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# COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS ANNUAL REPORT

JULY 1, 2004-JUNE 30, 2005



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\* In accordance with By-Law VII.

† Appointed by the Board of Directors in 2005.

Note: This list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 2005.

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# MISSION STATEMENT

**F**ounded 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, DC, 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](http://www.cfr.org).

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

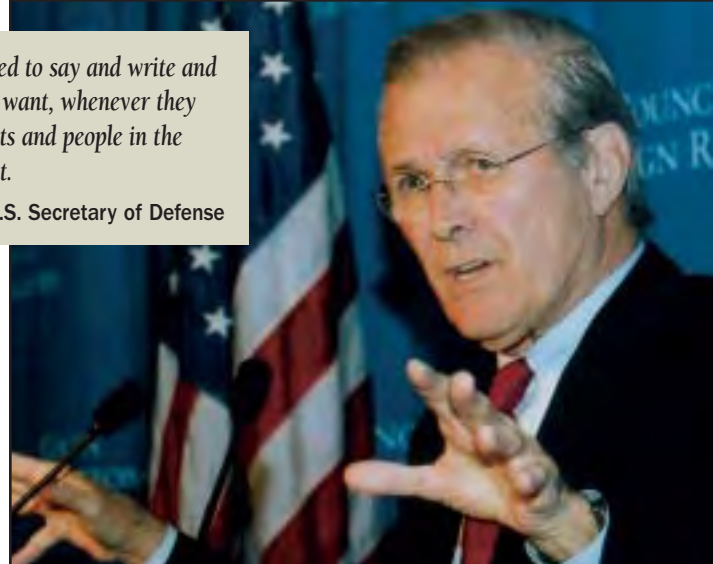


*Iraqis now are among those allowed to say and write and watch and listen to whatever they want, whenever they want. And I sense that governments and people in the Middle East are taking note of that.*

—DONALD RUMSFELD, U.S. Secretary of Defense

*It is remarkable that the world order of 1945 dominates global decision-making even today. I believe the time is ripe for the United States to seriously consider the advantages of further enhancing our partnership on major international issues by recognizing India's due place in global councils.*

—MANMOHAN SINGH,  
Prime Minister, India



*We Africans, many times we are known by the challenges, problems, and the difficulties we still face. I want to say, Africans are rich. They have been impoverished, but they are rich people in those kinds of soft ways which are hard to measure.*

—GRAÇA MACHEL,  
President, Foundation for Community Development, Mozambique

*The historic stand of the American administration, the American people, in standing behind the Iraqi people, will never be forgotten. It proves that human rights and striving for democracy is not just a slogan, but is a reality where the American people are willing to sacrifice to bring about these tremendous humanitarian values. This is something that we should all be proud of, and you especially should be proud of.*

—IBRAHIM AL-JAAFARI,  
Prime Minister, Republic of Iraq

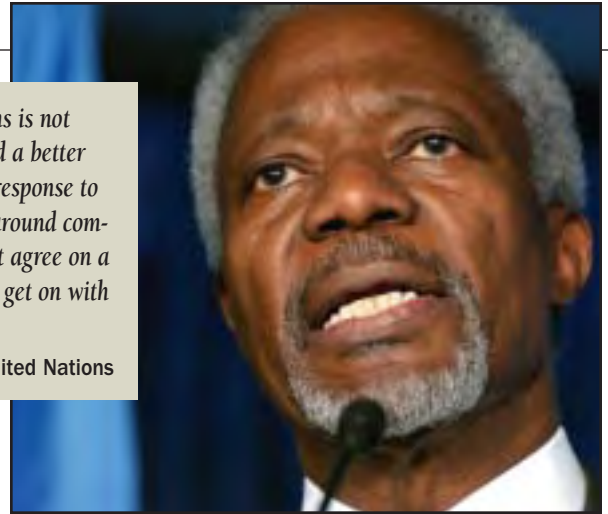


*not seen before from an American president.*

—MAHMOUD ABBAS, President, Palestinian Authority

*I am the first to admit the United Nations is not perfect, but our world will not easily find a better instrument for forging sustained global response to today's threats. We must use it to unite around common priorities and act on them. We must agree on a plan to reform the United Nations—and get on with the job of implementing it.*

—KOFI ANNAN, Secretary-General, United Nations



*President Bush spoke very clearly—and for the first time an American president would talk about a Palestinian state that is independent, that is viable, that is contiguous, that lives side-by-side with the state of Israel. This is something that we have not heard before and we have*

*Whatever you think about how we got into Iraq, we're there, we can't get out, and we see fundamental change taking place in the region. . . . We see things happening there that never would have happened if we hadn't engaged the way we have—good, bad, or evil.*

—CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN, Former Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency



*The time has come to move away from the old dichotomies of unilateralism and multilateralism. . . . We need to look at European Union-U.S. relations in a new light.*

—JOSÉ MANUEL DURÃO BARROSO, President, European Commission

*Any talk of Russia sliding back to totalitarian rule, a dictatorship, infringing on the freedom of the press and determined to reestablish the KGB is no more than a Cold War propaganda cliché.*

—SERGEY B. IVANOV, Minister of Defense, Russian Federation





*Mahmoud Abbas understands the world. He's more congruent with the world, with the zeitgeist, and that will make him more effective. We Israelis should give him an opportunity. We should try . . . to take many steps that will pave the road for him. But we should be careful not to hug him too strongly or firmly, especially in public, because it will ruin it.*

—EHUD BARAK, Former Prime Minister, Israel

*We think of China often as this great competitor. . . . The fact is, China is still a developing country with a lot of work to do on the fundamentals of a well-functioning market economy. But they are coming along and they're learning from us. This engagement of the United States and Europe with China is a great learning experience for China.*

—JOHN SNOW,  
U.S. Secretary of the Treasury



*I think [the media's] power is very real. . . . And that's why I get so upset when we don't do the kind of things that we should be doing in terms of covering places like Rwanda, or now, Darfur.*

—CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR,  
Chief International Correspondent, CNN

*Do I think at the moment that breaking the law or armed actions are an option? No, I don't. And why is that my view? Because there is an alternative . . . there is now a way to move forward through entirely peaceable and democratic means.*

—GERRY ADAMS, President, Sinn Fein



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# LETTER *from the* CHAIRMAN

In an increasingly interconnected world, the Council on Foreign Relations occupies a unique post from which to inform an expanding audience of world citizens interested in foreign policy. Our president, Richard N. Haass, has strongly emphasized this opportunity to reach out to a broader constituency and, in fact, has made it a major focus of the Council over the next few years as detailed in his President's Message. But connecting to a global audience, as well as providing greater services to the Council's members, is possible only through the adoption of today's latest technologies.



*Peter G. Peterson*

With the opening of a state-of-the-art conference center in New York in 1999, the Council began utilizing technology to connect better with members and others. Teleconferencing, videoconferencing, broadcast transmission lines that feed directly to any major media network, web delivery of both audio and video in real time, and postings of transcripts online have enabled members to be present at Council meetings, through transmissions to any computer, telephone, or even iPod.

Not only have these advances brought the Council closer to the membership, they have served to connect members, fellows, experts, and staff to one another. One such example is the Council's creation of five websites for assisting the work of the Independent Task Force program. Using the web, geographically dispersed Task Force teams have shared documents and conducted discussions, enhancing collaboration to an entirely new level of efficiency and convenience.

Much progress has also been made in sharing the vast amounts of information produced by the Council. Last summer the Council initiated the most ambitious redesign of its website—[www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)—since it was first launched in 1996. [Cfr.org](http://Cfr.org) will be the “first-stop shop” for online foreign policy information and analysis. Rather than simply showcasing Council-produced content, the website will also serve as an editor of



*Cfr.org will be the “first-stop shop” for foreign policy information and analysis. The website will serve as an editor of online content, no matter who produced it.*

online content, selecting and posting the highest-quality and most essential material, no matter who produced it. These editorial selections will be linked to the daily news and will enrich people’s understanding of important events by adding analysis, context, and background written and compiled by a first-rate Council team of writers and researchers.

By pegging our content to the news, we increase our chances of being relevant to a broader audience. And by offering information and analysis from whatever sources have the best material related to a specific topic—not just our own work, as other think tanks mostly do—we believe we ultimately increase our value and credibility.

*Foreign Affairs*, which saw yet another year at the forefront of international affairs and foreign policy publications, has now digitized every issue dating back to 1973, enabling members and subscribers to search and obtain the full text of these issues directly from the magazine’s website, [foreignaffairs.org](http://foreignaffairs.org). The Council has also undertaken a joint venture to digitize over 100 books whose copyright is owned by the Council, making the text of each book available and searchable on the Internet. This, however, is only the first step in an ongoing effort to digitize all of the Council’s recent book-length publications, which will then be posted on the revamped [cfr.org](http://cfr.org) in an easily readable and searchable format.

My warm thanks go to Richard Haass for his capable leadership of an ever-evolving organization. His second year has been marked by continued success in developing new and exciting programs,

attracting top-notch talent, and strengthening the financial health of this great institution.

Thanks as well to James F. Hoge Jr. for maintaining the excellent quality and reputation of *Foreign Affairs*, America’s most influential source for ideas, analysis, and debate on international affairs and foreign policy.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, our vice chairmen, and to the other directors of the Board



*Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan with Peter G. Peterson at the Council’s Annual Corporate Conference.*

for all that they do to make this institution great. We are sad to bid farewell to departing directors Jessica P. Einhorn, Louis V. Gerstner Jr., George J. Mitchell, Warren B. Rudman, and Andrew Young, who have dedicated much time and energy to the Council. We welcome new directors Peter Ackerman, Charlene Barshefsky, Stephen W. Bosworth, Tom Brokaw, and David M. Rubenstein and look forward to working closely with them.

*Peter G. Peterson*  
Chairman of the Board

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# PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The fiscal year just ended was dominated by the drama of a presidential election. The subsequent transition was made easier by the fact that the incumbent won reelection, but this made governing no less difficult. From day one President George W. Bush and his administration have faced a daunting array of challenges: an open-ended struggle against terrorism; a deadly insurgency in Iraq; advanced nuclear programs in both North Korea and Iran; a genocide in Darfur; a tsunami in Asia; and a less democratic Russia, a more assertive China, and a more uncertain Europe.



*Richard N. Haass*

Added to these challenges is the fact that the United States finds itself confronting them from a less-than-ideal position. A significant portion of this country's military strength is tied down in Iraq. The U.S. fiscal and current account deficits continue to increase, as does the price of the oil and gas the United States must import in ever-increasing quantities. Anti-Americanism remains both broad and deep.

This is not to say that there have been no positive developments or grounds for optimism. U.S. military and economic strength remains substantial in both absolute and relative terms. There is new hope for progress in the Middle East, owing to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's plan to withdraw from Gaza and parts of the West Bank and the emergence of a new Palestinian leadership committed to the peaceful pursuit of its goals. Iraqis voted freely to form a new government; Syrian forces no longer occupy Lebanon; the people of Ukraine live under a government they elected.

Here at the Council we responded to these and other developments with another twelve months of extraordinary activity. Highlights included a set of

*We are planning workshops, seminars, and mini-conferences targeted to different groups of leaders whom we hope to engage in the national foreign policy debate.*

activities covering Campaign 2004 and Transition 2005; briefings for those attending the Democratic and Republican conventions in Boston and New York; a Corporate Conference with Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan as keynote speaker—all this in addition to strong meetings programs in New York, Washington, and nationally as well as another banner year for *Foreign Affairs*.

I could go on but won't, only because I would like to devote the bulk of this year's message to what lies ahead. To be sure, we will continue to focus on our core missions of serving our membership and being a resource for those who might be described as traditional foreign policy elites: senior government officials, prominent journalists, and members of Congress and their staffs.

Simultaneously, we want to increase the time, energy, and resources we commit to a broader set of activities targeted to nontraditional constituencies, such as state and local officials, religious leaders, educators and students, and members and leaders of a broad range of nongovernmental organizations. Many of these individuals and groups are not normally associated with foreign policy, but their voices and support are critical to the policy choices our government makes and will make in the future. We are actively planning various workshops, seminars, and mini-conferences targeted to different groups of leaders whom we hope to engage more meaningfully in the national foreign policy debate.

We are also looking at what more we can do internationally. The influential Task Force on North America is one model, for which the Council joined with the Canadian Council



*Then U.S. Ambassador to Iraq John D. Negroponte.*

of Chief Executives and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. We anticipate future Task Forces that involve institutions and individuals from abroad. We are exploring how to replicate in other countries the highly successful Hitachi Inter-



*Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke with President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan.*



*Council Honorary Chairman David Rockefeller and then World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn at Rockefeller's 90th birthday celebration.*

national Affairs Fellowship Program, which sends Americans to Japan for three to twelve months to work in business, government, or other policy-related fields. We also intend to establish a series of dialogues in which we and our partners from abroad examine global challenges in mini-retreats—the kinds of candid, in-depth conversations that rarely occur when governments speak to each other.

The implementation of all these programs and

initiatives will draw upon and expand the Council's existing activities. One principal instrument will be [cfr.org](http://cfr.org). Peter G. Peterson discusses this in some detail in his Letter from the Chairman. But I do want to underscore our very different idea for the website: namely, it will be the best website for authoritative information and analysis of U.S. foreign policy. It will be the Council's website, but it will not be limited to the work of the Council; rather, it will include articles, speeches, and documents from a wide range of official and independent sources. Again, our goal is to make [cfr.org](http://cfr.org) the best resource available for anyone who wants to better understand America's role in today's complex world.

A second way we will implement this expanded outreach is by building a Studies Program that is second to none. This means attracting the best senior scholars (many with practical experience in the field) and identifying and developing young talent. We need to make sure we cover not only the principal countries and regions, but also the functional issues that reflect the realities and challenges of living in a modern, global world.

And third, we will continue to look for ways to strengthen the Council's resources: human, physical,



*Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick speaking at the 2005 National Conference.*



*Council Vice Chairman Robert E. Rubin, Honorary Vice Chairman Maurice R. Greenberg, and Board Director Louis V. Gerstner Jr.*

and financial. We have a wonderful headquarters in New York, dedicated staff in both New York and Washington, and, on the financial side, a substantial endowment and a strong balance sheet. But the costs of doing what we do and want to do keep rising, and we are exploring how we can best ensure that the Council's endowment continues to cover our increasing needs.

Let me close, as I did last year, on a more personal note. I have just completed my second full year as president. My so very able predecessor, Leslie H. Gelb, was right: this is truly one of the great jobs in this or any field, in this or any city. I want to thank Pete Peterson and the other members of the Board for their commitment and support; I want to thank former Executive Vice President Michael P. Peters, who left the Council after ten years of service to assume the presidency at St. John's College, Santa Fe, for his lasting contribution to the Council; I want to thank the staff in New York and



*Richard N. Haass with Nelson Mandela.*

Washington for their initiative and hard work; and, last but hardly least, I want to thank the members—life, term, and corporate—for their impressive interest in, and support for, this unique organization.

*Richard N. Haass*  
President



*Council Board Directors Helene D. Gayle, Michael H. Moskow, and Henry S. Bienen.*

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# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This year *Foreign Affairs* was ranked the most influential media outlet in the United States in a study of U.S. opinion leaders. *Foreign Affairs* placed ahead of all other magazines and newspapers—including the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Economist*—as well as all broadcast media. The survey, conducted by the business-to-business research firm Erdos & Morgan, represents the views of more than 450,000 Americans who shape policy and opinion in the public and private sectors.

