



COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Annual Report

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Mission and Goals

The Council on Foreign Relations is dedicated to increasing America's understanding of the world and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy. The Council accomplishes this mainly by promoting constructive debates, clarifying world issues, producing reports, and publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the leading journal on global issues.

Goals:

1. Add value to the public debate on international affairs.
2. Energize foreign policy discussions nationwide by making the Council a truly national organization with membership across the country.
3. Identify and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders.
4. Become "the source" for ideas and clear, reliable information on key international issues for the interested public at home and abroad.

Dedication

Arthur C. Helton

1949–2003

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

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



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

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In Memoriam

The Council lost a member of the Board of Directors and two Directors Emeriti this year.

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

Douglas Dillon passed away on January 10, 2003. One of the longest-serving Council members, he joined

the Council in 1946 and played a significant leadership role throughout the more than 50 years he was a member. He served on the Board for 13 years and was Vice Chairman from 1976 to 1978. He also served as Secretary of the Treasury, Undersecretary of State, and Ambassador to France.

Glenn E. Watts died on August 30, 2002. He was a member of the Council for 24 years and was a member of the Board of Directors for 4 years. An influential voice of the U.S. labor movement, he served as President of the Communications Workers of America and served on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. He also founded the Glenn E. Watts Cultural Center in Jerusalem to promote greater understanding between Israel's Arabs and Jews.

Letter from the Chairman

It is times like these that test the worth of an institution. Since September 11, 2001, the United States has been engaged in one of the most dangerous contests in its history. The mission of the Council on Foreign Relations—increasing America’s understanding of the world and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy—has never been more important or more relevant.

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

Les Gelb, The Incomparable Leader

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

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

Another metric was a younger membership that was much more active. In the ten years of Les’s reign, the median age has fallen from the high 60s to the mid 50s. The number of term members has doubled. We didn’t have a program for term members and now we have a very full program, including an annual conference. In 2003, we had nearly 300 people come from all over America for that meeting.



Peter G. Peterson

Peter G. Peterson and Leslie H. Gelb at the June 2003 National Conference, "Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It's Doing and Where It's Going?"



The Studies Program is the intellectual heart of this institution. When Les came we had 10 fellows and about 10 visiting fellows. Today, we have 70. When Les came we had 2 endowed chairs; we now have 12, including the new chair in Africa policy studies, which is the first such chair in any foreign policy think tank or school.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If great challenges have been met in the last decade, even greater ones lie ahead—for the United States and



Maurice R. Greenberg and Peter G. Peterson at the April 22, 2003, Dinner in honor of Hank Greenberg. Greenberg will remain active as Chairman of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and as the Council's first Honorary Vice Chairman.



Robert E. Rubin and William J. McDonough at the Council.

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

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board

Letter from the Vice Chairmen

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

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

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



Carla A. Hills



William J. McDonough

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

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

The global health fellowship, supported by a grant from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, will integrate the study of global health issues and U.S. foreign policy analysis. The Council and the Gates Foundation

recognize that widespread diseases such as HIV/AIDS and SARS relate to U.S. national security in ways that were unimaginable just a few years ago.

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

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

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

Carla A. Hills
William J. McDonough
Vice Chairmen of the Board

Outgoing President's Message

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

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

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

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

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



As of July 1, 2003, Leslie H. Gelb holds the positions of President Emeritus and Board Fellow.



The first Hemispheric Meeting of Councils on Foreign Relations was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, March 30–31, 2003. Pictured are representatives from Councils from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, the United States, and Uruguay. Council participants: Leslie H. Gelb, Carla A. Hills, Richard W. Murphy, and Tomás Amorim.

at these thoughts and words. But our leaders, alas, must make others—the terrorists—shudder at them as well.

But the story and the policy cannot begin and end with toughness and force. It can only start there. If what passes in our country for a foreign policy debate would descend for a while from its theological thin air to the bracing valley of common sense, some policy elements in addition to force and toughness would leap out. First, we cannot hunt down the terrorists by ourselves or beat

them with guns alone. We need others to see their interests in fighting terrorists and to help. That requires co-operation, and cooperation requires compromise. Apparently to some, compromise equals capitulation and is therefore totally unacceptable. To which common sense would say that capitulation is capitulation, and compromise certainly need not be. Second, after force comes the difficult part—making peace, building the conquered lands into better and safer places. Notice I



Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Minority Leader, U.S. House of Representatives (D-CA), Jane Harman, and Theodore C. Sorensen at the March 7, 2003, David A. Morse Lecture, "Principle and Power."



*Speaker Michael O'Hanlon, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution, and Speaker Kenneth M. Pollack, Author, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*, at the October 17, 2002, Meeting, "Iraq: A Town Hall Meeting."*



Helene D. Gayle and Jennifer Joseph at the June 12, 2003, Dinner to celebrate the appointment of Princeton N. Lyman as the Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow in Africa Policy Studies.



did not say turning liberated lands into a democratic, free-market paradise. Even the United States, a land blessed by its isolation and riches and freedoms, took some 200 years to reach its present state of holy perfection. Let the formerly oppressed and now liberated strive initially to equal Mayor Richard Daley's Chicago of the 1950s in lawfulness and economic well-being. But, first in Afghanistan and now perhaps in Iraq as well, the Bush team finds the rigors of cooperating with others and nation-building to be a goal too far, an interest not worth pursuing at high cost.

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

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

Speaker Amy Myers Jaffe, Senior Energy Adviser, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University (on screen), Speaker Edward P. Djerejian, Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University (on screen), Speaker Frank G. Wisner II, Vice Chairman, External Affairs, American International Group, Inc., Presider Rachel Bronson, and Speaker Laith Kubba, President, Iraq National Group, at the January 16, 2003, Meeting, "Iraq: The Day After."



Presider Peter G. Peterson and Speaker Paul D. Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense, at the January 23, 2003, Meeting, "Iraq: What Does Disarmament Look Like?"



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



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



Speaker Jane Holl Lute, Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, United Nations Foundation, Speaker Joseph Cirincione, Senior Associate and Director, Non-Proliferation Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Speaker Charles H. Ferguson, Scientist-in-Residence, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, at the April 10, 2003, Meeting, "ABM, CTBT, NPT, START I, II & III: So Why So Much WMD?"

Speaker James A. Baker III, Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP, Presider Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker Henry A. Kissinger, Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc., at the May 6, 2003, Meeting, "A Conversation with Former Secretaries of State."

We have begun to use that reputation to better perform our duty as one of the guardians of the quality of information and ideas in our society. Along with perhaps a few dozen other think tanks, great universities, and foundations, we have a special responsibility to protect the quality of public debate. That means calling balls and strikes about facts, about what we know and do not know, so that interested citizens can find their way through the dense fog of untruths and carelessness that now fills our public discourse. It also means the obligation to help define, manage, and solve policy problems, to have ideas about how to make the world a better and safer place for us and others.

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



Speaker Pascal Lamy, Trade Commissioner, European Commission, Presider Lionel Barber, and Speaker Robert B. Zoellick, U.S. Trade Representative, at the November 6, 2002, McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics, "Globalization, Trade, and Development: Are the United States and the European Union in It for the Long Run?"



Speaker Robert W. Kagan, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Presider Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker Tony Judt, Director, Remarque Institute, New York University, at the October 8, 2002, John B. Hurford Memorial Lecture, "Americans Are from Mars, Europeans Are from Venus: They Agree on Little and Understand Each Other Less and Less."

needed depth. My mind races on to tell you more, but you'll see the more as you read through this report.

Let me reserve the last measure for those who worked with me these ten years to keep the Council a good and useful place for members—young members especially—policy experts, and interested citizens. I demanded a great deal from my colleagues on the staff, and they met those standards. I thank them and cherish them. I could not have been luckier in Board leadership and mentorship. Peter G. Peterson and Maurice R. Greenberg and, more recently, Carla A. Hills and William J. McDonough,

were friends and partners—and they made it fun. Pete and Hank were mentors and fathers, and Pete sometimes a mother also. These are all people—staff and Board and members—who can work with my very able friend and successor, Richard N. Haass, to make the world a better and safer place. The Council has the standing and talent to do this. Moreover, as a privileged place and a guardian of our democracy, it has the duty to try.

Leslie H. Gelb
President Emeritus



Speaker Pervez Musharraf, Chief Executive and President of Pakistan, and Presider Richard C. Holbrooke at the September 13, 2002, Meeting at the Asia Society, "A New Architecture for Peace and Stability in South Asia."



David Rockefeller, Bette Bao Lord, and Winston Lord at the October 1, 2002, Annual Dinner for the Board of Directors, International Advisory Board, and Harold Pratt Associates, "Videoconference with Senator Joseph R. Biden."



Fouad Ajami and Washington SyCip at the October 1, 2002, Annual Dinner for the Board of Directors, International Advisory Board, and Harold Pratt Associates, "Videoconference with Senator Joseph R. Biden."



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



Council members applaud Leslie H. Gelb at the opening of his last National Conference as Council president in June 2003.

Incoming President's Message

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

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

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

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

It is a moment for raising fundamental questions about international relations and American foreign policy. What should the United States do with its primacy, and how should it go about it? What is the right mix of national security tools, and how can they best be employed? How should the United States and the international community work to regulate the challenges associated with globalization, ranging from money flows and global climate change to terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and infectious diseases? In other words, what is both desirable and realistic in terms of global governance? What is the optimal division of labor among individual states, coalitions, regional bodies, and global institutions? What is the role of other major and medium powers, and what should the United States do to shape the behaviors of these states? What can be done to promote political and economic reform as well as moderation and tolerance in the Islamic world? How can the United States increase the odds that critical countries, including Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, “succeed” and become relatively stable and open?



Richard N. Haass

The questions are as numerous as they are important. I look forward to working with incoming Director of Studies James M. Lindsay and with the Council's fellows in assembling a team of scholar-practitioners to tackle these issues—and in determining the best ways to disseminate insights and recommendations so that Council fellows, reports, and books can have even greater impact.

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

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



Richard N. Haass and Carla A. Hills at the Council.

nalists would appear to be the best means of providing and disseminating such content.

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

Richard N. Haass
President

Foreign Affairs

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

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

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

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

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



James F. Hoge Jr.

making, the administration might have to consider controversial ideas such as a trusteeship for Palestine.

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

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

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

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

Benchmarks

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

The past year saw the publication of several new textbooks for the college classroom, composed of *Foreign*



The newly redesigned Foreign Affairs website, www.foreignaffairs.org, has become an increasingly important tool to reach new subscribers, attracting 200,000 visitors each month and generating hundreds of subscriptions.

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

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

Special Initiatives

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

- The Council assembled a team of senior journalists and launched “The Source,” at www.cfr.org, in the fall of 2002 to provide reliable, easy-to-understand, nonpartisan information and background on international issues.
- The Council released eleven Independent Task Force reports and launched three more Task Forces.
- The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) offered practical recommendations for preventing deadly conflict in regions of particular vulnerability through two reports, one on the Balkans and another on Papua.
- The Council published a Council Policy Initiative (CPI) by Lawrence J. Korb on three policy options for implementing the national security strategy.
- The Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program encouraged a sustained and informed dialogue with members of Congress and their staffs.
- And finally, honoring books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations, the second annual Arthur Ross Book Award was presented to Samantha Power for her book, *“A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide*.



Outreach Program: “The Source”

In the increasingly complex world, informed Americans need a place where they can find reliable, easy-to-understand, non-partisan information and background, where they can sort out fact from fiction and truth from spin. To address this need, the Board of Directors endorsed a new goal: outreach—to make the Council the source for ideas and clear and accurate information on key international issues for the interested public.

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

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

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

Key sections include:

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

Top public policy schools also link to the Council's site—Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, and Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy—as do numerous other colleges, universities, libraries, associations, and think tanks.

The *CyberSkeptic's Guide to Internet Research* described www.cfr.org as “a site to come to for authoritative and balanced analysis when you become skeptical about the news you are getting from commercial TV, radio, and newsmagazines.” *Library Journal* named the Council's “Terrorism: Q&A” site, at www.terrorismanswers.org, one of the best web sources of 2003, and it was also a finalist for a 2002 Online News Association Journalism Award.

Over the past year, traffic to the website nearly doubled. Interest peaked during the war with Iraq, as the Council helped the public sort through the United Nations debate, the war itself, and the postwar regional and international fallout. The site also featured an Iraq timeline and select readings.

Under the direction of Vice President Irina A. Faskianos, the Outreach Program also developed ways to extend the reach and impact of the Council and its work: it leveraged the Council's National Program with public events and local media interviews; organized a regional editors briefing series, moderated by Michael Glennon, that generated several editorials and articles; and partnered with NYTimes.com to hold online forums moderated by Bernard Gwertzman.

Building on the Council's first three goals, the Outreach Program will make a significant and lasting contribution to satisfying the interested public's hunger for reliable information and analysis. ●

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 and solely responsible for their conclusions.

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



Lawrence H. Summers and Henry A. Kissinger, Co-Chairs of the Independent Task Force on Transatlantic Relations, with Task Force Director Charles A. Kupchan and Council Research Associate Jamie Fly.

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

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

The Independent Task Force on India and South Asia, co-chaired by Marshall M. Bouton, Nicholas Platt, and Frank G. Wisner II, warned of the threat to stability in Afghanistan without greater U.S. support to the transitional government of President Hamid Karzai. The report, cosponsored

with the Asia Society, concluded that a return to warlordism in Afghanistan would be a major defeat in the U.S. anti-terror campaign and would gravely erode America's credibility around the globe. The Task Force is continuing its work on U.S.-India, U.S.-Pakistan, and Indo-Pakistani relations.

The Task Force on Chinese Military Power, under the leadership of Chair Harold Brown and Vice Chair Joseph W. Prueher, concluded that while China is pursuing a deliberate course of military modernization, it is at least two decades behind the United States in terms of military technology. If the United States continues to dedicate significant resources to improving its military forces, as expected, the balance between the United States and China, both globally and in Asia, is likely to remain decisively in America's favor for at least the next twenty years.

The Task Force on Korea, co-chaired by Morton I. Abramowitz and James T. Laney, released its fourth report in May. The Task Force concluded that progress on

ending the North's nuclear programs depends on four conditions: better relations between the United States and South Korea, a genuine U.S. commitment to engaging in serious negotiations, agreement on interim steps to prevent further advances in the North's nuclear program, and the ability to persuade China to use its influence with North Korea.

The Independent Task Force on Iraq, co-chaired by Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, released its report in March, days before the onset of the war. The Task Force called on the United States to make the necessary multiyear, multibillion-dollar commitment to rebuilding Iraq. It presciently warned that establishing public security was a precondition for achieving any of the main objectives for post-conflict Iraq. The Task Force built on the work of the Council on Foreign Relations-Baker Institute Working Group on Post-Conflict Iraq, co-chaired by Edward P. Djerejian and Frank G. Wisner II.

The Independent Task Force on Threats to Democracy,

Council Task Force reports provide independent recommendations on critical foreign policy issues.

Former Senator Warren B. Rudman (R-NH), Co-Chair of an Independent Task Force on Homeland Security, and Task Force Director Stephen E. Flynn met with Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) prior to testifying on Capitol Hill.





Representative David Dreier (R-CA) and former Representative Lee H. Hamilton (D-IN), Co-Chairs of the Independent Task Force on Enhancing U.S. Leadership at the United Nations, present the findings of their Task Force to Council members and the press on Capitol Hill.

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

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

The Independent Task Force on Terrorist Financing, chaired by Maurice R. Greenberg, attracted extensive media attention to this critical aspect of the war on terrorism. The Task Force found that U.S. efforts to curb terrorist

The Independent Task Force on Homeland Security topped the news of the major media.



Terrorist Financing Task Force Chair Maurice R. Greenberg and Task Force Co-Directors William F. Wechsler and Lee S. Wolosky discuss their report at an October 2002 Meeting in New York. Commissioned to evaluate the effectiveness of U.S. efforts to disrupt terrorist financing after the September 11 attacks, the report sparked debate when it said that the administration's current efforts were "strategically inadequate" to protect U.S. security.

financing are not commensurate with the ongoing threat to U.S. national security.

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

The Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy, chaired by Peter G. Peterson, concluded that the United States must do much more to counter rising anti-Americanism. The Task Force report, revised in 2003 to take account of developments after the war in Iraq, made three

principal recommendations: integrate public diplomacy officials into the policymaking process to make public diplomacy concerns "present at the creation" of U.S. foreign policy; create a public diplomacy coordinating structure led by the president's personal designee to advise the president and set public diplomacy priorities; and develop public-private partnerships, including the creation of a Corporation for Public Diplomacy, to give flexibility and energy to America's public diplomacy efforts.

Task Forces Under Way

The Independent Task Force on Transatlantic Relations, co-chaired by Henry A. Kissinger and Lawrence H. Summers, was convened in light of the widening rift between the United States and Europe. The panel will examine the extent of current differences between the United States

Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, Co-Chairs of the Independent Task Force on Iraq, with Task Force Director Eric Schwartz and Task Force member Gordon Sullivan.



and Europe, determine whether the relationship needs to be substantially reoriented, and outline policy paths to carry out the preferred strategy. The Task Force includes senior former government officials, leaders from business, and policy experts, as well as a number of leading European voices.

The Independent Task Force on Nonlethal Weapons will assess available information and prepare a report that will define the best path for integrating nonlethal capabilities into U.S. military doctrine and operations in the wake of the war in Iraq. The Task Force, co-chaired by

Paul X. Kelley and Graham T. Allison, will provide the third and final evaluation of nonlethal weapons by Council-sponsored Independent Task Forces.

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

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

The Center for Preventive Action

Deadly ethnic and civil conflicts continue to plague many parts of the world, with dangerous implications for the regions in which they occur and beyond. The Council's Center for Preventive Action seeks to identify and engage stakeholders—governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and the business community—to develop and promote peaceful and sustainable solutions. The center fashions strategies

with specific, tangible recommendations that use incentives—"carrots and sticks"—to unite the stakeholders and to modify the behavior of key local leaders.

When an armed conflict or potential conflict with important implications for U.S. policy develops, the center creates a Preventive Action Commission with the aim of reaching a meaningful consensus on policy recommendations through independent, nonpartisan deliberations. These recommendations are released in a written report

CNN.com

CNN.com featured information and views provided by experts at the Council on Foreign Relations about turmoil plaguing countries and regions throughout the world, including effects of unresolved strife, efforts to restore peace, and recommendations for possible resolutions.

GLOBAL CONFLICT COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

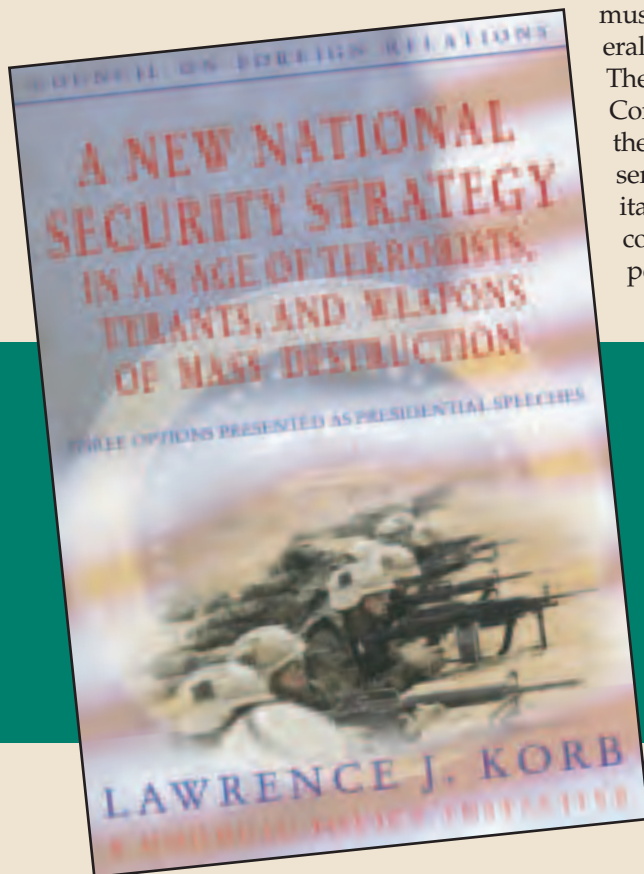
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that is widely distributed to interested parties, including stakeholders directly involved in the situation, members of the U.S. Congress and executive branch, American and foreign diplomats, relevant representatives at the United Nations and other applicable international organizations or financial institutions, and concerned non-governmental and business interest groups.

Officially relaunched in March 2002, the center released its first Preventive Action Commission report, *Balkans 2010*, in December 2002, and its second, *Indonesia: Peace and Progress in Papua*, in May 2003. The center has also convened a Preventive Action Commission on Colombia and the Andean region, *Andes 2020*. The center is overseen by an advisory committee chaired by General John W. Vessey, U.S. Army (Ret.), former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and is directed by Council Senior Fellow William L. Nash, a retired U.S. Army major general. ●



Council Policy Initiatives

The Council undertakes a Council Policy Initiative (CPI) when a foreign policy issue is of current and critical importance but it seems highly unlikely that clashing views can be reconciled in a meaningful consensus by a Task Force. The goal of a CPI is to spark debate among interested Americans on key foreign policy choices in ways that can be easily understood by informed nonexperts. CPI authors try to make the best case for each alternative.

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

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

Dominance and preventive action?

Deterrence and containment?

Or a cooperative world order?

A Council Policy Initiative discusses these national security strategy options.



Council President Leslie H. Gelb meets with congressional staffers as part of the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program. The number of congressional members who participated in Council events more than tripled this year.

The Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program aims to improve Capitol Hill's understanding of international issues.

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 Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program provides a forum for senators and representatives and their staffs to discuss major international issues in small nonattribution settings.

This year, the Council increased its efforts to create a sustained foreign policy dialogue on Capitol Hill. Through its popular congressional roundtable and a special initiative to involve more members of Congress in events, the Council strengthened its ties with key legislators. The Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program, co-chaired by Thomas E. Donilon and Kenneth M. Duberstein, was conducted under the leadership of co-

directors Robert C. Orr and Alton Frye. The roundtable brought together a bipartisan, senior-level group of congressional staff members from both houses to discuss the top foreign policy challenges of today and tomorrow. More than 150 congressional staffers participated in over 20 roundtables on issues ranging from NATO's mission in the 21st century to the Millennium Challenge Account.

The initiative to cultivate relationships on Capitol Hill more than tripled the number of members who participated in Council events. Members of Congress—including John Warner, Carl Levin, Jim Kolbe, Norman Dicks, James Leach, Joseph I. Lieberman, David Dreier, Sam Brownback, Joseph R. Biden, Bob Graham, Larry Craig, and John Sununu—addressed a range of pressing issues, including drugs and terrorism in Colombia, U.S.-Syrian relations, and postwar Iraq. ●

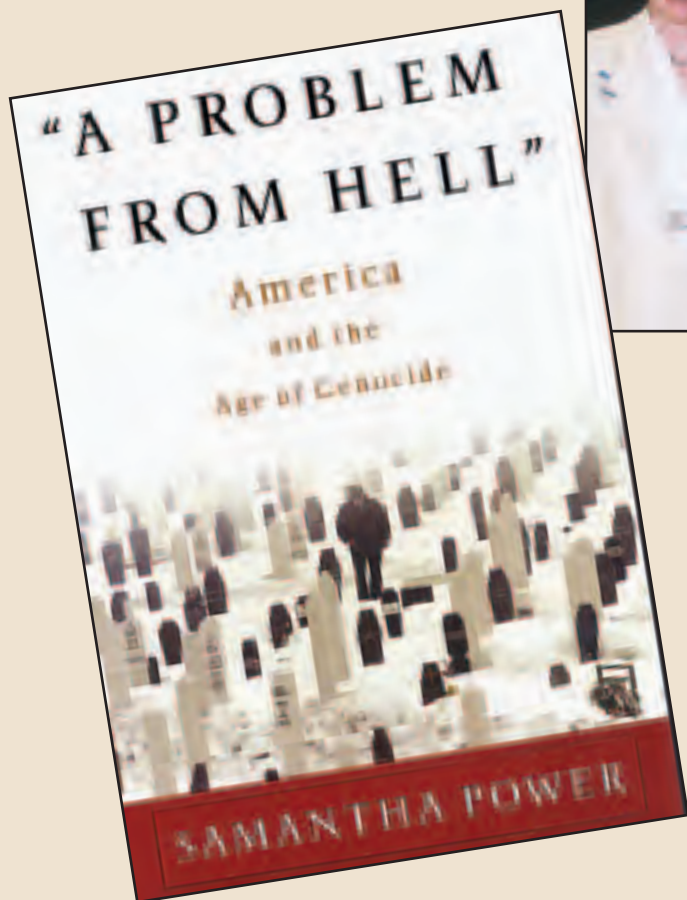


The Arthur Ross Book Award

The annual Arthur Ross Book Award recognizes books that make an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations. The prize, endowed by Arthur Ross in 2001, is for nonfiction works from the past two years, in English or translation, that merit special attention for:

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

Silver Medalist Margaret MacMillan, Arthur Ross, Honoree Philip Bobbitt, Jury Chair Morton L. Janklow, and Gold Medalist Samantha Power at the June 23, 2003, Arthur Ross Book Award Lunch.



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

In 2003, the gold medal was awarded to Samantha Power for her book *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*. The silver medal went to Margaret MacMillan for *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*, and an honorable mention was awarded to Philip Bobbitt for *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History*. ●

Studies Program

The Studies Department, our “think tank,” is central to achieving the Council’s goal of adding value to the foreign policy debate. Studies does this primarily through fellows’ research and their writing on U.S. foreign policy challenges, whether long term or more immediate. This year was no exception. In addition to publishing two major books—Michael Mandelbaum’s *The Ideas That Conquered the World* and Charles A. Kupchan’s *The End of the American Era*—and over 200 op-eds and articles, the fellows offered their expert knowledge to local, national, and international media for interviews and as background for informed reporting, particularly surrounding the war in Iraq. Such highly visible activities not only supplement the fellows’ research and members’ understanding but also provide incomparable support for the Council’s new outreach initiative.

Program Highlights

Middle East

Program Director: Rachel Bronson

Roundtable on the Middle East and Islam

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

U.S./Middle East Project Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Henry Siegman, *Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project*
PROJECT COORDINATOR: Scott Lasensky, *Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project, and Fellow*

Middle East Roundtable

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

Middle East Forum

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

CHAIR: Anthony C. Zinni

Energy Security Group

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

CHAIR: William F. Martin, *Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc.*

Speaker Jeanette Kagame, First Lady of Rwanda, and Co-Chairs Alexandra Draxler and Gene Sperling at the March 5, 2003, Conference on the Development Connection between AIDS and Education, cosponsored by UNAIDS and the Council on Foreign Relations Center on Universal Education.



Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies

Acting Director: Benn Steil

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jagdish N. Bhagwati, *André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics*
CHAIR: W. Bowman Cutter, *Warburg Pincus*

Study Group on Building a Transatlantic Securities Market

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, *Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics*
CHAIR: Peter J. Wallison, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*

Study Group on the Americanization of Finance

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

Study Group on the World Bank under James Wolfensohn

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Sebastian Mallaby, *Senior Fellow in International Development*
CHAIR: Jessica P. Einhorn, *Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

Roundtable on Global Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Caroline Atkinson, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

Roundtable on Development

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

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C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics

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

McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics

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



Princeton N. Lyman, Ralph J. Bunche Jr., and Peter G. Peterson at the June 12, 2003, Dinner to celebrate the appointment of Lyman as the Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow in Africa Policy Studies.

