
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS ANNUAL REPORT

JULY 1, 2003-JUNE 30, 2004



Main Office

The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10021
Tel. (212) 434-9400; Fax (212) 434-9800

Washington Office

1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
Tel. (202) 518-3400; Fax (202) 986-2984

Website

www.cfr.org

E-mail

communications@cfr.org

OFFICERS *and* DIRECTORS 2004-2005

OFFICERS

Peter G. Peterson*
Chairman of the Board

Carla A. Hills*
Vice Chairman

Robert E. Rubin
Vice Chairman

Richard N. Haass
President

Michael P. Peters
Executive Vice President

Janice L. Murray
*Senior Vice President
and Treasurer*

David Kellogg
*Senior Vice President, Corporate
Affairs, and Publisher*

Irina A. Faskianos
*Vice President,
National Program
and Academic Outreach*

Elise Carlson Lewis
*Vice President, Membership
and Fellowship Affairs*

James M. Lindsay
*Vice President, Director of
Studies, Maurice R. Greenberg
Chair*

Abraham F. Lowenthal
Vice President

Anne R. Luzzatto
Vice President, Meetings

Nancy E. Roman
*Vice President and Director,
Washington Program*

Lisa Shields
Vice President, Communications

Lilita V. Gusts
Secretary

DIRECTORS

Term Expiring 2005

Jessica P. Einhorn

Louis V. Gerstner Jr.

George J. Mitchell

Robert E. Rubin

Warren B. Rudman

Andrew Young

Term Expiring 2006

Jeffrey L. Bewkes

Henry S. Bienen

Lee Cullum

Richard C. Holbrooke

Joan E. Spero

Vin Weber

Term Expiring 2007

Fouad Ajami

Kenneth M. Duberstein

Ronald L. Olson

Peter G. Peterson*†

Thomas R. Pickering

Laura D'Andrea Tyson

Term Expiring 2008

Martin S. Feldstein

Helene D. Gayle

Karen Elliott House

Michael H. Moskow

Richard E. Salomon

Anne-Marie Slaughter

Term Expiring 2009

Madeleine K. Albright

Richard N. Foster†

Maurice R. Greenberg†

Carla A. Hills*†

Joseph S. Nye Jr.

Fareed Zakaria

Richard N. Haass
ex officio

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS, EMERITUS AND HONORARY

Leslie H. Gelb
President Emeritus

Maurice R. Greenberg
Honorary Vice Chairman

Charles McC. Mathias Jr.
Director Emeritus

David Rockefeller
Honorary Chairman

Robert A. Scalapino
Director Emeritus

*In accordance with By-Law VII.

†Appointed by the Board of Directors in 2004.

Note: This list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 2004.

CONTENTS

Mission Statement	4
Letter from the Chairman	8
President's Message	10
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	14
Special Initiatives	16
Studies Program	26
Publications	30
New York Meetings Program	32
Washington Program	36
National Program	40
Corporate Program	44
Term Member Program	48
Communications	51
Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships	52
International Affairs Fellowship Program	55
Development	56
Committees of the Board, 2003-2004	65
Chairman's Advisory Council	66
2004 Board Election	66
International Advisory Board	67
By-Laws of the Council	68
Rules, Guidelines, and Practices	70
Historical Roster of Directors and Officers	72
Budget and Finance	74
Staff	82
Membership	85
Membership Selection Procedures	85
Membership Roster	86

MISSION STATEMENT

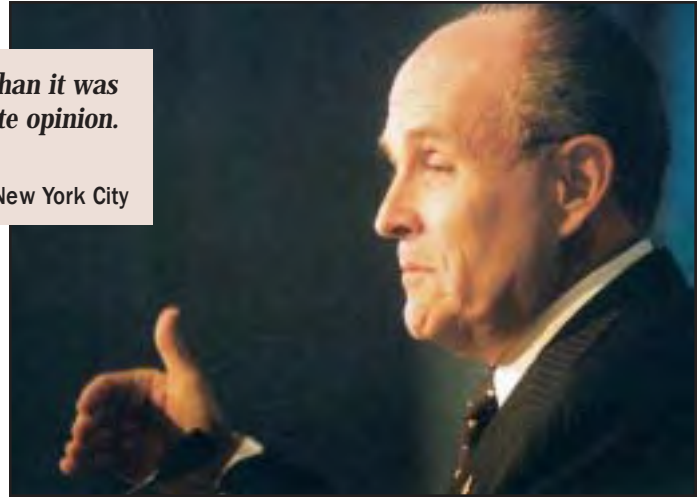
Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, national membership organization and a nonpartisan center for scholars dedicated to producing and disseminating ideas so that individual and corporate members, as well as policymakers, journalists, students, and interested citizens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

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

Convening meetings where officials, leaders, and thinkers debate and discuss the major foreign policy issues of our time . . .

“To many people, the world is a lot more dangerous than it was before September 11, 2001. I have exactly the opposite opinion. I believe the world is safer.”

—RUDOLPH W. GIULIANI, Former Mayor of New York City



“The force of reality has set in very clearly in Iraq over the last year, and the United States, as great and powerful as we are, cannot win the great global challenges of the twenty-first century without friends, without alliances, without allies.”

—Senator CHUCK HAGEL (R-NE)



“If Saudi Arabia is guilty of blame for what [Osama bin Laden] has become, the United States must surely share the blame. Both of us backed the mujahideen to liberate Afghanistan from Soviet occupation and allowed such people as bin Laden into the fray.”

—SAUD AL-FAISAL,
Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia



“We’ve always been a pretty profligate nation. We’ve had so much in natural resources that it’s hard for us to believe that they’re finite, that there is a problem. We’re beginning to understand that now.”

—CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN,
Former Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

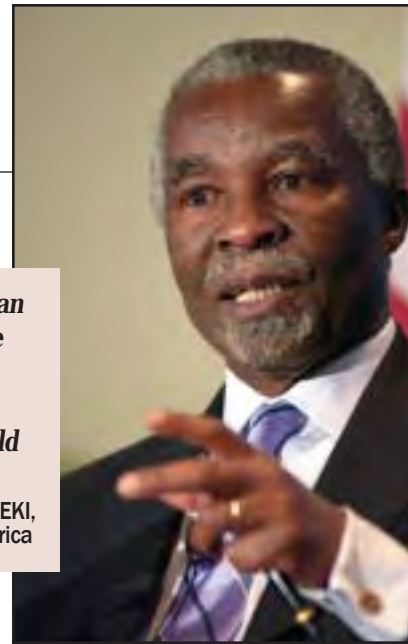


“I think the biggest problem of intelligence today is political direction from the White House. And I don’t know what I would do if I were George Tenet, other than resign.”

—ST ANSFIELD TURNER,
Former Director of Central Intelligence
[speaking at a Council meeting three weeks before Tenet announced his resignation]

“The most exciting thing on the African continent is the consensus about some very simple, common, basic things . . . peace and stability and democracy. It gives the possibility for all of us to hold one another accountable.”

—THABO MBEKI,
President of South Africa



“I believe that in the coming twenty years and beyond, it is entirely possible for China to maintain steady and rapid economic growth. Our GDP will quadruple its 2000 size, exceeding 4 trillion U.S. dollars by 2020. Just imagine the vast vistas that would be opened for American investors and companies.”

—WEN JIABAO,
Premier of
the State Council
of the
People’s Republic
of China



“At the beginning of the revolution, whenever right-wing newspapers wished to curse me, they used to call me a feminist. They called me a defender of human rights. And at that

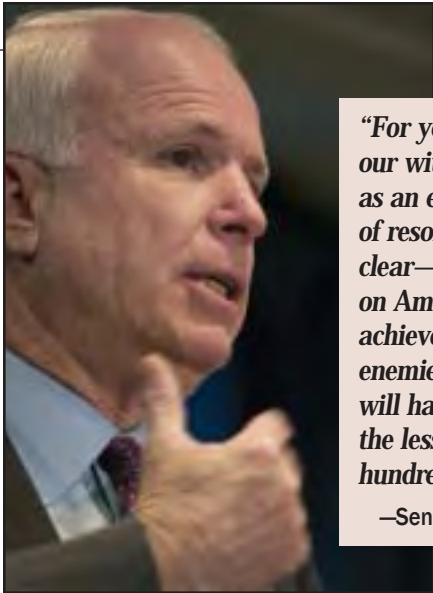
time, a word like ‘liberal’ was a pejorative word. But, gradually, human rights in Iran established itself to the point that now defending human rights, protecting human rights, has gained a social respect and value.”

—SHIRIN EBADI,
Iranian human rights activist and
2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner



“Tragically, in making the decision to go to war in Iraq, the Bush administration allowed its wishes, its inclinations, and its passions to alter the state of facts and the evidence of the threat we faced from Iraq.”

—Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY (D-MA)



“For years, al-Qaeda used our withdrawal from Somalia as an example of our lack of resolve. The lesson was clear—inflict enough pain on Americans, and you will achieve your aims. If our enemies succeed in Iraq, they will have taught the world the lesson of Mogadishu a hundredfold.”

—Senator JOHN MCCAIN (R-AZ)



“We cannot continue to say India, Pakistan, and Israel do not exist. They are there. They are de facto [nuclear] weapons states. And we have to deal with the reality.”

—MOHAMED ELBARADEI,
Director-General,
International Atomic
Energy Agency



“What intelligence we get—and how good it is—is a force-protection issue for America, but it is also a security issue for America going forward.”

—Representative JANE HARMAN (D-CA)



“It should be clearly seen that those who commit violence in the name of Islam do not represent this faith in any way. The allegation that there is an antagonism between the Islamic world and the West emanates from a misleading reductionism. There are people on both sides that are deceived by this fallacy.”

—RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN,
Prime Minister of Turkey



“Just as the Cold War was an ideological as well as geopolitical struggle, the war against terrorism must be fought with ideas as well as with armies. Unless we win the battle of ideas, there will be no dearth of willing foot soldiers ready to martyr themselves for their cause.”

—GOH CHOK TONG, Prime Minister of Singapore

LETTER *from the* CHAIRMAN

In a presidential election year dominated by foreign policy issues and the war on terror, I cannot think of a more important or worthwhile institution than the Council on Foreign Relations. This year, in particular, we have a special responsibility to provide Americans with the background they need to make informed choices about the upcoming elections.



Peter G. Peterson

One valuable channel for informing the interested public about the elections is the Council's Campaign 2004 website (www.cfr.org/campaign2004). ABC News' political website "The Note" praised it as a site that "does for foreign policy and the presidential candidates what somebody smart somewhere should be doing for domestic stuff. You'll be blown away by how deep and thorough it is." The website features briefs written by Council fellows summarizing top foreign policy issues, transcripts from campaign-related events at the Council, candidates' speeches and statements, scorecards comparing and contrasting candidates' viewpoints on various foreign policy issues, links to other campaign-related websites, and a calendar of significant events on the campaign trail.

As in past election years, *Foreign Affairs* also contributed to the Council's campaign coverage through the publication of several articles recommending strategies for the next administration. These included C. Fred Bergsten's "Economic Agenda for the Next President," Samuel R. Berger's "A Democratic Foreign Policy," and Senator Chuck Hagel's "A Republican Foreign Policy."

We also, for the first time, hosted receptions and luncheons during this summer's Democratic and Republican conventions in Boston (cohosted by Harvard's Kennedy School) and New York to introduce the Council and its work to visiting delegates and party leaders. Both events were built around a panel of Council fellows, joined in Boston by Harvard professors, dis-

We have a special responsibility to provide Americans with the background they need to make informed choices about the upcoming elections.

Discussing the major foreign policy and security challenges facing the country in 2005 and beyond.

The Council's contributions will not end with the election in November. In an effort to serve as a resource for the next administration, the Council will provide analysis and policy recommendations for critical foreign policy challenges facing the United States. These and other relevant materials will be featured in a special "Transition 2005" section of the website.

In last year's message, I felt it was most appropriate to give the warmest of thanks to then-President Leslie H. Gelb for his decade of extraordinary leadership. Les made us especially proud to be members of this great organization.

This year, I want to express my deep appreciation to President Richard N. Haass. It has been a great first year. Richard has made several absolutely first-rate additions to the staff. Our Task Forces, in my view, have never been more effective, and our meetings program is better than ever. In short, the organization is thriving.

Thanks as always to James F. Hoge Jr. for the continuing success of *Foreign Affairs*. It has proved itself again and again to be America's most influential publication on international affairs and foreign policy. So much more than a magazine, it is the international forum of choice for the most important new ideas, analysis, and debate on the world's most significant issues.

Finally, thanks go to Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, our vice chairs, and to all the other directors of the Council for the time and energy they dedicate to making this institution great. Special thanks to William J. McDonough, who has ably served as a director and vice chairman of our Board for many years, and in particular for his skillful chairmanship of the Finance and Budget Committee during the years of the Council's greatest growth. I am very sorry



Peter G. Peterson with Afghanistan's President Hamid Karzai and Council President Richard N. Haass.

to bid farewell to several other longtime Board directors—John Deutch, Robert D. Hormats, Theodore C. Sorensen, and George Soros—whose service over the years made a deep impact on this institution. I am pleased to welcome Maurice R. Greenberg back to the Board and look forward to working with new directors Madeleine K. Albright, Richard N. Foster, Joseph S. Nye Jr., and Fareed Zakaria.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

It is only a small stretch to speak of three phases in the post–Cold War American foreign policy debate. The first, from 1989 until 9/11, was dominated by the pervasive view that foreign policy counted for less, now that the Cold War was over and the Soviet Union a thing of the past. Indeed, with the exception of what can be described as a mostly elite discussion of Bosnia and Kosovo, one is hard pressed to identify much of a foreign policy debate during the 1990s.



Richard N. Haass

Al-Qaeda's attacks brought this phase (one is tempted to say "illusion") to an abrupt end. Clearly, the United States could not hide or shield itself from the many manifestations of globalization, most notably terrorism. The world remained a relevant and dangerous place for the United States. But still there was little domestic debate, as Americans almost to a person agreed on the need to confront terrorism in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

The Iraq war, however, has ushered in a third phase, and suddenly foreign policy and national security are not simply front and center but controversial. The war in Iraq—at its core a war of choice, one that has proved to be more costly and difficult than anticipated by many—has raised basic questions in the United States and around the world about the use of American power, including when and how it should be employed.

This heightened interest in the world and in what the United States should do to shape it presents obvious opportunities for the Council. We have done our best to take advantage of them. Council fellows—in their books, reports, articles,

congressional testimonies, speeches, and media commentaries—along with Independent Task Forces have helped to deepen our understanding, shape debate, and, in some cases, affect policy on issues ranging from the conflict in Iraq and the future of transatlantic relations to the potential role of nonlethal weapons and choices for addressing global climate change.

We have succeeded this past year for many reasons. One is where we began. I am fortunate and then some in my choice of predecessor. Leslie H. Gelb deserves our continuing thanks and recognition for all he did to transform this organization.

I would also like to thank Board Chairman Peter G. Peterson, Board



Council Honorary Chairman David Rockefeller with Nestor Kirchner, President of Argentina.



Council members await the arrival of new Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshiyar Zebari two weeks before the June 28, 2004, U.S. handover of power in Iraq.



Council Vice Chairman Robert E. Rubin with Richard N. Haass and Council Director of Studies James M. Lindsay.

Vice Chairmen Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, and the two-dozen-plus other directors who do so much for this organization. Pete, in particular, has been generous with his wisdom, and if I have done well this first year, it is in no small part thanks to his counsel. I would also like to thank Alton Frye for his dedicated service to the Council. We are recognizing his invaluable contribution by naming him the Council's first presidential senior fellow emeritus.

Last but hardly least I want to thank the members of the Council—term, life, and corporate. You

ent and commitment of our employees.

It has been a year of considerable change. On the personnel side, we have a new director of studies (James M. Lindsay), a new Washington director (Nancy E. Roman), our first fellow in global health (Laurie Garrett), and a new next generation fellow (Steven A. Cook). We also can look back on a revised mission statement; the improvement of an already strong meetings program owing to the introduction of book clubs, a History Makers series, and film nights; the regular convening of dedicated conference calls for our national members; the publication of a Council promotional brochure and a revitalized annual report; the introduction of a bequest initiative to complement annual giving; the launch of a monthly *Foreign Affairs* bestseller list in conjunction with Barnes & Noble; the establishment (thanks to Patrick M. Byrne) of the new General John W. Vessey Senior Fellowship for conflict preven-

tion of a Council promotional brochure and a revitalized annual report; the introduction of a bequest initiative to complement annual giving; the launch of a monthly *Foreign Affairs* bestseller list in conjunction with Barnes & Noble; the establishment (thanks to Patrick M. Byrne) of the new General John W. Vessey Senior Fellowship for conflict preven-



King Abdullah II of Jordan (center) with Madeleine K. Albright and George J. Mitchell.

My goal is to make the Council a true and valued resource for members in conference rooms; for students and professors in classrooms; for journalists in newsrooms; for business leaders in boardrooms; for members of Congress in committee rooms; for the administration in the situation room.

tion; the introduction of a series of Council Special Reports to supplement the important work of Council-sponsored Independent Task Forces and Council Policy Initiatives; and the opening of a Council “store” where members can take care of their holiday shopping and look smart too.

I noted earlier that the increased interest in the world and in U.S. policy has presented new opportunities for the Council. It also poses important obligations. We have gone and will continue to go the extra mile to live up to our mission and be truly independent and nonpartisan. My goal is to make the Council a true and valued resource for members in New York, Washington, and around the country in conference rooms; for students and professors in classrooms; for journalists in newsrooms; for business leaders in boardrooms; for members of Congress in committee rooms; for the administration in the situation room.

As much as we have accomplished, there will be no resting on our laurels in the year ahead. Board Chairman Peter G. Peterson describes in his essay all that we are doing and planning to do to contribute to the quality of the presidential campaign and the subsequent transition. In addition, we plan to continue to strengthen our Studies Program, sharpening the focus on our priorities of

American grand strategy, global governance, and Arab world reform while we continue to address critical regions, countries, and issues. We also are hard at work improving our already excellent website, www.cfr.org. A new and even better version will be up and running this coming year. And we are exploring what more the Council can do in the education realm; I believe that we can continue to serve our members and this country’s foreign-policy makers while at the same time making more of a difference in the lives of students and interested citizens throughout this great country of ours.

Let me close if I may on a more personal note. This has been a wonderful, challenging, and satisfying year for me and for the entire Haass family. I want to thank all of you for your support, for your advice, and for how much you care about and are committed to the Council.

Richard N. Haass
President

Council Vice Chairman Carla A. Hills (center) with Louis V. Gerstner Jr. and Mickey Kantor at a meeting of former United States trade representatives.



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign Affairs is making unprecedented strides in expanding its audience and attracting younger readers. Paid circulation now exceeds 134,000—a 25 percent increase since 2000. The magazine’s website, www.foreignaffairs.org, is playing a key role in this steady growth. Drawing 2.4 million visitors a year, the website generates a thousand subscriptions each month. Moreover, the new subscribers are, on average, fifteen years younger than those who previously subscribed, and women account for a growing share of those subscribers, according to an independent reader survey.



James F. Hoge Jr.

Strong and timely articles contributed to these healthy publishing results. Many articles during the past twelve months focused on the war in Iraq and its wide effects on U.S. foreign policy and relations with other countries. Authors this year highlighted critical issues, such as the ineffectuality of the UN Security Council, the rise of post-Saddam security challenges in the Middle East, the prospect of civil war in Iraq, and the worldwide growth of animosity toward America. Former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright concluded that the U.S. attack on Iraq was a mistaken diversion from the war on terrorism. Colin L. Powell, Albright’s successor, sounded a ringing defense of the Bush foreign policy in a later issue.

The rise of Asia—with China as the central attraction—also received sustained attention. *Foreign Affairs’* authors pointed to heightened tensions as well as many benefits stemming from the region’s surging economic growth. More than one contributor questioned whether the United States was prepared to deal with a stronger, more confident Asia. Other authors addressed energy demands, environmental degradation, and trade impasses—all issues exacerbated by Asia’s dynamic economies.

Throughout the year, *Foreign Affairs* featured penetrating analyses and differing views on how America should use its dominance. Should the United States wield its strength unilaterally to bring order to a world made unstable by rogue states and terrorist organizations? Is preemptive military force more necessary now than in the past? Or would the United States gain more by using the soft powers of diplomacy and multilateralism?

In the year ahead, *Foreign Affairs* will focus on some of the key issues that should be addressed by the presidential candidates. Topping the list will be a de-

Throughout the year, Foreign Affairs featured penetrating analyses and differing views on how America should use its dominance.



tailed assessment of the democratization program in Iraq—the key decisions that have helped or hurt the effort and the challenges that lie ahead. The magazine will also undertake a close examination of homeland security—measures taken and vulnerabilities remaining. In particular, the United States is vulnerable to lethal devices in ship or truck containers coming into ports and across borders that are loosely protected. Counterproliferation is yet another critical subject, given the threat of nuclear weaponry in terrorists’ hands. Fresh efforts to restrict access to the fissile materials required for weapons development have been launched, but much more needs to be done. A sense of urgency is very much in order. Also scheduled is an update on the state of democracy in the developing world. Contrary to some analysts’ conclusions, fledgling democracies are economically outperforming soft authoritarian regimes.

With the start of the new academic year, students and faculty can benefit from full access to the magazine’s online archives for teaching and research. This initiative complements the magazine’s successful anthologies and customized textbooks. *Foreign Affairs* is also launching a test of “academic site licenses.” Users of fifty university networks will be given free access to the magazine’s online service, including archives. This pilot program, versus a rollout to all campuses, allows for fine-tuning of the service and for personal feedback. The initial test group is roughly representative of large and small campuses across the country.

With the start of the new academic year, students and faculty can benefit from full access to the magazine’s online archives for teaching and research. This initiative complements the magazine’s successful anthologies and customized textbooks. *Foreign Affairs* is also launching a test of “academic site licenses.” Users of fifty university networks will be given free access to the magazine’s online service, including archives. This pilot program, versus a rollout to all campuses, allows for fine-tuning of the service and for personal feedback. The initial test group is roughly representative of large and small campuses across the country.

Foreign Affairs Bestseller List

In the May/June 2004 issue, *Foreign Affairs* introduced a new feature that ranks top-selling hardcover books on American foreign policy and international affairs, based on national sales at Barnes & Noble bookstores and on [www .BarnesandNoble.com](http://www.BarnesandNoble.com). The bestseller list appears as the closing feature of each issue of the magazine, with a monthly update on both www .foreignaffairs.org and www.BarnesandNoble.com.

Foreign Affairs has long been noted for its pithy and insightful book reviews, and the magazine’s readers are avid book buyers, purchasing more than twenty books on a verage each year. And bookstore customers are increasingly reading *Foreign Affairs*: this year *Foreign Affairs* was ranked 26th of all magazines sold at Barnes & Noble, up from 228th last year .



SPECIAL INITIATIVES

Each year the Council identifies a small number of initiatives for special emphasis. The following are highlights from 2003–2004:

- Six Independent Task Forces reports, including one update on Iraq and one on transatlantic relations; four new Task Forces in progress.
- A Council Policy Initiative explored policy options for combating climate change.
- Council Special Reports, a new series of concise policy briefs that respond rapidly to pressing foreign policy concerns and contribute to emerging policy debates, kicked off with groundbreaking reports on such subjects as the Republic of Georgia, the Philippines, and the G8 partnership with Africa.
- Campaign 2004 brought Council fellows to brief delegates and others at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions, and the Campaign 2004 website presented issue briefs and candidates' foreign policy statements.
- A Book Club series focused Council members nationwide on the use of military force in U.S. foreign policy.
- The third annual Arthur Ross Book Award honored volumes that made an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations.
- The Council's website, www.cfr.org, continued to inform members and the public while plans are underway for a major overhaul.

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 from the Council. Task Force chairs, directors, and members are solely responsible for the content of their reports.

The Independent Task Force on Transatlantic Relations, co-chaired by Henry A. Kissinger and Lawrence H. Summers, called on the United States and Europe to revitalize the Atlantic alliance by forging new “rules of the road” governing the use of force, adapting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to meet today’s threats coming from outside Europe, and launching a major initiative to bring about political and economic reform in the greater Middle East. The Task Force, which included former senior government officials, business leaders, and policy experts from both sides of the Atlantic, generated significant media attention in the United States and Europe. In addition to briefings in the United States, Task Force members took their report on the road, holding meetings and press conferences in London, Paris, Brussels, and Rome.



Iraq Task Force Project Consultant Eric P. Schwartz with Task Force Co-Chair James R. Schlesinger.



Transatlantic Relations Task Force Co-Chairs Lawrence H. Summers and Henry A. Kissinger and Task Force Director and Council Senior Fellow Charles A. Kupchan meet with journalists to discuss the Task Force’s findings.

The Independent Task Force on Iraq, co-chaired by Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, released in March 2004 a “one year later” update to its 2003 report, calling on the Bush administration and the presumptive Democratic nominee to reaffirm Washington’s commitment to security and reconstruction in Iraq. The Task Force recommended that the United States declare that coalition forces will continue to provide essential security in Iraq until the Iraqi security forces can do so on their own; emphasize that the transfer of sovereignty does not signal a diminished U.S. commitment to supporting stability, reconstruction, and a peaceful political transition; affirm that it is prepared to sustain a multi-billion-dollar commitment to Iraq for at least the next several years; and ensure the broad involvement of Iraqis and a leading role for the United Nations in the political transition in Iraq.

The Independent Task Force on Terrorist Financing, chaired by Maurice R. Greenberg, undertook a review of developments since the October 2002 release of its initial report, one that helped spur important legislative and executive actions. The review included an assessment of statutory and regulatory changes in Saudi Arabia as well as U.S. diplomatic

Task Forces are independent. Task Force chairs, directors, and members are solely responsible for the content of their reports.



South Asia Task Force Co-Chair Frank G. Wisner (seated) and Task Force Co-Director and Council Senior Fellow Mahnaz Ispahani (right) at the Task Force rollout.

and law enforcement actions over the past year and a half to curtail terrorist financing.

The Independent Task Force on Nonlethal Weapons, co-chaired by Graham T. Allison and Paul X. Kelley, found that a lack of nonlethal weapons capability hindered U.S. efforts in post-conflict Iraq and urged the Defense Department to increase funding for its nonlethal weapons program. Incorporating nonlethal capabilities into the equipment, training, and doctrine of the armed services, the Task Force found, could substantially improve U.S. effectiveness in conflict and post-conflict situations, as well as improve homeland defense. The Task Force continues to brief officials at the Defense Department and the Department of Homeland Security on its recommendations.

The chairmen of the Independent Task Force on India and South Asia, Frank G. Wisner, Nicholas

Platt, and Marshall M. Bouton, recommended new initiatives to solidify the U.S. partnership with an economically and militarily stronger India and to carefully calibrate support for Pakistan in its efforts to become a moderate Muslim state. The chairmen's report also called for a more active U.S. role in the volatile Kashmir conflict and redoubled support for the security initiatives of Hamid Karzai's government in Afghanistan. Members of the Task Force, cosponsored with the Asia Society, traveled to the region in December

2003 to discuss their findings and recommendations with senior officials in India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

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 around the world. The Task Force report, revised in 2003 to take account of developments in Iraq, called for a renewed national commitment to vigorous public diplomacy. The Task Force's primary recommendation was greater integration of public diplomacy into the making of foreign policy. Additional recommendations included improving global communications about U.S. policies, culture, and values, and better coordination between the White House and the myriad government agencies representing the United States abroad.

NEW TASK FORCES

Former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and former Director of Central Intelligence Robert M. Gates co-chaired the Independent Task Force on Iran, which released its report, *Iran: Time for a New Approach*, in July 2004. The Task Force found that despite considerable political flux and popular dissatisfaction, Iran is not on the verge of another revolution. Due to the urgency of U.S. concerns in the region, the Task Force recommended that Washington pursue direct dialogue



with Tehran on specific areas of mutual concern. The Task Force concluded that the ongoing investigation of the International Atomic Energy Agency into Iran's nuclear program and the evolving situations in Iraq and Afghanistan underscore the vital relevance of Iran for U.S. policy and create a new environment for engagement.

Former National Security Advisers Samuel R. Berger and Brent Scowcroft are leading a Task Force on Post-Conflict Capabilities that will evaluate the arguments for building a stronger international capacity for stabilizing and rebuilding post-conflict

societies, recommend ways for the U.S. government to organize itself to meet these requirements, and outline how these responsibilities should be shared with other governments, international organizations, and the private sector.

Former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and former Representative Vin Weber will co-chair



Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Iran Co-Chairs Zbigniew Brzezinski (left) and Robert M. Gates (above).

a Task Force on Reform in the Arab World. The Task Force will evaluate U.S. interests in promoting modernization and reform in the greater Middle East, assess the effectiveness of existing U.S. programs, and recommend policies for the United States, other countries, the private sector, and international organizations.

William F. Weld, former governor of Massachusetts, will lead a Task Force on North America. The Task Force, to be co-chaired with counterparts from Canada and Mexico, will address the range of transnational issues affecting the three North American nations, including trade, energy, the environment, immigration, and homeland security.

COUNCIL POLICY INITIATIVES

The Council launches a Council Policy Initiative (CPI) to address critical foreign policy issues when it seems unlikely that a Task Force can reconcile clashing views and forge a meaningful consensus. CPIs foster public debate by exploring competing viewpoints on an issue. CPIs may be written by a single author or a team of authors, and they are prepared in consultation with an advisory committee composed of recognized experts on the issue in question.

CPIs are written for the public as well as for experts. Beginning with a hypothetical memo to the president that reviews the relevant historical, political, and technical background to the issue, CPIs then present each alternative approach as a speech that could be delivered on the topic. The CPI tries to make the best case for each alternative rather than advocate any one strategy.

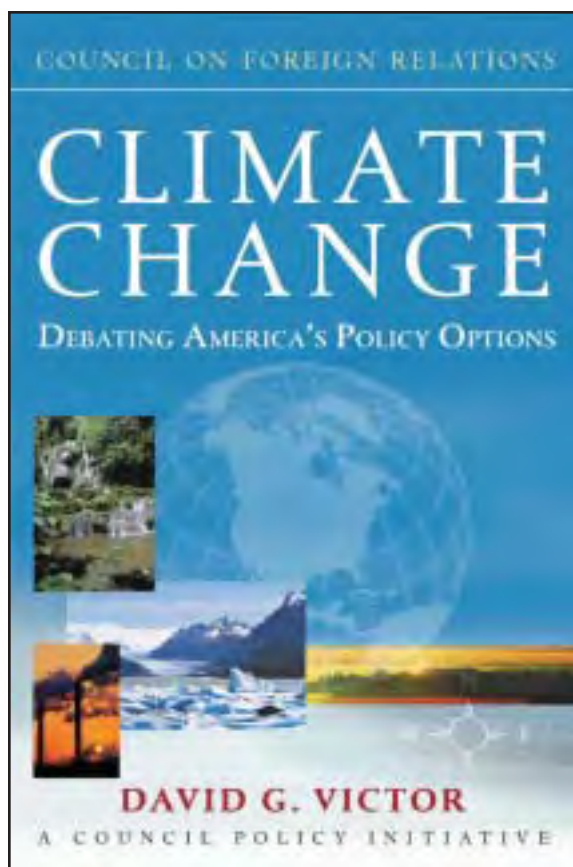
This year, David G. Victor, adjunct senior fellow at the Council and director of the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development at Stanford University, wrote a CPI titled *Climate Change: Debating America's Policy Options*. This book offers three policy options. The first, "Adaptation and Innovation," argues that uncertainties in the science of climate change make it unwise

to expend substantial resources attempting to control emissions. It recommends relying on voluntary emission reductions and advocates investing in new technologies that might make it less costly to reduce emissions in the future.

The second option, "Reinvigorating Kyoto," argues that the United States should reengage in international climate change negotiations, with the goal of creating a successor agreement to the Kyoto Protocol that contains emission reduction targets the United States could realistically achieve while also imposing binding emission limits on developing countries. This option would also create a global system to allow firms and governments to trade emission credits in an effort to find the most economically efficient solution.

The third option, "Making a Market," dismisses Kyoto-style solutions as unworkable because they try to

create a top-down global emission reduction system. It instead recommends that the United States create its own emission trading system, and it envisions the eventual emergence of an international emission trading system from the bottom up, as individual national programs are linked together.



CPIs foster public debate by exploring competing viewpoints on a critical foreign policy issue.

Council Special Reports are concise briefs designed to respond rapidly to a developing crisis or to contribute to an emerging policy debate.

COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

In 2004 the Council began publishing concise briefs designed to respond rapidly to a developing crisis or to contribute to an emerging policy debate. Council Special Reports are written by a single author in consultation with an advisory committee of independent experts on the country or issue at hand. The author may be a Council fellow or an acknowledged expert from outside the institution.

This past year the Council's Center for Preventive Action released two Council Special Reports, one on Georgia and one on the Philippines. *Stability, Security, and Sovereignty in the Republic of Georgia* was written by Council Senior Fellow David L. Phillips and released in January at a conference in Tbilisi. The report proposed a practical strategy for stabilizing the country during the first one hundred days of Mikhail Saakashvili's presidency and for increasing Georgia's economic prosperity in the long run. The new Georgian government used the report's recommendations to help determine its governing priorities, and the report's recommendations on structural reform were incorporated as benchmarks at a June 2004 donors' conference in Brussels. *Challenges for a Post-Election Philippines* was written by Catharin E. Dalpino, a former deputy assistant secretary of state and adjunct professor at Georgetown University. Released at a Council meeting in May, immediately after the Philippine presidential elections, the report recommended an array of steps for the new government to take to address the economic, political, and security challenges facing the Philippines.

The Council's Africa program also prepared two Special Reports, both released in May. The first, *Addressing the HIV/AIDS Pandemic: A U.S. Global AIDS Strategy for the Long Term*, cosponsored by the Mil-



President Mikhail Saakashvili of the Republic of Georgia speaks to Council members.

bank Memorial Fund, recommended that Washington adopt a longer-term and broader-based AIDS strategy that focuses on strengthening basic health-care systems in the developing world and addresses critical issues that go beyond health delivery. The second report, *Freedom, Prosperity, and Security—The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond*, was written by Princeton N. Lyman, the Council's Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies, and produced in cooperation with Chatham House in London. It urged the United States to incorporate African issues more fully in the discussions at the June 2004 summit meeting of the G8 group of advanced industrialized nations plus Russia in Sea Island, Georgia.

CAMPAIGN 2004

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HOME EXPERTS PRESS ROOM PUBLICATIONS ABOUT THE COUNCIL *The Source*

CAMPAIGN 2004 FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

THE ISSUES

- ▶ AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD
- ▶ DEMOCRATIZATION
- ▶ ENERGY
- ▶ ENVIRONMENT
- ▶ FOREIGN AID
- ▶ GLOBAL HEALTH
- ▶ HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
- ▶ IMMIGRATION
- ▶ INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS
- NATIONAL SECURITY
 - ▶ DEFENSE
 - ▶ HOMELAND SECURITY
 - ▶ INTELLIGENCE
 - ▶ TERRORISM
 - ▶ WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION
- ▶ UNITED NATIONS
- ▶ AFRICA
- ASIA
 - ▶ AFGHANISTAN

THE CANDIDATES

GEORGE BUSH
REPUBLICAN
Incumbent

- [Remarks in Phoenix, Arizona August 11, 2004](#)
- [Remarks at Unity: Journalists of Color Convention August 6, 2004](#)
- [Remarks on Intelligence Reform August 2, 2004](#)

MORE BUSH FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS

JOHN KERRY
DEMOCRAT
U.S. Senator,
Massachusetts

- [Remarks to Unity: Journalists of Color Convention August 5, 2004](#)
- [Speech to the 2004 Democratic National Convention July 29, 2004](#)
- [Statement by John Kerry on the 9/11 Commission Report July 22, 2004](#)

MORE KERRY FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS

For the first time in a generation, foreign policy issues are at the center of a presidential election. To help inform members and the general public—and to highlight its strengths as the nation's leading foreign policy think tank—the Council organized a trio of Campaign 2004 activities.

C2004 WEBSITE

Building on the success of its C2000 initiative, the Council is again using the Internet to inform members, journalists, students, and interested citizens about foreign policy in the U.S. presidential election campaign.

Visitors to C2004 (www.cfr.org/campaign2004) will find a wealth of resources:

- Issue briefs: 500-word summaries of the top foreign policy issues, written by Council experts;
- Candidate speeches and statements: a comprehensive collection of each candidate's foreign policy speeches and statements;
- Candidate scorecards: short, objective overviews comparing and contrasting the candidates' positions on foreign policy issues;
- C2004 at the Council: transcripts, webcasts, and videos of campaign-related events at the Council;
- Political links: a list of other political websites; and
- Futures calendar: a chronological list of significant events on the campaign trail, from the primaries through the conventions and the presidential debates.

