	584,400			584,400	469,400
International Affairs Fellowships	750,000			750,000	729,600
Communications	480,900			480,900	395,000
Total program expenses	19,681,600			19,681,600	19,126,100
Supporting services:					
Management and general	3,767,600			3,767,600	3,469,200
Membership	444,000			444,000	472,300
Fund-raising:					
Development	346,700			346,700	344,000
Corporate Program	624,500			624,500	636,500
Total fund-raising	971,200			971,200	980,500
Total supporting services expenses	5,182,800			5,182,800	4,922,000
Total operating expenses	24,864,400			24,864,400	24,048,100
<b>Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses carried forward</b>	1,444,200	2,565,600		4,009,800	1,871,300



## Statement of Activities (continued)

	2001			2000 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses brought forward	\$ 1,444,200	\$ 2,565,600		\$ 4,009,800
<b>Nonoperating revenue</b> (Note 2)				
Investment income in excess of (less than) spending rate (Note 4)	(2,110,700)	(1,810,500)		(3,921,200)
Endowment contributions			\$11,623,600	11,623,600
Total nonoperating revenue	(2,110,700)	(1,810,500)	11,623,600	7,702,400
Change in net assets	(666,500)	755,100	11,623,600	11,712,200
Net assets at the beginning of the year	78,036,800	41,073,500	49,101,800	168,212,100
Net assets at the end of the year	\$77,370,300	\$41,828,600	\$60,725,400	\$179,924,300

See accompanying notes.

## Statement of Cash Flows

Year ended June 30, 2001, with summarized financial information for the year ended June 30, 2000

	2001	2000
<b>Operating activities</b>		
Change in net assets	\$11,712,200	\$8,004,000
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation	1,490,500	1,370,400
Net realized and unrealized loss (gain) on investments	77,500	(9,037,400)
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	(11,623,600)	(909,000)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities:		
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	104,200	193,200
Grants and contributions receivable	(237,700)	857,900
Inventories	600	126,700
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	935,900	(115,700)
Deferred subscription revenue	107,800	270,000
Accrued postretirement benefits	(2,000)	(15,000)
Net cash provided by operating activities	2,565,400	745,100

## Statement of Cash Flows (continued)

	2001	2000
<b>Investing activities</b>		
Purchases of building, building improvements, and equipment	\$ (1,108,500)	\$ (2,503,900)
Purchases of investments	(119,686,000)	(61,752,900)
Proceeds from sales of investments	110,640,000	62,256,500
Net cash used in investing activities	(10,154,500)	(2,000,300)
<b>Financing activities</b>		
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	8,184,200	505,000
Contributions for capital expenditures	—	455,400
Net cash provided by financing activities	8,184,200	960,400
Net increase (decrease) in cash and cash equivalents	595,100	(294,800)
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	12,460,000	12,754,800
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	\$ 13,055,100	\$ 12,460,000
<b>Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information</b>		
Non-cash investing and financing activity:		
Contributions receivable for investment in endowment	\$ 4,102,500	\$ 618,500
Contributions receivable for capital expenditures	\$ —	\$ 44,600

See accompanying notes.

## Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 2001

**1. Organization**

The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (the "Council"), headquartered in New York City, is a nonprofit and nonpartisan membership organization dedicated to improving the understanding of U.S. foreign policy and international affairs through the exchange of ideas. The Council, established in 1921, serves as a center for scholarship and policy analysis, mobilizing resident senior staff, members, and other experts in dialogue, study, and the publications programs. It serves as a membership organization, comprising an ever-more diverse and multiprofessional community of men and women involved in international affairs. The Council also serves as a public education organization, reaching out nationally and internationally to disseminate ideas and collaborate with other institutions.

The Council is a Section 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization exempt from federal income taxes under Section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code (the "Code") and is a publicly supported organization as described in Section 509(a)(1) of the Code. The Council is also exempt from state and local income taxes. It is subject to tax on unrelated business income, which has not been significant.

**2. Summary of Significant Accounting Policies****Fund Accounting and Net Asset Classifications**

The Council considers all contributions and grants to be available for unrestricted use unless specifically restricted by the donor or grantor. Endowment contributions are invested, and pursuant to the Council's 5% policy (see Note 4), an investment allocation is made for general purposes (unrestricted) and specific program activities (temporarily restricted).

In the accompanying financial statements, funds that have similar characteristics have been combined into three net asset classes: unrestricted, temporarily restricted, and permanently restricted.

Unrestricted net assets represent funds that are fully available, at the discretion of management and the Board of Directors, for the Council to utilize in any of its program or supporting services.

Temporarily restricted net assets comprise funds that are restricted by donors for a specific time period or purpose.

Permanently restricted net assets consist of funds that must be maintained intact in perpetuity, but permit the Council to expend part or all of the income derived from the investment of the donated assets for either specified or unspecified purposes.



### Support and Revenue

Contributions, including a portion of membership dues, are recorded when received unconditionally, at their fair value. Gifts received with donor stipulations that limit the use of donated assets are reported as either temporarily or permanently restricted support. When a donor restriction expires, that is, when a time restriction ends or purpose restriction is fulfilled, temporarily restricted net assets are reclassified as unrestricted net assets and reported in the statement of activities as net assets released from restrictions. It is the Council's policy to imply a time restriction on gifts of long-lived assets and contributions to be used to acquire long-lived assets in the absence of explicit donor restrictions to that effect.

Conditional contributions, such as grants with matching requirements, are recognized in the appropriate net asset class when the conditions have been met.

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

### Cash and Cash Equivalents

The Council considers all highly liquid investments purchased with a maturity of three months or less, excluding cash equivalents held as investments, to be cash equivalents.

### Investments

The Council's investments are recorded at their fair values, which are based on quoted market prices for individual debt and marketable equity securities. The Council's hedge funds, which consist of interests in investment limited partnerships and investment companies, are carried as follows:

- The Council's investments in investment companies, represented by share ownership, are carried at the aggregate net asset value of the shares held by the Council. The net asset value is based on the net market value of the investment company's investment portfolio as determined by the management of the investment company.
- The carrying values of investments in investment limited partnerships reflect the Council's net contributions to the respective partnerships and its share of realized and unrealized investment income and expenses of the respective partnerships. Investments held by the investment limited partnerships generally are carried at fair value as determined by the respective general partners.

### Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

The Council follows the practice of capitalizing expenditures for land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, and generally depreciates these assets on the straight-line basis over their estimated useful lives (see Note 6). The fair value of donated property and equipment is similarly capitalized and depreciated.

### Measure of Operations

The Council includes in its definition of operations all revenues and expenses that are an integral part of its programs and supporting activities, including an authorized investment income allocation (see Note 4) and all contributions except for those that are restricted for capital expenditures or have been permanently restricted by donors. Investment income, including net realized and unrealized gains and losses, earned in excess of (or less than) the Council's aggregate authorized spending amount, contributions for capital expenditures, and contributions to permanently restricted net assets are recognized as nonoperating activity.

### Use of Estimates

The preparation of financial statements in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect amounts reported in the financial statements and accompanying notes. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

### 2000 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 accounting principles generally accepted in the United States. Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Council's financial statements for the year ended June 30, 2000, from which the summarized information was derived.

### 3. Investments

The components of the Council's long-term investments were as follows:

	June 30			
	2001		2000	
	Cost	Carrying Value	Cost	Carrying Value
Domestic equity securities	\$ 47,654,000	\$ 48,256,000	\$ 53,455,900	\$ 60,048,400
International equity securities	19,292,700	18,866,200	16,418,200	18,810,700
Foreign and corporate bonds	13,023,800	12,971,400	9,936,300	9,802,000
U.S. government agency obligations	15,173,500	15,429,700	10,755,900	10,434,000
Hedge funds	30,803,600	39,534,300	24,081,000	26,884,800
Money market funds	5,446,500	5,446,500	5,555,700	5,555,700
Total	<u>\$131,394,100</u>	<u>\$140,504,100</u>	<u>\$120,203,000</u>	<u>\$131,535,600</u>



The hedge funds in which the Council has invested may trade various financial instruments with off-balance sheet risk. These financial instruments include securities sold short and long, options contracts, and foreign currency forward contracts. Such transactions subject the hedge funds and their investors to market risk associated with changes in the value of the underlying securities, financial instruments, and foreign currencies, as well as the risk of loss if a counterparty fails to perform. The respective hedge fund managers endeavor to limit the risk associated with such transactions.

### 4. Investment Allocation

It is a Council policy to make an annual investment allocation for the support of operations at 5% of the average market value of the investments for the three previous years. Amounts allocated to the unrestricted and temporarily restricted net asset classes are at the discretion of the Council. In 2000, additional gains of \$577,300 were utilized to fulfill donor restrictions. Investment income has been reported as follows:

	Year ended June 30			2000
	2001	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$856,100 and \$746,600 in 2001 and 2000, respectively	\$ 1,546,900	\$ 533,700	\$ 2,080,600	\$ 1,619,300
Net realized and unrealized (losses) gains	(57,600)	(19,900)	(77,500)	9,037,400
Total return on investments	1,489,300	513,800	2,003,100	10,656,700
Investment return used for current operations	(3,600,000)	(2,324,300)	(5,924,300)	(5,433,000)
Investment return in excess of (less than) amounts used for current operations	\$(2,110,700)	\$(1,810,500)	\$(3,921,200)	\$ 5,223,700

### 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	
	2001	2000
Less than one year	\$9,147,100	\$5,190,000
One to five years	649,900	1,000,000
	9,797,000	6,190,000
Less discount (using 6% rate)	93,600	163,700
Grants and contributions receivable, net	\$9,703,400	\$6,026,300

### 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
	2001	2000	
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	25,593,400	25,201,600	10-55 years
Equipment	6,903,100	6,186,400	3-15 years
	34,350,800	33,242,300	
Less accumulated depreciation	11,027,300	9,536,800	
	\$23,323,500	\$23,705,500	

### 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 \$744,400 for 2001 and \$706,900 for 2000. Participants must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.



**8. Other Postretirement Benefits**

The Council provides certain health care and life insurance benefits for retired employees. Employees are eligible for those benefits when they meet the criteria for retirement under the pension plan.

The following table presents the plan's related disclosures under the provisions of Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 132, *Employers' Disclosures About Pensions and Other Postretirement Benefits*, as accounted for under Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 106, *Employers' Accounting for Postretirement Benefits Other than Pensions*:

	June 30	
	2001	2000
Benefit obligation	\$2,116,000	\$1,757,000
Fair value of plan assets	—	—
Unfunded status	\$2,116,000	\$1,757,000
Accrued postretirement benefit cost in the statement of financial position	\$1,800,000	\$1,802,000
<b>For the year ended</b>		
Benefit cost	\$170,000	\$ 130,000
Benefits paid	\$172,000	\$ 145,000
<b>Weighted average assumptions</b>		
Discount rate	7.50%	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% for 2001 and 2000 and remaining at 6% hereafter.

**9. Temporarily Restricted Net Assets**

Temporarily restricted net assets are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

	June 30	
	2001	2000
Studies	\$25,936,600	\$23,567,400
International Affairs Fellowships	3,723,100	4,691,900
Meetings	3,355,300	3,489,700
Studies—Next Generation	3,176,000	3,551,700
Capital expenditures	5,637,600	5,772,800
	\$41,828,600	\$41,073,500

Temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for the fulfillment of the following during the years ended June 30:

Purposes and time periods:	2001		2000	
	2001	2000	2001	2000
Studies	\$5,943,800	\$6,083,400		
International Affairs Fellowships	547,600	627,100		
Meetings	956,200	726,000		
Studies—Next Generation	83,000	63,500		
Capital expenditures	248,100	248,100		
Other	280,300	273,400		
	\$8,059,000	\$8,021,500		

The amounts released from restrictions of \$8,059,000 and \$8,021,500 in 2001 and 2000, respectively, primarily represent revenue in prior years and expended in 2001 and 2000, respectively.

**10. Permanently Restricted Net Assets**

Income earned on permanently restricted net assets is restricted for the following purposes:

	June 30	
	2001	2000
Studies	\$35,149,600	\$24,415,100
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,100	6,066,100
Meetings	3,502,700	3,502,700
Library	1,021,000	156,700
Unrestricted as to use	14,986,000	14,961,200
	<u>\$60,725,400</u>	<u>\$49,101,800</u>

**ERNST & YOUNG LLP**

100 Seventh Avenue  
New York, New York 10011

Phone: 212 271 8800

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS

Board of Directors  
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statement of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. as of June 30, 2001, and the related statements of activities and cash flows for the year then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Council's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audit. The prior year summarized comparative information has been derived from the Council's 2000 financial statements and, in our report dated August 14, 2000, we expressed an unqualified opinion on those financial statements.

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

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. at June 30, 2001, and the changes in its net assets and its cash flows for the year then ended in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States.

*Ernst & Young LLP*

August 14, 2001

Ernst & Young LLP is a member of Ernst & Young International Ltd.