Center on Universal Education

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

Roundtable on the Global Campaign for Education

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

Roundtable on the Development Connection between AIDS and Education

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

Africa

Program Director: Princeton N. Lyman

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gwendolyn Mikell, *Senior Fellow*

Nigeria Clearing House

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

Princeton N. Lyman, *Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow in Africa Policy Studies*

Caroline Atkinson, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

Asia

Program Director: Elizabeth C. Economy

Study Group on China and the Environment

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

CHAIR: J. Stapleton Roy, *Kissinger McLarty Associates*

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

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

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Adam Segal, *Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies*

CHAIR: Kenneth G. Lieberthal, *University of Michigan*

U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable Series

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

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

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

Roundtable on Japan

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

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

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

Business and Foreign Policy

Program Director: David Braunschvig

Study Group on Judging Corporate Liability in the Global Economy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elliot J. Schrage, *Adjunct Senior Fellow in Business and Foreign Policy*

Roundtable on Business and Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: David Braunschvig, *Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow and Director, Business and Foreign Policy*

Center for Preventive Action

Program Director: William L. Nash

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

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

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

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

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

Europe

Program Director: Charles A. Kupchan

George F. Kennan Roundtable on Russia and Eurasia

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

Roundtable on Russian Foreign Policy in the Wake of September 11

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

COSPONSORED WITH THE HARRIMAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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

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

COSPONSORED WITH THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

Roundtable on Nationalism in Europe

PROJECT DIRECTOR: James M. Goldgeier, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

Roundtable on the Implications of EU/NATO Enlargement

PROJECT DIRECTOR: James M. Goldgeier, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

Presider Eli Whitney Debevoise II, Speaker Walter T. Molano, BCP Securities, Speaker Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, University of Paris, Sorbonne, and Commentator Kenneth R. Maxwell at the October 30, 2002, Latin America Roundtable, "Brazil: Political and Economic Challenges Facing the President-Elect and Implications for U.S. Policy in Latin America."





President Robert P. DeVecchi and Speakers Robert P.J. Finn, U.S. Embassy, Kabul, and Lawrence J. Korb, Council on Foreign Relations, at the November 13, 2002, Roundtable on Afghanistan, "Inside Afghanistan: The View from the U.S. Embassy."

National Security

Program Director: Lawrence J. Korb

Study Group on the History of Military Revolutions

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

PROJECT CHAIR: Paul M. Kennedy, *Yale University*

Roundtable on Homeland Security

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

Roundtable on National Security: Military Strategy and Options

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

Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable

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

Latin America

Program Director: Kenneth R. Maxwell

Study Group on Brazil at 500

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

Latin America Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

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

Julia E. Sweig, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program*

Roundtable on the Andean Region

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

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series

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

John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda

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

Roundtable on National Security

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Dennis C. Blair, *Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*

Roundtable on Afghanistan

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

Peace and Conflict

Program Director: Arthur C. Helton

Study Group on Palestinian Refugees

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

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

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

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

Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

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

Science and Technology

Program Director: Richard L. Garwin

Study Group on Space Posture for the 21st Century

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

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

Bruce M. DeBlois, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

Study Group on New Nuclear Weapons

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Robert W. Nelson, *Senior Fellow,
Science and Technology*

CHAIR: Janne Emilie Nolan, *Georgetown University*

Roundtable on the World Summit on Sustainable Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

David G. Victor, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

Jesse H. Ausubel, *Rockefeller University*

Roundtable on Global Satellite Navigation: GPS and Galileo

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

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

David Braunschvig, *Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow
and Director, Business and Foreign Policy*

Roundtable on Health and U.S. Foreign Policy

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

U.S. Foreign Policy

Program Director: Morton H. Halperin

Study Group on the History of U.S. Foreign Policy Phase II: With God on Our Side: American Apocalypse and the Mall at the End of the World

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

Study Group on Democracy and Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

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

Joe Siegle, *Douglas Dillon Fellow*

Michael M. Weinstein, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

COSPONSORED WITH THE MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER
FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

Center for Democracy and Free Markets

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

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





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

Roundtable on Women and U.S. Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Isobel Coleman, *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*

Roundtable on "Old Rules, New Threats"

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND CO-CHAIR: Lee Feinstein, *Deputy Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law*

CO-CHAIR: Anne-Marie Slaughter, *American Society of International Law*

COSPONSORED WITH THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Roundtable on Democracy Promotion

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

COSPONSORED WITH THE MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

Other Activities

Community of Scholars Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Michael P. Peters, *Executive Vice President and Director of Studies*

Global Kids Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

Denise Gomes, *Research Associate, Science and Technology and Peace and Conflict Studies*

Jeremy Marwell, *Research Associate, Science and Technology*

Next Generation Fellows Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Theophilos Gemelas, *Associate Director of Studies*

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



Michelle R. Forrest, Daniel M. Fox, Speaker Jean O. Lanjouw, Brookings Institution and the Center for Global Development, and Presider Jordan S. Kassalow at the April 16, 2003, Roundtable on Health and U.S. Foreign Policy, "Intellectual Property Rights: Help or Hindrance?"



Council Military Fellows Colonel (P) Salvatore F. Cambria (U.S. Army), Rear Admiral (Select) Jeffrey L. Fowler (U.S. Navy), Colonel Martin D. Peatross (U.S. Marine Corps), and Colonel Walter D. Givhan (U.S. Air Force) at the Council on Foreign Relations in the fall of 2002.

International Affairs Fellowship Program

The International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding Americans between the ages of 27 and 35. The fellowships seek to bridge the gap between thought and action in foreign policy by supporting both a variety of policy studies and active exposure to policymaking. The distinctive character of the program lies in the contrasting experiences it provides at the juncture of policy research and policy formulation. Thus, it encourages academics and others from the private sector to serve in a policy-oriented environment through operational experience in public service. Conversely, it permits government officials on leave to study key issues in a scholarly atmosphere free from operational pressure.

The International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., enables participants to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan. Fellowships are intended for American citizens between the ages of 27 and 45. The program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between emerging leaders of the two nations.

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

2003–2004 International Affairs Fellows

Ramin Asgard, *U.S. Department of State*

Thomas C. Beierle, *Resources for the Future*

Michelle Billig, *U.S. Department of Energy*

Katherine E. Bliss, *University of Massachusetts*

Barbara M. Connolly, *University of Notre Dame*

Paul R. Daniels,* *U.S. Army*

Robert Dujarric,* *Hudson Institute*

Julie E. Fischer, *U.S. Senate Committee on Veterans Affairs*

Jean A. Garrison, *University of Wyoming*

Jeffrey S. Kojac, *U.S. Marine Corps*

Fred T. Krawchuk,* *U.S. Army*

Suzanne Maloney, *ExxonMobil Corporation*

Nancy Yao,* *Goldman Sachs (Asia), LLC*

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

New York Meetings Program

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

Program Highlights

Junichiro Koizumi

Prime Minister of Japan

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

PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson

SEPTEMBER 10, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH JIJI PRESS

Alvaro Uribe

President of Colombia

“Meeting with Alvaro Uribe”*

PRESIDER: Thomas F. McLarty III

SEPTEMBER 12, 2002

Thabo Mbeki

President of the Republic of South Africa; Chairman,
African Union

“Meeting with Thabo Mbeki”

PRESIDER: Robert E. Rubin

SEPTEMBER 12, 2002

THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

Hamid Karzai

President of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan

“Meeting with Hamid Karzai”*

PRESIDER: George J. Mitchell

SEPTEMBER 13, 2002

Ahmed Maher El Sayyed

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

“Security Instead of Peace or Security through Peace?”*

PRESIDER: Frank G. Wisner II

SEPTEMBER 18, 2002

Ami Ayalon

Former Director, Shin Bet Security Service, Israel

“Israelis and Palestinians at the Brink: New Thinking and New Initiatives for Peace”

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

SEPTEMBER 30, 2002

Sari Nusseibeh

President, Al-Quds University; Palestinian National Authority Commissioner for Jerusalem Affairs

“Israelis and Palestinians at the Brink: New Thinking and New Initiatives for Peace”

PRESIDER: Barton Gellman

OCTOBER 3, 2002

Tony Judt

Director, Remarque Institute, New York University

Robert W. Kagan

Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

“Americans Are from Mars, Europeans Are from Venus: They Agree on Little and Understand Each Other Less and Less”

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

OCTOBER 8, 2002

THE JOHN B. HURFORD MEMORIAL LECTURE



Speaker Junichiro Koizumi, Prime Minister of Japan, and Presider Peter G. Peterson at the September 10, 2002, Meeting, “Japan-U.S. Alliance in the 21st Century: Three Challenges.”

Bernard Lewis

Professor Emeritus, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University

“What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response”

PRESIDER: Walter Russell Mead

OCTOBER 10, 2002

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.



Speaker Mohamed ElBaradei, Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency, and Presider Nancy E. Soderberg at the January 30, 2003, Meeting, “Iraq: Inspections—What’s Next?”



Speaker Timothy Garton Ash, Director, European Studies Center, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, Speaker Madeleine K. Albright, Principal, Albright Group LLC, Presider Joseph A. Klein, Speaker Brent Scowcroft, President, Forum for International Policy, and Speaker Andrew Kohut, Director, Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, at the December 5, 2002, Meeting on the Release of the Pew Global Attitudes Survey, "A Reason for Reflection: Views of America from Abroad as We Head into a Likely War with Iraq."

Charles Duelfer

Former Deputy Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission

Khidir Hamza

Former Director, Iraq's nuclear program; author, *Saddam's Bombmaker*

Richard Spertzel

Chief, Biological Weapons Team, United Nations Special Commission

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

PRESIDER: Judith Miller

OCTOBER 16, 2002

Michael O'Hanlon

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

Kenneth M. Pollack

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

"Iraq: A Town Hall Meeting"

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

OCTOBER 17, 2002

Hans Blix

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

"Iraq: Can Inspections Do the Job?"

PRESIDER: Richard N. Gardner

OCTOBER 31, 2002

Jeffrey E. Garten

Author, *The Politics of Fortune*

C. Michael Armstrong

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, AT&T

John L. Thornton

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

"The Politics of Fortune: A New Agenda for Business Leaders—Business and Foreign Policy in the Post-9/11, Post-Enron Era"

PRESIDER: Paul E. Steiger

NOVEMBER 12, 2002

THE BERNARD L. SCHWARTZ LECTURE ON BUSINESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Jeremy Greenstock

Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations

Jean-David Levitte

Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations

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

PRESIDER: Walter S. Isaacson

NOVEMBER 13, 2002

Madeleine K. Albright

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

Timothy Garton Ash

Director, European Studies Center, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford

Andrew Kohut

Director, Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

Brent Scowcroft

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

“A Reason for Reflection: Views of America from Abroad as We Head into a Likely War with Iraq”

PRESIDER: Joseph A. Klein

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: Rebecca W. Rimel
DECEMBER 5, 2002

John J. Devine

President, Arkin Group, LLC; former Deputy Director of Operations, Central Intelligence Agency

David L. Grange

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

Thomas G. McInerney

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

Bernard E. Trainor

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)

“Iraq: The War”

PRESIDER: Lawrence J. Korb
DECEMBER 12, 2002

Max Boot

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

Rachel Bronson

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

Charles A. Kupchan

Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Walter Russell Mead

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

“Iraq Town Hall”

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb
DECEMBER 18, 2002

ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

Edward P. Djerejian (in Houston)

Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University

Amy Myers Jaffe (in Houston)

Senior Energy Adviser, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University



President Charlie Rose, Speaker Brent Scowcroft, President, Forum for International Policy, and Speaker Samuel R. Berger, Chairman, Stonebridge International, at the February 24, 2003, Meeting, “Iraq and the War on Terrorism: What Should Our National Security Priorities Be?”

Laith Kubba (in New York)

President, Iraq National Group

Frank G. Wisner II (in New York)

Vice Chairman, External Affairs, American International Group, Inc.

Videoconferenced Meeting: “Iraq: The Day After”

PRESIDER: Rachel Bronson (in New York)

JANUARY 16, 2003

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

Daniel Benjamin

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

Caryle Marie Murphy

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

Shibley Telhami

Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland; author, *The Stakes: America and the Middle East*

“Islamic Extremism: Understanding the Origins and Trends”

PRESIDER: Michael S. Doran

JANUARY 16, 2003

Gary Hart

Senior Counsel, Coudert Brothers; former Member, U.S. Senate (D-CO)

“In Search of National Security”

PRESIDER: George E. Rupp

JANUARY 21, 2003

THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

Paul D. Wolfowitz

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense

“Iraq: What Does Disarmament Look Like?”*

PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson

JANUARY 23, 2003

Youssef Boutros-Ghali

Minister of Foreign Trade, Egypt

Osama El Baz

Political Adviser to Hosni Mubarak, President of Egypt

Gamal H. Mubarak

Assistant Secretary General and Head of Policies Committee,
National Democratic Party, Egypt

“Voices from the Middle East: Egypt”

PRESIDER: Frank G. Wisner II

JANUARY 28, 2003

Bill Emmott

Editor in Chief, *The Economist*

Patrick Jarreau

Washington Bureau Chief, *Le Monde*

Rami Khouri

Executive Editor, *Daily Star*

“Iraq: Views from the Foreign Newsroom”

PRESIDER: Garrick Utley

FEBRUARY 10, 2003

Stephen J. Hadley

Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security
Adviser

“Meeting with Stephen Hadley”*

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

FEBRUARY 12, 2003

Samuel R. Berger

Chairman, Stonebridge International; former National
Security Adviser

Brent Scowcroft

President, Forum for International Policy; former National
Security Adviser

“Former Assistants to the President for National
Security Affairs: Iraq and the War on Terrorism:
What Should Our National Security Priorities Be?”

PRESIDER: Charlie Rose

FEBRUARY 24, 2003

HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Max Boot

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

William Kristol

Editor, *Weekly Standard*

John J. Mearsheimer

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



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



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

President Garrick Utley, Speaker Max Boot, Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, Speaker Richard A. Clarke, security and counter-terrorism specialist, and former Senior White House Adviser and Special Assistant to the President, and Speaker Joseph C. Wilson IV, Adjunct Scholar, Middle East Institute, and former Acting Ambassador to Iraq, at the April 2, 2003, Meeting, "Iraq Town Hall."



Stephen M. Walt

Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

"Iraq: The War Debate"

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

FEBRUARY 25, 2003

HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Harold Brown

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

"Meeting with Harold Brown"

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

FEBRUARY 26, 2003

THE PAUL C. WARNKE LECTURE

Michael S. Doran

Assistant Professor, Department of Near Eastern Affairs, Princeton University; Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Matthew A. Levitt

Senior Fellow, Terrorism Studies, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

David E. Long

Consultant in Middle East and Southwest Asian Affairs; former Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State

"The United States and Saudi Arabia: The Road Ahead"

PRESIDER: F. Gregory Gause III

MARCH 5, 2003

Nancy Pelosi

Minority Leader, U.S. House of Representatives (D-CA)

"Principle and Power"

PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson

MARCH 7, 2003

THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

Dov S. Zakheim

Undersecretary, Comptroller, and Chief Financial Officer, U.S. Department of Defense

"Meeting with Dov Zakheim"*

PRESIDER: Denis A. Bovin

MARCH 12, 2003

William Dudley

Managing Director and Chief U.S. Economist, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.

Ethan Harris

Chief U.S. Economist, Lehman Brothers

Stephen Roach

Chief Economist and Director of Global Economics, Morgan Stanley

"World Economic Update"

PRESIDER: Daniel K. Tarullo

APRIL 4, 2003

Fareed Zakaria

Editor, *Newsweek International*; author, *The Future of Freedom*

"The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad"

PRESIDER: Joseph S. Nye Jr.

APRIL 15, 2003

George E. Rupp

President, International Rescue Committee

Shashi Tharoor

Undersecretary General for Communications and Public Information, United Nations

"Iraq Special Briefing: Humanitarian Relief—The Policy Decisions Ahead"

PRESIDER: William H. Luers

APRIL 23, 2003

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

Bouthaina Shaaban

Spokesperson and Director of Media Relations,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Syria

“Syria and the United States: The Road Ahead”

PRESIDER: Karen Elliott House
APRIL 28, 2003

Robert Baer

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

Fred Francis

Senior Correspondent, NBC News

Qubad J. Talabany

Deputy U.S. Representative, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

“Iraq Special Briefing: Kurdistan”

PRESIDER: David L. Phillips
MAY 6, 2003

Madeleine K. Albright (in Washington)

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

James A. Baker III (in Houston)

Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

Henry A. Kissinger (in New York)

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

Videoconferenced Meeting: “A Conversation
with Former Secretaries of State”*



Presider Peter G. Peterson and Speaker Donald H. Rumsfeld, U.S. Secretary of Defense, at the May 27, 2003, “Meeting with Donald Rumsfeld.”

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

MAY 6, 2003

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

Geneive Abdo

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

Gary G. Sick

Senior Research Scholar, Columbia University

Puneet Talwar

Professional Staff Member, Senate Committee
on Foreign Relations

“Iran”

PRESIDER: Rachel Bronson

MAY 16, 2003

Robert L. Gallucci

Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

Henry Sokolski

Executive Director, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

“North Korea Debate: What Should the United States
Do if North Korea Does Not Cease Its Weapons
of Mass Destruction Program?”

PRESIDER: Morton I. Abramowitz

MAY 22, 2003

HOME BOX OFFICE SERIES

Donald H. Rumsfeld

U.S. Secretary of Defense

“Meeting with Donald Rumsfeld”*

PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson

MAY 27, 2003

John D. Negroponte

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

“A Conversation with John Negroponte”*

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

JUNE 3, 2003

Samantha Power

Author, “*A Problem from Hell*”: *America and the Age of
Genocide*; gold medalist, 2003 Arthur Ross Book Award

“Arthur Ross Book Award Lunch”

PRESIDER: Morton L. Janklow

JUNE 23, 2003

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

Washington Program

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

Program Highlights

Shimon Peres

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Israel

“Israel’s Search for Peace”

PRESIDER: Robert S. Strauss

SEPTEMBER 13, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Michael V. Hayden

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

John E. McLaughlin

Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency

James Clapper Jr.

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

Lowell Jacoby

Acting Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

Carl Ford Jr.

Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Intelligence and Research,
U.S. Department of State

“U.S. Intelligence Community: New Directions?”

PRESIDER: John C. Gannon

SEPTEMBER 18, 2002

Javier Solana

Secretary-General, Council of the European Union;
EU High Representative for the Common Foreign
and Security Policy, NATO

“Are We Really Partners? Assessing the Future
of Transatlantic Relations”

PRESIDER: James A. Leach

SEPTEMBER 18, 2002



Speaker Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, and President Carla A. Hills at the November 19, 2002, C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics, "International Financial Risk Management."

Horst Köhler

Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
"Investing in Better Globalization"

PRESIDER: Richard W. Fisher

SEPTEMBER 19, 2002

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Marwan Muasher

Foreign Minister, Jordan
"Jordan's Perspective: A Plan of Action for Advancing the Peace Process"



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

PRESIDER: Edward P. Djerejian

SEPTEMBER 23, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Alvaro Uribe

President of Colombia
"Defeating Terrorism in Colombia: The Challenge of the New Administration"

PRESIDER: Jim Kolbe

SEPTEMBER 24, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE, WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE IN LATIN AMERICA, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, AND THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Lawrence B. Lindsey

Assistant to the President for Economic Policy; Director, National Economic Council
"Risks and Opportunity in the Global Economy"

PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Brady

OCTOBER 15, 2002

William Kristol

Editor, *Weekly Standard*

Kenneth M. Pollack

Senior Fellow and Director of Research, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution

Nick J. Rahall

Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-WV)

"Iraq Town Hall"

PRESIDER: Robert C. Orr

OCTOBER 15, 2002

Speaker Burwell B. Bell, Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe and 7th Army, Speaker John P. Jumper, General, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, Presider Wolf Blitzer, Speaker Vernon E. Clark, Admiral, Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, and Speaker William L. Nyland, General, Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps, at the February 3, 2003, "John Train Lecture on the Future of the U.S. Military."



Alan Greenspan

Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
 "International Financial Risk Management"

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

Elizabeth Becker

Washington Correspondent, *New York Times*

Eason T. Jordan

Chief News Executive, CNN

Bernard Shaw

Former Principal Anchor, CNN

Robert Wiener

Former Senior Executive Producer, CNN

"Live from Baghdad"

PRESIDER: Marvin Kalb
 NOVEMBER 20, 2002
 HOME BOX OFFICE SCREENING

Richard N. Haass

Director of Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State
 "Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World"

PRESIDER: Fouad Ajami
 DECEMBER 4, 2002

Andrew Kohut

Director, Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

Ruediger Lentz

Senior Correspondent, *Deutsche Welle*

Hafez Al Mirazi

Washington Bureau Chief, Al Jazeera TV

Paulo Sotero

Washington Correspondent, *O Estado de São Paulo*
 "Global Attitudes: How Are We Perceived Abroad?"

PRESIDER: Martin Walker
 JANUARY 8, 2003

David B. Makovsky

Senior Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Yossi Shain

Professor, Government Department, Georgetown University
 "After the Elections: Where Does Israel Go from Here?"

PRESIDER: Peter R. Rosenblatt
 JANUARY 30, 2003
 COSPONSORED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM



Speaker Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of Uganda, at the June 11, 2003, Meeting, "Freedom from Fear: U.S.-Africa Partnerships against Terror."



Speaker Joseph I. Lieberman, Member, U.S. Senate (D-CT), and President George J. Mitchell at the February 26, 2003, Views from the Hill Series, "No Easy Peace: Rising to the Challenge of Rebuilding Post-Saddam Iraq."

Vernon E. Clark

Admiral, Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy

John P. Jumper

General, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

William L. Nyland

General, Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps

Burwell B. Bell

Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe and 7th Army

"John Train Lecture on the Future of the U.S. Military"

PRESIDER: Wolf Blitzer

FEBRUARY 3, 2003

THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE



Speaker Wolfgang Ischinger, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United States, Frank Pearl, Speaker Jean-David Levitte, Ambassador of France to the United States, and Robert C. Orr at the March 25, 2003, Meeting, "France, Germany, and the United States: Putting the Pieces Back Together."

John Ashcroft

U. S. Attorney General

"International Cooperation in the War on Terror"

PRESIDER: Dick Thornburgh

FEBRUARY 10, 2003

Joseph I. Lieberman

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

"No Easy Peace: Rising to the Challenge of Rebuilding Post-Saddam Iraq"

PRESIDER: George J. Mitchell

FEBRUARY 26, 2003

Kenneth M. Duberstein

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Duberstein Group, Inc.

Thomas F. McLarty III

President, Kissinger McLarty Associates

John D. Podesta

Visiting Professor, Georgetown Law Center

Samuel K. Skinner

Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer, U.S. Freightways

"World's Second-Toughest Job: Being the President's Chief of Staff During a Time of Crisis"

PRESIDER: Doyle McManus

MARCH 4, 2003

Sam Brownback

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

Raymond Feddema

Co-Director, Welcome to North Korea

Soon Ok Lee

Survivor of North Korean political prison camps; author, *Eyes of the Tailless Animals*

Randall Ireson

Development Assistance Coordinator, American Friends Service Committee

Peter Tetteroo

Co-Director, *Welcome to North Korea*

"Welcome to North Korea"

PRESIDER: Jason T. Shaplen

MARCH 18, 2003

HOME BOX OFFICE SCREENING

Wolfgang Ischinger

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United States

Jean-David Levitte

Ambassador of France to the United States

"France, Germany, and the United States: Putting the Pieces Back Together"

PRESIDER: Richard C. Holbrooke

MARCH 25, 2003

Ross Terrill

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

Minxin Pei

Senior Associate and Co-Director, China Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

"China's Inevitable Democracy?"

PRESIDER: Eric Heginbotham

APRIL 10, 2003

Bob Graham

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

Bouthaina Shaaban

Spokesperson and Director of Media Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Syria

"Collateral Damage? Iraq and the Future of U.S.-Syrian Relations"

PRESIDER: Richard W. Murphy

APRIL 24, 2003

Niall Ferguson

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

Walter Russell Mead

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



Speaker Bouthaina Shaaban, Spokesperson and Director of Media Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Syria, at the April 24, 2003, Meeting, "Collateral Damage? Iraq and the Future of U.S.-Syrian Relations."

"Hegemony and the Decline of Empires: Is History Repeating Itself?"

PRESIDER: Michael Mandelbaum

APRIL 28, 2003

Madeleine K. Albright (in Washington)

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

James A. Baker III (in Houston)

Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

Henry A. Kissinger (in New York)

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

Videoconferenced Meeting: "A Conversation with Former Secretaries of State"

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

MAY 6, 2003

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

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

President of Uganda

"Freedom from Fear: U.S.-Africa Partnerships against Terror"

PRESIDER: Princeton N. Lyman

JUNE 11, 2003

National Program

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

Program Highlights

Atlanta Roundtable

Robert E. Hightower

Commissioner, Department of Public Safety, and
Homeland Security Coordinator, State of Georgia

"America's Response to Terrorism: One Year
Later: Responding to the Terrorist Threat"

CHAIR: Peter Dexter Bell

OCTOBER 9, 2002

John Warden

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Venturist, Inc.;
Colonel, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

"War with Iraq: What to Expect?"

CHAIR: Perry M. Smith

DECEMBER 2, 2002



Denise Majette, Chair Peter Dexter Bell, and Speaker Rachel Bronson, Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East and Gulf Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, at the March 17, 2003, Atlanta Roundtable, "Iraq: The Day After."

John H. Kelly

President, John Kelly Consulting, Inc.; Ambassador-in-Residence, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology

“Turkey: Islam, the European Union, and the War with Iraq”

CHAIR: Cynthia A. Tucker

JANUARY 15, 2003

Rachel Bronson

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

“Iraq: The Day After”

CHAIR: Peter Dexter Bell

MARCH 17, 2003

James T. Laney

President Emeritus and Senior Fellow, Ethics Center, Emory University; former U.S. Ambassador to South Korea

“Dealing with North Korea”

CHAIR: Marion V. Creekmore Jr.

APRIL 23, 2003

Helene D. Gayle

Director, HIV, TB, and Reproductive Health, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

“Health Challenges in a Globalized World”

CHAIR: Louis W. Sullivan

MAY 22, 2003



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

Boston Roundtable**Arthur C. Helton**

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

“The Price of Indifference: Terrorism’s Refugees”

CHAIR AND HOST: Swanee Hunt

SEPTEMBER 17, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH CAMBRIDGE CONVERSATIONS

Julia E. Sweig

Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program, Council on Foreign Relations

“Inside the Cuban Revolution”

CHAIR AND HOST: John H. Coatsworth

OCTOBER 7, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Leslie H. Gelb

President, Council on Foreign Relations

“Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction”

CHAIR: Joseph S. Nye Jr.

APRIL 17, 2003

Chicago Roundtable**Matthew R. Bettenhausen**

Homeland Security Director, State of Illinois

“America’s Response to Terrorism: One Year Later: Responding to the Terrorist Threat”

CHAIR: Henry S. Bienen

SEPTEMBER 24, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS



Michael P. Peters and Geoffrey B. Shields at the April 22, 2003, Chicago Roundtable, “The Ideas That Conquered the World: What Is the 21st Century All About?”