The performance of *Foreign Affairs* in the marketplace further confirmed its impact. With the January/February 2005 issue, total subscriptions broke 100,000 for the first time. Including newsstand sales, total paid circulation is now over 140,000. Advertising revenues set records, running 30 percent above prior-year figures. Traffic on the magazine's website continued to grow, producing in March a record 993,045 page views. With strong subscription and advertising growth, the magazine continued to operate in the black, more so than ever.

*Foreign Affairs* this year devoted numerous pages to the many challenges facing the countries of the Middle East. Iraq received the most attention. Several authors questioned whether U.S. objectives for Iraq could be realized and whether it was wiser to stay the course or to disengage promptly. Democratization was a hot topic, highlighted by the “orange revolution” in Ukraine, the

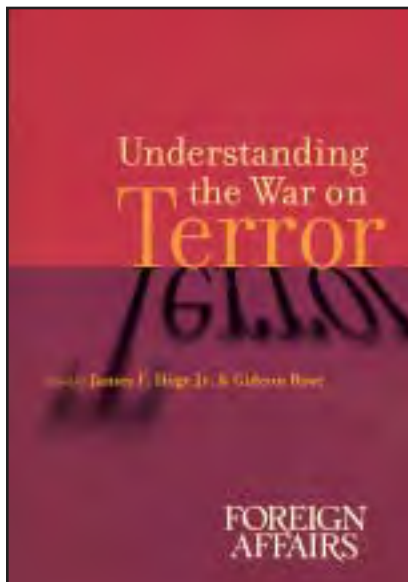
*James F. Hoge Jr.*



*Foreign Affairs was ranked the most influential media outlet in the United States, ahead of all other magazines and newspapers as well as all broadcast media.*

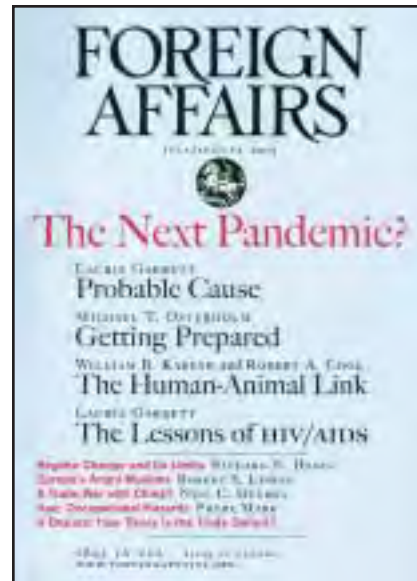
forced withdrawal of Syria from Lebanon, and popular stirrings throughout the Arab world. Essays in the magazine analyzed the implications of these events for the world's remaining autocratic regimes and U.S. foreign policy.

Other articles examined the pros and cons of globalization, the difficulties of further European integration, and the dangers of nuclear weapons proliferation. President George W. Bush's foreign policy received qualified approval for focusing on how to promote security in a dangerous world. Recommended midcourse corrections included reviving the art of speaking softly and recognizing the need for international legitimacy. Bush's foreign economic policy provoked harsher criticism for a series of problems that, if left to fester, will damage U.S. domestic interests and U.S. foreign policy as a whole.



In the July/August 2005 issue, *Foreign Affairs* published a special section on the increasing possibility that a deadly influenza virus could spread among humans and overwhelm unprepared health systems in rich and poor countries alike. Four essays provided a comprehensive overview of this uniquely lethal flu, the preparations and preventive measures that need to be taken, and the lessons that can be gleaned from the present HIV/AIDS pandemic.

This year *Foreign Affairs* published a new book in its ongoing series of paperback compilations designed for classroom use. *Understanding the War on Terror* has been saluted as the most ambitious collection of writings to date about the subject. It and other *Foreign Affairs* books are distributed by W. W. Norton and are available on Amazon.com and BN.com.



## IN MEMORIAM

### George F. Kennan

Sadly, this year marked the passing of **George F. Kennan**, author of the 1947 treatise on containment of the Soviet Union, the most influential essay ever published by *Foreign Affairs*. This renowned scholar and diplomat contributed eighteen additional essays to the magazine over five decades on a variety of international challenges. His analysis and insights, always elegantly presented, were penetrating and often against the grain of conventional thinking. *Foreign Affairs* and its readers will sorely miss him.



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# SPECIAL INITIATIVES

**E**ach year this section identifies publications, programs, and initiatives (some ongoing, some new) that merit special mention. Highlights of 2004–2005 include

- The tenth anniversary of the Council's Independent Task Force program, marked by the publication of three reports and two chairmen's statements, and the launch of two new Task Forces;
- Council efforts surrounding the presidential campaign and the subsequent transition;
- Endowment of the General John W. Vessey Chair for Conflict Prevention as part of the Council's Center for Preventive Action;
- The launch of the Council's Academic Outreach Program targeted to educators at the college and graduate level;
- The fourth annual Arthur Ross Book Award to recognize books that made an outstanding contribution to the understanding of foreign policy or international relations; and
- Five Council Special Reports published as part of a new series of concise policy briefs aimed at responding rapidly to pressing foreign policy concerns and contributing to emerging debates.



*Once formed, Task Forces are independent. Chairs, directors, and members are solely responsible for the content of their reports.*

## TASK FORCES

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Council's Independent Task Forces, which were launched by former Council President Leslie H. Gelb in 1995 with a Task Force on nuclear nonproliferation, chaired by Stephen J. Hadley, who now serves as President George W. Bush's national security adviser. More than fifty reports later, Task Forces have become a trademark of the Council.

The Council sponsors an Independent Task Force when an issue of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy arises, and 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. Task Force chairs, directors, and members are solely responsible for the content of their reports.

As Task Forces are intended to help shape the

public debate on critical foreign policy issues, the Council mobilizes its resources to maximize the impact of Task Force reports, both at the time of the initial release and as developments warrant. In addition to media outreach, the Council supports the efforts of Task Force chairs and members to reach influential practitioners in the executive branch, in Congress, and beyond.

The Council released three Independent Task Force reports and two chairmen's statements in 2004–2005. Three additional Task Forces are currently under way.

The Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Iran, co-chaired by former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and former Director of Central Intelligence Robert M. Gates, found that a policy predicated on regime change was insufficient. The urgency of the concerns about Iran's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, support for



Council Fellow and Task Force Director Steven A. Cook, Co-Chairs Vin Weber and Madeleine K. Albright, and the Washington Post's Jackson K. Diehl presiding at the rollout of the report on reform in the Arab world.

terrorism, and capacity to influence regional conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, combined with the Task Force's assessment that Iran was not in a pre-revolutionary state, compelled the Task Force to recommend a U.S. policy of selective engagement toward Iran. The report, *Iran: Time for a New Approach*, has generated significant media coverage since its release in July 2004.

The Independent Task Force on the Future of North America, co-chaired by former Canadian Deputy Prime Minister John P. Manley, former Mexican Finance Minister Pedro Aspe, and former Massachusetts Governor William F. Weld, released its report, *Building a North American Community*, in May 2005. The Task Force called on the United States, Canada, and Mexico to establish a North American security and economic community by 2010 and offered a detailed and ambitious set of proposals building on the recommendations adopted by the three governments at the Texas summit of March 2005, including annual trilateral summits, a common external tariff, a North American border pass, and a unified border action plan.

Task Force vice chairs Thomas P. d'Aquino of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives, Andrés Rozental of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, and Robert A. Pastor of American University joined the chairs in releasing a chairmen's statement in advance of the March summit. The Task

Force's work blanketed the news media in all three countries at the time of the summit, and the chairs published an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* and its Mexican equivalent. This was the Council's first trilateral Task Force, composed of members from all three North American countries with meetings held in Toronto, Monterrey, and New York. The report was released simultaneously in English, French, and Spanish. The Council on Foreign Relations sponsored this Task Force in cooperation with the Canadian Council of Chief Executives and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations.

The Independent Task Force on U.S. Support for Reform in the Arab World, co-chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and former Representative Vin Weber (R-MN), released its report in June 2005. The Task Force report, *In Support of Arab Democracy: Why and How*, argued for the end of the Arab democracy exception and found that, notwithstanding the inherent short-term risks, a strategy of democracy promotion is the best means to foster stability in the Middle East and restore American credibility in the region. Drawing on consultations in the region with Arab thinkers, business leaders, and reform activists, the Task Force urged the United States to work with Arab governments to develop detailed "pathways to reform"; support the development of a multiparty



*Future of North America Task Force Co-Chairs Pedro Aspe, John P. Manley, and William F. Weld with Council Vice Chairman and Task Force member Carla A. Hills at the rollout of the chairmen's report.*



*Council Senior Fellow Stephen R. Sestanovich with Russia Task Force Co-Chairs Jack Kemp and John Edwards.*

political system, even if that system includes the participation of nonviolent Islamist political parties; and use financial and military incentives to promote reform.

Major news media, domestic and international, covered the report, and Task Force leaders have briefed U.S. government officials on their findings and recommendations. The co-chairs published an op-ed in the *Washington Post*, and the full Task Force report was also translated into Arabic.

#### TASK FORCES UNDER WAY

Former National Security Advisers Samuel R. Berger and Brent Scowcroft led a Task Force on U.S. Post-Conflict Capabilities. The Task Force focused on the growing importance to U.S. national security and foreign policy of failed or failing states and states emerging from conflict, and the corresponding need to build the capacity to conduct “stabilization” operations. In July 2005, the Task Force recommended a series of policy and organizational changes to develop civilian and military capacity to conduct stabilization operations and to improve U.S. cooperation with other countries, the United Nations, and international institutions, including international financial institutions.

The co-chairs of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Africa, former National Security Adviser Anthony Lake and former Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Christine Todd Whitman, sent a letter to the administration with recommendations for contributing to Africa’s progress and advancing America’s rising stakes in Africa. The chairmen’s statement recommended that the United States take the lead at the July 2005 G8 summit in reaching agreement on several outstanding issues, including debt relief, trade, aid, health, and peace and security. The Task Force aims to release a final report in the fall.

Former Senator John Edwards (D-NC) and former Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY) are chairing a Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Russia. The Task Force will review current U.S. policy toward that country and make recommendations on future policy—from global security to Russia’s evolution as a democratic state. The Task Force will focus on critical areas in the bilateral relationship, including nonproliferation, democracy and pluralism in Russia, Russia’s relations with its neighbors, the Cold War legacy, the economy, energy, and cooperation against terrorism. The Task Force co-chairs are planning a trip to Russia to supplement their deliberations.

## CAMPAIGN 2004 *and* TRANSITION 2005

The Council conducted a pair of special programs related to the 2004 presidential election. Campaign 2004, which began in the 2003–2004 program year with a series of meetings featuring various presidential hopefuls, kept the focus on electoral politics in the run-up to Election Day. It sponsored two half-day events for the electoral

conventions: in Boston for the Democrats together with Harvard's Shorenstein Center and in New York for the Republicans. Both events were made possible by the Coca-Cola Company.\* The Campaign 2004 website—[www.cfr.org/campaign2004](http://www.cfr.org/campaign2004)—was an indispensable asset for political junkies. It contained biographies of the major-party candidates, a library of their most significant foreign policy speeches, and issue briefs written by Council fellows that analyzed the major foreign policy questions raised in the campaign. The site also featured a campaign calendar and links to polls, news organizations, and various political websites. The Campaign 2004 meeting series wrapped up with a post-election open-mic night featuring Council President Richard N. Haass and several fellows.

After Election Day, Campaign 2004 evolved into Transition 2005. In New York, Washington, and across the country plans were in place for a series of meetings devoted to the issues filling the second Bush administration's "in-box." Members heard U.S. Agency for International Development Administrator Andrew Natsios; Representatives Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Sander Levin (D-MI); former presidential candidate Wesley K. Clark; R. Glenn Hubbard, dean of the Columbia Business School; Kenneth M. Pollack, senior fellow and director of research at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution; and others debate and discuss a wide variety of transition-related topics. Subjects covered in the meetings included economics, transatlantic relations, Iran, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Latin America, nonproliferation, and development.

*Representative Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Council Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig at a Transition 2005 meeting on the Central American Free Trade Agreement.*



*Slate Editor Jacob M. Weisberg with French Ambassador Jean-David Levitte at the Campaign 2004 briefing in Boston for the Democratic delegates.*

\* In addition to the support of the Coca-Cola Company, the Boston event was underwritten by Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, BellSouth Corporation, Chevron, and International Paper.

Also after the election, a new website on the transition—[www.cfr.org/transition2005](http://www.cfr.org/transition2005)—premiered, and the Campaign 2004 site was archived. Instead of briefs on issues likely to affect the campaign, a new crop of briefs addressed the major international topics demanding attention from President Bush's foreign policy team. The transition site quickly built up a library of speeches and testimony given by the administration, assembled biographies of the foreign policy team's most important players, and kept track of nominees as they made their way through the confirmation process. Transition 2005 also highlighted transition-related activities at the Council and offered users a list of links to government transition sites and media sites.

*Campaign 2004 sponsored events for delegates at the Democratic and Republican conventions.*



 A screenshot of the Council on Foreign Relations' 'Transition 2005' website. The header features the Council's name and navigation links: HOME, EXPERTS, PRESS ROOM, PUBLISHING, ABOUT THE COUNCIL. A sub-header reads 'FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SECOND BUSH ADMINISTRATION'. The main content area is divided into several sections:
 

- THE ISSUES:** A sidebar menu listing 'The Critical Agenda' (AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD, DARFUR, IRAN, IRAQ, NORTH KOREA, TERRORISM) and 'Other Issues' (ARAB REFORM, DEFENSE, ENERGY / ENVIRONMENT, GLOBAL HEALTH, HOMELAND SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE, TRADE).
- Other Regions:** A sidebar menu listing CHINA, EUROPE, INDIA / PAKISTAN, ISRAEL / PALESTINE, LATIN AMERICA, and RUSSIA.
- BUSH II FOREIGN POLICY TEAM:** Profiles for Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley, and Deputy National Security Adviser Vacant. It also lists the CIA Director Robert Ross and the U.N. Ambassador John C. Danforth.
- 2005 AT THE COUNCIL:** A section for 'COUNCIL EXPERTS' featuring 'INTERVIEWS, OP-EDS, ETC.' with links to articles on Iran and Saddam Hussein.
- T2005 LINKS:** A section for 'Political news websites' including ABC's 'The Note', CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, National Journal, National Review, Newsweek, and New York Times. It also includes a link to the 'Campaign 2004 website archive'.

## CENTER *for* PREVENTIVE ACTION

The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) received a generous gift from the family of Patrick M. Byrne to endow the General John W. Vessey Chair for Conflict Prevention. The gift honors the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who enlisted in the Minnesota National Guard in 1939, received a field commission as an officer at Anzio in 1944, and rose to occupy the U.S. military's

highest position. The Council celebrated the endowment of the chair at a gala dinner that marked the tenth anniversary of the CPA.

The creation of the Vessey Chair will enable the CPA to continue its mission of finding ways to prevent, defuse, and resolve deadly conflicts around the world. In addition to releasing Council Special Reports on the Balkans and on Iraq, the CPA launched a new Preventive Action Commission to examine ways that local groups, international organizations, and influential countries can promote Angola's successful transition to stability and security after its twenty-seven-year civil war.

The center released a Spanish translation of an earlier Preventive Action Commission report, *Andes 2020*, to disseminate further the report's findings in Latin America. The English-language version of the report formed the basis for a House International Relations Committee "Statement for the Record" for a May hearing on Plan Colombia. The CPA also expanded its offerings on the Council's website over the past year to feature articles on specific cases of preventive action.