# Staff

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## Executive Office

Leslie H. Gelb	<i>President</i>
Michael P. Peters	<i>Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer</i>
Janice L. Murray	<i>Vice President and Treasurer, and Deputy Chief Operating Officer</i>
Elva Murphy	<i>Assistant to the President</i>
Amanda Edwards	<i>Assistant to the Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer</i>
Chong-Lim Lee	<i>Assistant to the Vice President and Treasurer</i>
Lilita V. Gusts	<i>Secretary of the Corporation</i>
Jeffrey A. Reinke	<i>Director of Special Programs</i>
John A. Millington	<i>Counselor to the Chairman and President</i>
John Temple Swing	<i>Of Counsel</i>

## Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy

Alton Frye	<i>Presidential Senior Fellow and Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy</i>
Leigh Morris Sloane	<i>Assistant Director</i>

## Center for Preventive Action

William L. Nash	<i>Director and Senior Fellow</i>
David L. Phillips	<i>Deputy Director and Senior Fellow</i>
Kathleen Jennings	<i>Program Associate</i>

## Communications

Lisa Shields	<i>Acting Director</i>
Marie X. Strauss	<i>Deputy Director</i>
Cree Frappier	<i>Website Coordinator</i>

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## Foreign Affairs

### Editorial

James F. Hoge Jr.	<i>Editor, Peter G. Peterson Chair</i>
Gideon Rose	<i>Managing Editor</i>
Jonathan D. Tepperman	<i>Senior Editor</i>
Helen Fessenden	<i>Associate Editor</i>

Celia Whitaker	<i>Associate Editor</i>
Rosemary Hartman	<i>Assistant to the Editor</i>
Ann H. Coleman	<i>Assistant to the Managing Editor</i>
Traci C. Nagle	<i>Production Editor</i>
Siddharth Mohandas	<i>Academic Year Intern</i>

## Publishing

David Kellogg	<i>Publisher</i>
Eugenia Hsu	<i>Circulation Manager</i>
Nina Johns	<i>Circulation Assistant</i>
Joseph D'Amico	<i>Anthology Production Coordinator</i>
William Ledbetter	<i>Advertising Manager</i>
Michael Pasuit	<i>Advertising Marketing Coordinator</i>
Melsha Winchester	<i>Advertising Assistant</i>
Nancy Barra	<i>Assistant to the Publisher</i>

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## Studies Program

### Director of Studies Office

Lawrence J. Korb	<i>Vice President/Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies, and Director, National Security Studies</i>
Judith Adams	<i>Assistant to the Vice President and Director of Studies</i>
Theophilos C. Gemelas	<i>Associate Director of Studies</i>
April Palmerlee	
Alicia Siebenaler	<i>Assistant to the Associate Director of Studies</i>
Jean-Michel Oriol	<i>Budget Coordinator</i>
William Diebold Jr.	<i>Senior Fellow Emeritus</i>

## Africa

Gwendolyn Mikell	<i>Senior Fellow</i>
Mahesh K. Kotecha	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow</i>
Vanessa Pokorny	<i>Research Associate</i>

## Asia

Robert A. Manning	<i>C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies and Director, Asia Studies</i>
Elizabeth C. Economy	<i>Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies</i>

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## Staff

Eric Aldrich  
Jerome A. Cohen  
Pilar Pereyra

*Research Associate*  
*Senior Fellow, Asia Studies*  
*Research Associate*

### ***International Economics***

Caroline Atkinson  
Anne Alikonis  
Jagdish N. Bhagwati  
Olivia Carballo  
Holly Waeger  
Marie-Josée Kravis  
Roger M. Kubarych  
Laura Winthrop  
Ann R. Markusen  
Benn Steil  
Matthew Rosenberg  
Bruce Stokes  
Mary Dinh  
Michael M. Weinstein

*Senior Fellow, International Economics*  
*Research Associate*  
*André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*  
*Research Associate*  
*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economics*  
*Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance*  
*Research Associate*  
*Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy*  
*André Meyer Senior Fellow, International Economics*  
*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade*  
*Research Associate*  
*BP Senior Fellow for International Economics and Acting Director, Geoeconomics Center*

### ***Europe***

Ronald D. Asmus  
Jessica Fugate  
Marek Michalewski  
Sheila Heslin  
Charles A. Kupchan  
Michael Mandelbaum  
David Stevens  
Stephen R. Sestanovich  
Christine Evans  
Astrid S. Tuminez  
Nora Kahn

*Senior Fellow, Europe Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
*Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies*  
*Senior Fellow*  
*Research Associate*  
*George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Next Generation Fellow*  
*Research Associate*

### ***Latin America***

Kenneth R. Maxwell  
Tomás Amorim  
Julia Sweig  
Jessica Duda

*Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies*  
*Research Associate*

### ***Middle East***

Richard W. Murphy  
Sarah Saghir  
Judith Kipper  
Pauline Shams  
Henry Siegman  
Scott Lasensky

*Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East and Director, Middle East Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Director, Middle East Forum*  
*Program Associate*  
*Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project*  
*Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project*

### ***National Security***

Lawrence J. Korb  
Alexandre L. Tiersky  
Charles G. Boyd  
Kenneth M. Pollack  
Richard K. Betts  
Rachel Bronson  
Stephen E. Flynn  
Sean Burke  
Bernard E. Trainor  
David Stevens

*Director, National Security Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in National Security and European Affairs*  
*Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*  
*Olin Fellow, National Security Studies*  
*Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
*Research Associate*

### ***Peace and Conflict***

Arthur C. Helton  
Marie Jeannot  
Eliana Jacobs  
Robert A. Malley  
Robert P. DeVecchi  
Radha Kumar  
David Pacheco  
Ruth Wedgwood  
Jennifer Seymour  
Whitaker  
Kimberly Marten Zisk

*Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action, and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies*  
*Assistant to the Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action*  
*Research Associate*  
*Senior Fellow*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced*  
*Senior Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies*  
*Research Associate*  
*Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law*  
*Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
*Fellow*

### Science and Technology

Richard L. Garwin	<i>Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow, Science and Technology</i>
Jeremy Marwell	<i>Research Associate</i>
David G. Victor	<i>Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow and Director, Science and Technology</i>
Nora Kahn	<i>Research Associate</i>
Jordan S. Kassalow	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow</i>
Denise Gomes	<i>Research Associate</i>

### U.S. Foreign Policy

Morton H. Halperin	<i>Senior Fellow</i>
Katsuhisa Furukawa	<i>Research Associate</i>
Walter Russell Mead	<i>Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy</i>
Derek Lundy	<i>Research Associate</i>
Joe T. Siegle	<i>Next Generation Fellow</i>
Kiron Skinner	<i>Adjunct Next Generation Fellow</i>
David Pacheco	<i>Research Associate</i>

### Diplomat in Residence

Richard Butler	<i>Diplomat in Residence</i>
Leonardo Arriola	<i>Research Associate</i>

### Visiting Fellows, 2001–2002

Robert L. McClure	<i>USA Military Fellow</i>
Christopher D. Miller	<i>USAF Military Fellow</i>
F.J. Niner	<i>USN Military Fellow</i>
Philip C. Rudder	<i>USMC Military Fellow</i>
Greta Lundeborg	<i>Program Associate</i>
Guillermo S. Christensen	<i>Intelligence Fellow</i>
Calvin Sims	<i>Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow</i>
Sandra Enimil	<i>Program Associate</i>
Nicholas J. Rasmussen	<i>International Affairs Fellow in Residence</i>
Andrew S. Weiss	<i>International Affairs Fellow in Residence</i>

### Meetings

Anne R. Luzzatto	<i>Vice President, Meetings</i>
Nancy D. Bodurtha	<i>Associate Director, Meetings</i>
Anastasia Malacos	<i>Assistant Director, New York Meetings</i>
Noa Gimelli	<i>Program Coordinator</i>
Carolyn Jander	<i>Program Coordinator</i>
Ella Roderick-Jones	<i>Program Coordinator</i>
Peggy Papadakis	<i>Program Associate</i>

Valerie Brazill	<i>Director of Special Events</i>
Katherine Boyle	<i>Special Events Associate</i>
Kristine Haan	<i>Events Associate</i>

### Washington Program

Charles G. Boyd	<i>Senior Vice President and Director</i>
Diane Long	<i>Executive Assistant</i>
Linda Harsh	<i>Associate Director</i>
Amy Drapeau	<i>Program Associate</i>

### National Program

Irina A. Faskianos	<i>National Director</i>
Katherine Sobong	<i>Program Associate</i>
Silvia Fracchia	<i>Program Assistant</i>

David Kellogg	<i>Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher</i>
Nancy Barra	<i>Assistant to the Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher</i>

### Corporate Affairs

Jacqui Selbst Schein	<i>Director, Corporate Affairs</i>
Alexandra Merle	<i>Corporate Affairs Associate</i>
Marta Chylinska	<i>Corporate Affairs Associate</i>

### Council Publishing

Patricia Lee Dorff	<i>Director of Publishing</i>
Kimberly Fielding	<i>Editorial Assistant</i>

### Correspondence: An International Review of Culture and Society

Alexander Stille	<i>Editor</i>
David Jacobson	<i>Managing Editor</i>

### Membership and Fellowship Affairs

Elise Carlson Lewis	<i>Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs</i>
Allison Storkamp	<i>Assistant to the Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs</i>
Abigail Leibig	<i>Program Associate</i>
Bessie Skoures	<i>Program Associate</i>

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## Staff

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

### Development

Betty 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 *Controller*  
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*  
Donna Sardella *Associate Director*  
Shantala Muddappa *Human Resources Coordinator*  
Marieke Beeuwkes *Interdepartmental Program Associate*  
Lynn Stockhamer *Interdepartmental Administrative  
Associate*  
Patrick Roberts *Human Resources Assistant*

### Reception

Cristy Lemperle *Reception Supervisor*  
Bettina Schaeffer *Receptionist*

### Facility Operations

Neftali Frank Alvarez *Director of Facility Operations*  
Phil Falcon *Associate Director of Facility  
Operations*  
Ian Noray *Supervisor of Mail and Duplicating  
Services*

Anthony Ramirez *Work Request Coordinator*  
Santo Ine Alers *Senior Facility Assistant*  
Angel Cordova *Facility/Events Assistant*  
Gilbert Falcon *Facility Assistant*  
Mario Pedraza *Facility Assistant*  
Edwin Santiago *Facility Assistant*  
Derek Velez *Facility Assistant*  
Lawrence White *Facility Assistant*

### Events Management

Mark Hudson *Events Manager*  
Fernando Browne *Assistant Events Manager*  
Kristine Haan *Events Associate*

---

### Library and Research Services

Lilita V. Gusts *Director and Secretary  
of the Corporation*  
Marcia L. Sprules *Associate Director*  
Michelle McKowen *Reference and Documents Librarian*  
Connie M. Stagnaro *Research Intranet and Archives  
Coordinator*  
Ming Er Qiu *Technical Services Associate*  
Christine Quinn *Library Assistant*  
Barbara K. Miller *Consulting Archivist*

---

### Information Services

Charles Day *Director*  
Deepak Trivedi *Associate Director*  
Albert Andrade *Help Desk Technician*  
Alice McLoughlin *Assistant to the Director of  
Information Services and Data  
Entry Specialist*  
Virginia Rolston Parrott *Training and Documentation  
Specialist*  
Chris O. Sierra *LAN Administrator*  
Richard Wawzycki *Database Administrator/Programmer*

Note: Staff shown as of August 31, 2001.





New York



Washington, D.C.

# Membership

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The Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and from beyond these two areas. The Council relies on its members for their active engagement, substantive contributions, and support and counts on its members to identify and propose qualified prospects for membership. Membership development efforts are focused on identifying potential Council members from various professions, geographic areas, and ethnic groups.

## Profile of the Membership

	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
<b>Location</b>		
New York Area	1,283	32
Washington, D.C., Area	1,253	32
National (including overseas)	1,452	36
Total	3,988	100
<b>Profession</b>		
Business	1,240	31
Professors, Fellows, and Researchers	731	18
Nonprofit	600	15
Government Officials	503	13
Lawyers	332	8
University and College Administrators	279	7
Journalists, Correspondents, and Editors	240	6
Other	63	2
Total	3,988	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 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 nearly 30 years ago, the program has grown to the point where the Board has gradually raised the yearly limit on the number of term members who may be elected. At present, the limit is 110, and no more than 35 of these can be age 30 and under.

### Becoming a Member

Current procedure requires that every candidate for regular membership be formally nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of two other

individuals, at least one of whom is a Council member. To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated by one member and seconded by a minimum of one other Council member. It is recommended that at least one letter from a current or former professional colleague be included. An additional letter or two from Council members reflecting different perspectives are welcome but not required. Currently, an average candidacy includes four to five letters of support. All candidates must complete a nominee information form, which can be obtained from the membership office or from the Council website ([www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)). The candidate must provide the following information: curriculum vitae or chronological resume, which must include the candidate's date of birth and, if foreign-born, a statement that he or she has been naturalized or is a permanent resident who has made formal application for citizenship. Additionally, the nominator or candidate should submit a list of the names of up to ten Council members by whom the candidate is well known.

### Rules and Regulations 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 citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.
- Members of the Council's Board of Directors and Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, or writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as parent, brother or sister, cousin, etc.), or near in-law of a candidate may not formally propose or second that candidate for membership in the Council. Members should also refrain from writing on behalf of clients.
- Members should write only in support of candidates whom they know well.

### Nominating Letters

Letters nominating a candidate for consideration by the Membership Committee should address the following criteria, which have always been basic to the Committee's consideration of membership candidates:

- Intellectual attainment and expertise;
- Degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs or in other areas affecting international affairs;
- Promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations;
- Potential contributions to the Council's work;
- Desire and ability to participate in Council activities;
- 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 cooperation. The preparation of individual membership files for submission to the Membership Committee is a continual 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.





*Council members at the October 19, 2000, Meeting, "Crossroads for East Asia."*

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**REGULAR MEMBERSHIP**—For prospective regular members, the deadlines for receipt of all materials for the twice 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 not recommended 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; Email: [membership@cfr.org](mailto:membership@cfr.org). Visit our website at [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).

# Membership Roster

## A

Aaron, David L.  
Abbot, Charles S.  
Abbot, Charles  
Spencert  
Abbott, Wilder K.  
Abboud, A. Robert  
Abboud, Labeeb M.  
Abdelal, Rawit  
Abel, Elie  
Abercrombie-  
Winstanley,  
Gina Kay  
Abernethy, Robert  
John  
Aboelnaga, Monat  
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, Laura†  
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 N.  
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, Jonathan\*  
Alter, Karen J.  
Alterman, Jon B.  
Altman, Roger C.  
Altman, William C.  
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,  
Edward G. III\*  
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  
Aossey, Nancy A.\*  
Apgar, David P.  
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  
Alexander 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.  
Auerbach, Stuart C.\*  
Augustine, Norman R.  
Auspitz, Josiah Lee  
Ausubel, Jesse H.  
Avedon, John F.  
Avery, John E.  
Awuah, Patrick G. Jr.\*  
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, John R.  
Baker, Nancy  
Kassebaum  
Baker, Pauline H.  
Baker, Stewart A.  
Baker, Thurbert E.\*  
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 M.  
Bandler, Donald K.  
Baratta, Mira  
Radielovic  
Barber, Benjamin R.\*  
Barber, Charles F.  
Barber, James Alden  
Bardel, William G.  
Barger, Teresa C.  
Barkan, Joel D.  
Barkey, Henri J.