To inform members and the public—and to highlight its strengths as the nation’s leading foreign policy think tank—the Council launched Campaign 2004.

CONVENTION BRIEFINGS

During each of the political parties’ summer nominating conventions, the Council hosted a luncheon reception for delegates and other party leaders. In both New York and Boston—where Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government was a co-host—Council President Richard N. Haass led panels on critical U.S. foreign policy challenges for 2005 and beyond. For Democratic and Republican conventioners, many of whom were unfamiliar with the Council, the two events provided an introduction to the Council and its fellows during a provocative give-and-take on critical campaign issues.



Senators Gordon H. Smith (R-OR) and Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE) face off in the first of the Council’s debates between leading Republicans and Democrats.



Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) discusses Iraq and intelligence one week after Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) gave a foreign policy address to Council members.



Independent presidential candidate Ralph Nader.

MEETINGS AND DEBATES

During the run-up to the primaries and throughout the primary season, independent candidate Ralph Nader and most of the Democratic hopefuls spoke at the Council. Wesley K. Clark, Howard Dean (whose Council speech was his first formal foreign policy address), Richard A. Gephardt, Bob Graham, John F. Kerry, and Joseph I. Lieberman visited the Council and presented their views. The role of foreign policy in the election was the subject of several Council meetings (and the



Teresa Heinz Kerry and John F. Kerry.

subtext of many more). Throughout the year, journalists, pollsters, and scholars gave participants a tour of the ever-changing political landscape. As the conventions neared, the Council's Washington Program inaugurated a series of head-to-head debates between leading Republicans and Democrats. The first took place in mid-May, when Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE) faced off against his colleague Senator Gordon H. Smith (R-OR).

Democratic presidential candidates (clockwise from top): Richard A. Gephardt, Wesley K. Clark, Joseph I. Lieberman, Bob Graham, and Howard Dean.

BOOK CLUB

This year the Council launched a nationwide Book Club series to focus its members on classics and important recent works in international relations and U.S. foreign policy, to stimulate debate and discussion, and to build a greater sense of community among its members. Distinguished members led and hosted discussions in thirteen cities.

The series began with Michael Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars*, which explores some of the most critical questions in international relations, including the use of preemptive military force and whether the ends of war can ever justify the means. In the wake of the war with Iraq, these questions remain as relevant as they were for the statesmen and philosophers of old.

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 Council member Arthur Ross in 2001, evaluates nonfiction works published in the preceding two years, in English or in translation, that merit special attention for

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

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.

In 2004, the gold medal was awarded to Daniel

Benjamin and Steven Simon for their book *The Age of Sacred Terror*. The silver medal went to Robert Cooper for *The Breaking of Nations*, and an honorable mention was awarded to Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay for *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*.



Arthur Ross with Gary Hart at the Arthur Ross Book Award event.

REVAMPING WWW.CFR.ORG

www.cfr.org is undergoing a top-to-bottom overhaul. The goal is to build on the advances of recent years and continue the website's evolution as the "first stop" Internet resource for users seeking balanced, nonpartisan, and up-to-date discussion and analysis of global developments, U.S. foreign policy, and international relations. The redesigned site will present the current mix of content—Task Force reports, transcripts of on-the-record meetings, fel-

lows' op-ed articles, interviews, and background questions and answers—with a significantly improved information "architecture" that makes the material more readily accessible to all types of users, from www.cfr.org's core audiences of members and other experts to the growing number of individuals interested in international relations. For each topic covered on the site, users will find information designed to appeal to their level of expertise and knowledge.

STUDIES PROGRAM

The Studies Program produced nine new books over the past year, and three fellows saw their work honored with prestigious prizes. With national security dominating the news, Council fellows appeared regularly on television and radio, in the pages of the national press, and before Congress to share their expertise.

Council President **Richard N. Haass** identified three research priorities for the Studies Program: American grand strategy, reform in the Arab and Islamic world, and global governance. Vice President and Director of Studies **James M. Lindsay** contributed to the debate about American grand strategy

with *America Unbound*, a sweeping analysis of U.S. foreign policy during the first years of the Bush administration. **Walter Russell Mead** explored how the United States should navigate a world of risk in his book *Power, Terror, Peace, and War*. **Max Boot**, who this year became a weekly columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, previewed in *Foreign Affairs* his project on how revolutions in military technology remake the battlefield and the course of history.

Several Council fellows examined prospects for reform in the Arab and Islamic world. **Steven A. Cook** launched a project exploring how the United States might promote democracy in Islamic countries; he also finished a book examining civil-military relations in Egypt, Turkey, and Algeria. **Rachel Bronson** focused on the historical evolution of U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia. **Henry Siegman** continued his work on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and prepared a report recommending reforms for the Palestinian Authority. **Isobel Coleman** brought some of her initial research on the link between empowering women and reform in the Middle East to the pages of *Foreign Affairs*. **Elliot J. Schrage** ran a roundtable exploring how private companies can promote reform in the greater Middle East.

Global governance preoccupied another group of fellows. **Lee Feinstein** examined the declining legiti-



Council Senior Fellows *Elizabeth C. Economy* and *Adam Segal* at a meeting on *China and Southeast Asia*.

With national security dominating the news, Council fellows appeared regularly on television and radio, in the national press, and before Congress.

macy and effectiveness of international institutions created to stem nuclear proliferation. He and Anne-Marie Slaughter argued in *Foreign Affairs* that international legal rules should be revised to impose on countries a duty to prevent proliferation. **Stephen E. Flynn** finished his book *America the Vulnerable*, which argues that Washington has not done enough to secure the American homeland, and began a project to consider how to reconcile America's interest in tighter border controls with developing countries' needs for access to U.S. markets. **David G. Victor** wrote a Council Policy Initiative that examined options for dealing with the threat of climate change.

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies continued its inquiry into how economic and political forces interact to influence world affairs. **Benn Steil** chaired the McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics and worked on his book on financial statecraft. **Jagdish N. Bhagwati** debunked the criticisms of anti-globalization protesters in his book *In Defense of Globalization* and defended free trade agreements in *Free Trade Today*. **Gene B. Sperling** co-authored a report with Barbara Herz that reviewed how investing in girls' education stimulates economic growth in the developing world. **Roger M. Kubarych** worked on his book about the Americanization of finance, and **James P. Dougherty** led a roundtable that discussed how outsourcing and new patterns of technological innovation affect American primacy.

New Arrivals

Two well-known experts and one promising scholar joined the Studies Program during the past year. **James M. Lindsay**, an expert in domestic influences on American foreign policy, accepted the position of vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair. He was formerly deputy director and senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution and director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council.

Laurie Garrett, a longtime medical and science writer for *Newsday* and winner of the Peabody, Polk, and Pulitzer prizes in journalism, became the Council's first senior fellow for global health. Her work examines the consequences that global health issues such as the spread of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, worldwide inequities in life expectancy, and rising rates of antimicrobial resistance have on national security.

Steven A. Cook joined the Council as a next generation fellow. He was formerly a research fellow at the Brookings Institution and an instructor at the University of Pennsylvania. He is an expert on Arab and Turkish politics, and his work focuses on the prospects for promoting democracy in the Arab and Islamic world.



James M. Lindsay



Steven A. Cook



Council Senior Fellow Laurie Garrett discusses the threat of tuberculosis at a global health roundtable.

Under the leadership of **William L. Nash**, the Center for Preventive Action released the report *Andes 2020*. That project, directed by **Julia E. Sweig**, identified practical strategies for promoting peace and justice in the Andean region. **David L. Phillips** launched the new Council Special Report series with a short study identifying steps that the new Georgian government should take to ensure its stability, security, and sovereignty. The center

also released a Special Report advising the new Philippine government on how to respond to the significant economic, political, and security challenges it faces.

The Studies Department also contributed to other regional debates. The *National Journal* named **Elizabeth C. Economy** one of the country's top China experts for her pathbreaking work on China's environmental problems, documented in her book *The River Runs Black*. **Edward J. Lincoln** completed his book *East Asian Economic Regionalism*, which explores the consequences of East Asia's increased cooperation on trade, investment, and exchange rates. **Eric Heginbotham** and **Adam Segal** collaborated on a conference examining the economic impact of the North Korean nuclear crisis.

On European issues, **Charles A. Kupchan** served as project director for the Council's Independent Task Force Report *Renewing the Atlantic Partnership*. **Stephen R. Sestanovich** led the Roundtable on Russia and Eurasia in dis-



Anne-Marie Slaughter, Gareth Evans, and the Council's Deputy Director of Studies Lee Feinstein at a meeting of the roundtable "Old Rules, New Threats."

Council President Richard N. Haass identified three research priorities: American grand strategy, reform in the Arab and Islamic world, and global governance.



The conference on the future of Iraq, “Oil, Politics, Where Are We Going?” moderated by Council Senior Fellow Rachel Bronson.

Discussing how Russian politics, economics, and foreign policy have changed under President Vladimir Putin. **James M. Goldgeier** co-authored, with Michael A. McFaul, *Power and Purpose*, a history of U.S. policy toward Russia after the Cold War.

Princeton N. Lyman worked to raise the visibility of Africa in the United States. He co-authored,

with Daniel M. Fox, a report cosponsored by the Milbank Memorial Fund evaluating the Bush administration’s strategy for addressing the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. He also wrote a Council Special Report that urged the Bush administration to give greater priority to Africa issues at the G8 summit meeting in Sea Island, Georgia.

Awards for Council Fellows’ Books

Three Council fellows were honored with prestigious book prizes over the past year. **James M. Lindsay’s** *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, co-authored with **Ivo H. Daalder**, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize, presented with the Silver Award for book of the year in political science by *Foreword Magazine*, named a “Book of the Year” by the *Economist*, and given honorable mention for the 2004 Arthur Ross Book Award.

The Italian translation of **Walter Russell Mead’s** *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* won the Premio Acqui Storia for the most im-

portant historical book published in Italian. The award committee applauded Mead, the Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow in U.S. foreign policy, for telling “with great intelligence, competence, and interpretative vigor the story of the United States’ actual foreign policy.”

Senior Fellow **Julia E. Sweig** received the American Historical Association’s 2003 Herbert Feis Award for her book *Inside the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and the Urban Underground*. The award committee cited the book as a “thoroughly researched and elegantly written volume” on Castro’s rise to power.

PUBLICATIONS

Council publications take a variety of forms to reach a multitude of audiences, including policy experts, the academic community, business leaders, and interested members of the general public. Council books are published by leading commercial and university presses; Task Force reports and papers are produced and marketed by the Publications Department. This year the Council introduced a new format—Council Special Reports—to rapidly address timely issues. In addition, the Council created a brochure that provides an overview of the institution and its activities, and oversaw the redesign of the annual report.

Praise for Council Books

"*America the Vulnerable* will grip you, intrigue you, frighten you and inspire you."

—Norman J. Ornstein, Resident Scholar,
American Enterprise Institute

"An outstandingly effective book—[Jagdish Bhagwati's] best popular work to date. Until further notice, *In Defense of Globalization* becomes the standard general-interest reference, the intelligent layman's handbook, on global economic integration."

—*The Economist*

"*America Unbound* [is] a splendidly illuminating book."

—*New York Times*

"Deep and provocative . . . *Power, Terror, Peace, and War* is indispensable to anyone trying to formulate a sensible foreign policy in light of the new threats facing America."

—*The National Review*

"Elizabeth C. Economy's book hits my 'Top Ten' list from the day it is published."

—Robert A. Kapp, President, US-China Business Council

"David Victor has so artfully and persuasively laid out the arguments toward climate change that I find myself tempted by the logic of each. The format of laying out the science, and then presenting three presidential speeches, is brilliant and highly instructive."

—William K. Reilly, former Administrator,
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

The Council's website is an increasingly important showcase for publications. Abstracts and first chapters of most Council books and the full text of reports are available on the website, which also offers links to online bookstores where Council publications may be purchased. The number of people accessing Council publications through the website is increasing and will continue to grow with the launch of a redesigned website in the fall. Finding and reading Council publications online will be easier than ever before.

BOOKS BY COUNCIL FELLOWS

- *America the Vulnerable: How Our Government Is Failing to Protect Us from Terrorism*, by Stephen E. Flynn. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. HarperCollins (2004).
- *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, by Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay. Brookings Institution Press (2003).
- *Climate Change: Debating America's Policy Options*, by David G. Victor. A Council Policy Initiative. Council on Foreign Relations Press (2004).
- *East Asian Economic Regionalism*, by Edward J. Lincoln. Brookings Institution Press in cooperation with the Council on Foreign Relations (2004).
- *Free Trade Today*, by Jagdish N. Bhagwati. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Princeton University Press (2003).
- *In Defense of Globalization*, by Jagdish N. Bhagwati. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Oxford University Press (2004).
- *Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy toward Russia after the Cold War*, by James M. Goldgeier and Michael A. McFaul. Brookings Institution Press (2003).
- *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk*, by Walter Russell Mead. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Alfred A. Knopf (2004).

- *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*, by Elizabeth C. Economy. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Cornell University Press (2004).

INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE REPORTS

- *Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating U.S. Public Diplomacy*. Peter G. Peterson, chair; Jennifer Sieg, project director; Sharon Herbstman, project coordinator (2003).
- *Iraq: One Year After*. Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, co-chairs; Eric P. Schwartz, project consultant (2004).
- *New Priorities in South Asia*. Frank G. Wisner, Nicholas Platt, and Marshall M. Bouton, co-chairs; Dennis Kux and Mahnaz Isphani, project co-directors (2003).
- *Nonlethal Weapons and Capabilities*. Graham T. Allison and Paul X. Kelley, co-chairs; Richard L. Garwin, project director (2004).
- *Renewing the Atlantic Partnership*. Henry A. Kissinger and Lawrence H. Summers, co-chairs; Charles A. Kupchan, project director (2004).
- *An Update on the Global Campaign against Terrorist Financing*. Maurice R. Greenberg, chair; Lee Wolosky and William Wechsler, project co-directors (2004).

CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION COMMISSION REPORT

- *Andes 2020: A New Strategy for the Challenges of Colombia and the Region*. Daniel W. Christman and John G. Heimann, co-chairs; Julia E. Sweig, project director (2004).

COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

- *Addressing the HIV/AIDS Pandemic: A U.S. Global AIDS Strategy for the Long Term*, by Princeton N. Lyman. Milbank Memorial Fund (2004).
- *Challenges for a Post-Election Philippines*, by Catharin E. Dalpino (2004).
- *Freedom, Prosperity, and Security: The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond*. J. Brian Atwood and Robert S. Browne, co-chairs; Princeton N. Lyman, project director (2004).
- *Stability, Security, and Sovereignty in the Republic of Georgia*, by David L. Phillips (2004).
- *What Works in Girls' Education: Evidence and Policies from the Developing World*, by Barbara Herz and Gene B. Sperling (2004).



For additional information on Council publications and to view w the texts available online, visit www.cfr.org.

NEW YORK MEETINGS PROGRAM

With new dangers rapidly replacing old ones, America faces more urgent security and foreign policy challenges than it has at any time in the last decade. Informed debate about America's proper role in the world and the security strategy needed to accompany that role was the central focus of the 2003–2004 New York Meetings Program.

Homeland security, terrorism, and gripping developments in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the greater Middle East have held the country's attention this year. More than forty Council meetings were organized in these areas, and nearly half of those were devoted to the situation in Iraq. Generals **Richard B. Myers** and **David H. Petraeus** spoke of military strategy and on-the-ground experience in Iraq.

Scholars, including **Fouad Ajami** and **Ian Buruma**, explored cultural and societal differences between East and West, and Council Senior Fellow **Stephen E. Flynn** focused attention on the very real frailties in our nation's homeland defense.

Policymakers from home and abroad, each with a unique perspective, enable us to see events in the world in a more nuanced way. This year the New York Meetings Program hosted more than twenty heads of state or ministers. Among the speakers were Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister **Saud Al-Faisal bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud**; Pakistan's President **Pervez Musharraf**; Afghanistan's President **Hamid Karzai**; the newly elected, American-educated president of Georgia, **Mikhail Saakashvili**; Brazil's leader **Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva**; and Prime Minister of Turkey **Recep Tayyip Erdogan**. In addition, numerous current U.S. government officials or those who have recently held key policy positions were asked to contribute to discussions in their areas of expertise. Former United States Trade Representatives **Carla A. Hills**, **Mickey Kantor**, and **Charlene Barshefsky** reviewed the cur-



Martin S. Indyk, Council Senior Fellow Michael Scott Doran, and Council President Emeritus Leslie H. Gelb prepare for their debate on the future of Iraq.

Homeland security, terrorism, and gripping developments in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the greater Middle East have held the country's attention this year.

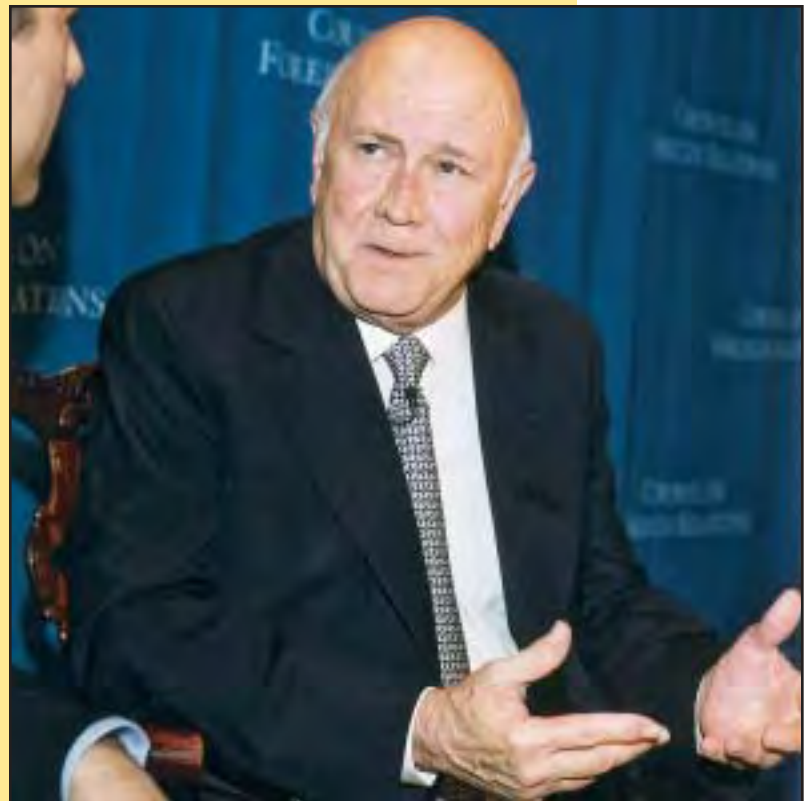
rent trade agenda and prospects for a new multi-lateral trade round. The need to address significant fault lines in the nation's intelligence apparatus was the subject of a lively discussion by former Directors of Central Intelligence **Stansfield Turner**, **William H. Webster**, and **R. James Woolsey**. Other speakers included Senator **Hillary Rodham Clinton** (D-NY); **Walter Kansteiner**, assistant secretary of state for Africa; **Kim Holmes**, assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs; **Christine Todd Whitman**, former administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; and **Rudolph W. Giuliani**, former mayor of New York City. World Bank President **James D. Wolfensohn** and UN Secretary-General **Kofi Annan** addressed the issues of poverty and the future of the United Nations, respectively.

This year the Council took a wide look at America's role in the world. The New York Meetings Program met that challenge through a dozen meetings on U.S. foreign policy and the history of the American experience. Among its guides were several of the Council's own scholars, such as **James M. Lindsay**, **Max Boot**, and **Walter Russell Mead**, along with **Robert E. Rubin**, **George Soros**, **Bob Woodward**, and other prominent thinkers, writers, and doers.

Regional experts were invited to explore trends in Asia, Latin America, and Africa through two dozen specially organized panels, and Europe was the topic for a discussion led by **Felix G. Rohatyn**, former U.S. ambassador to France, and featuring **Tony Judt** of New York University, **Lionel Barber** of the *Financial Times*, and **Karl Kaiser** of the German Council on Foreign Relations. A number of meetings focused on the world economy, this year's presidential campaign, and the implications of both for U.S. foreign policy. Many of the leading presidential contenders addressed Council members in New York, among them Democrats **John F. Kerry**, **Wesley K. Clark**, **Joseph I. Lieberman**,

History Makers

Individuals who have made a unique contribution at a critical juncture in recent history are invited to reflect on the larger lessons to be drawn from their experiences in the Council's new History Makers series. An informal atmosphere encourages these prominent policymakers and leaders to recount interesting or pivotal moments, and provide first-hand accounts of the interplay between major actors. Mexico's former Foreign Minister **Jorge Castañeda**, former National Security Adviser **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, and **F. W. de Klerk**, South Africa's leader during the historic dismantling of apartheid, were New York's first featured History Makers. In Washington, members hosted President Bill Clinton's secretary of state, **Madeline K. Albright**. Home Box Office sponsors the series.



F. W. de Klerk



Council Honorary Vice Chairman and Board Director Maurice R. Greenberg with then CIA Deputy Director for Operations James L. Pavitt.



UN Secretary General Kofi Annan greets Mildred H. Morse at the David A. Morse Lecture, "The United Nations and Global Security in the 21st Century."

Bob Graham, and **Richard A. Gephardt**, and independent candidate **Ralph Nader**.

Twenty authors spoke about their books on topics ranging from the history of Brazil, to the British experience in Iraq a century ago, to the life of Josef Stalin. The 1953 CIA-sponsored overthrow of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh was the subject of a talk by historian and *New York Times* reporter **Stephen Kinzer**. **Ron**

Chernow's biography of America's first treasury secretary and founder of the Bank of New York, Alexander Hamilton, was featured at another popular meeting.

In a new initiative, the New York Meetings Program invited expert speakers to lead conversations with members via telephone conference calls. These conference calls were organized to provide current information behind the day's headlines. As

the June deadline for the transition of authority in Iraq approached, members were able to participate in one or two conference calls each week throughout May and June. Speakers included General **William E. Odom**, USA (Ret.), nation-building expert **James E. Dobbins**, and governance scholar **Adeed Dawisha**. In a companion conference call series begun in September, *Foreign Affairs* editor



At a *Daughters & Sons* event moderated by Tom Brokaw (second from left), Charles Clover of the *Financial Times*, Catherine Wiesner of the *International Rescue Committee*, and Noah Feldman of *New York University* discuss their experiences in Iraq with members and their high school- and college-age children.

Individuals who have made a unique contribution at a critical juncture are invited to reflect on the larger lessons to be drawn from their experiences.

James E Hoge Jr. interviewed authors of new articles in the magazine and then moderated questions from members participating by teleconference. Among the authors speaking were **Daniel L. Byman**, who discussed his article “Should Hezbollah Be Next?,” and **Daniel W. Drezner** on “The Outsourcing Bogeyman.”

The first New York meeting of the Council’s Book Club series, limited to twenty participants, brought members together for a discussion of **Michael Walzer’s** *Just and Unjust Wars*. The evening was facilitated by their fellow member **James C. Chace**. Experiencing a new model for the Council, members enjoyed the salon-like setting and intimate, informal exchange. The ongoing series will pick up in the fall with another selection from the foreign policy canon.

President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan with Asia Society President Nicholas Platt (left) and Council President Richard N. Haass.



Council Classic Films

This year saw the launching of Council Classic Films, in which films are screened and followed by discussions about their relevance for contemporary foreign policy. The first film evening featured *Battle of Algiers*, the acclaimed chronicle of the struggle in colonial Algeria between the National Liberation Front and the French military in the mid-1950s. The next screening, *Seven Days in May*, was followed by a lively member exchange led by West Point’s Colonel **Jay M. Parker**. *Black Hawk Down* author **Mark Bowden** made an appearance for a conversation with Colonel Parker for the screening of the film by the same title. After the screening, Bowden talked about his experience researching and writing the book and described filming on location in Morocco

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

The goal of the Washington Program is to use the Council’s convening power and intellectual resources to help inform the policy debate in the nation’s capital, through interactions with Congress, the administration, and the business community. Using press briefings, small conversations among experts, roundtables, and Task Forces, the Washington Program is the place where policymakers turn for guidance, to test new ideas, and to engage with experts as they seek and develop policy initiatives.

This year the Washington Program connected with Capitol Hill as members of the Senate recognized the Council as an effective forum for their views on Iraq. Senator **Edward M. Kennedy** (D-MA) kicked off what turned out to be a series of Senate speeches on Iraq when he argued that the Bush pol-

icy was built around an exaggerated version of intelligence designed to further the administration’s own political purposes. Just one week later, Senator **Jon Kyl** (R-AZ) brought to the Council an unofficial rebuttal, identifying the many Democratic politicians—including presidential candidate **John F. Kerry**—who had argued forcefully that Saddam Hussein likely had weapons of mass destruction or that he posed a threat. Kyl maintained that the U.S. action in Iraq was predicated on preventing a future war—not on an imminent threat. Senators **Bob Graham** (D-FL) and **John McCain** (R-AZ) followed, with McCain stating, “Time and time again, the world has witnessed vast brutality, done nothing, and then said, ‘never again.’” McCain then strongly advocated a sustained presence in Iraq. This spontaneous senatorial exchange was disseminated to the broader membership and the public on the Council’s website.



Margaret D. Tutwiler, U.S. undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs (right), talks with Washington Program Director Nancy E. Roman (center) and a group of Council members.

An informed Congress is essential to an effective American foreign policy, and an informed congressional staff is essential to an effective Congress.



Robert S. Mueller, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, speaks on future challenges facing the FBI.

The interaction with Congress took place on a more intimate level, too, as members of Congress came to the Council to participate in small discussions. Representative **Jim Kolbe** (R-AZ), who chairs the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs, was joined by Global AIDS Coordinator **Randall Tobias** for a small breakfast meeting with just thirteen Council members—each an expert on HIV/AIDS. Kolbe sought input from these members as he was preparing to draft the bill appropriating

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, representatives, and their staffs to discuss major international issues in small, private settings.

This year the Council increased its efforts to create a sustained foreign policy dialogue on Capitol Hill. Through its popular congressional roundtables 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 coordinated by **Nancy E. Roman** 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 120 congressional staffers participated in over 15 roundtables on issues ranging from Spain after the Madrid bombing to outsourcing.

Next year brings plans to expand the program, offering briefings for congressional delegations before they travel overseas, developing a bank of Council experts for members of Congress drafting foreign policy legislation, and developing small working groups among key members of Congress.



A congressional roundtable on "Rethinking Governance Worldwide" with Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program Co-Director Alton Frye, Daniel J. Kaufman of the World Bank, and Jim Greene, legislative assistant to Senator Joseph R. Biden (D-DE).



At a meeting of former ambassadors to the United Nations, (left to right) Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Fred Hiatt, Thomas R. Pickering, and Richard C. Holbrooke discuss the future of the United Nations.

HIV/AIDS funding. He solicited feedback on whether any elements in the appropriations bill posed obstacles to the experts' efforts—a perfect example of what the Washington Program hopes to facilitate.

The Council also convened lawyers, scholars, and authors to address the foreign policy issues moving to the fore in Washington. Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs **Margaret D. Tutwiler** addressed more than one hundred members of the Council on the very day of her resignation. She argued passionately that the government's current public diplomacy program is too much about government-to-government and elite-to-elite contact and too little about contact with the person on the street. Ordinary Arabs and Americans must engage more with one another before policy can truly advance, she asserted.

Senator **Hillary Rodham Clinton** (D-NY) drew

attention to the work of Council Senior Fellow **Gene B. Sperling** on girls' education with a standing-room-only crowd at a general breakfast this spring. Sperling compiled the many pieces of evidence that tie girls' education to economic advancement in developing countries, and Clinton used that forum to announce her intention to draft a bill to devote resources to girls' education. Several weeks later, Sperling met at the Council with the senator's staff and a group of education experts who brainstormed about the best approach to such legislation.

John McLaughlin, then deputy director of central intelligence, gave members a thoughtful, off-the-record assessment of the CIA's successes and failures in the struggle to obtain and provide the best intelligence and analysis.

The Washington Program also reached out to ambassadors: French Ambassador **Jean-David Levitte** invited members to his official residence to discuss

The Washington Program connected with Capitol Hill as members of the Senate recognized the Council as an effective forum for their views on Iraq.

the delicate state of U.S. relations with France, and the Council brought Spanish Ambassador **Javier Ruzperez** to Capitol Hill just following the bombings in Madrid to address senior congressional foreign policy aides about the impact of terrorism in Europe.

In the months ahead the program will focus on building a stronger corporate community for the Council in Washington, where 80 of the Council's 225 member companies are either headquartered or have offices. Corporate members will have new opportunities to brainstorm among themselves and with other experts on some of the nettlesome foreign policy issues facing multinationals. The Washington Program will also sponsor small discussions among corporate members, members of Congress, and experts on China, energy, and immigration—all issues of central concern to the business community.

Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) with Council Senior Fellow Gene B. Sperling at the rollout of the Council special report What Works in Girls' Education.

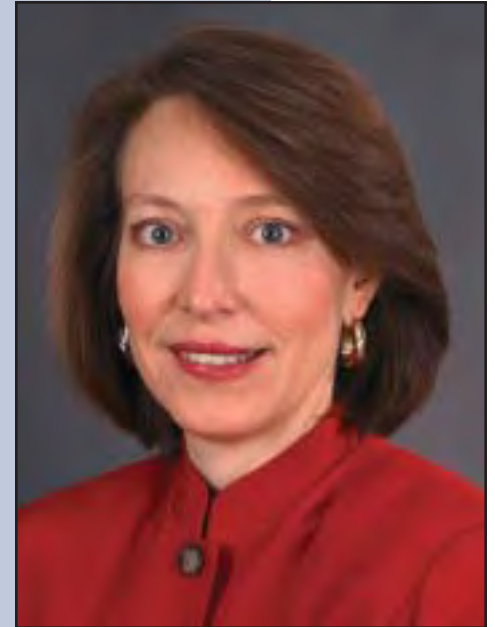


New Washington Director

Nancy E. Roman took over as vice president and director of the Washington Program in March 2004. She oversees the management of the Council's Washington office, directs the highly regarded Washington general meetings program, and plans to focus particular attention on building the Council's corporate and congressional programs.

Roman brings a wealth of experience to her Council role. She was president of the G7 Group, a political consulting firm that advises Wall Street on the economic implications of political developments as well as legislative and regulatory policy in the G7 group of advanced industrialized nations, China, and Latin America. She helped develop the firm's business and growth strategy, overseeing client relationships with top investment institutions.

Roman also spent ten years as a journalist covering politics, Congress, foreign policy, and economics. She was legal affairs reporter for the *Washington Times* before becoming that paper's congressional bureau chief. She also worked for several years as a political reporter for the *Fort Lauderdale News* and the *Sun-Sentinel*. In addition, she served as press secretary and legislative assistant to Representative Clay Shaw Jr. (R-FL), a member of the House Ways and Means Committee. Roman holds a BA in journalism and French from Baylor University and an MA in international economics and American foreign policy from Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies.



Nancy E. Roman

NATIONAL PROGRAM

The National Program provides an opportunity for members outside New York and Washington to discuss pressing international issues and contribute to the Council's work. This year the Council held more than seventy National Program sessions across the country. These roundtables, seminars, and public events featured discussions of Council fellows' books and debates on the National Security Strategy Council Policy Initiative.

This year the National Program Roundtable Series focused on America's role in the world—a crucial conversation at this point in history—through sessions featuring the expertise of members and other community leaders in key cities such as Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles, Miami, San Francisco, and Seattle. Chaired by Ambassador **John H. Kelly**, the Atlanta Roundtable featured CARE USA President and CEO **Peter D. Bell** on postwar reconstruction and humanitarian response, Emory University's **Carrie R. Wickham** on the prospects for reform in the Arab and Islamic world, and former U.S. Ambassador to South Korea **James T. Laney** on

how to deal with North Korea. Northwestern University President **Henry S. Bienen** chaired the Chicago Roundtable, which featured University of Chicago's **Daniel W. Drezner** on how the United States translates power into influence and action, Chicago-Kent College of Law's **Henry H. Perritt Jr.** on political trusteeships in Kosovo and Iraq, and Northwestern University School of Law's **Douglass W. Cassel Jr.** on Iraq and the Geneva Conventions.

Lee Cullum, the *Dallas Morning News* columnist, chaired the Dallas Roundtable for a discussion on the scope and purpose of America's power, featuring Southern Methodist University's **Calvin C. Jillson**. The same topic enlivened the Miami Roundtable with Teledesic Chairman and CEO **William A. Owens** leading the discussion.

Chaired by **Michael Nacht**, the dean of the University of



Michael H. Moskow, host Lieutenant General John R. Baker, USAF, Donna M. Alvarado, and Lewis Manilow on a KC-135 tanker during a National Program trip to Scott Air Force Base, Illinois.

The National Conference brings together members from across the country and around the world to discuss foreign policy with leading thinkers and practitioners.

National Conference

The National Conference is the premier event of the National Program, bringing together members from across the country and around the world to the Council's New York headquarters to discuss current foreign policy questions with fellow members and other leading thinkers and practitioners.

At this year's conference, more than 300 members reflected on America's role in the world and discussed how the United States should be using its power and influence, with featured guests including

- Congressional leaders, such as Senator **Chuck Hagel** (R-NE);
- Former high-level government officials such as former Treasury Secretary **Robert E. Rubin** and former President of the New York Federal Reserve Bank **William J. McDonough**;
- International journalists, such as **Lionel Barber** of the *Financial Times*, **José Carreño Figueras** of *El Universal*, and **Abderrahim Foukara** of Al Jazeera;
- Congressional and political experts, such as **Andrew Kohut**, **James M. Lindsay**, and **Norman J. Ornstein**; and
- The chairs of a number of National Program roundtables— **John H. Kelly** from Atlanta, **Daniel W. Drezner** from Chicago, **Lee Cullum** from Dallas, and **Michael Nacht** from San Francisco—who shared the view from their cities.

A mock National Security Council meeting on Pakistan—featuring **Arnold Kanter** in the role of national security adviser,

Chairs of National Program roundtables Daniel W. Drezner (Chicago), Michael Nacht (San Francisco), Lee Cullum (Dallas), moderator James F. Hoge Jr., and John H. Kelly (Atlanta).



Council Vice Chairman Robert E. Rubin with national members after his discussion on the U.S. and global economy.

Phyllis E. Oakley as secretary of state, **Dov S. Zakheim** as secretary of defense, **Ellen Laipson** as director of central intelligence, and General **John J. Sheehan**, USMC (Ret.), as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—provided an inside look at how an administration might deal with an international crisis and formulate policy recommendations for the president.



National Program Conference Calls

National Program conference calls, chaired by Council Executive Vice President **Michael P. Peters**, are the Council's most successful use of technology to connect with members beyond New York and Washington. This biweekly interactive series, launched in 2001, features Council fellows and other thinkers and doers addressing a foreign policy issue of immediate concern.

This year, national members talked with Major General **David H. Petraeus**, commander of the 101st Airborne Division, who gave an on-the-ground report from Mosul, Iraq; former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations **Thomas R. Pickering** on the next steps in Iraq; the

United States Military Academy's Colonel **Patrick Finnegan** on the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Geneva Conventions; former Ambassador to India **Frank G. Wisner** on the stunning results of this year's Indian elections; Council Senior Fellow **Mahnaz Ispahani** on U.S. policy toward South Asia; American University's **Robert B. Pastor** on the crisis in Haiti; and Council Senior Fellow **Gene B. Sperling** on the importance of girls' education for economic growth and political stability.

The conference calls have created a virtual community among national members, keeping them abreast of the latest issues and ideas in international affairs.

California at Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy, the San Francisco Roundtable featured *New York Times* Pentagon correspondent **Eric Schmitt** on Iraq and the Bush administration, Senator **Dianne Feinstein** (D-CA) on the role of foreign policy in the 2004 presidential elections, and **Scott D. Sagan**, co-director of Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation, on coping with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction around the world.

The Seattle Roundtable explored how the world has changed since the war in Iraq with General **Barry R. McCaffrey**, USA (Ret.), and discussed "soft power" with **Joseph S. Nye Jr.**, the dean of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Council President **Richard N. Haass** met with members in a number of cities—including Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, London, Los Angeles, Miami, Phoenix, and San Francisco—to discuss

U.S. foreign policy and share his vision for the Council.