Discussant Richard W. Murphy, Chair Lee Cullum, and Discussant Edward P. Djerejian at the June 2003 National Conference, "Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It's Doing and Where It's Going?"

Leslie H. Gelb

President, Council on Foreign Relations

"America's Response to Terrorism:
U.S. Policy toward Iraq"

CHAIR: Henry S. Bienen

HOSTS: Michael H. Moskow and William Curt Hunter
OCTOBER 11, 2002

Max Boot

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

Lawrence J. Korb

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations

John J. Mearsheimer

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

"Council Policy Initiative: Debating a New
National Security Strategy"

CHAIR: Kenneth W. Dam

MAY 28, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AND THE UNITED NATIONS FOUNDATION



Speaker Leslie H. Gelb, President, Council on Foreign Relations, and Chair Ronald L. Olson at the December 4, 2002, Los Angeles Roundtable, "Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction."

Dallas Roundtable

Arthur C. Helton

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

"The Price of Indifference: Terrorism's Refugees"

CHAIR AND HOST: C. Kern Wildenthal

AUGUST 28, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Jay M. Vogelson

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

"America's Response to Terrorism:
Using International Law to Combat Terrorism"

CHAIR: Lee Cullum

OCTOBER 17, 2002

Stephen E. Flynn

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security
Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

"Is America Still Unprepared and in Danger?"

CHAIR: Timothy E. Powers

NOVEMBER 8, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Rachel Bronson

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

"Iraq: The Day After"

CHAIR: Lee Cullum

MARCH 18, 2003

Montgomery C. Meigs

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

"Iraq and the Challenges Ahead"

CHAIR: Lee Cullum

MAY 20, 2003

Houston Roundtable

Stephen E. Flynn

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Is America Still Unprepared and in Danger?”

CHAIR: Edward P. Djerejian

NOVEMBER 6, 2002

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

Los Angeles Roundtable

Walter Russell Mead

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

“Los Angeles Study Group: With God on Our Side”

CHAIR AND HOST: Robert J. Abernethy

JULY 18, 2002 • SEPTEMBER 25, 2002 • FEBRUARY 25, 2003 • MAY 20, 2003

Lawrence J. Korb

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Reshaping America’s Military”

CHAIR: Louis E. Caldera

OCTOBER 8, 2002

Leslie H. Gelb

President, Council on Foreign Relations

“Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction”

CHAIR: Ronald L. Olson

DECEMBER 4, 2002



Chair Peter Tarnoff and Dianne Feinstein at the December 3, 2002, San Francisco Roundtable, “Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction.”

Miami Roundtable

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DANTE B. FASCELL NORTH-SOUTH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, AND HOSTED BY AMBLER H. MOSS JR.

Julia E. Sweig

Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program, Council on Foreign Relations

“Inside the Cuban Revolution”

CHAIR: Adis M. Vila

SEPTEMBER 10, 2002

Andrés Oppenheimer

Foreign Affairs Columnist, *Miami Herald*

“Iraq: Implications for U.S. Relations with Latin America”

CHAIR: Hodding Carter III

MAY 1, 2003

Kenneth R. Maxwell

Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

“Brazil: Lula’s Prospects”

CHAIR: Alberto Iburgüen

MAY 19, 2003

San Francisco Roundtable

John Battelle

Executive Producer, *Foursquare*

Lowell Bergman

Producer, *Frontline*

Jay T. Harris

President, Deep River Associates

Peter Tarnoff

President, International Advisory Corporation

Narda Zacchino

Assistant Executive Editor, *San Francisco Chronicle*

“America’s Response to Terrorism:

How September 11 Changed the Media”

CHAIR: Orville H. Schell

OCTOBER 30, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Leslie H. Gelb

President, Council on Foreign Relations

“Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction”

CHAIR: Peter Tarnoff

DECEMBER 3, 2002



President Bill Keller, Speaker Henry A. Kissinger, Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc., Speaker Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Dean, London Business School, and Speaker Fareed Zakaria, Editor, Newsweek International, at the June National Conference, "Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It's Doing and Where It's Going?"

Gary Hart

Of Counsel, Coudert Brothers; former Member, U.S. Senate (D-CO)

"America—Still Unprepared, Still in Danger"

CHAIR: Michael P. Peters

FEBRUARY 10, 2003

Max Boot

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

"Iraq and the War on Terrorism"

CHAIR: Mark D. Danner

MARCH 11, 2003



Michael P. Peters and Irina A. Faskianos at the June 2003 National Conference, "Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It's Doing and Where It's Going?"

Eric P. Schwartz

Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

"Iraq: The Day After"

CHAIR: Michael Nacht

APRIL 9, 2003

John Arquilla

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

"Iraq: A War to Change All Wars?"

CHAIR: Peter Tarnoff

MAY 13, 2003

Lawrence J. Korb

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Michael Nacht

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

"Council Policy Initiative: Debating a New National Security Strategy"

CHAIR: Coit D. Blacker

JUNE 30, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS FOUNDATION

Seattle Roundtable

William A. Owens

Co-Chief Executive Officer and Vice Chairman, Teledesic

"Iraq: The War, the Post-War, and the Modern Military"

CHAIR: Michael P. Peters

FEBRUARY 11, 2003

Los Angeles and San Francisco

ALL MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Judith Kipper

Director, Middle East Forum, Council on Foreign Relations
 “U.S. Stakes in the Middle East”

LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Michael Christopher Parks
 AUGUST 27, 2002

Shibley Telhami

Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development,
 University of Maryland, College Park
 “The Stakes: America and the Middle East”

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Jane M. Wales
 FEBRUARY 26, 2003
 COSPONSORED WITH THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL
 OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
 LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Michael Christopher Parks
 FEBRUARY 27, 2003

Adam Segal

Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies,
 Council on Foreign Relations
 “Will China Be a Technological or Military Threat
 to the United States?”

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Robert A. Scalapino
 MARCH 3, 2003
 LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Charles Wolf Jr.
 MARCH 4, 2003

Multiple Cities

Ronald D. Asmus

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations;
 author, *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself
 for a New Era*
 “Opening NATO's Door: What Future
 for the Atlantic Alliance?”

CHICAGO CHAIR: Richard C. Longworth
 OCTOBER 31, 2002
 COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
 LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Warren Christopher
 NOVEMBER 7, 2002
 COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY
 SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall
 NOVEMBER 11, 2002
 COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

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

The Council on Foreign Relations works with its western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP), to engage members on the West Coast in a debate on international affairs and foreign policy. The Council conducts dinner seminars featuring its senior fellows and their work in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. These Council programs are augmented by PCIP-organized meetings. Council members are offered concurrent membership in PCIP and are invited to participate in its events. The Council makes this benefit possible by transferring a portion of its membership dues to PCIP. Council Executive Vice President Michael P. Peters is on PCIP's Board of Directors, and PCIP President Abraham F. Lowenthal is a vice president of the Council.



Olin C. Robison, Edward J. Hardin, Richard Mallery, Chair Fouad Ajami, and Discussant Rachel Bronson at the June 2003 National Conference, “Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It's Doing and Where It's Going?”



Benjamin A. Atkins, Janice L. Murray, and Thomas W. Cole Jr. at the June 2003 National Conference, "Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It's Doing and Where It's Going?"

Charles A. Kupchan

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

"The End of the American Era and the Foreign Policy Challenges of the Future"

CHICAGO CHAIR: John E. Rielly

NOVEMBER 13, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ATLANTA CHAIR: Peter C. White

NOVEMBER 14, 2002

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Peter Schwartz

FEBRUARY 4, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

LOS ANGELES CHAIR: George Lee Butler

FEBRUARY 5, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

SAN DIEGO CHAIR: Miles Kahler

FEBRUARY 6, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PACIFIC STUDIES AND THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL, COMPARATIVE, AND AREA STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

BOSTON CHAIR: John Shattuck

MARCH 20, 2003

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

Michael Mandelbaum

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

"The Ideas That Conquered the World: What Is the 21st Century All About?"

SEATTLE CHAIR: David K.Y. Tang

DECEMBER 9, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

SAN FRANCISCO CHAIR: Jane M. Wales

DECEMBER 10, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

LOS ANGELES CHAIR: Dan Caldwell

DECEMBER 12, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

DALLAS CHAIR: F. William Barnett

JANUARY 22, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HOUSTON CHAIR: Edward P. Djerejian

JANUARY 24, 2003

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

CHICAGO CHAIR: Henry S. Bienen

APRIL 22, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS



Helene D. Gayle, William J. McDonough, and George J. Mitchell at the June 2003 National Conference, "Ten Years after the Cold War: Does the United States Know What It's Doing and Where It's Going?"

Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

Named Chairs and Fellowships

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

Other Chairs

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

Special Fellowships

Next Generation Fellowship

The Next Generation Fellowship (NGF) Program nurtures outstanding thinkers and writers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become foreign policy leaders. The program recruits individuals whose principal mission will be frontier policy scholarship, leading to several major published articles or a book during the fellowship tenure. Each year one NGF is named the Dillon Fellow, in honor of former Council Vice Chairman Douglas Dillon.

The Intelligence Fellowship

This fellowship provides an opportunity for an outstanding person from the U.S. intelligence community to expand his or her knowledge of international relations.

Military Fellowships

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

Edward R. Murrow Fellowship

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

Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship

The Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to international

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

Cyrus Vance Fellowship in Diplomatic Studies

The Vance Fellowship is offered to a Foreign Service Officer chosen by a selection committee from candidates nominated by the U.S. Department of State. With time away from the day-to-day pressures of diplomatic life, the Vance Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council.

Endowed and Specially Funded Programs

Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series

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

W. Averell Harriman Program, Europe

Winston Lord Program, Asia

John J. McCloy Program, International Relations

C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics

McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics

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

Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program, International Relations

Lectureships

The John B. Hurford Memorial Lecture

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

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture

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

The David A. Morse Lecture

The David A. Morse Lecture was inaugurated in 1994 and supports an annual meeting and dinner with a distinguished speaker. It honors the memory of David A.

Morse, an active Council member for nearly 30 years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist. The lecture program is funded by gifts from Council members and friends of the Morse family.

The David Rockefeller Lecture

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

The Elihu Root Lecture

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

The Russia and Russian-American Relations Lecture

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

The Bernard L. Schwartz Lecture on Business and Foreign Policy

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

The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations

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

The John Train Lecture

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

The Paul C. Warnke Lecture

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

Corporate Program

The Corporate Program, the Council's primary point of contact with the private sector, engages its 200 member companies with a variety of timely and in-depth forums. Among the highlights on this year's calendar were meetings with Alan Greenspan, Elliot Spitzer and John Biggs, and Robert B. Zoellick and Pascal Lamy, and the quarterly World Economic Update series with leading Wall Street economists.

Each year, the Corporate Program hosts more than 70 events in New York and Washington, including the C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics and the McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics; organizes a popular program of interactive conference calls with Council fellows and outside experts; and works in close collaboration with the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, the Business and Foreign Policy Program, and research fellows who cover regional issues. As a result, support for the Council from the business and financial communities has never been higher.

Program Highlights

Mario L. Baeza

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, TCW/Latin America Partners, LLC

Luis Bitencourt

Director, Brazil Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Lacey Gallagher

Director, Latin America Economics, Credit Suisse First Boston

"Time Bombs and Banana Peels: Brazil"

PRESIDER: Kathryn Pilgrim
JULY 31, 2002

James J. Shinn

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Peter Clapman

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

"Global Corporate Governance Reform Issues"

AUGUST 7, 2002
CONFERENCE CALL

Junichiro Koizumi

Prime Minister of Japan

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

PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson
SEPTEMBER 10, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH JIJI PRESS

*Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation



Peter G. Peterson, David Kellogg, Charles R. Kaye, and Speaker Lawrence H. Summers, President, Harvard University, and former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, at the November 6, 2002, C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics, "Lessons from America's Economic Performance of the 1990s."

Thabo Mbeki

President of the Republic of South Africa; Chairman,
African Union

"Meeting with Thabo Mbeki"

PRESIDER: Robert E. Rubin

SEPTEMBER 12, 2002

THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE



Donald B. Marron, Speaker Leon Brittan, Vice Chairman, UBS Warburg, and former Vice President, European Commission, and President George Soros at the February 6, 2003, C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics, "Economic Policy Challenges for an Expanding Europe."

Horst Köhler

Managing Director, International Monetary Fund

"Investing in Better Globalization"

PRESIDER: Richard W. Fisher

SEPTEMBER 19, 2002

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Lawrence B. Lindsey

Assistant to the President for Economic Policy; Director,
National Economic Council

"Risks and Opportunity in the Global Economy"

PRESIDER: Nicholas F. Brady

OCTOBER 15, 2002

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Eugene A. Matthews

Senior Fellow, Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Adam Segal

Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations

Calvin Sims

Senior Fellow, Southeast Asia Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations

"APEC, Al Qaeda, and Shifting Alliances:

New Dynamics in the Asia-Pacific Region"

PRESIDER: Elizabeth C. Economy

OCTOBER 17, 2002

COSPONSORED WITH THE U.S.-ASIA UPDATE ROUNDTABLE SERIES

Geoffrey Kemp

Director, Regional Strategic Programs, Nixon Center

Gary N. Ross

Chief Executive Officer, PIRA Energy Group

Philip K. Verleger Jr.

President, PK Verleger LLC; BP Senior Fellow
in International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations

"Iraq: The War and Oil"

PRESIDER: Edward L. Morse

OCTOBER 30, 2003

Lawrence H. Summers

President, Harvard University; former U.S. Secretary
of the Treasury

"Lessons from America's Economic Performance of the 1990s"

PRESIDER: Marshall Loeb

NOVEMBER 6, 2002

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Pascal Lamy

Trade Commissioner, European Commission

Robert B. Zoellick

U.S. Trade Representative

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

PRESIDER: Lionel Barber

NOVEMBER 6, 2002

MCKINSEY EXECUTIVE ROUNDTABLE SERIES IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Alan Greenspan

Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

“International Financial Risk Management”

PRESIDER: Carla A. Hills

NOVEMBER 19, 2002

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Vin Weber

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

“Implications of the Mid-Term Elections”

MODERATOR: Robert C. Orr

NOVEMBER 25, 2002

CONFERENCE CALL

Peter R. Fisher

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

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

PRESIDER: Stanley Fischer

DECEMBER 10, 2002

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Leon Brittan

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

“Economic Policy Challenges for an Expanding Europe”

PRESIDER: George Soros

FEBRUARY 6, 2003

C. PETER MCCOLOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Nicholas Nash Eberstadt

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

Helene D. Gayle

Director, HIV/AIDS and TB, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Jeffrey D. Sachs

Director, Earth Institute, Columbia University



Presider Jeffrey W. Greenberg and Speaker Alan S. Blinder, G. S.
Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics, Princeton University, at the
April 22, 2003, C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics,
“The Post-Iraq Economy: The Past as Prologue?”

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

PRESIDER: Susan Dentzer

FEBRUARY 12, 2003

Joyce Chang

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

Janet Kelly

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

Jennifer McCoy

Director, Latin America and Caribbean Program, Carter Center

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

PRESIDER: Kenneth R. Maxwell

FEBRUARY 12, 2003

CHASE-MANHATTAN INTER-AMERICAN ISSUES SEMINAR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Eliot Spitzer

Attorney General, State of New York

John H. Biggs

Former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, TIAA-CREF

“Corporate Governance in the Global Economy”

PRESIDER: Nancy A. Lieberman

MARCH 4, 2003



John P. Lipsky, Martin L. Leibowitz, and Henry Kaufman at the September 10, 2002, Meeting, "Japan-U.S. Alliance in the 21st Century: Three Challenges."

Karen Clark

Chief Executive Officer, AIR Worldwide Corporation

John Coomber

Chief Executive Officer, Swiss Re Group

Kenneth A. Froot

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

"Managing the Economic Risks of Terrorism"

PRESIDER: Gordon C. Stewart

APRIL 9, 2003



Alan Patricof, Enzo Viscusi, and Speaker Paul O'Neill, former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, at the June 10, 2003, Meeting, "Business as Usual? The Impact of Transatlantic Antagonism."

Antonio Palocci

Minister of Finance, Brazil

"Meeting with Antonio Palocci"

PRESIDER: William R. Rhodes

APRIL 15, 2003

C. PETER MCCOULOUGH SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Madeleine K. Albright (in Washington)

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

James A. Baker III (in Houston)

Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP; former U.S. Secretary of State

Henry A. Kissinger (in New York)

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

Videoconferenced Meeting: "A Conversation with Former Secretaries of State"

PRESIDER: Leslie H. Gelb

MAY 6, 2003

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Brajesh Mishra

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

"India and the United States: Five Years Ahead"

CHAIR: Frank G. Wisner II

PRESIDER: Mahnaz Ispahani

MAY 7, 2003

COSPONSORED WITH THE ROUNDTABLE ON ALTERNATIVE FUTURES FOR SOUTHERN ASIA AND U.S. POLICY

Donald H. Rumsfeld

U.S. Secretary of Defense

"Meeting with Donald Rumsfeld"

PRESIDER: Peter G. Peterson

MAY 27, 2003

Harvey Golub

Former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, American Express

François Jaclot

Former Vice Chairman and Chief Financial Officer, Suez

Thomas Middelhoff

Former Chief Executive Officer, Bertelsmann AG

Paul O'Neill

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

"Business as Usual? The Impact of Transatlantic Antagonism"

PRESIDER: David Braunschvig

JUNE 10, 2003

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Sumitomo Corporation of America
Thales, Inc.
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Businessmen's Association
United Technologies
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Vivendi Universal S.A.
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Interactive
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Weber Shandwick Worldwide
Weil, Gotshal & Manges
Wellington Management
Company, LLP
W.P. Stewart & Co., Inc.
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Ziff Brothers Investments LLC

Term Member Program

The Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program is designed to engage promising young leaders in a sustained conversation on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. The program allows younger members to interact with seasoned foreign policy veterans as well as participate in a wide variety of events designed especially for them. Each year a new class of term members, all between the ages of 28 and 34, is elected to a five-year membership. Committees of term members in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Boston serve as advisory bodies to the Council leadership and provide term members with opportunities to help create programs of particular interest to them. This past year, term members heard high-profile speakers, attended their seventh annual conference, participated in numerous seminars, and visited the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, the World Bank, and Mexico City, where they engaged foreign officials and business leaders. Term members also benefited from a series of multisection roundtables on pressing foreign policy issues. For information on how to become a term member, please see pages 113–15.

Program Highlights

Term Member Seminars

Peggy Dulany

Chair, Synergos Institute

“The Role of Civil Society in Focused Foreign Assistance”

PRESIDER: William Fulbright Foote
BOSTON • SEPTEMBER 26, 2002

“Dinner with the 2002 Marshall Memorial Fellows”

MODERATOR: Stephen R. Grand
WASHINGTON, D.C. • OCTOBER 17, 2002
COSPONSORED WITH THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND
OF THE UNITED STATES

Stephen W. Bosworth

Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

“U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula in the Wake of September 11”

PRESIDER: Walid Georges Chamoun
BOSTON • OCTOBER 24, 2002

Kenneth M. Pollack

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

“Discussion of *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*”

PRESIDER: Zachary Karabell
NEW YORK • OCTOBER 29, 2002



Speaker Wesley K. Clark, Chairman and CEO, Wesley K. Clark & Associates, and former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, with term members at the February 20, 2003, Seventh Annual Term Member Conference, "Terrorism, Iraq, and the Middle East."

Reuben E. Brigety II

Researcher, Human Rights Watch

Carolyn Margaret Campbell

Director and Senior Counsel, Emerging Markets Partnership

Richard Greco Jr.

White House Fellow, U.S. Department of Defense

Nigel W. Jones

Senior Associate, Carlyle Group

"Debate: The United States Should Remove Saddam Hussein by Force, Regardless of International Support for Such Action on Iraq"

MODERATORS: Daniel Calingaert and Daniel B. Prieto III
WASHINGTON, D.C. • OCTOBER 30, 2002

Theodore C. Sorensen

Of Counsel, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP

"Conversation with Theodore C. Sorensen"

PRESIDER: Ernest R. May
BOSTON • NOVEMBER 6, 2002

Charles A. Kupchan

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

"Discussion of The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century"

PRESIDER: Philip H. Gordon
WASHINGTON, D.C. • NOVEMBER 6, 2002

Michael Aronson

Editorial Board, *Daily News*

Lyndsay C. Howard

President, Howard Communications LLC

Zachary Karabell

Senior Economic Analyst and Futurist, Fred Alger Management

Deroy Murdock

Senior Fellow, Atlas Economic Research Foundation

"Debate: Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe?"

MODERATOR: Owen O'Driscoll West
NEW YORK • NOVEMBER 12, 2002

Frank Cilluffo

Special Assistant to the President, Office of Homeland Security, and Executive Director, President's Homeland Security Advisory Council

Scott Gould

Founder, President, and Chief Executive Officer, O'Gara Company

Christopher L. Koch

President and Chief Executive Officer, World Shipping Council

Paul B. Kurtz

Senior Director for National Security, President's Critical Infrastructure Protection Board

"Public/Private Cooperation in Homeland Security"

PRESIDER: Daniel B. Prieto III
WASHINGTON, D.C. • DECEMBER 3, 2002

Moeen A. Qureshi

Chairman and Founder, Emerging Markets Partnership
 “Post-Taliban Afghanistan”

PRESIDER: Carolyn Margaret Campbell
 WASHINGTON, D.C. • JANUARY 13, 2003

Robert J. Chaves

Partner, MatlinPatterson Global Advisors LLC

Albert Fishlow

Director, Center for Brazilian Studies, Columbia University
 “The Status and Outlook of the Washington Consensus
 in Latin America”

PRESIDER: Raimundo L. Ruga
 NEW YORK • JANUARY 29, 2003

Ronald D. Asmus

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Robert W. Kagan

Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 “If I Want to Call Europe, What Number Do I Call?
 How Power and Strategy Divide Europe
 and the United States”

PRESIDER: Gregory A. Maniatis
 NEW YORK • FEBRUARY 3, 2003

“Debate: Is the Bush Administration Mismanaging
 Relations with Its Transatlantic Allies?”

WASHINGTON, D.C. • APRIL 1, 2003

John Deutch

Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute
 of Technology

“Discussion on the Progress of the Iraq War”

PRESIDER: Marne L. Levine
 BOSTON • APRIL 3, 2003

Shanthi A. Kalathil

Associate, Information Revolution and World Politics,
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

David P. Welker

Food and Allied Service Trades, AFL-CIO;
 former Economic Policy Analyst, U.S.-China Security
 Review Commission

Phoebe Yang

Former Special Coordinator for China Rule of Law,
 U.S. Department of State

“China over the Next Decade:
 What Trends Are Emerging?”

PRESIDER: Andrew J. Shapiro
 WASHINGTON, D.C. • APRIL 14, 2003

Stephen M. Walt

Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy
 School of Government, Harvard University

“Preventive War and U.S. Grand Strategy”

PRESIDER: Jeffrey W. Taliaferro
 BOSTON • APRIL 22, 2003

Peter G. Peterson, William J. McDonough, Stephen M. Kellen, Leslie H. Gelb, and Robert D. Hormats at the February 20, 2003, Seventh Annual Term Member Conference, “Terrorism, Iraq, and the Middle East.”



Michael Mussa

Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics;
former Economic Counselor and Director of the Department
of Research, International Monetary Fund

Randal Quarles

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

“Evaluating U.S. and IMF Responses to
Emerging Market Financial Crises”

PRESIDER: Arturo C. Porzecanski
NEW YORK • APRIL 28, 2003

Laura L. Efros

Director of Vaccine Public Policy, Merck & Co., Inc.

Elizabeth A. McKeon

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

“Documentary Screening: *Left Behind*
and Discussion on HIV/AIDS”

PRESIDER: David Andrew Olson
WASHINGTON, D.C. • MAY 12, 2003

Richard K. Betts

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

Michael J. Glennon

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

Ashton B. Carter

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

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

PRESIDER: Monica Duffy Toft
BOSTON • MAY 15, 2003

James B. Comey

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

Anthony D. Romero

Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

“The Balance between Civil Liberties
and Law Enforcement”

PRESIDER: Samuel Gates Williamson
NEW YORK • MAY 21, 2003

“Mock General Assembly Session on North Korea”

NEW YORK • MAY 28, 2003



Front Row: Peter Kezirian, Chappell H. Lawson, Diana M. Song, Sandra Galvis, Vicente Fox, President of Mexico, Elizabeth G. Tsehai, Phoebe L. Yang, Bessie Skoures, and Wendy A. Maldonado. Second Row: David S. Huntington, David Perez, Alfonso de Maria y Campos, Cynthia A. Tindell, Tomás G. Amorim, and Sean D. McDevitt on the May 5–10, 2003, Term Member Trip to Mexico.



President David Andrew Olson, Speaker Laura L. Efros, Director of Vaccine Public Policy, Merck & Co., Inc., and Speaker Elizabeth A. McKeon, Labor Market and Social Transition Specialist, U.S. Agency for International Development, at the May 12, 2003, "Documentary Screening: Left Behind and Discussion on HIV/AIDS."

Term Member Roundtables

Roundtable on International Law Enforcement

NEW YORK

Roundtable on Transatlantic Relations

NEW YORK

Roundtable on U.S. Foreign Policy and Iran

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Roundtable on the Bush Administration's Policy of "Preemption"

BOSTON

Special Events

Seventh Annual Term Member Conference

"Terrorism, Iraq, and the Middle East"

NEW YORK • FEBRUARY 20-21, 2003

John W. Leslie

Chairman, Weber Shandwick

Gerald Martone

Director of Emergency Response, International Rescue Committee

Nancy E. Soderberg

Vice President for Multilateral Affairs,
International Crisis Group—New York

"Postwar Reconstruction in Iraq"

MODERATOR: David L. Phillips

NEW YORK • JUNE 11, 2003

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Trips

Term Member Trip to West Point

WEST POINT, N.Y. • SEPTEMBER 30, 2002

Term Member Trip to the World Bank

WASHINGTON, D.C. • OCTOBER 11, 2002

Term Member Trip to CNN *Crossfire*

WASHINGTON, D.C. • NOVEMBER 13, 2002

Term Member Trip to Mexico

MEXICO • MAY 5-10, 2003

Term Member Annual Giving

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Luciana L. Borio	Sarah A.W. Fitts	Benjamin Felt Jones	April Palmerlee	Jeffrey W. Taliaferro
Meena Bose	William Fulbright Foote	Kali Chantelle Jones	Michael Pan	Gligor A. Tashkovich
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Danielle D. Camner	Friedman	Neeraj L. Khemlani	William A. Pizer	Jonathan Matthew
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Communications

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

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

Website traffic also jumped dramatically as the press and the public sought out measured, reliable information on the war on terrorism, the war in Iraq, and other key foreign policy issues this year. Total traffic for the Council's websites, including *Foreign Affairs*, nearly doubled from the beginning of the program year, with more than half a million visitors viewing two million pages of Council content during busy months.