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

- Barks-Ruggles, Erica  
     Jean  
 Barnds, William J.  
 Barnes, Harry G. Jr.  
 Barnes, Michael D.  
 Barnett, Richard J.  
 Barnett, F. William  
 Barr, Michael S.  
 Barr, Thomas D. Jr.  
 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.  
 Bash, Jeremy B.†  
 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  
 Baxter, Randolph\*  
 Bean, Frank D.\*  
 Beattie, Richard I.  
 Becherer, Hans W.  
 Bechky, Perry S.  
 Beckler, David Z.  
 Bedrosian, Gregory R.  
 Beeman, Richard E.  
 Begley, Louis  
 Behrman, Jack N.  
 Beierle, Thomas C.†  
 Beim, David O.  
 Beim, Nicholas F.
- Beinecke, William S.  
 Belfer, Robert A.  
 Bell, Burwell B.  
 Bell, Gordon P.\*  
 Bell, J. Bowyer  
 Bell, Joseph C.  
 Bell, Mack  
 Bell, Peter Dexter  
 Bell, Robert G.  
 Bell, Ruth Greenspan  
 Bell, Steve  
 Bell, Thomas D.\*  
 Bell-Rose, Stephanie K.  
 Bellamy, Carol  
 Bellinger, John B. III  
 Bello, Judith H.  
 Bencke, Matthew J.V.†  
 Bender, Gerald J.  
 Benedict, Kennette M.  
 Benjamin, Esther T.  
 Benmosche, Robert H.\*  
 Bennet, Douglas J.  
 Bennett, Andrew  
     Owen  
 Bennett, Christina  
     Anne†  
 Bennett, Susan J.  
 Bensahel, Nora J.  
 Benshoof, Janet  
 Benson, Lucy Wilson  
 Bereuter, Douglas K.  
 Bergen, Margaret  
 Bergen, Peter Lampert  
 Berger, Joshua A.  
 Berger, Marilyn  
 Berger, Samuel R.  
 Berger, Suzanne  
 Bergsten, C. Fred  
 Bering, Helle  
 Berkowitz, Bruce D.  
 Berkowsky, Pamela B.  
 Berman, Howard L.  
 Berman, Jonathan†  
 Bernard, Kenneth W.  
 Berndt, John E.  
 Bernstein, Peter W.  
 Bernstein, Robert L.  
 Bernstein, Tom A.  
 Berresford, Susan Vail  
 Berrie, Scott D.
- Berris, Jan C.  
 Bersin, Alan D.  
 Bertsch, Gary K.  
 Beshar, Peter J.\*  
 Bessie, Simon Michael  
 Bestani, Robert M.  
 Bestor, Theodore C.  
 Betts, Richard K.  
 Beutner, Austin M.  
 Bewkes, Jeffrey  
 Beyer, John C.  
 Beyzavi, Kian  
 Bhala, Raj  
 Bialer, Seweryn  
 Bialkin, Kenneth J.  
 Bialos, Jeffrey P.\*  
 Bibbins, Nicole M.†  
 Bickford, Jewelle  
 Biddle, George C.  
 Biegun, Stephen E.  
 Biel, Eric R.  
 Biemann, Betsy  
 Bienen, Henry S.  
 Bierley, John C.  
 Biggs, John H.\*  
 Bijur, Peter I.  
 Bilder, Richard B.  
 Bindenagel, James D.  
 Binger, James Henry  
 Binkley, Nicholas  
     Burns  
 Binnendijk, Hans  
 Birdsall, Nancy  
 Birenbaum, David E.  
 Birkelund, John P.  
 Birnbaum, Eugene A.  
 Bishop, Sanford D. Jr.  
 Bissell, Richard E.  
 Black, Joseph E.  
 Black, Shirley Temple  
 Black, Stanley Warren  
 Blacker, Coit D.  
 Blackwell, J. Kenneth  
 Blackwill, Robert D.  
 Blahous, Charles P.  
 Blake, Robert O.  
 Blank, Stephen  
 Blechman, Barry M.  
 Bleier, Edward  
 Blendon, Robert Jay
- Blinder, Alan S.  
 Blinken, Alan John  
 Blinken, Donald  
 Bloch, Julia Chang  
 Bloom, Evan T.  
 Bloomberg, Michael R.  
 Bloomfield, Lincoln P.  
 Bloomfield, Richard J.  
 Bloomgarden, Kathy  
     Finn  
 Blum, Richard C.  
 Blumenthal, Sidney S.  
 Blumenthal, W.  
     Michael  
 Blumrosen, Alexander  
     Bernet  
 Bob, Daniel E.  
 Bobbitt, Philip Chase  
 Bode, Ken A.  
 Bodea, Andy S.  
 Boeker, Paul H.  
 Bogert, Carroll R.  
 Boggs, Michael D.  
 Bohlen, Frederick M.  
 Bohlen, Avis T.  
 Bohn, John A.  
 Bolling, Landrum R.  
 Bolton, John R.  
 Bond, George Clement  
 Bond, Robert D.  
 Bonime-Blanc, Andrea  
 Bonney, J. Dennis  
 Booker, Salih  
 Bookout, John F.  
 Boot, Max  
 Booth, Carter\*  
 Boren, David L.  
 Borgen, Christopher J.†  
 Bork, Ellen  
 Boschwitz, Rudy  
 Bose, Meena  
 Bosworth, Stephen W.  
 Botts, John C.  
 Bouckaert, Peter N.†  
 Boufford, Jo Ivey  
 Bouis, Antonina W.  
 Bouton, Marshall M.  
 Bovin, Denis A.  
 Bowen, Vincent E. III  
 Bowen, William G.
- Bower, Joseph Lyon  
 Bowie, Robert R.  
 Bowles, Erskine B.  
 Boyd, Charles G.  
 Boylan, Delia M.†  
 Bracken, Paul  
 Brademas, John  
 Bradford, Zeb B. Jr.  
 Bradley, Bill  
 Bradley, Edward R.  
 Bradley, William L.  
 Brady, Jacqueline V.†  
 Brady, Linda Parrish  
 Brady, Nicholas F.  
 Brady, Rose  
 Brainard, S. Lael  
 Bramlett, David A.  
 Branch, Daniel H.  
 Branscomb, Lewis M.  
 Brauchli, Marcus W.  
 Braunschvig, David  
 Brazeal, Aurelia E.\*  
 Breck, Henry R.  
 Breed, Henry Eltinge  
 Bremer, L. Paul III  
 Breslauer, George  
     William  
 Bresnan, John J.  
 Brewer, John D.  
 Breyer, Stephen G.  
 Brimmer, Andrew F.  
 Brimmer, Esther Diane  
 Brinkley, David  
 Brinkley, Douglas G.  
 Britt, David V.B.  
 Brittenham,  
     Raymond L.  
 Broad, Robin  
 Broadman, Harry G.  
 Brock, Steven V.†  
 Broda, Frederick C.  
 Brodsky, William J.  
 Brody, Christopher W.  
 Brody, Kenneth D.  
 Broitman, Elana  
 Brokaw, Tom  
 Bromley, D. Allan  
 Bronfman, Edgar M.  
 Bronson, Rachel  
 Brookins, Carole L.



Brooks, Harvey  
 Brooks, Karen B.†  
 Brower, Charles N.  
 Brown, Alice L.  
 Brown, Bartram S.  
 Brown, Carroll  
 Brown, C. Michael†  
 Brown, Frederic J.  
 Brown, Gwendolyn A.  
 Brown, Harold  
 Brown, Kathleen  
 Brown, L. Carl  
 Brown, Lester R.  
 Brown, Michael  
     Arrington  
 Brown, Michael E.  
 Brown, Phoebe W.  
 Brown, Richard P. Jr.  
 Browne, Robert S.  
 Browning, David S.  
 Bruce, Judith  
 Bruemmer, Russell J.  
 Bryan, Greyson L.  
 Bryant, Michael E.  
 Bryant, Ralph C.  
 Bryson, John E.  
 Brzezinski, Ian  
     Joseph  
 Brzezinski, Mark F.  
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew  
 Buchman, Mark E.  
 Buckley, William F. Jr.  
 Bueno de Mesquita,  
     Bruce  
 Buergenthal, Thomas  
 Bugliarello, George  
 Bullock, Mary Brown  
 Bumpas, Stuart  
     Maryman  
 Bunzel, Jeffrey H.  
 Burand, Deborah K.  
 Burck, William A.  
 Burgess, Geoffrey P.  
 Burgess, John A.  
 Burke, James E.  
 Burkhalter, Holly J.  
 Burn, Christopher J.

Burnett, Christina  
     Duffy†  
 Burnley, James H. IV  
 Burns, Patrick Owen  
 Burns, R. Nicholas  
 Burns, William F.  
 Burns, William J.  
 Burt, Richard R.  
 Burton, Daniel F. Jr.  
 Bush, Robert C. Jr.  
 Bushner, Rolland H.  
 Bussey, John C.  
 Butler, George Lee  
 Butler, Samuel C.  
 Butler, William J.  
 Buultjens, Ralph  
 Buxbaum, Richard M.  
 Buyske, Gail  
 Byman, Daniel†  
 Byrne, Patrick M.

C

Cabot, Elizabeth  
 Cabot, Louis W.  
 Cabranes, Jose A.  
 Caceres, Diane Alleva\*  
 Caesar, Camille M.\*  
 Cahill, Kevin M.  
 Cahn, Anne Hessing  
 Cain, Kenneth L.  
 Calabria, Dawn T.  
 Calabresi, Massimo  
 Calder, Kent Eyring  
 Caldwell, Dan  
 Caldwell, Philip  
 Califano, Joseph A. Jr.  
 Calingaert, Daniel  
 Callaghy, Thomas M.  
 Callander, Robert J.  
 Callen, Michael A.  
 Calleo, David Patrick  
 Campbell, Carolyn  
     Margaret  
 Campbell, Colin G.  
 Campbell, F. Gregory\*

Campbell, Kurt M.  
 Campbell, Thomas J.  
 Campbell, W. Glenn  
 Campbell, William  
 Canfield, Franklin O.  
 Capehart, Jonathan†  
 Cappello, Juan Carlos  
 Caputo, David A.  
 Caputo, Lisa M.  
 Carbonell, Nestor T.  
 Carey, Hugh L.  
 Carey, John  
 Carey, Sarah C.  
 Carlos, Manuel Luis  
 Carlson, Scott  
     Alexander  
 Carlson, Steven E.  
 Carlucci, Frank C.  
 Carmichael, William D.  
 Carnesale, Albert  
 Carothers, Thomas  
 Carpenter, Ted Galen  
 Carr, John W.  
 Carrington, Walter C.  
 Carrion, Richard L.  
 Carroll, J. Speed  
 Carruth, Reba Anne  
 Carson, Charles  
     William Jr.  
 Carswell, Robert  
 Carter, Ashton B.  
 Carter, Barry E.  
 Carter, Hodding  
 Carter, James Earl  
 Carter, James H.  
 Carter, Mark Andrew\*  
 Carter, Marshall  
     Nichols  
 Casper, Gerhard  
 Cassidy, Eileen E.  
 Catlow, Walter S.  
 Cattarulla, Elliot R.  
 Catto, Henry E.  
 Caufield, Frank J.  
 Caulfield, Matthew P.  
 Cavanagh, Richard  
     Edward

Cavanaugh, Carey\*  
 Cave, Ray Charles  
 Cebrowski, Arthur  
     Karl  
 Celcis-Concepcion,  
     Gina†  
 Celeste, Richard F.  
 Cerjan, Paul G.  
 Cha, Victor D.  
 Chace, James C.  
 Chadda, Maya  
 Challenor,  
     Herschelle S.  
 Chambers, Anne Cox  
 Chamoun, Walid  
     Georges†  
 Chan, Gerald L.  
 Chan, Ronnie C.  
 Chang, David C.  
 Chang, Gareth C.C.  
 Chang, Joyce  
 Chang, Juju  
 Chanin, Clifford  
 Chanis, Jonathan A.  
 Chao, Elaine L.  
 Chao, Victor Tzu-Ping  
 Chapman, Margaret  
     Holt  
 Charles, Cory  
 Charles, Robert Bruce  
 Charney, Jonathan Isa  
 Charpie, Robert A.  
 Chartener, Robert  
 Chase, Anthony R.  
 Chatterjee, Purnendu  
 Chaves, Robert J.  
 Chavez, Linda  
 Chavira, Ricardo  
 Chayes, Antonia  
     Handler  
 Checki, Terrence J.  
 Cheever, Daniel S.  
 Chen, Kimball C.  
 Chenault, Kenneth I.  
 Cheney, Elizabeth L.  
 Cheney, Richard B.  
 Cheney, Stephen A.

Cherian, Saj†  
 Cherry, Pedro P.†  
 Chickering, A.  
     Lawrence  
 Choi, Audrey  
 Choi, Stephen J.  
 Chollet, Derek H.  
 Cholmondeley,  
     Paula H.J.  
 Chorlins, Marjorie Ann  
 Choucri, Nazli  
 Christensen,  
     Thomas J.\*  
 Christianson, Geryld B.  
 Christie, Ronald Irvin†  
 Christman, Daniel  
     William  
 Christopher, Warren  
 Churchill, Buntzie Ellis  
 Cilluffo, Frank  
 Cimbalo, Jeffrey L.  
 Cirincione, Joseph  
 Clapp, Priscilla A.  
 Clarida, Richard H.\*  
 Clark, Dick  
 Clark, J.H. Cullum  
 Clark, Mark Edmond  
 Clark, Noreen M.  
 Clark, Wesley K.  
 Clark, William Jr.  
 Clarke, Donald C.  
 Clarke, Jack G.  
 Clarke, Teresa H.  
 Clarkson, Lawrence W.  
 Clement, Peter A.\*  
 Cleveland, Harlan  
 Cleveland, Peter  
     Matthews  
 Clifford, Donald K. Jr.  
 Cline, William R.  
 Clinger, William F. Jr.  
 Clinton, Bill  
 Cloherty, Patricia M.  
 Cloonan, Edward T.  
 Cloud, Stanley W.  
 Clough, Michael  
 Coatsworth, John H.

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

- Cobb, Charles E. Jr.  
 Cobb, Tyrus W.  
 Cochran, Barbara S.  
 Cochran, Molly M.  
 Coffey, Joseph I.  
 Coffey, Shelby III  
 Coffman, Vance\*  
 Cohen, Abby Joseph\*  
 Cohen, Ariel  
 Cohen, Benjamin J.  
 Cohen, Betsy\*  
 Cohen, Eliot A.  
 Cohen, Herman J.  
 Cohen, Jerome Alan  
 Cohen, Joel E.  
 Cohen, Richard M.  
 Cohen, Roberta Jane  
 Cohen, Stephen Bruce  
 Cohen, Stephen F.  
 Cohen, Stephen S.  
 Cohen, Warren I.  
 Cohen, William S.  
 Colagiuri, Elizabeth L.  
 Colbert, Evelyn  
     Speyer  
 Colby, Jonathan E.  
 Cole, Johnnetta B.  
 Cole, Samuel A.  
 Cole, Thomas  
     Winston Jr.  
 Coleman, Isobel  
 Coleman, Lewis W.  
 Coleman, William T. Jr.  
 Coles, Julius E.  
 Coll, Alberto R.\*  
 Collins, Joseph J.  
 Collins, Mark M. Jr.\*  
 Comstock, Philip E. Jr.  
 Cone, Sydney M. III  
 Connaughton,  
     James L.  
 Connors Petersen,  
     Leila Anne  
 Connolly, Gerald E.  
 Connor, John T. Jr.  
 Considine, Jill M.  
 Constable, Pamela  
 Conway, Jill  
 Cook, Frances D.  
 Cook, Gary M.  
 Cook-Anderson,  
     Gretchen Rachelle  
 Cooke, Goodwin  
 Cooke, John F.  
 Coolidge, Nicholas J.  
 Coombe, George  
     William Jr.  
 Coombs, Philip H.  
 Coon, Jane Abell  
 Cooney, Joan Ganz  
 Cooper, Charles A.  
 Cooper, Chester L.  
 Cooper, James H.S.  
 Cooper, John Milton Jr.  
 Cooper, Kathleen B.  
 Cooper, Kerry  
 Cooper, Rebecca J.  
 Cooper, Richard N.  
 Corbet, Kathleen A.\*  
 Cordesman,  
     Anthony H.  
 Cornelius, Wayne A.  
 Cornell, Henry  
 Cott, Suzanne  
 Cotter, William R.  
 Courtney, William H.  
 Cousens, Elizabeth M.  
 Covey, Jock  
 Cowal, Sally Grooms  
 Cowan, Geoffrey  
 Cowan, L. Gray  
 Cowhey, Peter F.  
 Cox, Edward F.  
 Cox, Howard E. Jr.\*  
 Crahan, Margaret E.  
 Craner, Lorne W.  
 Crawford, John F.  
 Creekmore,  
     Marion V. Jr.  
 Crichton, Kyle  
 Crile, George III  
 Crittenden, Ann  
 Crocker, Bathsheba N.  
 Crocker, Chester A.  
 Cromwell, Adelaide  
     McGuinn  
 Cross, Devon G.  
 Cross, June V.  
 Cross, Sam Y.  
 Cross, Theodore  
 Crossette, Barbara  
 Crowe, William J.  
 Crown, Lester  
 Cruise, Daniel Lester  
 Crystal, Lester M.  
 Cullum, Lee  
 Cumpiano, Flavio  
 Cuneo, Donald  
 Cunningham,  
     James B.\*  
 Cunningham,  
     Nelson W.\*  
 Curley, Walter J.P. Jr.  
 Curran, R.T.  
 Curtis, Charles B.  
 Curtis, Gerry  
 Cusimano Love,  
     Maryann K.  
 Cutler, Lloyd N.  
 Cutler, Walter L.  
 Cutshaw, Kenneth A.  
 Cutter, Ana Grier  
 Cutter, W. Bowman  
 Cyr, Arthur I.  
  