Intimate foreign policy dinner seminars, featuring Council senior fellows discussing their research and writing, continued to form the cornerstone of the National Program. These meetings—based on a short paper, outline, or draft chapter written by the fellow and distributed to all participants prior to the session—provide Council fellows with valuable feedback for their research and writing. As part of this seminar series, Adjunct Senior Fellow **David G. Victor** met with San Francisco members to review a draft of his Council Policy Initiative, *Climate Change: Debating America's Policy Options*; Dallas members met with Senior Fellow **Isobel Coleman** to review her paper on the importance of girls' education; Atlanta members reviewed draft chapters from Senior Fellow **Stephen E. Flynn's** new book on homeland security, *America the Vulnerable*; and Senior Fellow **Walter Russell**



The 2004 National Conference mock National Security Council meeting on Pakistan with Ellen Laipson, Phyllis E. Oakley, Arnold Kanter, Dov S. Zakheim, and John J. Sheehan.

Technology is a key element of the National Program, regularly linking members through teleconferencing, webcasting, and videoconferencing.



Helene D. Gayle, Council Senior Fellow Princeton N. Lyman, Pearl T. Robinson, and Cedric Suzman at the Africa discussion group during the 2004 National Conference.

Mead led a Los Angeles study group to review chapters of his newest book, *Power, Terror, Peace, and War*.

The National Program also joined with local foreign policy organizations—such as the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Dallas Committee on Foreign Relations, the Pacific Council on International Policy, the World Affairs Council of Northern California, and the Town Hall Seattle—to highlight newly published books by Council fellows, including **James M. Lindsay's** *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*; **Jagdish N. Bhagwati's** *In Defense of Globalization*; **Edward J. Lincoln's** *East Asian Economic Regionalism*; **Walter Russell Mead's** *Power, Terror, Peace, and War*; and **Elizabeth C. Economy's** *The River Runs Black*.

As part of the Council's new Book Club initiative designed to stimulate debate and build a greater sense of community among its membership, the National Program organized sessions in eleven cities on **Michael Walzer's** book, *Just and Unjust Wars*, with members respectively leading and hosting the discussions—Atlanta: William J. Long; Boston: Joseph S. Nye Jr.; Chicago: Hanna Holborn Gray and Geoffrey B. Shields; Dallas: James Frank Hollifield and Patricia M. Patterson; London: Bartram S. Brown and Suzanne R. Ferlic; Los Angeles: Albert Carnesale and Robert John Abernethy; Miami: Mark B. Rosenberg and Adrienne Arsht; San Diego: Miles Kahler and Richard N. Sinkin; San Francisco: Jane

M. Wales and David R. Tunnell; Seattle: Ted Van Dyk and Patricia Q. Stonesifer; and Silicon Valley: Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall and Coit D. Blacker.

Technology is a key element of the National Program, regularly linking members from coast to coast and around the world through teleconferencing, webcasting, and videoconferencing. A new series of teleconferenced New York and Washington general meetings gave national members the opportunity to interact with international and domestic policymakers such as Afghanistan's President **Hamid Karzai**, and former U.S. Trade Representatives **Charlene Barshefsky**, **Carla A. Hills**, and **Mickey Kantor**; scholars such as **John Lewis Gaddis**; and 2004 presidential contenders, including Democrats **John F. Kerry**, **Wesley K. Clark**, and **Richard A. Gephardt**, and independent candidate **Ralph Nader**.

None of this would be possible without the generous support of Council members Mimi and Peter Haas.

PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

The Council's western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP), continues to offer meetings on the West Coast. Council members are offered membership in PCIP and invited to participate in its events.

C O R P O R A T E P R O G R A M

The business community is a key component of the Council. Individual members in the private sector represent over half of the New York–area membership and one-third of the total membership. In addition, more than 200 leading international companies participate as members of the Corporate Program, which engages senior executives in the activities and work of the Council.

The political, economic, and security issues on which the Council focuses have become increasingly important to companies active in foreign markets or concerned with managing global risk. As a result, a record forty-four companies joined the Council this past year, up 26 percent from the previous year. Another measure of the Council's perceived value is the enthusiastic response to the introduction of corporate membership tiers, which

offer increased benefits to companies at the new Premium and President's Circle levels. This past year almost a hundred members—including half of this year's new members—are in one of the higher tiers.

Executives of member companies took part in more than one hundred programs—including meetings, small dinners, and interactive conference calls—on topics of particular relevance to the business and financial communities. This year's schedule included a conversation between **David Tweedie**, the chairman of the International Accounting Standards Board, and **Robert Herz**, the chairman of the Financial Accounting Standards Board; a conversation between **Frits Bolkestein**, the European Union's commissioner for internal market and taxation, and Representative **Michael G. Oxley**



Bruce Wasserstein and David W. Helniak with European Commissioner for Competition Policy Mario Monti.

The issues on which the Council focuses have become increasingly important to companies active in foreign markets or concerned with managing global risk.

(R-OH), the chairman of the House Committee on Financial Services; a special dinner with former U.S. Trade Representatives **Charlene Barshefsky**, **Carla A. Hills**, and **Mickey Kantor**; and sessions with Brazilian President **Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva**; **William J. McDonough**, the chairman and CEO of the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board; World Bank President **James D. Wolfensohn**; National Economic Council Director **Stephen Friedman**; President of the New York Federal Reserve Bank **Timothy F. Geithner**; Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister **Saud Al-Faisal bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud**; and European Union Commissioner for Competition Policy **Mario Monti**.

Corporate members were also invited to small

private dinners with **Roberto Lavagna**, Argentina's minister of economy, and Malaysian Foreign Minister **Syed Hamid Albar**. In Washington, corporate members also took part in a special series of small embassy luncheons, whose hosts this year included the ambassadors of Germany, Argentina, and Japan. Members at the Premium and President's Circle levels also participated in breakfast briefings with Council President **Richard N. Haass**.

In the coming year the Corporate Program will be working closely with the Washington Program to develop new opportunities to focus on issues of special concern to the Council's growing corporate community there.

Benefits of Corporate Membership at the President's Circle Level

- The opportunity to designate two young executives as "Corporate Leaders" to participate in activities organized by the Council's Term Member Program.
- An annual presentation on a topic related to the company's business by a member of the Council's research staff.
- A special invitation for a company executive to participate in at least one Council-sponsored high-level trip led by a member of the Council's leadership.
- Invitations to two or three small private dinners each year with world leaders.
- A special invitation to the annual dinner for the Council's Board of Directors and International Advisory Board.
- Designation of a Council staff member to serve as the principal liaison to help the member company derive maximum value from its membership.*
- An invitation to an exclusive annual briefing by the Council's president.*
- Invitations for company executives to attend more than sixty events each year in New York and Washington.*
- Participation in more than twenty-five interactive conference calls with Council research fellows and other experts.*
- Opportunities for a select group of executives to participate in small, in-depth study groups and roundtables.*
- Identification of research fellows in the think tank as speakers for your company's board, policy committee, client, or internal meetings.*
- Multiple subscriptions to *Foreign Affairs*.*
- Access to the Council's exclusive corporate website.*
- Access to the Council's state-of-the-art reference services and library (*by appointment*).*
- Special member rates for rental of the renowned Harold Pratt House meeting facilities.*
- Prominent acknowledgment in Council literature.*

The President's Circle is the highest of three corporate membership levels. **Premium** membership includes those benefits marked with an asterisk. **Basic** membership, with more limited benefits, is reserved for smaller companies. For more information, contact Jacqui Schein, Director, Corporate Affairs, at (212) 434-9451.

PRESIDENT'S CIRCLE

American International Group, Inc.
 BP p.l.c.
 Citigroup
 Cognizant Technology Solutions Corporation
 Drake Management LLC
 Exxon Mobil Corporation
 GlaxoSmithKline
 Guardsmark LLC
 Investcorp International, Inc.
 Kingdon Capital
 The McGraw-Hill Companies
 McKinsey & Company, Inc.
 Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.
 Nike, Inc.
 VNU, Inc.

PREMIUM

ACE Limited
 AEA Investors Inc.
 ALCOA Inc.
 Allen & Overy LLP
 American Express Company
 ARAMARK Corporation
 Aramco Services Company
 Archer Daniels Midland Company
 AT&T Corp.
 Atticus Capital, LLC
 Baker, Nye Advisers, Inc.
 Banco Mercantil
 Banco Santander Central Hispano, S.A.

The Bank of New York
 Barclays Capital
 Booz, Allen & Hamilton Inc.
 Bristol-Myers Squibb Company
 CALYON Corporate and Investment Bank
 Caxton Corporation
 CDC IXIS North America, Inc.
 ChevronTexaco Corporation
 The Coca-Cola Company
 Continental Properties
 Corning Incorporated
 Credit Suisse First Boston LLC
 DaimlerChrysler Corporation
 Deutsche Bank AG
 Eni S.p.A.
 Federal Express Corporation
 Freddie Mac
 General Electric Company
 Goldman Sachs & Co.
 Halliburton-KBR
 Interpipe Inc.
 J.P. Morgan Chase & Co.
 Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
 Kometal GMBH Austria
 Kuwait Petroleum Corporation
 Lazard LLC
 Lockheed Martin Corporation
 Loral Space & Communications Ltd.
 Mannheim LLC
 Masthead Management Partners
 MeadWestvaco Corporation
 Merck & Co., Inc.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
 Moody's Investors Service
 Moore Capital Management LLC
 Morgan Stanley
 New York Life International, Inc.
 Northrop Grumman Corporation
 Occidental Petroleum Corporation
 Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
 Pfizer Inc.
 PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP
 Prudential Financial, Inc.
 Sandalwood Securities, Inc.
 Shell Oil Company
 Sony Corporation of America
 Standard & Poor's
 Standard Chartered Bank
 Swiss Re America Holding Corporation
 Time Warner Inc.
 Toyota Motor North America, Inc.
 UBS Investment Bank
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce
 USEC Inc.
 Verizon Communications Inc.
 Veronis Suhler Stevenson
 Vornado Realty Trust
 Wellington Management Company, LLP
 Wyoming Investment Corporation

Xerox Corporation
 Young & Rubicam Inc.

BASIC

A
 AARP
 ABC, Inc.
 Access Industries, Inc.
 Alleghany Corporation
 Amerada Hess Corporation
 American Re Corporation
 American Red Cross
 Apax Partners, Inc.
 Apple Core Hotels Inc.
 Arab Banking Corporation
 Archipelago Holdings, LLC
 Areva US
 Armor Holdings, Inc.
 Arnhold and S. Bleichroeder Holdings, LLC
 Arnold & Porter LLP
 Arrow Electronics, Inc.
 Artemis Advisors
 Avaya Inc.

B
 Baker & Hostetler LLP
 Baker Capital Corp.
 The Baldwin-Gottschalk Group
 Banca di Roma
 Banca d'Italia
 Banca Intesa S.p.A.
 Bank of America
 Bank One Corporation
 Barst & Mukamal LLP
 BASF Corporation
 BDO Seidman LLP
 The Blackstone Group L.P.
 Bloomberg L.P.
 BNP Paribas
 The Boeing Company
 Bombardier, Inc.
 Boston Properties, Inc.
 Bramwell Capital Management, Inc.
 Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.

C
 The Chubb Corporation
 CIBC World Markets Corp.
 Cisneros Group of Companies
 CIT Group Inc.
 Claremont Capital Corporation
 Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton
 Clinton Group, Inc.
 The CNA Corporation
 ConocoPhillips Company
 The Consulate General of Japan
 Covington & Burling
 Craig Drill Capital Corporation



William J. McDonough, Ann M. Fudge, and Council Chairman Peter G. Peterson.

D

De Beers
 Debevoise & Plimpton LLP
 Deere & Company
 Deloitte.
 Dendrite International, Inc.
 The William H. Donner
 Foundation, Inc.
 Dresdner Bank AG

E

Ehrenkranz & Ehrenkranz LLP
 Eisner LLP
 Equinox Management
 Partners, L.P.
 Ernst & Young, LLP
 Estee Lauder Companies Inc.

F

FannieMae
 Ford Motor Company
 Forest Investment
 Management LP
 French-American Chamber of
 Commerce

G

Galt Industries Inc.
 General Maritime Corporation
 Genesis 10
 Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
 Gotham Holdings, LP
 Granite Associates LP
 Grey Global Group Inc.

H

Hitachi, Ltd.
 H.J. Heinz Company
 Houlihan Lokey Howard
 & Zukin

I

IBM Corporation
 Idemitsu Apollo Corporation
 Intellispace, Inc.
 Interaudi Bank
 Intracom S.A.
 Invus Group Ltd.

J

Japan Bank for International
 Cooperation
 JETRO New York
 Johnson & Johnson
 Jones Day
 Joukowsky Family Foundation



Jesse H. Ausubel and John Browne of BP at a Council meeting on climate change and the energy sector:

K

KPMG LLP

L

Lehman Brothers
 Lucent Technologies Inc.

M

The Map Network
 Mark Partners
 Marsh & McLennan
 Companies, Inc.
 Marubeni America
 Corporation
 Marvin & Palmer Associates, Inc.
 Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw
 LLP
 MBIA Insurance Corporation
 Medley Global Advisors
 Milbank, Tweed, Hadley &
 McCloy LLP
 Mine Safety Appliances
 Company
 Mitsubishi International
 Corporation
 Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LLP

N

Nomura Research Institute
 America

O

The Olayan Group
 OppenheimerFunds, Inc.
 Oxford Analytica Inc.

P

PanAmSat Corporation
 PepsiCo, Inc.
 Peter Kimmelman Asset
 Management LLC
 Phillips-Van Heusen
 Corporation
 Pillsbury Winthrop LLP
 POSCO America Corporation

R

Raytheon Company
 Rolls-Royce North America,
 Inc.
 Rothschild North America, Inc.
 The Royal Bank of Scotland
 RWS Energy Services, Inc.

S

Saber Partners
 Samsung Electronics Co., Ltd.
 Schlumberger Limited
 SG Cowen Securities
 Corporation
 Shearman & Sterling LLP
 Sidley Austin Brown & Wood
 LLP
 Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP
 Soros Fund Management
 Southern California Edison
 Company
 Starwood Hotels & Resorts
 Worldwide Inc.
 Sullivan & Cromwell LLP
 Symbol Technologies, Inc.

T

Thales, Inc.
 Tiedemann Investment Group
 Tishman Speyer Properties, Inc.
 Torys LLP
 Tudor Investment Corporation
 Turkish Industrialists' and
 Businessmen's Association

U

United Technologies

V

Vinson & Elkins L.L.P.
 Volkswagen of America, Inc.

W

Warburg Pincus LLC
 Washingtonpost.Newsweek
 Interactive
 Watson Wyatt & Company
 Weber Shandwick Worldwide
 Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP
 Westhill Partners
 Wilpon Investors LLC
 W. P. Stewart & Co., Inc.

Z

Zephyr Management, LP
 Ziff Brothers Investments LLC

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

The Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program encourages promising young leaders to engage in a sustained conversation on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. The program allows younger members to interact with seasoned foreign policy veterans as well as participate in a wide variety of events designed especially for them. Each year a new class of term members, between the ages of 30 and 36, is elected to a five-year membership. Committees of term members in New York City, Washington, and Boston advise the Council leadership and help create programs of particular interest to younger members.



Council President Richard N. Haass closes the annual Term Member Conference with a town hall meeting.

With more than sixty-five special events this past program year, term members enjoyed a full range of activities in New York, Washington, and Boston. Term members heard high-profile speakers, attended the annual Term Member Conference, and participated in numerous seminars and trips. They also benefited from a series of multi-session roundtables on pressing foreign policy issues that facilitated in-depth discussions among the participants.

As part of a review of the Term Member Program, term members were asked to assess their program in an online survey. They described the program in extraordinarily positive terms, with 99 percent of survey respondents viewing the Term Member Program favorably. The survey was one of several studies the Term Member Subcommittee of the Chairman's Advisory Council (CAC)

With more than sixty-five special events this year, term members enjoyed a full range of meetings and other activities in New York, Washington, and Boston.

conducted to assess the effectiveness and efficiency of the program and to recommend ways to strengthen it.

In addition to the survey and a town hall meeting with Council President **Richard N. Haass** at the annual Term Member Conference, the CAC subcommittee conducted several focus group sessions with term members of varying tenures in New York, Washington, and Boston. The results of the subcommittee's research reinforce that it is an excellent program that does not need major changes, but could benefit from targeted enhancements.

The Council will continue to rely on term members to help shape their program by organizing events, including a week-long trip to India in early 2005. In an effort to implement the recommendations of the CAC subcommittee, the program will strive to better integrate first-year term members into the program and all term members into the Council's overall activities. Serious efforts will also be made to increase the interaction between life and term members, one of the main recommendations coming out of the CAC review.

IN MEMORIAM

Stephen M. Kellen

The Council lost one of its most dedicated friends and supporters this year. Stephen M. Kellen died in February at the age of 89. A Council member for twenty-two years, he embodied the spirit of the Council, with his keen interest in foreign affairs, his enthusiasm for informed debate on key issues, and his unending desire to learn something new. In addition, through his generous gifts to underwrite the Term Member Program, he has made it possible for the Council to pass on his interests and enthusiasm to the next generation of foreign policy leaders. He will be greatly missed.

Special Events and Trips

Term members enjoyed eight off-site tours and high-level trips this year. Events included the exhibitions *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus* and *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a tailhook landing and a catapult take-off aboard the USS *Theodore Roosevelt* aircraft carrier. In addition to viewing the film *Surviving Hunger* at Discovery Communications, Inc., term members toured the United Nations after a full day of briefing by high-level UN officials and a meeting at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. Term members also visited the U.S. Capitol, where their discussions focused on Congress and national security. On their annual trip to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, term members dined with 4,000 cadets, received candid accounts of current military operations, and toured the campus. The program year concluded with a trip to the Pentagon, where term members engaged high-ranking officials in discussions on military transformation, the war on terrorism, and military personnel.



TERM MEMBER ANNUAL GIVING

C. Spencer Abbot	Keri Eisenbeis	Joseph Kindall Hurd III	Stewart M. Patrick
The Ahn Family Foundation	Michael Eisner	David Wallace Irwin	Brigid Myers Pavilonis
Woodrow Ahn	L. Brooks Entwistle	Kaleil D. Isaza-Tuzman	Lawrence Edward Penn III
Peter Belmont Alderman	Elizabeth Factor	Adam R. Isles	David Perez
Scott Hazzard Allan Jr.	David M. Fairman	Mark R. Jacobson	William A. Pizer
Angelo I. Amador	J. Rodney Faraon	David P. Janes	Edward L. Pulling
Benjamin A. Atkins	Evelyn N. Farkas	Scott S. Johnson	Fernande Scheid Raine
Khalid Azim	Elizabeth Worley	Alexander S. Jutkowitz	Celina B. Realuyo
Erica Jean Barks-Ruggles	Farman-Farmaian	Eric John Kadel Jr.	Kristin Denise Rechberger
Timothy J. Bartlett	Irina A. Faskianos	Zachary Karabell	Matthew R. Rees
Kirsten Leigh Bartok	Evan A. Feigenbaum	Andrew R. Kassoy	Saskia S. Reilly
Francis Keith Bassolino	Catherine Lynne Feingold	Kira Kay	James J. Richard
Pamela M. Bates	Daniel F. Feldman	Juliette N. Kayyem	Cara W. Robertson
Andrea D. Begel	Noah R. Feldman	Peter Bicknell Kellner	Jon J. Rosenwasser
Michael P. Behringer	Suzanne R. Ferlic	Stephen D. Kiser	Linda D. Rottenberg
Thomas C. Beierle	Anthony C. Fernandes	Monica Vegas Kladakis	Arthur Mark Rubin
Jonathan N. Bell	Maria C. Figueroa Küpçü	Helaine S. Klasky	Michael A. Samway
Christina A. Bennett	Desiree Geneva Filippone	Jeff Kojac	Karenna Gore Schiff
Joshua A. Berger	Bernard I. Finel	Fred T. Krawchuk Jr.	Anya A. Schmemann
Jonathan E. Berman	Sonya L. Finley	Nisha Kumar	James L. Schoff
Scott D. Berrie	Mercedes Carmela Fitchett	Jim Alfred Landé	James E. Sciotto
Karan K. Bhatia	Stephanie Flanders	Lauren R. Landis	Mark S. Seasholes
Nicole M. Bibbins Sedaca	William Fulbright Foote	Chappell H. Lawson	Andrew J. Shapiro
Alyse Nelson Bloom	Jason William Forrester	Gordon Nathaniel Lederman	Andrew L. Shapiro
David A. Bloom	Brian L. Frank	Erik James Leklem	Dorothy C. Shea
Pieter James Alexander	Myra M. Frazier	Amanda V. Leness	Soroush Richard Shehabi
Boelhouwer	Stephen C. Freidheim	Alexander T.J. Lennon	Bippy M. Siegal
David William Bowker	Ladeene A. Freimuth	Sarah G.J. Lennon	Matthew J. Slaughter
Jacqueline V. Brady	Mark T. Fung	Marcel J. Lettre II	James McCall Smith
Sundaa Ayo Bridgett	Joshua P. Galper	Marne L. Levine	Timothy D. Snyder
Reuben E. Brigety II	Sandra Galvis	Jeremy I. Levitt	Blake A. Spahn
Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks	Johnson Garrett	Lu Li	Jonathan S. Spaner
C. Michael Brown	Thomas B. Ginsburg	Betty Wen Ssu Liu	Carlos Javier Spinelli-Noseda
Phoebe W. Brown	Jeffrey Scott Glueck	Clark B. Lombardi	Nina Zinterhofer Stanford
Elaine Buckberg	Bruce N. Goldberger	Linda S. Lourie	Ryung Suh
Geoffrey P. Burgess	Matthew N. Goldin	Marcus Mabry	Patrick Moore Supanc
Christopher J. Burn	Stuart Gottlieb	Krista M. Magras	Scott L. Swid
Christina Duffy Burnett	Shane Green	Wendy A. Maldonado	Jeffrey W. Taliaferro
Daniel L. Byman	Lisa Greenberg	David Marchick	Troy S. Thomas
Daniel Calingaert	Alyssa A. Grikscheit	Carola H. McGiffert	Ramin Toloui
David A. Carmel	Paul C. Grove	Laura A. McIntosh	Ly K. Tran
William David Casebeer	Eugenia Katherine Guilmartin	Elizabeth A. McKeon	Basilios E. Tsingos
Walid George Chamoun	Lynn E. Haaland	Amy Houpt Medearis	David Randolph Tunnell
Joyce Chang	Nisid J. Hajari	Bruce Paul Mehlman	Martina E. Vandenberg
Juju Chang	Ted Halstead	James E. Mejía	Robert D. Vander Lugt
Cory Charles	Larry Hanauer	Benjamin R. Miller	Jeffrey Paul Varanini
Jeffrey L. Cimbalo	Evie Hantzopoulos	Charles R. Miller	Leslie Vinjamuri
Lynette Clemetson	Katherine Anderson Hardin	Frank J. Mirkow	Gregg Alexander Walker
Elizabeth L. Colagiuri	Gina Marie L. Hatheway	Charlotte M. Morgan	Sarah K. Walkling
Laura K. Cooper	Lukas Harrison Haynes	Peter F. Najera	Ian Kennard Walsh
Timothy W. Crawford	Lisa W. Heald	Scott Andrew Nathan	Debra L. Wasserman
Monica Elizabeth Crowley	Rebecca K.C. Hersman	Jennifer G. Newstead	Ivan S. Weissman
Daniel Lester Cruise	Jack D. Hidary	M. Diana Helweg Newton	David L. Weller
Geoffrey D. Dabelko	Edward T. Hightower	Stephen T. Ostrowski	Elisha Wiesel
Jean-Christophe de Swaan	Melody Hobson	Carter W. Page	Margaret Douglas Williams
Gregory Djerejian	Auren Hoffman	Matthew A. Palmer	Laura Winters
Douglas S. Donohue	Duncan Baker Hollis	Eric J. Pan	Jon B. Wolfsthal
Graham A. Duncan	Kathleen Houlihan	Michael Pan	Nancy Yao
Jennie M. Easterly	Christopher Bernard Howard	H. K. Park	Stephen Jerome Yates
Laura L. Efros	David S. Huntington	Parag Patel	Jonathan L. Zittrain

COMMUNICATIONS



and **Lawrence H. Summers**, co-chairs of the Transatlantic Relations Task Force, briefed the *Washington Post* editorial board and a group of columnists and other invited journalists on their Task Force's findings and recommendations. Senior Fellow **Walter Russell Mead** hosted luncheons in New York and Washington on his State Department-sponsored public diplomacy trip to the Middle East and

With the war in Iraq and the U.S. presidential election in the fall, media interest in Council content was at an all-time high this year. More than half of all Council meetings were on the record, transcribed, and posted for public access on the Council's website. The Council released nine books, six Task Force reports, six papers and special reports, and countless Q&A fact sheets and interviews by the website reporting team.

While responding to a broad audience, the Communications Department also took a more targeted approach to promoting Council content by holding briefings for top journalists. Council President **Richard N. Haass** gave background briefings to producers and reporters at the *New York Times* and ABC News in New York and the *Financial Times* in London. **Henry A. Kissinger**



New York Times *Columnist William Safire*, Fox News Sunday *Host Tony Snow*, Wall Street Journal *Washington Bureau Chief Gerald Seib*, New York Times *Columnist Thomas L. Friedman*, and ABC News *Political Analyst George Stephanopoulos* at the Council.

his new book, *Power, Terror, Peace, and War*. Senior Fellows **Princeton N. Lyman** and **Laurie Garrett** briefed a group of global health reporters on the Council Special Report on HIV/AIDS. The Communications Department also hosted a series of roundtables for journalists at the Council's Washington office to showcase the expertise of fellows in advance of major international events.

Amity R. Shlaes of the *Financial Times*, *David Margolick* of *Vanity Fair*, and *Jeff Greenfield* of *CNN* at a lunch with Council Senior Fellow *Walter Russell Mead*.



NAMED CHAIRS, FELLOWSHIPS, and LECTURESHIPS

NAMED CHAIRS AND FELLOWSHIPS

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

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

Elizabeth C. Economy, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow
and Director of Asia Studies

Stephen E. Flynn, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow
for National Security Studies

Mary Anne Weaver, Edward R. Murrow Press
Fellow

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

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

James M. Lindsay, Vice President, Director of
Studies, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair

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

Walter Russell Mead, Henry A. Kissinger Senior
Fellow in U.S. Foreign Policy

William L. Nash, General John W. Vessey Senior
Fellow for Conflict Prevention 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

Ronald Steel, Whitney H. Shepardson Senior
Fellow

Benn Steil, André Meyer Senior Fellow in Inter-
national Economics

OTHER CHAIRS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Douglas Dillon Fellow

Philip D. Reed Chair in Science and Technology

Nelson and David Rockefeller Chair in Inter-American
Studies

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East

Cyrus Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies

Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics

SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

NEXT GENERATION FELLOWSHIP

The Next Generation Fellowship Program nurtures outstanding thinkers and writers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become foreign policy leaders. The program recruits individuals whose principal mission will be frontier policy scholarship, leading to several major published articles or a book during the fellowship tenure. Most Next Generation Fellows (NGFs) are in residence for two or three years. Each year, one NGF who combines a keen understanding of economics with his or her cutting-edge policy research is named the Dillon Fellow, in honor of former Council Vice Chairman Douglas Dillon.

INTELLIGENCE FELLOWSHIP

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

MILITARY FELLOWSHIPS

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

EDWARD R. MURROW FELLOWSHIP

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

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON FELLOWSHIP

The Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with 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, reflecting on issues of foreign policy and participating in Council programs.

ENDOWED AND SPECIALLY FUNDED PROGRAMS

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 Roundtable Series, International Economics

Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program, International Relations

LECTURESHIPS

THE ARTHUR C. HELTON MEMORIAL LECTURE

The Arthur C. Helton Memorial Lecture was established this year by the Council and the family of Council Senior Fellow Arthur C. Helton, who died in the August 19, 2003, bombing of the UN headquarters in Baghdad. The Arthur C. Helton Memorial Lecture will be an annual event at which one or more speakers will address pressing issues in the broad field of human rights and humanitarian concerns.

THE JOHN B. HURFORD MEMORIAL LECTURE

The John B. Hurford Memorial Lecture was inaugurated in 2002 in memory of John B. Hurford, a devoted member of the Council on Foreign Relations. This series features individuals who represent critical new thinking in international affairs and foreign policy. This year John Mueller, a professor of political science at Ohio State University, and Max Boot, the Council's Olin senior fellow, national security studies, spoke on "America's Role in the World."

THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

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

THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

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

thirty years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist. Lecturers are invited to focus on one of Morse's many concerns, which included North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and relations with Asia. The lecture program is funded by gifts from Council members and friends of the Morse family. This year, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan focused on the UN and global security in the twenty-first century.

THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

The David Rockefeller Lecture was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1985 for an annual African lecturer from either the governmental or the non-governmental sector. President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique spoke this year.

THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

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

THE RUSSIA AND RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS LECTURE

This lecture was endowed in 2003 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 2002 and is

funded by Bernard L. Schwartz, the chairman and CEO of Loral Space and Communications. 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. Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times* presided this year when Jagdish N. Bhagwati, the Council's André Meyer senior fellow in international economics, discussed his highly acclaimed book, *In Defense of Globalization*.

THE SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations was established in 1996 by Theodore C. Sorensen to honor his wife, Gillian Martin Sorensen, and to commemorate her years of service to the United Nations. This year the Sorensen lecture—given by speakers intimately involved with the workings and issues of the United Nations—was titled “Why Bother with Diplomacy?” and featured Sir Kieran Prendergast, the UN undersecretary-general for political affairs.

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 Paul C. Warnke Lecture, endowed by a number of Council members, family, and friends, commemorates Warnke's legacy of courageous service to the nation and international peace.

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.

2004-2005 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS

Jennifer A. Amyx,* University of Pennsylvania, “The Political Economy of Regional Financial and Energy Cooperation in East Asia”

Russell C. Crandall, Davidson College, “Redefining U.S. Security Policy in the Andes”

James A. Gavrilis, U.S. Army, “Understanding Counterinsurgency in the Middle East: An Iraqi Case Study”

Colin H. Kahl, University of Minnesota, “Civilian Casualties and America’s New Wars”

Stephanie Kleine-Ahlbrandt, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Taming the Dragon: U.S. Assistance to the Rule of Law and Human Rights in China”

Kristin M. Lord, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, “Rethinking Public Diplomacy”

Layna Mosley, University of North Carolina, “Regulating International Finance: The Use and Utility of Private-Public Models”

Saskia S. Reilly, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, “The United States and the European Union at the United Nations: Dealing with a Strengthened EU to More Effectively Advance U.S. Interests”

R. Michael Schiffer,† Office of U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, “Reexamining the Japanese Strategic Consensus”

John Marshall Turner, McKinsey & Company, Saudi Arabia, “Unearthing the Root Causes of the Coming Economic Crisis and Assessing the Potential Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East”

Matthew C. Waxman, U.S. Department of Defense, “U.S. Capabilities and Strategies to Restore the Rule of Law in Failed and Post-Conflict States”

* Dual International Affairs and Hitachi Fellow

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

DEVELOPMENT

New and ongoing gifts and grants from individuals, foundations, and corporations contributed to the financial strength of the Council and enabled it to expand key programming and launch new initiatives. The Council extends its sincere appreciation to all the donors and volunteers whose support made this possible.

THE ANNUAL FUND

Each year members contribute to annual giving, over and above membership dues. The unrestricted dollars from annual giving provide a critical piece of the Council's overall funding, helping to support key programming and annual operating expenses. The Council is grateful to Richard E. Salomon, Development Committee chairman, for his leader-

ship efforts in helping to build the Annual Fund. In fiscal year 2004, 1,743 members (approximately 42 percent of the membership) gave a record-breaking \$3,720,300. Of them, 60 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 180 members, 45 of whom gave at the \$25,000+ Chairman's Circle level.

Forty-four percent of term members participated in the Annual Fund this year. Many term members volunteered in the fundraising effort either by writing to their colleagues or making follow-up calls. A special listing of the term members who contributed this year appears on page 50. All donors to the Annual Fund are listed on pages 59–64.

The 1921 Society—Strengthening the Council for the Future

The Council has launched a formal bequest program to help sustain the Council's mission and to ensure the Council's permanence, independence, and excellence for the future.

Council members have the opportunity to help strengthen the institution for the long run by remembering the Council in their will or through another form of legacy, such as a charitable lead trust, a charitable remainder trust, or a life insurance policy or other asset naming the Council as a beneficiary. Bequests and other testamentary contributions are vital to the Council's ability to build its meetings programs, enrich its Studies Program, expand and mod-



ernize its physical plant to keep pace with the Council's growth, and reap the benefits of new technologies.

The 1921 Society (commemorating the year the Council was founded) has been established to honor and acknowledge those who have made the future vitality of the Council an important part of their legacy. Individ-

als who confirm in writing that they have included the Council in their will or as a beneficiary in any other disposition of assets will be enrolled in the 1921 Society.

For more information, contact Betty Kurdys, Director, Annual and Planned Giving, at (212) 434-9462.

HELTON MEMORIAL LECTURE FUND DONORS

Enid H. Adler
 American Bar Association
 Carole L. Basri
 Betty J. Brandt
 Carol Camper and John Hartje
 Claire Carcich
 Steve Charnovitz
 Isobel Coleman
 Lee Cullum
 Lori Fisler Damrosch
 Michael I. Davis
 De Brauw Blackstone
 Westbroek P.C.
 Ralston H. Deffenbaugh Jr.
 Alfred Rees Derwart
 Nicholas DiMarzio
 The Domestic & Foreign Mission-
 ary Society of the Protestant
 Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.
 Claudia Dreifus
 Catherine Dumait-Harper
 Elizabeth C. Economy
 Terry Eder-Kaufman
 Amanda C. Edwards
 Irina A. Faskianos
 Jean and Marc Firestone
 Christine and Michael Gilbert
 Jacqueline D. Gilbert
 Scott T. Gilbert
 Philip Gourevitch
 Marc Ian Gross and
 Susan Ochshorn

Henry A. Grunwald
 Richard N. Haass
 Jack and Sheron Habif
 Christine and John Hand
 Vilia B. Hayes
 Donald F. Heisel
 Marjorie Helton
 Mahnaz Ispahani
 Francis J. James
 Ann Zwicker Kerr
 Joanne Kim
 James B. Kobak Jr.
 Lawrence J. Korb
 Pamela and James Krause
 Ellen Yost Lafili
 Barbara and Jules Lang
 Princeton N. Lyman
 Mary E. McClymont
 Sheila Avrin McLean
 Janice L. Murray
 Susan E. Patricof
 Michael P. Peters
 David L. Phillips
 Llewelyn G. Pritchard
 Thomas L. Pulling
 The Reed Foundation
 Virginia M. Russell
 Alan F. Schoen
 Mary Anne Schwalbe
 Nina R. Schwalbe
 Sheldon J. Segal
 Muriel F. Siebert
 Richard A. Stainsby
 Carol A. Stevenson

Nadine Strossen and Eli M. Noam
 Gligor A. Tashkovich
 Amina Tirana
 Toffler Associates Inc.
 Mirell Walden
 Pauline Weaver
 Joanna Weschler
 Aristide R. Zolberg

STEPHEN M. KELLEN TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen
 Foundation

NATIONAL PROGRAM

Mimi and Peter Haas

ARTHUR ROSS BOOK AWARD

Arthur Ross Foundation

NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON MEETINGS PROGRAMS

The Coca-Cola Company
 Home Box Office
 Theodore C. Sorensen
 Christian C. Yegen

KEY INSTITUTIONS PROGRAM

German Marshall Fund of the
 United States

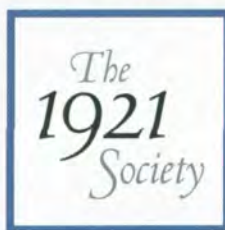
THE NEXT GENERATION FELLOWS PROGRAM

The John D. and Catherine T.
 MacArthur Foundation
 John M. Olin Foundation

The 1921 Society—Strengthening the Council for the Future

The Council has launched a formal bequest program to help sustain the Council's mission and to ensure the Council's permanence, independence, and excellence for the future.

Council members have the opportunity to help strengthen the institution for the long run by remembering the Council in their will or through another form of legacy, such as a charitable lead trust, a charitable remainder trust, or a life insurance policy or other asset naming the Council as a beneficiary. Bequests and other testamentary contributions are vital to the Council's ability to build its meetings programs, enrich its Studies Program, expand and mod-



ernize its physical plant to keep pace with the Council's growth, and reap the benefits of new technologies.