Publications

The Publications Department supports the Council's mission by producing timely and important books, Task Force reports, and papers. This year, the number of Independent Task Force reports more than doubled from last year, and books authored by senior fellows are now regularly being published by top trade publishers and university presses. Kenneth M. Pollack's book, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*, published by Random House as a Council on Foreign Relations Book, was on the *Washington Post* best-seller list for ten weeks. Other important and well-received Council books included Charles A. Kupchan's *The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century* (Knopf), Michael Mandelbaum's *The Ideas That Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets in the Twenty-first Century* (PublicAffairs), Warren Bass's *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance* (Oxford University Press), and Adam Segal's *Digital Dragon: High-Technology Enterprises in China* (Cornell University Press), among others.

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

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

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



Books by Council on Foreign Relations Fellows

- *America and the World: Debating the New Shape of International Politics*, edited by James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Council on Foreign Relations Press (2002).*
- *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948–1991*, by Kenneth M. Pollack. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. University of Nebraska Press (2002).
- *Blood on the Doorstep: The Politics of Preventive Action*, by Barnett R. Rubin. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. The Century Foundation Press (2002).
- *The Bridge to a Global Middle Class*, edited by Walter Russell Mead and Sherle R. Schwenninger. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Kluwer Academic Publishers (2003).
- *Digital Dragon: High-Technology Enterprises in China*, by Adam Segal. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Cornell University Press (2002).
- *The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century*, by Charles A. Kupchan. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Knopf (2002).
- *Globalization: Challenge and Opportunity*, edited by James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Council on Foreign Relations Press (2002).*
- *The Ideas That Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets in the Twenty-first Century*, by Michael

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Mandelbaum. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Public-Affairs (2002).

- *The Middle East in Crisis*, edited by James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Council on Foreign Relations Press (2002).*
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- *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*, by Kenneth M. Pollack. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Random House (2002).
- *The War on Terror*, edited by James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Council on Foreign Relations Press (2002).*

Independent Task Force Reports

- *Afghanistan: Are We Losing the Peace?* Chairmen's Report. Marshall M. Bouton, Nicholas Platt, and Frank G. Wisner II, co-chairs; Dennis Kux and Mahnaz Ispahani, project executive directors. Cosponsored with the Asia Society (web paper, 2003).
- *America—Still Unprepared, Still in Danger*. Gary Hart and Warren B. Rudman, co-chairs; Stephen E. Flynn, project director (2002).



- *Burma: Time for Change*. Mathea Falco, chair (2003).
- *Chinese Military Power*. Harold Brown, chair; Joseph W. Prueher, vice chair; Adam Segal, project director (2003).
- *Emergency Responders: Drastically Underfunded, Dangerously Unprepared*. Warren B. Rudman, chair; Richard A. Clarke, senior adviser; Jamie Metzl, project director (2003).
- *Enhancing U.S. Leadership at the United Nations*. David Dreier and Lee H. Hamilton, co-chairs; Lee Feinstein and Adrian Karatnycky, project co-directors. Cosponsored with Freedom House (2002).
- *Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating U.S. Public Diplomacy*. Peter G. Peterson, chair; Jennifer Sieg, project director (2003).
- *The Day After*. Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, co-chairs; Eric P. Schwartz, project director (2003).
- *Iraq: The Day After—Chairs' Update*. Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, co-chairs; Eric P. Schwartz, project director (web paper, 2003).
- *Meeting the North Korean Nuclear Challenge*. Morton I. Abramowitz and James T. Laney, co-chairs; Eric Heginbotham, project director (2003).
- *Terrorist Financing*. Maurice R. Greenberg, chair; William F. Wechsler and Lee S. Wolosky, project co-directors (2002).
- *Threats to Democracy: Prevention and Response*. Madeleine K. Albright and Bronislaw Geremek, co-chairs; Morton H. Halperin, project director; Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, associate director (2002).

Preventive Action Commission Reports

- *Balkans 2010*. Edward C. Meyer, chair; William L. Nash, project director (2002).
- *Indonesia Commission: Peace and Progress in Papua*. Dennis C. Blair, chair; David L. Phillips, project director (2003).

Council Papers

- *Building a Transatlantic Securities Market*, by Benn Steil (2003).
- *Guiding Principles for U.S. Post-Conflict Policy in Iraq*, by Edward P. Djerejian, Frank G. Wisner II, Rachel Bronson, and Andrew S. Weiss (2003).
- *How Shareholder Reforms Can Pay Foreign Policy Dividends*, by James J. Shinn and Peter A. Gourevitch (2002).

Council Policy Initiatives

- *A New National Security Strategy in an Age of Terrorists, Tyrants, and Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Lawrence J. Korb, project director (2003).

Most Council on Foreign Relations Press books, Independent Task Force reports, Commission reports, papers, and Council Policy Initiatives are marketed and distributed by the Brookings Institution Press. To order, please call 1-800-275-1447. Council on Foreign Relations books published by outside publishers can be ordered at a local bookstore or from www.amazon.com. All Council publications are available on the Council's website at www.cfr.org.



Development

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

The Annual Fund

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

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



Stephen A. Orlins, Matthew Nimetz, J. Tomilson Hill, and Thomas Schick at the June 25, 2003, Farewell Reception for Leslie H. Gelb.

Term Grants, Endowment, Restricted, and Special Gifts

The Ralph Bunche Chair in Africa Policy Studies

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

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Global Health Policy Studies

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

The Paul C. Warnke Lecture in International Security

The Council established an endowed annual lecture in honor of Paul C. Warnke to commemorate his legacy of courageous service to the nation and to international peace. The Council is grateful to the more than 85 Council members, family, and friends of Paul Warnke whose contributions made this permanently endowed lecture possible.

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies

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

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Richard F. Schubert
G. Edward Schuh
Jill A. Schuker
George D. Schwab
Susan Carroll Schwab
Eric Paul Schwartz
William W. Schwarzer
Stephen M. Schwebel
James E. Sciuotto
Brent Scowcroft
Norman P. Seagrave
Robert C. Seamans Jr.
Jonathan E. Sears
Mark S. Seasholes
James B. Seaton III
Sheldon J. Segal
Chris Seiple
Eugene A. Sekulow
John W. Sewell
Jeffrey R. Shafer
Beth Shair-Goyer
Andrew J. Shapiro
Andrew L. Shapiro
Judith R. Shapiro
Jason T. Shaplen
Dorothy C. Shea
Brooke L. Shearer
Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Sally Swing Shelley
Donald W. Shriver
Colette Shulman
Marshall D. Shulman
Karlann Sick
Robert B. Silvers
P.J. Simmons
Gretchen Crosby Sims
Shanker A. Singham
Joseph John Sisco
Jennifer Friedman
Sklarew
Eugene B. Skolnikoff
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Matthew J. Slaughter
Ann Brownell Sloane
Lawrence M. Small
S. Bruce Smart Jr.
Jeffrey H. Smith
Malcolm B. Smith
W. Y. Smith
Samuel D. Smoots
L. Britt Snider
Timothy D. Snyder
Anne G.K. Solomon
Anthony M. Solomon
Joshua N. Solomon
Lisa J. Solomon
Richard H. Solomon
Robert Solomon
Diana M.H. Song
Helmut Sonnenfeldt
Richard W.
Sonnenfeldt
Joshua B. Spero
Ronald I. Spiers
J. Andrew Spindler
Stephen Stamas
Eugene S. Staples
Kristen Staples
Eric Stein
Steven E. Steiner
Edward S. Steinfeld
Angela Evelyn Stent
Fritz Stern
Jessica E. Stern
Anne Stetson
Evan Stewart
Jeremy J. Stone
Donald B. Straus
Rose Styron
Mona K. Sutphen
Francis X. Sutton
Cedric Suzman
John Temple Swing
William H. Taft IV
Phillips Talbot
Jeffrey W. Taliaferro
C. Bruce Tarter
Gligor A. Tashkovich
Beverly Daniel Tatum
William Taubman
Dina Simone
Temple-Raston
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
Russell E. Train
Bernard E. Trainor
Eugene P. Trani
Thomas J. Trebat
Peter D. Trooboff
Edwin M. Truman
H. Anton Tucher
Cynthia A. Tucker
J. Michael Turner
Richard H. Ullman
Cornelius M. Ulman
Marybeth Peterson
Ulrich
Sanford J. Ungar
Maureen T. Upton
Jonathan Matthew
Vaccaro
Sara Vagliano
Arturo A. Valenzuela
Gregory E.
van der Vink
Ted Van Dyk
Martina E. Vandenberg
Robert D. Vander Lugt
Jeffrey Paul Varanini
Ian A. Vasquez
Richard R. Verma
Alice S. Victor
David J. Vidal
Adis M. Vila
Milton Viorst
Mary Wadsworth-
Darby
Charles E. Walker
Christine I. Wallich
Katherine T. Ward
John William Warner
Abbott M. Washburn
William Watts
Dennis Weatherstone
Vin Weber
Ruth Wedgwood
Leroy Snyder Wehrle
Steven Weinberg
Sidney Weintraub
Charles Weiss Jr.
Elizabeth Anne Weiss
Thomas G. Weiss
Ivan S. Weissman
Samuel F. Wells Jr.
Allan Wendt
Mitzi Mallina
Wertheim
Joanna Weschler
Jennifer Seymour
Whitaker
Robert J. White
Richard A. Wiley
Sharon P. Wilkinson
Eddie Nathan
Williams
Harold M. Williams
Paul R. Williams
Donald M. Wilson
Philip S. Winterer
Francis X. Winters
Laura Winters
Frank G. Wisner II
Anne A. Witkowsky
Tamara Cofman
Wittes
R. James Woolsey
Christine E. Wormuth
Kent Wosepka
Mona Yacoubian
Phoebe L. Yang
David B. Yoffie
Alice Young
M. Crawford Young
Frederick T.C. Yu
Raul H. Yzaguirre
Donald S. Zagoria
Florence S.N. Zake
Dov S. Zakheim
Warren Zimmermann
Jonathan L. Zittrain
Marvin Zonis
Barry Zorthian

2003 Board Election

The Council's By-Laws provide for a Board consisting of 30 Directors (plus the President, *ex officio*), divided into five classes of six Directors. Each class serves for a term of five years. In each class, three Directors are elected by the membership and three are appointed by the Board.

Directors with terms expiring on August 31, 2003, were Peggy Dulany, Martin S. Feldstein, Bette Bao Lord, Vincent A. Mai, Michael H. Moskow, and Garrick Utley.

The Nominating and Governance Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (Chair), Richard C. Holbrooke (Vice Chair), Henry S. Bienen, Daniel William Christman, Robert E. Denham, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Robert Legvold, Winston Lord, Susan E. Rice, James Baker Sitrick, Gordon C. Stewart, Anne Wexler, Andrew Young, and Nancy Young. On January 10, 2003, Carla A. Hills invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating and Governance Committee met on March 14 to consider the pool of names suggested by Council members for the three elective vacancies. Mindful of its mandate to consider "the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background," the Nominating and Governance Committee developed the following slate of nominees: David Dreier, Martin S. Feldstein, Richard N. Foster, Karen Elliott House, Alberto Ibarguen, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. On March 20, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition process available to them in

accordance with the By-Laws. No petition candidate was put forth. A ballot was mailed to all Council members on April 15.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 15, 2003, 1,585 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. No name was written on ten or more ballots cast at the meeting, and, therefore, no one was nominated for the 2004 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning September 1, 2003, and expiring August 31, 2008: Martin S. Feldstein, Karen Elliott House, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. Bart Friedman, Donald S. Rice, and Barbara Paul Robinson served as election overseers.

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

Lilita V. Gusts
Secretary

¹ To ensure an orderly transition in Council leadership, the Board of Directors at its October 2000 meeting approved changes in the By-Laws that enable Mr. Peterson to continue as Chairman and Director, on a year-to-year basis.

Committees of the Board, 2002–2003

Executive

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

Corporate Affairs

Kenneth M. Duberstein,
Chair
Richard N. Foster,
Vice Chair
Joyce Chang†
Saj Cheriant†
Samuel A. DiPiazza
Michael Dolan
Bart Friedman
Joseph M. Ha
Ruth R. Harkin
Morton L. Janklow
James R. Jones
Virginia Ann Kamsky
Sherman R. Lewis Jr.
Ira A. Lipman
Ken Miller
Alan Joel Patricof
Thomas R. Pickering

E. John Rosenwald Jr.
Seymour Sternberg
Alan J. Stoga
Enzo Viscusi
John H. Watts
Frank G. Wisner
I. Peter Wolff

Development

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

Finance and Budget

William J. McDonough,
Chair
Jessica 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 B. Menges‡
George J. Mitchell
Joel W. Motley
Karen Parker Feld
David Perez†

Arthur M. Rubint†
Richard E. Salomon‡
George Soros
Kenneth I. Starr‡
Robert G. Wilmers‡
Don M. Wilson III‡
Robert L. Zangrillo

Foreign Affairs

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

Correspondence

Martin S. Feldstein,
Chair
Fouad Ajami

Daniel Bell
Frances FitzGerald
Wolf Lepenies
Esther R. Newberg
Ron Silver
Robert B. Silvers
Carl Spielvogel
Ronald Steel
Fritz Stern
Stephen Claar Swid
Garrick Utley
Masakuza Yamazaki

Meetings

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

Malcolm H. Wiener
James D. Zirin

Membership

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

Term Membership

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

*Ex officio.

†Designated Term Member.

‡Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee.

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

National Programs

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

Bette Bao Lord
Judith B. Milestone
Ambler H. Moss Jr.
Ronald L. Olson
William A. Owens
Judith K. Paulus
Henry H. Perritt Jr.
John C. Reppert
David K.Y. Tang
Peter Tarnoff
Andrew Young

Nominating and Governance

Carla A. Hills,
Chair
Richard C. Holbrooke,
Vice Chair
Henry S. Bienen
Daniel William
Christman
Robert E. Denham
Kenneth M. Duberstein
Robert Legvold
Winston Lord

Susan E. Rice
James Baker Sitrick
Gordon C. Stewart
Anne Wexler
Andrew Young
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. Froman
Francis Fukuyama
John Lewis Gaddis

Melvin L. Heineman
James F. Hoge Jr.*
John P. Lipsky
Abraham F. Lowenthal
Haleh Nazer†
Michael P. Peters*
Steven L. Rattner
Robert E. Rubin
Scott D. Sagan
Gordon C. Stewart
Peter Tarnoff
Marc A. Thiessen
Richard H. Ullman
Marta B. Varela
Ernest James Wilson III
Frank G. Wisner
Daniel H. Yergin

Washington Programs

Warren B. Rudman,
Chair
Thomas E. Donilon,
Vice Chair
Pauline H. Baker

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
James V. Kimsey
Mark P. Lagon
Dave K. McCurdy
Alberto J. Mora
Mark Palmer
Thomas R. Pickering
Peter R. Rosenblatt
Tara Diane Sonenshine
Terence A. Todman
Michael H. Van Dusen
W. Bruce Weinrod
R. James Woolsey

Chairman's Advisory Council

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

Peter G. Peterson,
Chairman
Thomas E. Donilon,
Vice Chairman
Richard N. Foster,
Vice Chairman
David K.Y. Tang,
Vice Chairman
Robert John Abernethy

Peter Ackerman
Charlene Barshefsky
Alan R. Batkin
Stephanie K. Bell-Rose
Jewelle Bickford
Denis A. Bovin
Robert E. Denham
Michael B.G. Froman

Robert L. Gallucci
Sergio J. Galvis
Timothy F. Geithner
Joachim Gfoeller Jr.
Mimi L. Haas
J. Tomilson Hill
Alberto Ibargüen
Merit E. Janow

Eason T. Jordan
Virginia A. Kamsky
Arnold Kanter
William A. Owens
Richard L. Plepler
Thomas J. Pritzker
Steven L. Rattner
Susan E. Rice

Scott D. Sagan
David E. Sanger
Thomas Schick
Douglas E. Schoen
Barbara Shailor
Carl Ware
Alice Young
Fareed Zakaria

International Advisory Board

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

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

- Mariclaire Acosta** (Mexico), Special Ambassador for Human Rights and Democracy, Mexico
- Khalid A. Alturki** (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, Trading and Development Company (TRADCO)
- Moshe Arens** (Israel), Member, Knesset; former Ambassador of Israel to the United States
- Franco Bernabè** (Italy), President, Franco Bernabè Group; former Chief Executive Officer, ENI SpA
- Carl Bildt** (Sweden), Senior Adviser, IT Provider Adviser 1 AB; former Prime Minister of Sweden
- Ahmed E. Bishara** (Kuwait), Secretary General, National Democratic Movement; Professor, Kuwait University
- Conrad M. Black** (United Kingdom), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Argus Corporation Ltd.; Chairman, Hollinger Inc. and The Telegraph plc
- John Browne** (United Kingdom), Group Chief Executive, BP plc
- Mark C. Chona** (Zambia), Chairman and CEO, Sumika Consultancy and Management Services Ltd.; former Political Adviser to the President of Zambia
- Gustavo A. Cisneros** (Venezuela), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Cisneros Group of Companies
- Abdel Raouf El Reedy** (Egypt), Chairman, Mubarak Public Library; former Ambassador of Egypt to the United States
- Niall W.A. FitzGerald** (Ireland), Chairman and CEO, Unilever
- Alejandro Foxley** (Chile), Member, Senate of Chile; former Minister of Finance of Chile
- Jacob A. Frenkel** (Israel), President, Merrill Lynch International; former Governor, Bank of Israel
- Toyoo Gyohden** (Japan), President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs; Senior Adviser, 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 and Seoul Forum for International Affairs; former Ambassador of South Korea to the United States
- Babagana Kingibe** (Nigeria), Special envoy for the Sudan, Organization of African Unity; former Foreign Minister of Nigeria
- Yotaro Kobayashi** (Japan), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.
- Rahmi M. Koç** (Turkey), Honorary Chairman, Koç Holdings A.S.
- Otto Lambsdorff** (Germany), Partner, Taylor Wessing; former Federal Minister of Economics of Germany
- Luiz Felipe Lampreia** (Brazil), Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Centro Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais; former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil
- Juan March** (Spain), Chairman, Juan March Foundation and Juan March Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences
- María Rosa Martini** (Argentina), Co-founder and President, Social Sector Forum; Vice President of the Board, CIVITAS
- Adam Michnik** (Poland), Editor in Chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*
- Brian Mulrone** (Canada), Senior Partner, Ogilvy Renault; former Prime Minister of Canada
- Sari Nusseibeh** (Palestinian Authority), President, Al-Quds University
- Sadako Ogata** (Japan), Scholar in Residence, Ford Foundation; former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- Surin Pitsuwan** (Thailand), Member of Parliament, Thailand
- Moeen A. Qureshi** (Pakistan), Chairman, Emerging Markets Partnership; former Prime Minister of Pakistan
- Michel Rocard** (France), President, Commission of Development, European Parliament; former Prime Minister of France
- Prannoy Roy** (India), President, New Delhi Television, Ltd.
- Khehla Shubane** (South Africa), Director, Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand; Director, Simeka Financial Services
- Washington SyCip** (Philippines), Chairman and Founder, The SGV Group; Chairman, Asian Institute of Management
- Horst Teltschik** (Germany), Chairman, Herbert Quandt Foundation (BMW); former National Security Adviser of Germany
- Jacob Wallenberg** (Sweden), Chairman, SEB Group
- Jusuf Wanandi** (Indonesia), Member of the Board of Directors, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta)
- Shirley V.T. Brittain Williams** (United Kingdom), Member, House of Lords; Public Service Professor of Electoral Politics, Harvard University
- Muhammad Yunus** (Bangladesh), Founder, Managing Director, and Chief Executive Officer, Grameen Bank
- Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León** (Mexico), Director, Center for the Study of Globalization, Yale University; former President of Mexico

Council By-Laws

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

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

In any fiscal year, the Board may elect up to 110 persons to five-year term membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that those elected to such membership are between the ages of 28 and 34 years on January 1 of the year in which their election would take place, and that of the total number of persons elected each year no more than 35 shall be age 30 or under, and that so long as their term continues such members will have the full rights and privileges of Council membership.

The Board of Directors may establish such other special categories of membership having such rights and privileges, and subject to such conditions, as the Board may designate.

A New York Area member is one whose residence or principal place of business is within 50 miles of City Hall in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York. A Washington, D.C., Area member is one whose residence or principal place of business is within 50 miles of the Capitol in the District of Columbia. All other members are National. All members other than honorary members shall be citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.

A member may be dropped or suspended from membership for a period of six months or more only by a unanimous vote of those Directors attending a meeting of the Board at which a quorum is present and voting, for any violation of the By-Laws or rules or regulations of the Board of Directors, or for any conduct even though not in actual violation of a By-Law or rule that, in the opinion of the Board, is nevertheless prejudicial to the best interests, reputation, and proper functioning of the

Council. A member's privileges may be suspended for a period of up to six months by action of the President subject to approval by the Chairman of the Board.

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

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

	Business	Nonbusiness
New York Area		
Under 30	\$ 660	\$180
30-39	1,340	320
40 and Over	2,600	580
Washington, D.C., Area		
Under 30	\$ 450	\$150
30-39	900	260
40 and Over	1,750	450
National		
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 and Governance Committee as the sole candidate in the next Annual Election to complete the balance of the unexpired term.

V. A. The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held in New York City as soon as practicable after the end of the

fiscal year, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. At this meeting the Board of Directors shall present a report of the activities of the Council during the past year, and such other business shall be considered as shall be brought forward by or with the sanction of the Board of Directors and that shall have been stated in the notice convening the meeting.

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

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

VI. The Board shall constitute such Committees as may from time to time be appropriate, including an Executive Committee, a Committee on Finance and Budget, a Committee on Corporate Affairs, a Committee on Development, a Committee on Meetings, a Committee on Washington Programs, a Committee on National Programs, a Committee on Membership, a Nominating and Governance Committee, a Committee on *Foreign Affairs*, and a Committee on Studies. Elections of Board members to Committees shall be held at Annual Meetings of the Board, except that, on the nomination of the Chairman of the Board, a Director may be elected at any meeting of the Board to fill a Committee vacancy.

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

The Committee on Finance and Budget shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have general supervision of the investment of the funds of the Council and of its financial affairs, and shall present the budget at the Spring meeting of the Board.

The Committee on Development shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall help to plan, implement, and oversee the Council's financial development programs.

The Committee on Corporate Affairs shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall help to plan, implement, and oversee the Corporate Program.

The Committee on Meetings shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have responsibility for overseeing the Council's program of general meetings and institutional outreach activities involving electronic and other broadcast media.

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

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

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

The Nominating and Governance Committee shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board. The Committee shall present names for Directors, Officers, and Committee members. For the purpose of nominating candidates to stand for election to the Board, the Committee shall co-opt ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Chairman of the Nominating and Governance Committee shall be selected by the Chairman of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President shall be an ex officio member of the Nominating and Governance Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Nominating and Governance Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background. In nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Committee is also charged (i) to solicit the entire membership for the names of possible candidates and (ii) except as provided in By-Law IV(C) to nominate twice as many candidates as there are directorships to be filled at the election by the membership at large.

The Committee on *Foreign Affairs* shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. All matters relating to

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

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

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

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

The 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 fewer than five days in advance.

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

Rules, Guidelines, and Practices

The following items describe important rules, guidelines, and practices of the Council on Foreign Relations, with which members and staff should familiarize themselves.

Rule on Foreign Policy Positions

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

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

Rule on Non-Attribution

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

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

“An appropriate officer of the Council may, however, by advance announcement declare this Rule 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 Direc-

tors may, from time to time, prescribe rules governing the subsequent release of any Council records.

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

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

Guidelines on Meetings

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

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

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

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

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

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

Apart from the traditional meetings for spouses and for sons and daughters of the members, occasional meetings are also open to guests of members. Guest privileges are for those who have special expertise or experience that relates directly to the meeting, as well as the general qualifications of potential candidates for Council membership. Members bringing guests should secure the permission of the Council department organizing the meeting and acquaint their guests with the Council's Non-Attribution Rule governing what is said at meetings.