**D**  
 D'Amato, Alfonse M.  
 Daalder, Ivo H.  
 Dabelko, Geoffrey D.  
 Dailey, Brian D.  
 Dale, William B.  
 Dallara, Charles H.  
 Dalley, George Albert  
 Dallmeyer, Dorinda G.  
 Dalton, James E.  
 Dam, Kenneth W.  
 Dam, Marcia Wachs  
 Damrosch, Lori Fisler  
 Dancy, John A.G.\*  
 Danforth, William H.  
 Daniel, D. Ronald  
 Daniel, Donald C.F.\*  
 Danin, Robert M.\*  
 Danner, Mark D.  
 Dash, Michele  
     Samantha  
 DaSilva, Russell J.  
 David, Jack  
 Davidson, Daniel I.  
 Davidson, Ralph K.  
 Davidson, Ralph  
     Parsons  
 Davis, Evan A.  
 Davis, Jacquelyn K.  
 Davis, Jerome  
 Davis, Kathryn W.  
 Davis, Kim Gordon  
 Davis, Lynn E.  
 Davis, Nathaniel  
 Davis, Vincent  
 Davison, Kristina  
     Perkin  
 Davison, W. Phillips  
 Dawisha, Karen Lea  
 Dawkins, Peter M.  
 Dawson Carr,  
     Marion M.  
 Dawson, Christine L.  
 Dawson, Horace G. Jr.  
 Day, Arthur R.  
 Day, Robert A.  
 Days, Drew  
     Saunders III  
 de Borchgrave,  
     Arnaud  
 de Janosi, Peter E.  
 de la Garza,  
     Rodolfo O.  
 de Menil, George  
 de Menil, Joy A.  
 de Menil, Lois Pattison  
 de Vries, Rimmer  
 Deagle, Edwin A. Jr.  
 Dean, Jonathan  
 Dean, Robert W.  
 Dear, Alice M.\*  
 Debevoise, Eli  
     Whitney II  
 Debs, Barbara  
     Knowles  
 Debs, Richard A.  
 DeBusk, F. Amanda  
 DeCrane, Alfred C. Jr.  
 Decter, Midge  
 Decyk, Roxanne J.  
 Dedrick, Fred T.  
 Deffenbaugh,  
     Ralston H. Jr.  
 Deibel, Terry L.  
 del Olmo, Frank Phillip  
 Del Rosso, Stephen J.\*  
 Del Toro, Carlos  
 Demeo, Marisa J.  
 Deming, Rust  
     Macpherson  
 Denham, Robert E.  
 Denison, Robert J.  
 Dennis, Everette E.  
 Denny, Brewster C.  
 Denoon, David B.H.  
 Denton, Hazel  
 Denton, James S.  
 DePoy, Phil E.  
 Dergham, Raghida  
 Derian, Patricia  
     Murphy  
 Derr, Kenneth T.  
 Derrick, James V. Jr.  
 Derryck, Vivian  
     Lowery  
 Dertouzos, Michael L.  
 Desai, Padma  
 Desai, Rohit M.\*  
 DeShazer, MacArthur  
 DeSouza, Patrick J.\*  
 Despres, Gina H.  
 Destler, I.M.  
 Deutch, John  
 Deutch, Philip J.  
 Deutch, Shelley\*  
 DeVecchi, Robert P.  
 Devine, C. Maury  
 Devine, John J.\*  
 Devine, M. Colette  
 Devine, Thomas J.  
 DeYoung, Karen J.  
 Diamond, Michael W.\*  
 Dickey, Christopher  
 Dicks, Norman D.  
 Dickson-Horton,  
     Valerie L.\*  
 Didion, Joan  
 Diebold, John  
 Diebold, William Jr.  
 Diehl, Jackson K.  
 Dilenschneider,  
     Robert L.  
 Dillon, Douglas



DiMartino, Rita  
 Dimon, James  
 Dine, Thomas A.  
 Dinerstein, Robert C.  
 Dinh, Viet D.  
 Dinkins, David N.  
 DiPerna, Paula\*  
 Diuk, Nadia  
 Djerejian, Edward P.  
 Djerejian, Gregory  
 Dobriansky, Paula J.  
 Dodd, Christopher J.  
 Dodd, Thomas J.\*  
 Doebele, Justin W.  
 Doerge, David J.  
 Doherty, William C.  
 Doley, Harold E. Jr.  
 Dominguez, Jorge I.  
 Donahue, Thomas R.  
 Donaldson, Robert H.  
 Donaldson, William H.  
 Donilon, Thomas E.  
 Donnellan, April  
     Kanne  
 Donnelly, Harold C.  
 Doran, Charles F.  
 Dornbusch, Rudi  
 Dorsen, Norman  
 Dory, Amanda Jean  
 Doty, Grant R.  
 Dougan, Diana Lady  
 Dougherty, James P.\*  
 Douglass, Loren\*  
 Douglass, Robert R.  
 Dowling, John  
     Nicholas  
 Doyle, James S.  
 Doyle, Michael W.  
 Draper, William H. III  
 Drayton, William  
 Drell, Sidney D.  
 Drew, Elizabeth  
 Dreyfuss, Joel  
 Drimmer, Jonathant  
 Drobnick, Richard Lee  
 Drucker, Joy E.  
 Drucker, Richard A.

Druckerman, Pamela  
 Druyan, Ann  
 Duberstein,  
     Kenneth M.  
 Dubin, Seth H.  
 DuBrul, Stephen M. Jr.  
 Duckenfield, David  
     Adams  
 Due, Johnita P.  
 Duelfer, Charles A.  
 Duersten, Althea L.  
 Duffey, Joseph D.  
 Duffie, David A.\*  
 Duffy, Gloria  
     Charmian  
 Duffy, James H.  
 Dugan, Michael J.  
 Duke, Robin Chandler  
 Dulany, Peggy  
 Dunbar, Charles F.  
 Duncan, Charles  
     William Jr.  
 Duncan, Graham A.†  
 Duncan, John C.  
 Dunigan, Patrick  
     Andrew  
 Dunkerley, Craig G.  
 Dunlop, Joan B.  
 Dunn, Kempton  
 Dunn, Lewis A.  
 Dunn, Michael M.  
 Dur, Philip A.  
 Durkin, Patrick J.  
 Dutton, Frederick G.  
 Dyke, Nancy Bearg  
 Dyson, Esther

**E**

Eagleburger,  
     Lawrence S.  
 Earle, Ralph II  
 East, Maurice A.  
 Eastman, Michael R.†  
 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.  
 Ehrenreich, Rosa†  
 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.  
 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.  
 Emerson, John B.\*  
 Ensor, David B.  
 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 G.  
 Estabrook, Robert H.  
 Esty, Daniel C.  
 Evans, Gail H.  
 Evans, Harold M.  
 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  
 Fanton, Jonathan  
     Foster  
 Faraon, J. Rodney  
 Farer, Tom J.  
 Farkas, Evelyn N.  
 Farley, Maggie M.†  
 Farmer, Thomas L.  
 Farnsworth, Eric P.†  
 Farrar, Jay C.

Farrar, Stephen  
     Prescott  
 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.  
 Feldman, Sandra\*  
 Feldstein, Martin S.  
 Fenzel, Michael R.  
 Ferguson, Charles H.  
 Ferguson, Glenn W.  
 Ferguson, James L.  
 Ferguson, Ronald E.  
 Ferlic, Suzanne R.  
 Fernandes,  
     Anthony C.†  
 Fernandez, Jose W.  
 Ferrari, Frank E.  
 Ferraro, Geraldine A.  
 Ferrazzi, Keith E.†  
 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  
 Figueroa Küpçü,  
     Maria C.†  
 Filippone, Robert J.\*  
 Finberg, Barbara D.  
 Findakly, Hani K.  
 Finel, Bernard I.  
 Finger, Seymour  
     Maxwell

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

- Finkelstein,  
Lawrence S.  
Finn, Edwin A. Jr.\*  
Finn, James  
Finnemore, Martha  
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.  
Fitz-Pegado, Lauri J.  
FitzGerald, Frances  
Fitzgibbons, Harold E.  
Flaherty, Pamela  
Flaherty, Peter  
Flake, L. Gordont  
Flanagan, Peter L.  
Flanagan, Stephen J.  
Flanders, Stephanie H.  
Flanigan, Peter M.  
Fleischmann, Alan H.  
Fleishman, Rachel  
FLOURNOY, Michele A.  
Flynn, George J.  
Flynn, Stephen E.  
Foegen, William H.  
Fogleman, Ronald R.  
Foglesong, Robert H.\*  
Foley, S.R. Jr.  
Foley, Thomas S.  
Folsom, George A.  
Fonts, Carlos E.\*  
Foote, Edward T. II  
Foote, William  
Fulbright  
Ford, Gerald R.  
Ford, Paul B. Jr.  
Fore, Henrietta  
Holsman  
Forester, Lynn  
Forman, Shepard L.  
Forstmann,  
Theodore J.
- Forsythe, Rosemarie  
Fortna, V. 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, Brian L.†  
Frank, Charles R. Jr.  
Frank, Isaiah  
Frank, Richard A.  
Frankel, Francine R.  
Frankel, Jeffrey A.  
Franklin, Barbara  
Hackman  
Franklin, Melinda Yee  
Franklin, William  
Emery  
Frazier, Kenneth C.\*  
Frazier, Myra M.†  
Fredericks, Wayne  
Fredman, Jonathan M.  
Freedman, Eugene M.  
Freeman, Bennett\*  
Freeman, Constance J.  
Freeman, Harry L.  
Freeman, Roger C.  
Freidheim, Cyrus F.  
Freidheim, Stephen C.  
Freimuth, Ladeene A.†  
Frelinghuysen,  
Peter H.B.  
Frey, Donald N.  
Freytag, Richard A.  
Fribourg, Paul J.  
Fried, Edward R.  
Friedberg, Aaron Louis  
Friedman, Alexander  
Stephen  
Friedman, Bart  
Friedman, Benjamin M.  
Friedman, Elisabeth J.
- Friedman, Fredrica S.  
Friedman, Jordana D.\*  
Friedman, Stephen  
Friedman, Stephen J.  
Friedman, Thomas L.  
Frieman, Wendy  
Friend, Theodore W.  
Froman, Michael B.G.\*  
Fromkin, David  
Fromm, Joseph  
Frost, Ellen L.  
Fry, Earl H.  
Frye, Alton  
Fudge, Ann M.  
Fuerth, Leon S.\*  
Fukushima, Glen S.  
Fukuyama, Francis  
Fuld, Richard S. Jr.  
Fuller, Kathryn S.  
Fuller, William P.  
Fung, Mark T.†  
Fung, Victor K.  
Furlaud, Richard M.  
Furman, Gail\*  
Futter, Ellen V.
- G**
- Gaddis, John Lewis  
Gadiesh, Orit B.  
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-Johnson, Ronie  
Richelet  
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.  
Gedmin, Jeffrey  
Gedo, Inge  
Geertz, Clifford  
Geier, Philip O.  
Geithner, Peter F.\*  
Geithner, Timothy F.\*  
Gelb, Amos  
Gelb, Bruce S.  
Gelb, Leslie H.  
Gelb, Richard L.  
Gell-Mann, Murray  
Gellman, Barton  
Gelpert, Anna  
George, John M.  
Georgescu, Peter  
Andrew  
Gephardt, Richard A.  
Gerber, Louis  
Gergen, David R.  
Gerhart, Gail M.  
Germain, Adrienne  
Gerschel, Patrick A.  
Gershman, Carl  
Samuel  
Gerson, Allan  
Gerson, Elliot F.
- Gerson, Ralph J.  
Gerstner, Louis V. Jr.  
Getler, Michael  
Geyelin, Philip L.  
Geyer, Georgie Anne  
Gfoeller, Joachim Jr.  
Gfoeller, Michael  
Gfoeller, Tatiana C.  
Ghiglione, Loren  
Giacomo, Carol Ann  
Gibbons, John Howard  
Gibney, Frank B.  
Giffen, James Henry  
Giffin, Gordon D.\*  
Gilbert, Jackson B.  
Gilbert, Jarobin Jr.  
Gilbert, Steven J.  
Gill, Bates  
Gillette, Michael James  
Gilmore, James S. III\*  
Gilmore, Kenneth O.  
Gilmore, Richard  
Gilpin, Robert G. Jr.  
Gingrich, Newton L.  
Ginn, Samuel L.  
Ginsberg, Marc  
Charles  
Ginsburg, David  
Ginsburg, Jane C.  
Ginsburg, Ruth Bader  
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 E.  
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  
     Landman III  
 Goldsmith, Robert S.  
 Goldstein, Gordon  
 Goldstein, Jeffrey A.  
 Goldstein, Morris\*  
 Goldwyn, David L.  
 Golob, Paul D.  
 Golob, Stephanie Ruth  
 Gomory, Ralph E.  
 Gompert, David C.  
 González, Nelson  
     Ricardo  
 Goodby, James E.  
 Goodman, Andrea  
     Pierce†  
 Goodman, George J.W.  
 Goodman, Herbert I.  
 Goodman, John B.\*  
 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  
 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, Lawrence  
     Otis  
 Graham, Thomas Jr.  
 Graham, Thomas  
     Wallace  
 Grand, Stephen R.  
 Granoff, Michael D.  
 Grant, Stephen A.  
 Graubard, Stephen  
     Richards  
 Graves, Howard D.  
 Gray, Hanna Holborn  
 Grayson, Judy S.  
 Greathead, R. Scott  
 Greco, Richard Jr.†  
 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  
 Greenway, Hugh D.S.  
 Gregg, Donald P.  
 Gregorian, Vartan  
 Gregson, Wallace C. Jr.  
 Grenier, Richard  
 Greve, Louisa Coan