*John J. Byrne, John W. Vessey, and Patrick M. Byrne.*

## ACADEMIC OUTREACH INITIATIVE

This year the Council launched the Academic Outreach Program designed to connect its fellows and work with colleges and universities across the country and around the world. With the guidance of the Academic Advisory Group, chaired by Pepperdine University's Dan Caldwell, the Council developed a number of ways to engage the academic community. Council fellows spoke about their work on campuses around the country. With the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Council developed the interactive Academic Conference Call Series for students and professors that focused on new security threats. Webcasts of Council meetings featuring policymakers and scholars in timely discussions were also used in the classroom. For example, a debate on the law

of war and the war on terrorism between Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch, and John Choon Yoo of the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law, was broadcast to students at the University of Washington School of Law and Principia College. In addition, the New York University Wagner School of Public Service aired the debate in its main lounge area and several professors from across the country requested copies of the debate to incorporate into their syllabi.

Academic modules of select Council publications will be featured in an educators' portal on the redesigned Council website. Each module will include the primary text, as well as teaching notes, secondary source readings, relevant *Foreign Affairs* articles, related video and audio files, and transcripts of on-the-record Council meetings.

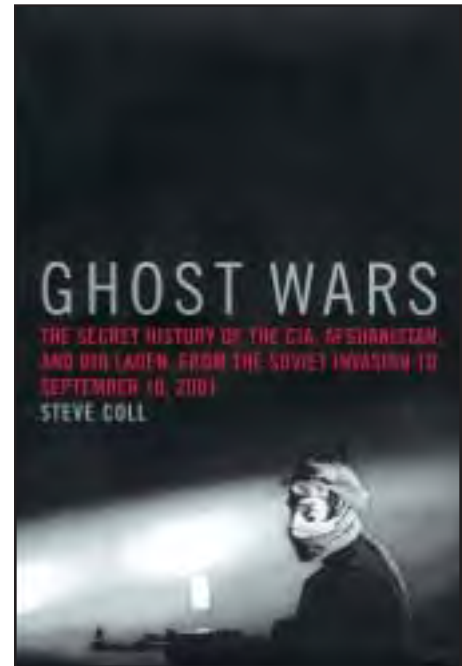
## THE ARTHUR ROSS BOOK AWARD

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, recognizes 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.

This year saw an increase in the award amounts due to a generous additional gift by Arthur Ross. The award, now considered the most significant for books on international affairs, consists of a gold medal prize of \$25,000, a silver medal prize of \$10,000, and an honorable mention of \$5,000.

In 2005, the gold medal was awarded to Steve Coll for *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. The silver medal went to Stephen Biddle for *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*, and an honorable mention was awarded to James Mann for *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet*.



Foreign Affairs Editor and Jury Chairman James F. Hoge Jr. with Steve Coll, Stephen Biddle, Arthur Ross, and James Mann.

*The award, now considered the most significant for books on international affairs, consists of a gold medal prize, a silver medal prize, and an honorable mention.*

## COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

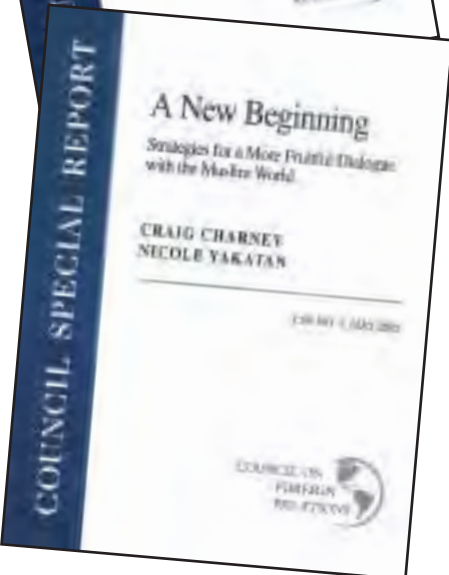
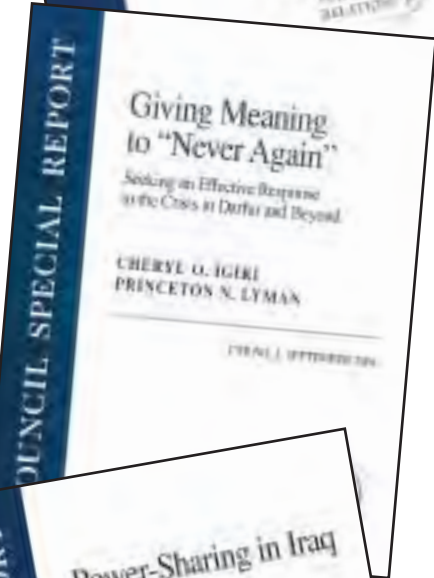
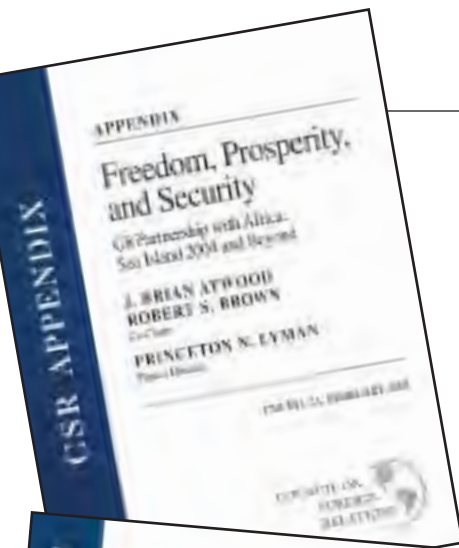
First introduced in 2004, Council Special Reports are concise policy studies designed to respond rapidly to a developing crisis or to contribute to an emerging policy debate. These studies are usually written in consultation with an independent advisory committee composed of experts on the country or issue at hand. The author (or authors) may be a fellow at the Council or an acknowledged expert from outside the institution. A report's conclusions and recommendations are those of the author (or authors), not of the advisory committee or of the Council.

The Council's Center for Preventive Action released two Council Special Reports in the past year, one on the Balkans and one on Iraq. William L. Nash, director of the CPA, and Amelia Branczik, CPA research associate, wrote *Forgotten Intervention? What the United States Needs to Do in the Western Balkans*. The report analyzed how to resolve Kosovo's final status and argued for renewed U.S. involvement. David L. Phillips, deputy director of the CPA, wrote *Power-Sharing in Iraq*, contending that the new Iraqi constitution must establish a federal-style political system if Iraq is to avoid civil war.

Princeton N. Lyman, Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies, and Cheryl O. Igiri, research associate, wrote a special report on the conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan, *Giving Meaning to "Never Again": Seeking an Effective Response to the Crisis in Darfur and Beyond*. This report examined why the international community failed to respond quickly to the crisis in light of the lessons learned from the Rwandan genocide. The report also recommended steps the United States and the international community should take to end the Darfur crisis and to avoid future genocides. An appendix to the Council Special Report *Freedom, Prosperity, and Security: G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond* was published in late February. The appendix makes available the commissioned papers of the Council's Africa-G8 Roundtable project and was used as a resource for the 2005 G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland.

The Council published a special report on anti-Americanism in the Islamic world, *A New Beginning: Strategies for a More Fruitful Dialogue with the Muslim World*. The report's authors, Craig Charney and Nicole Yakatan of Charney Research, discussed what they learned from more than a dozen focus groups held in Egypt, Morocco, and Indonesia. They argued that the United States can improve its image in the Muslim world with a communications strategy that emphasizes America's desire for a productive partnership with Muslim countries, draws attention to its aid programs, incorporates credible figures with expertise in local customs and languages into its public diplomacy, and challenges stereotypes of U.S. foreign policy.

The Council also published *HIV and National Security: Where Are the Links?* to coincide with the fifth anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1308, which established HIV as a security issue. The report, authored by Laurie Garrett, senior fellow for global health, urged governments to place the HIV/AIDS pandemic on their security agendas and offered concrete recommendations aimed at limiting the epidemic's contributions to instability, depletion of police and military forces, and long-term state collapse.





## 2005 COUNCIL COUNTS

1	ranking in foreign policy press citations among New York and Washington, DC, think tanks*
1	ranking of <i>Foreign Affairs</i> in survey of most-influential print and broadcast media
4	languages in which <i>Foreign Affairs</i> is published
9	books published under Council auspices
9	Independent Task Force reports and Council reports published by the Council
12	percentage of the total membership who are term members
14	New York and Washington, DC, meetings with more than 200 attendees
16	languages spoken by Council scholars
20	average weekly number of web-released articles, reports, and fact sheets
22	full-time Council fellows
27	Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program Roundtable Special Briefings held in Washington, DC
32	percentage of term members who attended the annual Term Member Conference
84	years of service to the foreign policy community
127	on-the-record meetings and press briefings
153	Council meetings held in Washington, DC
185	total Council staff members (148 New York, 37 Washington, DC)
237	articles and op-eds written by Council scholars for foreign and domestic journals and newspapers
238	media mentions of <i>Iran: Time for a New Approach</i> in one week (July 18–24, 2004)
250	total Corporate members
273	<i>Foreign Affairs</i> subscriptions in North Korea
300	attendees at the National Conference
724	average monthly Council mentions in print, TV, radio, wire, and web outlets
1,311	Washington, DC–area members
1,394	New York–area members
1,569	national and international members
4,274	total Council members (3,749 life members, 525 term members)
140,126	<i>Foreign Affairs</i> paid circulation
4,634,177	annual visits to all Council-sponsored websites
\$30,428,000	Council annual operating budget

\* Derived from sources such as FNS, Nexis, Google, and the blogs search engine Feedster.

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# STUDIES PROGRAM

One of the goals of the Council is to operate a world-class think tank. The Studies Program is just that, as the intellectual contributions captured in the list of this year's Council publications on pages 30–31 attest. From articles and books to op-eds and Council Special Reports, the Council's intellectual output is, by any standard, impressive.

The Studies Program focuses its research in three areas: American grand strategy, reform in the Islamic world, and global governance. In keeping with the first of these priorities, Vice President and Director of Studies **James M. Lindsay** completed a second

edition of *America Unbound*, his award-winning analysis with co-author **Ivo Daalder** of President George W. Bush's foreign policy. **Walter Russell Mead** profiled Vice President Dick Cheney in the pages of *Esquire* and ran the Roundtable on Religion and Foreign Policy. Several fellows worked on books this year, including **Julia E. Sweig**, who completed a book on anti-Americanism, and **Max Boot**, who is writing on how revolutions in military affairs remake the battlefield and the course of history. A number of roundtables explored strategic themes, including the John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda, led by **Richard K. Betts**, and the Roundtable on National Security: Military Strategy and Options, led by **Bernard E. Trainor**.

Ideas for reform in the Islamic world informed another group of Council fellows. *Foreign Affairs* featured two Council fellows on this topic: **Steven A. Cook**, who also directed the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on U.S. policy toward reform in the Arab world, wrote that Washington should use financial incentives to promote Arab democracies; and **Ray Takeyh** urged Washington to engage Tehran in a bid to help Iranian reformers and stop Iran's nuclear weapons program. **Henry Siegman** assessed the future of the Israeli-



Council Senior Fellow Isobel Coleman and member Peggy Kerry.

*The Studies Program focuses its research in three areas: American grand strategy, reform in the Islamic world, and global governance.*

Palestinian peace process in the wake of Yasir Arafat's death. **Rachel Bronson** completed her history of U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia, concluding that Washington must refashion its relationship with Riyadh. **Judith Kipper** directed the Middle East Forum, which hosted meetings on topics from the Egyptian reform movement to how satellite television is remaking Arab politics. **Elliot J. Schrage** led the Roundtable on Leveraging the Power of the Private Sector in the Middle East and North Africa. **Isobel Coleman** focused on how empowering women can promote reform in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Global governance preoccupied a third group of fellows. **Lee Feinstein** examined ways to reform the United Nations to increase its capacity for preventing and stopping genocide. **Charles D. Ferguson II** investigated the critical steps needed to prevent nuclear terrorism. **Stephen E. Flynn** launched a new roundtable series to explore the potential for public-private partnerships in preventing and mitigating terrorist attacks. **Edward J. Lincoln** worked on his book, which examines how globalization is redefining traditional geopolitics.



*Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich greets Council Senior Fellow William L. Nash at the first meeting of a congressionally mandated task force on UN reform.*

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies continued its work on how economic and political forces interact to influence world affairs. **Benn Steil** completed his book on financial

## Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies

The Council's Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies was founded in 2000 to promote a better understanding among policymakers, scholars, and the public of how economic and political forces interact to influence world affairs. The center advances its mission by sponsoring original research on issues at the boundaries that once separated economics and foreign policy. Books produced at the center this year included **Sebastian Mallaby's** *The World's Banker*, an account of the World Bank under James D. Wolfensohn, and **Nouriel Roubini** and **Brad W. Setser's** *Bailouts or Bail-ins? Responding to Financial Crises in Emerging Economies*.

The center's programming tripled over the past year. The

C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics, led by Acting Director **Benn Steil**, featured prominent policymakers such as Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman **William H. Donaldson** and European Central Bank President **Jean-Claude Trichet**. **Benn Steil** also led the McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics, which sponsored lively debates on topics such as the future of China's economy. The center's new High-Level Roundtable Series on American Competitiveness examined issues such as the sustainability of the U.S. current account deficit. The center also held a conference on New Policy Thinking in Macroeconomics, which featured leading economists and central bankers from around the globe.



Mark Palmer, Council Senior Fellow Ray Takeyh, Kenneth M. Pollack, and David Kay participate in a Transition 2005 meeting on Iran.

statecraft, analyzing the role of financial markets in American foreign policy. **Jagdish N. Bhagwati** organized a conference on the consequences of the migration of skilled workers from poor countries to rich ones and started a book on immigration in the United States and Europe. **Peter B. Kenen** launched the Roundtable on Regional Monetary Integration and began a book on the prospects for monetary unions. **Gene B. Sperling** examined how universal education can stimulate economic growth in the developing world. **James P. Dougherty** led the Round-

table on Technology, Innovation, and American Primacy, which examined the implications of trends in immigration, intellectual property, and global capital markets for the American economy. **Roger M. Kubarych** spoke to corporate members on the global economic outlook.

The Center for Preventive Action used the new venue of Council Special Reports to identify practical strategies for preventing and remedying conflict. CPA Director **William L. Nash** urged Washington to renew its commitments to promoting peace in the Balkans, and **David L. Phillips** recommended strategies for Iraq's major ethnic and religious groups to share political power.

Continuing the Studies Program's rich tradition of regional policy studies, Council fellows led important research on Asia, Europe, and Africa. Asia's growing power—economic, political, and military—inspired a number of studies. **Elizabeth C. Economy** began a project examining the consequences of China's emergence as a global power. **Adam Segal**, in *Foreign Affairs*, discussed his initial research on how China and India are closing the technology gap with the United States. **Eric Heginbotham** finished his book on civil-military relations in East



Guillaume Parmentier of the Institut Français des Relations Internationales and Council Associate Director of Studies Janine Hill.

## New Arrivals

**Peter B. Kenen** joined the Council's Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies as a senior fellow after three decades as a professor of economics at Princeton University. His work explores the evolution of regional monetary cooperation and its implications for global finance.

**Ray Takeyh** joined the Council as a senior fellow for Middle Eastern Studies. He was formerly a professor of national security studies at the National War College. An expert on Iran and political Islam, he is writing a book on the future of U.S.-Iranian relations.

**Charles D. Ferguson II**, a former U.S. Navy submarine officer with a Ph.D. in physics, is the Council's newest fellow for science and technology. His work examines what can be done to stop nuclear proliferation and to limit the chances that terrorists will gain access to nuclear weapons.

**Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall**, a former Pentagon official, joined the Council as an adjunct senior fellow to examine the role that alliances should play in U.S. national security.

Asia, finding that the branch of the military that officers serve in shapes how they view domestic political change. **Mahnaz Ispahani** used the South Asia Roundtable to investigate key domestic economic and political shifts in India and Pakistan. **Jerome A. Cohen** led the Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy.

Lively roundtables examining Russia and Eurasia, the G8, and Europe were led by **Stephen R. Sestanovich**, **James M. Goldgeier**, and **Charles A. Kupchan**, respectively. **Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall** examined the role that alliances should play in American national security. **David G. Victor** explored the evolution of Russia's natural gas industry and its consequences for America's energy

needs. **David Braunschvig** organized a conference on the effects of the dispute over the Iraq War on sales of American products in Europe.

In his continuing effort to highlight the issues facing Africa, **Princeton N. Lyman** co-wrote a Council Special Report that offered recommendations on how to stop the atrocities in the Darfur region of Sudan.

The Council's program on global health produced top-notch research and writing. **Laurie Garrett** wrote a Council report on the national security consequences of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and **Michelle T. McMurry** investigated the potential for drugs and medical research to combat non-infectious diseases.



*Council Senior Fellow Peter B. Kenen.*



*Council Fellow Charles D. Ferguson II.*

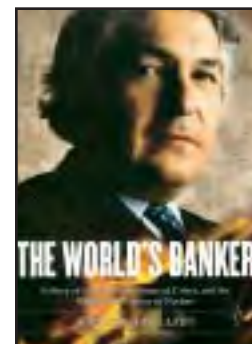
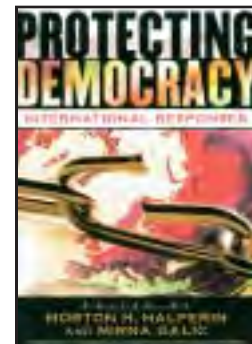
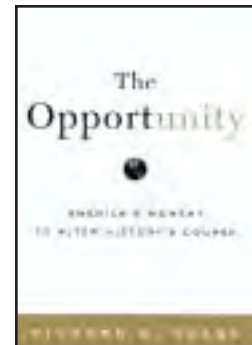
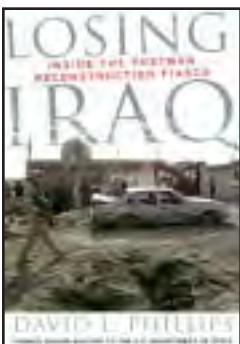
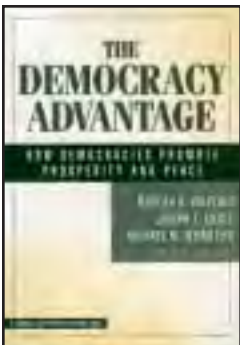
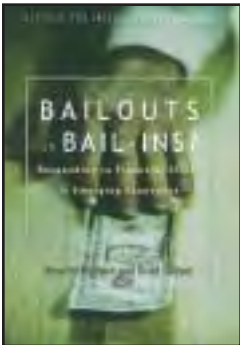
# PUBLICATIONS

One of the most important venues for the dissemination of the work of Council fellows and Independent Task Forces is through Council publications. These publications take a variety of forms in order to reach the broadest range of audiences, from policy experts to the academic community, to business leaders and the general public. Council books are published and marketed by top commercial and university presses. Task Force reports, Council Special Reports, and papers are produced by the Publications Department.

The Council's website is an essential tool for reaching these audiences, and the number of people viewing Council publications through the website is growing. 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 copies of Council books may be purchased. Finding and reading Council publications online will become easier than ever with the launch of the new website in the fall of 2005.

## BOOKS BY COUNCIL FELLOWS AND STAFF

- *Bailouts or Bail-ins? Responding to Financial Crises in Emerging Economies*, by Nouriel Roubini and Brad Setser. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Institute for International Economics (2004).
- *The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace*, by Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael M. Weinstein. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Routledge (2005).
- *Globalization: What's New?*, edited by Michael M. Weinstein. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Columbia University Press (2005).
- *Losing Iraq: Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco*, by David L. Phillips. Westview Press (2005).
- *The Opportunity: America's Moment to Alter History's Course*, by Richard N. Haass. PublicAffairs (2005).
- *Protecting Democracy: International Responses*, edited by Morton H. Halperin and Mirna Galic. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Lexington Books (2005).
- *Understanding the War on Terror*, edited by James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose. A *Foreign Affairs* Book. Council on Foreign Relations Press (2005).
- *Unsilencing the Past: Track Two Diplomacy and Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation*, by David L. Phillips. Berghahn Books (2004).
- *The World's Banker: A Story of Failed States, Financial Crises, and the Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, by Sebastian Mallaby. A Council on Foreign Relations Book. Penguin Press (2004).



## Praise for Council Books

There is no better introduction to that war—its origins, its perplexities, and its main battles—than *Understanding the War on Terror*.

—Eliot A. Cohen, Johns Hopkins University's Paul A. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

*Globalization: What's New?* is a superb collection of essays, with a sparkling introduction, bringing thoughtful and accessible economic analysis to what ought to be a wide readership.

—Nancy Birdsall, President, Center for Global Development

*The Opportunity* [by Richard N. Haass] may be laying the groundwork for a counterrevolution. As the intellectual conflict takes shape and grows, his pithy book will undoubtedly become one of the debate's more significant volumes.

—*New York Times*

*Bailouts or Bail-ins?* is the most intelligent and comprehensive analysis yet on how the international community should respond to financial crises.

—Barry Eichengreen, University of California, Berkeley

*Protecting Democracy: International Responses* blends scholarly legal analysis with a comprehensive look at provisions and practices of current international and regional institutions, all grounded in real-life examples of responses to recent democratic breakdowns.

—Jennifer Windsor, Executive Director, Freedom House

Sebastian Mallaby has done something brilliant with *The World's Banker*. He has used the oversized character of World Bank President Jim Wolfensohn to provide a piercing look at world poverty and the West's ceaseless and sometimes contradictory experiments in fighting it.

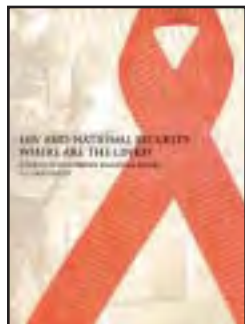
—David Maraniss, *Washington Post*

This valuable and timely volume, *The Democracy Advantage*, obliterates the myth—beloved of dictators—that democracy is somehow the enemy of development, rather than an essential ally. Here is a treasury of evidence that freedom is not only right—it works.

—Madeleine K. Albright, Former Secretary of State

## INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE REPORTS

- *Building a North American Community*. John P. Manley, Pedro Aspe, and William F. Weld, chairs; Thomas P. d'Aquino, Andrés Rozental, and Robert A. Pastor, vice chairs; Chappell H. Lawson, project director (2005).
- *In Support of Arab Democracy: Why and How*. Madeleine K. Albright and Vin Weber, co-chairs; Steven A. Cook, project director (2005).
  - *Iran: Time for a New Approach*. Zbigniew Brzezinski and Robert M. Gates, co-chairs; Suzanne Maloney, project director (2004).



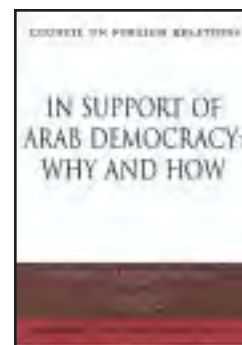
## COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

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- *Freedom, Prosperity, and Security: G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond*. A CSR Appendix. J. Brian Atwood and Robert S. Brown, co-chairs; Princeton N. Lyman, project director (2005).
- *Giving Meaning to "Never Again": Seeking an Effective Response to the Crisis in Darfur and Beyond*, by Cheryl O. Igiri and Princeton N. Lyman (2004).
- *A New Beginning: Strategies for a More Fruitful Dialogue with the Muslim World*, by Craig Charney and Nicole Yakatan (2005).
- *Power-Sharing in Iraq*, by David L. Phillips (2005).

## COUNCIL REPORT

- *HIV and National Security: Where Are the Links?*, by Laurie Garrett (2005).

For additional information on Council publications and to view the texts available online, visit [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).



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# NEW YORK MEETINGS PROGRAM

The New York Meetings Program offers members the opportunity to exchange ideas with influential world figures, policymakers, and opinion-shapers. This year's program featured more than 140 events, including single-speaker venues, debates, panels, author conversations, and screenings. Homeland security and the war on terror, Iraq, developments in the Middle East, and the foreign policy issues confronting the second Bush administration figured prominently in the New York halls of the Council.

The unique perspectives of policymakers from home and abroad enable Council members to see more clearly the nuances of world events. This year the New York Meetings Program hosted more than twenty heads of state or chief ministers. Pakistani President **Pervez Musharraf** assessed the collaboration of Pakistan and the United States in the war on

terror, and Singaporean Minister-Mentor **Lee Kuan Yew** offered an Asian perspective on the "world after Iraq." Egyptian Foreign Minister **Ahmed Aboul Gheit** engaged members in a discussion of the prospects for peace and democracy in the Middle East. Indian Prime Minister **Manmohan Singh** presented India's view of its relationship with the United

States. Nigerian President **Olusegun Obasanjo** discussed Nigeria's economic reforms, and British Chancellor of the Exchequer **Gordon Brown** unveiled a plan to combat global poverty. Russian Minister of Defense **Sergey Ivanov** spoke of the domestic and external challenges facing his country. The new European Commission president, **José Manuel Durão Barroso**, made the case for a stronger bilateral relationship between the United States and the EU, and Secretary-General **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization considered the future of NATO. Former South African President **Nelson Mandela** made a special appearance at



*Oxford University's Timothy Garton Ash with Council Adjunct Senior Fellow Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall.*



*This year the New York Meetings Program hosted more than twenty heads of state or chief ministers.*

the Council to introduce his wife, **Graça Machel**, who in her capacity as the president of the Foundation for Community Development in Mozambique spoke about Africa's development agenda.

Numerous U.S. government officials and individuals who have recently held influential policy positions came to the Council to discuss their areas of expertise. Secretary of Defense **Donald Rumsfeld** offered an update on the global war on terror, and **John D. Negroponte** briefed members on Iraq in the fall of 2004, when he was U.S. ambassador. General **Richard B. Myers**, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, addressed security concerns, and Admiral **Vernon E. Clark**, General **John P. Jumper**, and General **Peter J. Schoomaker** spoke of the military's challenges for the twenty-first century. Outgoing World Bank President **James D. Wolfensohn** offered his thoughts on international economic development, and UN Undersecretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs **Jan Egeland** discussed relief efforts in the aftermath of December's devastating tsunami in South and Southeast Asia. The Council also welcomed former UN High Commissioner for Refugees **Sadako Ogata**, who discussed lessons learned from recent refugee crises.

The Council's "Transition 2005" series examined the foreign policy challenges facing the second Bush administration. Among the issues this series tackled were intelligence reform, the administration's economic agenda, and policy toward Europe, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Russia, China, and the countries of Latin America. Experts, including former Acting Director of Central Intelligence **John E. McLaughlin**, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers **R. Glenn Hubbard**, former Deputy Secretary of State **Strobe Talbott**, and *Modern History of Iraq* author **Phebe A. Marr**, guided these discussions.

Other experts were invited to explore trends on the international economic scene. Among these speakers were outgoing European Commission President **Romano Prodi** on challenges of European

## History Makers

Home Box Office sponsors the Council's History Makers series, in which individuals who have made a unique contribution at a critical juncture in foreign policy are invited to reflect on the larger lessons to be drawn from their experiences. An informal atmosphere encourages History Makers to draw on personal experiences, recount interesting or critical moments, and provide firsthand accounts of the interplay between major actors. In this, its second year, the series included former Israeli Prime Minister **Ehud Barak**, who reflected on Camp David 2000, and former Secretary of the Treasury **Paul O'Neill**, who spoke of his historic tour of Africa with the rock star and activist Bono. Other History Makers this year were **Robert D. Blackwill**, who has worn many hats in government service, including U.S. ambassador to India and U.S. envoy to Iraq; and **Lakhdar Brahimi**, who from his vantage point as the special adviser to the UN secretary-general and the former special representative of the secretary-general for Afghanistan, spoke about his long experience in the realm of conflict prevention and resolution.



Former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Council Chairman Peter G. Peterson.



Admiral Vernon E. Clark, General John P. Jumper, Council Board Director Joseph S. Nye Jr., and General Peter J. Schoomaker.

integration, European Central Bank President **Jean-Claude Trichet** on the euro, French Finance Minister **Thierry Breton** on reforms in France, and International Monetary Fund (IMF) Managing Director **Rodrigo de Rato y Figaredo** on the IMF at sixty. In addition, the highly popular World Economic Update Series, moderated by **Daniel K. Tarullo** and featuring international economists from leading investment banks, continued in its seventh year.

More than twenty authors came to the Council to discuss their books, from **Graham T. Allison** on nuclear terrorism and **Jeffrey D. Sachs** on eliminating

global poverty to **Dennis B. Ross** on the Middle East peace process, **Roya Hakakian** on Iran, and **Natan Sharansky** and **David Rieff** on democracy. Council Chairman **Peter G. Peterson** shared his thoughts on the U.S. economy based on his best-selling book *Running on Empty*; Council President **Richard N. Haass** discussed his latest book, *The Opportunity*, a look at American grand strategy in the world today; and Council Fellow **Stephen E. Flynn** talked about homeland security.

A new discussion series at the Council is focusing on the nexus of religion and foreign policy. In 2004–2005, these panels explored Islam in Europe and Africa, discussed the intersection of religion and human rights, and evaluated the foreign policy legacy of Pope John Paul II.

The Council's Book Club Series continued this year; each meeting is limited to twenty participants in order to foster a salon-like setting for intimate, informal exchange. Led by member **Karl E. Meyer**, this year's series in New York featured Niall Ferguson's *Colossus* and Fareed Zakaria's *The Future of Freedom*. Another nontraditional Council venue—a classic film series—has also proven quite popular with members and their guests. With post-screening discussions led by member and film historian **Jay M. Parker**, this year's offerings included *Judgment at Nuremberg* and *The Ugly American*.

*Theodore C. Sorensen, Gillian Martin Sorensen, and former UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata.*



*The unique perspectives of policymakers from home and abroad enable Council members to see more clearly the nuances of world events.*



Council President Richard N. Haass and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

## Council, HBO, and PBS Partner in Public Outreach Effort

As part of the Council's mission to help the public better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries, the Council has joined HBO and PBS to promote three provocative films. Each movie addresses an important issue of the twenty-first century: nuclear terrorism, genocide, and AIDS. Produced by HBO, the movies are screened for Council members in advance of their multiple airings on HBO. As a public service, HBO has agreed to give these films to PBS to reach a wider audience. A panel discussion featuring Council staff or member experts follows each PBS airing. Members had the opportunity to screen *Dirty War*, a film that prompts the audience to consider the state of national preparedness in the event of a nuclear terrorist attack, and *Sometimes in April*, a film depicting the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the truth and reconciliation hearings that followed ten years later. In fall 2005, members will preview and discuss *Yesterday*, a film set in contemporary South Africa that puts a human face on the politics of the AIDS crisis.



Jane Harman, Dan Glickman, Richard L. Plepler, and Council Senior Fellow Stephen E. Flynn at a screening of *Dirty War*.