Rule on Conflicts of Interest

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

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

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

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

Archival Practice

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

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

Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

Directors

Isaiah Bowman	1921-50	W. Averell Harriman	1950-55	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975-86
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921-28	Joseph E. Johnson	1950-74	Paul A. Volcker	1975-79, 1988-99
Paul D. Cravath	1921-40	Grayson Kirk	1950-73	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976-85
John W. Davis	1921-55	Devereux C. Josephs	1951-58	Lane Kirkland	1976-86
Norman H. Davis	1921-44	Elliott V. Bell	1953-66	George H.W. Bush	1977-79
Stephen P. Duggan	1921-50	John J. McCloy	1953-72	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977-79
John H. Finley	1921-29	Arthur H. Dean	1955-72	Philip L. Geyelin	1977-87
Edwin F. Gay	1921-45	Charles M. Spofford	1955-72	Henry A. Kissinger	1977-81
David F. Houston	1921-27	Adlai E. Stevenson	1958-62	Winston Lord	1977-85
Otto H. Kahn	1921-34	William C. Foster	1959-72	Stephen Stamas	1977-89
Frank L. Polk	1921-43	Caryl P. Haskins	1961-75	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-87
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921-66	James A. Perkins	1963-79	C. Peter McColough	1978-87
William R. Shepherd	1921-27	William P. Bundy	1964-74	Richard L. Gelb	1979-88
Paul M. Warburg	1921-32	Gabriel Hauge	1964-81	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979-88
George W. Wickersham	1921-36	Carroll L. Wilson	1964-79	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979-83
Allen W. Dulles	1927-69	Douglas Dillon	1965-78	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980-84
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927-60	Henry R. Labouisse	1965-74	George P. Shultz	1980-82
George O. May	1927-53	Robert V. Roosa	1966-81	William D. Rogers	1980-90
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927-34	Lucian W. Pye	1966-82	Walter B. Wriston	1981-87
Owen D. Young	1927-40	Alfred C. Neal	1967-76	Lewis T. Preston	1981-88
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	Bill Moyers	1967-74	Warren Christopher	1982-91
Charles P. Howland	1929-31	Cyrus R. Vance	1968-76, 1981-87	Alan Greenspan	1982-88
Walter Lippmann	1932-37	Hedley Donovan	1969-79	Robert A. Scalapino	1982-89
Clarence M. Woolley	1932-35	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970-72	Harold Brown	1983-92
Frank Altschul	1934-72	Bayless Manning	1971-77	Stanley Hoffmann	1983-92
Philip C. Jessup	1934-42	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972-77, 1979-84	Juanita M. Kreps	1983-89
Harold W. Dodds	1935-43	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972-77	Brent Scowcroft	1983-89
Leon Fraser	1936-45	Elizabeth Drew	1972-77	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983-92
John H. Williams	1937-64	George S. Franklin	1972-83	Donald F. McHenry	1984-93
Lewis W. Douglas	1940-64	Marshall D. Shulman	1972-77	B.R. Inman	1985-93
Edward Warner	1940-49	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972-82	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-94
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-53	Paul C. Warnke	1972-77	Peter Tarnoff	1986-93
Myron C. Taylor	1943-59	Peter G. Peterson	1973-83, 1984-	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986-92
Henry M. Wriston	1943-67	Robert O. Anderson	1974-80	Ruben F. Mettler	1986-92
Thomas K. Finletter	1944-67	Edward K. Hamilton	1974-83	James E. Burke	1987-95
William A.M. Burden	1945-74	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974-77	Richard B. Cheney	1987-89, 1993-95
Walter H. Mallory	1945-68	Elliot L. Richardson	1974-75	Robert F. Erburu	1987-98
Philip D. Reed	1945-69	Franklin Hall Williams	1975-83	Karen Elliott House	1987-98, 2003-
Winfield W. Riefler	1945-50				
David Rockefeller	1949-85				

Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

Glenn E. Watts	1987–90	Martin S. Feldstein	1998–	Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2003
Thomas S. Foley	1988–94	Bette Bao Lord	1998–2003	Richard N. Haass	2003–
James D. Robinson III	1988–91	Michael H. Moskow	1998–	Honorary President	
Strobe Talbott	1988–93	John Deutch	1999–	Elihu Root	1921–37
John L. Clendenin	1989–94	Robert E. Rubin	2000–	Executive Vice Presidents	
William S. Cohen	1989–97	Andrew Young	2000–	John Temple Swing	1986–93
Joshua Lederberg	1989–98	Kenneth M. Duberstein	2001–	Michael P. Peters	2002–
John S. Reed	1989–92	Henry S. Bienen	2001–	Senior Vice Presidents	
Alice M. Rivlin	1989–92	Joan E. Spero	2001–	Alton Frye	1993–98
William J. Crowe Jr.	1990–93	Vin Weber	2001–	Kenneth H. Keller	1993–95
Thomas R. Donahue	1990–2001	Fouad Ajami	2002–	Larry L. Fabian	1994–95
Richard C. Holbrooke	1991–93, 1996–99, 2001–	Ronald L. Olson	2002–	Michael P. Peters	1995–2002
Robert D. Hormats	1991–	Thomas R. Pickering	2002–	Paula J. Dobriansky	2001
John E. Bryson	1992–2002	Jeffrey L. Bewkes	2002–	Charles G. Boyd	2001–2002
Maurice R. Greenberg	1992–2002	Helene D. Gayle	2003–	David Kellogg	2002–
Karen N. Horn	1992–95	Richard N. Haass	2003–	Janice L. Murray	2002–
James R. Houghton	1992–96	Richard E. Salomon	2003–	Vice Presidents	
Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992–98	Anne-Marie Slaughter	2003–	Paul D. Cravath	1921–33
Kenneth W. Dam	1992–2001	Chairmen of the Board		Norman H. Davis	1933–36
Donna E. Shalala	1992–93	Russell C. Leffingwell	1946–53	Edwin F. Gay	1933–40
Alton Frye	1993	John J. McCloy	1953–70	Frank L. Polk	1940–43
Richard N. Cooper	1993–94	David Rockefeller	1970–85	Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44
Rita E. Hauser	1993–97	Peter G. Peterson	1985–	Allen W. Dulles	1944–46
E. Gerald Corrigan	1993–95	Vice Chairmen of the Board		Isaiah Bowman	1945–49
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2001, 2002–2003	Grayson Kirk	1971–73	Henry M. Wriston	1950–51
Paul A. Allaire	1993–2002	Cyrus R. Vance	1973–76, 1985–87	David Rockefeller	1950–70
Robert E. Allen	1993–96	Douglas Dillon	1976–78	Frank Altschul	1951–71
Theodore C. Sorensen	1993–	Carroll L. Wilson	1978–79	Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
Garrick Utley	1993–2003	Warren Christopher	1987–91	David W. MacEachron	1972–74
Carla A. Hills	1994–	Harold Brown	1991–92	John Temple Swing	1972–86
Helene L. Kaplan	1994–96	B.R. Inman	1992–93	Alton Frye	1987–93
Frank G. Zarb	1994–96	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1993–94	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89
Robert B. Zoellick	1994–2001	Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–2002	John A. Millington	1987–96
Les Aspin	1995	Carla A. Hills	2001–	Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1987–93
Mario L. Baeza	1995–2001	William J. McDonough	2002–2003	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94
Peggy Dulany	1995–2003	Presidents		Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995–	John W. Davis	1921–33	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–
William J. McDonough	1995–	George W. Wickersham	1933–36	Janice L. Murray	1995–2002
Frank Savage	1995–2002	Norman H. Davis	1936–44	David J. Vidal	1995–97
George Soros	1995–	Russell C. Leffingwell	1944–46	Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Hannah Holborn Gray	1995–98	Allen W. Dulles	1946–50	Frederick C. Broda	1996–97
George J. Mitchell	1995–	Henry M. Wriston	1951–64	Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995–	Grayson Kirk	1964–71	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Lee Cullum	1996–	Bayless Manning	1971–77	David Kellogg	1997–2002
Vincent A. Mai	1997–2003	Winston Lord	1977–85	Paula J. Dobriansky	1997–2001
Warren B. Rudman	1997–	John Temple Swing*	1985–86	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997–	Peter Tarnoff	1986–93	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–2002
Roone Arledge	1998–2002	Alton Frye	1993	<i>*Pro-tempore</i>	
Diane Sawyer	1998–99				

Elise Carlson Lewis	1999–	Elliott V. Bell	1952–64	Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95
Robert C. Orr	2002–2003	Gabriel Hauge	1964–81	Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Irina A. Faskianos	2002–	Peter G. Peterson	1981–85	Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996
Lisa Shields	2003–	C. Peter McColough	1985–87	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
James M. Lindsay	2003–	Lewis T. Preston	1987–88	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–2002
Executive Directors		James E. Burke	1988–89	Michael P. Peters	2002–2003
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922–28	David Woodbridge	1989–94	James M. Lindsay	2003–
Malcolm W. Davis	1925–27	Janice L. Murray	1994–	Directors of Meetings	
Walter H. Mallory	1927–59	Editors of <i>Foreign Affairs</i>		George S. Franklin	1949–50
George S. Franklin	1953–71	Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–28	William Henderson	1952–54, 1955–56
Secretaries		Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72	Melvin Conant	1954–55,* 1956–57,* 1957–59
Edwin F. Gay	1921–33	William P. Bundy	1972–84	George V.H. Moseley III	1959–62
Allen W. Dulles	1933–44	William G. Hyland	1984–92	Harry Boardman	1962–69
Frank Altschul	1944–72	James F. Hoge Jr.	1992–	Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969–78
John Temple Swing	1972–87	Directors of Studies		Marilyn Berger	1978–79
Judith Gustafson	1987–2000	Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53	Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
Lilita V. Gusts	2000–	Philip E. Moseley	1955–63	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Treasurers		Richard H. Ullman	1973–76	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–
Edwin F. Gay	1921–33	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976–77		
Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42	John C. Campbell	1977–78		
Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51	Paul H. Kreisberg	1981–87		
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89		
		Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94		

*Pro-tempore

Meeting of the Board of Directors, June 5, 2003



Seated, Front Row: Carla A. Hills, Maurice R. Greenberg, Peter G. Peterson, Leslie H. Gelb, William J. McDonough. Second Row: Theodore C. Sorensen, Martin S. Feldstein, Richard E. Salomon, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Bette Bao Lord, Richard N. Haass, Jessica P. Einhorn, Joan E. Spero, Michael H. Moskow, Robert E. Rubin,

Lee Cullum. Third Row: Richard C. Holbrooke, Peggy Dulany, Vin Weber, John Deutch, Thomas R. Pickering, Warren B. Rudman, George J. Mitchell, Fouad Ajami, Jeffrey Bewkes, Andrew Young, Henry S. Bienen, Ronald L. Olson, Garrick Utlej.

Budget and Finance

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

The Council's investment portfolio climbed to an all-time high, ending at just over \$150 million as of June 30, 2003. We thank William J. McDonough, chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee, J. Tomilson Hill, chairman of the Investment Subcommittee, and all members of the committee

and subcommittee more heartily each year—and we have good reason to do so! In this “unruly and dangerous world” that Les talks about, they have kept the Council sensibly and soundly prepared to fund ongoing programs and take on new ones without sacrificing quality or compromising goals.

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

Janice L. Murray
Senior Vice President and Treasurer

Statement of Financial Position

	2003	2002
Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 9,206,300	\$ 10,304,000
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	1,127,900	1,191,100
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)	4,026,100	5,258,700
Inventories, at lower of cost or market	127,400	170,700
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)	2,880,400	1,346,600
Contributions receivable for endowment (Note 5)	1,303,000	1,116,000
Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)	22,313,400	22,568,600
Investments (Note 3)	85,049,000	81,270,500
Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)	65,085,700	60,917,300
Total assets	<u>\$191,119,200</u>	<u>\$184,143,500</u>
Liabilities and net assets		
Liabilities:		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 2,837,700	\$ 3,764,300
Deferred subscription revenue	2,415,800	2,309,200
Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)	1,858,000	1,812,000
Total liabilities	<u>7,111,500</u>	<u>7,885,500</u>
Net assets (Notes 9 and 10):		
Unrestricted	79,214,200	75,143,800
Temporarily restricted	38,404,800	39,080,900
Permanently restricted	66,388,700	62,033,300
Total net assets	<u>184,007,700</u>	<u>176,258,000</u>
Total liabilities and net assets	<u>\$191,119,200</u>	<u>\$184,143,500</u>

See accompanying notes.

Statement of Activities

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

	2003			2002 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	
Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications				
Membership dues	\$ 3,505,100			\$ 3,354,900
Annual giving	3,571,400			3,184,900
Corporate memberships and related income	3,265,500			3,212,300
Meetings	21,300	\$ 120,000		274,200
International Affairs Fellowships		71,300		106,700
Grants and contributions for Studies		5,632,600		6,499,200
Other grants and contributions	745,400	1,142,800		1,100,700
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	5,359,300			5,008,700
Book publication	37,800			43,600
Investment income allocation (<i>Note 4</i>)	3,600,000	3,187,000		6,317,700
Rental income	1,025,900			977,500
Miscellaneous	180,500	5,900		796,000
Total operating revenue and support	21,312,200	10,159,600		30,876,400
Net assets released from restrictions (<i>Note 9</i>)	10,159,200	(10,159,200)		—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	31,471,400	400		30,876,400
Operating expenses				
Program expenses:				
Studies Program	11,463,300			10,387,300
Meetings Program	3,280,200			3,124,500
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,746,500			4,932,800
Book publication	606,200			596,000
National Program	769,300			627,700
Outreach Program	565,200			—
International Affairs Fellowships	1,114,200			563,700
Communications	850,700			735,600
Total program expenses	23,395,600			20,967,600
Supporting services:				
Management and general	3,820,100			3,868,400
Membership	798,600			629,600
Fund-raising:				
Development	303,700			308,100
Corporate Program	588,200			661,700
Total fund-raising	891,900			969,800
Total supporting services	5,510,600			5,467,800
Total operating expenses	28,906,200			26,435,400
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses	2,565,200	400		4,441,000

Statement of Activities (continued)

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

	2003			2002 Total	
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted		Total
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses brought forward	\$ 2,565,200	\$ 400		\$ 2,565,600	\$ 4,441,000
Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)					
Investment gain (loss) in excess of spending rate (Note 4)	1,505,200	(676,500)		828,700	(9,415,200)
Endowment contributions			\$ 4,355,400	4,355,400	1,307,900
Total nonoperating revenue	1,505,200	(676,500)	4,355,400	5,184,100	(8,107,300)
Change in net assets	4,070,400	(676,100)	4,355,400	7,749,700	(3,666,300)
Net assets, beginning of the year	75,143,800	39,080,900	62,033,300	176,258,000	179,924,300
Net assets, end of the year	\$79,214,200	\$38,404,800	\$66,388,700	\$184,007,700	\$176,258,000

See accompanying notes.

Statement of Cash Flows

Years ended June 30, 2003 and 2002

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

Statement of Cash Flows (continued)

Years ended June 30, 2003 and 2002

	2003	2002
Investing activities		
Purchases of building improvements and equipment	\$ (1,357,500)	\$ (818,500)
Purchases of investments	(119,693,800)	(114,974,100)
Proceeds from sales of investments	118,760,000	108,321,900
Net cash used in investing activities	<u>(2,291,300)</u>	<u>(7,470,700)</u>
Financing activities		
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	4,168,400	4,294,400
Net cash provided by financing activities	<u>4,168,400</u>	<u>4,294,400</u>
Net decrease in cash and cash equivalents	(1,097,700)	(2,751,100)
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	10,304,000	13,055,100
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	<u>\$ 9,206,300</u>	<u>\$ 10,304,000</u>
Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information		
Non-cash investing and financing activity:		
Contributions receivable for investment in endowment	\$ 1,303,000	\$ 1,116,000
<i>See accompanying notes.</i>		

Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 2003

1. Organization

The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (the "Council"), headquartered in New York City, is a nonprofit and nonpartisan membership organization dedicated to improving the understanding of U.S. foreign policy and international affairs through the exchange of ideas. The Council, established in 1921, serves as a center for scholarship and policy analysis, mobilizing resident senior staff, members, and other experts in dialogue, study, and the publications programs. It serves as a membership organization, comprising an ever-more diverse and multiprofessional community of men and women involved in international affairs. The Council also serves as a public education organization, reaching out nationally and internationally to disseminate ideas and collaborate with other institutions.

The Council is a Section 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization exempt from federal income taxes under Section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code (the "Code") and is a publicly supported organization as described in Section 509(a)(1) of the Code. The Council is also exempt from state and local income taxes. It is subject to tax on unrelated business income, which has not been significant.

2. Summary of Significant Accounting Policies**Fund Accounting and Net Asset Classifications**

The Council considers all contributions and grants to be available for unrestricted use unless specifically restricted by the donor or grantor. Endowment contributions are invested and, pursuant to the Council's 5% policy (see Note 4), an investment allocation is made for general purposes (unrestricted) and specific program activities (temporarily restricted).

In the accompanying financial statements, funds that have similar characteristics have been combined into three net asset classes: unrestricted, temporarily restricted, and permanently restricted.

Unrestricted net assets represent funds that are fully available, at the discretion of management and the Board of Directors, for the Council to utilize in any of its program or supporting services.

Temporarily restricted net assets comprise funds that are restricted by donors for a specific time period or purpose.

Permanently restricted net assets consist of funds that must be maintained intact in perpetuity, but permit the Council to expend part or all of the income derived from the investment of the donated assets for either specified or unspecified purposes.

Support and Revenue

Contributions, including a portion of membership dues, are recorded when received unconditionally, at their fair value. Gifts received with donor stipulations that limit the use of donated assets are reported as either temporarily or permanently restricted support. When a donor restriction expires, that is, when a time restriction ends or purpose restriction is fulfilled, temporarily restricted net assets are reclassified as unrestricted net assets and reported in the statement of activities as net assets released from restrictions. It is the Council's policy to imply a time restriction on gifts of long-lived assets and contributions to be used to acquire long-lived assets in the absence of explicit donor restrictions to that effect.

Conditional contributions, such as grants with matching requirements, are recognized in the appropriate net asset class when the conditions have been met.

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

Cash and Cash Equivalents

The Council considers all highly liquid investments purchased with a maturity of three months or less, excluding cash equivalents held as investments, to be cash equivalents.

Investments

The Council's investments are recorded at their fair values, which are based on quoted market prices for individual debt and marketable equity securities. The Council's hedge funds, which consist of interests in investment limited partnerships and investment companies, are carried as follows:

- The Council's investments in investment companies, represented by share ownership, are carried at the aggregate net asset value of the shares held by the Council. The net asset value is based on the net market value of the investment company's investment portfolio as determined by the management of the investment company.
- The carrying values of investments in investment limited partnerships reflect the Council's net contributions to the respective partnerships and its share of realized and unrealized investment income and expenses of the respective partnerships. Investments held by the investment limited partnerships generally are carried at fair value as determined by the respective general partners.

Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

The Council follows the practice of capitalizing expenditures for land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, and generally depreciates these assets on the straight-line basis over their estimated useful lives (see Note 6). The fair value of donated property and equipment is similarly capitalized and depreciated.

Measure of Operations

The Council includes in its definition of operations all revenues and expenses that are an integral part of its programs and supporting activities, including an authorized investment income allocation (see Note 4) and all contributions except for those that are restricted for capital expenditures or have been permanently restricted by donors. Investment income, including net realized and unrealized gains and losses, earned in excess of (or less than) the Council's aggregate authorized spending amount, contributions for capital expenditures, and contributions to permanently restricted net assets are recognized as nonoperating activity.

Use of Estimates

The preparation of financial statements in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect amounts reported in the financial statements and accompanying notes. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

2002 Summarized Financial Information

The accompanying financial statements include certain prior year summarized comparative information in total but not by net asset class. Such information does not include sufficient detail to constitute a presentation in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States. Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Council's financial statements for the year ended June 30, 2002, from which the summarized information was derived.

3. Investments

The components of the Council's long-term investments were as follows:

	June 30			
	2003		2002	
	Cost	Carrying Value	Cost	Carrying Value
Domestic equity securities	\$ 48,719,700	\$ 52,629,700	\$ 52,112,800	\$ 50,878,200
International equity securities	12,181,300	14,674,200	11,464,900	15,143,400
Foreign and corporate bonds	11,571,200	12,731,200	13,712,000	13,882,300
U.S. government agency obligations	12,988,200	14,945,200	12,527,400	12,665,600
Hedge funds	33,889,100	46,300,900	35,657,600	46,718,400
Money market funds	8,853,500	8,853,500	2,899,900	2,899,900
Total	\$128,203,000	\$150,134,700	\$128,374,600	\$142,187,800

The hedge funds in which the Council has invested may trade various financial instruments with off-balance sheet risk. These financial instruments include securities sold short and long, options contracts, and foreign currency forward contracts. Such transactions subject the hedge funds and their investors to market risk associated with changes in the value of the underlying securities, financial instruments, and foreign currencies, as well as the risk of loss if a counterparty fails to perform. The respective hedge fund managers endeavor to limit the risk associated with such transactions.

4. Investment Allocation

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

	Year ended June 30			2002
	2003		Total	
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted		Total
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$1,163,700 and \$828,600 in 2003 and 2002, respectively	\$ 404,000	\$ 198,700	\$ 602,600	\$ 1,871,000
Net realized and unrealized gain (loss)	4,701,200	2,311,800	7,013,100	(4,968,500)
Total return on investments	5,105,200	2,510,500	7,615,700	(3,097,500)
Investment return used for current operations	(3,600,000)	(3,187,000)	(6,787,000)	(6,317,700)
Investment gain (loss) in excess of amounts used for current operations	\$ 1,505,200	\$ (676,500)	\$ 828,700	\$(9,415,200)

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	
	2003	2002
Less than one year	\$5,329,100	\$6,374,700
One to five years	3,078,000	1,520,000
	8,407,100	7,894,700
Less discount (at rates varying from 1.5% to 6%)	197,600	173,400
Grants and contributions receivable, net	\$8,209,500	\$7,721,300

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
	2003	2002	
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	26,510,800	25,827,000	10–55 years
Equipment	8,161,700	7,488,000	3–15 years
	36,526,800	35,169,300	
Less accumulated depreciation	14,213,400	12,600,700	
	\$22,313,400	\$22,568,600	

7. Retirement Plan

The Council has a defined contribution retirement plan covering all employees who meet the minimum service requirements. Payments, which are 12.5% of each participant's salary for employees hired prior to July 1, 1998, and 10% for each participant hired after this date, are made to Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equity Fund to purchase individual annuities for plan members. The expense for the plan was \$831,200 for 2003 and \$786,300 for 2002. Participants must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.

8. Other Postretirement Benefits

The Council provides certain health care and life insurance benefits for retired employees. Employees are eligible for those benefits when they meet the criteria for retirement under the pension plan.

The following table presents the plan's disclosures under the provisions of Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 132, *Employers' Disclosures About Pensions and Other Postretirement Benefits*, as accounted for under Statement of Financial Accounting Standards No. 106, *Employers' Accounting for Postretirement Benefits Other than Pensions*:

	June 30	
	2003	2002
Benefit obligation	\$2,889,000	\$2,348,000
Fair value of plan assets	—	—
Unfunded status	<u>\$2,889,000</u>	<u>\$2,348,000</u>
Accrued postretirement benefit cost in the statement of financial position	<u>\$1,858,000</u>	<u>\$1,812,000</u>
For the year ended		
Benefit cost	\$ 239,000	\$ 198,000
Benefits paid	\$ 193,000	\$ 186,000
Weighted-average assumptions		
Discount rate	6.25%	7.0%

For purposes of calculating the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation and the net periodic postretirement benefit cost, the average annual assumed rate of increase in the per capita cost of medical and dental benefits is 6% for 2003 and 2002 and decreasing to 5% in 2005 and thereafter.

9. Temporarily Restricted Net Assets

Temporarily restricted net assets are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

	June 30	
	2003	2002
Studies	\$24,833,700	\$24,740,200
International Affairs Fellowships	4,000,600	4,212,800
Meetings	2,758,400	1,790,200
Studies—Next Generation	1,595,000	2,891,700
Capital expenditures	5,217,100	5,446,000
	<u>\$38,404,800</u>	<u>\$39,080,900</u>

Temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for the fulfillment of the following during the years ended June 30:

	2003	2002
Purposes and time periods:		
Studies	\$ 7,540,600	\$8,050,800
International Affairs Fellowships	539,800	406,700
Meetings	474,200	504,000
Studies—Next Generation	1,296,700	264,300
Capital expenditures	228,900	231,600
Other	79,000	278,100
	<u>\$10,159,200</u>	<u>\$9,735,500</u>

The amounts released from restrictions of \$10,159,200 and \$9,735,500 in 2003 and 2002, respectively, primarily represent revenue recognized in prior years and expended in 2003 and 2002, respectively.

10. Permanently Restricted Net Assets

At June 30, 2003 and 2002, income earned on permanently restricted net assets is available for the following purposes:

	June 30	
	2003	2002
Studies	\$40,235,000	\$36,028,500
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,200	6,066,100
Meetings	4,080,500	3,931,700
Library	1,021,000	1,021,000
Unrestricted as to use	14,986,000	14,986,000
	<u>\$66,388,700</u>	<u>\$62,033,300</u>



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REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS

Board of Directors
 Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

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

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

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

Ernst & Young LLP

August 8, 2003

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National Program

Katherine Sobong	<i>Program Coordinator, National Program</i>
Vaishali Patel	<i>Program Assistant, National Program</i>
Erika Bailey	<i>Administrative Assistant</i>

Outreach Program

Michael Glennon	<i>Senior Editor, cfr.org</i>
Bernard M. Gwertzman	<i>Consulting Editor, cfr.org</i>
Jennifer Sieg	<i>Assistant Director, Outreach Program</i>
Sharon Otterman	<i>Staff Writer, cfr.org</i>
Esther Pan	<i>Staff Writer, cfr.org</i>
Claire Miller	<i>Research Associate, cfr.org</i>

David Kellogg	<i>Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher</i>
Nancy Eyde	<i>Assistant to the Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher</i>

Corporate Affairs

Jacqui Selbst Schein	<i>Director, Corporate Affairs</i>
Andrea Woodruff	<i>Associate Director, Corporate Affairs</i>
Kira Burns	<i>Assistant Director, Corporate Affairs</i>
Jura Chung	<i>Corporate Affairs Associate</i>

Council Publishing

Patricia Lee Dorff	<i>Director of Publishing</i>
Jennifer Anmuth	<i>Assistant Editor</i>

Membership and Fellowship Affairs

Elise Carlson Lewis	<i>Vice President and Director</i>
Allison Valencia	<i>Assistant Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs</i>
Bessie Skoures	<i>Assistant Director, Term Member Program</i>
Caroline Osterwise	<i>Program Associate</i>
Genna Weinstein	<i>Program Associate</i>
Aysha Ghadiali	<i>Program Assistant</i>

Janice L. Murray	<i>Senior Vice President and Treasurer</i>
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Development

Betty Kurdys	<i>Director of the Annual Fund and Major Gifts</i>
Lena Moy	<i>Program Associate</i>
Sabeen Ali	<i>Program Coordinator</i>

Finance

Peter Tyndale	<i>Director of Finance</i>
Rebecca Schain	<i>Accounting Manager</i>
Sigi Silvani	<i>Staff Accountant</i>
Linda Copeland	<i>Accounting Associate</i>
Sharon Lalla	<i>Accounting Associate</i>
Vera Langley	<i>Accounting Associate</i>
Myrna Morris	<i>Accounts Payable Associate</i>
Esther Kau	<i>Accounting Assistant</i>

Human Resources

Jan Mowder Hughes	<i>Director</i>
Donna Sardella	<i>Deputy Director</i>
Kerryn Kletter	<i>Human Resources Generalist</i>
Bettina Schaeffer	<i>Human Resources Assistant</i>
Victoria Thompson	<i>Interdepartmental Program Associate</i>
Margaret Winterkorn-Meikle	<i>Interdepartmental Program Associate</i>

Reception

Cristy Lemperle	<i>Reception Supervisor</i>
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Library and Research Services

Lilita V. Gusts	<i>Director and Secretary of the Corporation</i>
Marcia L. Sprules	<i>Deputy Director</i>
Michelle McKowen	<i>Reference and Documents Librarian</i>
Connie M. Stagnaro	<i>Research Intranet and Archives Coordinator</i>
Ming Er Qiu	<i>Technical Services Associate</i>
Christine Quinn	<i>Library Assistant</i>
Barbara K. Miller	<i>Consulting Archivist</i>

Information Services

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

Facility Operations

Neftali Frank Alvarez	<i>Director of Facility Operations</i>
Phil Falcon	<i>Associate Director of Facility Operations</i>
Ian Noray	<i>Facility Services Manager</i>
Santo Ine Alers	<i>Senior Facility Operations Assistant</i>
Angel Cordova	<i>Facility Operations and Events Assistant</i>
Gilbert Falcon	<i>Facility Operations Assistant</i>
Anthony Ramirez	<i>Facility Operations Assistant</i>
Edwin Santiago	<i>Facility Operations Assistant</i>
Derek Velez	<i>Facility Operations Assistant</i>
Lawrence White	<i>Facility Operations Assistant</i>

Events Management

Mark Hudson	<i>Events Manager</i>
Glen Goldman	<i>Audio Visual Technician</i>
Fernando Browne	<i>Assistant Events Manager</i>
Chad Bowser	<i>Events Assistant</i>

Note: Staff shown as of August 2003.



New York



Washington, D.C.

Membership

The Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York City, Washington, D.C., and the rest of the country, plus those living overseas. The Council relies on its members for their active engagement, substantive contributions, and support, and counts on its members to identify and propose qualified prospects for membership. Membership development efforts are focused on identifying potential Council members from various professions, geographic areas, and racial and ethnic groups. This year, the Women's Membership Development Group significantly increased the number of highly qualified female candidates for regular membership.

Profile of the Membership

	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
Location		
New York Area	1,345	32
Washington, D.C., Area	1,369	33
National/International	1,478	35
Total	4,192	100
Profession		
Business	1,299	31
Professors, Fellows, and Researchers	768	18
Nonprofit	640	15
Government	541	13
Lawyers	319	8
University and College Administrators	303	7
Journalists, Correspondents, and Editors	248	6
Other	74	2
Total	4,192	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, which meets twice a year, is composed of five members of the Board and such other members as the committee chair deems appropriate. To be considered by the Membership Committee, candidates must be proposed for membership by current Council members. The roster of members is listed in the annual report.

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

Term Membership

In an effort to reach out to the next generation of leaders, the Board has established a separate Term Membership Committee. This committee meets annually in the spring to evaluate candidates between the ages of 28 and 34 for consideration as five-year term members of the Council. The selection process for term membership is nearly identical to, although separate from, that for regular members. Initiated over 30 years ago, the program has grown to the point where the Board has gradually raised the yearly limit on the number of term members who may be elected. At present, the limit is 110, of whom no more than 35 are permitted to be age 30 and under.