The 1921 Society (commemorating the year the Council was founded) has been established to honor and acknowledge those who have made the future vitality of the Council an important part of their legacy. Individ-

als who confirm in writing that they have included the Council in their will or as a beneficiary in any other disposition of assets will be enrolled in the 1921 Society.

For more information, contact Betty Kurdys, Director, Annual and Planned Giving, at (212) 434-9462.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROGRAMS

Carnegie Corporation of New York

STUDIES PROJECTS

Henry H. Arnhold

The Lynde and Harry Bradley
Foundation

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Ronnie C. Chan

Robert J. Chaves

Kimball C. Chen

Citigroup Inc.

DeBeers

Department for International
Development, United Kingdom

Exxon Mobil Corporation

Mark Fisch

Ford Foundation

Freedom Forum

Victor K. Fung

Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

The William and Flora Hewlett
Foundation

Frank W. Hoch

Japan Atomic Industrial Forum

Japan External Trade Organization

Korea Foundation

The John D. and Catherine T.
MacArthur Foundation

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation

Pearl Family Fund

The Pew Forum on Religion
and Public Life

The Randolph Foundation

David B. Rivkin Jr.

Shell International Ltd.

Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

Smith Richardson Foundation

The Starr Foundation

The Tinker Foundation Inc.

C. C. Tung

Woodcock Foundation

**TASK FORCES AND COUNCIL POLICY
INITIATIVES**

Anonymous

Rohit M. Desai

Eni S.p.A.

Mathea Falco

Fondation pour la Science et la
Culture

Ford Foundation

Fundación Juan March

German Marshall Fund of the
United States

Guardsmark, LLC

Leonard and Evelyn Lauder
Foundation

Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

Open Society Institute

Peter G. Peterson

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Arthur Ross Foundation

The Starr Foundation

Tishman Speyer Properties

United Nations Foundation

Malcolm Hewitt Wiener
Foundation**U.S./MIDDLE EAST PROJECT**

Fouad M.T. Alghanim

BP

Lester Crown and the Arie and
Ida Crown Memorial

Eni S.p.A.

European Commission

Gulfstream Aerospace Corp.

Hamza Al-Kholi

Nemir A. Kirdar

Robert K. Lifton

Yosef A. Maiman

Fouad Makhzoumi and the Future
Millennium Foundation

Munib R. Masri

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Pepsi-Cola International

Louis Perlmutter

Robert L. Rosen

Mohammed Jassem Al-Sager

WOMEN AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Kathleen Allaire

Jewelle Bickford

Lucy Billingsley

Elizabeth R. Bramwell

Katherine Brown

Carolyn Carter

Elizabeth L. Colton

Martha L. Dinerstein

Ford Foundation

Lola Nashashibi Grace

Jean Minskoff Grant

Paula K. Hawkins

Marlene Hess

Diane Jacobsen

Lou Anne Jensen

Susan Jonas

Ann F. Kaplan

Susan Klein

Barbara Koz-Paley

Mildred Robbins Leet

Edith Langner

Arline J. Lederman

Jean M. Martin

Janet A. McKinley

Agnes Metzger

Sandra R. Meyer

Susan E. Patricof

Marnie S. Pillsbury

Leslie Roberts

Deborah F. Stiles

Barbara Alden Taylor

United States Institute of Peace

**OTHER ENDOWED PROGRAMS AND
CHAIRS**William A.M. Burden Charitable
Lead TrustHodding Carter III and
Patricia Murphy Derian

ChevronTexaco Corporation

Susan M.N. Crudgington and
William G. McElwain

Theodore M. Hesburgh

Richard C. Holbrooke

The Hurford Foundation

Estate of Henrietta E.S. Lockwood

Vincent A. Mai

Robert S. McNamara

Lawrence C. McQuade

Margaret Osmer-McQuade

Peter G. Peterson

Janet C. Rosenberg

The Richard Salomon Family
Foundatoin

Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP

Richard C. Steadman

OTHER SPECIAL GIFTS

Citigroup Foundation

The Dana Foundation

The Dillon Fund

Nicholas Eberstadt

Hitachi, Ltd.

The Fletcher Jones Foundation

Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen
Foundation

Leon Lowenstein Foundation

Morgan Stanley

PaineWebber Foundation

Peter G. Peterson

The Starr Foundation

State of Qatar

ANNUAL GIVING DONORS

**CHAIRMAN'S CIRCLE
(\$25,000+)**

Anonymous
Robert John Abernethy
Paul A. Allaire
Stanley S. Arkin
Jeffrey Bewkes
Leon D. Black
Christopher W. Brody
Patrick M. Byrne
Jeffrey Epstein
Bart Friedman
Barbara Goldsmith
Glenn H. Greenberg
and Linda J. Vester
Maurice R. Greenberg
The Mark Haas
Foundation
Mimi and Peter Haas
Charles A. Heimbald Jr.
J. Tomilson Hill
Robert Wood Johnson Jr.
Charitable Trust
Henry Kaufman
Henry R. Kravis
Leonard A. Lauder
Ira A. Lipman
Donald B. Marron
Raymond Donald
Nasher
Richard D. Parsons
Peter G. Peterson
Lionel I. Pincus
Lester Pollack
Frank E. Richardson
Ripplewood
Foundation, Inc.
David Rockefeller
Felix G. Rohatyn
Robert Rosenkranz
E. John Rosenwald Jr.
Arthur Ross
Robert E. Rubin
Richard E. Salomon
James Baker Sitrick
Jerry I. Speyer
The Starr Foundation
Kenneth I. Starr
Stephen J. Treadway
Enzo Viscusi
Stanley A. Weiss
Malcolm Hewitt Wiener
Foundation
Mortimer B. Zuckerman

**HAROLD PRATT
ASSOCIATES
(\$10,000-\$24,999)**

Anonymous
Keith W. Abell
Odeh F. Aburdene
Allen R. Adler

Joe L. Allbritton
Altman/Kazickas
Foundation
Henry H. Arnhold
Elizabeth Frawley
Bagley
Laurence M. Band
Alan R. Batkin
Robert A. Belfer
Robert H. Benmosche
Austin M. Beutner
Kenneth J. Bialkin
John H. Biggs
John P. Birkelund
Edward Bleier
Denis A. Bovin
James E. Burke
Robert Carswell
Frank J. Caulfield
Anne Cox Chambers
Jonathan A. Chanis
Robert J. Chaves
Howard E. Cox Jr.
Lester Crown
Jack David
Kim Gordon Davis
Lynn Forester de
Rothschild
James Dimon
William H. Donaldson
Robin Chandler Duke
Charles William
Duncan Jr.
John Lindner Eastman
Blair Effron
Mallory and
Elizabeth Factor
Richard N. Foster
Stephen C. Freidheim
Richard S. Fuld Jr.
Gail Furman
Richard L. Gelb
Michael E. Gellert
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.
Peter M. Gottsegen
Michael D. Granoff
Jeffrey W. Greenberg
Martin J. Gross
Agnes Gund
Sidney Harman
James A. Harmon
Jane D. Hartley
John G. Heimann
Heinz Family
Philanthropies
Carla A. Hills
Frank W. Hoch
Ta-Lin Hsu
Robert J. Hurst
Yves-Andre Istel
Morton L. Janklow
Alan Kent Jones

Gilbert Kaplan
Farooq Kathwari
Robert J. Katz
Charles R. Kaye
Stephen M. Kellen
Peter Bicknell Kellner
Orin S. Kramer
John A. Levin
Michael Stuart Levin
Sherman R. Lewis Jr.
Vincent A. Mai
Richard Mallery
Tom F. Marsh
Edward J. Mathias
William J. McDonough
Carl B. Menges
John E. Merow
Willem Mesdag
Robert Millard
Ken Miller
James Mossman
Rupert Murdoch
Hassan Nemaze
Ronald L. and
Jane T. Olson
Open Society Institute
Karen Elizabeth
Parker Feld
Alan Joel Patricof
Frank H. Pearl
Joseph R. Perella
Robert Price
Pritzker Foundation
Thomas L. Pulling
Steven L. Rattner and
Maureen White
Stephen Robert
John J. Roberts
Theodore Roosevelt IV
Daniel Rose
Elihu Rose
Marshall Rose
John T. Ryan III
Peter M. Sacerdote
Douglas E. Schoen
Michael Peter Schulhof
James J. Shinn
Walter V. Shipley
Bippy M. Siegal
William D. Siegel
Alan M. Silberstein
Matthew R. Simmons
Peter J. Solomon
Maurice Sonnenberg
Paul Soros
Joan E. Spero
David F. Stein
Walter P. Stern
Seymour Sternberg
Deborah F. Stiles
Howard Stringer
Stephen Claar Swid

Anthony P. Terracciano
G. Richard Thoman
Andrew Herbert Tisch
Preston Robert Tisch
Richard Allen Voell
Paul A. Volcker
Robert C. Waggoner
Elizabeth G. Weymouth
John C. Whitehead
Anita Volz Wien
James D. Wolfensohn
I. Peter Wolff
Guy Patrick
Wyser-Pratte
George H. Young III
William D. Zabel
Paula A. Zahn
Ezra K. Zilkha
James D. Zirin

**PATRONS
(\$5,000-\$9,999)**

Anonymous
The Ahn Family
Foundation
Woodrow Ahn
Mario L. Baeza
Nicholas Burns Binkley
Kenneth D. Brody
Mark M. Collins Jr.
Henry Cornell
George Crile III
W. Bowman Cutter
William M. Daley
James P. Dougherty
Kenneth M. Duberstein
Peggy Dulany
Richard Elden
L. Brooks Entwistle
Robert F. Erburu
Alan H. Fleischmann
Paul B. Ford Jr.
Paul J. Fribourg
Harrison J. Goldin
Jeffrey A. Goldstein
Roy M. Goodman
Albert H. Gordon
Theresa A. Havell
Melvin L. Heineman
Richard C. Holbrooke
Robert D. Hormats
Nancy A. Jarvis
Andrew R. Kasoy
Roger C. Kline
Richard M. Krasno
Harvey Krueger
Philip C. Lauinger Jr.
Troland S. Link
Kenneth Lipper
David R. Malpass
Patricia Ann McFate
Marc B. Nathanson

Jan Nicholson
James W. Owens
Louis Perlmutter
Anne B. Popkin
Charles O. Prince III
William R. Rhodes
Nicholas Rockefeller
Henry B. Schacht
Theodore C. Sorensen
Gordon C. Stewart
Scott L. Swid
Lee B. Thomas Jr.
John L. Weinberg
Frederick B.
Whittemore
William J. Williams Jr.
Ward W. Woods
Jacob J. Worenklein
Nancy Young

**SPONSORS
(\$1,000-\$4,999)**

Anonymous (3)
Wilder K. Abbott
A. Robert Abboud
M. Bernard Aidinoff
Madeleine Albright
Margo N. Alexander
Graham T. Allison
M. Michael Ansur
Michael H. Armacost
C. Michael Armstrong
Khalid Azim
Carter F. Bales
William G. Bardel
Thomas Corcoran Barry
Richard I. Beattie
Gregory R. Bedrosian
Lucy Wilson Benson
Bruce D. Berkowitz
Robert L. Bernstein
Simon Michael Bessie
Henry S. Bienen
James Henry Binger
Cathleen P. Black
Shirley Temple Black
Richard C. Blum
W. Michael Blumenthal
John A. Bohn
J. Dennis Bonney
Nicholas F. Brady
Andrew F. Brimmer
Tom Brokaw
Edgar M. Bronfman
Harold Brown
Katherine A. Brown
Richard P. Brown Jr.
David S. Browning
Richard R. Burt
Philip Caldwell
Juan Carlos Cappello
James H. Carter

- Elliot R. Cattarulla
 Henry E. Catto
 Joyce Chang
 Juju Chang
 Warren Christopher
 Abby Joseph Cohen
 Jerome Alan Cohen
 Jonathan E. Colby
 Isobel Coleman
 William T. Coleman Jr.
 Philip E. Comstock Jr.
 Jill M. Considine
 Mary S. Cross
 Daniel Lester Cruise
 Lee Cullum
 Christine M. Cumming
 Nelson W. Cunningham
 Walter J.P. Curley Jr.
 Lloyd N. Cutler
 Kenneth W. Dam
 Marcia Wachs Dam
 William H. Danforth
 D. Ronald Daniel
 Ralph Parsons Davidson
 Kathryn W. Davis
 Joseph Deegan Day
 Drew Saunders Days III
 George de Menil
 Lois Pattison de Menil
 Eli Whitney Debevoise II
 Barbara Knowles Debs
 Richard A. Debs
 Robert E. Denham
 Kenneth T. Derr
 Robert L. Dilenschneider
 Diana Lady Dougan
 William H. Draper III
 Ray N. Dryden Jr.
 Althea L. Duersten
 Joseph D. Duffey
 Patrick Andrew
 Dunigan
 Jessica P. Einhorn
 Robert J. Einhorn
 Inger McCabe Elliott
 Osborn Elliott
 Jonathan Foster Fanton
 Elizabeth Worley
 Farman-Farmaian
 Martin S. Feldstein
 James L. Ferguson
 Suzanne R. Ferlic
 Jose W. Fernandez
 Geraldine A. Ferraro
 Antonio Luis Ferré
 Hart Fessenden
 Bertram H. Fields
 Francis A. Finelli
 Stanley Fischer
 Julie Ann Fisher
 Pamela Flaherty
 Peter Flaherty
 Joseph H. Flom
 William Emery Franklin
- Cyrus F. Freidheim
 Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen
 Richard A. Freytag
 Fredrica S. Friedman
 Stephen J. Friedman
 William H. Frist
 David Fromkin
 Ann M. Fudge
 Kathryn S. Fuller
 Richard M. Furlaud
 Orit B. Gadiesh
 James R. Gaines
 Sergio J. Galvis
 Claire L. Gaudiani
 Leslie H. Gelb
 Peter Andrew
 Georgescu
 David Ginsburg
 Peter Gleysteen
 Frederick W. Gluck
 Frank A. Godchaux III
 Richard K. Goeltz
 William T. Golden
 Guido Goldman
 Jamie S. Gorelick
 Thomas Graham Jr.
 Arthur N. Greenberg
 Lisa Greenberg
 Henry A. Grunwald
 Andrew S. Gundlach
 John H. Gutfreund
 John H.J. Guth
 Richard N. Haass
 Nina L. Hachigian
 Joseph A. Hafner Jr.
 Kathryn Walt Hall
 Claus M. Halle
 Edward K. Hamilton
 Scott M. Hand
 Edward J. Hardin
 Deborah A. Harding
 William B. Harrison Jr.
 William Alan Haseltine
 Rita E. Hauser
 Lukas Harrison Haynes
 Benjamin W.
 Heineman Jr.
 David W. Heleniak
 John M. Hennessy
 John B. Hess
 Melody Hobson
 James R. Houghton
 Karen Elliott House
 Roy M. Huffington
 Timothy A. Hultquist
 Patricia Skinner
 Huntington
 Philip M. Huyck
 Joel Z. Hyatt
 Allen I. Hyman
 Alberto Iburgien
 Maxine Isaacs
 Mahnaz Ispahani
 John E. Jacob
- Merit E. Janow
 Robert D. Joffe
 Thomas S. Johnson
 Wyatt Thomas Johnson
 Thomas V. Jones
 Thomas W. Jones
 Peter Martin Joost
 Vernon E. Jordan Jr.
 Helene L. Kaplan
 Scott Bancroft Kapnick
 Paul X. Kelley
 Alfred F. Kelly Jr.
 Arthur L. Kelly
 Donald M. Kendall
 Robert M. Kimmitt
 Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
 Henry A. Kissinger
 Jeff Kojac
 Thomas F. Kranz
 Geraldine S. Kunstadter
 Brett B. Lambert
 Kenneth H.M. Leet
 Mildred Robbins Leet
 John W. Leslie Jr.
 W. Walker Lewis
 Glen S. Lewy
 John H. Lichtblau
 Nancy A. Lieberman
 John P. Lipsky
 Oivind Lorentzen III
 William Lucy
 James T. Lynn
 Gary E. MacDougal
 John W. Madigan
 Margaret E. Mahoney
 Lewis Manilow
 David I. Margolis
 Roman Martinez IV
 Carlton A. Masters
 Jay Mazur
 Barry R. McCaffrey
 Cappy R. McGarr
 Donald F. McHenry
 Robert B. McKeon
 Thomas F. McLarty III
 Dana G. Mead
 E. Scott Mead
 Walter Russell Mead
 Roberto G. Mendoza
 Zoltan Merszei
 Ricardo A. Mestres Jr.
 Edward C. Meyer
 Daniel R. Mintz
 George J. Mitchell
 Patricia E. Mitchell
 John J. Moore Jr.
 Richard M. Moose
 Edward L. Morse
 David H. Mortimer
 Michael H. Moskow
 Craig James Mundie
 Winthrop R. Munyan
 Ewell E. Murphy Jr.
 Thomas S. Murphy
- Raffiq A. Nathoo
 Jeffrey C. Neal
 Nancy S. Newcomb
 Edward N. Ney
 Rodney W. Nichols
 A. Kenneth Nilsson
 Lucio A. Noto
 Morris W. Offit
 Merle Aiko Okawara
 John E. Osborn
 Stephen A. Oxman
 Carter W. Page
 Bruce Lawrence Paisner
 Victor H. Palmieri
 Stewart J. Paperin
 Scott E. Pardee
 Howard G. Paster
 Ernest T. Patrikis
 Patricia M. Patterson
 Norman Pearlstine
 Lawrence Edward
 Penn III
 David Perez
 Leon K. Pfeiffer
 David L. Phillips
 Harvey Picker
 Thomas R. Pickering
 Charles M. Pigott
 Charles J. Pilliod Jr.
 Marnie S. Pillsbury
 Nicholas Platt
 Sheila Maynard Platt
 Jonathan Plutzik
 Daniel Bruce Poneman
 Susan Kaufman Purcell
 Lucian W. Pye
 Leonard V. Quigley
 Alan H. Rappaport
 Richard Ravitch
 Kristin Denise
 Rechberger
 Milbrey Rennie
 Stanley R. Resor
 Donald S. Rice
 Joseph A. Rice
 James J. Richard
 Robert S. Rifkind
 Michael L. Riordan
 Charles S. Robb
 Joseph E. Robert Jr.
 James D. Robinson III
 Jeffrey Allen Rosen
 Robert L. Rosen
 Patricia L. Rosenfield
 A. M. Rosenthal
 Gary N. Ross
 Charles O. Rossotti
 Warren B. Rudman
 Arthur F. Ryan
 Barry A. Sanders
 Frank Savage
 Diane Sawyer
 Theodore H. Schell
 Thomas Schick
- Benno Schmidt Jr.
 Arthur Schneider
 Brian T. Schreiber
 Stephen A. Schwarzman
 Timothy R. Scully
 George P. Shultz
 David R. Slade
 Jean Kennedy Smith
 Dorothy Meadow Sobol
 H. Marshall Sonenshine
 Scott M. Spangler
 Helena Stalson
 Elliot Stein
 Joshua L. Steiner
 David J. Stern
 Paula Stern
 James W. Stevens
 Brandon W. Sweitzer
 Paul Tagliabue
 Harold Tanner
 Maurice Tempelman
 Louisa Thoron
 Audrey Ronning
 Topping
 Seymour Topping
 Ly K. Tran
 Mark C. Treanor
 William J. vanden
 Heuvel
 Jeffrey Paul Varanini
 Peter H. Vermilye
 John W. Vessey
 Edward H. Vick
 Alberto Vitale
 David J. Vitale
 Stephen R. Volk
 Marshall I. Wais Jr.
 John L. Walker
 Barbara Walters
 Debra L. Wasserman
 Bruce Wasserstein
 Frank A. Weil
 Jasper A. Welch Jr.
 David L. Westin
 Anne Wexler
 Mary Jo White
 Marina V.N. Whitman
 Robert E. Wilhelm
 Thomas Lloyd
 Wilkerson
 Edwin D. Williamson
 Don M. Wilson III
 Herbert S. Winokur Jr.
 Milton A. Wolf
 Judy C. Woodruff
 William H. Wright II
 Andrew Young
 Frank G. Zarb
 Brian R. Zipp
- DONORS**
(\$500-\$999)
 Morton I. Abramowitz
 Fouad Ajami

- Lew Allen Jr.
 Craig B. Anderson
 Paul F. Anderson
 H. Brandt Ayers
 Leslie E. Bains
 Charles F. Baird
 Carol Baldwin Moody
 Michael P. Behringer
 Christina A. Bennett
 Joshua A. Berger
 Marilyn Berger
 John E. Berndt
 Susan Vail Berresford
 Peter J. Beshar
 George C. Biddle
 Robert Jay Blendon
 Carter Booth
 John C. Botts
 Jo Ivey Boufford
 Kay Boulware-Miller
 Whitney A. Bower
 John Brademas
 Henry R. Breck
 Glenn A. Britt
 Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks
 Geoffrey P. Burgess
 William J. Butler
 Frank C. Carlucci
 Gareth C.C. Chang
 Stephen A. Cheney
 Donald K. Clifford Jr.
 Charles E. Cobb Jr.
 Tyrus W. Cobb
 William S. Cohen
 Elizabeth L. Colagiuri
 Johnnetta B. Cole
 Jill Conway
 Frances D. Cook
 Kathleen B. Cooper
 William Courtney
 Dan L. Crippen
 Barbara Crossette
 William J. Crowe
 Russell J. DaSilva
 Roxanne J. Decyk
 John Deutch
 Robert P. DeVecchi
 C. Maury Devine
 Linda M. Distlerath
 Thomas R. Donahue
 Robert R. Douglass
 Richard A. Drucker
 James H. Duffy
 Graham A. Duncan
 Philip A. Dur
 James Reed Ellis
 Claude E. Erbsen
 Alexander T. Ercklentz
 Mathea Falco
 J. Rodney Faraon
 Lee Feinstein
 Eugene V. Fife
 Lisa Finstrom
 Sheppard L. Forman
 Charles C. Foster
 Harry L. Freeman
 Michael B.G. Froman
 Alton Frye
 Pamela B. Gann
 Richard N. Gardner
 Philomene A. Gates
 Helene D. Gayle
 Burton L. Gerber
 David R. Gergen
 Jeffrey Scott Glueck
 Charles N. Goldman
 Lincoln Gordon
 Victor Gotbaum
 Henry Franklin Graff
 Robert D. Graff
 R. Scott Greathead
 Carl J. Green
 Donald P. Gregg
 Linda Griego
 Bernard M. Gwertzman
 C. Barrows Hall
 Paul Hallingby Jr.
 Frederick Heldring
 Ricki Tigert Helfer
 Jack D. Hidary
 Robert F. Higgins
 Rachel Hines
 Steven I. Hofman
 Jeffrey N. Hogan
 Warren M. Hoge
 Richard C. Hottel
 John W. Huizenga
 Mel M. Immergut
 Karl F. Inderfurth
 Bobby R. Inman
 L. Oakley Johnson
 Alexander S. Jutkowitz
 Robert P. Kadlec
 Mark N. Kaplan
 Zachary Karabell
 Daniel Roger Katz
 Frederick S. Kempe
 Melanie M. Kirkpatrick
 Helaine S. Klasky
 John C. Kornblum
 Mahesh K. Kotecha
 Fred T. Krawchuk Jr.
 Nancy Jo Kuenstner
 Nisha Kumar
 Betty Goetz Lall
 John D. Langlois
 Nicholas R. Lardy
 Paul A. Laudicina
 Shelly B. Lazarus
 Roger S. Leeds
 LaSalle D. Leffall III
 Marc Levinson
 Lu Li
 Timothy Light
 Jonathan S. Linen
 Betty Wen Ssu Liu
 William J. Long
 Bette Bao Lord
 Winston Lord
 James G. Lowenstein
 Monica C. Lozano
 Bruce K. MacLaury
 John Dewitt Macomber
 Michael Mandelbaum
 Murrey Marder
 Leonard H. Marks
 Andrew W. Marshall
 William B. Matteson
 Michael M. May
 Alonzo L. McDonald
 Elizabeth A. McKeon
 Eric D.K. Melby
 John R. Menke
 Benjamin R. Miller
 Helen V. Milner
 Charlotte M. Morgan
 Ambler H. Moss Jr.
 Lucia Mouat
 Margaret Farris Mudd
 George B. Munroe
 Richard W. Murphy
 Janice L. Murray
 Scott Andrew Nathan
 John D. Negroponte
 Esther R. Newburg
 Matthew Nimetz
 Marcus Noland
 Lyndon L. Olson Jr.
 Patrick J. O'Rourke
 Richard de J. Osborne
 Hannah C. Pakula
 Michael Pan
 Herbert Pardes
 Michael Christopher Parks
 Joseph F. Peyronnin
 Jane Cahill Pfeiffer
 John J. Phelan Jr.
 Steve R. Pieczenik
 Richard W. Pogue
 Arturo C. Porzecanski
 Colin L. Powell
 Philip H. Power
 Robert C. Pozen
 Allen E. Puckett
 Edward L. Pulling
 Simon Ramo
 Clyde E. Rankin III
 Lee R. Raymond
 Celina B. Realuyo
 William K. Reilly
 Renate Rennie
 Rozanne L. Ridgway
 Cara W. Robertson
 Olin C. Robison
 David Rockefeller Jr.
 John D. Rockefeller IV
 Riordan Roett
 Peter R. Rosenblatt
 Stanley Owen Roth
 Arthur Mark Rubin
 Karenna Gore Schiff
 Herbert S. Schlosser
 Brent Scowcroft
 Frederick C. Seibold Jr.
 Donna E. Shalala
 Eleanor B. Sheldon
 George H. Shenk
 Alan R. Sheriff
 Benjamin B. Sherwood
 C. J. Silas
 Ron Silver
 Richard N. Sinkin
 Anne-Marie Slaughter
 Patricia T. Smalley
 Richard M. Smith
 Jed C. Snyder
 Abraham David Sofaer
 Anne G.K. Solomon
 Carlos Javier Spinelli-Nosedo
 Ronald Steel
 Alfred C. Stepan
 Gordon R. Sullivan
 Mona K. Sutphen
 James S. Sutterlin
 Strobe Talbott
 Peter Tarnoff
 Thomas C. Theobald
 Franklin A. Thomas
 Lydia Waters Thomas
 Maynard J. Toll Jr.
 Eugene P. Trani
 Alexander B. Trowbridge
 Basilios E. Tsingos
 Laura D'Andrea Tyson
 Garrick Utley
 Toni G. Verstandig
 Jay M. Vogelson
 Carl E. Vuono
 Mary Wadsworth-Darby
 David R. Weaver
 Susan R. Weld
 Ira T. Wender
 Elie Wiesel
 Elisha Wiesel
 Matthew A. Winkler
 Alan Wm. Wolff
 Linda Tsao Yang
 Daniel Yankelovich
 Michael B. Yanney
 Nancy Yao
 Daniel H. Yergin
 Robert B. Zoellick
 Charles J. Zwick
 Richard C. Allison
 Michael A. Almond
 Jose E. Alvarez
 Angelo I. Amador
 Harold W. Andersen
 Lisa Anderson
 Nancy A. Aossey
 Tomas A. Arciniega
 Anne L. Armstrong
 Lloyd Armstrong Jr.
 Jonathan David Aronson
 Carole Artigiani
 Diego C. Asencio
 Benjamin A. Atkins
 Jesse H. Ausubel
 John R. Baker
 Pauline H. Baker
 Peter Bakstansky
 Robert Edward Baldwin
 Donald K. Bandler
 Teresa C. Barger
 Erica Jean Barks-Ruggles
 Harry G. Barnes Jr.
 Joseph W. Bartlett
 Timothy J. Bartlett
 Kirsten Leigh Bartok
 Francis Keith Bassolino
 Pamela M. Bates
 Francis M. Bator
 Perry S. Bechky
 David Z. Beckler
 Andrea D. Begel
 Thomas C. Beierle
 Burwell B. Bell
 Jonathan N. Bell
 Mack Bell
 Steve Bell
 Douglas K. Bereuter
 Jonathan E. Berman
 Peter W. Bernstein
 Scott D. Berrie
 Jan Berris
 Richard K. Betts
 Karan K. Bhatia
 Nicole M. Bibbins Sedaca
 John C. Bierley
 James D. Bindenagel
 Eugene A. Birnbaum
 Joseph E. Black
 Coit D. Blacker
 Robert O. Blake
 Stephen Blank
 Antony J. Blinken
 Alyse Nelson Bloom
 David A. Bloom
 Daniel E. Bob
 Andy S. Bodea
 Pieter James Alexander Boelhouwer
 Landrum R. Bolling
 Andrea Bonime-Blanc

**CONTRIBUTORS
 (UP TO \$499)**

- C. Spencer Abbot
 Charles S. Abbot
 Labeeb M. Abboud
 Michael H. Alderman
 Peter Belmont
 Alderman
 George H. Aldrich
 Scott Hazzard Allan Jr.

- David L. Boren
Marshall M. Bouton
Robert R. Bowie
David William Bowker
William L. Bradley
Jacqueline V. Brady
Linda Parrish Brady
George William
Breslauser
Sundaa Ayo Bridgett
Reuben E. Brigety II
Harvey Brooks
Charles N. Brower
C. Michael Brown
Carroll Brown
Frederic J. Brown
L. Carl Brown
Phoebe W. Brown
Robert S. Browne
Judith Bruce
Greyson L. Bryan
Mark E. Buchman
Elaine Buckberg
Thomas Buerгентhal
Mary Brown Bullock
Deborah K. Burand
Christopher J. Burn
Christina Duffy Burnett
Patrick Owen Burns
Rolland H. Bushner
Ralph Buultjens
Daniel L. Byman
Louis W. Cabot
Louis E. Caldera
Daniel Calingaert
Thomas M. Callaghy
Robert J. Callander
David Patrick Calleo
Colin G. Campbell
David A. Caputo
Lisa M. Caputo
John Carey
David A. Carmel
William D. Carmichael
Barry E. Carter
Hodding Carter III
William David Casebeer
Richard Edward
Cavanagh
Ray Charles Cave
James C. Chace
Walid George Chamoun
Cory Charles
Robert Bruce Charles
Steve Charnovitz
Robert Chartener
Thomas J.
Christensen
Daniel William
Christman
Jeffrey L. Cimbalo
Peter A. Clement
Lynette Clemetson
Harlan Cleveland
C. Shelby Coffey III
Joseph I. Coffey
Herman J. Cohen
Roberta Jane Cohen
Jonathan R. Cole
Julius E. Coles
Gary M. Cook
Goodwin Cooke
Charles A. Cooper
Laura K. Cooper
Suzanne Cott
Elizabeth M. Cousens
Peter F. Cowhey
Margaret E. Crahan
Timothy W. Crawford
Adelaide McGuinn
Cromwell
Monica Elizabeth
Crowley
Lester M. Crystal
Kenneth A. Cutshaw
Geoffrey D. Dabelko
Dorinda G. Dallmeyer
James E. Dalton
Lori Fisler Damrosch
Mark D. Danner
Nathaniel Davis
Marion M. Dawson Carr
Horace G. Dawson Jr.
Arnaud de Borchgrave
Jean-Christophe
de Swaan
Edwin A. Deagle Jr.
Jonathan Dean
Alfred C. DeCrane Jr.
Brewster C. Denny
Phil E. DePoy
Patricia Murphy Derian
James V. Derrick Jr.
I. M. Destler
Shelley Deutch
Joan Didion
Paula DiPerna
Gregory Djerejian
Paula J. Dobriansky
Justin W. Doebele
David J. Doerge
Douglas S. Donohue
Norman Dorsen
William Drayton
Joy E. Drucker
Craig G. Dunkerley
Kempston Dunn
Lewis A. Dunn
Jennie M. Easterly
Donald B. Easum
Ralph E. Eberhart
Robert H. Edwards
Robert H. Edwards Jr.
Laura L. Efros
Karl Eikenberry
Hermann Frederick
Eilts
Keri Eisenbeis
Charles R. Eisendrath
Michael Eisner
Stuart E. Eizenstat
Patricia Ellis
Ainslie T. Embree
David B. Ensor
Richard D. Erb
Robert H. Estabrook
Daniel C. Esty
Richard Fairbanks
David M. Fairman
Robert E. Fallon
Evelyn N. Farkas
Irina A. Faskianos
Evan A. Feigenbaum
Ava S. Feiner
Catherine Lynne
Feingold
Daniel F. Feldman
Noah R. Feldman
Charles H. Ferguson
Anthony C. Fernandes
Frank E. Ferrari
Maria C. Figueroa
Küpcü
Desiree Geneva
Fillippone
Barbara D. Finberg
Bernard I. Finel
Seymour Maxwell
Finger
Lawrence S. Finkelstein
Sonya L. Finley
Mercedes Carmela
Fitchett
Stephanie Flanders
Stephen E. Flynn
Ronald R. Fogleman
S. Robert Foley Jr.
William Fulbright Foote
Gerald R. Ford
Jason William Forrester
Brenda Lei Foster
Donald T. Fox
Joseph Carrere Fox
Thomas M. Franck
Brian L. Frank
Myra M. Frazier
Ladeene A. Freimuth
Edward R. Fried
Benjamin M. Friedman
William P. Fuller
Mark T. Fung
Ellen V. Futter
Evan G. Galbraith
Lacey Wingham
Gallagher
Robert L. Gallucci
Joshua P. Galper
Sandra Galvis
Charles S. Ganoe
Johnson Garrett
Charles Gati
Toby Trister Gati
Catherine Gay
Philip O. Geier
Peter F. Geithner
Timothy F. Geithner
Robert P. George
Louis Gerber
Michael Getler
Tatiana C. Gfoeller
Richard Gilmore
Newton L. Gingrich
Thomas B. Ginsburg
Walter D. Givhan
Robert R. Glauber
Carol Gluck
Robert F. Goheen
Ronnie L. Goldberg
Bruce N. Goldberger
James M. Goldgeier
Matthew N. Goldin
Natalie J. Goldring
Neil Goldschmidt
Paul D. Golob
George J.W. Goodman
Andrew J. Goodpaster
Joseph T. Gorman
Stuart Gottlieb
Peter G. Gould
Stephen Richards
Graubard
Shane Green
Joseph N. Greene Jr.
Hugh D.S. Greenway
Alyssa A. Grikscheit
Brandon Grove
Paul C. Grove
Eugenia Katherine
Guilmartin
Edwin O. Guthman
Lynn E. Haaland
Robert D. Haas
Alexander M. Haig Jr.
Nisid J. Hajari
Ted Halstead
Hugh Gerard
Hamilton Jr.
D. Holly Hammonds
Larry Hanauer
Stephen Handelman
Herbert J. Hansell
Carl Thor Hanson
Giselle P. Hantz
Evie Hantzopoulos
Katherine Anderson
Hardin
Conrad K. Harper
Todd Christopher Hart
Arthur A. Hartman
Jon K. Hartzell
John H.F. Haskell Jr.
Gina Marie L. Hatheway
John Resor Hauge
William Locke Hauser
Margaret Daly Hayes
Thomas B. Hayward
Lisa W. Heald
Charles B. Heck
Robert C. Helander
John L. Helgeson
Richard M. Heller
Rebecca K.C. Hersman
Christian A. Herter Jr.
Robert M. Hertzberg
Robert E. Herzstein
Edward T. Hightower
Ruth Hinerfeld
Deane R. Hinton
John L. Hirsch
Jim Hoagland
Tammany D. Hobbs
Miracky
Amoretta M. Hoerber
Malcolm I. Hoenlein
Auren Hoffman
Bruce Hoffman
Stanley Hoffmann
George Roberts Hoguet
Mary Elizabeth Hoinkes
John L. Holden
Duncan Baker Hollis
Henry Allen Holmes
Pat M. Holt
John D. Holum
Gary N. Horlick
Alan W. Horton
Bradley C. Hosmer
Amory Houghton Jr.
Kathleen Houlihan
Christopher Bernard
Howard
Lee W. Huebner
Gary C. Hufbauer
Lynn N. Hughes
Ellen H. Hume
David S. Huntington
Joseph Kindall Hurd III
J. C. Hurewitz
Sol Hurwitz
David R. Ignatius
Alice Stone Ilichman
Robert S. Ingersoll
David Wallace Irwin
Kaleil D. Isaza-Tuzman
John Jay Iselin
Steven L. Isenberg
Adam R. Isles
Paul Jabber
Sarah Jackson
Mark R. Jacobson
Francis John James
David P. James
Robert Jastrow
Alpheus W. Jessup
Karen H. Johnson
Larry D. Johnson
Scott S. Johnson
Willene A. Johnson
David C. Jones
David L. Jones