Griego, Linda  
 Grikscheit, Alyssa A.  
 Grimes, Joseph  
     Anthony Jr.  
 Grimes, Julie M.  
 Grissom, Janet Mullins  
 Grose, Peter  
 Gross, Martin J.\*  
 Gross, Patrick W.  
 Grove, Brandon H. Jr.  
 Grove, Paul C.  
 Groves, Ray J.  
 Grunwald, Henry A.  
 Guerra-Mondragon,  
     Gabriel  
 Gundlach, Andrew S.  
 Gupte, Pranay  
 Gutfreund, John H.  
 Guth, John H.J.  
 Guthman, Edwin O.  
 Gwertzman,  
     Bernard M.  
 Gwin, Catherine

**H**

Ha, Joseph M.  
 Haaland, Lynn Elisat  
 Haas, Mimi L.  
 Haas, Peter E.  
 Haas, Robert D.  
 Haass, Richard N.  
 Habsburg, Inmaculada  
 Hachigian, Nina L.  
 Hackett, Craig D.\*  
 Haddad, Yvonne  
     Yazbeck  
 Hadley, Stephen J.  
 Hafner, Joseph A. Jr.  
 Hagel, Chuck  
 Hagen, Katherine A.  
 Haggard, Stephan  
 Hahn, Keith D.  
 Haig, Alexander M. Jr.  
 Hakakian, Royat  
 Hakim, Peter

Halaby, Najeeb E.  
 Hale, David D.  
 Hall, C. Barrows  
 Hall, John P.  
 Hall, Kathryn Walt  
 Hall-Martinez,  
     Katherine†  
 Halle, Claus M.\*  
 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  
 Hamre, John J.\*  
 Hanauer, Larry  
 Hancock, Ellen  
 Hand, Scott M.  
 Handelman, Stephen  
 Hansell, Herbert J.  
 Hansen, Carol Rae  
 Hanson, Carl Thor  
 Hantz, Giselle P.  
 Hantzopoulos, Evie  
 Harari, Maurice  
 Harding, Deborah A.\*  
 Harding, Harry  
 Hardt, John P.  
 Hargrove, John  
     Lawrence  
 Harman, Jane  
 Harman, Sidney  
 Harmon, James A.  
 Harms, Blaire†

Harpel, James W.  
 Harper, Conrad K.  
 Harris, David A.\*  
 Harris, Jay T.  
 Harris, John M.  
 Harris, Joseph E.  
 Harris, Katherine\*  
 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  
 Hawthorne, Steronica  
     Dunston  
 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.  
 Heer, Paul\*  
 Heginbotham,  
     Stanley J.  
 Hehir, J. Bryan  
 Heimann, John G.

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

- Heimbold,  
   Charles A. Jr.  
 Heimowitz, James B. Jr.  
 Heineman,  
   Benjamin W.  
 Heineman, Melvin L.  
 Heintz, Stephen B.  
 Heintzen, Harry  
   Leonard  
 Heinz, Teresa  
 Hejlik, Dennis J.  
 Helander, Robert C.  
 Heldring, Frederick  
 Helfer, Ricki Tigert  
 Heller, Michael A.  
 Heller, Richard M.  
 Hellman, F. Warren  
 Hellmann, Donald  
   Charles  
 Helm, Robert W.  
 Helman, Robert A.  
 Helms, Richard  
 Helprin, Mark  
 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 Colon,  
   Rafael  
 Hernandez, Antonia  
 Hermstadt, Owen  
   Edward\*  
 Herskovits, Jean  
 Hersman, Rebecca K.C.  
 Herspring, Dale R.\*  
 Herter, Frederic P.  
 Hertog, Roger\*  
 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, John F. Sr.  
 Hicks, Kathleen  
   Holland  
 Higginbotham, F.  
   Michael  
 Higgins, Robert F.  
 Higgins, Tracy E.  
 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  
 Hines, Rachel\*  
 Hinton, Deane R.  
 Hirsch, John L.  
 Hirschman, Albert O.  
 Hoagland, Jim  
 Hoar, Joseph Paul  
 Hobart, Matthew T.†  
 Hobbs Miracky,  
   Tammany D.  
 Hoch, Frank W.  
 Hoerber, Amoretta M.  
 Hoehn, Andrew R.  
 Hoehn, William E. Jr.  
 Hoenlein, Malcolm I.  
 Hoffman, A.  
   Michael\*  
 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.  
 Holdren, John P.  
 Hollick, Ann Lorraine  
 Holliday, Stuart W.  
 Holloway, Dwight F. Jr.  
 Holmer, Alan F.  
 Holmes, Henry Allen  
 Holmes, Kim R.  
 Holmes, Stephen T.  
 Holowesko,  
   Alessandra Griffiths  
 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, 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.  
 Hottelet, Richard C.  
 Houghton, Amory Jr.  
 Houghton, James R.  
 House, Karen Elliott  
 Howard, A.E. Dick  
 Howard, Christopher  
   Bernard  
 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  
 Htun, Mala†  
 Huber, Richard L.  
 Huberman, Benjamin  
 Hudson, Manley O. Jr.  
 Hudson, Michael C.  
 Huebner, Lee W.  
 Hufbauer, Gary C.  
 Huffington, Roy M.  
 Hughes, Duane L.  
 Hughes, Lynn N.\*  
 Hughes, Lyric M.  
 Hughes, R. John  
 Hughes, Thomas Lowe  
 Huizenga, John W.  
 Hultman, Tamela  
 Hultquist, Timothy A.  
 Hume, Cameron R.  
 Hume, Ellen H.  
 Hunker, Jeffrey A.  
 Hunt, Swanee  
 Hunter, Robert E.  
 Hunter, Shireen T.  
 Hunter-Gault,  
   Charlayne  
 Huntington, David S.  
 Huntington, Patricia  
   Skinner  
 Huntington, Samuel  
   Phillips  
 Hurewitz, J.C.  
 Hurlock, James B.  
 Hurlock, Matthew  
   Hunter  
 Hurst, Robert J.  
 Hurwitz, Sol  
 Hutchings, Robert L.  
 Hutchins, Glenn H.  
 Huyck, Philip M.  
 Hyatt, Joel Z.\*  
 Hyland, William G.  
 Hyman, Allen I.
- Ikle, Fred C.  
 Ilchman, Alice Stone  
 Immergut, Mel M.  
 Inderfurth, Karl F.  
 Ingersoll, Robert S.  
 Inman, Bobby R.  
 Intriligator, Michael D.  
 Irish, Leon E.  
 Irvin, Patricia L.  
 Irwin, David W.†  
 Irwin, Steven M.  
 Isaacs, Maxine  
 Isaacson, Walter S.  
 Isaza-Tuzman, Kaleil D.  
 Iselin, John Jay  
 Isenberg, Steven L.  
 Isham, Christopher  
 Isles, Adam R.†  
 Ispahani, Mahnaz Z.  
 Isser, Deborah H.†  
 Istel, Yves-Andre  
 Itoh, William H.  
 Ivester, M. Douglas  
 Izlar, William H. Jr.

## J

- Jabber, Paul  
 Jackelen, Henry  
 Jacklin, Nancy P.  
 Jackson, Bruce P.  
 Jackson, Jesse L.  
 Jackson, John Howard  
 Jackson, Lois M.  
 Jackson, Sarah  
 Jacob, John E.  
 Jacobs, Eli S.  
 Jacobs, Nehama  
 Jacobson, Harold K.  
 Jacobson, Jerome  
 Jacobson, Mark R.†  
 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  
 Jenkins, Bonnie D.  
 Jervis, Robert  
 Jessup, Alpheus W.  
 Jessup, Philip C. Jr.  
 Jeter, Howard F.  
 Jillson, Calvin C.\*  
 Joffe, Robert D.  
 Johns, Lionel Skipwith  
 Johnson, Howard W.  
 Johnson, James A.  
 Johnson, James E.  
 Johnson, Jay L.  
 Johnson, Jeh Charles\*  
 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 R.  
 Jones, Jeffrey B.\*  
 Jones, Kerri-Ann  
 Jones, Nigel W.†  
 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, 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, Donald\*  
 Kagan, Robert W.  
 Kahan, Jerome H.  
 Kahler, Miles  
 Kaiser, Miranda M.  
 Kaiser, Philip M.  
 Kaiser, Robert G.  
 Kalathil, Shanthi A.†  
 Kalb, Bernard  
 Kalb, Marvin  
 Kalicki, Jan H.  
 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, Jeffrey A.†  
 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.  
 Kassoy, Andrew R.†  
 Kathwari, 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  
 Kayyem, Juliette N.†  
 Kazemi, Farhad  
 Kea, Charlotte G.  
 Kean, Christopher  
 Kean, Thomas H.  
 Keel, Alton G. Jr.  
 Keene, Lonnie S.  
 Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr.  
 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.  
 Kemple, 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  
 Keohane, Nannerl O.  
 Keohane, Robert O.  
 Kern, Paul J.  
 Kerr, Ann Zwicker  
 Kerrey, Bob  
 Kerry, John F.  
 Kerry, Peggy\*  
 Kessler, Martha Neff  
 Kester, W. Carl  
 Kezirian, Peter  
 Khalidi, Rashid I.  
 Khalilzad, Zalmay M.  
 Khemlani, Neeraj L.†  
 Khuri, Nicola N.  
 Kiermaier, John W.  
 Kiley, Robert R.  
 Kim, Andrew B.  
 Kim, Hanya Marie  
 Kim, Sukhan\*  
 Kimmitt, Robert M.  
 Kimsey, James V.  
 King, Charles  
 King, Henry L.  
 King, John A. Jr.  
 King, Kay  
 King, Robert R.\*  
 Kipper, Judith  
 Kirkland, Richard I.  
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.  
 Kirkpatrick,  
 Melanie M.  
 Kiser, Stephen D.†  
 Kissinger, Henry A.  
 Kittrie, Orde F.  
 Kizer, Karin L.\*  
 Klasky, Helaine S.  
 Kleiman, Robert

Klein, David  
 Klein, Edward  
 Klein, George  
 Klein, Jacques Paul\*  
 Klein, Joseph A.  
 Klein, Roger C.\*  
 Klotz, Frank G.  
 Klurfeld, James M.  
 Knell, Gary E.\*  
 Knight, Edward S.  
 Knight, Jessie J. Jr.  
 Knight, Robert  
 Huntington  
 Knowlton, William  
 Allen  
 Knox, John H.  
 Kobak, Deborah J.  
 Koch, Jennie M.  
 Koehler, John E.  
 Kogan, Richard Jay  
 Kohut, Andrew  
 Kolb, Charles E.M.\*  
 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.  
 Kramek, Robert E.  
 Kramer, David J.  
 Kramer, Helen M.  
 Kramer, Jane  
 Kramer, Michael  
 Kramer, Reed  
 Kramer, Steven Philip  
 Kranwinkle, C.  
 Douglas

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

- Kranz, Thomas F.  
 Krasner, Stephen D.  
 Krasno, Richard M.  
 Krause, Lawrence B.  
 Krauss, Clifford  
 Krauthammer, Charles  
 Kravis, Henry R.  
 Krawchuk, Fred  
 Kreek, Mary Jeanne\*  
 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.  
 Kuenstner, Nancy Jo\*  
 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.  
 Ladd, Edward  
 Lader, Philip  
 Ladner, Joyce A.  
 LaFleur, Vinca
- Lagon, Mark P.  
 Laipson, Ellen  
 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.  
 Landau, George W.  
 Landé, Jim Alfred†  
 Landers, James M.  
 Landis, Lauren R.  
 Lane, Charles M.\*  
 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, William L.  
 Lee-Kung, Dinah  
 Leebron, David W.  
 Leeds, Roger S.  
 Leet, Mildred Robbins  
 Lefever, Ernest W.  
 Leffall, LaSalle D. III\*  
 Leghorn, Richard S.  
 Legro, Jeffrey W.\*  
 Legvold, Robert  
 Lehman, John F.  
 Lehman, Orin  
 Lehman, Ronald  
 Frank II  
 Lehr, Deborah M.  
 Lehrer, Jim  
 Leich, John Foster  
 Leigh, Monroe  
 Leland, Marc E.  
 Lelyveld, Joseph  
 LeMelle, Gerald A.\*  
 LeMelle, Tilden J.  
 LeMelle, Wilbert J.  
 Lemle, J. Stuart  
 Lempert, Robert J.  
 Leness, Amanda V.  
 Lennon, Alexander T.J.  
 Lennon, Sarah G.J.  
 Lennox, William J. Jr.\*  
 Lenzen, Louis C.  
 LeoGrande,  
 William M.  
 Leonard, James F.  
 Leonard, James G.  
 Leonard, Kenneth  
 Lynch  
 Leone, Richard C.  
 Lerner-Lam, Eva  
 Lesch, Ann Mosely  
 Leslie, John W. Jr.\*  
 Lesser, Ian O.  
 Lettre, Marcel J. II†  
 Levin, Gerald M.  
 Levin, Herbert  
 Levin, John A.
- Levin, Michael Stuart  
 Levin, Neil D.  
 Levine, Irving R.  
 Levine, Mame L.  
 Levine, Mel  
 Levine, Susan B.  
 Levinson, Marc  
 Levit, Kenneth Joel  
 Levitas, Mitchel  
 Levitsky, Jonathan E.†  
 Levitt, Jeremy I.†  
 Levy, Philip I.  
 Levy, Reynold  
 Levy, Samuel J.  
 Lewis, Anthony  
 Lewis, Bernard  
 Lewis, Edward T.  
 Lewis, Elise E. Carlson  
 Lewis, Flora  
 Lewis, John P.  
 Lewis, Samuel W.  
 Lewis, Sherman R. Jr.  
 Lewis, Stephen R. Jr.  
 Lewis, W. Walker  
 Lewy, Glen S.  
 Li, Lu†  
 Li, Victor H.  
 Libby, I. Lewis  
 Lichtblau, John H.  
 Lichtenstein,  
 Cynthia C.  
 Lieber, Robert J.  
 Lieberman, Joseph I.  
 Lieberman, Nancy A.  
 Lieberthal, Kenneth G.  
 Lifton, Robert K.  
 Light, Timothy  
 Lighthizer, Robert E.  
 Lilienthal, Sally L.  
 Lilley, James R.  
 Lincoln, Edward J.  
 Lindberg, Tod  
 Lindsay, Beverly\*  
 Lindsay, Franklin A.  
 Lindsay, James M.\*  
 Linen, Jonathan S.  
 Link, Troland S.  
 Linowes, David F.  
 Linowitz, Sol M.  
 Lipper, Kenneth
- Lipper, Tamaraf  
 Lippsey, Brian C.\*  
 Lippman, Thomas W.  
 Lipscomb, Thomas H.  
 Lipset, Seymour  
 Martin  
 Lipsky, John P.  
 Lipsky, Seth  
 Lissakers, Karin M.  
 Litan, Robert E.  
 Little, David  
 Little, Milton J. Jr.\*  
 Litwak, Robert S.  
 Liu, Betty W.†  
 Liu, Eric P.\*  
 Liu, Margaret C.  
 Livingston, Robert  
 Gerald  
 Llewellyn, J. Bruce  
 Lodai, Jan M.  
 Lodge, George Cabot  
 Loeb, Marshall  
 Logan, Francis D.  
 London, Herbert I.  
 Long, William J.  
 Longstreth, Bevis  
 Longworth, Richard C.  
 Longworth, Susan†  
 Loranger, Donald  
 Eugene Jr.  
 Lord, Bette Bao  
 Lord, Winston  
 Lorentzen, Oivind III  
 Louis, William Roger  
 Lourie, Linda S.  
 Lory, Glenn Cartman  
 Lovejoy, Thomas E.  
 Lovelace, Jon B.  
 Low, Stephen  
 Lowenfeld, Andreas F.  
 Lowenkron, Barry F.  
 Lowenstein, James G.  
 Lowenthal,  
 Abraham F.  
 Loy, Frank E.  
 Loy, James Milton  
 Lozano, Ignacio E.  
 Lozano, Monica C.  
 Lu, Donald  
 Lubin, Nancy