Becoming a Member

Current procedure requires that every candidate for regular membership be formally nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of two other

individuals, at least one of whom is a Council member. To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated by one member and seconded by a minimum of one other Council member. It is recommended that at least one letter from a current or former professional colleague be included. An additional letter or two, from Council members, reflecting different perspectives are welcome but not required. Currently, an average candidacy includes four to five letters of support. All candidates must complete a nominee information form, which may be obtained from the Membership office. The candidate must provide the following information: curriculum vitae or chronological resume, which must include the candidate's date of birth and, if foreign-born, a statement that he or she has been naturalized or is a permanent resident who has made formal application for citizenship. Additionally, the nominator or candidate should submit a list of the names of up to ten Council members by whom the candidate is well known.

Rules and Regulations

A candidate's nominator bears the chief responsibility for seeing to it that filing deadlines for a candidacy are met and that all required documents are submitted to the Council's membership office in a timely manner. Candidates or their nominators are responsible for securing Council members to write seconding letters within the content guidelines prescribed below. Council members are advised to commit themselves to supporting a candidacy only when they can fairly meet the requirements of the process and the expectations of the candidates who depend on them for assistance. Please also note:

- Council membership is restricted to citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.
- Members of the Council's Board of Directors and Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, and writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as parent, brother or sister, cousin, etc.), or near in-law of a candidate may not formally propose or second that candidate for membership in the Council. Members should also refrain from writing on behalf of clients.
- Members should write only in support of candidates whom they know well.

Nominating Letters

Letters nominating a candidate for consideration by the Membership Committee should address the following criteria, which have always been basic to the committee's consideration of membership candidates:

- Intellectual attainment and expertise;
- Degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs or in other areas affecting international affairs;
- Promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations;
- Potential contributions to the Council's work;
- Desire and ability to participate in Council activities; and
- Standing among his or her peers.

Seconding Letters

Seconding letters need not be so comprehensive but should amplify why, in the opinion of the writer, a given candidate should be considered for Council membership. Thoughtful, candid, and succinct comments are far more important in seconding and proposing letters than formal endorsements of candidates. In seconding letters particularly, writers should express why a given candidate should be considered for Council membership for reasons beyond the basic criteria above.

While only two seconding letters are required to assure that a candidate's name will be forwarded to the Membership Committee, one or two additional letters are frequently submitted at the initiative of either the nominator or the candidate. Such letters are particularly helpful to the Membership Committee when they add information or insights about a candidate not already contained in a previous letter. All membership proposing, seconding, and supporting letters should be mailed to the address indicated at the end of this section.

Deadlines

Strict observance of deadlines is essential to staff support of the Membership Committee's work, and we request your continuing cooperation. The preparation of individual membership files for submission to the Membership Committee is a continuing process. Candidates whose files are not completed in time for any given meeting of the committee have their files carried forward, without prejudice, to the subsequent meeting, but are considered only if completed.

REGULAR MEMBERSHIP—For prospective regular members, the deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the committee to consider regular membership candidates are March 1 and September 15.

TERM MEMBERSHIP—For prospective term members, the deadline for receipt of all materials for the annual meeting of the committee to consider term membership candidates is January 31.

Notification of Candidates

Candidates recommended by the Membership Committee and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates remain eligible for consideration at subsequent meetings of the committee and may continue to submit new materials and secure additional letters of support. The process is entirely one of

affirmative selection; i.e., from the large and evolving pool of nominees, the committee and the Board choose a number of members without prejudice to the candidacies of those remaining in the pool.

Contact for All Membership Matters and Correspondence:

Elise Carlson Lewis
 Vice President of Membership and Fellowship Affairs
 Council on Foreign Relations
 58 East 68th Street
 New York, New York 10021
 Telephone: (212) 434-9400; Fax: (212) 434-9801
 E-mail: membership@cfr.org
 Visit our website at www.cfr.org.



Council members at the February 25, 2003, Meeting, "Iraq: The War Debate," with Speaker Max Boot, Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, Speaker William Kristol, Editor, Weekly Standard, Presider Leslie H. Gelb, Speaker John J. Mearsheimer, R. Wendell Harrison Distinguished Service Professor and Co-Director, Program on International Security, University of Chicago, and Speaker Stephen M. Walt, Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Membership Roster

A

Aaron, David L.
Abbot, C. Spencer
Abbot, Charles S.
Abbott, Wilder K.
Abboud, A. Robert
Abboud, Labeeb M.
Abdelal, Rawi
Abel, Elie
Abercrombie-
Winstanley,
Gina Kay
Abernethy, Robert John
Aboelnaga, Mona
Abramowitz, Morton I.
Abrams, Elliott
Abshire, David M.
Aburdene, Odeh F.
Ackerman, Peter
Adams, Gordon M.
Adams, Michael F.*
Adams, Robert
McCormick
Adelman, Carol C.
Adelman, Kenneth L.
Adler, Allen R.
Agnew, Harold M.
Agostinelli, Robert F.
Ahearn, William
Edward
Ahn, Woodrow
Aidinoff, M. Bernard
Aizenman, Nurith
Ajami, Fouad
Albright, Madeleine K.
Alderman, Michael H.
Alderman, Peter B.†
Aldrich, George H.
Alexander, Margo N.
Alexander, Robert J.

Alford, William P.
Ali, Mustafa Javed
Allaire, Paul A.
Allan, Scott
Hazzard Jr.†
Allbritton, Joe L.
Allen, Jodie T.
Allen, Lew Jr.
Allen, Richard V.
Allen, William L.
Allison, Graham T.
Allison, Richard C.
Almond, Michael A.
Alonzo, Anne L.*
Alpern, Alan N.
Alter, Jonathan H.
Alter, Karen J.
Altman, Roger C.
Altman, William C.
Altshuler, David
Alvarado, Donna
Maria
Alvarez, Jose E.
Amador, Angelo I.
Ames, Oakes
Amos, Deborah Susan
Andelman, David A.
Andersen, Harold W.
Anderson, Craig B.
Anderson, Desaix
Anderson,
Edward G. III
Anderson, Gloria B.*
Anderson, John B.
Anderson, Lisa
Anderson, Mark A.
Anderson, Paul F.
Anderson, 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.
Arciniega, Tomas A.
Arcos, Cresencio S.
Arkin, Stanley S.
Armacost, Michael H.
Armstrong, Anne L.
Armstrong, C. Michael
Armstrong, John
Alexander Jr.
Armstrong, Lloyd Jr.
Arnhold, Henry H.
Arnold, Millard W.
Aron, Adam M.
Aronson, Bernard W.
Aronson, Jonathan
David
Arsh, Adrienne
Art, Robert J.
Arthurs, Alberta
Artigiani, Carole
Asencio, Diego C.
Asmus, Ronald D.
Assousa, George E.
Athreya, Bama
Atkins, Benjamin A.
Atkins, Betsy S.*
Atwood, J. Brian
Auer, James E.
Auerbach, Stuart C.
Augustine, Norman R.
Auspitz, Josiah Lee
Ausubel, Jesse H.

Avedon, John F.
Avery, John E.
Awuah, Patrick G. Jr.
Axelrod, Robert M.
Ayers, H. Brandt
Ayres, Alyssa C.
Azim, Khalid

B

Babbitt, Bruce
Babbitt, Eileen F.
Babbitt, Harriet C.
Bacon, Kenneth H.
Bacot, J. Carter
Bader, William B.
Baer, Donald A.
Baer, M. Delal
Baeza, Mario L.
Bagley, Elizabeth
Frawley
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 Moody, Carol
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.
Barber, Benjamin R.
Barber, Charles F.
Barber, James Alden
Bardel, William G.
Barger, Teresa C.
Barkan, Joel D.
Barkey, Henri J.
Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Jean
Barnes, Harry G. Jr.
Barnes, Michael D.
Barnet, Richard J.
Barnett, F. William
Barrett, Barbara
McConnell
Barrett, John Adams
Barry, Grace*
Barry, John L.
Barry, Lisa B.
Barry, Nancy M.*
Barry, Thomas
Corcoran
Barshefsky, Charlene
Bartholomew, Reginald
Bartlett, Joseph W.
Bartlett, Timothy J.
Bartley, Robert L.
Bartok, Kirsten
Leight
Bartsch, David A.
Basek, John T.
Bash, Jeremy B.
Basora, Adrian A.
Bass, Peter E.
Bass, Warren

Bassolino, Francis Keith	Bensahel, Nora J.	Biersteker, Thomas J.	Bob, Daniel E.	Brademas, John
Bates, Pamela M.	Benshoof, Janet	Biggs, John H.	Bobbitt, Philip Chase	Bradford, Zeb B. Jr.
Batkin, Alan R.	Benson, Lucy Wilson	Bijur, Peter I.	Bode, Ken A.	Bradley, Bill
Bator, Francis M.	Bereuter, Douglas K.	Bilder, Richard B.	Bodea, Andy S.	Bradley, Edward R.
Battaglia, Charles C.	Bergen, Margaret	Bindenagel, James D.	Boelhouwer, Pieter James Alexander	Bradley, William L.
Baumann, Carol Edler	Berger, Joshua A.	Binger, James Henry	Bogert, Carroll R.	Brady, Jacqueline V.
Baxter, Randolph	Berger, Marilyn	Binkley, Nicholas Burns	Boggs, Michael D.	Brady, Linda Parrish
Bean, Frank D.	Berger, Samuel R.	Binnendijk, Hans	Bohen, Frederick M.	Brady, Nicholas F.
Bearg-Dyke, Nancy	Berger, Suzanne	Birdsall, Nancy	Bohlen, Avis T.	Brady, Rose
Beattie, Richard I.	Bergsten, C. Fred	Birenbaum, David E.	Bohn, John A.	Brainard, S. Lael
Becherer, Hans W.	Berkowitz, Bruce D.	Birkelund, John P.	Bolling, Landrum R.	Bramwell, Elizabeth R.*
Becker, Elizabeth H.	Berman, Howard L.	Birnbaum, Eugene A.	Bollinger, Lee C.*	Branch, Daniel H.
Beckler, David Z.	Berman, Jonathan E.	Bishop, Sanford D. Jr.	Bolton, John R.	Branscomb, Lewis M.
Bedrosian, Gregory R.*	Berman, Todd R.*	Bissell, Richard E.	Bond, George Clement	Branson, Louise*
Beeman, Richard E.	Bernard, Kenneth W.	Bissell, Richard E.	Bond, Robert D.	Brauchli, Marcus W.
Begel, Andrea D.†	Berndt, John E.	Black, Cathleen P.*	Bondurant, Amy L.	Braunschvig, David
Begley, Louis	Bernstein, David Scott*	Black, Joseph E.	Bonime-Blanc, Andrea	Brazeal, Aurelia E.
Behringer, Michael P.	Bernstein, Peter W.	Black, Leon D.	Bonney, J. Dennis	Breck, Henry R.
Beierle, Thomas C.	Bernstein, Robert L.	Black, Shirley Temple	Booker, Salih	Breed, Henry Eltinge
Beim, David O.	Bernstein, Tom A.	Black, Stanley Warren	Booth, Max	Bremer, L. Paul III
Beim, Nicholas F.	Berresford, Susan Vail	Blacker, Coit D.	Booth, Carter	Breslauer, George William
Belfer, Robert A.	Berrie, Scott D.	Blackwell, J. Kenneth	Boren, David L.	Bresnan, John J.
Bell, Burwell B.	Berris, Jan	Blackwill, Robert D.	Borgen, Christopher J.	Brewer, John D.
Bell, Gordon P.	Berry, Elizabeth Clay	Blake, Robert O.	Borio, Luciana L.	Breyer, Chloe A.
Bell, Jonathan N.	Bersin, Alan D.	Blank, Stephen	Bork, Ellen	Breyer, Stephen G.
Bell, Joseph C.	Bertini, Catherine Ann	Blechman, Barry M.	Boschwitz, Rudy	Bridgett, Sundaa A.†
Bell, Mack	Bertsch, Gary K.	Bleier, Edward	Bosco, David L.†	Brigety, Reuben E. II
Bell, Peter Dexter	Beshar, Peter J.	Blendon, Robert Jay	Bose, Meena	Brimmer, Andrew F.
Bell, Robert G.	Bessie, Simon Michael	Blinder, Alan S.	Bosworth, Stephen W.	Brimmer, Esther Diane
Bell, Ruth Greenspan	Bestani, Robert M.	Blinken, Alan John	Botts, John C.	Brinkley, Douglas G.
Bell, Steve	Bestor, Theodore C.	Blinken, Antony J.*	Bouckaert, Peter N.	Britt, David V.B.
Bell, Thomas D. Jr.	Betts, Richard K.	Blinken, Donald	Boufford, Jo Ivey	Britt, Glenn A.*
Bell-Rose, Stephanie K.	Beutner, Austin M.	Bloch, Julia Chang	Bouis, Antonina W.	Britton, Dennis A.
Bellamy, Carol	Bewkes, Jeffrey	Bloom, David A.	Boulware-Miller, Kay	Broad, Robin
Belling, John B. III	Beyzavi, Kian	Bloom, Evan T.	Bouton, Marshall M.	Broadman, Harry G.
Bello, Judith H.	Bhala, Raj	Bloom, Mia M.†	Bovin, Denis A.	Brock, Steven V.
Bencke, Matthew J.	Bhatia, Karan K.†	Bloomberg, Michael R.	Bowen, William G.	Broda, Frederick C.
Bender, Gerald J.	Bialer, Seweryn	Bloomfield, Lincoln P.	Bower, Joseph Lyon	Brodsky, William J.
Benedict, Kennette M.	Bialkin, Kenneth J.	Bloomfield, Richard J.	Bower, Whitney A.	Brody, Christopher W.
Benjamin, Esther T.	Bialos, Jeffrey P.	Bloomgarden, Kathy Finn	Bowie, Robert R.	Brody, Kenneth D.
Benmosche, Robert H.	Bibbins, Nicole M.	Blum, Richard C.	Bowker, David W.†	Brokaw, Tom
Bennet, Douglas J.	Bickford, Jewelle	Blumenthal, Sidney S.	Bowles, Erskine B.	Bromley, D. Allan
Bennett, Andrew Owen	Biddle, George C.	Blumenthal, W. Michael	Boyd, Charles Graham	Bronfman, Edgar M.
Bennett, Christina A.	Biel, Eric R.	Blumrosen, Alexander Bernet	Boyer, Spencer P.†	Bronner, Ethan S.*
Bennett, Susan J.	Biemann, Betsy		Boylan, Delia M.	Bronson, Rachel
	Bienen, Henry S.		Bracken, Paul	
	Bierley, John C.			

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

- Brookins, Carole L.
Brooks, Harvey
Brooks, Karen B.
Brooks, Risa A.
Brooks, Rosa
Ehrenreich
Brower, Charles N.
Brown, Alice L.
Brown, Bartram S.
Brown, C. Michael
Brown, Carroll
Brown, Frederic J.
Brown, Gwendolyn A.
Brown, Harold
Brown, Kathleen
Brown, L. Carl
Brown, Lester R.
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, Mark F.*
Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Buchman, Mark E.
Buckberg, Elaine†
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.
Burrows, Mathew
Burt, Richard R.
Burton, Daniel F. Jr.
Bush, Robert C. Jr.
Bushner, Rolland H.
Bussey, John C.
Butler, Samuel C.
Butler, William J.
Bultjens, Ralph
Buxbaum, Richard M.
Buyske, Gail
Byman, Daniel L.
Byrne, Patrick M.
- C**
Cabot, Louis W.
Cabranes, Jose A.
Cáceres, Diane Alleva
Caesar, Camille M.
Cagle, Martha E.†
Cahill, Kevin M.
Cahn, Anne Hessing
Calabia, Dawn T.
Calabia,
F. Christophert
Calabresi, Massimo
Calder, Kent Eyring
Caldera, Louis E.
Caldwell, Dan
Caldwell, Philip
Califano, Joseph A. Jr.
Calingaert, Daniel
Callaghy, Thomas M.
Callander, Robert J.
Callen, Michael A.
Calleo, David Patrick
Camner, Danielle D.
Campbell, Carolyn
Margaret*
Campbell, Colin G.
Campbell, David
Arthur†
Campbell, F. Gregory
Campbell, Kurt M.
- Campbell, Thomas J.
Campbell, William
Cannella, Margaret
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 A.
Carlucci, Frank C.
Carmel, David A.†
Carmichael,
William D.
Carnesale, Albert
Carothers, Thomas
Carpenter, Ted Galen
Carr, John W.
Carrington, Walter C.
Carroll, J. Speed
Carroll, Katherine
Mooney†
Carruth, Reba Anne
Carson, Charles
William Jr.
Carswell, Robert
Carter, Ashton B.
Carter, Barry E.
Carter, Hodding III
Carter, James Earl
Carter, James H.
Carter, Mark Andrew
Carter, Marshall
Nichols
Casebeer, William
David†
Casper, Gerhard
Cassel,
Douglass W. Jr.*
Cattarulla, Elliot R.
Catto, Henry E.
Caulfield, Frank J.
Caulfield, Matthew P.
Cavanagh, Richard
Edward
Cavanaugh, Carey
Cave, Ray Charles
- Cebrowski, Arthur
Karl
Celeste, Richard F.
Cerjan, Paul G.
Cha, Victor D.
Chace, James C.
Chacho, Tania Marie
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.
Chapman, Margaret
Holt
Charles, Cory
Charles, Robert Bruce
Charnovitz, Steve
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, John S.*
Chen, Kimball C.
Chenault, Kenneth I.
Cheney, Richard B.
Cheney, Stephen A.
Cherian, Saj
Cherry, Pedro P.
Cheston, Sheila C.
Chickering,
A. Lawrence
Choi, Audrey*
Choi, Stephen J.
Chollet, Derek H.*
- Cholmondeley,
Paula H.J.
Chomiak, Theodora
Bohachevsky†
Choucri, Nazli
Christensen,
Aimée R.†
Christensen,
Guillermo Santiago*
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, Vernon E.
Clark, Wesley K.
Clark, William Jr.
Clarke, Donald C.
Clarke, Jack G.
Clarke, Teresa Hillary
Clarkson, Lawrence W.
Claussen, Eileen B.
Clement, Peter A.
Clemetson, Lynette
Cleveland, Harlan
Cleveland, Peter
Matthews
Clifford, Donald K. Jr.
Cline, William R.
Clinger, William F. Jr.
Clinton, William
Jefferson
Cloherty, Patricia M.
Cloonan, Edward T.
Clough, Michael
Coatsworth, John H.
Cobb, Charles E. Jr.
Cobb, Sue M.

- Cobb, Tyrus W.
 Cochran, Barbara S.
 Cochran, Molly M.
 Coffey, C. Shelby III
 Coffey, Joseph I.
 Coffman, Vance
 Cohen, Abby Joseph
 Cohen, Ariel
 Cohen, Benjamin J.
 Cohen, Betsy
 Cohen, Eliot A.
 Cohen, Herman J.
 Cohen, Jerome Alan
 Cohen, Joel E.
 Cohen, Paul H.
 Cohen, Richard M.
 Cohen, Roberta Jane
 Cohen, Stephen Bruce
 Cohen, Stephen F.
 Cohen, Stephen S.
 Cohen, Warren I.
 Cohen, William S.
 Colagiuri, Elizabeth L.
 Colby, Jonathan E.
 Cole, Johnnetta B.
 Cole, Jonathan R.*
 Cole, Samuel A.
 Cole, Thomas
 Winston Jr.
 Coleman, Isobel
 Coleman, Lewis W.
 Coleman,
 William T. Jr.
 Coles, Julius E.
 Coll, Alberto R.
 Collins, Joseph J.
 Collins, Mark M. Jr.
 Comstock, Philip E. Jr.
 Conaton, Erin C.
 Concepcion, Gina
 Celcis
 Conde, Cesar R.†
 Condit, Philip M.
 Cone, Sydney M. III
 Conley, Dalton
 Connelly, Matthew
 James
- Connors Petersen,
 Leila Anne
 Connolly, Gerald E.
 Connor, John T. Jr.
 Considine, Jill M.
 Constable, Pamela
 Conway, Jill
 Cook, Frances D.
 Cook, Gary M.
 Cooke, Goodwin
 Cooke, John F.
 Cooley, Alexander A.†
 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, Laura K.†
 Cooper, Richard N.
 Cooper, Scott A.
 Corbet, Kathleen A.
 Cornelius, Wayne A.
 Cornell, Henry
 Cott, Suzanne
 Cotter, William R.
 Courtney, William H.
 Cousens, Elizabeth M.*
 Covey, Jock
 Cowal, Sally Grooms
 Cowan, Geoffrey
 Cowan, L. Gray
 Cowhey, Peter F.
 Cox, Edward F.
 Cox, Howard E. Jr.
 Crahan, Margaret E.
 Craner, Lorne W.
 Crawford, John F.
 Crawford, Timothy W.
 Crebo-Rediker,
 Heidi E.*
- Creekmore,
 Marion V. Jr.
 Crichton, Kyle
 Crile, George III
 Crippen, Dan L.
 Crittenden, Ann
 Crocker, Bathsheba N.
 Crocker, Chester A.
 Cromwell, Adelaide
 McGuinn
 Cross, Devon G.
 Cross, June V.
 Cross, Mary S.*
 Cross, Sam Y.
 Cross, Theodore
 Crossette, Barbara
 Crowe, William J.
 Crowley, Monica
 Elizabeth
 Crown, Lester
 Cruise, Daniel Lester
 Crystal, Lester M.
 Cullum, Lee
 Cumming, Alfred*
 Cumming,
 Christine M.
 Cuneo, Donald
 Cunningham, James B.
 Cunningham,
 Nelson W.
 Curley, Walter J.P. Jr.
 Curran, R.T.
 Currie, Kelley E.†
 Curtis, Charles B.
 Curtis, Gerald L.
 Cutler, Lloyd N.
 Cutler, Walter L.
 Cutshaw, Kenneth A.
 Cutter, Ana Grier
 Cutter, W. Bowman
 Cyr, Arthur I.
- D**
 D'Amato, Alfonse M.
 Daalder, Ivo H.
 Dabelko, Geoffrey D.
- Dady, Teresa Gail
 Dahm, Evelyn P.†
 Dailey, Brian D.
 Dale, Helle
 Dale, William B.
 Daley, William M.
 Dallara, Charles H.
 Dalley, George Albert
 Dallmeyer, Dorinda G.
 Dalton, James E.
 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.
 DaSilva, Russell J.
 David, Jack
 Davidson, Ralph K.
 Davidson, Ralph
 Parsons
 Davis, Christina L.†
 Davis, Evan A.
 Davis, Florence A.*
 Davis, Jacquelyn K.
 Davis, Jerome
 Davis, Kathryn W.
 Davis, Kim Gordon
 Davis, Lynn E.
 Davis, Nathaniel
 Davison, Kristina
 Perkin
 Davison, W. Phillips
 Dawisha, Karen Lea
 Dawkins, Peter M.
 Dawson Carr,
 Marion M.
 Dawson, Christine L.
 Dawson, Horace G. Jr.
 Day, Arthur R.
 Days, Drew
 Saunders III
 de Borchgrave,
 Arnaud
- de Janosi, Peter E.
 de la Garza,
 Rodolfo O.
 de Menil, George
 de Menil, Joy A.
 de Menil, Lois Pattison
 de Rothschild, Lynn
 Forester
 de Swaan,
 Jean-Christophe
 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.
 Decyk, Roxanne J.
 Dedrick, Fred T.
 Deffenbaugh,
 Ralston H. Jr.
 DeGioia, John J.*
 Deibel, Terry L.
 del Olmo, Frank
 Phillip
 Del Rosso, Stephen J.
 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
 Deri, Christopher
 Alan†
 Derian, Patricia
 Murphy

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

- Derr, Kenneth T.
Derrick, James V. Jr.
Derryck, Vivian
 Lowery
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, Thomas J.
DeYoung, Karen J.
Diamond, Michael W.
Diaz, Charley L.
Dickey, Christopher
Dickinson, Laura A.†
Dicks, Norman D.
Dickson-Horton,
 Valerie L.
Didion, Joan
Diebold, John
Diehl, Jackson K.
Dilenschneider,
 Robert L.
DiMartino, Rita
Dimon, James
Dine, Thomas A.
Dinerstein, Robert C.
Dinkins, David N.
DiPerna, Paula
Distlerath, Linda M.*
Diuk, Nadia
Djerejian, Edward P.
Djerejian, Gregory
Dobriansky, Paula J.
Doctoroff, Daniel L.
Dodd, Christopher J.
Doebele, Justin W.
Doerge, David J.
Doherty, William C.
Doi, Ayako
Doley, Harold E. Jr.
Dominguez, Jorge I.
Donahue, Thomas R.
Donaldson, Robert H.
Donaldson, William H.
Donatich, John E.
Donfried, Karen Erika
Donilon, Thomas E.
Donnellan, April
 Kanne
Donohue, Douglas S.
Donohue, Laura K.†
Doran, Charles F.
Dormandy,
 Xenia B.M.†
Dorsen, Norman
Dougan, Diana Lady
Dougherty, James P.
Douglass, Loren
Douglass, Robert R.
Dowling, John
 Nicholas
Doyle, Michael W.
Draper, William H. III
Drayton, William
Dreier, David
Drell, Sidney D.
Drew, Elizabeth
Dreyfuss, Joel
Drezner, Daniel W.
Drimmer, Jonathan
Drobnick, Richard Lee
Drozdiak, William M.*
Drucker, Joy E.
Drucker, Richard A.
Druckerman, Pamela
Druyan, Ann
Duberstein,
 Kenneth M.
Dubin, Seth H.
DuBrul, Stephen M. Jr.
Duckenfield, David
 Adams
Duelfer, Charles A.
Duersten, Althea L.
Duffey, Joseph D.
Duffie, David A.
Duffy, Gloria
 Charmian
Duffy, James H.
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.
Dworkin, Douglas A.
Dyson, Esther
- E**
Eagleburger,
 Lawrence S.
Earle, Ralph II
East, Maurice A.
Eastman, John Lindner
Eastman, Michael R.
Easum, Donald B.
Eberhart, Ralph E.
Eberle, William D.
Eberstadt, Nicholas
Echols, Marsha A.
Economy, Elizabeth C.*
Ecton, Donna R.
Eddleman, Linda
 Hiniker
Eddy, Randolph P. III*
Edelman, Gerald M.
Edelman, Marian
 Wright
Edelman, Richard
 Winston
Edelstein, Julius C.C.
Edington, Mark D.W.
Edley, Christopher Jr.
Edwards,
 George C. III
Edwards, Howard
Edwards, Mickey
Edwards, Robert H.
Edwards,
 Robert H. Jr.*
Edwards, Tamala
Effron, Blair*
Efros, Laura L.
Eggers, Thomas E.
Eichengreen, Barry J.
Eikenberry, Karl
Eilts, Hermann
 Frederick
Einaudi, Luigi R.
Einhorn, Jessica P.
Einhorn, Robert J.
Eisenbeis, Keri
Eisendrath, Charles R.
Eisner, Michael
Eizenstat, Stuart E.
Elden, Richard*
Elder, Christine A.
Elliott, Dorinda*
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.
Erdmann,
 Andrew P.N.*
Erskine, Matthew S.†
Esfandiari, Haleh
Eskin, Blake D.†
Esserman, Susan G.
- Estabrook, Robert H.
Esty, Daniel C.
Etzioni, Amitai
Evans, Gail H.
Evans, Harold M.
- F**
Fabian, Larry L.
Factor, Elizabeth†
Factor, Mallory*
Fairbanks,
 Charles H. Jr.
Fairbanks, Richard
Fairman, David M.
Falco, Mathea
Falcoff, Mark
Falk, Pamela S.
Falk, 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
Fazal, Tanisha M.†
Feigenbaum, Evan A.
Feinberg, Richard E.
Feiner, Ava S.
Feingold, Catherine
 Lynne
Feinstein, Dianne*
Feinstein, Lee
Feissel, Gustave
Feist, Samuel H.
Feith, Douglas J.
Feldman, Daniel F.
Feldman, Mark B.
Feldman, Noah R.
Feldman, Sandra
Feldstein, Martin S.