- Amos A. Jordan
Geri M. Joseph
John P. Jumper
Kenneth I. Juster
Eric John Kadel Jr.
Bernard Kalb
Marvin Kalb
Donald P. Kanak
Arnold Kanter
Susan L. Karamanian
Stanley Karnow
Abraham Katz
Stanley N. Katz
Daniel J. Kaufman
Kira Kay
Carl Kaysen
Juliette N. Kayyem
Farhad Kazemi
Thomas H. Kean
Barbara L. Kellerman
David Kellogg
John H. Kelly
Peter B. Kenen
Christopher J. Kennan
Robert O. Keohane
Ann Zwicker Kerr
W. Carl Kester
Peter Kezirian
Henry L. King
Susan Robinson King
Judith Kipper
Stephen D. Kiser
Karin L. Kizer
Monica Vegas Kladakis
David Klein
Jack Wilbur Klimp
George Kolt
Andrzej Korbonski
Louis Kraar
Jay L. Kriegel
Anne O. Krueger
Roger M. Kubarych
Punita Kumar-Sinha
Denis Lamb
Lansing Lamont
David M. Lampton
Carol J. Lancaster
Jim Alfred Landé
Lauren R. Landis
Richard D. Lawrence
Chappell H. Lawson
Gordon Nathaniel
Lederman
Ernest S. Lee
Orin Lehman
John Foster Leich
Erik James Leklem
Marc E. Leland
J. Stuart Lemle
Robert J. Lempert
Amanda V. Leness
Alexander T.J. Lennon
Sarah G.J. Lennon
Marcel J. Lettre II
- Marne L. Levine
Jeremy I. Levitt
Bernard Lewis
Stephen R. Lewis Jr.
Cynthia C. Lichtenstein
James E. Lieber
Kenneth G. Lieberthal
Jessica K. Liebowitz
Sally L. Lilienthal
Franklin A. Lindsay
James M. Lindsay
Karin M. Lissakers
Robert E. Litan
Robert S. Litwak
Eric P. Liu
Robert Livingston
George Cabot Lodge
Clark B. Lombardi
Bevis Longstreth
Linda S. Lourie
Stephen Low
Abraham F. Lowenthal
James Milton Loy
C. Payne Lucas
Edward C. Luck
Wendy W. Luers
William H. Luers
Jane Holl Lute
Princeton N. Lyman
Richard W. Lyman
Thomas F. Lynch III
James E. Lyons
Richard Kent Lyons
Marcus Mabry
Charles Frederick
MacCormack
Bruce Walter
MacDonald
Consuelo Cotter Mack
Paul Mackinnon
Robert M. Macy Jr.
Krista M. Magras
Thomas H. Mahoney IV
Christopher J. Makins
Wendy A. Maldonado
Audrey Forbes Manley
J. Eugene Marans
David Marchick
David E. Mark
Hans M. Mark
Phebe A. Marr
Anthony D. Marshall
F. Ray Marshall
Zachary Blake Marshall
L. Camille Massey
Walter E. Massey
Daniel C. Matuszewski
Gerald M. Mayer Jr.
John W. McCarter Jr.
John J. McCloy II
Robert L. McClure
Elizabeth J. McCormack
Jennifer A. McFarlane
Robert C. McFarlane
- Carola H. McGiffert
David E. McGiffert
Laura A. McIntosh
David T. McLaughlin
Doyle McManus
Jason D. McManus
Dennis L. McNamara
Thomas L. McNaugher
M. Peter McPherson
Robert F. Meagher
Adrienne Medawar
Amy Houpt Medearis
Bruce Paul Mehlman
Irene W. Meister
James E. Mejia
Claire Sechler Merkel
Theodor Meron
John Robert Meyer
Harold J. Meyerman
Martin Meyerson
Judith B. Milestone
Charles R. Miller
Debra L. Miller
Matthew L. Miller
John A. Millington
Bradford Mills
Susan Linda Mills
Frank J. Mirkow
Sherwood G. Moe
George D. Moffett
Walter F. Mondale
Ernest J. Moniz
William S. Moody
John Norton Moore
Julia A. Moore
George E. Moose
Theodore H. Moran
Lloyd N. Morrisett
Kenneth P. Morse
Alfred H. Moses
Michael David Mosettig
Joel W. Motley
Homer E. Moyer Jr.
Daniel H. Mudd
Virginia A. Mulberger
Steven Muller
Emily Moto Murase
Deroy Murdock
Douglas P. Murray
Martha Twitchell Muse
Peter F. Najera
Merlin E. Nelson
Richard A. Nenneman
Lynn Nesbit
Stephanie G. Neuman
Pauline Newman
Richard T. Newman
David D. Newsom
Jennifer G. Newstead
M. Diana Helweg
Newton
Eli M. Noam
Lynne Dominick
Novack
- Jeffrey D. Nuechterlein
J. Benjamin H. Nye
Joseph S. Nye Jr.
Phyllis E. Oakley
Robert B. Oakley
Don Oberdorfer
Carol O'Cleireacain
Walter F. O'Connor
William E. Odom
Raymond C.
Offenheiser Jr.
Joseph A. O'Hare
L. Jay Oliva
April A. Oliver
William Clinton Olson
Joseph N. Onek
Michael E.
Oppenheimer
Robert C. Orr
Susan Sherer Osnos
F. Taylor Ostrander
Stephen T. Ostrowski
Henry David Owen
Harold C. Pachios
George C. Paine II
Mark Palmer
Matthew A. Palmer
Eric J. Pan
H. K. Park
Elizabeth Rindskopf
Parker
Parag Patel
Hugh T. Patrick
Stewart M. Patrick
Roland A. Paul
Brigid Myers Pavilonis
Richard Foote Pedersen
Federico F. Peña
Don Peretz
Edward J. Perkins
Roswell B. Perkins
Robert C. Perry
Joseph E. Persico
Mary Ann Peters
Michael P. Peters
David H. Petraeus
Richard W. Petree
Stephen R. Petschek
Peter J. Pettibone
Steven B. Pfeiffer
Christopher H. Phillips
Lawrence W. Pierce
Andrew J. Pierre
Donald L. Pilling
Walter H. Pincus
William A. Pizer
Louis D. Pizzarello
Alan A. Platt
Richard L. Plepler
Rutherford M. Poats
Gerald A. Pollack
Marquita J. Pool-Eckert
Frank Popoff
John R. Price Jr.
- William T. Pryce
Robert H. Puckett
Fernande Scheid Raine
John Raisian
R. Sean Randolph
Clark T. Randt Jr.
Robin Lynn Raphael
J. Thomas Ratchford
Jack Raymond
Charles E. Redman
Charles B. Reed
Matthew R. Rees
William M. Reichert
Saskia S. Reilly
Jehuda Reinharz
Thomas F. Remington
Charles Byron Renfrew
Nicholas A. Rey
John B. Rhineland
John H. Rich Jr.
Stephen H. Richards
David B. Richardson
Henry J. Richardson III
William B. Richardson
Alice M. Rivlin
Walter R. Roberts
David Z. Robinson
Hays H. Rockwell
J. Hugh Roff Jr.
William D. Rogers
Ervin J. Rokke
Alan D. Romberg
Arthur H. Rosen
Mark B. Rosenberg
Mitchell S. Rosenthal
Jon J. Rosenwasser
Ronald W. Roskens
Elspeth Davies Rostow
William M. Roth
Linda D. Rottenberg
Ronald A. Route
Edward L. Rowny
Neil L. Rudenstine
Carol Knuth Sakoian
George R. Salem
Steven B. Sample
Michael A. Samuels
Michael A. Samway
Marlene Sanders
Stephen Thomas
Sargeant
Ralph Southey Saul
Harold H. Saunders
Robert A. Scalapino
Matthew Schaffer
Jerrold Schecter
Frank W. Schiff
Anya A. Schmemmann
James L. Schoff
G. Edward Schuh
Jill A. Schuker
George D. Schwab
Susan Carroll Schwab
Eric Paul Schwartz

Adam Schwarz	David Shiverick Smith	John Temple Swing	Gregory E. van der Vink	Joanna Weschler
William W. Schwarzer	James McCall Smith	Julia Vadala Taft	Michael H. Van Dusen	Jennifer Seymour
Stephen M. Schwebel	Malcolm B. Smith	William H. Taft IV	Ted Van Dyk	Whitaker
James E. Scitutto	L. Britt Snider	Phillips Talbot	John Van Oudenaren	Robert J. White
Norman P. Seagrave	Timothy D. Snyder	Jeffrey W. Taliaferro	Marsha Vande Berg	Christine Todd
Robert C. Seamans Jr.	Andrew Wallace	Raymond Tanter	Martina E. Vandenberg	Whitman
Jonathan E. Sears	Solomon	C. Bruce Tarter	Robert D. Vander Lugt	Eddie Nathan Williams
Mark S. Seasholes	Anthony M. Solomon	William Taubman	Alice S. Victor	Harold M. Williams
James B. Seaton III	Joshua N. Solomon	Dina Simone	Leslie Vinjamuri	Margaret Douglas
Eugene A. Sekulow	Richard H. Solomon	Temple-Raston	Milton Viorst	Williams
John W. Sewell	Robert Solomon	Troy S. Thomas	Charls E. Walker	Donald M. Wilson
Jeffrey R. Shafer	Tara Diane Sonenshine	Paul E. Tierney Jr.	Gregg Alexander	Philip S. Winterer
Andrew J. Shapiro	Helmut Sonnenfeldt	Ronald Tiersky	Walker	Laura Winters
Andrew L. Shapiro	Richard W. Sonnenfeldt	Sarah Livingston	Sarah K. Walkling	Frank G. Wisner
Judith R. Shapiro	Blake A. Spahn	Timpson	Ian Kennard Walsh	Anne A. Witkowsky
Jason T. Shaplen	Jonathan S. Spaner	Cynthia A. Tindell	Anthony John Walton	Charles Wolf Jr.
Daniel A. Sharp	Joshua B. Spero	Terence A. Todman	R. Keith Walton	Jon B. Wolfsthal
Dorothy C. Shea	Ronald I. Spiers	Ramin Toloui	Katherine T. Ward	R. James Woolsey
Brooke L. Shearer	J. Andrew Spindler	Stephen Joel	John William Warner	Suzanne H. Woolsey
Soroush Richard	Stephen Stamas	Trachtenberg	Margaret G. Warner	L. Patrick Wright
Shehabi	Nina Zinterhofer	Harry D. Train II	John L. Washburn	Phoebe L. Yang
Stanley K. Sheinbaum	Stanford	Russell E. Train	Dennis Weatherstone	Stephen Jerome Yates
Sally Swing Shelley	Eugene S. Staples	Bernard E. Trainor	Vin Weber	David B. Yoffie
Joanna Reed Shelton	Eric Stein	John Elting Treat	Leroy Snyder Wehrle	Casimir A. Yost
Gary M. Shiffman	Steven E. Steiner	Peter D. Trooboff	Steven Weinberg	Alice Young
Donald W. Shriver	John D. Stempel	Nancy Sherwood Truitt	Sidney Weintraub	Edgar B. Young
Gary G. Sick	Angela Evelyn Stent	Edwin M. Truman	Jacob M. Weisberg	M. Crawford Young
Robert B. Silvers	Evan Stewart	H. Anton Tucher	Charles Weiss Jr.	Frederick T.C. Yu
Adele Simmons	Donald B. Straus	Cynthia A. Tucker	Thomas G. Weiss	Raul H. Yzaguirre
P. J. Simmons	Jane E. Stromseth	David Randolph Tunnell	Ivan S. Weissman	Donald S. Zagoria
Joseph John Sisco	Rose Styron	J. Michael Turner	David L. Weller	Dov S. Zakheim
Matthew J. Slaughter	Karen M. Sughrue	Richard H. Ullman	Samuel F. Wells Jr.	Anthony Charles Zinni
Paul S. Slawson	Ryung Suh	Cornelius M. Ulman	Allan Wendt	Jonathan L. Zittrain
Ann Brownell Sloane	Patrick Moore Supanc	Sanford J. Ungar	Mitzi Mallina	Marvin Zonis
Lawrence M. Small	Francis X. Sutton	Maureen T. Upton	Wertheim	Barry Zorthian
S. Bruce Smart Jr.	Cedric Suzman	Sara Vagliano		

GIFTS IN KIND

The Council is grateful to Ira A. Lipman and Guardsmark, LLC, for risk assessment services; Richard N. Foster and McKinsey & Company for consulting services for the Chairman's Advisory Council term member review; Douglas E. Schoen and Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc., for holding focus groups for the Chairman's Advisory Council term member review and for designing, implementing, and providing data from an online

survey of life and term members; the IBM Foundation for technology and support services; Shearman & Sterling for legal services for *Foreign Affairs*; Chris Nelson for providing the Nelson Report; Patricia M. Patterson for underwriting training in public speaking; Robert J. Abernethy for hosting a Los Angeles study group; and Chuck Zoeller and the Associated Press for providing photos for the Peterson Gallery.

COMMITTEES *of the* BOARD

2003-2004

EXECUTIVE

Peter G. Peterson,
Chairman
Carla A. Hills,
Vice Chairman
Robert E. Rubin,
Vice Chairman
Jeffrey Bewkes
Henry S. Bienen
Lee Cullum
Kenneth M. Duberstein
Martin S. Feldstein
William J. McDonough
Michael H. Moskow
Warren B. Rudman
Richard E. Salomon
Laura D'Andrea Tyson

CORPORATE AFFAIRS

Kenneth M. Duberstein,
Chair
Richard N. Foster,
Vice Chair
Jeffrey Bewkes
Joyce Chang†
Saj Cherian†
Samuel A. DiPiazza
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

Richard E. Salomon,
Chair
Henry S. Bienen
Ronald L. Olson
Vin Weber

FINANCE AND BUDGET

William J. McDonough,
Chair
Jessica P. Einhorn,
Vice Chair‡
Roger C. Altman‡
John H. Biggs§
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. Rubin†
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

MEETINGS

Jeffrey Bewkes, *Chair*
Carole Artigiani

Barbara Crossette
Mallory Factor
Bart Friedman
Sergio J. Galvis
Malcolm I. Hoenlein
James F. Hoge Jr.*
Robert D. Hormats
Karen Elliott House
Morton L. Janklow
Melanie M. Kirkpatrick
Marcus Mabry†
L. Camille Massey
Raffiq A. Nathoo
Peter L.W. Osnos
Ponchitta Pierce
Richard L. Plepler
Douglas E. Schoen
Ron Silver
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Maurice Sonnenberg
Theodore C. Sorensen
Amina Tirana†
Malcolm H. Wiener
James D. Zirin

MEMBERSHIP

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

Term Membership

Sergio J. Galvis, *Chair*
Deborah K. Burand
Juju Chang†
Robert J. Chaves
Thomas J. Christensen
C. Shelby Coffey III
Joy E. Drucker
Todd C. Hart
Lukas Harrison Haynes†
Rebecca K.C. Hersman†
H. K. Park†
Nancy E. Soderberg
Elliot Stein

George H. Young III
Kimberly Zisk Marten

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 Donnellan†
Helene D. Gayle
Mimi L. Haas
Mont P. Hoyt
Lyric M. Hughes
Wyatt Thomas Johnson
Peter Bicknell Kellner†
Judith B. Milestone
Amblar H. Moss Jr.
William A. Owens
Judith K. Paulus
Henry H. Perritt Jr.
John C. Reppert
David K.Y. Tang
Peter Tarnoff
Andrew Young

NOMINATING AND GOVERNANCE

Henry S. Bienen,
Chair
Daniel William
Christman
Nancy A. Jarvis
Robert Legvold
Winston Lord
George J. Mitchell
Susan E. Rice
Theodore Roosevelt IV
James Baker Sitrick
G. Richard Thoman
James A. Thomson
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
Michael B.G. Froman
Francis Fukuyama
John Lewis Gaddis
Melvin L. Heineman
James F. Hoge Jr.*
James M. Lindsay*
John P. Lipsky
Abraham F. Lowenthal
Haleh Nazeri†
Steven L. Rattner
Robert E. Rubin
Scott D. Sagan
Anne-Marie Slaughter
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
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

† Designated Term Member.

‡ Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee.

§ Serves also on the Audit Committee.

* Ex officio.

CHAIRMAN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Chairman's Advisory Council was established to assist the Board in overseeing a number of key program areas. In 2003–2004 it focused on the Council's Independent Task Forces, Term Member Program, and outreach initiative. The group 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 <i>Chairman</i>	Peter Ackerman Charlene Barshefsky	Sergio J. Galvis Helene D. Gayle	Virginia Ann Kamsky Arnold Kanter	David E. Sanger Thomas Schick
Thomas E. Donilon <i>Vice Chairman</i>	Alan R. Batkin Stephanie K. Bell-Rose	Timothy F. Geithner Joachim Gfoeller Jr.	William A. Owens Richard L. Plepler	Douglas E. Schoen Barbara Shailor
Richard N. Foster <i>Vice Chairman</i>	Jewelle Bickford Denis A. Bovin	Mimi L. Haas J. Tomilson Hill	Thomas J. Pritzker Steven L. Rattner	Anne-Marie Slaughter Carl Ware
David K.Y. Tang <i>Vice Chairman</i>	Robert E. Denham Michael B.G. Froman	Alberto Ibarguen Merit E. Janow	Susan E. Rice Scott D. Sagan	Alice Young Fareed Zakaria
Robert John Abernethy	Robert L. Gallucci	Eason T. Jordan	Richard E. Salomon	

Note: The Chairman's Advisory Council list is current as of September 1, 2004.

2004 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, 2004, were John Deutch, Carla A. Hills, Robert D. Hormats, William J. McDonough, Theodore C. Sorensen, and George Soros.

The Nominating and Governance Committee was composed of Henry S. Bienen (chair), Daniel William Christman, Nancy A. Jarvis, Robert Legvold, Winston Lord, George J. Mitchell, Susan E. Rice, Theodore Roosevelt IV, James Baker Sitrick, G. Richard Thoman, James A. Thomson, Andrew Young, and Nancy Young. On January 9, 2004, the chair invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating and Governance Committee met on March 10 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: Madeleine K. Albright, Jamie S. Gorelick, Merit E. Janow, Joseph S. Nye Jr., Harold E. Varmus, and Fareed Zakaria. On March 19, 2004, 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 14, 2004.

At the Annual Election of Directors on May 18, 2004, 1,799 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 2005 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning September 1, 2004, and ending August 31, 2009: Madeleine K. Albright, Joseph S. Nye Jr., and Fareed Zakaria. Bart Friedman, Donald S. Rice, and Barbara Paul Robinson served as election overseers.

Under current procedures, the Board completed the Class of 2009 by appointing three directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating and Governance Committee, at its June 10 meeting the Board appointed three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning September 1, 2004, and ending August 31, 2009: Richard N. Foster, Maurice R. Greenberg, and Carla A. Hills. Additionally, the Board confirmed the appointment of Peter G. Peterson to the Class of 2007.*

Lilita V. Gusts
Secretary

* To ensure an orderly transition in Council leadership, the Board of Directors at its October 2000 meeting approved changes in the By-Laws that enable a chairman and/or vice chairman to continue to serve on the Board, on a year-to-year basis.

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 October Board meeting to offer perspectives on a broad range of matters of concern to the Council. IAB members are invited to comment on institutional programs and strategic directions, and on practical opportunities for collaboration between the Council and institutions abroad. They also provide invaluable international insights into U.S. foreign policy in discussions on a variety of issues—from the need for new strategies and institutions for the twenty-first 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), former Special Ambassador for Human Rights and Democracy, Mexico
- Khalid A. Alturki** (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, Trading and Development Company (TRADCO)
- Franco Bernabè** (Italy), President, Franco Bernabè Group; former Chief Executive Officer, ENI S.p.A.
- 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., and Chairman, Hollinger Inc.
- John Browne** (United Kingdom), Group Chief Executive, BP Amoco 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), Vice Chairman, American International Group, Inc.; former Governor, Bank of Israel
- Mikhail Fridman** (Russia), Chairman of the Board, Alfa Bank
- Toyoo Gyohten** (Japan), President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs; Senior Adviser, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.
- Sergei A. Karaganov** (Russia), Chairman of the Board, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Deputy Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences
- Kyung-Won Kim** (Republic of Korea), President, Institute of Social Sciences; former Ambassador of Korea to the United States
- 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.
- 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
- Adam Michnik** (Poland), Editor-in-Chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*
- Brian Mulroney** (Canada), Senior Partner, Ogilvy Renault; former Prime Minister of Canada
- Sari Nusseibeh** (Palestinian Authority), President, Al-Quds University
- Sadako Ogata** (Japan), President, Japan International Cooperation Agency; former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- Surin Pitsuwan** (Thailand), Member of Parliament, Thailand; former Minister of Foreign Affairs of 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), President, Boeing International Corporation; 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
- Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León** (Mexico), Director, Center for the Study of Globalization, Yale University; former President of Mexico

Note: The International Advisory Board list is current as of September 1, 2004.

BY-LAWS of the COUNCIL

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

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

In any fiscal year, the Board is not constrained in the number of persons elected to five-year term membership so long as the total number of term members does not exceed 15 percent of the total membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that those elected to such membership are between the ages of 30 and 36 years on January 1 of the year in which their election would take place, and that so long as their term continues such members will have the full rights and privileges of Council membership.

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

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

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

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

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

	Business	Nonbusiness
New York Area		
Under 40	\$1,470	\$350
40 and Over	2,860	640
Washington, DC, Area		
Under 40	\$1,180	\$280
40 and Over	2,290	510
National		
Under 40	\$ 800	\$200
40 and Over	1,550	350

For purposes of this By-Law, nonbusiness members are those who are regular members of the faculty of any accredited educational institution, who are in the public service, who are on the staff of a voluntary organization, or who are accredited writers, commentators, journalists, or other media correspondents. All other members, except honorary members, are business members.

All dues shall be paid annually or semi-annually 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, DC.

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

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

The Nominating and Governance Committee shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board. The Committee shall present names for Directors, Officers, and Committee members. For the purpose of nominating candidates to stand for election to the Board, the Committee shall co-opt ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Chairman of the Nominating and Governance Committee shall be selected by the Chairman of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President shall be an ex officio member of the Nominating and Governance Committee. Both in 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 less than five days in advance.

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

RULES, GUIDELINES, *and* PRACTICES

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

RULE ON FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS

The following has been the policy of the

Council since its origin, reconfirmed by resolution of the Board of Directors on September 11, 1973:

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

RULE ON NON-ATTRIBUTION

“The Council is a research and educational institution. Everyone who participates in a Council meeting is encouraged to use and disseminate ideas and information developed in the meeting. It is recognized, at the same time, that many Council guests and

members are, by reason of their governmental or other institutional affiliations, subject to inevitable constraints upon their latitude to express opinions, take positions, or offer tentative judgments on public affairs issues if they are speaking in a public forum or if their statements will be later attributed to them in public media or a public forum.

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

“An appropriate officer of the Council may, however, by advance announcement declare this Rule inapplicable in whole or in part to any particular Council meeting, and the presentation portion of the meeting may be recorded and broadcast on electronic media and/or covered in the print media with the agreement of the speaker and advance announcement to other participants.

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

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

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

the Rule also goes out of its way to make it clear that a meeting participant is forbidden knowingly to transmit the attributed statement to a newspaper reporter or other such person who is likely to publish it in a public medium. The essence of the Rule as reformulated is simple enough: participants in Council meetings should not pass along an attributed statement in circumstances where there is substantial risk that it will promptly be widely circulated or published.”

GUIDELINES ON MEETINGS

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

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

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

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

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

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

Apart from the traditional meetings for spouses and for sons and daughters of the members, occasional meetings are also open to guests of members. Guest privileges are for those who have special expertise or exper-

ience 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	Lucian W. Pye	1966-82	Richard B. Cheney	1987-89, 1993-95
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921-28	Alfred C. Neal	1967-76	Robert F. Erburu	1987-98
Paul D. Cravath	1921-40	Bill Moyers	1967-74	Karen Elliott House	1987-98, 2003-
John W. Davis	1921-55	Cyrus R. Vance	1968-76, 1981-87	Glenn E. Watts	1987-90
Norman H. Davis	1921-44	Hedley Donovan	1969-79	Thomas S. Foley	1988-94
Stephen P. Duggan	1921-50	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970-72	James D. Robinson III	1988-91
John H. Finley	1921-29	Bayless Manning	1971-77	Strobe Talbott	1988-93
Edwin F. Gay	1921-45	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972-77, 1979-84	John L. Clendenin	1989-94
David F. Houston	1921-27	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972-77	William S. Cohen	1989-97
Otto H. Kahn	1921-34	Elizabeth Drew	1972-77	Joshua Lederberg	1989-98
Frank L. Polk	1921-43	George S. Franklin	1972-83	John S. Reed	1989-92
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921-66	Marshall D. Shulman	1972-77	Alice M. Rivlin	1989-92
William R. Shepherd	1921-27	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972-82	William J. Crowe Jr.	1990-93
Paul M. Warburg	1921-32	Paul C. Warnke	1972-77	Thomas R. Donahue	1990-2001
George W. Wickersham	1921-36	Peter G. Peterson	1973-83, 1984-	Richard C. Holbrooke	1991-93, 1996-99, 2001-
Allen W. Dulles	1927-69	Robert O. Anderson	1974-80	Robert D. Hormats	1991-2004
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927-60	Edward K. Hamilton	1974-83	John E. Bryson	1992-2002
George O. May	1927-53	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974-77	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992-2002, 2004-
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927-34	Elliot L. Richardson	1974-75	Karen N. Horn	1992-95
Owen D. Young	1927-40	Franklin Hall Williams	1975-83	James R. Houghton	1992-96
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975-86	Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992-98
Charles P. Howland	1929-31	Paul A. Volcker	1975-79, 1988-99	Kenneth W. Dam	1992-2001
Walter Lippmann	1932-37	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976-85	Donna E. Shalala	1992-93
Clarence M. Woolley	1932-35	Lane Kirkland	1976-86	Alton Frye	1993
Frank Altschul	1934-72	George H.W. Bush	1977-79	Richard N. Cooper	1993-94
Philip C. Jessup	1934-42	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977-79	Rita E. Hauser	1993-97
Harold W. Dodds	1935-43	Philip L. Geyelin	1977-87	E. Gerald Corrigan	1993-95
Leon Fraser	1936-45	Henry A. Kissinger	1977-81	Leslie H. Gelb	1993-2001, 2002-2003
John H. Williams	1937-64	Winston Lord	1977-85	Paul A. Allaire	1993-2002
Lewis W. Douglas	1940-64	Stephen Stamas	1977-89	Robert E. Allen	1993-96
Edward Warner	1940-49	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-87	Theodore C. Sorensen	1993-2004
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-53	C. Peter McColough	1978-87	Garrick Utley	1993-2003
Myron C. Taylor	1943-59	Richard L. Gelb	1979-88	Carla A. Hills	1994-
Henry M. Wriston	1943-67	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979-88	Helene L. Kaplan	1994-96
Thomas K. Finletter	1944-67	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979-83	Frank G. Zarb	1994-96
William A.M. Burden	1945-74	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980-84	Robert B. Zoellick	1994-2001
Walter H. Mallory	1945-68	George P. Shultz	1980-82	Les Aspin	1995
Philip D. Reed	1945-69	William D. Rogers	1980-90	Mario L. Baeza	1995-2001
Winfield W. Riefler	1945-50	Walter B. Wriston	1981-87	Peggy Dulany	1995-2003
David Rockefeller	1949-85	Lewis T. Preston	1981-88	Jessica P. Einhorn	1995-
W. Averell Harriman	1950-55	Warren Christopher	1982-91	William J. McDonough	1995-2004
Joseph E. Johnson	1950-74	Alan Greenspan	1982-88	Frank Savage	1995-2002
Grayson Kirk	1950-73	Robert A. Scalapino	1982-89	George Soros	1995-2004
Devereux C. Josephs	1951-58	Harold Brown	1983-92	Hannah Holborn Gray	1995-98
Elliott V. Bell	1953-66	Stanley Hoffmann	1983-92	George J. Mitchell	1995-
John J. McCloy	1953-72	Juanita M. Kreps	1983-89	Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995-
Arthur H. Dean	1955-72	Brent Scowcroft	1983-89	Lee Cullum	1996-
Charles M. Spofford	1955-72	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983-92	Vincent A. Mai	1997-2003
Adlai E. Stevenson	1958-62	Donald F. McHenry	1984-93	Warren B. Rudman	1997-
William C. Foster	1959-72	B. R. Inman	1985-93	Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997-
Caryl P. Haskins	1961-75	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-94	Roone Arledge	1998-2002
James A. Perkins	1963-79	Peter Tarnoff	1986-93	Diane Sawyer	1998-99
William P. Bundy	1964-74	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986-92	Martin S. Feldstein	1998-
Gabriel Hauge	1964-81	Ruben F. Mettler	1986-92		
Carroll L. Wilson	1964-79	James E. Burke	1987-95		
Douglas Dillon	1965-78				
Henry R. Labouisse	1965-74				
Robert V. Roosa	1966-81				

HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Bette Bao Lord	1998–2003	PRESIDENT EMERITUS		SECRETARIES	
Michael H. Moskow	1998–	Leslie H. Gelb	2003–	Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
John Deutch	1999–2004			Allen W. Dulles	1933–44
Robert E. Rubin	2000–	HONORARY PRESIDENTS		Frank Altschul	1944–72
Andrew Young	2000–	Elihu Root	1921–37	John Temple Swing	1972–87
Kenneth M. Duberstein	2001–	Henry M. Wriston	1964–78	Judith Gustafson	1987–2000
Henry S. Bienen	2001–			Lilita V. Gusts	2000–
Joan E. Spero	2001–	EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENTS			
Vin Weber	2001–	John Temple Swing	1986–93	HONORARY SECRETARY	
Fouad Ajami	2002–	Michael P. Peters	2002–	Frank Altschul	1972–81
Ronald L. Olson	2002–				
Thomas R. Pickering	2002–	SENIOR VICE PRESIDENTS		TREASURERS	
Jeffrey L. Bewkes	2002–	Alton Frye	1993–98	Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Helene D. Gayle	2003–	Kenneth H. Keller	1993–95	Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42
Richard N. Haass	2003–	Larry L. Fabian	1994–95	Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51
Richard E. Salomon	2003–	Michael P. Peters	1995–2002	Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
Anne-Marie Slaughter	2003–	Paula Dobriansky	2001	Elliott V. Bell	1952–64
Madeleine K. Albright	2004–	Charles G. Boyd	2001–2002	Gabriel Hauge	1964–81
Richard N. Foster	2004–	David Kellogg	2002–	Peter G. Peterson	1981–85
Joseph S. Nye Jr.	2004–	Janice L. Murray	2002–	C. Peter McColough	1985–87
Fareed Zakaria	2004–			Lewis T. Preston	1987–88
		VICE PRESIDENTS		James E. Burke	1988–89
CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD		Paul D. Cravath	1921–33	David Woodbridge	1989–94
Russell C. Leffingwell	1946–53	Norman H. Davis	1933–36	Janice L. Murray	1994–
John J. McCloy	1953–70	Edwin F. Gay	1933–40		
David Rockefeller	1970–85	Frank L. Polk	1940–43	EDITORS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS	
Peter G. Peterson	1985–	Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44	Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–28
		Allen W. Dulles	1944–46	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72
HONORARY CHAIRMEN		Isaiah Bowman	1945–49	William P. Bundy	1972–84
John J. McCloy	1970–1989	Henry M. Wriston	1950–51	William G. Hyland	1984–92
David Rockefeller	1985–	David Rockefeller	1950–70	James F. Hoge Jr.	1992–
		Frank Altschul	1951–71		
VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD		Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52	DIRECTORS OF STUDIES	
Grayson Kirk	1971–73	David W. MacEachron	1972–74	Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53
Cyrus R. Vance	1973–76,	John Temple Swing	1972–86	Philip E. Mosely	1955–63
	1985–87	Alton Frye	1987–93	Richard H. Ullman	1973–76
Douglas Dillon	1976–78	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976–77
Carroll L. Wilson	1978–79	John A. Millington	1987–96	John C. Campbell	1977–78
Warren Christopher	1987–91	Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1987–93	Paul H. Kreisberg	1981–87
Harold Brown	1991–92	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89
B. R. Inman	1992–93	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94
Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick	1993–94	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–	Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95
Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–2002	Janice L. Murray	1995–2002	Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Carla A. Hills	2001–	David J. Vidal	1995–97	Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996
William J. McDonough	2002–2003	Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Robert E. Rubin	2003–	Frederick C. Broda	1996–97	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–2002
		Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996	Michael P. Peters	2002–2003
HONORARY VICE CHAIRMAN		Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98	James M. Lindsay	2003–
Maurice R. Greenberg	2002–	David Kellogg	1997–2002		
		Paula J. Dobriansky	1997–2001	DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS	
PRESIDENTS		Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–	George S. Franklin	1949–50
John W. Davis	1921–33	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–2002	William Henderson	1952–54,
George W. Wickersham	1933–36	Elise Carlson Lewis	1999–		1955–56
Norman H. Davis	1936–44	Robert C. Orr	2002–2003	Melvin Conant	1954–55,*
Russell C. Leffingwell	1944–46	Irina A. Faskianos	2002–		1956–57,*
Allen W. Dulles	1946–50	Lisa Shields	2003–		1957–59
Henry M. Wriston	1951–64	James M. Lindsay	2003–	George V.H. Moseley III	1959–62
Grayson Kirk	1964–71	Nancy E. Roman	2004–	Harry Boardman	1962–69
Bayless Manning	1971–77			Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969–78
Winston Lord	1977–85	EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS		Marilyn Berger	1978–79
John Temple Swing*	1985–86	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922–28	Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
Peter Tarnoff	1986–93	Malcolm W. Davis	1925–27	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Alton Frye	1993	Walter H. Mallory	1927–59	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2003	George S. Franklin	1953–71		
Richard N. Haass	2003–				

*pro-tempore

BUDGET *and* FINANCE

Fiscal year 2004 was another year of solid growth for the Council in its portfolio and other revenue streams, especially *Foreign Affairs*, the Corporate Program, and annual giving, even as the Council went through a period of major transition in the financial area consistent with the direction of changes in governance for not-for-profit entities. The Council's newly formed Audit Committee, chaired by John Biggs, engaged a new audit firm, Deloitte & Touche. We thank Ernst & Young for its long and dedicated service as the Council's audit firm.

In his Chairman's Letter, Peter G. Peterson noted William J. McDonough's contributions as chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee. Those of us who worked closely with him over the years join Pete in expressing our gratitude and appreciation for his sterling oversight of the Council's finances. We are equally fortunate in welcoming Board member Michael Moskow, his successor as chair of this committee.

Janice L. Murray
Senior Vice President and Treasurer

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

	<u>June 30, 2004</u>
Assets	
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 3,431,700
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	1,463,200
Grants and contributions receivable (<i>Note 5</i>)	3,331,100
Contributions receivable for endowment (<i>Note 5</i>)	2,742,200
Inventories	98,500
Investments (<i>Note 3</i>)	169,039,900
Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (<i>Note 6</i>)	<u>25,069,500</u>
Total	<u>\$ 205,176,100</u>
Liabilities and net assets	
Liabilities:	
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 4,743,800
Deferred subscription revenue	2,315,000
Accrued postretirement benefits (<i>Note 8</i>)	<u>1,971,000</u>
Total liabilities	<u>9,029,800</u>
Net assets (<i>Notes 9, 10, and 12</i>):	
Unrestricted	88,378,200
Temporarily restricted	38,200,600
Permanently restricted	<u>69,567,500</u>
Total net assets	<u>196,146,300</u>
Total	<u>\$ 205,176,100</u>

See notes to financial statements.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES

Year ended June 30, 2004

	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	Total
Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications				
Membership dues	\$ 3,612,200			\$ 3,612,200
Annual giving	3,720,300			3,720,300
Corporate memberships and related income	4,429,500			4,429,500
Meetings	26,800	127,500		154,300
International Affairs Fellowships		80,000		80,000
Grants and contributions for Studies	279,800	2,406,800		2,686,600
Other grants and contributions	65,900	236,100		302,000
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	6,605,800			6,605,800
Book publication	46,900			46,900
Investment income allocation (Note 4)	3,326,000	3,324,700		6,650,700
Rental income	794,500			794,500
Miscellaneous	175,800	36,500		212,300
Total operating revenue and support	23,083,500	6,211,600		29,295,100
Net assets released from restrictions (Note 9)	9,383,900	(9,383,900)		—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	32,467,400	(3,172,300)		29,295,100
Operating expenses				
Program expenses:				
Studies Program	11,560,400			11,560,400
Meetings Program	3,333,800			3,333,800
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	5,171,900			5,171,900
Book publication	407,300			407,300
National Program	775,300			775,300
Websites	651,200			651,200
International Affairs Fellowships	995,200			995,200
Communications	834,800			834,800
Total program expenses	23,729,900			23,729,900
Supporting services:				
Management and general	4,228,800			4,228,800
Membership	835,500			835,500
Fund-raising:				
Development	318,000			318,000
Corporate Program	826,300			826,300
Total fund-raising	1,144,300			1,144,300
Total supporting services	6,208,600			6,208,600
Total operating expenses	29,938,500			29,938,500
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses	2,528,900	(3,172,300)		(643,400)
Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)				
Investment gain in excess of spending rate (Note 4)	8,823,800	2,968,100		11,797,900
Endowment contributions			3,178,800	3,178,800
Total nonoperating revenue	8,823,800	2,968,100	3,178,800	14,970,700
Change in net assets	11,352,700	(204,200)	3,178,800	14,327,300
Net assets, beginning of year	79,214,200	38,404,800	66,388,700	184,007,700
Prior period adjustments (Note 12)	(2,188,700)			(2,188,700)
Net assets, beginning of year as adjusted	77,025,500	38,404,800	66,388,700	181,819,000
Net assets, end of year	\$ 88,378,200	\$ 38,200,600	\$ 69,567,500	\$ 196,146,300

See notes to financial statements.

STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS

	<u>Year ended June 30, 2004</u>
Cash flows from operating activities:	
Change in net assets	\$ 14,327,300
Prior period adjustments	(2,188,700)
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash (used in) provided by operating activities:	
Depreciation	1,677,600
Net realized and unrealized gain on investments	(17,964,000)
Non-cash equivalents income-net	(992,000)
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	(3,178,800)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities:	
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	(397,200)
Grants and contributions receivable	3,575,400
Contribution receivable for endowment	(1,439,200)
Inventories	28,900
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	1,479,100
Deferred subscription revenue	(100,800)
Accrued postretirement benefits	113,000
Net cash used in operating activities	<u>(5,059,400)</u>
Cash flows from investing activities:	
Purchases of building improvements and equipment	(4,433,700)
Purchases of investments	(197,545,800)
Proceeds from sales of investments	<u>197,596,600</u>
Net cash used in investing activities	<u>(4,382,900)</u>
Cash flows from financing activities:	
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	<u>3,178,800</u>
Net decrease in cash and cash equivalents	(6,263,500)
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	<u>9,695,200</u>
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	<u>\$ 3,431,700</u>

See notes to financial statements.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Year ended June 30, 2004

1. ORGANIZATION

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

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

2. SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Basis of Accounting—The financial statements are prepared on the accrual basis of accounting.

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.

Deferred Compensation—The Council has deferred compensation arrangements with current employees. Investment earnings accrue to the benefit of the employees. The bonus payments and accrued earnings are included in accounts payable and accrued expenses in the financial statements.

Inventory—Inventory is comprised of paper that is stored off-site and used in the printing of the bimonthly publication *Foreign Affairs*. Inventory is carried at cost.

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% spending 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.

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 activities.

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

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

Recent Accounting Pronouncements—In December 2003, the FASB issued SFAS No. 132 (Revised), *Employer's Disclosure about Pensions and Other Postretirement Benefits*, an amendment of FASB Statements No. 87, 88, and 106 ("SFAS No. 132-R"). SFAS No. 132-R retains disclosure requirements of the original statement and requires additional disclosures relating to assets, obligations, cash flows, and net periodic benefit costs. The adoption of the disclosure provisions of SFAS No. 132-R did not have a material effect on the Council's financial statements.

3. INVESTMENTS

The components of the Council's long-term investments as of June 30, 2004:

	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Carrying Value</u>
Domestic equity securities	\$ 45,086,700	\$ 56,316,900
International equity securities	16,365,100	22,873,300
Foreign and corporate bonds	4,484,300	4,500,100
U.S. government agency obligations	22,654,700	22,644,400
Hedge funds	33,428,400	50,242,900
Money market funds	12,462,300	12,462,300
Total	<u>\$ 134,481,500</u>	<u>\$ 169,039,900</u>

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

4. INVESTMENT ALLOCATION

It is Council policy to make an annual investment allocation for the support of operations up to 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:

	<u>Unrestricted</u>	<u>Temporarily Restricted</u>	<u>Total</u>
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$1,366,200	\$ 315,300	\$ 163,300	\$ 478,600
Net realized and unrealized gain (loss)	11,834,500	6,129,500	17,964,000
Total return on investments	12,149,800	6,292,800	18,442,600
Investment return used for current operations	<u>(3,326,000)</u>	<u>(3,324,700)</u>	<u>(6,650,700)</u>
Investment gain (loss) in excess of amounts used for current operations	<u>\$ 8,823,800</u>	<u>\$ 2,968,100</u>	<u>\$ 11,791,900</u>

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, which represents \$2,742,200 of the gross receivables, are due primarily within one year. Grants and contributions receivable as of June 30, 2004, are due to be collected as follows:

Less than one year	\$ 4,211,400
One to five years	<u>1,950,000</u>
	6,161,400
Less discount (at rates varying from 1.5% to 6%)	<u>88,100</u>
Grants and contributions receivable, net	<u>\$ 6,073,300</u>

6. LAND, BUILDINGS AND BUILDING IMPROVEMENTS, AND EQUIPMENT

Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, at cost, as of June 30, 2004, are summarized as follows:

	<u>Estimated Useful Life</u>
Land	\$ 1,854,3000
Buildings and building improvements	30,516,800 10-55 years
Equipment	<u>8,589,400 3-15 years</u>
	40,960,500
Less accumulated depreciation	<u>15,891,000</u>
	<u>\$ 25,069,500</u>

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 \$921,800 for 2004. Participants must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions to a supplemental pension plan on their own behalf.

8. OTHER POSTRETIREMENT BENEFITS

The Council provides medical benefits for their retired employees. Employees are eligible for those benefits when they meet the criteria for retirement under the Postretirement Plan (the Plan).

The following information presents the Plan's disclosures under the provisions of SFAS No. 132-R.

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

Benefit obligation, end of year	<u>\$(3,332,000)</u>
Net amount recognized in the statements of financial position	<u>\$(1,971,000)</u>

The Council funds expenses and benefit payments as they are incurred annually and has not contributed funds to separate trustee accounts to fund the accumulated postretirement benefit obligations. The discount rate used to determine the end of year obligation is 6.50%. The postretirement benefits paid during the year ended June 30, 2004, was \$213,000.

The postretirement benefit cost for the year ended June 30, 2004, was \$113,000 and was based on actuarial assumptions and a discount rate set as of the beginning of the year. The discount rate was 6.25% and the projected credit unit method was used for determining benefits earned during the year.

Assumed health care cost trend rates at June 30, 2004:

Health care cost trend rate assumed for next year	10%
Rate to which the cost trend rate is assumed to decline	5%
Year that the rate reaches the ultimate trend rate	2009

Increasing the assumed medical care cost trend rates by 1% in each year would increase the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation at June 30, 2004, by \$29,200.

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

Years ending June 30,	
2005	\$ 209,000
2006	233,000
2007	245,000
2008	248,000
2009	252,000
2010–2014	1,301,000

9. TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

Temporarily restricted net assets as of June 30, 2004, are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

Studies	\$22,942,000
International Affairs Fellowships	4,200,500
Meetings	3,162,500
Studies—Next Generation	1,320,200
Capital expenditures	5,001,400
Other	1,574,000
	<u>\$38,200,600</u>

B U D G E T A N D F I N A N C E

Temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for the fulfillment of the following during the years ended June 30, 2004:

Purposes and time periods:	
Studies	\$ 7,854,000
International Affairs Fellowships	537,400
Meetings	454,600
Studies—Next Generation	42,800
Capital expenditures	217,400
Other	<u>277,700</u>
	<u>\$ 9,383,900</u>

The amounts released from restrictions represent revenue recognized in prior years and expended in the current year. Some amounts of restricted gifts are received and spent in the same year and are also included in the release from restrictions.

10. PERMANENTLY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

At June 30, 2004, income earned on permanently restricted net assets is available for the following purposes:

Studies	\$43,398,300
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,100
Meetings	4,096,100
Library	1,021,000
Unrestricted as to use	<u>14,986,000</u>
	<u>\$69,567,500</u>

11. COMMITMENTS

The Council leases certain office facilities and equipment under capital and operating lease arrangements.

Future minimum payments for capital and non-cancellable operating leases as of June 30, 2004, are as follows:

Year ending June 30,	
2005	\$ 229,300
2006	33,200
2007	32,200
2008	20,100
2009	<u>1,800</u>
Total	<u>\$316,600</u>

Rent expense under the operating leases was \$324,772 for the year ended June 30, 2004.

12. PRIOR YEAR ADJUSTMENTS

Subsequent to the issuance of the Council's 2003 financial statements, the Council's management discovered that a pledge from a donor in the amount of \$2,000,000 that had previously been recorded as a receivable and unrestricted net assets was to be paid from the donor's will. In accordance with Financial Accounting Standards, No. 116, *Accounting for Contributions Received and Contributions Made*, intentions to give are not unconditional promises to give and therefore should not be recognized until such conditionals are met. As a result, beginning unrestricted net assets have been adjusted to reflect the \$2,000,000 write-off. In addition, certain revenues from corporate memberships and rental activities had not been prorated between the fiscal periods over which the income was to be earned. At June 30, 2003, \$94,600 of rental income and \$85,300 of corporate memberships should have been deferred and recognized as revenues in fiscal 2004. As a result, beginning unrestricted net assets have been reduced to reflect the deferral of such income in the amount of \$179,900. Lastly, certain pledges had not been discounted at the appropriate discount rate at June 30, 2003, and were overstated. As a result, beginning unrestricted net assets have been reduced by \$8,800.

Beginning unrestricted net assets at July 1, 2003, as previously reported	\$79,214,200
Prior period adjustment, write-off receivable balance	(2,000,000)
Prior period adjustment, corporate memberships and rental activities	(179,900)
Prior period adjustment, discount rate for pledges	<u>(8,800)</u>
Adjusted beginning unrestricted net assets at July 1, 2003	<u>\$77,025,500</u>



Deloitte & Touche LLP
Two World Financial Center
New York, NY 10281-1414
USA
Tel: +1 212 436 2000
Fax: +1 212 436 5000
www.deloitte.com

INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Board of Directors of
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statement of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (the "Council"), as of June 30, 2004, 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.

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, 2004, 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.

Deloitte & Touche LLP

August 24, 2004

Member of
Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu

S T A F F

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

Richard N. Haass *President*
Michael P. Peters *Executive Vice President*
Janice L. Murray *Senior Vice President and Treasurer*
Abigail Zoba *Special Assistant to the President*
Kira ElBoury *Executive Assistant to the President*
Andrea Walther *Special Assistant to the Executive Vice President*
Sharon Herbst *Assistant to the Senior Vice President and Treasurer*
Margaret Winterkorn-Meikle *Research Associate*
Lilita V. Gusts *Secretary of the Corporation*
Jeffrey A. Reinke *Director of Member Relations (New York) and Special Projects*
Leslie H. Gelb *President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow*
Thomas D. Sullivan *Research Associate to the President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow*
Elva Murphy *Assistant to the President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow*
Alton Frye *Presidential Senior Fellow Emeritus*

TASK FORCE PROGRAM

Lee Feinstein *Executive Director*
Lindsay Workman *Assistant Director*

COMMUNICATIONS

Lisa Shields *Vice President*
Marie X. Strauss *Deputy Director*
Lieutenant Colonel Maria L. Carl *Manager of Communications (USAF Fellow, DC Office)*
Marieke Beeuwkes *Assistant Director*
Amy Gunning *Assistant to the Vice President*

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EDITORIAL

James F. Hoge Jr. *Editor, Peter G. Peterson Chair*
Gideon Rose *Managing Editor*
Jonathan D. Tepperman *Senior Editor*
Daniel Kurtz-Phelan *Associate Editor*
Stéphanie Giry *Associate Editor*
Christopher Farah *Assistant Editor*
Traci C. Nagle *Production Editor*
Rosemary Hartman *Assistant to the Editor*
Ann Hathaway Coleman *Assistant to the Managing Editor*
Arissa Sidoti *Editorial Assistant*

PUBLISHING

David Kellogg *Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher*

FOREIGN AFFAIRS PUBLISHING

Eugenia Chang *Circulation Director*
Lynda Hammes *Manager, Academic Publishing*
Rohit Reddy *Senior Account Manager*
Michael Pasuit *Account Manager*
Nancy Eyde *Operations Manager*
Joshua Holmes *Assistant Marketing Manager*
Melsha Winchester *Advertising Production Coordinator*
Lisa Lau *Coordinator, Academic Publishing*

COUNCIL PUBLISHING

Patricia Lee Dorff *Director*
Jennifer Anmuth *Assistant Editor*

WEB PRODUCTION

Tom Davey *Executive Web Producer*
Cree Frappier *Manager of Web Design and Development*
Juan-Carlos Sobrino *Web Producer*

CFR.ORG

Michael Glennon *Director and Senior Editor*
Bernard Gwertzman *Consulting Editor*
Jennifer Sieg *Assistant Director and Project Coordinator, C2004*
Sharon Otterman *Staff Writer*
Esther Pan *Staff Writer*
Willis Sparks *Research Associate*

STUDIES PROGRAM

DIRECTOR OF STUDIES OFFICE

James M. Lindsay *Vice President, Director of Studies, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair*
Lee Feinstein *Deputy Director and Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law*
Janine Hill *Associate Director*
Alicia Siebenaler *Assistant Director*
Jean-Michel Oriol *Budget Manager*
Avery Alpha *Special Assistant to the Vice President and Director of Studies*
Meredith Angelson *Research Associate*

AFRICA

Princeton N. Lyman *Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies*
Cheryl Igiri *Research Associate*

ASIA

Elizabeth C. Economy *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies*
 Jerome A. Cohen *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 Eric Heginbotham *Senior Fellow*
 Mahnaz Ispahani *Senior Fellow*
 Edward J. Lincoln *Senior Fellow, Asia and Economic Studies*
 Adam Segal *Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies*
 R. Ashle Baxter *Research Associate*
 Earl Carr *Research Associate*
 Mark Christopher *Research Associate*
 Cobb Mixer *Research Associate*

CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION

William L. Nash *General John W. Vessey Senior Fellow for Conflict Prevention and Director of the Center for Preventive Action*
 David L. Phillips *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director*
 Amelia Branczik *Research Associate*
 Maria Kristensen *Research Associate*

MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

Benn Steil *Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and Senior Fellow*
 Caroline Atkinson *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 Jagdish N. Bhagwati *Senior Fellow*
 David Braunschvig *Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow for Business and Foreign Policy*
 James P. Dougherty *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 Peter B. Kenen *Senior Fellow*
 Roger M. Kubarych *Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance*
 Gene B. Sperling *Senior Fellow for Economic Policy and Director of the Center on Universal Education*
 Rekha Balu *Associate Director, Center on Universal Education*
 Jeremy Bayer *Assistant to the Director, Center on Universal Education*
 James Bergman *Research Associate*
 Ian Cornwall *Research Associate*
 Tanya Finnell *Research Associate*
 Michael Punzalan *Research Associate*

EUROPE

Charles A. Kupchan *Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies*
 James M. Goldgeier *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 Stephen R. Sestanovich *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*
 Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall *Adjunct Senior Fellow, Alliance Relations*
 Jamie Fly *Research Associate*
 Daniel Keegan *Research Associate*
 Rositsa Petrova *Research Associate*

GLOBAL HEALTH

Laurie Garrett *Senior Fellow for Global Health*
 David G. Victor *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 Michelle T. McMurry *Adjunct Fellow*
 Scott Rosenstein *Research Associate*

LATIN AMERICA

Julia E. Sweig *Senior Fellow*
 Amanda Raymond *Research Associate*

MIDDLE EAST

Rachel Bronson *Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East and Gulf Studies*
 Steven A. Cook *Next Generation Fellow*
 Judith Kipper *Director, Middle East Forum*
 Henry Siegman *Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project*
 Ray Takyeh *Senior Fellow*
 Rachel Abramson *Assistant Director, Middle East Studies*
 Jonathan Lincoln *Senior Research Associate, U.S./Middle East Project*
 Gail Israelson *Executive Assistant to the Director, U.S./Middle East Project*
 Kareem Idriss *Research Associate*
 Caroline Nichols *Research Associate, Middle East Forum*

NATIONAL SECURITY

Richard K. Betts *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 Max Boot *Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*
 Stephen E. Flynn *Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies*
 Bernard E. Trainor *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 Ian Cornwall *Research Associate*
 Jamie Fly *Research Associate*
 Marcio Siwi *Research Associate*

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Charles D. Ferguson II *Fellow*
 David G. Victor *Adjunct Senior Fellow*
 James Bergman *Research Associate*

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Isobel Coleman *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*
 Lee Feinstein *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*
 Walter Russell Mead *Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Policy*
 Sierra Burnett *Research Associate*
 Charles Edel *Research Associate*
 Bryan Gunderson *Research Associate*
 Daniel Keegan *Research Associate*

VISITING FELLOWS, 2004-2005

Colonel Ronald Bailey *USMC Military Fellow*
 Colonel Daniel M. Gerstein *USA Military Fellow*
 Colonel Christopher E. Haave *USAF Military Fellow*
 Helima Luverne Croft *Intelligence Fellow*
 Mary Anne Weaver *Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow*
 James Gavrilis *International Affairs Fellow in Residence*
 Lawrence Spinetta *International Affairs Fellow in Residence*
 Christopher Angell *Research Associate, Military Fellows*

MEETINGS

Anne R. Luzzatto *Vice President*
 Nancy D. Bodurtha *Deputy Director*
 Anastasia Malacos *Associate Director*
 La Follette *Assistant Director*
 Carolyn Jander *Program Coordinator*
 Francesco Barbacci *Program Associate*
 Siobhan R. Devine *Program Associate*
 Meaghan Mills *Program Associate*
 Monti Burnett *Administrative Assistant/Database Coordinator*

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

Nancy E. Roman *Vice President and Director*
 Jacqueline Miller *Deputy Director*
 Linda Harsh *Associate Director, Washington Office*
 Kristy Celen *Assistant to the Vice President and Director*
 Lieutenant Colonel Maria L. Carl *Manager of Communications (USAF Fellow)*
 Christine Zehender *Events Manager*
 John Lawrence *Associate Director for Corporate Affairs, Washington Program*
 John Havens *Program Coordinator*
 Sofia Mancheno *Program Coordinator*
 Alexis Martin *Program Associate*
 Joel Meyer *Program Assistant*

CONGRESS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAM

Nancy E. Roman *Director*
 C. Daryl Edwards *Assistant Director*
 Michael Messmer *Assistant Director*

NATIONAL PROGRAM AND ACADEMIC OUTREACH

Irina A. Faskianos *Vice President*
 Vaishali Patel *Program Associate*
 Mason Beard *Program Assistant*
 Jennifer Curtis *Program Assistant*

CORPORATE AFFAIRS

David Kellogg *Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher*
 Jacqui Selbst Schein *Director, Corporate Affairs*
 Kira Burns *Associate Director*
 Jana Gasn *Assistant Director*
 Nancy Eyde *Special Assistant to the Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher*
 Jura Chung *Corporate Affairs Associate*
 Tara Medeiros *Corporate Affairs Associate*
 John Lawrence *Associate Director for Corporate Affairs, Washington Program*

MEMBERSHIP AND FELLOWSHIP AFFAIRS

Elise Carlson Lewis *Vice President and Director*
 Bessie Skoures *Deputy Director, Term Member Program*
 Katie Baldwin *Program Associate*
 Aysha Ghadiali *Program Associate*
 Adrienne Harrold *Program Associate*
 Nicole Bruno *Program Assistant*

ADMINISTRATION

Janice L. Murray *Senior Vice President and Treasurer*

DEVELOPMENT

Betty Kurdys *Director of Annual and Planned Giving*
 Sabeen Ali *Foundations Coordinator*
 Lena Moy *Program Associate*

FINANCE

Peter Tyndale *Director*
 J. Joseph Maldonado *Accounting Manager*

Sigi Silvani *Staff Accountant*
 Linda Copeland *Accounting Associate*
 Vera Langley *Accounting Associate*
 Russell Mardonov *Accounting Associate*
 Myrna Morris *Accounts Payable Associate*
 Alex Kang *Accounting Assistant*

HUMAN RESOURCES

Jan Mowder Hughes *Director*
 Kerry Kletter *Associate Director*
 Nicolle Cestero *Human Resources Generalist*
 Nita Colaço *Interdepartmental Program Associate*
 Whitney Kassel *Interdepartmental Program Associate*

Reception

Cristy Lemperle *Reception Supervisor*
 Vera Ranola *Receptionist*

FACILITY OPERATIONS

Neftali Frank Alvarez *Director*
 Phil Falcon *Associate Director*
 Ian Noray *Facility Services Manager*
 Santo Ine Alers *Supervisor*
 Angel Cordova *Facility Operations and Events Assistant*
 Gilbert Falcon *Evening Facility Operations Assistant*
 Anthony Ramirez *Facility Operations Assistant*
 Edwin Santiago *Evening Facility Operations Assistant*
 Jose Vargas *Facility Operations Assistant*
 Derek Velez *Facility Operations Assistant*
 Lawrence White *Facility Operations Assistant*

Events Management

Mark Hudson *Events Manager*
 Glen Goldman *Audio Visual Technician*
 Alex Andrews *Events Assistant*

LIBRARY AND RESEARCH SERVICES

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

INFORMATION SERVICES

Charles Day *Director*
 Deepak Trivedi *Deputy Director*
 Richard Wawzycki *Associate Director, Information Services, and Manager, Website Administration*
 Albert Andrade *Senior Help Desk Technician*
 Alice McLoughlin *Assistant to the Director and Data Entry Specialist*
 Virginia Rolston Parrott *Training and Documentation Specialist*
 Chris O. Sierra *LAN Administrator*

SPECIAL EVENTS

Valerie Post *Director*
 Amanda Roman *Assistant Director*
 Kathryn Hannan *Special Events Assistant*

Note: Staff shown as of August 2004.

M E M B E R S H I P

The Council is a national membership organization with members divided almost equally among New York City, Washington, DC, and the rest of the country, plus those living overseas. The Council relies on its members for their active engagement, substantive contributions and support, and counts on its members to identify and propose qualified prospects for membership. Membership development efforts are focused on identifying potential Council members from various professions, geographic areas, and racial and ethnic groups, as well as on finding qualified female candidates.

MEMBERSHIP SELECTION PROCEDURES

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

At every meeting, the Membership Committee considers significantly more candidates than there are vacancies; therefore it is inevitable that some individuals will not be recommended for election even though they may be judged by some to be strong candidates.

TERM MEMBERSHIP

To reach out to the next generation of leaders, the Board has established a separate Term Membership Committee. This committee meets annually to evaluate candidates between the ages of 30 and 36 for consideration as five-year term members of the Council. The selection process for term membership is nearly identical to, although separate from, that for life members. The number of term members may constitute up to 15 percent of the total Council membership.

BECOMING A MEMBER

Every candidate for life membership must be formally nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of three other individuals. To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated by one member and seconded by two other individuals. The seconding letters need not be from Council members, but letters from members are strongly encouraged. It is recommended that at least one letter from a current or former professional colleague be included. All candidates must complete a nominee information form, which can be obtained from the Membership Department, and provide a curriculum vitae or chronological resume. If foreign-born, the candidate must submit a statement that he or she has been naturalized or is a permanent resident who has made formal application for citizenship. All materials should be sent electronically to membership@cftr.org.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

A candidate's nominator bears the chief responsibility for ensuring that filing deadlines for a candidacy are met and that all required documents are submitted to the Council's Membership Depart-

ment in a timely manner. Candidates and/or their nominators are responsible for securing seconding letters within the guidelines set forth below. Council members are advised to commit themselves to supporting a candidacy only when they can 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, Membership Committee, and Term Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, or writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as a parent, sibling, cousin, etc.), or near in-law of a candidate may not formally propose or second that candidate for membership in the Council. Members should also refrain from writing on behalf of clients.
- Members should write only in support of candidates of whom they have direct personal knowledge. Additionally, members are encouraged where appropriate to make comparative judgments amongst candidates and their peers. The committee also advises members to write no more than two letters per round (either one nominating and one seconding letter, or two seconding letters).

NOMINATING LETTERS

Letters nominating a candidate for consideration by the Membership Committee should be no more than 500 words in length. Please address the following criteria, which have always been basic to the committee's consideration of membership candidates:

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

SECONDING LETTERS

Seconding letters need not be as comprehensive (and should be no more than 300 words in length) but should amplify why, in the opinion of the writer, a given candidate should be considered for Council membership by addressing the above criteria or by providing other relevant information.

All membership nominating and seconding letters should be e-mailed as text or Microsoft Word documents to membership@cftr.org.

DEADLINES

Strict observance of deadlines is essential to staff support of the Membership Committee's work. 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 then only if completed.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP

The deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the Membership Committee to consider life membership candidates are September 15 and March 1.

TERM MEMBERSHIP

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

NOTIFICATION OF CANDIDATES

Candidates recommended by the Membership Committee and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates who are unsuccessful at any given meeting remain eligible for consideration at a subsequent meeting of the committee, provided they submit an updated curriculum vitae and secure at least one but no more than two additional letters of support. If no new letters or materials are received, it will be assumed that a candidate does not wish to be considered at the subsequent meeting of the Membership Committee. If a candidate is not elected after two successive meetings at which he or she is considered, the application will be placed on hold for three years (one year for term membership candidates), after which point the candidate may reactivate the file for consideration.

PROFILE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
Location		
New York Area	1,386	33
Washington, DC, Area	1,335	31
National (including overseas)	1,536	36
Total	4,257	100
Profession		
Business	1,324	31
Professors, Fellows, and Researchers	568	13
Nonprofit	832	20
Government officials	525	12
Lawyers	346	8
University and College Administrators	286	7
Journalists, Correspondents, and Editors	249	6
Other	127	3
Total	4,257	100

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

LIFE MEMBERSHIP

The deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the Membership Committee to consider life membership candidates are September 15 and March 1.

TERM MEMBERSHIP

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

NOTIFICATION OF CANDIDATES

Candidates recommended by the Membership Committee and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates who are unsuccessful at any given meeting remain eligible for consideration at a subsequent meeting of the committee, provided they submit an updated curriculum vitae and secure at least one but no more than two additional letters of support. If no new letters or materials are received, it will be assumed that a candidate does not wish to be considered at the subsequent meeting of the Membership Committee. If a candidate is not elected after two successive meetings at which he or she is considered, the application will be placed on hold for three years (one year for term membership candidates), after which point the candidate may reactivate the file for consideration.

PROFILE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
Location		
New York Area	1,386	33
Washington, DC, Area	1,335	31
National (including overseas)	1,536	36
Total	4,257	100
Profession		
Business	1,324	31
Professors, Fellows, and Researchers	568	13
Nonprofit	832	20
Government officials	525	12
Lawyers	346	8
University and College Administrators	286	7
Journalists, Correspondents, and Editors	249	6
Other	127	3
Total	4,257	100

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

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

A

Aaron, David L.
Abbot, C. Spencer
Abbot, Charles S.
Abbott, Wilder K.
Abboud, A. Robert
Abboud, Labeeb M.
Abdelal, Rawi
Abell, Keith W.*
Abercrombie-Winstanley,
Gina Kay
Abernethy, Robert John
Abizaid, John P.*
Aboelnaga Kanaan, 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.
Aggarwal, Vinod K.*
Agnew, Harold M.
Agostinelli, Robert F.
Ahearn, William Edward
Aidinoff, M. Bernard

Ajami, Fouad
Albright, Madeleine K.
Alderman, Michael H.
Alderman, Peter Belmont
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, J. Michael III†
Allen, Jodie T.
Allen, Lew Jr.

Allen, Richard V.
Allen, William L.
Allison, Graham T.
Allison, Richard C.
Almond, Michael A.
Alonzo, Anne L.
Alpern, Alan N.
Alter, Jonathan H.
Alter, Karen J.
Alterman, Jon B.*
Altman, Roger C.
Altman, William C.
Altshuler, David
Alvarado, Donna Maria
Alvarez, Jose E.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- Alving, Amy E.*
 Amador, Angelo I.
 Amanat, Omar S.†
 Amerine, Jason L.†
 Amos, Deborah Susan
 Amr, Hady A.†
 Andelman, David A.
 Andersen, Harold W.
 Anderson, Craig B.
 Anderson, Desaix
 Anderson, Edward G. III
 Anderson, Gloria B.
 Anderson, John B.
 Anderson, Lisa
 Anderson, Mark A.
 Anderson, Paul F.
 Anderson, Robert O.
 Andreas, Dwayne O.
 Andreas, Terry Lynn
 Andrews, David R.
 Andrews, Michael A.
 Angelson, Mark A.*
 Ansour, M. Michael
 Anthoine, Robert
 Anthony, John Duke
 Aossey, Nancy A.
 Apgar, David P.
 Aponte, Mari Carmen
 Appenteng, Kofi*
 Appiah, Kwame Anthony
 Applebaum, Anne E.*
 Apter, David E.
 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.
 Atkins, Benjamin A.
 Atkins, Betsy S.
 Atwood, J. Brian
 Auer, James E.
 Auerbach, Stuart C.
 Aufhauser, David D.*
 Augustine, Norman R.
 Auslin, Michael 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.
 Bacchus, James L.*
 Bacon, Kenneth H.
 Bacot, J. Carter
 Bader, William B.
 Baer, Donald A.
 Baeza, Mario L.
 Bagley, Elizabeth Frawley
 Bains, Leslie E.
 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, Robert Edward
 Baldwin, Sherman
 Bales, Carter F.
 Balick, Kenneth
 Baliles, Gerald L.
 Ballou-Aares, Daniella†
 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.
 Bartok, Kirsten Leigh
 Bartsch, David A.
 Basek, John T.
 Bash, Jeremy B.
 Basora, Adrian A.
 Bass, Peter E.
 Bass, Warren
 Bassolino, Francis Keith
 Bates, Pamela M.
 Batkin, Alan R.
 Bator, Francis M.
 Battaglia, Charles C.
 Baumann, Carol Edler
 Baxter, Randolph
 Bayh, Birch Evans III*
 Bean, Frank D.
 Bearg-Dyke, Nancy
 Beattie, Richard I.
 Becherer, Hans W.
 Becker, Elizabeth H.
 Beckler, David Z.
 Bedrosian, Gregory R.
 Beeman, Richard E.
 Begel, Andrea D.
 Behringer, Michael P.
 Beierle, Thomas C.
 Beim, David O.
 Beim, Nicholas F.
 Belfer, Robert A.
 Bell, Burwell B.
 Bell, Gordon P.
 Bell, Jonathan N.
 Bell, Joseph C.
 Bell, Mack
 Bell, Peter Dexter
 Bell, Robert G.
 Bell, Ruth Greenspan
 Bell, Steve
 Bell, Thomas D. Jr.
 Bell-Rose, Stephanie K.
 Bellamy, Carol
 Bellinger, John B. III
 Bello, Judith H.
 Bencke, Matthew J.
 Bender, Gerald J.
 Benedict, Kennette M.
 Benjamin, Esther T.
 Benmosche, Robert H.
 Bennet, Douglas J.
 Bennett, Andrew Owen
 Bennett, Christina A.
 Bennett, Susan J.
 Bensahel, Nora J.
 Benshoof, Janet
 Benson, Lucy Wilson
 Bereuter, Douglas K.
 Bergen, Margaret
 Bergen, Peter Lampert*
 Berger, Joshua A.
 Berger, Marilyn
 Berger, Samuel R.
 Berger, Suzanne
 Bergman, Lowell A.*
 Bergsten, C. Fred
 Berkley, Seth F.*
 Berkowitz, Bruce D.
 Berman, Howard L.
 Berman, John S.†
 Berman, Jonathan E.
 Berman, Todd R.
 Bernard, Kenneth W.
 Berndt, John E.
 Bernstein, David Scott
 Bernstein, Peter W.
 Bernstein, Robert L.
 Bernstein, Tom A.
 Berresford, Susan Vail
 Berris, Jan
 Berry, Elizabeth Clay
 Bersin, Alan D.
 Bertini, Catherine Ann
 Bertsch, Gary K.
 Beshar, Peter J.
 Bessie, Simon Michael
 Bestani, Robert M.
 Bestor, Theodore C.
 Betts, Richard K.
 Beutner, Austin M.
 Bewkes, Jeffrey
 Beyzavi, Kian
 Bhala, Raj
 Bhatia, Karan K.
 Bialkin, Kenneth J.
 Bialos, Jeffrey P.
 Bibbins Sedaca, Nicole M.
 Bickford, Jewelle
 Biddle, George C.
 Biegun, Stephen Edward*
 Biel, Eric R.
 Biemann, Betsy
 Bienen, Henry S.
 Bierley, John C.
 Biersteker, Thomas J.
 Biggs, John H.
 Billig, Michelle†
 Bindenagel, James D.
 Binger, James Henry
 Binkley, Nicholas Burns
 Binnendijk, Hans
 Birdsall, Nancy
 Birenbaum, David E.
 Birkelund, John P.
 Birnbaum, Eugene A.
 Bishop, Sanford D. Jr.
 Bishop, William B.†
 Bissell, Richard E.
 Black, Cathleen P.
 Black, Joseph E.
 Black, Leon D.
 Black, Shirley Temple
 Black, Stanley Warren
 Blacker, Coit D.
 Blackwell, J. Kenneth
 Blackwill, Robert D.
 Blake, Robert O.
 Blank, Stephen
 Blechman, Barry M.
 Bleier, Edward
 Blendon, Robert Jay

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Blinder, Alan S.
 Blinken, Alan John
 Blinken, Antony J.
 Blinken, Donald
 Bliss, Katherine E. †
 Bloch, Julia Chang
 Bloom, Alyse Nelson
 Bloom, David A.
 Bloom, Evan T.
 Bloom, Mia M.
 Bloomberg, Michael R.
 Bloomfield, Lincoln P.
 Bloomfield, Richard J.
 Bloomgarden, Kathy Finn
 Blum, Richard C.
 Blumenthal, Sidney S.
 Blumenthal, W. Michael
 Blumrosen, Alexander Bernet
 Bob, Daniel E.
 Bobbitt, Philip Chase
 Bodansky, Daniel M.*
 Bode, Ken A.
 Bodea, Andy S.
 Boelhouwer, Pieter James
 Alexander
 Bogert, Carroll R.
 Bohen, Frederick M.
 Bohlen, Avis T.
 Bohn, John A.
 Bolling, Landrum R.
 Bollinger, Lee C.
 Bolton, John R.
 Bond, George Clement
 Bond, Robert D.
 Bondurant, Amy L.
 Bonime-Blanc, Andrea
 Bonney, J. Dennis
 Boot, Max
 Booth, Bruce L. Jr. †
 Booth, Carter
 Boren, David L.
 Borgen, Christopher J.
 Borio, Luciana L.
 Bork, Ellen
 Boschwitz, Rudy
 Bosco, David Lyndon
 Bosworth, Stephen W.
 Botts, John C.
 Bouckaert, Peter N.
 Boufford, Jo Ivey
 Bouis, Antonina W.
 Boulware-Miller, Kay
 Bouton, Marshall M.
 Bovin, Denis A.
 Bowen, William G.
 Bower, Joseph Lyon
 Bower, Whitney A.
 Bowie, Robert R.
 Bowker, David William
 Bowles, Erskine B.
 Boyd, Charles Graham
 Boyer, Spencer Phipps

Boylan, Delia M.
 Bracken, Paul
 Brademas, John
 Bradford, Zeb B. Jr.
 Bradley, Bill
 Bradley, William L.
 Brady, Jacqueline V.
 Brady, Linda Parrish
 Brady, Nicholas F.
 Brady, Rose
 Brainard, S. Lael
 Bramwell, Elizabeth R.
 Branch, Daniel H.
 Branscomb, Lewis M.
 Branson, Louise
 Brauchli, Marcus W.
 Braunschvig, David
 Brazeal, Aurelia E.
 Breck, Henry R.
 Breed, Henry Eltinge
 Bremer, L. Paul III
 Breslauier, George William
 Bresnan, John J.
 Brewer, John D.
 Breyer, Chloe A.
 Breyer, Stephen G.
 Bridgett, Sundaa Ayo
 Briger, Peter L. Jr.*
 Brigety, Reuben E. II
 Brimmer, Andrew F.
 Brimmer, Esther Diane
 Brinkley, Douglas G.
 Britt, David V.B.
 Britt, Glenn A.
 Britton, Dennis A.
 Broad, Robin
 Broadman, Harry G.
 Brock, Steven V.
 Broda, Frederick C.
 Brodsky, William J.
 Brody, Christopher W.
 Brody, Kenneth D.
 Brokaw, Tom
 Bromley, D. Allan
 Bronfman, Edgar M.
 Bronner, Ethan S.
 Brookins, Carole L.
 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, Katherine A.*
 Brown, Kathleen
 Brown, L. Carl
 Brown, Lester R.