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# WASHINGTON PROGRAM

The Washington Program strives to inform and enhance the policy debate in the nation's capital by using the Council's convening power and intellectual resources to foster interactions involving members and staff with Congress, the administration, and the business community. Through press briefings, small conversations among experts, roundtables, and Task Forces, the Washington Program is becoming a place where policymakers turn for guidance and where others in the foreign policy community hatch and test ideas as they seek to steer and improve policy.

This year the Washington Program expanded its work on Capitol Hill by hosting breakfast meetings at which Council members interacted with both veteran members of Congress and their newly

elected colleagues. As part of the program's dedicated outreach to Capitol Hill, the Council offered a half-day briefing for new members of Congress that featured President George H.W. Bush's national security adviser, **Brent Scowcroft**, on challenges in the Middle East; former U.S. Ambassadors to China **J. Stapleton Roy** and **James R. Sasser** on issues involving China; and the Council's own Senior Fellow **Ray Takeyh** about the difficulties—nuclear and otherwise—facing Iran and its neighbors.

The Council continued its long-standing roundtable series for senior congressional staff members, featuring speakers ranging from *Weekly Standard* editor **William Kristol** to author and commentator **Peter L. Bergen**. The Council also worked with the Pew Forum on Religion in Public Life to engage the same group of senior staff in discussions that touched on the intersection of religion and foreign policy. **Richard Land**, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, spoke to the group about the influence of evangelicals on U.S. Middle East policy.

The Council has also established a new and well-received Expert Bank that aims to build customized briefings for legislators on foreign policy issues



*Then Interim Prime Minister of Iraq Ayad Allawi.*

*The Washington Program is becoming a place where policymakers turn for guidance and where others in the foreign policy community hatch and test ideas.*



*UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.*

ranging from international law to Iran. The Expert Bank is part of the Washington Program's effort to position the Council as a valuable resource for policymakers to help them keep abreast of foreign policy topics and to dig deeper on pressing issues. As part of the Expert Bank, Ambassador **Dennis Kux**, senior policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and **Mahnaz Ispahani**, the Council's senior fellow for South and West Asia, briefed Senator **Evan Bayh** (D-IN) just before his trip to India. They discussed topics ranging from India's economic growth to its relations with Pakistan, China, and the United States. Representative **Henry Cuellar** (D-TX) requested Expert Bank briefings on Iraq, North Korea,

## Bipartisanship

In the wake of November's divisive election, the Council launched a new initiative aimed at fostering bipartisan discussion of foreign policy at all levels—on Capitol Hill at both staff and member levels, in the White House, and within its own programming.

Many Council members fondly recalled the days when Democrats and Republicans interacted socially. Such interactions provided more opportunities for discussion between the parties and more relationships across the aisle that permitted real dialogue.

The Council is in a unique position to promote discussion given both its convening power and its long-standing bipartisan tradition. In an effort to recapture the benefits of nonpartisan conversation in and around the Capitol, the Washington Program has begun regular foreign policy briefings for congressional chiefs of staff. With the advice of a bipartisan group of twelve present and former policymakers, it will also

- Expand its Friday bipartisan briefings to include more senior foreign policy staff on Capitol Hill;
- Host salon-style dinners to bring together high-level officials, past and present, from both parties to discuss important foreign policy issues; and
- Produce a Council Special Report that will make recommendations on procedures and policies that will foster bipartisan discussion.



*Brent Scowcroft with Representative Gwen Moore (D-WI) at a Council briefing for new members of Congress.*



*Commander of U.S. Central Command General John P. Abizaid.*

and Mexico. In response, the Council brought **Phebe A. Marr**, senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace, **Eric Heginbotham**, Council senior fellow, Asia studies, and **Robert A. Pastor**, vice president for international affairs at American University, to brief Cuellar in April. Pastor described the chal-

lenges posed by Mexico's development gap, arguing that the North American Free Trade Agreement has worked to help northern Mexico develop but has left the country's southern tier behind. He laid out some ideas for correcting this dysfunction, including an investment fund that would help build infrastructure throughout Mexico.

In Washington, small groups of Council members are invited to lunch at the residences of various foreign ambassadors for off-the-record discussions about foreign policy concerns. This year those conversations produced robust exchanges with ambassadors **Ranendra Sen** of India, **Chan Heng-Chee** of Singapore, **Jean-David Levitte** of France, **John Bruton** of the European Union, **Nabil Fahmy** of Egypt, and **Sung-Joo Han** of South Korea, among others.

The Washington Program meetings were anchored by three series: The Nexus of Science and Foreign Policy, Islam around the World, and China's Rise. The Nexus of Science and Foreign Policy initiative examined the convergence of these two fields in a globalized world. Islam around the World focused on Islam in India, Europe, Africa, Russia and Eurasia, and Southeast Asia, as well as on issues such as youth and women in the Islamic world. The China's Rise series examined the international polit-



*Vice President and Washington Program Director Nancy E. Roman and Weekly Standard Editor William Kristol.*

ical and economic implications of China's increased international activity and global capabilities.

Washington-area members were also privileged to attend conversations on Iraq with Iraqi Interim Prime Minister **Ayad Allawi**, Iraqi Interim President **Ghazi al-Yawar**, Commander of the U.S. Central Command General **John P. Abizaid**, then U.S. Ambassador to Iraq **John D. Negroponte**, and former British Special Representative for Iraq Sir **Jeremy Greenstock**. Other meeting highlights included UN

Secretary-General **Kofi Annan** on how to create a more secure world; Representative **Charles Rangel** (D-NY) on reinstating the military draft; the new president of Romania, **Traian Basescu**, on Black Sea security; and Senator **Charles E. Schumer** (D-NY) on China's currency and U.S.-China economic relations. Recently elected Iraqi Prime Minister **Ibrahim al-Jaafari** concluded the program year with an update on Iraq, at which former Representative **Vin Weber** (R-MN) presided.

## The Nexus of Science and Foreign Policy

Science and technology concerns are integral to U.S. interests in areas such as national security, international economics, and the environment. **Madeleine K. Albright**, for instance, has commented that 80 percent of the issues she dealt with as secretary of state involved science. The Nexus of Science and Foreign Policy initiative was designed to draw attention to the critical areas in which science and foreign policy intersect.

**Shirley Ann Jackson**, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and **Benjamin Wu**, assistant secretary of commerce for technology policy, launched the series with a discussion of whether America is losing its competitive edge. Subsequent programs featured Secretary of Energy **Spencer Abraham**,

who spoke about nuclear nonproliferation, and a discussion about the prospects of an international hydrogen economy with Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs **Paula J. Dobriansky** and Assistant Secretary for Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy **David Garman**.

The Nexus of Science and Foreign Policy initiative has also examined bioterrorism and global pandemics, the threat of dirty bombs, the implications of space weapons, the impact of nanotechnology on foreign policy, and the integration of Iraqi scientists into the international community. In the year ahead, the Council will be reaching out to CEOs, government officials, and scientists in an exploration of emerging technologies and their implications for foreign policy.



*Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs Paula J. Dobriansky and The Economist's Vijay V. Vaitheeswaran at a Nexus of Science and Foreign Policy event.*

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# NATIONAL PROGRAM

The National Program provides opportunities for members outside New York and Washington to discuss pressing international issues and to contribute to the Council's work by leveraging technology and organizing on-the-ground sessions. This year the Council held more than ninety National Program sessions across the country, including manuscript-review seminars, a roundtable series, the national book club series, and public events that featured Council fellows' books and Council publications.

Intimate foreign-policy dinner seminars, at which Council senior fellows discuss their research and writing, are the centerpiece of the National Program. At these sessions national members review draft manuscript chapters, articles, or Task Force or special reports prior to the event and provide the authors or project directors with valuable feedback and

insights that help shape the final publication. As part of this seminar series, Senior Fellow **Max Boot** met with Council members in Los Angeles and San Francisco to review chapters from his forthcoming book on the technological revolutions that changed the face of battle and the course of history; Senior Fellow **Rachel Bronson** held sessions in Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston on chapters of her book, *Thicker Than Oil*; and Senior Fellow **Walter Russell Mead** led a final review session of his book, *Is God on Our Side?*, in Los Angeles. Project Director **William L. Nash** met with members in Chicago and Atlanta to solicit feedback on the draft Task Force report on post-conflict capabilities; those discussions were chaired by Task Force members **Henry S. Bienen** and **Peter D. Bell**, respectively. Project Director **Steven A. Cook** led sessions in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Atlanta, Boston, and Chicago on U.S. policy toward reform in the Arab world; Task Force members **Mel Levine** and **Leila Fawaz** chaired in Los Angeles and Boston, respectively. Members in Seattle, Los Angeles, and San Francisco met with Task Force Project Director **Princeton N. Lyman** on developing a strategic policy toward Africa. **Daniel W. Drezner** discussed with Chicago members his



*Dale Rogers Marshall, Richard N. Haass, and Peter Haas at the San Francisco Roundtable.*



*Intimate foreign-policy dinner seminars, at which Council senior fellows discuss their research and writing, are the centerpiece of the National Program.*

draft of the Critical Policy Choices on Trade; Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago President **Michael H. Moskow** chaired. **Charles D. Ferguson II** met with Miami members about his Council Special Report on nonproliferation.

The National Program Roundtable Series focused on “Transition 2005”—a Council-wide theme. National members explored the international challenges facing the Bush administration in sessions led by Ambassador **John H. Kelly** in Atlanta, Northwestern University President **Henry S. Bienen** in Chicago, columnist **Lee Cullum** in Dallas, and **Michael Nacht**, dean of the University of California at Berkeley’s Goldman School of Public Policy, in San Francisco. Council President **Richard N. Haass** met with members in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Chicago, Dallas, and London as part of the series. The Atlanta and Chicago roundtables explored whether democracy promotion should be a central element of U.S. foreign policy with, respectively, **Edward J. Hardin**, partner at Rogers and Hardin, LLP, and **Kennette M. Benedict**, director of the International Peace and Security Program at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. The San Francisco Roundtable featured Council President Emeritus **Leslie H. Gelb** and **Stephen J. Stedman**, research director of the UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. On the

day of the third U.S. presidential debate, the National Program organized with Arizona State University a half-day symposium that featured Council fellows and Senator **Jon Kyl** (R-AZ) on the foreign policy priorities for the next administration.

The National Program also worked with local foreign policy organizations and colleges and universities—including the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; the Dallas Committee on Foreign Relations; the Pacific Council on International Policy; Town Hall Seattle; the World Affairs Council of Northern California; Georgia Tech’s Sam Nunn School of International Affairs; Northwestern University; Southern Methodist University’s John Tower Center for Political Science; the University of California, San Diego; and the University of Miami—to highlight newly published books by Council fellows, including **Elizabeth C. Economy’s** *The River Runs Black*, **Stephen E. Flynn’s** *America the Vulnerable*, **David L. Phillips’s** *Losing Iraq*, and **David G. Victor’s** Council Policy Initiative, *Climate Change: Debating America’s Policy Options*.

As part of the Council’s National Book Club Series, which is designed to stimulate debate and build a greater sense of community among its membership, the National Program organized sessions on Niall Ferguson’s *Colossus* and on Fareed Zakaria’s *The Future of Freedom*. These members led and hosted the

## National Program Conference Calls

The National Program Conference Call Series, launched in 2001 and chaired by Council Vice President **Irina A. Faskianos**, is the Council’s most successful use of technology to connect with members beyond New York and Washington. These interactive calls feature Council fellows and experts addressing current foreign policy issues and crises.

This year members talked with former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State **Susan L. Shirk** on the future of China, the Hoover Institution’s **Michael A. McFaul** on the elections in

Ukraine, former Ambassador **Dennis B. Ross** on the implications of the Palestinian elections, global economist **David D. Hale** on the economic and political effects of the December 2004 tsunami, the U.S. Institute of Peace’s **Phebe A. Marr** on the future of Iraq, and former U.S. Ambassador to Syria **Edward P. Djerejian** on U.S.-Syrian relations.

These and other conference calls have helped create a virtual community among national members, keeping them abreast of the latest issues and ideas in international affairs.



*Leslie H. Gelb and Peter W. Chiarelli at the 2005 National Conference.*

discussions in the following cities: **William J. Long** and **Judith B. Milestone** in Atlanta; **Joseph S. Nye Jr.** and **Stephen M. Walt** in Boston; **Henry H. Perritt Jr.** in Chicago; **James Frank Hollifield** and **Patricia M. Patterson** in Dallas; **Mary Elise Sarotte**, **Gregory R. Bedrosian**, and **Joshua A. Berger** in London; **Albert Carnesale** and **Robert J. Abernethy** in Los Angeles; **Mark B. Rosenberg** and **Adrienne Arsht** in Miami; **Roy A. Herberger** and **Richard Mallery** in Phoenix; **Miles Kahler** and **Peter A. Gourevitch** in San Diego; **Jane M. Wales** in San Francisco; and **Ted Van Dyk**, **Sylvia M. Mathews**, and **Helene D. Gayle** in Seattle.

The National Program uses the latest technology

to regularly connect with members from coast to coast and around the world through teleconferences, webcasts, and videoconferences. This year national members had access to international and domestic policymakers including then Iraqi Interim Prime Minister **Ayad Allawi**, former Israeli Prime Minister **Ehud Barak**, U.S. Secretary of Defense **Donald Rumsfeld**, and Indian Prime Minister **Manmohan Singh**. The National Program also began posting audio files of New York and Washington meetings on the website so that members and the general public can listen to on-the-record meetings on their computers or

download the files to their MP3 players.

Made possible in part by a generous grant from Mimi and Peter Haas, the National Program engages national members and other community leaders either face-to-face or virtually in serious and sustained conversations on pressing issues of the day.

### 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.



*Winston Lord, J. Stapleton Roy, Council Vice President Irina A. Faskianos, and Council Board Director Joseph S. Nye Jr. at the 2005 National Conference.*

## 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 for two days of discussions with fellow members and other leading thinkers and practitioners. The theme of the Council's Tenth National Conference was "Iraq and Beyond: What Should the United States Be Doing?" More than 300 members reflected on America's foreign policy priorities with featured guests, including

- Senior representatives of the Bush administration and members of Congress, such as U.S. Deputy Secretary of State **Robert B. Zoellick** and Senator **Joseph R. Biden Jr.** (D-DE);
- The Council's chairman and vice chairmen—former Secretary of Commerce **Peter G. Peterson**, former U.S. Trade Representative **Carla A. Hills**, and former Treasury Secretary **Robert E. Rubin**;
- Leading scholars, including Yale University's **John Lewis Gaddis**, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's **Robert W. Kagan**, and Princeton University's **Anne-Marie Slaughter**;
- Former high-level government officials, such as former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs **Winston Lord**; former U.S. Pacific Commander-in-



*Joseph R. Biden Jr., John C. Bierley, Lucy Wilson Benson, and Diana Lady Dougan.*



*Odeh F. Aburdene, Lee Cullum, and A. Kenneth Nilsson.*

Chief **Charles R. Larson**; former Assistant Secretary of Defense **Joseph S. Nye Jr.**; former U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, China, and Singapore **J. Stapleton Roy**; and former Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Strategic Planning and Southwest Asia **Ashley J. Tellis**; and

- Military leaders and foreign policy experts, such as Commanding General **Peter W. Chiarelli** of the 1st Cavalry Division of the U.S. Army and Council President Emeritus **Leslie H. Gelb**.