- Fenzel, Michael R.
 Ferguson, Charles H.
 Ferguson, James L.
 Ferguson, Tim W.*
 Ferlic, Suzanne R.
 Fernandes, Anthony C.
 Fernandez, Jose W.
 Ferrari, Frank E.
 Ferraro, Geraldine A.
 Ferrazzi, Keith
 Edward
 Ferré, Antonio Luis
 Ferre, Helen Aguirre
 Ferre, Maurice A.
 Fesharaki, Fereidun
 Fessenden, Hart
 Fessenden, Helent
 Fiedler, Jeffrey L.
 Fields, Bertram H.
 Fields, Craig I.
 Fife, Eugene V.
 Fifield, Russell Hunt
 Figueroa Küpcü,
 Maria C.
 Filippone, Desiree
 Geneva†
 Filippone, Robert J.
 Finberg, Barbara D.
 Findakly, Hani K.
 Finel, Bernard I.
 Finger, Seymour
 Maxwell
 Finkelstein,
 Lawrence S.
 Finley, Sonya L.
 Finn, Edwin A. Jr.
 Finnemore, Martha
 Finney, Paul B.
 Firestone, Charles M.
 Firmage, Edwin B.
 Fischbach, Gerald D.*
 Fischer, Stanley
 Fisher, Julie Ann*
 Fisher, Peter R.
 Fisher, Richard W.
 Fisher, Roger
 Fishlow, Albert
- Fisk, Daniel W.
 Fitchett, Mercedes
 Carmela
 Fitts, Sarah A.W.*
 Fitz-Pegado, Lauri J.
 FitzGerald, Frances
 Fitzgibbons, Harold E.
 Flaherty, Pamela
 Flaherty, Peter
 Flake, L. Gordon
 Flanagan, Peter L.
 Flanagan, Stephen J.
 Flanders, Stephanie
 Flanigan, Peter M.
 Fleischmann, Alan H.
 Flom, Joseph H.*
 Flournoy, Michèle A.
 Flynn, George J.
 Flynn, Stephen E.
 Fn'Piere, Patrick John
 Foege, 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
 Forman, Shepard L.
 Forrest, Michelle R.
 Forrester, Jason
 William
 Forstmann,
 Theodore J.
 Forsythe, Rosemarie
 Fortna, V. Page
 Fosler, Gail D.
 Foss, Michelle Michot*
 Foster, Brenda Lei
 Foster, Charles C.
 Foster, Richard N.
- Fourquet, José A.*
 Fowler, Jeffrey L.*
 Fowler, Wyche Jr.
 Fox, Daniel M.
 Fox, Donald T.
 Fox, Eleanor M.
 Fox, Joseph Carrere
 Fraga Neto, 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, William
 Emery
 Frazier, Kenneth C.
 Frazier, Myra M.
 Fredericks, Wayne
 Fredman, Jonathan M.
 Freeman, Bennett
 Freeman, Constance J.
 Freeman, Harry L.
 Freidheim, Cyrus F.
 Freidheim, Stephen C.
 Freimuth, Ladeene A.
 Frelinghuysen,
 Peter H.B.
 Frey, Donald N.
 Freyer, Dana H.*
 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.
 Frist, William H.
 Froman, Michael B.G.
 Fromkin, David
 Fromm, Joseph
 Frost, Ellen L.
 Fry, Earl H.
 Frye, Alton
 Fudge, Ann M.
 Fuerth, Leon S.
 Fukushima, Glen S.
 Fukuyama, Francis
 Fuld, Richard S. Jr.
 Fuller, Jacqueline
 Cobb†
 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.
 Gadsden, Amy Epstein
 Gaer, Felice D.
 Gaines, James R.
 Galbraith, Evan G.
 Galbraith, Peter W.
 Gallagher, Dennis
 Gallagher, Lacey
 Wingham*
 Gallucci, Robert L.
 Galper, Joshua P.
 Galvis, Sandra
 Galvis, Sergio J.
 Ganguly, Sumit
 Gann, Pamela B.
 Gannon, John C.
- Ganoe, Charles S.
 Gantcher, Nathan
 Garcia, Marlen
 Garcia-Passalacqua,
 Juan M.
 Gard, Robert G.
 Gardels, Nathan P.
 Gardner, Anthony
 Laurence
 Gardner, James A.
 Gardner, Nina
 Luzzatto
 Gardner, Richard N.
 Garment, Leonard
 Garment, Suzanne R.
 Garnett, Sherman
 Garrett, Jonathan†
 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
 Gavin, Michelle D.†
 Gay, Catherine
 Gayle, Helene D.
 Gedmin, Jeffrey
 Geertz, Clifford
 Geier, Philip O.
 Geithner, Peter F.
 Geithner, Timothy F.
 Gelb, Amos
 Gelb, Bruce S.
 Gelb, Leslie H.
 Gelb, Richard L.
 Gell-Mann, Murray
 Gellert, Michael E.
 Gellman, Barton
 Gelpern, Anna
 George, John M.
 George, Robert P.*

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

- Georgescu, Peter
Andrew
- Gephardt, Richard A.
- Gerber, Burton L.
- 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
- Gewirtz, Paul David
- Geyelin, Philip L.
- Geyer, Georgie Anne
- Gfoeller, Joachim Jr.
- Gfoeller, Michael
- Gfoeller, Tatiana C.
- Ghiglione, Loren
- Gholz, Charles
Eugenet
- Giacomo, Carol Ann
- Gibbons, John Howard
- Gibney, Frank B.
- Giffen, James Henry
- Giffin, Gordon D.
- Gilbert, Jackson B.
- Gilbert, Steven J.
- Gill, Bates
- Gillette, Michael James
- Gilmore, James S. III
- Gilmore, Kenneth O.
- Gilmore, Richard
- Gilpin, Robert G. Jr.
- Gingrich, Newton L.
- Ginsberg, Gary L.*
- Ginsberg, Marc
Charles
- Ginsburg, David
- Ginsburg, Jane C.
- Ginsburg, Ruth Bader
- Ginsburg, Thomas B.
- Glaser, Bonnie S.
- Glauber, Robert R.
- Glennon, Michael J.*
- Gleysteen, Peter
- Globerman, Norma
- Glover Weiss, Juleanna
Ruth†
- Gluck, Carol
- Gluck, Frederick W.
- Glueck, Jeffrey Scott
- Godchaux, Frank A. III
- Goeltz, Richard K.
- Goheen, Robert F.
- Goins, Charlynn
- Goldberg, Michael E.
- Goldberg, Ronnie L.
- Goldberger, Bruce N.
- Goldberger, Marvin L.
- Golden, James R.
- Golden, William T.
- Golden-Vazquez,
Abigail†
- Goldgeier, James M.
- Goldin, Harrison J.
- Goldin, Matthew N.
- Goldman, Charles N.
- Goldman, Guido
- Goldman, Marshall I.
- Goldman, Merle D.
- Goldmark, Peter C. Jr.
- Goldschmidt, Neil
- Goldsmith, Barbara
- 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, Allan 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.
- Gordon-Reed,
Annette
- Gorelick, Jamie S.
- Gorman, Joseph T.
- Goss, Porter J.
- Gotbaum, Victor
- Gottemoeller, Rose E.
- Gottfried, Kurt
- Gottlieb, Gidon A.G.
- Gottlieb, Stuart
- Gottsegen, Peter M.
- Gould, Peter G.
- Gourevitch, Peter A.
- Gourevitch, Philip D.*
- Grace, Lola
Nashashibi*
- Graff, Henry Franklin
- Graff, Robert D.
- Graham, Bob
- Graham, Carol Lee
- Graham, Thomas Jr.
- Graham, Thomas W.
- Grand, Stephen R.
- Granoff, Michael D.
- Grant, Stephen A.
- Graubard, Stephen
Richards
- Graves, Howard D.
- Gray, Hanna Holborn
- Greathead, R. Scott
- Greco, Richard Jr.
- Green, Carl J.
- Green, Ernest G.
- Green, Jerrold D.
- Green, Michael J.
- Green, Shane
- Greenawalt, Alexander
Kent Anton
- Greenberg, Arthur N.
- Greenberg, David
- Greenberg, Evan G.
- Greenberg, Glenn H.
- Greenberg, Jeffrey W.
- Greenberg, Karen J.
- Greenberg, Lawrence
Scott*
- Greenberg, Lisa
- Greenberg, Maurice R.
- Greenberg, Sanford D.
- Greenberger, Robert
Stephen
- Greene, Joseph N. Jr.
- Greene, Margaret L.
- Greene, Michelle D.†
- Greene, Wade
- Greenfield, James L.
- Greenspan, Alan
- Greenwald, G.
Jonathan
- Greenway, Hugh D.S.
- Gregg, Donald P.
- Gregorian, Vartan
- Gregson, Wallace C. Jr.
- Greve, Louisa Coan
- Griego, Linda
- Griffiths, Phillip A.
- Grikscheit, Alyssa A.
- Grimes, Joseph
Anthony Jr.
- Grissom, Janet
Mullins
- Grondine, Robert F.
- Grose, Peter
- Gross, Martin J.
- Gross, Patrick W.
- Grove, Brandon H. Jr.
- Grove, Paul C.
- Groves, Ray J.
- Grunwald, Henry A.
Gabriel
- Guilmartin,
Eugenia K.†
- Gund, Agnes
- Gundlach, Andrew S.*
- Gupta, Sanjay K.
- Gupte, Pranay
- Gustavson, Céline
Stephanie
- Gutfreund, John H.
- Guth, John H.J.
- Guthman, Edwin O.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K.†
- Gwertzman,
Bernard M.
- Gwin, Catherine

H

- Ha, Joseph M.
- Haaland, Lynn E.
- 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.
- Hailston, Earl B.*
- Hajari, Nisid J.†
- Hakakian, Roya
- Hakim, Peter
- Halaby, Najeeb E.
- Hale, David D.
- Hall, C. Barrows
- Hall, John P.
- Hall, Kathryn Walt
- Hall-Martinez,
Katherine C.
- Halle, Claus M.
- Hallingby, Paul Jr.
- Halper, James D.*
- Halperin, David R.
- Halperin, Morton H.
- Halstead, Ted
- Halsted, Thomas A.
- Gupta, Michael H.
- Hamburg, David A.
- Hamburg, Margaret
Ann
- Hamel, Michael A.*
- Hamilton, Ann O.
- Hamilton, Charles V.
- Hamilton, Daniel

Hamilton, Edward K.	Hart, Todd	Heineman,	Herz, Barbara	Hoehn, Andrew R.
Hamilton, Hugh	Christopher	Benjamin W. Jr.	Herzfeld, Charles M.	Hoehn, William E. Jr.
Gerard Jr.	Hartley, Jane D.	Heineman, Melvin L.	Herzstein, Robert E.	Hoelenin, Malcolm I.
Hamilton, Lee H.	Hartman, Arthur A.	Heintz, Stephen B.	Hesburgh,	Hoffman, A. Michael
Hamilton, Ruth	Hartzell, Jon K.	Heintzen, Harry	Theodore M.	Hoffman, Adonis E.
Simms	Haseltine, William	Leonard	Hess, John B.	Hoffman, Auren
Hammonds, D. Holly	Alan*	Heinz, Teresa	Hessler, Curtis A.	Hoffman, Bruce
Hamre, John J.	Haskell, John H.F. Jr.	Hejlik, Dennis J.	Hewlett, Sylvia Ann	Hoffmann, Stanley
Hanauer, Larry	Hatfield, Robert S.	Helander, Robert C.	Hiatt, Fred	Hofman, Steven I.
Hancock, Ellen	Hathaway, Robert M.	Heldring, Frederick	Hicks, Irvin	Hogan, Jeffrey N.*
Hand, Lloyd N.*	Hatheway, Gina	Heleniak, David W.	Hicks, John F. Sr.	Hoge, James F. Jr.
Hand, Scott M.	Marie L.	Helfer, Ricki Tigert	Hicks, Peggy L.	Hoge, Warren M.
Handelman, Stephen	Hauge, John Resor	Helgerson, John L.*	Hidary, Jack D.†	Hoguet, George
Hansell, Herbert J.	Hauser, Rita E.	Heller, Richard M.	Higginbotham,	Roberts
Hansen, Carol Rae	Hauser, William Locke	Hellman, F. Warren	F. Michael	Hoinkes, Mary
Hanson, Carl Thor	Havell, Theresa A.	Hellmann, Donald	Higgins, Heather	Elizabeth
Hantz, Giselle P.	Hawkins, Ashton	Charles	Richardson	Holbrooke, Richard C.
Hantzopoulos, Evie	Hawley, F. William	Helm, Robert W.	Higgins, Robert F.	Holden, John L.
Harari, Maurice	Hawthorne, Amy W.†	Helman, Robert A.	Higgins, Tracy E.	Holdren, John P.
Hardin, Edward J.	Hawthorne, Steronica	Helprin, Mark	Hight, B. Boyd	Holgate, Laura S.H.*
Hardin, Katherine	Dunston	Helton, Arthur C.	Hightower, Edward T.	Hollick, Ann Lorraine
Anderson†	Hayden, Michael V.*	Hendrickson, David C.	Hill, Fiona*	Holliday, Stuart W.
Harding, Deborah A.	Hayek, Alexandre P.	Henkin, Alice H.	Hill, J. Tomilson	Hollifield, James Frank
Harding, Harry	Hayes, Margaret Daly	Henkin, Louis	Hill, James T.	Hollis, Duncan Bakert†
Hardt, John P.	Hayes, Rita Derrick	Hennessy, John M.	Hill, Pamela	Holloway, Dwight F. Jr.
Hargrove, John	Haynes, Fred	Henninger, Daniel P.	Hill, Raymond D.	Holmer, Alan F.
Lawrence	Haynes, Lukas	Henrikson, Alan K.	Hillen, John	Holmes, Henry Allen
Harman, Jane	Harrison	Henry, Nancy L.	Hillenbrand, Martin J.	Holmes, Kim R.
Harman, Sidney	Haynes, Ulric	Hentges, Harriet	Hillgren, Sonja	Holmes, Stephen T.
Harmon, James A.	Hayward, Thomas B.	Herberger, Roy A. Jr.	Hills, Carla A.	Holst, Eric Allan
Harms, Blaire M.	Heald, Lisa W.†	Hermann, Charles F.	Hilton, Robert P.	Holt, Pat M.
Harpel, James W.	Healy, Harold H. Jr.	Hernandez Colon,	Hinerfeld, Ruth	Holum, John D.
Harper, Conrad K.	Heck, Charles B.	Rafael	Hines, Rachel	Hooker, Richard D. Jr.
Harrington,	Hecker, Siegfried S.	Hernandez, Antonia	Hinton, Deane R.	Hoopes, Townsend W.
Maureen A.†	Hedges, Christopher	Hernandez,	Hirsch, John L.	Hope, Judith Richards
Harris, David A.	Lynn*	Ernesto P. III†	Hirsh, Michael P.	Hope, Richard O.
Harris, Jay T.	Hedstrom, Mitchell W.	Herrnstadt, Owen	Hitz, Frederick P.*	Horelick, Arnold L.
Harris, Joseph E.	Heep-Richter,	Edward	Hoagland, Jim	Horlick, Gary N.
Harris, Katherine	Barbara D.	Herskovits, Jean	Hoar, Joseph Paul	Hormats, Robert D.
Harris, Martha	Heer, Paul	Hersman,	Hobart, Matthew Todd	Horn, Karen N.
Caldwell	Heginbotham,	Rebecca K.C.	Hobbs Miracky,	Horn, Sally K.
Harrison, Hope M.	Stanley J.	Herspring, Dale R.	Tammany D.	Horner, Matina
Harrison, Selig S.	Hehir, J. Bryan	Herter, Christian A. Jr.	Hobson, H. Lee	Souretis
Harrison,	Heimann, John G.	Herter, Frederic P.	Hobson, Mellody†	Hornik, Richard H.
William B. Jr.	Heimbold,	Hertog, Roger	Hoch, Frank W.	Horowitz, Irving
Hart, Brett J.	Charles A. Jr.	Hertzberg, Arthur	Hodin, Michael W.	Louis
Hart, Gary	Heimowitz, James B.	Hertzberg, Hendrik	Hoerber, Amoretta M.	Horton, Alan W.

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

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House, Karen Elliott
Howard, A.E. Dick
Howard, Christopher
Bernard
Howard, John R.
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M. William Jr.
Howell, Ernest M.
Howson, Nicholas C.
Hoyt, Mont P.
Hrynkow, Sharon H.
Hsu, Ta-Lin
Htun, Mala N.
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Huffington, Roy M.
Hughes, Duane L.
Hughes, Lynn N.
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Hultquist, Timothy A.
Hume, Cameron R.
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Hunt, Swanee
Hunter, Robert E.
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Hunter, William Curt
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Charlayne
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Huntington, Patricia
Skinner
Huntington, Samuel
Phillips
Hurd, Joseph
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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.

I

Ibargüen, Alberto
Ignatius, David R.
Ijaz, Mansoor
Ikenberry, G. John
Ikle, Fred C.
Ilchman, Alice Stone
Immergut, Mel M.
Inderfurth, Karl F.
Indyk, Martin S.
Ingersoll, Robert S.
Inman, Bobby R.
Intriligator, Michael D.
Irish, Leon E.
Irvin, Patricia L.
Irwin, David Wallace
Isaacs, Maxine
Isaacson, Walter S.
Isaza-Tuzman,
Kaleil D.
Iselin, John Jay
Isenberg, Steven L.
Isham, Christopher
Isles, Adam R.
Ispahani, Mahnaz
Isser, Deborah H.
Itel, Yves-Andre
Itoh, William H.
Ivester, M. Douglas
Izlar, William H. Jr.

J

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

Johnson, Robbin S.
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Johnson, Robert W. IV
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Johnson, Thomas S.
Johnson, Willene A.
Johnson, Wyatt
Thomas
Jones, Alan Kent
Jones, Anita K.
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Jones, David C.
Jones, David L.
Jones, James L.
Jones, James R.
Jones, Jeffrey B.
Jones, Kali
Chantelle
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, Jofi John†
Joseph, Richard A.
Josephson, William
Joyce, John T.
Juhasz, Christina S.
Jumper, John P.
Junz, Helen B.
Juster, Kenneth I.
Jutkowitz,
Alexander S.

K

Kadel, Eric John Jr.
Kaden, Lewis B.
Kadlec, Robert P.
Kagan, Donald
Kagan, Robert W.
Kahan, Jerome H.
Kahler, Miles
Kahn, Thomas S.

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.
Kanet, Roger E.
Kang, C. S. Eliot
Kang, Richard S.
Kann, Peter R.
Kansteiner,
Walter H. III
Kanter, Arnold
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss
Kantor, Mickey
Kaplan, Eloise D.†
Kaplan, Gilbert E.
Kaplan, Helene L.
Kaplan, Jeffrey A.
Kaplan, Joelf
Kaplan, Mark N.
Kaplan, Stephen S.
Kapnick, Scott
Bancroft*
Kapp, Robert A.
Kapstein, Ethan B.
Karabell, Zachary
Karalekas, Anne
Karamanian, Susan L.
Karatnycky, Adrian
Karatz, Bruce E.
Karis, Thomas G.
Karl, 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
Katulis, Brian M.

- Katz, Abraham
 Katz, Daniel Roger
 Katz, Sherman E.
 Katz, Stanley N.
 Katzenstein, Peter J.
 Kaufman, Daniel J.
 Kaufman, Henry
 Kaufman, Robert R.
 Kaufmann, William W.
 Kay, Kira
 Kaye, Charles R.*
 Kaye, Dalia Dassa
 Kaysen, Carl
 Kayyem, Juliette N.
 Kazemi, Farhad
 Kea, Charlotte G.
 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.
 Kemble, Eugenia
 Kemp, Geoffrey
 Kempe, Frederick S.
 Kempner,
 Maximilian W.
 Kendall, Donald M.
 Kenen, Peter B.
 Keniston, Kenneth
 Kennan, Christopher J.
 Kennan, Elizabeth T.
 Kennan, George F.
 Kennedy, Caroline
 Bouvier
 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
 Khalidi, Rashid I.
 Khalilzad, Zalmay M.
 Khemlani, Neeraj L.
 Khosrowshahi,
 Cameron Kamrant
 Khuri, Nicola N.
 Kiermaier, John W.
 Kiley, Robert R.
 Kim, Andrew B.
 Kim, Hanya Marie
 Kim, Sukhan
 Kimmitt, Robert M.
 Kimsey, James V.
 Kinane, William P.*
 King, Henry L.
 King, John A. Jr.
 King, Kay
 King, Robert R.
 King, Susan Robinson*
 Kipper, Judith
 Kirkland, Richard I.
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.
 Kirkpatrick,
 Melanie M.
 Kiser, Stephen D.
 Kissinger, Henry A.
 Kittrie, Orde F.*
 Kizer, Karin L.
 Kladakis, Monica
 Vegast
 Klasky, Helaine S.
 Kleiman, Robert
 Klein, David
 Klein, Edward
 Klein, George
 Klein, Jacques Paul
 Klein, Joseph A.
 Klimp, Jack Wilbur
- Kline, Roger C.
 Klotz, Frank G.
 Klurfeld, James M.
 Knell, Gary E.
 Knight, Edward S.
 Knight, Jessie J. Jr.
 Knight, Robert
 Huntington
 Knowlton, William
 Allen
 Knudsen, Christine M.
 Koch, Jennie M.
 Kogan, Richard Jay
 Kohut, Andrew
 Kojac, Jeffrey Stanley
 Kolb, Charles E.M.
 Kolbe, Jim
 Kolodziej, Edward A.
 Kolt, George
 Koltai, Steven R.
 Komisar, Lucy
 Kondracke, Morton
 Koonin, Steven E.
 Korb, Lawrence J.
 Korbonski, Andrzej
 Kormos, Cyril Frederic
 Korn, Jessica
 Kornblum, John C.
 Kostiw, Michael
 Vincent
 Kotecha, Mahesh K.
 Kotler, Steven
 Kraar, Louis
 Kraemer, Lillian E.
 Kramek, Robert E.
 Kramer, Helen M.
 Kramer, Jane
 Kramer, Michael
 Kramer, Orin S.*
 Kramer, Reed
 Kramer, Steven Philip
 Kranwinkle,
 C. Douglas
 Kranz, Thomas F.
 Krasner, Stephen D.
 Krasno, Richard M.
 Krause, Lawrence B.
- Krauss, Clifford
 Krauthammer,
 Charles
 Kravis, Henry R.
 Krawchuk, Fred T. Jr.
 Kreek, Mary Jeanne
 Krens, Thomas
 Krepinevich,
 Andrew F.
 Krepon, Michael
 Kriegel, Jay L.
 Krikorian, Victoria
 Reznik
 Krisher, Bernard
 Kristof, Nicholas D.*
 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.
 Kumar, Nisha†
 Kumar-Sinha, Punita
 Kuniholm, Bruce
 Robellet
 Kunstadter,
 Geraldine S.
 Kupchan, Charles A.
 Kupchan, Clifford A.
 Kupperman, Robert H.
 Kurth, James R.
 Kushen, Robert A.
 Kux, Dennis
 Kwoh, Stewart
- L**
- Laber, Jeri L.
 Ladd, Edward
 Lader, Philip
- Ladner, Drew J.
 Ladner, Joyce A.
 LaFleur, Vinca*
 Lagomasino, Maria
 Elena*
 Lagon, Mark P.
 Laipson, Ellen
 Lake, David A.
 Lall, Betty Goetz
 Lamb, Denis
 Lambeth, Benjamin S.
 Lamont, Lansing
 Lampton, David M.
 Lancaster, Carol J.
 Landau, George W.
 Landé, Jim Alfred
 Landers, James M.
 Landis, Lauren R.
 Lane, Charles M.
 Lane, David J.
 Laney, James T.
 Langlois, John D.
 Langlois, Robert J.
 LaPalombara, Joseph
 Lapham, Lewis H.
 Lapham, Nicholas
 Payne
 Lapidus, Gail W.
 Lardy, Nicholas R.
 Larrabee, F. Stephen
 Larsen, Randall J.*
 Larson, Charles R.
 Lasensky, Scott B.
 Lash, Jonathan
 Lasser, Lawrence J.
 Lateef, Noel V.
 Lau, Edwint
 Lauder, Leonard A.
 Lauder, Ronald S.
 Laudicina, Paul A.
 Lauinger, Philip C. Jr.
 Laurenti, Jeffrey
 Lautenbach, Ned C.
 Laventhol, David A.
 Lawrence, Richard D.
 Lawrence, Robert Z.
 Lawson, Chappell H.