Lubman, Stanley B.  
 Lucas, C. Payne  
 Luck, Edward C.  
 Lucy, William  
 Luers, Wendy W.  
 Luers, William H.  
 Luke, John A. Jr.  
 Lustick, Ian S.  
 Lute, Jane Holl  
 Luttwak, Edward N.  
 Luu, Ky  
 Luzzatto, Anne R.  
 Lyall, Katharine C.  
 Lyman, Princeton N.  
 Lyman, Richard W.  
 Lynch, Thomas F. III  
 Lynk, Myles V.  
 Lynn, James T.  
 Lynn, Laurence E. Jr.  
 Lyon, David W.  
 Lyons, Gene M.  
 Lyons, James E.  
 Lyons, Richard Kent

Mai, Vincent A.  
 Maier, Charles S.  
 Makin, John H.\*  
 Makins, Christopher J.  
 Mako, William P.  
 Malek, Frederic V.  
 Malinowski, Tom\*  
 Mallery, Richard  
 Mallett, Robert L.  
 Malmgren, Harald B.  
 Malmgren, K.  
     Philippa\*  
 Malone, Kim  
 Malpass, David R.  
 Mamdani,  
     Mahmoud A.  
 Manatt, Charles T.\*  
 Manca, Marie  
     Antoinette  
 Mandelbaum, Michael  
 Manilow, Lewis  
 Manley, Audrey  
     Forbes  
 Mann, Hillary P.  
 Mann, James H.\*  
 Mann, Michael D.  
 Mann, Thomas E.  
 Manzi, Jim  
 Marans, J. Eugene  
 Marchick, David  
 Marcucci, Anna  
     Patricia  
 Marcum, John Arthur  
 Marder, Murrey  
 Margolis, David I.  
 Marinzoli, A. Roger  
 Mark, David E.  
 Mark, Hans M.  
 Mark, Rebecca P.  
 Marks, Leonard H.  
 Marks, Paul A.  
 Marks, Russell E. Jr.  
 Markusen, Ann R.  
 Marlin, Alice Tepper  
 Marr, Phebe A.  
 Marron, Donald B.  
 Marsh, Tom F.

Marshall, Andrew W.  
 Marshall, Anthony D.  
 Marshall, Dale Rogers  
 Marshall, F. Ray  
 Marshall, Katherine  
 Marshall, Zachary  
     Blake  
 Martin, Daniel Richard  
 Martin, Lynn Morley  
 Martin, Susan F.  
 Martin, William F.  
 Martin-Brown, Joan C.  
 Martinuzzi, Leo S. Jr.  
 Marton, Kati I.  
 Masin, Michael T.  
 Massey, L. Camille\*  
 Massey, Walter E.  
 Massimino, Elisa C.\*  
 Mastanduno, Michael  
 Masters, Carlton A.  
 Matheson, Michael J.\*  
 Mathews, Jessica T.  
 Mathews, Michael S.  
 Mathews, Sylvia M.  
 Mathias,  
     Charles McC. Jr.  
 Mathias, Edward J.\*  
 Mathis, Brian Pierre  
 Matlock, Jack F. Jr.  
 Matsui, Robert T.  
 Matsukata, Naotaka  
 Matteson, William B.  
 Matthews, Eugene A.  
 Matthews, John C.†  
 Mattox, Gale A.  
 Matuszewski,  
     Daniel C.  
 Maxwell, Kenneth  
     Robert  
 May, Ernest R.  
 May, Michael M.  
 Mayer, Claudette  
 Mayer, Gerald M. Jr.  
 Mayer, Lawrence A.  
 Mayhew, Alice E.  
 Maynes, Charles  
     William

Mazur, Jay  
 McAfee, William Gage  
 McAllister, Jef  
     Olivarius  
 McAllister,  
     Singleton B.  
 McCaffrey, Barry R.  
 McCaffrey, Cynthia  
     Lillian  
 McCain, John S. III  
 McCall, H. Carl  
 McCann, Edward  
 McCartan, Patrick F.  
 McCarter, John W. Jr.  
 McCarthy, James P.  
 McCarthy, Paul B.  
 McChrystal,  
     Stanley A.\*  
 McClary, Tonya D.  
 McCloy, John J. II  
 McCormack,  
     Elizabeth J.  
 McCormick, David H.  
 McCouch, Donald G.  
 McCracken, Paul W.  
 McCurdy, Dave K.  
 McDermott, Jim  
 McDevitt, Sean Daniel  
 McDonald, Alonzo L.  
 McDonald, Tom  
 McDonough,  
     William J.  
 McDougall, Gay J.  
 McEntee, Joan M.  
 McFarlane, Jennifer A.  
 McFarlane, Robert C.  
 McFate, Patricia Ann  
 McFaul, Michael A.\*  
 McGarr, Cappy R.  
 McGiffert, David E.  
 McGovern, George S.  
 McGowan, Alan H.  
 McGrath, Eugene R.  
 McGurn, William  
 McHale, Thomas R.  
 McHenry, Donald F.  
 McKeon, Elizabeth A.

McLarty, Thomas F. III  
 McLaughlin, Charles  
     James  
 McLaughlin, David T.  
 McLaughlin, John E.\*  
 McLean, Mora L.  
 McLean, Sheila Avrin  
 McLin, Jon Blythe  
 McMahan, Darrin  
     Michael  
 McManus, Doyle  
 McManus, Jason D.  
 McNamara, Dennis L.  
 McNamara,  
     Kathleen R.  
 McNamara, Robert S.  
 McNamara, Thomas E.  
 McNaugher,  
     Thomas L.  
 McNerney, Michael J.  
 McPeak, Merrill A.  
 McPeek, Brian C.  
 McPherson, M. Peter  
 McQuade, Lawrence C.  
 McWade, Robert S.  
 Meacham, Jon\*  
 Mead, Dana G.  
 Mead, Walter Russell  
 Meadows, Jeanne  
     Terry\*  
 Meagher, Robert F.  
 Mearsheimer, John J.  
 Medearis, Amy Houpt  
 Medina, David S.  
 Medina, Kathryn B.  
 Medley, Richard  
 Meers, Sharon I.  
 Mehreteab, Ghebre  
     Selassie\*  
 Mehta, Ved  
 Meissner, Doris M.  
 Meister, Irene W.  
 Mejia, James E.†  
 Melby, Eric D. K.  
 Mello, Judy Hendren  
 Melloan, George R.  
 Melville, Richard Allen

**M**

Ma, Christopher  
 Mabry, Marcust  
 Mabus, Raymond E.  
 McCormack, Charles  
     Frederick  
 MacDonald, Gordon J.  
 MacDougal, Gary E.  
 MacGillivray, Adrien C.  
 Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr.  
 Mackevich, Eileen R.\*  
 MacLaury, Bruce K.  
 Macomber, John  
     Dewitt  
 Macomber, William B.  
 Macy, Robert M. Jr.  
 Madrid, Arturo  
 Maguire, John David  
 Mahoney, Margaret E.  
 Mahoney,  
     Thomas H. IV

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

- Mendelson, Sarah  
Elizabeth
- Mendlovitz, Saul H.
- Mendoza, Roberto G.
- Menges, Carl Braun
- Menke, John R.
- Menon, Rajan
- Merkel, Claire Sechler
- Merkel, David A.
- Meron, Theodor
- Merow, John
- Merrill, Philip
- Merritt, Jack Neil
- Merszei, Zoltan
- Mertus, Julie Ann
- Meselson, Matthew S.
- Messing, F. Andy Jr.\*
- Messitte, Zach P.
- Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr.
- Metcalf, George Rich
- Mettler, Ruben F.
- Metzger, Barry\*
- Metzl, Jamie Frederic
- Meyer, Carl J.
- Meyer, Edward C.
- Meyer, John Robert
- Meyer, Karl E.
- Meyer, Michael Ryder
- Meyerman, Harold J.
- Meyerson, Martin
- Michaels, Marguerite
- Mickiewicz, Ellen
- Midgley, Elizabeth
- Mihaly, Eugene B.
- Mikell, Gwendolyn
- Miles, Edward L.
- Milestone, Judith B.
- Miller, Anja†
- Miller, Benjamin R.†
- Miller, Charles R.
- Miller, David  
Charles Jr.
- Miller, Debra L.
- Miller, Franklin C.
- Miller, J. Irwin
- Miller, Judith
- Miller, Ken
- Miller, Layli
- Miller, Linda B.
- Miller, Marcia E.
- Miller, Matthew L.
- Miller, Roberta Balstad
- Miller, Scott L.
- Miller, William Green
- Millett, Allan R.
- Millington, John A.
- Mills, Bradford
- Mills, Karen Gordon
- Mills, Susan Linda
- Mims, Valerie A.
- Minow, Newton N.
- Mintz, Daniel R.\*
- Miranda, Lourdes R.
- Mirkow, Frank J.
- Mishkin, Alexander V.
- Mitchell, Arthur M. III
- Mitchell, George H. Jr.
- Mitchell, George J.
- Mitchell, Wandra G.
- Mize, David M.
- Mochizuki, Kiichi
- Mochizuki, Mike M.
- Moe, Sherwood G.
- Moffett, George D.
- Moffett, Julia
- Molano, Walter  
Thomas\*
- Mondale, Walter F.
- Moniz, Ernest J.\*
- Montgomery, George  
Cranwell
- Montgomery, Mark C.
- Montgomery,  
Parker G.
- Montgomery, Philip  
O'Bryan III
- Moock, Joyce  
Lewinger
- Moody, Carol  
Baldwin\*
- Moody, Jim
- Moody, William S.
- Moore, John J. Jr.\*
- Moore, John M.
- Moore, John Norton
- Moore, Jonathan
- Moore, Julia A.
- Moore, Paul Jr.
- Moorman,  
Thomas S. Jr.
- Moose, George E.
- Moose, Richard M.
- Mora, Alberto J.
- Mora, Antonio G.
- Moran, Theodore H.
- Morey, David E.\*
- Morris, Max King
- Morris, Milton D.
- Morris-Eck, Bailey
- Morrisett, Lloyd N.
- Morrissey, Arthur C.
- Morse, Edward L.
- Morse, Kenneth P.
- Mortimer, David H.
- Mosbacher, Robert A.
- Moseley, Teed Michael\*
- Moses, Alfred H.
- Mosettig, Michael  
David
- Moskow, Kenneth A.
- Moskow, Michael H.
- Moskowitz, James N.†
- Moss, Ambler H. Jr.
- Moss, David A.
- Motley, Joel W.
- Mottahedeh, Roy P.
- Motulsky, Daniel T.
- Mouat, Lucia
- Moynihan, Daniel P.
- Mroz, John Edwin
- Mudd, Daniel H.\*
- Mudd, Margaret Farris
- Mujal-Leon, Eusebio
- Mulford, David C.
- Muller, Edward R.
- Muller, Henry
- Muller, Steven
- Mulvenon, James C.
- Mundy, Carl E. Jr.
- Munger, Edwin S.
- Muñoz, George\*
- Munroe, George B.
- Munyan, Winthrop R.
- Murase, Emily Moto
- Muravchik, Joshua
- Murdoch, Rupert
- Murdock, Deroy
- Murdy, William F.
- Murphy, Caryle Marie
- Murphy, Ewell E. Jr.\*
- Murphy, Richard M.
- Murphy, Richard W.
- Murphy, Thomas S.
- Murray, Allen E.
- Murray, Douglas P.
- Murray, Ian P.
- Murray, Janice L.
- Murray, Leonard II
- Murray, Lori Esposito
- Murray, Robert J.\*
- Muse, Martha  
Twitchell
- Musham, Bettye  
Martin
- Myerson, Toby S.

## N

- Nachmanoff, Arnold
- Nacht, Michael
- Nadiri, M. Ishaq
- Nagl, John A.
- Nagorski, Andrew
- Nagorski, Zygmunt
- Najera, Peter F.
- Nakhleh, Emile A.
- Namkung, K.A.
- Nasher, Raymond  
Donald
- Nathan, Andrew J.
- Nathan, James A.
- Nathanson, Marc B.
- Nathoo, Raffiq A.
- Nau, Henry R.
- Nazeri, Haleh†
- Neal, Stephen L.
- Nealer, Kevin G.\*
- Negroponte, John D.
- Neier, Aryeh
- Nelson, Anne
- Nelson, Daniel N.
- Nelson, Jack H.
- Nelson, Marie E.
- Nelson, Merlin E.
- Nelson, Robert L. Jr.
- Nenneman, Richard A.
- Neuman, Stephanie G.
- Neureiter, Norman\*
- Neustadt, Richard E.
- Newberg, Esther R.
- Newburg, Andre W.G.
- Newcomb, Nancy S.
- Newell, Barbara W.
- Newhouse, John
- Newman, Constance  
Berry
- Newman, Frank N.
- Newman, Jay H.
- Newman, Priscilla A.
- Newman, Richard T.
- Newsom, David D.
- Newton, M. Diana H.
- Newton, Quigg
- Ney, Edward N.
- Nicholas, N.J. Jr.
- Nichols, Nancy  
Stephenson
- Nichols, Rodney W.
- Nicholson, Jan
- Niehuss, John M.
- Niehuss, Rosemary  
Neaheer
- Nielsen, Nancy  
Christine
- Nielsen, Waldemar  
August
- Nilsson, A. Kenneth
- Nimetz, Matthew
- Nitze, Paul H.
- Nitze, William A.
- Nizich, Ivana Astrid
- Noam, Eli M.
- Nogales, Luis G.
- Nolan, Janne Emilie
- Noland, Marcus
- Nolte, Richard H.
- Nonacs, Eric S.
- Nooter, Robert  
Harry
- Norman, William S.
- Norquist, Grover  
Glenn
- Norton, Augustus  
Richard
- Norton, Eleanor  
Holmes
- Nossel, Suzanne
- Noto, Lucio A.