Brown, Michael E.
 Brown, Phoebe W.
 Brown, Richard P. Jr.
 Brown, Seyom
 Browne, Robert S.
 Browning, David S.
 Bruce, Judith
 Bruemmer, Russell J.
 Brun, Leslie A.*
 Bryan, Greyson L.
 Bryant, Michael E.
 Bryant, Ralph C.
 Bryson, John E.
 Brzezinski, Mark F.
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew
 Buchman, Mark E.
 Buckberg, Elaine
 Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce
 Buergenthal, Thomas
 Bugliarello, George
 Bullock, Mary Brown
 Bumpas, Stuart Maryman
 Bunzel, Jeffrey H.
 Burand, Deborah K.
 Burgess, John A.
 Burke, James E.
 Burkhalter, Holly 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, Jonathan S. †
 Bush, Mary K.*
 Bushner, Rolland H.
 Bussey, John C.
 Butler, Samuel C.
 Butler, William J.
 Buultjens, Ralph
 Buxbaum, Richard M.
 Buyske, Gail
 Byman, Daniel L.
 Byrd, Kahlil J. †
 Byrne, Patrick M.

C

Cabot, Louis W.
 Cabranes, José A.
 Cáceres, Diane Alleva
 Caesar, Camille M.
 Cagle, Martha
 Cahill, Kevin M.
 Cahn, Anne Hessing
 Calabria, Dawn T.
 Calabria, F. Christopher
 Calabresi, Massimo
 Calder, Kent Eyring
 Caldera, Louis E.

Caldwell, Dan
 Caldwell, Philip
 Califano, Joseph A. Jr.
 Calkins, Samuel L. †
 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, E. Gregory
 Campbell, Kurt M.
 Campbell, Thomas J.
 Campbell, William
 Cannella, Margaret
 Capehart, Jonathan
 Caperton, Gaston*
 Cappello, Juan Carlos
 Caputo, David A.
 Caputo, Lisa M.
 Carbonell, Nestor T.
 Carey, John
 Carey, Sarah C.
 Carey, William Polk*
 Carl, Maria L. †
 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.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- Cha, Victor D.
 Chace, James C.
 Chacho, Tania Marie
 Chadda, Maya
 Challenor, Herschelle S.
 Chambers, Anne Cox
 Chamoun, Walid George
 Chan, Gerald L.
 Chan, Ronnie C.
 Chandrasekaran, Rajiv A.†
 Chang, David C.
 Chang, Gareth C.C.
 Chang, Joyce*
 Chang, Juju*
 Chanin, Clifford
 Chanis, Jonathan A.
 Chao, Amy L.†
 Chao, Elaine L.
 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.
 Chen, John S.
 Chen, Kimball C.
 Chenault, Kenneth I.
 Cheney, Richard B.
 Cheney, Stephen A.
 Cherian, Saj
 Cherry, Pedro P.
 Cheston, Sheila C.
 Chichester, Mark H.†
 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
 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
 Cloherly, Patricia M.
 Cloonan, Edward T.
 Clough, Michael
 Coatsworth, John H.
 Cobb, Charles E. Jr.
 Cobb, Sue M.
 Cobb, Tyrus W.
 Cochran, Barbara S.
 Coffey, C. Shelby III
 Coffey, Joseph I.
 Coffman, Vance
 Cogan, Charles G.*
 Cogan, Jacob Katz†
 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, Shelley H.†
 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, 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.
 Collins, Timothy C.*
 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 Anthony
 Coombe, George William Jr.
 Coombs, Philip H.
 Coon, Jane Abell
 Cooney, Joan Ganz
 Cooper, Charles A.
 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.
 Corcoran, Carole A.*
 Cornelius, Wayne A.
 Cornell, Henry
 Cortez, Christopher*
 Cott, Suzanne
 Cotter, William R.
 Couric, Katherine A.*
 Courtney, William
 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, 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
 Crystal, Lester M.
 Cullum, Lee
 Cumming, Alfred
 Cumming, Christine M.
 Cummings, Alexander B. Jr.*
 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 Pignatari
 Dailey, Brian D.
 Dal Bello, Michael A.†
 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, Florence A.
 Davis, Jacquelyn K.
 Davis, Jerome
 Davis, Kathryn W.
 Davis, Kim Gordon
 Davis, Lynn E.
 Davis, Nathaniel
 Davis, Stephen B.*
 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.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Days, Drew Saunders III
 de Borchgrave, Arnaud
 de Janosi, Peter E.
 de la Garza, Rodolfo O.
 de Menil, George
 de Menil, Lois Pattison
 de Rothschild, Lynn Forester
 de Swaan, Jean-Christophe
 de Vries, Rimmer
 De, Rajesh†
 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 Rosso, Stephen J.
 Deming, Rust Macpherson
 Dempsey, Jason K.†
 Deng, Francis M.*
 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
 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, 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
 Dobbins, James E.*
 Dobriansky, Paula J.
 Doctoroff, Daniel L.
 Dodd, Christopher J.
 Doebele, Justin W.
 Doerge, David J.
 Doi, Ayako
 Doley, Harold E. Jr.
 Dominguez, Jorge I.
 Donahue, Thomas R.
 Donaldson, Robert H.
 Donaldson, William H.
 Donatich, John E.
 Donehoo, Stephen C.*
 Donfried, Karen Erika
 Donilon, Thomas E.
 Donnellan, April Kanne
 Donohue, Douglas S.
 Donohue, Laura K.
 Donohue, Thomas J. Sr.*
 Doran, Charles F.
 Dormandy, Xenia B.M.
 Dorsen, Norman
 Dory, Amanda Jean*
 Doty, Paul M. Jr.
 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.
 Druyan, Ann
 Dryden, Ray N. Jr.*
 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.
 Duncan, Miranda Margaret*
 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.
 Easterly, Jennie M.
 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
 Efron, 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.
 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-Raphel, Nancy Halliday
 Embree, Ainslie T.
 Emerson, John B.
 Enders, Barbara Pillsbury†
 Ensor, David B.
 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 Scott
 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, 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.
 Farman-Farmaian, Elizabeth
 Worley
 Farmer, Thomas L.
 Farnsworth, Eric P.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- 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, Roger W. Jr.*
 Ferguson, Tim W.
 Fernandes, Anthony C.
 Fernandez, Jose W.
 Ferrari, Frank E.
 Ferraro, Geraldine A.
 Ferrazzi, Keith Edward
 Ferré, Antonio Luis
 Ferré, Helen Aguirre
 Ferré, Maurice A.
 Fesharaki, Fereidun
 Fessenden, Hart
 Fessenden, Helen
 Fiedler, Jeffrey L.
 Fields, Bertram H.
 Fields, Craig I.
 Fife, Eugene V.
 Figueroa Kùpcü, Maria C.
 Filippone, Desiree Geneva
 Filippone, Robert J.
 Finberg, Barbara D.
 Findakly, Hani K.
 Finel, Bernard I.
 Finelli, Francis A.*
 Finger, Seymour Maxwell
 Finkelstein, Lawrence S.
 Finley, Sonya L.
 Finn, Edwin A. Jr.
 Finmore, Martha
 Finney, Paul B.
 Firestone, Charles M.
 Firmage, Edwin B.
 Fischbach, Gerald D.
 Fischer, Betsy†
 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.
 Fitzgibbons, John B.†
 Flaherty, Pamela
 Flaherty, Peter
 Flake, L. Gordon
 Flanagan, Stephen J.
 Flanders, Stephanie
 Flanigan, Peter M.
 Fleischmann, Alan H.
 Flom, Joseph H.
 Flournoy, Michèle A.
 Flynn, George J.
 Flynn, Stephen E.
 Fri'Piere, Patrick John
 Fogleman, Ronald R.
 Foglesong, Robert H.
 Foley, S. Robert Jr.
 Foley, Thomas S.
 Folsom, George A.
 Fontaine, Richard H. Jr.†
 Fonts, Carlos E.
 Foote, Edward T. II
 Foote, William Fulbright
 Forbes, Kristin J.†
 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
 Fox, Merritt Baker*
 Fraga Neto, Arminio
 Franck, Thomas M.
 Francke, Albert
 Frank, Andrew D.
 Frank, Brian L.
 Frank, Charles R. Jr.
 Frank, Isaiah
 Frank, Richard A.
 Frankel, Francine R.
 Frankel, Jeffrey A.
 Franklin, Barbara Hackman
 Franklin, William Emery
 Fravel, M. Taylor†
 Frazier, Kenneth C.
 Frazier, Myra M.
 Fredericks, Wayne
 Fredman, Jonathan M.
 Freedman, Alix 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.
 Frey, Howard A.†
 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, 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. Jr.
 Gardels, Nathan P.
 Gardner, Anthony Laurence
 Gardner, James A.
 Gardner, Nina Luzzatto
 Gardner, Richard N.
 Garment, Leonard
 Garment, Suzanne R.
 Garnett, Sherman
 Garrett, Johnson
 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, Bruce S.
 Gelb, Leslie H.
 Gell-Mann, Murray
 Gellert, Michael E.
 Gellman, Barton
 Gelpert, Anna
 George, Robert P.
 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
 Geyer, Georgie Anne
 Gfoeller, Joachim Jr.
 Gfoeller, Michael
 Gfoeller, Tatiana C.
 Ghiglione, Loren
 Gholz, Charles Eugene
 Giacomo, Carol Ann
 Gibbons, John Howard

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- 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, 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.
Givhan, Walter D.*
Glaser, Bonnie S.
Glauber, Robert R.
Glennon, Michael J.
Gleysteen, Peter
Globerman, Norma
Glover Weiss, Juleanna Ruth
Gluck, Carol
Gluck, Frederick W.
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
Goldfield, Harold P.*
Goldgeier, James M.
Goldin, Harrison J.
Goldin, Matthew N.
Goldman, Charles N.
Goldman, Guido
Goldman, Marshall I.
Goldman, Merle D.
Goldman, Neal D.†
Goldmark, Peter C. Jr.
Goldschmidt, Neil
Goldsmith, Barbara
Goldsmith, Jack Landman III
Goldsmith, Robert S.
Goldsmith, Russell D.*
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
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.
Gorsuch, Neil M.†
Goss, Porter J.
Gotbaum, Victor
Gottmoeller, Rose E.
Gottfried, Kurt
Gottlieb, Gidon A.G.
Gottlieb, Stuart
Gottsegen, Peter M.
Gould, Peter G.
Gourevitch, Peter A.
Gourevitch, Philip
Grace, Lola Nashashibi
Graff, Henry Franklin
Graff, Robert D.
Graham, Bob
Graham, Carol Lee
Graham, Thomas Jr.
Graham, Thomas W.
Granoff, Michael D.
Grant, Stephen A.
Graubard, Stephen Richards
Gray, Hanna Holborn
Greathead, R. Scott
Greco, Richard Jr.
Green, Carl J.
Green, Ernest G.
Green, Jerrold D.
Green, Michael J.
Greenawalt, Alexander Kent Anton
Greenberg, Arthur N.
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, Raymond F. III†
Greene, Wade
Greenspan, Alan
Greenwald, G. Jonathan
Greenway, Hugh D.S.
Gregg, Donald P.
Gregg, Heather S.†
Gregorian, Vartan
Gregson, Wallace C. Jr.
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
Grove, Paul C.
Grover, Katherine Sye†
Groves, Ray J.
Grunwald, Henry A.
Guerra-Mondragon, Gabriel
Guilmartin, Eugenia Katherine
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.
Haider, D. Blake†
Haig, Alexander M. Jr.
Hailston, Earl B.
Hajari, Nisid J.
Hakakian, Roya
Hakim, Peter
Hale, David D.
Hale, Lyric Hughes
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.
Halsted, Thomas A.
Haltzel, Michael H.
Hamburg, David A.
Hamburg, Margaret Ann
Hamel, Michael A.
Hamilton, Ann O.
Hamilton, Charles V.
Hamilton, Daniel
Hamilton, Edward K.
Hamilton, Hugh Gerard Jr.
Hamilton, John Maxwell*
Hamilton, Lee H.
Hamilton, Ruth Simms
Hammond-Chambers, Rupert J.†
Hammonds, D. Holly
Hamre, John J.
Hanauer, Larry
Hancock, Ellen
Hand, Lloyd N.
Hand, Scott M.
Handelman, Stephen
Hansell, Herbert J.
Hansen, Carol Rae
Hanson, Carl Thor
Hantz, Giselle P.
Hantzopoulos, Evie
Harari, Maurice
Hardin, Edward J.
Hardin, Katherine Anderson
Harding, Deborah A.
Harding, Harry
Hardt, John P.
Hargrove, John Lawrence
Harman, Jane
Harman, Sidney
Harmon, James A.
Harms, Blaire M.
Harpel, James W.
Harper, Conrad K.
Harrington, Maureen Ann
Harris, David A.
Harris, Jay T.
Harris, Joseph E.
Harris, Katherine
Harris, Martha Caldwell
Harrison, Hope M.
Harrison, Selig S.
Harrison, William B. Jr.
Hart, Gary
Hart, Robert C.*
Hart, Todd Christopher
Hartley, Jane D.
Hartman, Arthur A.
Hartogensis, Gordon A.†
Hartzell, Jon K.
Haseltine, William Alan

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- Haskell, John H.F. Jr.
 Hathaway, Robert M.
 Hatheway, Gina Marie L.
 Hauge, John Resor
 Hauser, Rita E.
 Hauser, William Locke
 Havell, Theresa A.
 Hawkins, Ashton
 Hawley, F. William
 Hawthorne, Amy W.
 Hayden, Michael V.
 Hayek, Alexandre P.
 Hayes, Margaret Daly
 Hayes, Rita Derrick
 Haynes, Fred
 Haynes, Lukas Harrison
 Haynes, Ulric
 Hayward, Thomas B.
 Heald, Lisa W.
 Healey, Kerry Murphy*
 Healy, Harold H. Jr.
 Heck, Charles B.
 Hecker, Siegfried S.
 Hedges, Christopher Lynn
 Hedstrom, Mitchell W.
 Heep-Richter, Barbara D.
 Heer, Paul
 Heginbotham, Stanley J.
 Hehir, J. Bryan
 Heimann, John G.
 Heibold, Charles A. Jr.
 Heimowitz, James B.
 Heineman, Benjamin W. Jr.
 Heineman, Melvin L.
 Heintz, Stephen B.
 Heintzen, Harry Leonard
 Heinz, Teresa
 Hejlik, Dennis J.
 Helander, Robert C.
 Heldring, Frederick
 Heleniak, David W.
 Helfer, Ricki Tigert
 Helgeson, John L.
 Heller, Jane J.†
 Heller, Richard M.
 Hellman, F. Warren
 Hellmann, Donald Charles
 Helm, Robert W.
 Helman, Robert A.
 Helprin, Mark
 Hendricks, Darryll E.*
 Hendrickson, David C.
 Henkin, Alice H.
 Henkin, Louis
 Hennessy, John M.
 Henninger, Daniel P.
 Henrikson, Alan K.
 Henry, Nancy L.
 Hentges, Harriet
 Herberger, Roy A. Jr.
 Hermann, Charles F.
 Hernandez Colon, Rafael
 Hernandez, Antonia
 Hernandez, Ernesto P. III
 Herrstadt, Owen Edward
 Herskovits, Jean
 Herspring, Dale R.
 Herter, Christian A. Jr.
 Herter, Frederic P.
 Hertog, Roger
 Hertzberg, Arthur
 Hertzberg, Hendrik
 Hertzberg, Robert M.*
 Herz, Barbara
 Herzfeld, Charles M.
 Herzstein, Robert E.
 Hesburgh, Theodore M.
 Hess, John B.
 Hess, Marlene*
 Hessler, Curtis A.
 Hewlett, Sylvia Ann
 Heyman, William H.*
 Hiatt, Fred
 Hicks, Irvin
 Hicks, John F. Sr.
 Hicks, Peggy L.
 Hidary, Jack D.
 Higginbotham, F. Michael
 Higgins, Heather Richardson
 Higgins, Neal L.†
 Higgins, Robert F.
 Hight, B. Boyd
 Hightower, Edward T.
 Hill, Fiona
 Hill, J. Tomilson
 Hill, James T.
 Hill, Janine W.*
 Hill, Joseph C.*
 Hill, Pamela
 Hill, Raymond D.
 Hillen, John
 Hillenbrand, Martin J.
 Hillgren, Sonja
 Hills, Carla A.
 Hinerfeld, Ruth
 Hines, Rachel
 Hinton, Deane R.
 Hirsch, John L.
 Hirsh, Michael P.
 Hitz, Frederick P.
 Hoagland, Jim
 Hoar, Joseph Paul
 Hobart, Matthew Todd
 Hobbs Miracky, Tammany D.
 Hobson, H. Lee
 Hobson, Melody
 Hoch, Frank W.
 Hodin, Michael W.
 Hoerber, Amoretta M.
 Hoehn, Andrew R.
 Hoehn, William E. Jr.
 Hoenlein, Malcolm I.
 Hoffman, A. Michael
 Hoffman, Auren
 Hoffman, Bruce
 Hoffmann, Stanley
 Hofman, Steven I.
 Hogan, Jeffrey N.
 Hoge, James F. Jr.
 Hoge, Warren M.
 Hogue, George Roberts
 Hoinkes, Mary Elizabeth
 Holbrooke, Richard C.
 Holden, John L.
 Holdren, John P.
 Holgate, Laura S.H.
 Hollick, Ann Lorraine
 Holliday, Stuart W.
 Hollifield, James Frank
 Hollis, Duncan Baker
 Holloway, Dwight F. Jr.
 Holmer, Alan F.
 Holmes, Henry Allen
 Holmes, Kim R.
 Holmes, Stephen T.
 Holst, Eric Allan
 Holt, Pat M.
 Holum, John D.
 Hooker, Richard D. Jr.
 Hoopes, Townsend W.
 Hope, Judith Richards
 Hope, Richard O.
 Horelick, Arnold L.
 Horlick, Gary N.
 Hormats, Robert D.
 Horn, Karen N.
 Horn, Sally K.
 Horner, Matina Souretis
 Hornik, Richard H.
 Hornthal, James J.*
 Horowitz, Irving Louis
 Horton, Alan W.
 Horton, Robert Scott
 Hosmer, Bradley C.
 Hoston, Germaine A.
 Hottelet, Richard C.
 Houghton, Amory Jr.
 Houghton, James R.
 Houlihan, Kathleen
 House, Karen Elliott
 Howard, A. E. Dick
 Howard, Christopher Bernard
 Howard, John R.
 Howard, Lyndsay C.*
 Howard, M. William Jr.
 Howell, Ernest M.
 Howson, Nicholas C.
 Hoyt, Kendall L.†
 Hoyt, Mont P.
 Hrynkow, Sharon H.
 Hsu, Ta-Lin
 Htun, Mala N.
 Huber, Richard L.
 Huberman, Benjamin
 Hudson, Manley O. Jr.
 Hudson, Michael C.
 Huebner, Lee W.
 Huey, John W. Jr.
 Hufbauer, Gary C.
 Huffington, Roy M.
 Hughes, Lynn N.
 Hughes, R. John
 Hughes, Thomas Lowe
 Huizenga, John W.
 Hull, Edmund J.*
 Hulsman, John C.
 Holbrooke, Tamela
 Hultquist, Timothy A.
 Hume, Cameron R.
 Hume, Ellen H.
 Hunker, Jeffrey A.
 Hunt, Swanee
 Hunter, Robert E.
 Hunter, Shireen T.
 Hunter, William Curt
 Hunter-Gault, Charlayne
 Huntington, Patricia Skinner
 Huntington, Samuel Phillips
 Hurd, Joseph Kindall III
 Hurewitz, J. C.
 Hurlock, James B.
 Hurst, Robert J.
 Hurwitz, Sol
 Hutchings, Robert L.
 Hutchins, Glenn H.
 Huyck, Philip M.
 Hyatt, Joel Z.
 Hyland, William G.
 Hyman, Allen I.
 I
 Ibarguen, 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.
 Istel, Yves-Andre
 Itoh, William H.
 Ivester, M. Douglas
 Izlar, William H. Jr.
 J
 Jabber, Paul
 Jackelen, Henry
 Jacklin, Nancy P.
 Jackson, Bruce P.
 Jackson, Jesse L. 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
 Jamal, Amaney A.†
 James, Francis John*
 Janes, David P.
 Janes, Jackson
 Janis, Mark Weston
 Janklow, Morton L.
 Janow, Merit E.
 Jaquette, Jane S.
 Jarvis, Nancy A.
 Jastrow, Robert
 Jebb, Cindy R.
 Jenkins, Bonnie D.
 Jenkins, Jennifer Cecelia
 Jervis, Robert
 Jessup, Alphama W.
 Jessup, Philip C. Jr.
 Jeter, Howard F.
 Jett, Dennis C.*
 Jillson, Calvin C.
 Joffe, Robert D.
 Johns, Lionel Skipwith
 Johnson Ward, L. Celeste
 Johnson, Howard W.
 Johnson, James A.
 Johnson, James E.
 Johnson, Jay L.
 Johnson, Jeh Charles
 Johnson, Karen H.
 Johnson, L. Oakley
 Johnson, Larry D.
 Johnson, Nancie S.
 Johnson, Robbin S.
 Johnson, Robert H.
 Johnson, Robert W. IV
 Johnson, Scott S.
 Johnson, Thomas S.
 Johnson, Willene A.
 Johnson, Wyatt Thomas
 Jones, Alan Kent
 Jones, Anita K.
 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, Robert W.*
 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
 Kaplan, Helene L.
 Kaplan, Jeffrey A.
 Kaplan, Joel
 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.
 Karp, Jonathan D.*
 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, Robert J.*
 Katz, Sherman E.
 Katz, Stanley N.
 Katzenstein, Peter J.
 Kaufman, Daniel J.
 Kaufman, Henry
 Kaufman, Robert R.
 Kaufmann, William W.
 Kavoukjian, Michael E.*
 Kay, Kira
 Kaye, Charles R.
 Kayson, Carl
 Kayyem, Juliette N.
 Kazemi, Farhad
 Kea, Charlotte G.
 Kean, Thomas H.
 Keel, Alton G. Jr.
 Keene, Lonnie S.
 Keene, Molly M.
 Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr.
 Kelleher, Catherine M.
 Keller, Edmond J.
 Keller, Kenneth H.
 Kellerman, Barbara L.
 Kelley, Paul X.
 Kellner, Peter Bicknell*
 Kellogg, David
 Kelly, Alfred F. Jr.*
 Kelly, Arthur L.
 Kelly, 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
 Kennedy, David W.*
 Keohane, Nannerl O.
 Keohane, Robert O.

Kern, Paul J.
 Kerr, Ann Zwicker
 Kerrey, Bob
 Kerry, John F.
 Kerry, Peggy
 Kessler, Glenn Andrew*
 Kessler, Martha Neff
 Kester, W. Carl
 Khalidi, Rashid I.
 Khalilzad, Zalmay M.
 Khan, Moushumi M.†
 Khemlani, Neeraj L.
 Khosrowshahi, Cameron
 Kamran
 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 Patrick
 King, Henry L.
 King, Kay
 King, Robert R.
 King, Susan Robinson
 Kipper, Judith
 Kiriakou, Heather K.
 Armentrout†
 Kirkland, Richard I.
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.
 Kirkpatrick, Melanie M.
 Kiser, Stephen D.
 Kishkovsky, Leonid*
 Kissinger, Henry A.
 Kittrie, Orde F.
 Kizer, Karin L.
 Kladakis, Monica Vegas
 Klein, David
 Klein, Edward
 Klein, George
 Klein, Jacques Paul
 Klein, Joseph A.
 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.
 Kogan, Richard Jay
 Kohut, Andrew
 Kojac, Jeff
 Kolb, Charles E.M.
 Kolbe, Jim
 Kolodziej, Edward A.
 Kolt, George
 Koltai, Steven R.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- Komisar, Lucy
 Kondracke, Morton
 Koonin, Steven E.
 Korb, Lawrence J.
 Korbonski, Andrzej
 Kormos, Cyril Frederic
 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
 Kroeger, Kate M.J.†
 Kronman, Anthony Townsend
 Krueger, Anne O.
 Krueger, Harvey
 Krulak, Charles Chandler
 Ku, Charlotte
 Kubarych, Roger M.
 Kubisch, Jack B.
 Kuenstner, Nancy Jo
 Kull, Steven G.
 Kumar, Nisha
 Kumar, Raj U.†
 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.
 Lal, Venkateshwar†
 Lall, Betty Goetz
 Lamb, Denis
 Lambeth, Benjamin S.
 Lambright, James H.†
 Lamont, Lansing
 Lampton, David M.
 Lancaster, Carol J.
 Landau, George W.
 Landé, Jim Alfred
 Landers, James M.
 Lane, Charles M.
 Lane, David J.
 Laney, James T.
 Langlois, John D.
 Langlois, Robert J.
 Lantz, Matthew P.†
 LaPalombara, Joseph
 Lapenn, Jessica E.†
 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, Edwin
 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.
 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.
 Leed, Maren†
 Leeds, Roger S.
 Leet, Kenneth H.M.*
 Leet, Mildred Robbins
 Lefever, Ernest W.
 Leffall, LaSalle D. III
 Leghorn, Richard S.
 Legro, Jeffrey W.
 Legvold, Robert
 Lehman, John E.
 Lehman, Orin
 Lehman, Ronald Frank II
 Lehrer, Jim
 Leich, John Foster
 Leklem, Erik James
 Leland, Marc E.
 Lelyveld, Joseph
 LeMelle, Gerald A.
 LeMelle, Tilden J.
 Lemle, J. Stuart
 Lempert, Robert J.
 Lennon, Alexander T.J.
 Lennon, Sarah G.J.
 Lennox, William J. Jr.
 Lenti, Sarah M.†
 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, Mel
 Levine, Susan B.
 Levinson, Marc
 Levit, Kenneth Joel
 Levitsky, Jonathan E.
 Levitt, Arthur Jr.*
 Levitt, Jeremy I.
 Levy, Reynold
 Lewis, Anthony
 Lewis, Bernard
 Lewis, Edward T.
 Lewis, John P.
 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, Keith L.†
 Lieberthal, Kenneth G.
 Liebman, Benjamin Lesler
 Liebowitz, Jessica K.
 Lifton, Robert K.
 Light, Timothy
 Lighthizer, Robert E.
 Lilienthal, Sally L.
 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.
 Lippard, Joshua J.†
 Lipper, Kenneth
 Lipper, Tamara
 Lippert, Mark W.†
 Lippsey, 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.
 Livingston, Robert
 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
 Louis, William Roger
 Lourie, Linda S.
 Lousy, Glenn Cartman
 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.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Loy, Frank E.
 Loy, James Milton
 Lozano, Ignacio E.
 Lozano, José Ignacio*
 Lozano, Monica C.
 Lu, Donald
 Lu, Xiaobo
 Lubin, Nancy
 Lubman, Stanley B.
 Lucas, C. Payne
 Lucas, Sarah T.†
 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.
 Lyall, Katharine C.
 Lyman, Princeton N.
 Lyman, Richard W.
 Lynch, Thomas F. III
 Lynk, Myles V.
 Lynn, James T.
 Lynn, Laurence E. Jr.
 Lyon, David W.
 Lyons, Gene M.
 Lyons, James E.
 Lyons, Richard Kent

M

Ma, Christopher
 Mabry, Marcus
 Mabus, Raymond E.
 McCormack, Charles
 Frederick
 MacDonald, Bruce Walter
 MacDougal, Gary E.
 Mack, Consuelo Cotter
 Mack, J. Curtis II
 Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr.
 Mackevich, Eileen R.
 MacLaury, Bruce K.
 Macomber, John Dewitt
 Macy, Robert M. Jr.
 Madigan, John W.
 Magras, Krista M.
 Maguire, John David
 Mahoney, Margaret E.
 Mahoney, Paul G.*
 Mahoney, Thomas H. IV
 Mai, Vincent A.
 Maier, Charles S.
 Makin, John Holmes
 Makins, Christopher J.
 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
 Marcom, John E. Jr.
 Luzzatto, John Arthur
 Marder, Murrey
 Margolis, David I.
 Mariotti, Steven J.*
 Mark, David E.
 Mark, Hans M.
 Mark-Jusbasche, Rebecca P.
 Markey, Dan S.†
 Marks, Leonard H.
 Marks, Paul A.
 Markusen, Ann R.
 Marlin, Alice Tepper
 Marr, Phebe A.
 Marron, Donald B.
 Marsh, Tom F.
 Marshall, Andrew W.
 Marshall, Anthony D.
 Marshall, Dale Rogers
 Marshall, F. Ray
 Marshall, Katherine
 Marshall, Zachary Blake
 Marten, Kimberly Joy
 Martin, Daniel Richard
 Martin, Lynn Morley
 Martin, Susan F.
 Martin, William F.
 Martinez, Roman IV*
 Marton, Kati I.
 Masin, Michael T.
 Massey, L. Camille
 Massey, Walter E.
 Massimino, Elisa C.
 Mastanduno, Michael
 Masters, Carlton A.
 Matheson, Michael J.
 Mathews, Jessica T.
 Mathews, Michael S.
 Mathews, Sylvia M.
 Mathias, Charles McC. Jr.
 Mathias, Edward J.
 Mathis, Brian Pierre
 Matlock, Jack F. Jr.
 Matsui, Robert T.

Matteson, William B.
 Matthews, Eugene A.
 Matthews, John Casley III
 Mattox, Gale A.
 Matuszewski, Daniel C.
 Matzke, Richard H.
 Maxwell, Kenneth Robert
 May, Ernest R.
 May, Michael M.
 Mayer, Claudette
 Mayer, Gerald M. Jr.
 Mayhew, Alice E.
 Maynes, Charles William
 Mazur, Jay
 McAfee, William Gage
 McAllister, Jef Olivarius
 McAllister, Singleton B.
 McCaffrey, Barry R.
 McCaffrey, Cynthia Lillian
 McCain, John S. III
 McCall, H. Carl
 McCann, Edward
 McCartan, Patrick F.
 McCarter, John W. Jr.
 McCarthy, James P.
 McCarthy, Kathleen D.
 McChrystal, Stanley A.
 McClean, Lilyanne H.
 McCloy, John J. II
 McClure, Robert L.
 McCormack, Elizabeth J.
 McCouch, Donald G.
 McCracken, Paul W.
 McCurdy, Dave K.
 McDermott, Jim
 McDevitt, Sean Daniel
 McDonald, Alonzo L.
 McDonald, Tom
 McDonough, William J.
 McDougall, Gay J.
 McEntee, Joan M.
 McFarlane, Jennifer A.
 McFarlane, Robert C.
 McFate, Patricia Ann
 McFaul, Michael A.
 McGarr, Cappy R.
 McGiffert, Carola H.
 McGiffert, David E.
 McGovern, George S.
 McGowan, Alan H.
 McGrath, Eugene R.
 McGurn, William
 McHenry, Donald F.
 McIntosh, Laura A.
 McKeon, Robert B.
 McLarty, Mark C.
 McLarty, Thomas F. III
 McLaughlin, Andrew
 McLaughlin, David T.
 McLaughlin, John E.
 McLean, Mora L.
 McLean, Sheila Avrin

McLin, Jon Blythe
 McMahan, Darrin Michael
 McManus, Doyle
 McManus, Jason D.
 McMaster, Herbert Raymond*
 McNally, Thomas A.†
 McNamara, Dennis L.
 McNamara, Robert S.
 McNamara, Thomas E.
 McNaughter, Thomas L.
 McNERNEY, Patricia Ann
 McPeak, Merrill A.
 McPeck, Brian C.
 McPherson, M. Peter
 McQuade, Lawrence C.
 McWade, Jessica C.
 Meacham, Carl E.
 Meacham, Jon
 Mead, Dana G.
 Mead, E. Scott
 Mead, Walter Russell
 Meadows, Jeanne Terry
 Meagher, Robert F.
 Mearsheimer, John J.
 Medawar, Adrienne
 Medeiros, Amy Houpt
 Medeiros, Evan Sabino
 Medina, David S.
 Medina, Kathryn B.
 Medish, Mark Christian
 Medley, Richard
 Meers, Sharon I.
 Meertens, Michelle A.†
 Mehlman, Bruce Paul
 Mehreteab, Ghebre Selassie
 Mehta, Ved
 Meiman, Kellie A.
 Meissner, Doris M.
 Meister, Irene W.
 Mejía, James E.
 Melby, Eric D.K.
 Melloan, George R.
 Melville, Richard Allen
 Mendelson, Sarah E.
 Mendelson-Forman, Johanna*
 Mendlovitz, Saul H.
 Mendoza, Roberto G.
 Menges, Carl B.
 Menke, John R.
 Menon, Rajan
 Merkel, Claire Sechler
 Merkel, David Austin*
 Meron, Theodor
 Merow, John E.
 Merrill, Philip
 Merritt, Jack Neil
 Merszei, Zoltan
 Mesdag, Willem*
 Meselson, Matthew S.
 Messing, F. Andy Jr.
 Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr.
 Mettler, Ruben F.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- Metzger, Barry
Metzl, Jamie Frederic
Meunier, Sophie†
Meyer, Carl J.
Meyer, Edward C.
Meyer, John Robert
Meyer, Karl E.
Meyer, Michael Ryder
Meyerman, Harold J.
Meyerson, Martin
Michaels, Marguerite
Mickiewicz, Ellen
Midgley, Elizabeth
Mihaly, Eugene B.
Mikell, Gwendolyn
Miles, Edward L.
Milestone, Judith B.
Millard, Robert
Miller, Benjamin R.
Miller, Charles R.
Miller, Christopher D.*
Miller, David Charles Jr.
Miller, Debra L.
Miller, Franklin C.
Miller, J. Irwin
Miller, Judith
Miller, Ken
Miller, Linda B.
Miller, Marcia E.
Miller, Matthew L.
Miller, Michael T.†
Miller, Roberta Balstad
Miller, Scott L.
Miller, William Green
Miller, William Scott II
Miller-Muro, Layli
Millett, Allan R.
Millington, John A.
Mills, Bradford
Mills, Karen Gordon
Mills, Susan Linda
Milner, Helen V.
Minow, Newton N.
Mintz, Daniel R.
Miranda, Lourdes R.
Mirkow, Frank J.
Miscik, Judith A.
Mishkin, Alexander V.
Mitchell, Andrea*
Mitchell, Arthur M. III
Mitchell, George H. Jr.
Mitchell, George J.
Mitchell, Patricia E.
Mitchell, Wandra G.
Mize, David M.
Mochizuki, Kiichi
Mochizuki, Mike M.
Moe, Sherwood G.
Moffett, George D.
Molano, Walter Thomas
Mondale, Walter F.
Moniz, Ernest J.
Montgomery, George Cranwell
Montgomery, Harold H.
Montgomery, Parker G. *
Montgomery, Philip O'Bryan III
Moock, Joyce Lewinger
Moody, Jim
Moody, William S.
Moore, Joanne C.
Moore, John J. Jr.
Moore, John M.
Moore, John Norton
Moore, Jonathan
Moore, Julia A.
Moorman, Thomas S. Jr.
Moose, George E.
Moose, Richard M.
Mora, Alberto J.
Mora, Antonio G.
Moran, Theodore H.
Moravcsik, Andrew
Morey, David Edward
Morgan, Betsy Lake
Morgan, Charlotte M.
Morningstar, Richard L.*
Morris, Charles R.
Morris, Frederic A.*
Morris, Max King
Morris-Eck, Bailey
Morrisett, Lloyd N.
Morrison, J. Stephen
Morrisey, Arthur C.
Morse, Edward L.
Morse, Kenneth P.
Mortimer, David H.
Mosbacher, Robert A.
Moseley, Teed Michael
Moses, Alfred H.
Mosettig, Michael David
Moskow, Kenneth A.
Moskow, Michael H.
Moskowitz, James N.
Moss, Ambler H. Jr.
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, Steven
Mulvaney, Sean†
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
Murdoch, Deroy
Murdy, William F.
Murillo, Maria Victoria†
Murphy, Caryle Marie
Murphy, Ewell E. Jr.
Murphy, Richard McGill
Murphy, Richard W.
Murphy, Sean Patrick
Murphy, Thomas S.
Murray, Douglas J.*
Murray, Douglas P.
Murray, Ian P.
Murray, Janice L.
Murray, Lori Esposito
Murray, Robert J.
Muse, Martha Twitchell
Musham, Bettye Martin
Mustafa, Herro K.†
Myers, Richard B.
Myerson, Toby S.
Myrow, Stephen A.†
- N**
Nachmanoff, Arnold
Nacht, Michael
Nadiri, M. Ishaq
Nagorski, Andrew
Nagorski, Zygmunt
Nakhleh, Emile A.
Naplan, Steven J.†
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.
Nauert, Heather Anne†
Nazeri, Haleh
Neal, Jeffrey C.
Neal, Stephen L.
Nealer, Kevin G.
Nederlander, Robert Jr.
Negroponte, John D.
Neier, Aryeh
Nelson, Anne
Nelson, Daniel N.
Nelson, Jodi Lee
Nelson, Merlin E.
Nelson, Richard D.†
Nelson, Robert L. Jr.
Nemazee, Hassan*
Nenneman, Richard A.
Nepomnyashchy, Catharine
Theimer*
Nesbit, Lynn
Neuger, Win J.*
Neuman, Stephanie G.
Neureiter, Norman P.
Newberg, Esther R.
Newburg, Andre
Newcomb, Nancy S.
Newell, Barbara W.
Newhouse, John
Newman, 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
Nides, Thomas R.*
Niehuss, John M.
Niehuss, Rosemary Neaheer
Nielsen, Nancy
Nilsson, A. Kenneth
Nilsson, Keith R.†
Nimetz, Matthew
Nitze, Paul H.
Nitze, William A.
Noam, Eli M.
Nogales, Luis G.
Nolan, Janne Emilie
Noland, Marcus
Nonacs, Eric S.*
Nooter, Robert Harry
Norman, William S.
Norquist, Grover Glenn
Norton, Augustus Richard
Norton, Eleanor Holmes
Nossel, Suzanne F.
Noto, Lucio A.
Novack, Lynne Dominick
Novogratz, Jacqueline
Novy-Marx, Milena K.†
Nuechterlein, Jeffrey D.
Nunn, Sam
Nussbaum, Bruce
Nye, Joseph S. Jr.
- 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'Neal, E. Stanley*
O'Neil, Kathleen A.
O'Neil, Michael J.
O'Neill, Brian Deveraux
O'Neill, Mark E.*
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
 Olidge, 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
 Olvey, Lee D.
 Omestad, Thomas E.
 Onek, Joseph N.
 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
 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.
 Palmieri, Victor H.