Members met in smaller regional and topical discussion groups led by Council fellows and the project directors of several Council-sponsored Independent Task Forces. In addition, they had the opportunity to interact with a number of experts in the following Town Halls:

- Anti-Americanism with **Craig Charney**, **Julia E. Sweig**, and **James M. Lindsay**;
- Energy Security with **Edward L. Morse**, **David G. Victor**, and **Sarah J. Miller**;
- Global Health with **Laurie Garrett**, **Helene D. Gayle**, and **Donna E. Shalala**;
- Intelligence with **John E. McLaughlin** and **Richard K. Betts**;
- Religion and Foreign Policy with **Reza Aslan**, **Noah R. Feldman**, and **Walter Russell Mead**.

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

One of the Council's foremost priorities is to reach beyond the traditional policy elite to groups that may not be fully involved in the foreign policy process but nonetheless have a major stake in, and much to contribute to, the discussion. One such constituency is the business community. A third of all Council members work in the private sector, and fully half of New York-area members do. The role of these members and of the corporate world in Council activities not only helps distinguish the Council from other think tanks, it also serves as a model for reaching out to other constituencies in the future. Corporate members are an integral part of the Council with a strong commitment to the Council's mission.

Through the Corporate Program, the Council provides an important forum for both individual and corporate members to interact in New York

and in Washington. The Corporate Program has attracted the support and involvement of 250 companies. The level and quality of business leaders



*Nemir A. Kirdar and Stephen A. Schwarzman at the Annual Corporate Conference.*

*Through the Corporate Program, the Council provides an important forum for individual and corporate members to interact in New York and in Washington.*

participating in programs and Studies projects has never been higher; they represent an extraordinary reservoir of hands-on experience in many of the countries and with many of the issues that the Council is studying.

Each year the Corporate Program organizes more than one hundred programs for individual members and executives of member companies. The Corporate Program sponsors the C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics and the McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series on International Economics, both of which are directed by **Benn Steil**, senior fellow and acting director of the Council's Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Goeconomic Studies. The Corporate Program

also cosponsors the popular World Economic Update Series and organizes a timely program of interactive conference calls on topics relevant to business with Council fellows and other experts throughout the year.

One of the highlights of this year was the Corporate Conference, which convened more than 200 corporate members on March 10–11 to hear a blue-ribbon roster of speakers that included Federal Reserve Board Chairman **Alan Greenspan**, World Trade Organization Director-General **Supachai Panitchpakdi**, and former U.S. Trade Representatives **Carla A. Hills** and **Charlene Barshefsky**. Like the National and Term Member Conferences, the Corporate Conference will now be an annual event.

## Benefits of Corporate Membership

### at the President's Circle Level (\$50,000+)

- Invitations to two or three small private dinners each year with world leaders.
- 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.
- A special invitation to the annual dinner for the Council's Board of Directors and International Advisory Board.
- The opportunity to designate two young executives as "Corporate Leaders" to participate in activities organized by the Council's Term Member Program.
- 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 the 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 (\$25,000+) includes those benefits marked with an asterisk. **Basic** membership, with more limited benefits, is reserved for smaller companies. For more information, contact Jacqui Selbst Schein, Director, Corporate Affairs, at 212-434-9451.



Charles O. Prince III and Heidi G. Miller.

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 Canadian Imperial Bank  
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 Continental Properties  
 Corning Incorporated  
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 DaimlerChrysler Corporation  
 Deere & Company  
 Deloitte.

Deutsche Bank AG  
 Discovery Communications, Inc.  
 The William H. Donner  
 Foundation, Inc.  
 Electronic Data Systems  
 Corporation  
 Eli Lilly and Company  
 Eni S.p.A.  
 Fannie Mae  
 Federal Express Corporation  
 Ford Motor Company  
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 Galt Industries Inc.  
 General Electric Company  
 General Maritime Corporation  
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 Halliburton - KBR  
 Hitachi, Ltd.  
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 Lockheed Martin Corporation  
 Loral Space &  
 Communications Ltd.  
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 Mannheim LLC  
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 Metropolitan Life Insurance  
 Company

Moore Capital Management  
 LLC  
 Morgan Stanley  
 The Nasdaq Stock Market, Inc.  
 The News Corporation  
 New York Life International,  
 Inc.  
 New York Stock Exchange, Inc.  
 Northrop Grumman  
 Corporation  
 Occidental Petroleum  
 Corporation  
 Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton  
 & Garrison LLP  
 PepsiCo, Inc.  
 Pfizer Inc.  
 Pitney Bowes Inc.  
 PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP  
 Prudential Financial, Inc.  
 Rothschild North America, Inc.  
 Sandalwood Securities, Inc.  
 Schlumberger Limited  
 Shell Oil Company  
 Sony Corporation of America  
 Standard & Poor's  
 Standard Chartered Bank  
 Sullivan & Cromwell LLP  
 Swiss Re America Holding  
 Corporation  
 Time Warner Inc.  
 Tishman Speyer Properties, Inc.  
 Turner Construction—  
 International LLC  
 UBS  
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce  
 USEC Inc.  
 Verizon Communications Inc.  
 Veronis Suhler Stevenson  
 Vinson & Elkins LLP  
 Vornado Realty Trust  
 Wellington Management  
 Company, LLP  
 Wyoming Investment  
 Corporation  
 Xerox Corporation  
 Young & Rubicam Inc.

#### BASIC

**A**  
 AARP  
 Access Industries, Inc.  
 Alleghany Corporation  
 American Re Corporation  
 American Red Cross  
 Andrews Kurth LLP  
 Apax Partners, Inc.  
 Apple Core Hotels Inc.  
 Archipelago Holdings, Inc.  
 Areva US  
 Arnhold and S. Bleichroeder  
 Holdings, Inc.  
 Arnold & Porter LLP  
 Artemis Advisors  
 Avaya Inc.

Note: This list is current as of August 1, 2005.

**B**

Baker & Hostetler LLP  
 Baker Capital Corp.  
 The Baldwin-Gottschalk Group  
 Banca di Roma  
 Banca d'Italia  
 Banca Intesa S.p.A.  
 Barbour Griffith and Rogers  
 Barst & Mukamal LLP  
 BASF Corporation  
 BDO Seidman, LLP  
 The Blackstone Group L.P.  
 Bloomberg L.P.  
 BNP Paribas  
 Bramwell Capital Management,  
 Inc.  
 Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.

**C**

C & O Resources, Inc.  
 The Chubb Corporation  
 Cisneros Group of Companies  
 CIT Group Inc.  
 Claremont Capital Corporation  
 Cleary Gottlieb Steen &  
 Hamilton LLP  
 The CNA Corporation  
 The Consulate General of Japan  
 Covington & Burling  
 Craig Drill Capital Corporation  
 The Cross Country Group

**D**

De Beers  
 Debevoise & Plimpton LLP  
 Dresdner Bank AG

**E**

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

**F**

Forest Investment  
 Management LLC  
 French-American Chamber of  
 Commerce

**G**

Gale International  
 General Atlantic LLC  
 Genesis 10  
 GLG Inc.  
 Granite Associates LP  
 Grey Global Group Inc.

**H**

Hemispheric Partners  
 H.J. Heinz Company  
 Houlihan Lokey Howard  
 & Zukin



*Bernard L. Schwartz, Council Senior Vice President David Kellogg, and Henry R. Kravis.*

**I**

IBM Corporation  
 IC & A Inc.  
 Idemitsu Apollo Corporation  
 Integrated Finance Limited  
 Intellispac, 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

**K**

KPMG LLP

**L**

Lehman Brothers  
 Linklaters

**M**

Mark Partners  
 Marsh & McLennan  
 Companies, Inc.  
 Marubeni America Corporation  
 Marvin & Palmer Associates,  
 Inc.  
 MBIA Insurance Corporation  
 Medley Global Advisors  
 Milbank, Tweed, Hadley  
 & McCloy LLP

Mine Safety Appliances  
 Company  
 Mitsubishi International  
 Corporation  
 Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LLP  
 Mutual of America

**O**

The Olayan Group  
 OppenheimerFunds, Inc.  
 Oxford Analytica Inc.

**P**

PanAmSat Corporation  
 Peter Kimmelman Asset  
 Management LLC  
 Phillips-Van Heusen  
 Corporation  
 Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw  
 Pittman LLP  
 POSCO America Corporation

**R**

Raytheon Company  
 Riverstone Holdings LLC  
 The Rohatyn Group  
 Rolls-Royce North America,  
 Inc.  
 The Royal Bank of Scotland  
 RWS Energy Services, Inc.

**S**

Saber Partners, LLC  
 Samsung Electronics Co., Ltd.  
 SG Cowen Securities  
 Corporation  
 Shearman & Sterling LLP

Sidley Austin Brown & Wood  
 LLP  
 Simpson Thacher & Bartlett  
 LLP  
 Soros Fund Management  
 Sperry Fund Management  
 LLC  
 Symbol Technologies, Inc.

**T**

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

**U**

United Technologies  
 Corporation

**V**

Volkswagen of America, Inc.

**W**

Warburg Pincus LLC  
 Watson Wyatt & Company  
 Weber Shandwick Worldwide  
 Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP  
 Wilpon Investors LLC

**Z**

Zephyr Management, LP  
 Ziff Brothers Investments LLC

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# TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

The Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program is designed to encourage promising young leaders to engage in a sustained conversation on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. The program allows younger members to interact with seasoned foreign policy veterans as well as to participate in a wide variety of specially designed term member events. Each year a new class of vibrant individuals, all between the ages of 30 and 36, is elected to a five-year term membership. Committees of term members serve as advisory bodies to the Council leadership and provide term members with opportunities to help create programs of particular interest to them.



*Term Member Conference breakout group led by Council Senior Fellow Elizabeth C. Economy.*

With almost sixty special events this past year, term members enjoyed a full range of meetings and activities in New York, Washington, DC, and Boston, including six off-site tours and trips. The year began with the directive to implement the recommendations of last year's Term Member Subcommittee of the Chairman's Advisory Council. As a result, the new class of term members saw an enhanced orientation process and an improved buddy system, and all term members benefited from increased interaction with life members, who were regularly invited to term member meetings. A life member mentoring program for third-year term members in New York and Washington, DC, was also established.

A highlight of the program year was the South Asia roundtable series, which was followed by a weeklong



*The program allows younger members to interact with foreign policy veterans as well as to participate in a wide variety of specially designed events.*

trip to India in February 2005 for a group of twenty-five term members, who benefited from numerous meetings with academic, business, government, and nongovernmental organization leaders in Bombay, Bangalore, and New Delhi. Other trips featuring high-level briefings included half-day visits to the U.S. Department of State; the U.S. Navy submarine base in New London, CT; the U.S. Coast Guard facility in Boston; the United Nations and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York; and a two-day visit to Norfolk, VA.

Term members also benefited from several multi-session roundtables that facilitated in-depth discussions on issues ranging from the evolution of Islam in the United States, Europe, and Asia to the future of the global trading system. The Term Member Conference this year focused on the foreign policy challenges and opportunities facing the second Bush administration.

The Council will continue to rely on term members to help shape their program by organizing events throughout the coming program year, including another weeklong international trip in 2006.

## Pilot Mentor Initiative

In response to a key recommendation that came out of last year's Chairman's Advisory Council review of the Term Member Program, the Council established a pilot mentor program between third-year term members in New York and Washington and life member volunteers. Designed to facilitate meaningful interaction between term members and life members and to better integrate term members into the Council's overall activities (in addition to providing

them with some valuable career advice), the pilot mentor initiative has elicited an enthusiastic response on both sides. Throughout the program year, term and life members have been in touch at Council receptions and have met over coffee, breakfast, and lunch as their busy schedules have permitted. This successful initiative will continue with a renewed emphasis on developing other opportunities for interaction between term and life members.



*Council Chairman Peter G. Peterson with term members Auren Hoffman and David Randolph Tunnell.*

## TERM MEMBER ANNUAL GIVING

Rawi Abdelal	Betsy Fischer	Jeff Kojac	Celina B. Realuyo
Mona Aboelnaga Kanaan	Mercedes Carmela Fitchett	Kate M.J. Kroeger	Kristin Denise Rechberger
Peter Belmont Alderman	John B. Fitzgibbons	Nisha Kumar	Saskia S. Reilly
Scott Hazzard Allan Jr.	William Fulbright Foote	Raj U. Kumar	Jeffrey A. Reinke
Karen J. Alter	Kristin J. Forbes	Drew J. Ladner	Elizabeth J. Remick
Benjamin A. Atkins	Jason William Forrester	James H. Lambright	James J. Richard
Erica Jean Barks-Ruggles	Brian L. Frank	Jim Alfred Landé	Dena Ringold
Timothy J. Bartlett	M. Taylor Fravel	Nicholas Payne Lapham	Cara W. Robertson
Kirsten Leigh Bartok	Myra M. Frazier	Gordon Nathaniel Lederman	Torrance W. Robinson
Pamela M. Bates	Ladeene A. Freimuth	Maren Leed	Nilmini Gunaratne Rubin
Andrea D. Begel	Alexander Stephen Friedman	Alexander T.J. Lennon	Dakota S. Rudesill
Michael P. Behringer	Mark T. Fung	Sarah G.J. Lennon	Jacqui Selbst Schein
Jonathan N. Bell	Amy Epstein Gadsden	Marcel J. Lettre II	Karenna Gore Schiff
Esther T. Benjamin	Joshua P. Galper	Kenneth Joel Levit	James L. Schoff
Christina A. Bennett	Sandra Galvis	Jonathan E. Levitsky	Mark S. Seasholes
Jonathan E. Berman	Johnson Garrett	Jeremy I. Levitt	Mark A. Shaheen
Karan K. Bhatia	Michelle D. Gavin	Keith L. Lieberthal	Andrew L. Shapiro
William B. Bishop	Thomas B. Ginsburg	Joshua J. Lippard	Daniel B. Shapiro
Mia M. Bloom	Juleanna Ruth Glover Weiss	Tamara Lipper	Dorothy C. Shea
Pieter James Alexander	Bruce N. Goldberger	Mark W. Lippert	David L. Shuman
Boelhouwer	Abigail Golden-Vazquez	Betty Wen Ssu Liu	Bippy M. Siegal
David William Bowker	Matthew N. Goldin	Linda S. Lourie	Matthew J. Slaughter
Spencer Phipps Boyer	Neal D. Goldman	Donald Lu	Margaret Sloane
Sundaa Ayo Bridgett	Robert S. Goldsmith	Marcus Mabry	Michelle A. Smith
Reuben E. Brigety II	Andrea Pierce Goodman	Krista M. Magras	Timothy D. Snyder
Steven V. Brock	Stuart Gottlieb	Wendy A. Maldonado	Juliet Suzanne Sorensen
Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks	Alyssa A. Grikscheit	Gregory A. Maniatis	Jonathan Allan Soros
C. Michael Brown	Eugenia Katherine Guilmartin	Laura A. McIntosh	Stephen A. Spagnuolo
Elaine Buckberg	Céline Stephanie Gustavson	Brian C. McPeck	Blake A. Spahn
Christina Duffy Burnett	D. Blake Haider	Bruce Paul Mehلمان	Jonathan S. Spaner
Jonathan S. Bush	Nisid J. Hajari	Benjamin R. Miller	Carlos Javier Spinelli-Nosedá
Daniel L. Byman	Larry Hanauer	Martha Miller	Kristen Staples Durkin
Danielle D. Camner	Evie Hantzopoulos	Frank J. Mirkow	Christopher B. Stone
David Arthur Campbell	Katherine Anderson Hardin	Charlotte M. Morgan	Ryung Suh
David A. Carmel	Gina Marie L. Hatheway	Stephen A. Myrow	Scott L. Swid
Walid George Chamoun	Lukas Harrison Haynes	Steven J. Naplan	Cathy L. Taylor
Rajiv A. Chandrasekaran	Lisa W. Heald	Scott Andrew Nathan	Troy S. Thomas
Amy L. Chao	Jane J. Heller	Haleh Nazeri	Patricia E. Tierney
Cory Charles	Ernesto P. Hernandez III	Richard D. Nelson	Jonathan P. Torop
Philip D. Chen	Jack D. Hidary	Jennifer G. Newstead	Ly K. Tran
Saj Cherian	Neal L. Higgins	M. Diana Helweg Newton	Adam J. Treanor
Aimée R. Christensen	Edward T. Hightower	Milena K. Novy-Marx	Basilios E. Tsingos
Dalton Conley	Matthew Todd Hobart	David Andrew Olson	David Randolph Tunnell
Laura K. Cooper	Melody Hobson	Stephen T. Ostrowski	Vijay V. Vaitheeswaran
Timothy W. Crawford	Auren Hoffman	Carter W. Page	Martina E. Vandenberg
Monica Elizabeth Crowley	Eric Allan Holst	Matthew A. Palmer	Gagan Verma
Geoffrey D. Dabelko	Kathleen Houlihan	Jeremiah S. Pam	Richard R. Verma
Michael A. Dal Bello	Christopher Bernard Howard	Eric J. Pan	Gregg Alexander Walker
Jean-Christophe de Swaan	Joseph Kindall Hurd III	Michael Pan	Ian Kennard Walsh
Rajesh De	David Wallace Irwin	Parag Patel	Debra L. Wasserman
Graham A. Duncan	Adam R. Isles	Michael D. Patterson	David L. Weller
Jen M. Easterly	Mark R. Jacobson	Brigid Myers Pavilonis	Elisa M. Westfield
Keri Eisenbeis	David P. Janes	Eric J. Pelofsky	Elisha Wiesel
Elizabeth Factor	Scott S. Johnson	Lawrence Edward Penn III	Elizabeth Roberts Wilcox
Evelyn N. Farkas	Kali Chantelle Jones	Richard D. Perera	Serena B. Wille
Elizabeth Worley	Eric John Kadel Jr.	Michael A. Peterson	Margaret Douglas Williams
Farman-Farmaian	Shanthi A. Kalathil	John vanden Heuvel Pierce	Steven D. Winch
Irina A. Faskianos	Zachary Karabell	William A. Pizer	Laura Winters
Daniel F. Feldman	Andrew R. Kassoy	Matthew F. Pottinger	Tamara Cofman Wittes
Noah R. Feldman	Brian M. Katulis	Elizabeth M. Prescott	Kent Wosepka
Anthony C. Fernandes	Kira Kay	Edward L. Pulling	Nancy Yao Maasbach
Maria C. Figueroa Küpçü	Juliette N. Kayyem	Fernande Scheidt Raine	Brett I.W. Zbar
Desiree Geneva Filippone	Stephen D. Kiser	Skye Raiser	Jonathan L. Zittrain
Sonya L. Finley	Monica Vegas Kladakis		