Novack, Lynne  
Dominick\*  
Nuechterlein,  
Jeffrey D.  
Nunn, Sam  
Nussbaum, Bruce  
Nye, J. Benjamin H.  
Nye, Joseph Samuel Jr.

**O**

O'Brien, Dennis J.  
O'Cleireacain, Carol  
O'Connor, Walter F.  
O'Flaherty, J. Daniel  
O'Hanlon, Michael  
O'Hare, Joseph A.  
O'Leary, John  
O'Malley,  
Cormac K.H.  
O'Neil, Kathleen A.  
O'Neil, Michael J.  
O'Neill, Michael J.  
O'Prey, Kevin P.\*  
O'Rourke, Patrick J.  
O'Sullivan, Meghan L.  
Oakley, Phyllis E.  
Oakley, Robert B.  
Oberdorfer, Don  
Odeen, Philip A.  
Odell, John S.  
Odom, William E.  
Oettinger, Anthony G.  
Offenheiser,  
Raymond C. Jr.\*  
Offit, Morris W.  
Ogden, Alfred  
Oh, Kongdan  
Okawara, Merle Aiko  
Olidge, Trina S.  
Oliva, L. Jay  
Oliver, April A.  
Olmer, Lionel Herbert  
Olmstead, Cecil J.  
Olson, Jane T.\*  
Olson, Lyndon L. Jr.\*

Olson, Ronald L.  
Olson, William Clinton  
Olvey, Lee D.  
Omestad, Thomas E.  
Opel, John R.  
Oppenheimer, Franz  
Martin  
Oppenheimer,  
Michael F.  
Orentlicher, Diane\*  
Orlins, Stephen A.  
Ornstein, Norman J.  
Orr, Robert C.  
Orszag, Peter R.  
Osborn, John E.  
Osborne, Richard de J.  
Osisek, Elizabeth M.  
Osmer-McQuade,  
Margaret  
Osnos, Peter L.W.  
Osnos, Susan Sherer  
Ostermann, Christian  
Ostlund, William Brian  
Ostrander, F. Taylor  
Ostrowski, Stephen T.†  
Ovitz, Michael S.  
Owen, Henry David  
Owen, Roberts Bishop  
Owens, James W.  
Owens, William A.  
Oxman, Bernard H.  
Oxman, Stephen Alan  
Oxnam, Robert B.  
Oye, Kenneth A.

**P**

Paal, Douglas Haines  
Pachon, Harry P.  
Packard, George R.  
Page, Carter W.  
Paine, George C. II  
Pakula, Hannah C.  
Pallesen, Edward S.†  
Palmer, Mark  
Palmer, Matthew A.†

Palmer, Ronald D.  
Palmerlee, April  
Palmieri, Victor H.  
Pandith, Farah A.†  
Panofsky,  
Wolfgang K.H.  
Paperin, Stewart J.  
Pardee, Scott E.  
Pardes, Herbert\*  
Pardew, James W. Jr.  
Parent, Alexandra  
Wood  
Parent, Louise M.  
Paris, Jonathan\*  
Park, H.K.  
Parker Feld, Karen  
Parker,  
Barrington D. Jr.  
Parker, Elizabeth  
Rindskopf  
Parker, Jason H.  
Parker, Jay M.  
Parker, Penny  
Parker, Richard B.  
Parkinson, Roger P.  
Parks, Michael  
Christopher  
Parsky, Gerald L.  
Parsons, Richard D.  
Pascual, Carlos E.\*  
Passer-Muslin,  
Juliette M.  
Paster, Howard G.  
Pastor, Ed  
Pastor, Robert A.  
Patel, Parag†  
Patrick, Hugh T.  
Patrick, Stewart M.  
Patrick, Thomas  
Harold  
Patricof, Alan Joel  
Patrikis, Ernest T.  
Paul, Roland A.  
Paulson, Henry M. Jr.\*  
Paulus, Judith K.  
Pavel, Barry\*  
Payne, Donald M.

Pearlstine, Norman  
Peckham, Gardner G.  
Pedersen, Richard  
Foote  
Pederson, Rena M.  
Pell, Claiborne  
Pelletreau,  
Robert H. Jr.  
Pelofsky, Eric J.  
Peña, Federico F.\*  
Penfield, James K.  
Penn, Mark Jeffrey  
Percy, Charles H.  
Perea-Henze, Raul  
Perella, Joseph R.  
Perera, Richard D.  
Peretz, Don  
Perez, David  
Perkin, Linda J.  
Perkins, Edward J.  
Perkins, Roswell B.  
Perkovich, George R.  
Perle, Richard N.  
Perlman, Janice Elaine  
Perlmutter, Louis  
Perritt, Henry H. Jr.  
Perry, Elizabeth Jean  
Perry, Robert C.  
Perry, William J.  
Peters, Aulana L.  
Peters, Michael P.  
Petersen, Mathew  
Scott  
Peterson, Holly  
Peterson, Peter G.  
Peterson, Rudolph A.  
Petraeus, David H.  
Petree, Richard W.  
Petree, Richard W. Jr.  
Petri, Thomas E.  
Petschek, Stephen R.  
Pettibone, Peter J.  
Petty, John R.  
Peyronnin, Joseph F.  
Pezzullo, Lawrence A.  
Pfaltzgraff,  
Robert L. Jr.

Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill  
Pfeiffer, Leon K.\*  
Pfeiffer, Steven B.  
Pharr, Susan J.  
Phelan, John J. Jr.  
Phillips, Cecil M.  
Phillips,  
Christopher H.  
Phillips, David L.  
Phillips, Russell A. Jr.  
Picker, Harvey  
Pickering, Thomas R.  
Pieczenik, Steve R.  
Piedra, Alberto M. Jr.  
Pierce, Lawrence W.  
Pierce, Ponchitta  
Piercy, Jan  
Pierre, Andrew J.  
Pigott, Charles M.  
Pike, John E.  
Pilgrim, Kathryn  
Pillar, Russell I.  
Pilling, Donald L.  
Pilliod, Charles J. Jr.  
Pillsbury, Michael  
Pilon, Juliana Geran  
Pincus, Lionel I.  
Pincus, Walter H.  
Pinkerton, W.  
Stewart Jr.  
Pino, John Anthony  
Pipes, Daniel  
Pipes, Richard  
Pisano, Jane G.  
Pitts, Joe W. III  
Pizzarello, Louis D.  
Platt, Alan A.  
Platt, Alexander H.  
Platt, Nicholas  
Plattner, Marc F.  
Platz, Stephanie  
Semple  
Plaut, Peter G.  
Plepler, Richard L.  
Plimpton, Calvin H.  
Plumeri, Joseph J. II  
Poats, Rutherford M.

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

Pocalyko, Michael N.  
Podhoretz, Norman  
Pogue, Richard W.  
Polk, George W.  
Polk, William R.  
Pollack, Gerald A.  
Pollack, Jonathan D.  
Pollack, Kenneth M.  
Pollack, Lester  
Polsby, Nelson W.  
Pond, Elizabeth  
Poneman, Daniel  
Bruce  
Pool-Eckert,  
Marquita J.  
Popkin, Anne B.  
Popoff, Frank  
Porter, John Edward  
Portes, Jonathan D.  
Portes, Richard D.  
Porzecanski, Arturo C.  
Posen, Adam  
Posen, Barry R.  
Posner, Michael  
Posvar, Wesley W.  
Potter, William C.  
Powell, Catherine  
Powell, Colin L.  
Powell, Jerome H.  
Power, Philip H.  
Powers, Averill L.\*  
Powers, Thomas  
Powers, Timothy E.  
Pozen, Robert C.\*  
Pranger, Robert J.  
Prasso, Sheridan T.  
Precht, Henry  
Press, Daryl G.†  
Pressler, Larry  
Prewitt, Kenneth  
Price, Daniel M.  
Price, Hugh  
Price, John R. Jr.  
Price, Raymond K. Jr.  
Price, Robert  
Prickett, Glenn T.†  
Priest, William W. Jr.\*  
Prieto, Daniel B. III  
Prillaman, William C.†  
Prince, Charles O. III

Pritzker, Thomas J.  
Pruitt, Lisa R.  
Pryce, Jeffrey F.  
Pryce, William T.  
Puchala, Donald James  
Puckett, Allen E.  
Puckett, Robert H.  
Pulling, Edward L.†  
Pulling, Thomas L.  
Purcell, Susan  
Kaufman  
Pursley, Robert E.  
Purvis, Nigelt†  
Pusey, Nathan M.  
Putnam, Robert D.  
Pye, Lucian W.  
Pyle, Kenneth B.

## Q

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

## R

Rabb, Maxwell M.  
Rabinowitch,  
Alexander  
Rabinowitch, Victor  
Radtke, Robert W.  
Radway, Laurence I.  
Raines, Franklin D.  
Raisian, John  
Ralston, Joseph W.  
Ramirez, Lilia L.  
Ramo, Joshua Cooper  
Ramo, Simon  
Randolph, R. Sean\*  
Rangel, Charles B.  
Ranis, Gustav  
Rankin, Clyde E. III

Raphel, Robin Lynn  
Rappaport, Alan H.  
Ratchford, J. Thomas  
Rather, Dan  
Rattner, Steven L.  
Rauch, Rudolph S.  
Raul, Alan Charles  
Raustiala, Kal L.†  
Ravenal, Earl C.  
Ravenholt, Albert V.  
Ravich, Samantha F.  
Ravitch, Richard  
Raymond, David A.  
Raymond, Jack  
Raymond, Lee R.  
Realuyo, Celina B.†  
Rechberger, Kristin D.†  
Redman, Charles E.  
Reed, Charles B.  
Reed, Jack\*  
Reed, Joseph Verner  
Reese, William Sears  
Regan, Ned  
Reichert, William M.  
Reid, Ogden  
Reilly, Saskia S.  
Reilly, William K.  
Reimer, Dennis Joe  
Reinhardt, John E.  
Reinhart, Carmen M.  
Reinharz, Jehuda  
Reisman, William  
Michael  
Reiss, Mitchell B.  
Remick, Elizabeth J.†  
Renfrew, Charles  
Byron  
Rennie, Milbrey  
Rennie, Renate  
Reppert, John C.  
Reppy, Judith V.  
Resor, Stanley R.  
Rey, Nicholas A.  
Reynolds, Carolyn Ann  
Rhineland, John B.  
Rhodes, John B. Sr.  
Rhodes, William R.  
Rice, Condoleezza  
Rice, Donald S.  
Rice, Joseph A.

Rice, Susan E.  
Rich, Brian Allen  
Rich, John H. Jr.  
Rich, Michael D.  
Richard, Anne C.  
Richards, Paul G.  
Richards, Stephen H.  
Richardson, David B.  
Richardson,  
Henry J. III  
Richardson, John  
Richardson,  
Richard W.  
Richardson, William B.  
Richardson, William R.  
Richardson,  
Yolonda C.  
Richman, Joan F.  
Richter, Anthony H.  
Riddell, Malcolm C.\*  
Ridgway, Rozanne L.  
Rieff, David  
Rielly, John E.  
Riffat, Imran  
Rifkind, Robert S.  
Riordan, Michael L.  
Ritch, John B. III  
Rivas-Vazquez, A.  
Victoria  
Rivers, Richard R.  
Rivkin, David B. Jr.  
Rivkin, Donald H.  
Rivlin, Alice M.  
Rizk, Nayla M.  
Rizopoulos,  
Nicholas X.  
Robb, Charles S.  
Robbins, Carla Anne  
Robert, Joseph E. Jr.  
Robert, Stephen  
Roberts, Bradley H.  
Roberts, Chalmers M.  
Roberts, John J.  
Roberts, Richard Todd  
Roberts, Walter R.  
Robinson, Barbara Paul  
Robinson, David Z.  
Robinson, Davis R.  
Robinson, Eugene  
Harold

Robinson, James D. III  
Robinson,  
Leonard H. Jr.  
Robinson, Linda  
Robinson, Pearl T.  
Robison, Olin C.  
Roche, James G.  
Rockefeller, David  
Rockefeller, David Jr.  
Rockefeller, John D. IV  
Rockefeller, Nicholas  
Rockwell, Hays H.  
Rodman, Peter W.  
Rodriguez, Alex  
Rodriguez, Rita M.  
Rodriguez, Vincent A.  
Rodrik, Dani  
Roett, Riordan  
Roff, J. Hugh Jr.  
Rogers, John M.\*  
Rogers, William D.  
Roggero, Frederick F.\*  
Rohan, Karen M.  
Rohatyn, Felix G.  
Rohlen, Thomas P.  
Rokke, Ervin J.  
Roman, Nancy Ellen  
Romberg, Alan D.  
Romero, Anthony D.  
Romero, Philip Joseph  
Romero-Barcelo,  
Carlos A.  
Rondeau, Ann E.  
Roney, John H.  
Roosevelt, Theodore IV  
Rose, Charlie Peete Jr.  
Rose, Daniel  
Rose, Elihu  
Rose, Gideon  
Rosecrance, Richard  
Rosen, Arthur H.  
Rosen, Daniel H.  
Rosen, Jane K.  
Rosen, Robert L.  
Rosen, Stephen Peter  
Rosenberg, Mark B.  
Rosenblatt, David S.  
Rosenblatt, Lionel A.  
Rosenblatt, Peter R.  
Rosenblum, Mort L.



Rosenfeld, Stephen S.  
 Rosenfield, Allan  
 Rosenfield, Patricia L.  
 Rosenkranz, Robert  
 Rosenstock, Robert  
 Rosensweig, Jeffrey A.  
 Rosenthal, A.M.  
 Rosenthal, Douglas  
 Eurico  
 Rosenthal, Jack  
 Rosenthal, Mitchell S.  
 Rosenwald, E. John Jr.  
 Rosenwald, Nina\*  
 Rosenzweig,  
 Carmen R.  
 Rosenzweig, Robert M.  
 Roskens, Ronald W.  
 Rosner, Jeremy D.  
 Rosovsky, Henry  
 Ross, Anne Ekstrand  
 Ross, Arthur  
 Ross, Christopher W.S.  
 Ross, Dennis B.  
 Ross, Robert S.  
 Ross, Thomas B.  
 Rosso, David J.  
 Rossotti, Charles O.  
 Rostow, Elspeth  
 Davies  
 Rostow, Nicholas  
 Rostow, Walt W.  
 Rotberg, Robert I.  
 Rotblatt, Linda S.  
 Roth, Katherine L.  
 Roth, Kenneth  
 Roth, Stanley Owen  
 Roth, William M.  
 Roth, William V. Jr.  
 Roth-Douquet,  
 Kathryn  
 Rothenberg, David M.  
 Rothkopf, David  
 Jochanan  
 Rottenberg, Linda D.  
 Route, Ronald A.  
 Rovine, Arthur W.  
 Rowen, Henry S.