Pam, Jeremiah S.†
 Pan, Eric J.
 Pan, Michael
 Pan, Philip P.†
 Pandith, Farah Anwar
 Panofsky, Wolfgang K.H.
 Paperin, Stewart J.
 Pardee, Scott E.
 Pardes, Herbert
 Pardew, James W. Jr.
 Parekh, Sanjay†
 Parent, Louise M.
 Paris, Jonathan
 Parker, Elizabeth Rindskopf
 Parker, Jason H.
 Parker, Jay M.
 Parker, Penny
 Parker, Richard B.
 Parker Feld, Karen Elizabeth
 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, Michael D.†
 Patterson, Patricia M.
 Pattiz, Norman J.*
 Paul, Douglas L.
 Paul, Roland A.
 Paulson, Henry M. Jr.
 Paulus, Judith K.
 Paumgarten, Nicholas Biddle*
 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.
 Penn, Lawrence Edward III
 Penn, Mark Jeffrey
 Perella, Joseph R.
 Perera, Richard D.
 Peretz, Don
 Perez, David*
 Perkin, Linda J.
 Perkins, Edward J.

Perkins, Roswell B.
 Perkovich, George R.
 Perlman, Janice Elaine
 Perlmutter, Barbara S.*
 Perlmutter, Louis
 Perritt, Henry H. Jr.
 Perry, Elizabeth Jean
 Perry, Robert C.
 Perry, William J.
 Persico, Joseph E.
 Peters, Mary Ann
 Peters, Michael P.
 Peterson, Holly
 Peterson, Michael A.
 Peterson, Peter G.
 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.
 Pezullo, Lawrence A.
 Pfaltzgraff, Robert L. Jr.
 Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill
 Pfeiffer, Leon K.
 Pfeiffer, Steven B.
 Phan, Dang Tan
 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, John vanden Heuvel†
 Pierce, Lawrence W.
 Pierce, Ponchitta
 Pichel, Jan
 Pierre, Andrew J.
 Pigott, Charles M.
 Pike, John E.
 Pilgrim, Kathryn
 Pillar, Paul R.*
 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
 Pitts, Joe W. III
 Pivik, George A.†
 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
 Poste, George H.*
 Postol, Theodore A.
 Potter, William C.
 Pottinger, Matthew F.†
 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
 Pregonzer, Arian L.*
 Prescott, Elizabeth M.†
 Press, Daryl G.
 Press, William H.
 Pressler, Larry
 Pressman, Jeremy†
 Preston, Stephen W.
 Prewitt, Kenneth
 Price, Daniel M.
 Price, Hugh
 Price, John R. Jr.
 Price, Raymond K. Jr.
 Price, Robert
 Prickett, Glenn T.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Priest, William W. Jr.
 Prieto, Daniel B. III*
 Prillaman, William C.
 Prince, Charles O. III
 Pritzker, Penny*
 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 FF
 Quigley, Leonard V.
 Quinn, Jane Bryant
 Quinn, John M.

R

Rabb, Bruce
 Rabinowitch, Alexander
 Rabinowitch, Victor
 Radtke, Robert W.*
 Raine, Fernande Scheid
 Raines, Franklin D.
 Raiser, Mary van Schuyler†
 Raisian, John
 Ramakrishna, Kilaparti
 Ramer, Bruce M.*
 Ramirez, Lilia L.
 Ramo, Simon
 Randolph, R. Sean
 Randt, Clark T. Jr.
 Ranis, Gustav
 Rankin, Clyde E. III
 Raphel, Robin Lynn
 Rappaport, Alan H.
 Ratchford, J. Thomas
 Rather, Dan
 Rattesar, Romesh M.
 Rattner, Steven L.
 Rattray, 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.
 Read, Benjamin L.†
 Reade, Claire E.
 Realuyo, Celina B.
 Rechberger, Kristin Denise
 Redman, Charles E.
 Reed, Charles B.
 Reed, Jack
 Reed, Joseph Verner
 Reed, Lucy Ferguson
 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
 Reinke, Jeffrey A.†
 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, 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, Frank E.*
 Richardson, Henry J. III
 Richardson, John
 Richardson, Richard W.
 Richardson, William B.
 Richardson, William R.
 Richardson, Yolonda C.
 Richter, Anthony
 Riddell, Malcolm C.
 Ridgway, Rozanne L.
 Rieff, David
 Rielly, John E.

Riffat, Imran
 Rifkind, Robert S.
 Ringold, Dena†
 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, 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.
 Rogoff, Kenneth S.*
 Rohan, Karen M.
 Rohatyn, Felix G.
 Rohlen, Thomas P.
 Rokke, Ervin J.
 Roman, Nancy E.
 Romano, Christina M.†
 Romanowski, Alina L.
 Romberg, Alan D.
 Romero, Philip Joseph
 Romero-Barcelo, Carlos A.
 Rondeau, Ann E.
 Roosevelt, Theodore IV
 Rosand, Eric Alexander
 Rose, Charles Peete Jr.
 Rose, Daniel
 Rose, Elihu
 Rose, Gideon

Rose, Marshall
 Rosecrance, Richard
 Rosen, Arthur H.
 Rosen, Daniel H.
 Rosen, Gary
 Rosen, Jack*
 Rosen, Jane K.
 Rosen, Jeffrey Allen*
 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
 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.
 Rothenberg, David M.
 Rothkopf, David Jochanan
 Rottenberg, Linda D.*
 Route, Ronald A.
 Rovine, Arthur W.
 Rowen, Henry S.
 Rowny, Edward L.
 Roy, J. Stapleton*
 Rubenstein, David M.*
 Rubin, Arthur Mark
 Rubin, Barnett R.
 Rubin, James P.
 Rubin, James S.
 Rubin, Nancy H.
 Rubin, Nilmini Gunaratne†
 Rubin, Robert E.
 Rubin, Trudy S.
 Rudder, Philip C.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Rudenstine, Neil L.
Rudesill, Dakota S.
Rudin, William C.*
Rudman, Warren B.
Ruebhausen, Oscar M.
Ruenitz, Robert M.
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.
Sagan, Scott D.
Sakoian, Carol Knuth
Salacuse, Jeswald William
Salazar, Ana Maria
Salem, George R.
Salomon, Richard E.
Salomon, William R.
Salzhauer, Amy Lynn
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
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
Sawyer, Reid L.†
Scalapino, Robert A.
Schacht, Henry B.

Schaefer, Matthew P.
Schaffer, Howard Bruner
Schaffer, Matthew
Schaffer, Teresita C.
Schake, Kori
Scheerer, S. Bruce
Schechter, Jerrold
Scheffer, David J.
Schein, Jacqui Selbst
Scheinman, Lawrence
Schell, Orville Hickok
Schell, Theodore H.
Schenker, David K.†
Schick, Thomas
Schiff, Frank W.
Schiff, Karenna Gore
Schifter, Richard
Schijman, E. Alixandre†
Schiller, Vivian L.*
Schlefer, Mark P.
Schlesinger, Arthur Jr.
Schlesinger, James R.
Schlesinger, Stephen C.
Schlosser, Herbert S.
Schmemmann, 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 Matos, 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.
Sciutto, 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
Sekulow, Eugene A.
Selin, Ivan
Sender, Henny
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.
Shaheen, Mark A.†
Shailor, Barbara
Shalala, Donna E.
Shalikhvili, John M.
Shambaugh, David
Shanker, Thomas Daniel
Shapiro, Andrew J.*
Shapiro, Andrew L.
Shapiro, Daniel B.†
Shapiro, Hal Scott
Shapiro, Harold T.
Shapiro, Isaac
Shapiro, Judith R.
Shaplen, Jason T.
Sharma, Anita†
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.
Sheldon, Eleanor B.
Shelley, Sally Swing
Shelp, Ronald K.
Shelton, Joanna Reed
Shelton-Colby, Sally A.
Shenk, George H.
Shepard, Stephen B.
Shepardson, Robert Thomas
Shepherd, J. Michael
Shepherd, Karen F.
Sheriff, Alan R.
Sherman, Michael
Sherman, Wendy R.
Sherry, George L.

Sherwood, Benjamin B.
Sherwood-Randall,
Elizabeth D.
Shestack, Jerome J.
Shields, Geoffrey B.
Shields, Lisa Katherine
Shiffman, Gary M.
Shifter, Michael
Shiner, Josette S.
Shinn, James J.
Shinsekí, Eric
Shipley, Walter V.
Shirk, Susan L.
Shirzad, Faryar
Shlaes, Amity Ruth
Shoemaker, Christopher C.
Shonholtz, Raymond
Shribman, David M.*
Shriver, Donald W.
Shu, John†
Shulman, Colette
Shulman, Marshall D.
Shultz, George P.
Shultz, Susan Kent Fried*
Shuman, David L.†
Shuman, Stanley S.
Sick, Gary G.
Siebert, Muriel F.
Siegal, Bippy M.
Siegel, William D.
Siegman, Henry
Sievers, Sara E.
Sifton, Elisabeth N.
Sigal, Leon V.
Sigmund, Paul E.
Sikkink, Kathryn A.
Silas, C. J.
Silber, Laura J.
Silberman, Laurence H.
Silberman, Robert S.
Silberstein, Alan M.
Silkenat, James R.
Silver, Allison
Silver, Daniel B.
Silver, Ron
Silvers, Robert B.
Simes, Dimitri K.
Simmons, Adele
Simmons, Jamal N.
Simmons, Matthew R.
Simmons, P. J.
Simmons, Ruth J.
Simon, Françoise L.
Simon, Hugh V. Jr.
Sims, Calvin G.
Sims, Robert B.
Sinclair, Paula J.
Sinding, Steven W.
Singer, Peter Warren
Singham, Shanker A.
Singleton, Lincoln Cameron†
Sinkin, Richard N.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- Sisco, Joseph John
 Sitrick, James Baker
 Skidmore, Thomas E.
 Skinner, Elliott P.
 Skinner, Kiron Kanina
 Sklarew, Jennifer Friedman
 Skol, Michael M.
 Skolnikoff, Eugene B.
 Slade, David R.
 Slaughter, Anne-Marie
 Slaughter, Matthew J.
 Slaughter, Richard A.
 Slavin, Barbara
 Slawson, Paul S.
 Sloane, Ann Brownell
 Sloane, Margaret
 Slocombe, Walter B.
 Small, Lawrence M.
 Smalley, Kathleen
 Smalley, Patricia T.
 Smart, Christopher W.
 Smart, S. Bruce Jr.
 Smeall, Christopher
 Smith, Andrew F.
 Smith, Clint E.
 Smith, Dane F. Jr.
 Smith, David Shiverick
 Smith, DeWitt C. Jr.
 Smith, Edwin M.
 Smith, Fern M.*
 Smith, Gayle E.
 Smith, Hedrick L.
 Smith, Jean Kennedy
 Smith, Jeffrey H.
 Smith, John T. II
 Smith, Malcolm B.
 Smith, Michael B.
 Smith, Michelle A.
 Smith, Perry M.
 Smith, Peter Hopkinson
 Smith, R. Jeffrey
 Smith, Richard M.
 Smith, Stephen G.
 Smith, Theodore M.
 Smith, Tony
 Smith, W. Y.
 Smith, Winthrop H. Jr.
 Smoots, Samuel D.
 Snider, Don M.
 Snider, L. Britt
 Snow, Robert Anthony
 Snowe, Olympia J.
 Snyder, Jed C.
 Snyder, Richard E.
 Snyder, Timothy D.
 Sobol, Dorothy Meadow
 Soderberg, Nancy E.
 Sofaer, Abraham David
 Sohn, Louis B.
 Solarz, Stephen J.
 Solnick, Steven L.
 Solomon, Andrew Wallace
 Solomon, Anne G.K.
 Solomon, Anthony M.
 Solomon, Joshua N.
 Solomon, Peter J.
 Solomon, Richard H.
 Solomon, Robert
 Sonenshine, H. Marshall
 Sonenshine, Tara Diane
 Song, Diana M.H.
 Sonnenberg, Maurice
 Sonnenfeldt, Helmut
 Sonnenfeldt, Richard W.
 Sorensen, Gillian Martin
 Sorensen, Juliet Suzanne
 Sorensen, Theodore C.
 Soros, George
 Soros, Jonathan Tivadar Allan
 Soros, Paul
 Soudriette, Richard W.
 Sovern, Michael I.
 Spagnuolo, Stephen A.†
 Spahn, Blake A.
 Spain, James W.
 Spalter, Jonathan
 Spaner, Jonathan S.
 Spangler, Scott M.
 Spears, Suzanne Alexandra
 Spector, Leonard S.
 Speedie, David C.
 Spencer, Edson W.
 Sperling, Gene B.
 Spero, Joan E.
 Spero, Joshua B.
 Speth, James Gustave
 Speyer, Jerry I.
 Speyer, Robert J.†
 Spiegel, Daniel L.
 Spiegel, John W.
 Spielvogel, Carl
 Spiers, Ronald I.
 Spindler, J. Andrew
 Spinelli-Noseda, Carlos Javier
 Spiro, Herbert John
 Spratt, John M. Jr.
 Stack-O'Connor, Alisa
 Stacks, John
 Stahl, Lesley R.
 Stalson, Helena
 Stam, Allan C.
 Stamas, Stephen
 Stanford, Nina Zinterhofer
 Stanger, Allison*
 Stanley, Peter W.
 Stanley-Mitchell, Elizabeth A.
 Stanton, Frank
 Staples Durkin, Kristen
 Staples, Eugene S.
 Starr, Kenneth I.
 Starr, S. Frederick
 Steadman, Richard C.
 Steel, Ronald
 Steiger, Paul E.
 Stein, David F.
 Stein, Elliot
 Stein, Eric
 Steinberg, David J.
 Steinberg, James B.
 Steinberg, Mark R.
 Steinberg, Richard H.
 Steinbruner, John D.
 Steiner, Daniel
 Steiner, Joshua L.
 Steiner, Steven E.
 Stempel, John D.
 Stent, Angela Evelyn
 Stepan, Alfred C.
 Stern, David J.
 Stern, Fritz
 Stern, H. Peter
 Stern, Jeffrey
 Stern, Jessica E.
 Stern, Paula
 Stern, Todd D.
 Stern, Walter P.
 Sternberg, Marc S.†
 Sternberg, Seymour
 Sterner, Michael E.
 Stetson, Anne
 Stevens, Charles R.
 Stevens, James W.
 Stevens, Paul Schott
 Stevens, Robert J.*
 Stevenson, Adlai E.
 Stevenson, Charles A.
 Stewart, Donald M.
 Stewart, Evan
 Stewart, Gordon C.
 Stewart, Jamie B. Jr.
 Stewart, Ruth Ann
 Stiehm, Judith Hicks
 Stiglitz, Joseph E.
 Stiles, Deborah F.
 Stith, Kate
 Stobaugh, Robert B.
 Stockman, David A.
 Stoessinger, John G.
 Stoga, Alan J.
 Stokes, Bruce
 Stoll, Ira E.
 Stone, Christopher B.†
 Stone, Jeremy J.
 Stonesifer, Patricia Q.
 Straus, Donald B.
 Straus, Oscar S. II
 Strauss, Robert S.
 Streeb, Gordon L.*
 Stremmlau, John J.
 Stringer, Howard
 Strmecki, Marin J.
 Strock, James M.
 Stromseth, Jane E.
 Stroock, Thomas F.
 Strossen, Nadine
 Studeman, William O.
 Styron, Rose
 Sudarkasa, Niara
 Sufi, Awais†
 Sughrue, Karen M.
 Suh, Ryung
 Suleiman, Ezra
 Sullivan, Gina E.
 Sullivan, Gordon R.
 Sullivan, John D.*
 Sullivan, Louis W.
 Summers, Lawrence H.
 Sunderland, Jack B.
 Sundiata, Ibrahim K.
 Supanc, Patrick Moore
 Suro, Roberto A.
 Suslow, Leo A.
 Stern, Moni K.
 Sutterlin, James S.
 Sutton, Francis X.
 Suzman, Cedric
 Swank, Emory C.
 Swanson, Carl Axel
 Sweeney, John J.
 Sweitzer, Brandon W.
 Swid, Scott L.
 Swid, Stephen Claar
 Swiers, Peter Bird
 Swing, John Temple
 Szporluk, Roman
 T
 Taft, Julia Vadala
 Taft, William H. IV
 Tagliabue, Paul
 Tahir-Kheli, Shirin R.
 Talbot, Phillips
 Talbot, Strobe
 Talwar, Puneet
 Tan Bhala, Kara W.Y.
 Tang, David K.Y.
 Tanner, Harold
 Tanter, Raymond
 Tapia, Raul R.
 Tarnoff, Peter
 Tarter, C. Bruce
 Tarullo, Daniel K.
 Tatlock, Anne M.*
 Tauber, Charles E.
 Taubman, William
 Taylor, Arthur R.
 Taylor, Cathy L.†
 Taylor, James S.
 Taylor, Kathryn Pelgrift
 Teece, David J.
 Teichner, Martha A.
 Teitel, Ruti G.
 Teitelbaum, Michael S.
 Telhami, Shibley
 Tellis, Ashley Joachim
 Tempelman, Maurice
 Temple-Raston, Dina Simone
 Tenet, George J.
 Terracciano, Anthony P.
 Terry, Sarah M.
 Theobald, Thomas C.
 Theros, Patrick N.*
 Thiessen, Marc Alexander
 Thiessen, Pamela Beth
 Thoman, G. Richard
 Thomas, Barbara S.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

Thomas, Brooks
 Thomas, Evan W. III
 Thomas, Franklin A.
 Thomas, James P.*
 Thomas, Lee B. Jr.
 Thomas, Lydia Waters
 Thomas, Troy S.
 Thomas-Graham, Pamela A.*
 Thompson, Fred D.
 Thompson, Robert L.
 Thompson, W. Scott
 Thomson, James A.
 Thornburgh, Dick
 Thornell, Richard P.
 Thornton, John L.
 Thoron, Louisa
 Tien, John K. Jr.*
 Tierney, Paul E. Jr.
 Tierney, Trish E. †
 Tiersky, Ronald
 Till, Kimberly
 Tillman, Seth P.
 Tillou, Susan Lynne
 Timbers, William H.*
 Timothy, Kristen
 Timpson, Sarah Livingston
 Tindell, Cynthia A.*
 Tipson, Frederick S.
 Tirana, Amina*
 Tisch, Andrew Herbert
 Tisch, James S.*
 Tisch, Preston Robert
 Todman, Terence A.
 Toft, Monica Duffy
 Toll, Maynard J. Jr.
 Toloui, Ramin
 Tomlinson, Alexander C.
 Toomey, Kathleen Elizabeth*
 Topping, Audrey Ronning
 Topping, Seymour
 Torano, Maria Elena
 Torop, Jonathan P. †
 Torres, Art
 Torres, Gerald
 Torricelli, Robert G.
 Toth, Robert C.
 Toungara, Jeanne Maddox
 Townsend, Kathleen Kennedy
 Trachtenberg, Stephen Joel
 Train, Harry D. II
 Train, John
 Train, Russell E.
 Trainor, Bernard E.
 Tran, Ly K.
 Trani, Eugene P.
 Traub, James*
 Travis, Martin B. Jr.
 Treadway, Stephen J.
 Treanor, Adam J. †
 Treanor, Mark C.
 Treat, John Elting
 Trebat, Thomas J.

Treverton, Gregory Frye
 Trice, Robert H. Jr.
 Trimble, Charles R.
 Trojan, Vera M.
 Trooboff, Peter D.
 Trowbridge, Alexander B.
 Truitt, Nancy Sherwood
 Truman, Edwin M.
 Tsalik, Svetlana †
 Tschai, Elizabeth G.
 Tsingos, Basilios E.
 Tsipis, Kosta
 Tucher, H. Anton
 Tucker, Cynthia A.
 Tucker, Jonathan B.
 Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf
 Tucker, Richard Frank
 Tucker, Robert W.
 Tuggle, Clyde C.
 Tuminez, Astrid S.
 Tung, Ko-Yung
 Tunnell, David Randolph
 Turck, Nancy B.
 Turner, J. Michael
 Turner, James M.
 Turner, Robert F.
 Turner, Stansfield
 Tusiani, Michael D.
 Tyrrell, R. Emmett Jr.
 Tyson, Carole Henderson
 Tyson, Laura D'Andrea

U

Udovitch, Abraham L.
 Uhlig, Mark
 Ullman, Richard H.
 Ulman, Cornelius M.
 Ulrich, Marybeth Peterson
 Ungar, Sanford J.
 Unger, David C.
 Upton, Maureen T.
 Usher, William R.
 Usher, William R. III †
 Utgoff, Victor A.
 Utley, Garrick
 Uzeta, Jaime Ernesto

V

Vaccaro, Jonathan Matthew
 Vagliano, Sara
 Vagts, Detlev F.
 Vaitheeswaran, Vijay V.
 Vaky, Viron P.
 Valenta, Jiri
 Valenti, Jack*
 Valentine, Debra A.
 Valenzuela, Arturo A.
 van der Vink, Gregory E.
 Van Dusen, Michael H.
 Van Dyk, Ted
 Van Evera, Stephen
 Van Fleet, James Alward

Van Oudenaren, John
 Van Zandt, David Edgar
 Vande Berg, Marsha
 vanden Heuvel, Katrina
 vanden Heuvel, William J.
 Vandenberg, Martina E.
 Varela, Marta B.
 Varmus, Harold E.
 Vasquez, Ian A.
 Vecchi, Sesto E.
 Veit, Carol Michele
 Veit, Lawrence A.
 Veliotis, Nicholas A.
 Vendley, William F.
 Verleger, Philip K. Jr.
 Verma, Gagan †
 Verma, Richard R.
 Vermilye, Peter H.
 Verstandig, Toni G.
 Verville, Elizabeth G.
 Vessey, John W.
 Vester, Linda J.
 Viccellio, Henry Jr.
 Vicenzino, Marco S.
 Vick, Edward H.
 Victor, Alice S.
 Vidal, David J.
 Videt, Pote P.
 Viebranz, Curtis G.
 Viederman, Stephen
 Viets, Richard Noyes
 Vila, Adis M.
 Vinjamuri, Leslie
 Viorst, Milton
 Viscusi, Enzo
 Vitale, Alberto
 Vitale, David J.
 Voell, Richard Allen
 Vogel, Ezra F.
 Vogelgesang, Sandy Louise
 Vogelson, Jay M.
 Vojta, George J.
 Volcker, Paul A.
 Volk, Stephen R.
 von Eckartsberg, K. Gayle Rose
 von Hagen, Mark Louis
 von Lipsey, Rod
 von Mehren, Robert B.
 Votaw, Carmen Delgado
 Vradenburg, George III*
 Vuono, Carl E.

W

Wachner, Linda J.
 Wachtel, Andrew Baruch
 Wadsworth-Darby, Mary
 Waggoner, Robert C.
 Wais, Marshall I. Jr.
 Waldron, Arthur
 Wales, Jane M.
 Walker, Anna Rachael
 Walker, Charls E.

Walker, George R.
 Walker, Gregg Alexander
 Walker, Jenonne
 Walker, John L.
 Walker-Huntley, Mary L.
 Wallace, Roger Windham
 Wallander, Celeste Ann
 Wallerstein, Mitchel B.
 Wallich, Christine I.
 Wallison, Peter J.
 Walsh, Ian Kennard
 Walsh, Michaela L.
 Walt, Stephen M.
 Walters, Barbara
 Walton, Anthony John
 Walton, R. Keith
 Waltz, Kenneth N.
 Wanger, Leah Zell
 Ward, Jennifer C.
 Ward, Katherine T.
 Ware, Carl
 Warner, Edward L. III
 Warner, John William
 Warner, Margaret G.
 Warner, Volney James
 Warren, Gerald L.
 Washburn, John L.
 Wasserman, Debra L.
 Wasserstein, Bruce
 Waterbury, John
 Waterston, Line Lillevik
 Watson, Alexander F.
 Watson, Peter S.
 Watts, John H.
 Watts, William
 Waxman, Matthew C.
 Weatherstone, Dennis
 Weaver, David R.
 Webb, Hoyt K.
 Weber, Doron
 Weber, Vin
 Webster, William H.
 Wechsler, William Frederick
 Weddle, Steven
 Wedgwood, Ruth
 Wehrle, Leroy Snyder
 Weidenbaum, Murray
 Weigel, George
 Weiksner, George B.
 Weil, Frank A.
 Weinberg, John L.
 Weinberg, Steven
 Weinberger, Caspar W.
 Weinert, Richard S.
 Weinrod, W. Bruce
 Weinstein, David E.
 Weinstein, Jeremy M. †
 Weinstein, Michael M.
 Weinstock, Davis II*
 Weintraub, Sidney
 Weisberg, Jacob M.
 Weisman, Steven R.

* Elected to membership in 2004.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2004.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- Weiss, Andrew S.
 Weiss, Charles Jr.
 Weiss, Cora
 Weiss, Edith Brown
 Weiss, Elizabeth Anne
 Weiss, Stanley A.
 Weiss, Thomas G.
 Welch, C. David
 Welch, Jasper A. Jr.
 Welch, Larry D.
 Weld, Susan R.
 Weld, William F.
 Welker, David P.
 Weller, David L.
 Wells, Damon
 Wells, Louis T.
 Wells, Samuel F. Jr.
 Wells, Walter N.
 Wender, Ira T.
 Wendt, Allan
 Wertheim, Mitzi Mallina
 Wesbrook, Stephen D.
 Weschler, Joanna
 Wesely, Edwin J.
 Wessel, Michael R.*
 West, Francis J.*
 West, J. Robinson
 West, Togo D. Jr.
 Westfield, Elisa M.†
 Westin, David L.
 Westly, Steven P.*
 Weston, Burns H.
 Wethington, Olin L.
 Wexler, Anne
 Weymouth, Elizabeth G.
 Whalen, Richard J.
 Wharton, Clifton R. Jr.
 Wheeler, John K.
 Wheeler, John P. III
 Whitaker, C. S.
 Whitaker, Jennifer Seymour
 Whitaker, Mark
 White, John P.
 White, Julia A.
 White, Laura J.†
 White, Mary Jo
 White, Maureen
 White, Peter C.
 White, Robert J.
 White, William H.
 Whitehead, John C.
 Whitman, Christine Todd
 Whitman, Marina v.N.
 Whitney, Christopher B.†
 Whitney, Craig R.
 Whittemore, Frederick B.
 Wiarda, Howard J.
- Wien, Anita Volz *
 Wiener, Carolyn Seely
 Wiener, Malcolm H.
 Wiesel, Elie
 Wiesel, Elisha
 Wilby, Peter
 Wilcox, Elizabeth Roberts
 Wildenthal, C. Kern
 Wiley, Richard A.
 Wilhelm, Robert E.
 Wilkerson, Thomas Lloyd
 Wilkie, Edith B.
 Wilkins, Roger W.
 Wilkinson, Sharon P.
 Wille, Serena B.†
 Williams, Aaron S.
 Williams, Brian D.
 Williams, Christine
 Williams, Cindy
 Williams, Dave H.
 Williams, Eddie Nathan
 Williams, Harold M.
 Williams, Haydn
 Williams, Howard Roy
 Williams, Joseph W.
 Williams, Lawrence H.
 Williams, Margaret Douglas
 Williams, Michael J.
 Williams, Reba White
 Williams, Thomas R. II†
 Williams, William J. Jr.
 Williamson, Edwin D.
 Williamson, Irving A.
 Williamson, Richard Salisbury
 Williamson, Samuel Gates
 Willich, Mason
 Wilmers, Robert G.
 Wilson, Don M. III
 Wilson, Donald M.
 Wilson, Ernest James III
 Wilson, Margaret S.
 Winch, Steven D.†
 Winden, Andrew William
 Winfield, W. Montague
 Wing, Adrien Katherine
 Winik, Jay
 Winkler, Matthew A.
 Winokur, Herbert S. Jr.
 Winston, Michael R.
 Winterer, Philip S.
 Winters, Francis X.
 Winters, Laura
 Wirth, David A.
 Wirth, Timothy E.
 Wise, Carol
 Wisner, Frank G.
 Wisner, Graham G.
- Witkowsky, Anne A.
 Wittes, Tamara Cofman
 Woerner, Fred F.
 Wofford, Harris L.
 Wohlforth, William Curti
 Wohlstetter, Roberta
 Wolf, Charles Jr.
 Wolf, Ira
 Wolf, Milton A.
 Wolfensohn, James D.
 Wolff, Alan Wm.
 Wolff, I. Peter
 Wolff, Jason R.†
 Wolfowitz, Paul D.
 Wolfsthal, Jon B.
 Wolin, Neal S.
 Wolosky, Lee S.
 Wolpe, Howard
 Wolstencroft, Tracy R.
 Woo-Cumings, Meredith
 Woodruff, Judy C.
 Woods, Ward W.
 Woodward, Susan L.
 Woolsey, R. James
 Woolsey, Suzanne H.
 Woon, Eden Y.
 Worenklein, Jacob J.
 Wortzel, Larry M.*
 Wosepka, Kent
 Wray, Cecil
 Wriggins, W. Howard
 Wright, Joseph R. Jr.
 Wright, L. Patrick
 Wright, Lawrence G.*
 Wright, Matic J.
 Wright, Robin
 Wright, William H. II
 Wu, Timothy†
 Wulf, Norman A.
 Wyser-Pratte, Guy Patrick
- Y
 Yacoubian, Mona
 Yalman, Nur O.
 Yan, Adele
 Yang, Linda Tsao
 Yang, Phoebe L.
 Yankelovich, Daniel
 Yanney, Michael B.
 Yao, Nancy
 Yates, Stephen Jerome
 Yergin, Daniel H.
 Yochelson, John N.
 Yoffie, David B.
 Yoran, Catherine Lotrionte
 Yordan, Jaime Ernesto
 Yost, Casimir A.
- Young, Alice
 Young, Andrew
 Young, Edgar B.
 Young, George H. III
 Young, Gwen Kathleen
 Young, Jay T.
 Young, M. Crawford
 Young, Michael K.
 Young, Nancy
 Youngblood, Kneeland C.
 Youngwood, Alfred D.
 Yu, Frederick T.C.
 Yudkin, Richard A.
 Yun, Philip W.*
 Yzaguirre, Raul H.
- Z
 Zabel, William D.
 Zagoria, Donald S.
 Zahn, Paula A.
 Zakaria, Arshad R.
 Zakaria, Fareed
 Zake, Florence S.N.
 Zakhheim, Dov S.
 Zaleski, Michel
 Zangrillo, Robert Lawrence
 Zanoan, Vahan B.
 Zarb, Frank G.
 Zartman, I. William
 Zbar, Brett I.W.†
 Zegart, Amy B.
 Zeikel, Arthur
 Zelikow, Philip D.
 Zelnick, C. Robert
 Zemmol, Jonathan I.
 Zilkha, Ezra K.
 Zimmerman, Edwin M.
 Zimmerman, Peter D.
 Zimmerman, William
 Zinberg, Dorothy Shore
 Zinder, Norton D.
 Zinni, Anthony Charles
 Zipp, Brian R.
 Zirin, James D.
 Zittrain, Jonathan L.
 Zlot, Andrew E.
 Zoellick, Robert B.
 Zogby, James J.
 Zolberg, Aristide R.
 Zonis, Marvin
 Zoric, Iva
 Zorthian, Barry
 Zucker, Howard Alan
 Zuckerman, Harriet
 Zuckerman, Mortimer B.
 Zwick, Charles J.
 Zysman, John A.

Editor: **Patricia Lee Dorff**

Designer: **Gene Crofts**

Assistant Editor: **Jennifer Anmuth**

Photo Editor: **Marie X. Strauss**

Publications Intern: **Sehr Karim**

Copy Editor: **Traci C. Nagle**

Cover Design: **Etsuko Iseki**

PHOTOS

Irina A. Faskianos: 40

Ken Levinson: 5 center left and bottom right, 6 bottom left, 7 top right, 9, 11 top, 12 top, 14, 21, 24 top center, middle center, and bottom left, 26, 28 top, 29 top, 32, 33, 35, 41, 42, 43, 48

Don Pollard: 5 bottom left, 6 top left, 7 center left and center right, 11 bottom, 13, 24 bottom middle and top right, 34, 44, 46, 47, 51 top and bottom

Sardari.com: 1, 5 top right, 6 top right, center right, and bottom right, 7 top and bottom left, 10, 12 bottom, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24 top left, 27, 28 bottom, 36, 37, 38, 39 bottom, 51 center

U.S. Navy Photographer: 49

Zweig Photography: 39 top

FRONT COVER PHOTOS* (LEFT TO RIGHT)

Iraqi women wait at a Baghdad office window for their monthly pensions (September 9, 2003).

In New Delhi, India, Congress Party supporters celebrate the claimed victory of Sonia Gandhi as India's next prime minister (May 13, 2004).

U.S. soldiers arrive on the scene of a car bomb that exploded outside the main gate to the headquarters of the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq (January 18, 2004).

Members of the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps raise the Iraqi flag at their base in Baghdad (June 29, 2004).

Sudanese refugees sit outside their tent in the Koumouangou refugee camp in Chad near the Sudan border (July 6, 2004).

BACK COVER PHOTOS* (LEFT TO RIGHT)

Venezuela's President Hugo Chavez greets his supporters outside Miraflores presidential palace in Caracas, hours after the National Elections Council projected that he would face a recall vote (June 3, 2004).

Saddam Hussein is led into a courtroom at Camp Victory, a former presidential palace on the outskirts of Baghdad (July 1, 2004).

Taliban and al-Qaeda detainees sit in a holding area at Camp X-Ray at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, during in-processing to the temporary detention facility (January 11, 2002).

An Afghan woman gets her voter identification card as others wait at a voter registration center in Kabul, Afghanistan (July 18, 2004).

An unidentified North Korean bids farewell to her South Korean brother after a reunion of the separated family members (July 13, 2004).

* Reprinted with permission from AP/World Wide Photos.