# COMMUNICATIONS

The ongoing war in Iraq and the 2004 U.S. presidential election continued to generate extensive media interest in Council content and programs this year. The transition to the second Bush administration provided a great opportunity for the Communications Department to build on last year's background briefing series for the media. The program was created to bring attention to the Council's work and fellows' wide-ranging expertise and to provide a service to the press by



Washington Post correspondent Robin Wright at the Iran Task Force briefing.

The Communications Department also launched a media training program to help Council fellows better craft and communicate their message; Council fellows wrote and placed more than 200 op-eds and articles in the top publications in the United States and around the world. Council content and scholars were also featured in nearly 10,000 broadcast and print stories, more than any other think tank on foreign policy issues (based on an extensive tracking system using multiple Internet search engines and commercial databases).

giving them access to top thinkers in intimate settings. This year the department hosted an unprecedented twenty-one briefings on subjects ranging from international economics to global health to energy issues.

The department continued to reach out to the foreign press and hosted a panel for members of the New York Foreign Press Center with Council scholars. The Communications Department, in addition to sending journalists advance notice of *Foreign Affairs* articles and original content produced by the cfr.org editorial team, also engaged the burgeoning blogger community.

Readership of "The World This Week" eNewsletter continues to grow, reaching Council members, over 6,000 journalists, and 11,500 individuals on the public list every week.



New York Times Columnist Thomas L. Friedman at an on-the-record meeting in Washington, DC.



Barbara Walters of ABC News with U.S. News and World Report Editor Mortimer B. Zuckerman.

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# NAMED CHAIRS, FELLOWSHIPS, *and* LECTURESHIPS

## NAMED CHAIRS AND FELLOWSHIPS

**Jane Arraf**, Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow

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

**Steven A. Cook**, Douglas Dillon Fellow

**Elizabeth C. Economy**, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies

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

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

**Peter B. Kenen**, Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow

**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

**Evans J.R. Revere**, Cyrus R. Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies

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

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

**Julia E. Sweig**, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies

## OTHER CHAIRS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow in Science and Technology

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East

Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics

## SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

### THE INTELLIGENCE FELLOWSHIP

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

### THE MILITARY FELLOWSHIPS

Each year the chief of staff of each military service nominates an outstanding candidate for a military fellowship. These 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.

### THE DOUGLAS DILLON FELLOWSHIP

Each year the Council names one of its younger fellows the Dillon Fellow, in honor of former Council Vice Chairman Douglas Dillon. Such fellows typically combine a keen understanding of economics with cutting-edge policy research in a given field,

*Note:* This list of Named Chairs and Fellowships is current as of September 1, 2005.

leading to several major published articles or a book during their fellowship tenure.

**EDWARD R. MURROW PRESS 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 SENIOR FELLOWSHIP**

The Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to international relations. A Shepardson Fellow is expected to spend about a year affiliated with the Council, participating in Council programs while working on a book or other significant publication on a major foreign policy issue.

**CYRUS R. 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 on International Economics

McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series on International Economics

Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program, International Relations

**LECTURESHIPS**

**THE DARRYL G. BEHRMAN LECTURE ON AFRICA POLICY**

The Darryl G. Behrman Lecture on Africa Policy has been funded by members of the Behrman family in memory of Darryl G. Behrman, who came to the United States from South Africa. He had an abiding passion for the continent of his birth and for international peace and cooperation. The Behrman Lecture, which focuses on Africa policy, had its inaugural lecture this spring, featuring **Graça Machel**, president of the Foundation for Community Development in Mozambique, with special guest **Nelson Mandela**, former president of South Africa, on “The African Agenda.”

**THE ARTHUR C. HELTON MEMORIAL LECTURE**

The Arthur C. Helton Memorial Lecture was established by the Council and the family of Arthur C. Helton, who died in the August 2003 bombing of the UN headquarters in Baghdad. The Helton Lecture is an annual event at which one or more speakers address pressing issues in the broad field of human rights and humanitarian concerns. This year’s inaugural lecture featured **Sadako Ogata**, president of the Japan International Cooperation Agency and former UN high commissioner for refugees.

**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 **Bjørn Lomborg**, editor and project lead for “Global Crises, Global Solutions,” the official report of the Copenhagen Consensus, spoke on “The World’s Worst Problems.”

**THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE**

The Russell C. 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 Indian Prime Minister **Manmohan Singh**.

**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. Morse lecturers are invited to focus on one of Morse's many concerns, which included North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and relations with Asia. The lecture program is funded by gifts from Council members and friends of the Morse family.

**THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE**

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

**THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE**

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

**THE RUSSIA AND RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS LECTURE**

This annual lecture was endowed by the Alfa Bank to help establish a more secure footing for Russian-American relations. The inaugural Russia and Russian-American Relations Lecture this year featured **Sergey Ivanov**, minister of defense of the Russian Federation, who spoke on "The World in the Twenty-First Century: Addressing New Threats and Challenges."

**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.

**THE SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE  
ON THE UNITED NATIONS**

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

**THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE**

The John Train Lecture and dinner were 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 John Train Lecture this year featured the service chiefs of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: General **Peter J. Schoomaker**, U.S. Army; General **John P. Jumper**, U.S. Air Force; and Admiral **Vernon E. Clark**, U.S. Navy, speaking on "The Future of the U.S. Military: The Military's Challenges for the Twenty-First Century."

**THE PAUL C. WARNKE LECTURE  
ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

The annual Paul C. Warnke Lecture on International Security, endowed by a number of members and family and friends of Paul C. Warnke, commemorates his legacy of courageous service to the nation and international peace. The Warnke Lecture this year featured Senator **Carl M. Levin** (D-MI).

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# INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

**T**he 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.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS 2005-2006

**Thomas J. Bollyky**, Debevoise & Plimpton LLP, “Rationalizing International Pharmaceutical Pricing: The Pursuit of U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives in Global Health and International Trade”

**Steven V. Brock**, U.S. Navy, “U.S. Intelligence Community Reform: Leveraging European Union Intelligence Integration as a Force Multiplier in the Global War on Terror”

**Kahlil J. Byrd**, African Public Broadcasting Foundation, “Creating the Corporation for Public Diplomacy”

**Dalton Conley**, New York University, “Asset Ownership, Development, and Stability”

**Joshua J. Lippard**, U.S. Department of Justice, “Information-Sharing Relationships for Twenty-First-Century International Security”

**Neal A. Pollard**, Hicks & Associates, “Winning in Cyberspace: Exploiting Opportunities in a Strategic Competition with Terrorism”

**Marc R. Rosenblum**, University of New Orleans, “Immigration, Integration, and U.S.–Caribbean Basin Relations after 9/11”

**Nita Rudra**, Graduate School of International and Public Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, “Globalization and Effective Social Policies in Developing Countries”

**Celina Schocken**, Center for Global Health and Economic Development, Columbia University, and Government of Rwanda, “U.S. AIDS and Health Policy in Africa: Redesigning Foreign Assistance to Address the Needs of Donors and Recipients”

**Douglas W. Turner**,\* DW Turner, Inc., “Why Minority Parties in Japan Lose”

**Fei-ling Wang**,\* Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology, “An East Asian Community: How Unlikely Is It?”

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

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# DEVELOPMENT

The Council relies on charitable contributions from individual, corporate, and institutional donors to help support its programs and to launch new initiatives. Maintaining the quality and variety of the work and programs for which the Council is known requires ongoing support from many sources. The Council receives grant support from foundations and other outside sources for special activities. In addition, the Council welcomes contributions for general support through its Annual Fund; for specific programs such as Task Forces or roundtables; to the Council's unrestricted endowment fund; or to endow a specific chair, fellowship, or program. Endowment gifts can also be made by bequest or other testamentary gift to ensure the Council's permanence, independence, and excellence for the future.

The Council extends its sincere appreciation to the donors and volunteers who have demonstrated their support of the Council in this tangible way.

## THE 1921 SOCIETY

The 1921 Society (commemorating the year the Council was founded) was established last year to honor and acknowledge those who have made the future vitality of the Council an important part of their legacy. All those who confirm in writing that they have included the Council in their wills or as a beneficiary in any other disposition of assets are enrolled as a member of the 1921 Society. A number of members have responded positively to this essential initiative.

## THE ANNUAL FUND

To help meet its financial needs, the Council relies on the generosity of members who contribute to the Annual Fund over and above their membership dues. These unrestricted dollars provide a critical piece of the Council's overall funding, helping to support major programming and annual operating expenses. In fiscal year 2005, 1,877 members gave close to \$4,300,000 to the Annual Fund—representing an increased number of donors (approximately 44 percent of the membership) and the highest dollar amount contributed on record. This year, 52 members increased their gifts through corporate or foundation matching gift programs. The Council's Harold Pratt Associates, each of whom gives \$10,000 or more each year, increased to 211 members, 52 of whom gave at the \$25,000+ Chairman's Circle level. This year, in response to a special appeal, a number of the Council's most generous Annual Fund donors increased their support to help fund Independent Task Forces and other programs. Many term members volunteered in the fund-raising effort by either writing to their colleagues or making follow-up calls. They were among the 47 percent of term members who participated in the Annual Fund this year. A special listing of term members who contributed this year appears on page 50. All donors to the Annual Fund are listed on pages 59–64.



Henry and Elaine Kaufman  
Foundation

Bernard and Irene Schwartz  
Foundation

**CONGRESSIONAL ROUNDTABLE  
PROGRAM**

The John D. and Catherine T.  
MacArthur Foundation

The Pew Forum on Religion and  
Public Life

The Starr Foundation

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William Taubman  
James P. Thomas Jr.  
Troy S. Thomas  
James A. Thomson  
Paul E. Tierney Jr.  
Kristen Timothy  
Sarah Livingston  
Timpson  
Terence A. Todman  
Jonathan P. Torop  
Jeanne Maddox  
Toungara  
Harry D. Train II  
Russell E. Train  
Bernard E. Trainor  
Adam J. Treanor  
John Elting Treat  
Peter D. Trooboff  
Edwin M. Truman  
H. Anton Tucher  
Astrid S. Tuminez  
Richard H. Ullman  
Cornelius M. Ulman  
Marybeth Peterson  
Ulrich  
Sara Vagliano  
Vijay V. Vaitheeswaran  
Gregory E. van der Vink  
Michael H. Van Dusen  
John Van Oudenaren
- Marsha Vande Berg  
Martina E. Vandenberg  
Richard R. Verma  
Alice S. Victor  
Richard Noyes Viets  
Milton Viorst  
Charls E. Walker  
Gregg Alexander Walker  
Christine I. Wallich  
Ian Kennard Walsh  
Anthony John Walton  
R. Keith Walton  
Katherine T. Ward  
Margaret G. Warner  
John L. Washburn  
William Watts  
Dennis Weatherstone  
Leroy Snyder Wehrle  
Steven Weinberg  
Sidney Weintraub  
David L. Weller  
Samuel F. Wells Jr.  
Allan Wendt  
Mitzi Mallina Wertheim  
Michael R. Wessel  
Elisa M. Westfield  
Julia A. White  
Christine Todd Whitman  
Elizabeth Roberts Wilcox  
Serena B. Wille  
Harold M. Williams  
Howard Roy Williams  
Margaret Douglas  
Williams  
Donald M. Wilson  
Philip S. Winterer  
Frank G. Wisner  
Tamara Cofman Wittes  
Kent Wosepka  
Phoebe L. Yang  
Daniel Yankelovich  
David B. Yoffie  
Casimir A. Yost  
Alice Young  
M. Crawford Young  
Frederick T.C. Yu  
Raul H. Yzaguirre  
Donald S. Zagoria  
Dov S. Zakheim  
Brett I.W. Zbar  
Anthony Charles Zinni  
Jonathan L. Zittrain  
Marvin Zonis  
Barry Zorthian



# COMMITTEES of the BOARD

## 2004-2005

### EXECUTIVE

Peter G. Peterson, *Chair*  
 Carla A. Hills, *Vice Chair*  
 Robert E. Rubin,  
*Vice Chair*  
 Jeffrey Bewkes  
 Henry S. Bienen  
 Lee Cullum  
 Kenneth M. Duberstein  
 Martin S. Feldstein  
 Helene D. Gayle  
 Michael H. Moskow  
 Joseph S. Nye Jr.  
 Thomas R. Pickering  
 Richard E. Salomon

### CORPORATE AFFAIRS

Kenneth M. Duberstein,  
*Chair*  
 Richard N. Foster,  
*Vice Chair*  
 Jeffrey Bewkes  
 Joyce Chang-Robbins  
 Saj Cherian†  
 Samuel A. DiPiazza  
 Bart Friedman  
 Maurice R. Greenberg  
 Joseph M. Ha  
 Ruth R. Harkin  
 Morton L. Janklow  
 James R. Jones  
 Virginia Ann Kamsky  
 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  
 Joseph S. Nye Jr.  
 Ronald L. Olson