Rowny, Edward L.  
 Rubin, Arthur Mark  
 Rubin, Barnett R.  
 Rubin, James P.  
 Rubin, James S.  
 Rubin, Nancy H.  
 Rubin, Robert E.  
 Rubin, Seymour  
 Jeffrey  
 Rubin, Trudy S.  
 Rudenstine, Neil L.  
 Rudman, Warren B.  
 Ruebhausen, Oscar M.  
 Ruenitz, Robert M.  
 Ruga, Raimundo L.  
 Ruggie, John G.  
 Rugh, William A.  
 Runge, Carlisle Ford  
 Rupp, George E.  
 Ruttan, Vernon W.  
 Ruxin, Josh N.†  
 Ryan, Arthur F.  
 Ryan, John T. III  
 Ryan, Michael E.

**S**

Sachs, Jeffrey D.  
 Sacks, Paul M.  
 Saenz, Thomas A.  
 Safran, Nadav  
 Sagan, Scott D.  
 Said, Edward  
 Sakoian, Carol Knuth  
 Salacuse, Jeswald  
 William  
 Salazar, Ana Maria  
 Salem, George R.  
 Salomon, Richard E.  
 Salomon, William R.  
 Salzman, Anthony  
 David  
 Samore, Gary  
 Sample, Steven B.  
 Samuels, Barbara  
 Christie II

Samuels, Michael A.  
 Samuels, Richard J.  
 Sanchez, Miguel  
 Antonio  
 Sanchez, Orlando  
 Sandalow, David\*  
 Sandberg, Sheryl K.  
 Sandel, Michael J.  
 Sander, Alison B.  
 Sanders, Barry A.  
 Sanders, Marlene\*  
 Sanders, Robin Renee  
 Sands, Amy  
 Sanger, David E.\*  
 Sapiro, Miriam  
 Sapolsky, Harvey M.  
 Sargeant, Stephen  
 Thomas  
 Sassen, Saskia  
 Sasser, James R.\*  
 Satloff, Robert B.\*  
 Saul, Ralph Southey  
 Saunders, Harold H.  
 Saunders, Paul J.  
 Saunders, Phillip C.  
 Savage, Frank  
 Sawoski, Mark  
 Sawyer, Diane  
 Scalapino, Robert A.  
 Schacht, Henry B.  
 Schachter, Oscar  
 Schadlow, Nadia C.  
 Schaefer, Matthew P.  
 Schaffer, Howard  
 Bruner  
 Schaffer, Teresita C.  
 Schake, Kori  
 Schechter, Jerrold  
 Scheffer, David J.  
 Scheinman, Lawrence  
 Schell, Orville Hickok  
 Schenck, James  
 Raymond  
 Scher, Robert M.  
 Schick, Thomas  
 Schiff, Frank W.  
 Schifter, Richard

Schlefer, Mark P.  
 Schlesinger, Arthur Jr.  
 Schlesinger, Jacob M.  
 Schlesinger, James R.  
 Schlesinger, Stephen C.  
 Schlosser, Herbert S.  
 Schmemann, Anya A.  
 Schmemann, Serge  
 Schmertz, Herbert  
 Schmidt, Benno Jr.  
 Schmoke, Kurt L.  
 Schneider, Jan  
 Schneider, William  
 Schneier, Arthur  
 Schoen, Douglas E.  
 Schoettle, Enid C.B.  
 Schoff, James L.  
 Schorr, Daniel L.  
 Schrage, Elliot J.  
 Schreiber, Brian T.\*  
 Schroeder, Christopher  
 Matthew  
 Schubert, Richard F.  
 Schuh, G. Edward  
 Schuker, Jill A.  
 Schulhof, Michael  
 Peter  
 Schulz, William F.  
 Schumacher, Edward  
 Schumer, Charles E.  
 Schwab, Susan Carroll  
 Schwartz, Eric Paul\*  
 Schwartz, Ethan  
 Schwarz, Adam  
 Schwarz, Benjamin C.  
 Schwarz,  
 Frederick A.O. Jr.  
 Schwarzer, William W.  
 Schwarzman,  
 Stephen A.  
 Schwebel, Stephen M.  
 Sciolino, Elaine F.  
 Scott, David Wilson  
 Scowcroft, Brent  
 Scranton, William W.  
 Seagrave, Norman P.  
 Seamans, Robert C. Jr.

Sears, Jonathan E.  
 Seaton, James B. III  
 Segal, Sheldon J.  
 Segal, Susan Louise  
 Seibold, Frederick C. Jr.  
 Seigenthaler, John L.  
 Seiple, Chris  
 Seitz, Frederick  
 Sekulow, Eugene A.  
 Selin, Douglas  
 Selin, Ivan  
 Serfaty, Simon  
 Sesno, Frank W.  
 Sestanovich, Stephen R.  
 Sewall, John O.B.  
 Sewall, Sarah  
 Sewell, John W.  
 Seymour, Frances J.  
 Shafer, D. Michael  
 Shafer, Jeffrey R.  
 Shaffer, Gail S.  
 Shailor, Barbara  
 Shair-Goyer, Beth  
 Shalala, Donna E.  
 Shalikhshvili, John M.  
 Shambaugh, David  
 Shapiro, Andrew J.  
 Shapiro, Hal Scott  
 Shapiro, Harold T.  
 Shapiro, Isaac  
 Shapiro, Judith R.  
 Shaplen, Jason T.\*  
 Sharp, Daniel A.  
 Shattuck, John  
 Shayne, Herbert M.  
 Shea, Dorothy C.  
 Shearer, Brooke L.\*  
 Sheehan, Kevin P.  
 Sheehan Michael A.\*  
 Sheffield, Jill W.  
 Shehabi, Soroush  
 Richard  
 Sheinbaum, Stanley K.  
 Sheinkman, Jack  
 Sheldon, Eleanor B.  
 Shelley, Sally Swing  
 Shelp, Ronald K.

\* Elected to membership in 2001.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2001.



## Membership Roster

- Shelton, Henry H.  
 Shelton, Joanna Reed  
 Shelton-Colby, Sally A.  
 Shenk, George H.  
 Shenk, Maury David  
 Shepard, Stephen B.  
 Shepardson, Robert  
   Thomas  
 Sheriff, Alan R.\*  
 Sherman, Michael  
 Sherman, Wendy R.  
 Sherry, George L.  
 Sherwood, Benjamin B.  
 Sherwood-Randall,  
   Elizabeth D.  
 Shestack, Jerome J.  
 Shields, Geoffrey B.  
 Shields, Lisa  
 Shiffman, Gary M.  
 Shifter, Michael  
 Shiner, Josette S.  
 Shinn, James J.  
 Shinseki, Eric  
 Shipley, Walter V.  
 Shire, Jacqueline W.  
 Shirk, Susan L.  
 Shirzad, Faryar  
 Shlaes, Amity Ruth  
 Shoemaker,  
   Christopher C.  
 Shonholtz, Raymond\*  
 Shore, Jennifer A.  
 Shorr, David  
 Shriver, Donald W.  
 Shubert, Gustave H.  
 Shulman, Colette  
 Shulman, Marshall D.  
 Shultz, George P.  
 Shuman, Stanley S.  
 Sick, Gary G.  
 Siegman, Henry  
 Sifton, Elisabeth N.  
 Sigal, Leon V.  
 Sigmund, Paul E.  
 Silas, C.J.  
 Silberman, Laurence H.  
 Silberman, Robert S.  
 Silberstein, Alan M.\*  
 Silkenat, James R.  
 Silver, Allison  
 Silver, Daniel B.  
 Silver, Ron  
 Silvers, Robert B.  
 Simes, Dimitri K.  
 Simmons, Adele  
 Simmons, Jamal N.  
 Simmons, P.J.  
 Simmons, Ruth J.  
 Simon, Françoise L.  
 Simon, Hugh V. Jr.\*  
 Sims, Albert G.  
 Sims, Gretchen Crosby  
 Sims, Robert B.  
 Sinclair, Paula J.  
 Sinding, Steven W.  
 Sinkin, Richard N.  
 Sisco, Joseph John  
 Sitrick, James Baker  
 Skidmore, Thomas E.  
 Skinner, Elliott P.  
 Skinner, Kiron Kanina\*  
 Sklarew, Jennifer  
   Friedman  
 Skol, Michael M.\*  
 Skolnikoff, Eugene B.  
 Slade, David R.  
 Slater, Joseph E.  
 Slaughter, Anne-Marie  
 Slaughter, Matthew J.  
 Slaughter, Richard A.  
 Slawson, Paul S.  
 Sloane, Ann Brownell  
 Slocombe, Walter B.  
 Sloss, Leon  
 Small, Lawrence M.  
 Smalley, Kathleen  
 Smalley, Patricia T.  
 Smart, S. Bruce Jr.  
 Smith, Andrew F.  
 Smith, Clint E.  
 Smith, Clint N.  
 Smith, David Shiverick  
 Smith, DeWitt C. Jr.  
 Smith, Edwin M.  
 Smith, Hedrick L.  
 Smith, James McCall  
 Smith, Jean Kennedy  
 Smith, Jeffrey H.  
 Smith, John T. II  
 Smith, Malcolm B.  
 Smith, Michael B.  
 Smith, Michelle A.  
 Smith, Nicole Venable  
 Smith, Perry M.  
 Smith, Peter  
   Hopkinson  
 Smith, R. Jeffrey  
 Smith, Richard M.  
 Smith, Stephen G.  
 Smith, Theodore M.  
 Smith, Tony  
 Smith, W.Y.  
 Smith, Wayne S.  
 Smith, Winthrop H. Jr.  
 Smoots, Samuel D.  
 Snider, Don M.  
 Snider, L. Britt  
 Snow, Robert Anthony  
 Snowe, Olympia J.  
 Snyder, Jack L.  
 Snyder, Jed C.  
 Snyder, Richard E.  
 Snyder, Scott A.  
 Snyder, Timothy D.†  
 Sobol, Dorothy  
   Meadow  
 Soderberg, Nancy E.  
 Sofaer, Abraham David  
 Sohn, Louis B.  
 Solarz, Stephen J.  
 Solbert, Peter O.A.  
 Solomon, Andrew  
   Wallace\*  
 Solomon, Anne G.K.  
 Solomon, Anthony M.  
 Solomon, Joshua N.  
 Solomon, Lisa J.  
 Solomon, Peter J.  
 Solomon, Richard H.  
 Solomon, Robert  
 Sonenshine, H.  
   Marshall  
 Sonenshine, Tara  
   Diane  
 Sonnenberg, Maurice  
 Sonnenfeldt, Helmut  
 Sonnenfeldt,  
   Richard W.  
 Sorensen, Gillian  
   Martin  
 Sorensen, Theodore C.  
 Soros, George  
 Soros, Paul  
 Southwick, James D.  
 Sovern, Michael I.  
 Spain, James W.  
 Spalter, Jonathan  
 Spangler, Scott M.  
 Spector, Leonard S.  
 Speedie, David C.  
 Spencer, Edson W.  
 Spero, Joan E.  
 Spero, Joshua B.\*  
 Speth, James Gustave  
 Speyer, Jerry I.  
 Spiegel, John W.  
 Spielvogel, Carl  
 Spiers, Ronald I.  
 Spindler, J. Andrew  
 Spiro, Herbert John  
 Spratt, John M. Jr.  
 Springer, Jenny  
 Squadron, Howard M.  
 Stack-O'Connor,  
   Alisa M.†  
 Stackpole, D. Andrew  
 Stacks, John  
 Stalson, Helena  
 Stamas, Stephen  
 Stanley, Peter W.  
 Stanton, Frank  
 Staples, Eugene S.  
 Staples, Kristen†  
 Starr, Kenneth I.\*  
 Starr, S. Frederick  
 Steadman, Richard C.  
 Steel, Ronald  
 Steiger, Paul E.  
 Stein, David F.  
 Stein, Elliot  
 Stein, Eric  
 Steinberg, David J.  
 Steinberg, James B.  
 Steinberg, Mark R.  
 Steinbruner, John D.  
 Steiner, Daniel  
 Steiner, Joshua L.  
 Steiner, Steven E.  
 Steinfeld, Edward S.  
 Stempel, John D.  
 Stent, Angela Evelyn  
 Stepan, Alfred C.  
 Stern, David J.  
 Stern, Ernest  
 Stern, Fritz  
 Stern, H. Peter  
 Stern, Jeffrey  
 Stern, Jessica E.  
 Stern, Paula  
 Stern, Todd D.  
 Stern, Walter P.  
 Sterner, Michael E.  
 Stetson, Anne\*  
 Stevens, Charles R.  
 Stevens, James W.  
 Stevens, Paul Schott  
 Stevenson, Adlai E.  
 Stevenson, Charles A.  
 Stewart, Donald M.  
 Stewart, Gordon C.  
 Stewart, Ruth Ann  
 Stid, Daniel D.  
 Stiehm, Judith Hicks  
 Stiglitz, Joseph E.  
 Stiles, Deborah F.  
 Stiles, Ned B.  
 Stith, Kate  
 Stobaugh, Robert B.  
 Stockman, David A.  
 Stoessinger, John G.  
 Stofft, William A.  
 Stoga, Alan J.  
 Stokes, Bruce  
 Stokes, Louis  
 Stoll, Ira E.†  
 Stone, Jeremy J.  
 Stone, Randall  
 Stone, Roger D.  
 Straus, Donald B.  
 Straus, Oscar S. II  
 Strauss, Robert S.  
 Strausz-Hupe, Robert  
 Strautmanis,  
   Michael A.†  
 Stremmlau, John J.  
 Stringer, Howard\*  
 Strmecki, Marin J.  
 Strock, James M.  
 Stromseth, Jane E.  
 Stroock, Thomas F.



Strossen, Nadine  
 Studeman, William O.  
 Styron, Rose  
 Sudarkasa, Niara  
 Sughrue, Karen M.  
 Suleiman, Ezra  
 Sulkin, Seth R.  
 Sullivan, Gina E.  
 Sullivan, Gordon R.  
 Sullivan, Louis W.  
 Sullivan, William H.  
 Summers, Lawrence H.  
 Sunderland, Jack B.  
 Sundiata, Ibrahim K.\*  
 Supanc, Patrick  
 Moore†  
 Suslow, Leo A.  
 Sutphen, Mona K.  
 Sutterlin, James S.  
 Sutton, Francis X.  
 Suzman, Cedric  
 Swank, Emory C.  
 Swanson, David H.  
 Sweeney, John J.  
 Sweig, Julia Ellen  
 Sweitzer, Brandon W.  
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