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

- Lawson, Eugene K.
Layne, Christopher
Lazarus, Shelly B.
Lazarus, Steven
Leach, James A.
Leclerc, Paul
Lederberg, Joshua
Lederman, Gordon
Nathaniel
Lee, Bryce
Lee, Chong-Moon
Lee, Ernest S.
Lee, Nancy
Lee, Thea Mei
Lee, 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
Lehrer, Jim
Leich, John Foster
Leklem, Erik J.†
Leland, Marc E.
Lelyveld, Joseph
LeMelle, Gerald A.
LeMelle, Tilden 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, Kenneth
Lynch
Leone, Richard C.
Lesch, Ann Mosely
Leslie, John W. Jr.
- Lesser, Ian O.
Lettre, Marcel J. II
Leverett, Flynt L.*
Levin, Gerald M.
Levin, Herbert
Levin, John A.
Levin, Michael Stuart
Levine, Irving R.
Levine, Marne L.
Levine, Mel
Levine, Susan B.
Levinson, Marc
Levit, Kenneth Joel
Levitsky, Jonathan E.
Levitt, Jeremy I.
Levy, Reynold
Lewis, Anthony
Lewis, Bernard
Lewis, Edward T.
Lewis, Elise E.
Carlson
Lewis, John P.
Lewis, Samuel W.
Lewis, Sherman R. Jr.
Lewis, Stephen R. Jr.
Lewis, W. Walker
Lewy, Glen S.
Li, Lu
Libby, I. Lewis
Lichtblau, John H.
Lichtenstein,
Cynthia C.
Lieber, James E.
Lieber, Robert J.
Lieberman, Joseph I.
Lieberman, Nancy A.
Lieberthal, Kenneth G.
Liebman, Benjamin L.†
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.
Lipman, Ira A.
Lipper, Kenneth
Lipper, Tamara
Lippey, Brian C.
Lippman, Thomas W.
Lipset, Seymour
Martin
Lipsitz, Rochelle J.*
Lipsky, John P.
Lipsky, Seth
Lissakers, Karin M.
Litan, Robert E.
Little, David
Little, Milton J. Jr.
Littlefield,
Elizabeth L.*
Litwak, Robert S.
Liu, Betty Wen Ssu
Liu, Eric P.
Liu, Margaret C.
Livingston, Robert
Gerald
Llewellyn, J. Bruce
Lodal, Jan M.
Lodge, George Cabot
Loeb, Marshall
Logan, Francis D.
Lombardi, Clark B.
London, Herbert I.
Long, William J.
Longmuir, Shelley A.
Longstreth, Bevis
Longworth, Richard C.
Longworth, Susan A.
Loranger, Donald
Eugene
Lord, Bette Bao
Lord, Winston
Lorentzen, Oivind III
Lotrionte,
Catherine B.†
Louis, William Roger
Lourie, Linda S.
Loury, Glenn Cartman
Love, Maryann
Cusimano
Lovejoy, Thomas E.
Lovelace, Jon B.
Low, Stephen
- Lowenfeld, Andreas F.
Lowenkron, Barry F.
Lowenstein, James G.
Lowenthal,
Abraham F.
Lowry, Glenn D.*
Lowry, Richard A.
Loy, Frank E.
Loy, James Milton
Lozano, Ignacio E.
Lozano, Monica C.
Lu, Donald
Lu, Xiaobo*
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.
Luzzatto, Anne R.
Lyll, 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
- M**
Ma, Christopher
Mabry, Marcus
Mabus, Raymond E.
MacCormack, Charles
Frederick
MacDonald, Bruce
Walter
MacDougal, Gary E.
Mack, Consuelo Cotter
Mack, J. Curtis II
Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr.
- Mackevich, Eileen R.
MacLaury, Bruce K.
Macomber, John
Dewitt
Macomber, William B.
Macy, Robert M. Jr.
Madigan, John W.
Magras, Krista M.
Maguire, John David
Mahoney, Margaret E.
Mahoney,
Thomas H. IV
Mai, Vincent A.
Maier, Charles S.
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Makinson, Carolyn*
Mako, William P.
Maldonado, Wendy A.
Malek, Frederic V.
Malinowski, Tom
Mallery, Richard
Mallett, Robert L.
Malmgren, Harald B.
Malmgren,
K. Philippa
Malone, Kim*
Malpass, David R.
Manatt, Charles T.
Manca, Marie
Antoinette
Mandelbaum, Michael
Maniatis, Gregory A.
Manilow, Lewis
Manley, Audrey
Forbes
Mann, James H.
Mann, Michael D.
Mann, Thomas E.
Manuel, Anja L.
Manzi, Jim
Marans, J. Eugene
Marchick, David
Marchom, John E. Jr.*
Marcum, John Arthur
Marder, Murrey
Margolis, David I.
Marinzoli, A. Roger
Mark, David E.
Mark, Hans M.

Mark-Jusbasche, Rebecca P.	Matzke, Richard H.	McGarr, Cappy R.	Medawar, Adrienne	Meyerman, Harold J.
Marks, Leonard H.	Maxwell, Kenneth R.	McGiffert, Carola H.†	Medearis, Amy	Meyerson, Martin
Marks, Paul A.	May, Ernest R.	McGiffert, David E.	Haupt	Michaels, Marguerite
Markusen, Ann R.	May, Michael M.	McGovern, George S.	Medeiros, Evan	Mickiewicz, Ellen
Marlin, Alice Tepper	Mayer, Claudette	McGowan, Alan H.	Sabinof	Midgley, Elizabeth
Marr, Phebe A.	Mayer, Gerald M. Jr.	McGrath, Eugene R.	Medina, David S.	Mihaly, Eugene B.
Marron, Donald B.	Mayhew, Alice E.	McGurn, William	Medina, Kathryn B.	Mikell, Gwendolyn
Marsh, Tom F.	Maynes, Charles	McHenry, Donald F.	Medish, Mark	Miles, Edward L.
Marshall, Andrew W.	William	McIntosh, Laura A.	Christian*	Milestone, Judith B.
Marshall, Anthony D.	Mazur, Jay	McKeon, Elizabeth A.	Medley, Richard	Millard, Robert
Marshall, Dale Rogers	McAfee, William Gage	McKeon, Robert B.	Meers, Sharon I.	Miller, Benjamin R.
Marshall, F. Ray	McAllister, Jef	McLarty, Mark C.	Mehlman, Bruce Paul	Miller, Charles R.
Marshall, Katherine	Olivarius	McLarty, Thomas F. III	Mehreteab, Ghebre	Miller, David
Marshall, Zachary	Singleton B.	McLaughlin, Andrew†	Selassie	Charles Jr.
Blake*	McCaffrey, Barry R.	McLaughlin, Charles	Mehta, Ved	Miller, Debra L.
Marten, Kimberly Joy*	McCaffrey, Cynthia	James	Meiman, Kellie A.†	Miller, Franklin C.
Martin, Daniel	Lillian	McLaughlin, David T.	Meissner, Doris M.	Miller, J. Irwin
Richard	McCain, John S. III	McLaughlin, John E.	Meister, Irene W.	Miller, Judith
Martin, Lynn Morley	McCall, H. Carl	McLean, Mora L.	Mejía, James E.	Miller, Ken
Martin, Susan F.	McCann, Edward	McLean, Sheila Avrin	Melby, Eric D.K.	Miller, Linda B.
Martin, William F.	McCartan, Patrick F.	McLin, Jon Blythe	Mello, Judy Hendren	Miller, Marcia E.
Marton, Kati I.	McCarter, John W. Jr.	McMahon, Darrin	Melloan, George R.	Miller, Matthew L.
Masin, Michael T.	McCarthy, James P.	Michael	Melville, Richard Allen	Miller, Roberta Balstad
Massey, L. Camille	McCarthy, Kathleen D.	McManus, Doyle	Mendelson, Sarah E.	Miller, Scott L.
Massey, Walter E.	McChrystal, Stanley A.	McManus, Jason D.	Mendlovitz, Saul H.	Miller, William Green
Massimino, Elisa C.	McClellan, Lilyanne H.	McNamara, Dennis L.	Mendoza, Roberto G.	Miller, William
Mastanduno, Michael	McCloy, John J. II	McNamara, Robert S.	Menges, Carl B.	Scott II*
Masters, Carlton A.	McClure, Robert L.*	McNamara, Thomas E.	Menke, John R.	Miller-Muro, Layli
Matheson, Michael J.	McCormack,	McNaugher,	Menon, Rajan	Millett, Allan R.
Mathews, Jessica T.	Elizabeth J.	Thomas L.	Merkel, Claire Sechler*	Millington, John A.
Mathews, Michael S.	McCouch, Donald G.	McNerney, Patricia	Meron, Theodor	Mills, Bradford
Mathews, Sylvia M.	McCracken, Paul W.	Ann	Merow, John E.	Mills, Karen Gordon
Mathias,	McCurdy, Dave K.	McPeak, Merrill A.	Merrill, Philip	Mills, Susan Linda
Charles McC. Jr.	McDermott, Jim	McPeek, Brian C.	Merritt, Jack Neil	Milner, Helen V.
Mathias, Edward J.	McDevitt, Sean	McPherson, M. Peter	Merszei, Zoltan	Mims, Valerie A.
Mathis, Brian Pierre	Daniel*	McQuade,	Meselson, Matthew S.	Minow, Newton N.
Matlock, Jack F. Jr.	McDonald, Alonzo L.	Lawrence C.	Messing, F. Andy Jr.	Mintz, Daniel R.
Matsui, Robert T.	McDonald, Tom	McWade, Jessica C.	Messitte, Zach P.	Miranda, Lourdes R.
Matsukata, Naotaka	McDonough,	Meacham, Carl E.	Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr.	Mirkow, Frank J.
Matteson, William B.	William J.	Meacham, Jon	Mettler, Ruben F.	Miscik, Judith A.*
Matthews, Eugene A.	McDougall, Gay J.	Mead, Dana G.	Metzger, Barry	Mishkin, Alexander V.*
Matthews, John	McEntee, Joan M.	Mead, E. Scott*	Metzl, Jamie Frederic	Mitchell, Arthur M. III
Casley III	McFarlane, Jennifer A.	Mead, Walter Russell	Meyer, Carl J.	Mitchell, George H. Jr.
Mattox, Gale A.	McFarlane, Robert C.	Meadows, Jeanne	Meyer, Edward C.	Mitchell, George J.
Matuszewski,	McFate, Patricia Ann	Terry	Meyer, John Robert	Mitchell, Patricia E.*
Daniel C.	McFaul, Michael A.	Meagher, Robert F.	Meyer, Karl E.	Mitchell, Wandra G.
		Mearsheimer, John J.	Meyer, Michael Ryder	Mize, David M.

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

- 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,
Harold H.
Montgomery,
Mark C.
Montgomery,
Parker G.
Montgomery, Philip
O'Bryan III
Moock, Joyce
Lewinger
Moody, Jim
Moody, William S.
Moore, Joanne C.
Moore, John J. Jr.
Moore, John M.
Moore, John Norton
Moore, Jonathan
Moore, Julia A.
Moorman,
Thomas S. Jr.
Moose, George E.
Moose, Richard M.
Mora, Alberto J.
Mora, Antonio G.
Moran, Theodore H.
Moravcsik, Andrew
Morey, David Edward
Morgan, Betsy L.†
Morgan, Charlotte M.†
Morris, Charles R.
Morris, Max King
Morris, Milton D.
Morris-Eck, Bailey
Morrisett, Lloyd N.
Morrison, J. Stephen*
Morrisssey, Arthur C.
Morse, Edward L.
Morse, Kenneth P.
Mortimer, David H.
- Mosbacher, Robert A.
Moseley, Teed Michael
Moses, Alfred H.
Mosetting, Michael
David
Moskow, Kenneth A.
Moskow, Michael H.
Moskowitz, James N.
Moss, Ambler H. Jr.
Moss, David A.
Mossman, James*
Motley, Joel W.
Mottahedeh, Roy P.
Motulsky, Daniel T.
Mouat, Lucia
Moyer, Homer E. Jr.*
Mroz, John Edwin
Mudd, Daniel H.
Mudd, Margaret Farris
Mujal-Leon, Eusebio
Mulberger, Virginia A.
Mulcahy, Anne M.
Mulford, David C.
Muller, Edward R.
Muller, Henry
Muller, Steven
Mulvenon, James C.
Mundie, Craig James
Mundy, Carl E. Jr.
Munger, Edwin S.
Muñoz, George
Munroe, George B.
Munsch, Stuart 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
McGill
Murphy, Richard W.
Murphy, Sean Patrick†
Murphy, Thomas S.
Murray, Douglas P.
Murray, Ian P.
Murray, Janice L.
Murray, Leonard II
- Murray, Lori Esposito
Murray, Robert J.
Muse, Martha
Twitchell
Musham, Bettye
Martin
Myers, Richard B.
Myerson, Toby S.
- N**
- Nachmanoff, Arnold
Nacht, Michael
Nadiri, M. Ishaq
Nagorski, Andrew
Nagorski, Zygmunt
Najera, Peter F.
Nakhleh, Emile A.
Namkung, K.A.
Nash, Jack*
Nash, William L.*
Nasher, Raymond
Donald
Nathan, Andrew J.
Nathan, James A.
Nathan, Scott Andrew
Nathanson, Marc B.
Nathoo, Raffiq A.
Nau, Henry R.
Nazeri, Haleh
Neal, Jeffrey C.
Neal, Stephen L.
Nealer, Kevin G.
Nederlander, Robert Jr.
Negroponte, John D.
Neier, Aryeh
Nelson Bloom,
Alyse C.†
Nelson, Anne
Nelson, Daniel N.
Nelson, Jodi Lee
Nelson, Marie E.
Nelson, Merlin E.
Nelson, Robert L. Jr.
Nenneman, Richard A.
Nesbit, Lynn
Neuman, Stephanie G.
Neureiter, Norman P.
Neustadt, Richard E.
Newberg, Esther R.
- Newburg, Andre
Newcomb, Nancy S.
Newell, Barbara W.
Newhouse, John
Newman, Constance
Berry
Newman, Frank N.
Newman, Jay H.
Newman, Pauline
Newman, Priscilla A.
Newman, Richard T.
Newsom, David D.
Newstead, Jennifer G.
Newton, M. Diana
Helweg
Ney, Edward N.
Nicholas, N.J. Jr.
Nichols, Rodney W.
Nicholson, Jan
Niehuss, John M.
Niehuss, Rosemary
Neaher
Nielsen, Nancy
Nielsen, Suzanne
Christine
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
Nooter, Robert Harry
Norman, William S.
Norquist, Grover
Glenn
Norton, Augustus
Richard
Norton, Eleanor
Holmes
Nossel, Suzanne F.
Noto, Lucio A.
Novack, Lynne
Dominick
Novogratz, Jacqueline
Nuechterlein,
Jeffrey D.
Nunn, Sam
- Nussbaum, Bruce
Nye, Joseph S. 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, Brian
Deveraux*
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.
Oh, Kongdan
Okawara, Merle Aiko
Oledge, Trina S.
Oliva, L. Jay
Oliver, April A.
Olmstead, Cecil J.
Olson, David Andrew
Olson, Jane T.
Olson, Lyndon L. Jr.
Olson, Ronald L.
Olson, William
Clinton
Olivey, Lee D.
Omestad, Thomas E.
Onek, Joseph N.*
Opel, John R.
Oppenheimer,
Andres M.*

Oppenheimer, Franz
Martin
Oppenheimer,
Michael F.
Orentlicher, Diane
Orlins, Stephen A.
Ornstein, Norman J.
Orr, Robert C.
Osborn, John E.
Osborne, Richard de J.
Osius, Margaret
Elizabeth†
Osmer-McQuade,
Margaret
Osnos, Peter L.W.
Osnos, Susan Sherer
Osann, Christian
Ostlund, William Brian
Ostrander, F. Taylor
Ostrowski, Stephen T.
Otero, Maria*
Ovitz, Michael S.
Owen, Henry David
Owen, Roberts Bishop
Owens, James W.
Owens, William A.
Oxman, Bernard H.
Oxman, Stephen A.
Oxnam, Robert B.
Oye, Kenneth A.

P

Paal, Douglas Haines
Pachios, Harold C.*
Pachon, Harry P.
Packard, George R.
Page, Carter W.
Paine, George C. II
Paisner, Bruce
Lawrence
Pakula, Hannah C.
Pallesen, Edward S.
Palmer, Mark
Palmer, Matthew A.
Palmer, Ronald D.
Palmerlee, April
Palmieri, Victor H.
Pan, Eric J.†
Pan, Michael
Pandith, Farah Anwar
Panofsky,
Wolfgang K.H.
Paperin, Stewart J.
Pardee, Scott E.
Pardes, Herbert
Pardew, James W. Jr.
Parent, Louise M.
Paris, Jonathan
Park, H.K.
Parker Feld, Karen
Elizabeth
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.
Patterson, Patricia M.
Paul, Douglas L.
Paul, Roland A.
Paulson, Henry M. Jr.
Paulus, Judith K.
Pavel, Barry
Pavilonis, Brigid
Myers

Payne, Donald M.
Pearl, Frank H.
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, Lawrence
Edward III
Penn, Mark Jeffrey
Perella, Joseph R.
Perera, Richard D.
Peretz, Don
Peretz, 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.
Persico, Joseph E.
Peters, Mary Ann
Peters, Michael P.
Petersen, Mathew
Scott
Peterson, Holly
Peterson, Michael A.†
Peterson, Peter G.
Peterson, Rudolph A.
Petraeus, David H.
Petree, Richard W.
Petree, Richard W. Jr.
Petri, Thomas E.
Petschek, Stephen R.
Pettibone, Peter J.
Petty, John R.

Peyronnin, Joseph F.
Pezzullo, Lawrence A.
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, Jeanne L.*
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
Pilling, Donald L.
Pilliod, Charles J. Jr.
Pillsbury, Marnie S.
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
Pizer, William A.
Pizzarello, Louis D.
Plaks, Livia B.
Platt, Alan A.
Platt, Alexander H.
Platt, Nicholas
Platt, Sheila Maynard*

Plattner, Marc F.
Plepler, Richard L.
Plimpton, Calvin H.
Plumeri, Joseph J. II
Plutzik, Jonathan
Poats, Rutherford M.
Pocalyko, Michael N.
Podhoretz, Norman
Pogue, Richard W.
Polk, William R.
Pollack, Gerald A.
Pollack, Jonathan D.
Pollack, Kenneth
Michael*
Pollack, Lester
Pollock, Robert
Lansing†
Polsby, Nelson W.
Pond, Elizabeth
Poneman, Daniel
Bruce
Pool-Eckert,
Marquita J.
Popkin, Anne B.
Popoff, Frank
Porter, John Edward
Portes, Richard D.
Porzecanski, Arturo C.
Posen, Adam S.*
Posen, Barry R.
Posner, Michael
Postol, Theodore A.
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.
Press, William H.
Pressler, Larry

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

Preston, Stephen W.
Prewitt, Kenneth
Price, Daniel M.
Price, Hugh
Price, John R. Jr.
Price, Raymond K. Jr.
Price, Robert
Prickett, Glenn T.
Priest, William W. Jr.
Prieto, Daniel B. III
Prillaman, William C.
Prince, Charles O. III
Pritzker, Thomas J.
Proenza, Luis M.
Prueher, Joseph W.*
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, Nigel
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.
Quinn, Jane Bryant
Quinn, John M.

R

Rabb, Bruce*
Rabinowitch,
 Alexander
Rabinowitch, Victor
Raine, Fernande
 Scheid
Raines, Franklin D.

Raisian, John
Ramakrishna, Kilaparti
Ramirez, Lilia L.
Ramo, Simon
Randolph, R. Sean
Randt, Clark T. Jr.*
Rangel, Charles B.
Ranis, Gustav
Rankin, Clyde E. III
Raphel, Robin Lynn
Rappaport, Alan H.
Ratchford, J. Thomas
Rather, Dan
Ratnesar, Romesh M.
Rattner, Steven L.
Ratray, Gregory John
Rauch, Rudolph S.
Raul, Alan Charles
Raustiala, Kal
Ravenal, Earl C.
Ravenholt, Albert V.
Ravich, Samantha F.*
Ravitch, Richard
Raymond, David A.
Raymond, Jack
Raymond, Lee R.
Reade, Claire E.*
Realuyo, Celina B.
Rechberger, Kristin
 Denise
Redman, Charles E.
Reed, Charles B.
Reed, Jack
Reed, Joseph Verner
Reed, Lucy*
Rees, Matthew R.†
Reese, William Sears
Regan, Ned
Reichert, William M.
Reid, Ogden
Reiling, Peter A.
Reilly, Saskia S.
Reilly, William K.
Reimer, Dennis Joe
Reinhardt, John E.
Reinhart, Carmen M.
Reinharz, Jehuda
Reisman, William
 Michael
Reiss, Mitchell B.

Remick, Elizabeth J.
Remington, Thomas F.
Renfrew, Charles
 Byron
Rennie, Milbrey
Rennie, Renate
Reppert, John C.
Reppy, Judith V.
Resnicoff, Arnold E.*
Resor, Stanley R.
Rey, Nicholas A.
Rhind, Eric Scott†
Rhineland, John B.
Rhodes, John B. Sr.
Rhodes, William R.
Ricardel, Mira R.
Rice, Condoleezza
Rice, Donald S.
Rice, Joseph A.
Rice, Susan E.
Rich, John H. Jr.
Rich, Michael D.
Richard, Anne C.
Richard, James J.†
Richards, Ann W.
Richards, Paul G.
Richards, Stephen H.
Richardson,
 Benjamin F.†
Richardson, David B.
Richardson,
 Henry J. III
Richardson, John
Richardson,
 Richard W.
Richardson, William B.
Richardson, William R.
Richardson,
 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
Rivers, Richard R.

Rivkin, David B. Jr.
Rivlin, Alice M.
Rizk, Nayla M.
Rizopoulos,
 Nicholas X.
Robb, Charles S.
Robbins, Carla Anne
Robert, Joseph E. Jr.
Robert, Stephen
Roberts, Bradley H.
Roberts, John J.
Roberts, Walter R.
Robertson, Cara W.
Robinson, Barbara
 Paul
Robinson, David Z.
Robinson, Davis R.
Robinson, Eugene
 Harold
Robinson,
 James D. III
Robinson,
 Leonard H. Jr.
Robinson, Linda
Robinson, Pearl T.
Robinson, Torrance W.
Robison, Olin C.
Rocca, Christina B.*
Rocha, V. Manuel*
Roche, James G.
Rockefeller, David
Rockefeller, David Jr.
Rockefeller, John D. IV
Rockefeller, Nicholas
Rockwell, Hays H.
Rockwell, Keith
 McElroy
Rodman, Peter W.
Rodriguez, Alex
Rodriguez, Rita M.
Rodriguez, Vincent A.
Rodrik, Dani
Roett, Riordan
Roff, J. Hugh Jr.
Rogers, John M.
Rogers, William D.
Roggero, Frederick F.
Rohan, Karen M.
Rohatyn, Felix G.
Rohlen, Thomas P.

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

Ross, Dennis B.
 Ross, Gary N.*
 Ross, Robert S.
 Rossabi, Morris
 Rosso, David J.
 Rossotti, Charles O.
 Rostow, Elspeth
 Davies
 Rostow, Nicholas
 Rotberg, Robert I.
 Roth, Kenneth
 Roth, Stanley Owen
 Roth, William M.
 Roth, William V. Jr.
 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, Trudy S.
 Rudder, Philip C.*
 Rudenstine, Neil L.
 Rudesill, Dakota S.†
 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
 Ryan, Arthur F.
 Ryan, John T. III
 Ryan, Michael E.
 Ryan, Patrick G. Jr.*

S
 Sacerdote, Peter M.
 Sachs, Jeffrey D.
 Sacks, Paul M.
 Saeed, Ahmed M.
 Saenz, Thomas A.
 Sagan, Scott D.
 Said, Edward
 Sakoian, Carol Knuth
 Salacuse, Jeswald
 William
 Salazar, Ana Maria
 Salem, George R.
 Salomon, Richard E.
 Salomon, William R.
 Salzhauser, Amy Lynnt
 Salzman, Anthony
 David
 Samore, Gary
 Sample, Steven B.
 Samuels, Barbara
 Christie II
 Samuels, Michael A.
 Samuels, Richard J.
 Samway, Michael A.
 Sanchez, Miguel
 Antonio
 Sanchez, Orlando
 Sandalow, David
 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
 Sarotte, Mary Elise
 Sassen, Saskia
 Sasser, James R.
 Satcher, David*
 Satloff, Robert B.
 Saul, Ralph Southey

Saunders, Harold H.
 Savage, Frank
 Sawoski, Mark
 Sawyer, Diane
 Scalapino, Robert A.
 Schacht, Henry B.
 Schachter, Oscar
 Schadlow, Nadia C.
 Schaefer, Matthew P.
 Schaffer, Howard
 Bruner
 Schaffer, Matthew
 Schaffer, Teresita C.
 Schake, Kori
 Schearer, S. Bruce
 Schechter, Jerrold
 Scheffer, David J.
 Schein, Jacqui Selbst
 Scheinman, Lawrence
 Schell, Orville Hickox
 Schell, Theodore H.
 Schenck, James
 Raymond
 Schick, Thomas
 Schiff, Frank W.
 Schiff, Karenn Gore
 Schifter, Richard
 Schlefer, Mark P.
 Schlesinger, Arthur Jr.
 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
 Schneider, William Jr.*
 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.
 Schuepbach,
 Martin A.*
 Schuh, G. Edward
 Schuker, Jill A.
 Schulhof, Michael
 Peter
 Schulz, William F.
 Schumacher, Edward
 Schumer, Charles E.
 Schwab, George D.
 Schwab, Susan Carroll
 Schwartz, Bernard L.*
 Schwartz, Eric Paul
 Schwartz, Norton A.
 Schwartz, Peter
 Schwarz, Adam
 Schwarzer, William W.
 Schwarzman,
 Stephen A.
 Schwebel, Stephen M.
 Sciolino, Elaine F.
 Scitutto, James E.
 Scowcroft, Brent
 Scranton, William W.
 Scully, Timothy R.*
 Seagrave, Norman P.
 Seamans, Robert C. Jr.
 Sears, Jonathan E.
 Seasholes, Mark S.
 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, Ivan
 Sender, Henry
 Sesno, Frank W.
 Sestanovich,
 Stephen R.
 Sevilla, Christina R.†

Sewall, John O.B.
 Sewall, Sarah
 Sewell, John W.
 Sexton, John E.*
 Seymour, Frances J.
 Shafer, D. Michael
 Shafer, Jeffrey R.
 Shaffer, Gail S.
 Shailor, Barbara
 Shalala, Donna E.
 Shalikhvili, John M.
 Shambaugh, David
 Shanker, Thomas
 Daniel
 Shapiro, Andrew J.
 Shapiro, Andrew L.
 Shapiro, Hal Scott
 Shapiro, Harold T.
 Shapiro, Isaac
 Shapiro, Judith R.
 Shaplen, Jason T.
 Sharp, Daniel A.
 Shattuck, John
 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.
 Shelton, Joanna Reed
 Shelton-Colby, Sally A.
 Shenk, George H.
 Shenk, Maury David
 Shepard, Stephen B.
 Shepardson, Robert
 Thomas
 Shepherd, J. Michael
 Shepherd, Karen F.
 Sheriff, Alan R.
 Sherman, Michael
 Sherman, Wendy R.

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

Membership Roster

- 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.
 Shirk, Susan L.
 Shirzad, Faryar
 Shlaes, Amity Ruth
 Shoemaker,
 Christopher C.
 Shonholtz, Raymond
 Shriver, Donald W.
 Shulman, Colette
 Shulman, Marshall D.
 Shultz, George P.
 Shuman, Stanley S.
 Sick, Gary G.
 Siebert, Muriel F.*
 Siegal, Bippy M.
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 Michael A.
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T
 Taft, Julia Vadala
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 Thompson, W. Scott
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 Tiersky, Ronald
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 Tillman, Seth P.
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 Ronning
 Topping, Seymour
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 Toth, Robert C.
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 Maddox

Townsend, Kathleen
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 Train, Harry D. II
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 Trimble, Charles R.
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 Alexander B.
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 D'Andrea

U
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 Abraham L.
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V
 Vaccaro, Jonathan
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 Vagliano,
 Alexander M.
 Vagliano, Sara
 Vagts, Detlev F.
 Vaitheeswaran,
 Vijay V.†
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 Valenta, Jiri
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 Valenzuela, Arturo A.
 van der Vink,
 Gregory E.
 Van Dusen, Michael H.
 Van Dyk, Ted
 Van Evera, Stephen
 Van Fleet, James
 Alward
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 Van Zandt, David
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 Vande Berg, Marsha

* Elected to membership in 2003.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

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- Vogelson, Jay M.
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- Votaw, Carmen
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- Walker, Jacques P.
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- Walker, John L.
- Walker-Huntley,
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- Walkling, Sarah K.
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Windham
- Wallander, Celeste
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- Wallerstein, Mitchel B.
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- Walsh, Michaela L.
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- Walton, R. Keith*
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- Weber, Vin
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Frederick
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 Wyser-Pratte, Guy
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† Elected to five-year term membership in 2003.

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