\* *Ex officio*

† Term Member

‡ Serves also on the

Investment Subcommittee

§ Serves also on the

Audit Committee

### FINANCE AND BUDGET

Michael H. Moskow,  
*Chair*  
 Richard E. Salomon,  
*Vice Chair*‡  
 Roger C. Altman‡  
 John H. Biggs§  
 Jessica P. Einhorn‡  
 Gail D. Fosler§  
 Stephen C. Freidheim‡  
 Joachim Gfoeller Jr.  
 Michael D. Granoff§  
 J. Tomilson Hill‡  
 Carla A. Hills  
 Henry Kaufman‡  
 Carl B. Menges‡  
 George J. Mitchell  
 Joel W. Motley  
 Karen Elizabeth Parker  
 Feld‡

Arthur Mark Rubin†  
 Kenneth I. Starr‡  
 Scott L. Swid†  
 Laura D'Andrea Tyson  
 Robert G. Wilmers‡  
 Fareed Zakaria  
 Robert Lawrence  
 Zangrillo†

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Martin S. Feldstein, *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  
 Maurice Sonnenberg  
 Joshua L. Steiner  
 Anita Volz Wien

### MEETINGS

Jeffrey Bewkes, *Chair*  
 Carole Artigiani  
 Barbara Crossette  
 Mallory Factor  
 Bart Friedman  
 Sergio J. Galvis  
 Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
 James F. Hoge Jr.\*

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  
 Joan E. Spero  
 Amina Tirana  
 Malcolm H. Wiener  
 James D. Zirin

### MEMBERSHIP

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

### Term Membership

Sergio J. Galvis, *Chair*  
 Juju Chang  
 Robert J. Chaves  
 Ronald Irvin Christie†  
 C. Shelby Coffey III  
 Joy E. Drucker  
 Laura L. Efros  
 Lukas Harrison Haynes†  
 William J. Long  
 M. Diana Helweg  
 Newton†  
 Samantha F. Ravich  
 Nancy E. Soderberg  
 Elliot Stein  
 George H. Young III

### NATIONAL PROGRAMS

Helene D. Gayle, *Chair*  
 Robert John Abernethy  
 Dan Caldwell  
 Lee Cullum

April Kanne Donnellan†  
 Charles F. Dunbar  
 Mimi L. Haas  
 Katherine Anderson  
 Hardin†  
 Jay T. Harris  
 Mont P. Hoyt  
 Alberto Ibarguen  
 Richard A. Joseph  
 John H. Kelly  
 Richard Mallery  
 Judith B. Milestone  
 Michael H. Moskow  
 Lynne Dominick  
 Novack  
 Ronald L. Olson  
 Judith K. Paulus  
 Henry H. Perritt Jr.  
 Michael P. Peters  
 Pearl T. Robinson  
 Donna E. Shalala  
 David K.Y. Tang  
 Peter Tarnoff  
 Ted Van Dyk  
 Marsha Vande Berg  
 Jay M. Vogelson  
 Andrew Young  
 Philip W. Yun

### NOMINATING

### AND GOVERNANCE

Henry S. Bienen, *Chair*  
 Madeleine K. Albright  
 Daniel William  
 Christman  
 Kenneth M. Duberstein  
 Richard N. Foster  
 Nancy A. Jarvis  
 Maria Elena Lagomasino  
 Sylvia M. Mathews  
 Edward J. Mathias  
 Theodore Roosevelt IV  
 James Baker Sitrick  
 G. Richard Thoman  
 James A. Thomson  
 R. Keith Walton

### STUDIES

Joseph S. Nye Jr., *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  
 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 Alexander  
 Thiessen  
 Richard H. Ullman  
 Marta B. Varela  
 Ernest James Wilson III  
 Frank G. Wisner  
 Daniel H. Yergin  
 Fareed Zakaria

### WASHINGTON PROGRAMS

Thomas R. Pickering,  
*Chair*  
 Thomas E. Donilon,  
*Vice Chair*  
 Madeleine K. Albright  
 Pauline H. Baker  
 Mark F. Brzezinski  
 Edwin A. Deagle Jr.  
 Thomas R. Donahue  
 Marsha A. Echols  
 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  
 Peter R. Rosenblatt  
 Warren B. Rudman  
 Tara Diane Sonenshine  
 Terence A. Todman  
 Michael H. Van Dusen  
 Vin Weber  
 W. Bruce Weinrod  
 R. James Woolsey

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# 2005 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 June 30, 2005, were Jessica P. Einhorn, Louis V. Gerstner Jr., George J. Mitchell, Robert E. Rubin, Warren B. Rudman, and Andrew Young.

The Nominating and Governance Committee was composed of Henry S. Bienen (chair), Madeleine K. Albright, Daniel William Christman, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Richard N. Foster, Nancy A. Jarvis, Maria Elena Lagomasino, Sylvia M. Mathews, Edward J. Mathias, Theodore Roosevelt IV, James Baker Sitrick, G. Richard Thoman, James A. Thomson, and R. Keith Walton. On January 7, 2005, the chair invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating and Governance Committee met on March 15 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: Charlene Barshefsky, Douglas K. Bereuter, Jewelle Bickford, Stephen W. Bosworth, Tom Brokaw, and Alice Young. On March 25, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition process available to them in accordance with the By-Laws. No petition candi-

date was put forth. A ballot was mailed to all Council members on April 18.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 24, 2005, 1,679 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 2006 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. Bart Friedman, Donald S. Rice, and Barbara Paul Robinson served as election overseers. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning July 1, 2005, and expiring June 30, 2010: Charlene Barshefsky, Stephen W. Bosworth, and Tom Brokaw.

Under current procedures, the Board completed the Class of 2010 by appointing three directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating and Governance Committee, at its June 9 meeting the Board appointed the following three Council members to serve five-year terms beginning July 1, 2005, and expiring June 30, 2010: Peter Ackerman, David M. Rubenstein, and Robert E. Rubin. Additionally, the Board confirmed the appointment of Peter G. Peterson to the Class of 2007 and Carla A. Hills to the Class of 2009.\*

*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.

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## CHAIRMAN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Chairman's Advisory Council was established to assist the Board in overseeing a number of important program areas. In 2004–2005 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 and David K.Y. Tang as vice chairs, and is composed of the following Council members from around the country:

Peter G. Peterson  
*Chairman*  
Thomas E. Donilon  
*Vice Chairman*  
David K.Y. Tang  
*Vice Chairman*  
Robert John  
Abernethy

Stanley S. Arkin  
Stephanie K. Bell-Rose  
Jewelle Bickford  
Denis A. Bovin  
Patrick M. Byrne  
Dan Caldwell  
Bart Friedman  
Michael B.G. Froman

Sergio J. Galvis  
Timothy F. Geithner  
Joachim Gfoeller Jr.  
Mimi L. Haas  
J. Tomilson Hill  
Alberto Ibarguen  
Merit E. Janow  
Eason T. Jordan

Arnold Kanter  
Maria Elena  
Lagomasino  
Ira A. Lipman  
Marcus Mabry  
Sylvia M. Mathews  
Richard L. Plepler  
Penny S. Pritzker

Steven L. Rattner  
Scott D. Sagan  
David E. Sanger  
Thomas Schick  
Douglas E. Schoen  
Barbara Shailor  
Alice Young

*Note:* The Chairman's Advisory Council list is current as of September 1, 2005.

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# INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

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

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

- Syed Babar Ali** (Pakistan), Adviser, Packages Limited; Chairman, Interbank; former Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs, and Planning, Pakistan
- Khalid A. Alturki** (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, Trading and Development Company (TRADCO)
- Mukesh D. Ambani** (India), Chairman and Managing Director, Reliance Industries Ltd.
- Franco Bernabè** (Italy), Vice Chairman, Rothschild Europe
- Carl Bildt** (Sweden), Chairman, Kream AB; former Prime Minister of Sweden
- Ahmed E. Bishara** (Kuwait), Secretary-General, National Democratic Movement; Professor, Kuwait University
- John Browne** (United Kingdom), Group Chief Executive, BP plc
- Mark C. Chona** (Zambia), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Sumika Consultancy and Management Services Ltd.; former Political Adviser to the President of Zambia
- Gustavo A. Cisneros** (Venezuela), Chairman and CEO, 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, Reuters Group plc
- 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, Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.
- Babagana Kingibe** (Nigeria), Special Envoy for Sudan, African Union; 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
- Maurice Lévy** (France), Chairman of the Management Board and Chief Executive Officer, Publicis Groupe S.A.
- Juan March** (Spain), Chairman, Juan March Foundation and Juan March Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences
- 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 UN High Commissioner for Refugees
- Ana Palacio** (Spain), Member of Parliament, Spain; former Foreign Minister of Spain
- Surin Pitsuwan** (Thailand), Member of Parliament, Thailand; former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand
- Prannoy Roy** (India), President, New Delhi Television, Ltd.
- Zalman Shoval** (Israel), Head, Foreign Policy Bureau, Likud Party; former Ambassador of Israel to the United States
- Khehla Shubane** (South Africa), Director, RMB Holdings
- Washington SyCip** (Philippines), Chairman and Founder, SGV Group; Chairman, Asian Institute of Management
- Horst Teltschik** (Germany), President, Boeing Germany; 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
- Yuan Ming** (China), Director, Institute for International Relations, Beijing 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, 2005.

# 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 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
<b>New York Area</b>		
Under 40	\$1,470	\$350
40 and Over	2,860	640
<b>Washington, DC, Area</b>		
Under 40	\$1,180	\$280
40 and Over	2,290	510
<b>National</b>		
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 semiannually in equal installments in advance. Default in the payment of any dues for a period of 60 days may be deemed to be equivalent to resignation.

IV. A. There shall be a Board of not more than 31 Directors. The President of the corporation shall be a Director, ex officio, unless otherwise provided by resolution of the Board of Directors and agreed to by the President. The remaining members of the Board of Directors shall be divided into five equal classes, each class to serve for a term of five years and until their successors are elected and take office. Each class shall consist of three Directors elected directly by the membership at large and three Directors appointed by the Board. Following each Annual Election but prior to the commencement of the term of the new Directors, the Board shall appoint three Directors to serve in the same class as the three Directors elected at the Annual Election. Any Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Board elected on an interim basis pursuant to Article VII who is not a Director at the time of his or her election, shall during the period of such interim service be a Director and, at

the time of his or her election, shall be designated by the Board of Directors to occupy either (i) the position on the Board that would otherwise be occupied by the President, if the President is not then serving as a Director, ex officio, or (ii) any vacancy among the three Directors in each class subject to appointment by the Board.

B. At each Annual Election of the Council, three Directors shall be elected to replace the outgoing class of elected Directors. Terms of all Directors, both elected and appointed, shall commence on the first day of July 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 per-

son 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 per-

sons 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 govern-

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The report recognizes that 'media' and 'public forum' are vague terms. But they can nevertheless be rationally interpreted in the light of the purpose of the Rule. For example, the reformulation would make it legitimate for a U.S. governmental official to

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

**GUIDELINES ON MEETINGS**

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

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

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

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

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

"3. Principal speakers should expect to be questioned vigorously on any point relevant

to their intellectual interest, experience, or expertise in international affairs. It is recognized, however, that some speakers, particularly those holding official positions, may not feel free to answer some questions, and, in such case, their declination will be respected."

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

**POLICY ON CONFLICTS OF INTEREST**

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted June 9, 2005, the following policy concerning actual or potential conflicts of interest was approved:

"The Directors, Officers, and staff of the Council on Foreign Relations (the "Council") owe a duty of loyalty to the Council, which requires that in their positions, they act in the interest of the Council and not in their personal interests. Directors, Officers, and staff members may not use their positions or nonpublic information about the Council they obtain through their positions in a manner that allows them to secure a significant economic benefit, either directly or indirectly, for themselves or their immediate family. In sum, it is the policy of the Council that its Directors, Officers, and staff have the obligation to avoid ethical, legal, financial, or other conflicts of interest, and the appearance thereof, and to ensure that their activities and interests do not conflict with their obligations to the Council or to its welfare.

"A conflict of interest or the appearance thereof may exist but is not limited to a circumstance when any Director, Officer, or staff member, or member of his or her immediate family (defined for these purposes as a spouse or domestic partner, parents, children, siblings, and in-laws) or an affiliated entity, would have a significant economic interest, directly or indirectly, in a transaction with the Council or any other matter that may come before the Board or a Board Committee.

"Conflicts of interest or appearances thereof are not limited to financial interests, but include affiliations or other divided loyalties which may influence a decision or appear to cause favoritism in a matter involving the Council.

"All conflicts shall be fully disclosed in writing to the Chair of the Nominating and Governance Committee, or to the Director of Human Resources and Deputy Chief Operating Officer in the case of staff members who are not Officers. After receipt of such notice, the Board may authorize the transaction at issue, provided that (i) it does not violate the law and (ii) the Director or Officer having such conflict refrains from voting or otherwise attempting to influence the decision thereon. The minutes of the meeting shall reflect such disclosure and abstention.

"In the case of a staff member who is not an Officer, after disclosure by the Director of Human Resources and Deputy Chief Operating Officer to the Chief Operating Officer and the President, those Officers may choose to submit the question to the Board or an appropriate Committee of the Board for a decision or to proceed with the transaction at issue, provided that proceeding does not violate the law.

"When there is doubt as to whether a conflict of interest exists, the matter shall be resolved by a vote of the Board, excluding the person concerned.

"Nothing herein shall prevent the Council from the payment of salary and other compensation or the reimbursement of expenses for personal services which are reasonable and necessary to carrying out the purpose of the Council, provided such payments or reimbursements are reasonable and not excessive.

"A copy of this policy shall be furnished to each Director at the time of his or her election or appointment to the Board and any renewal thereof, to each Officer who is a staff member annually at the time of their appointment at the fall meeting of the Board, and to other key staff members at the time of hire. As a condition of service, the Council shall require each Director, Officer, and key staff member to sign the conflict of interest disclosure statement annually."

**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	Alfred C. Neal	1967-76	Robert F. Erburu	1987-98
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921-28	Bill Moyers	1967-74	Karen Elliott House	1987-98, 2003-
Paul D. Cravath	1921-40	Cyrus R. Vance	1968-76, 1981-87	Glenn E. Watts	1987-90
John W. Davis	1921-55	Hedley Donovan	1969-79	Thomas S. Foley	1988-94
Norman H. Davis	1921-44	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970-72	James D. Robinson III	1988-91
Stephen P. Duggan	1921-50	Bayless Manning	1971-77	Strobe Talbott	1988-93
John H. Finley	1921-29	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972-77, 1979-84	John L. Clendenin	1989-94
Edwin F. Gay	1921-45	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972-77	William S. Cohen	1989-97
David F. Houston	1921-27	Elizabeth Drew	1972-77	Joshua Lederberg	1989-98
Otto H. Kahn	1921-34	George S. Franklin	1972-83	John S. Reed	1989-92
Frank L. Polk	1921-43	Marshall D. Shulman	1972-77	Alice M. Rivlin	1989-92
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921-66	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972-82	William J. Crowe Jr.	1990-93
William R. Shepherd	1921-27	Paul C. Warnke	1972-77	Thomas R. Donahue	1990-2001
Paul M. Warburg	1921-32	Peter G. Peterson	1973-83, 1984-	Richard C. Holbrooke	1991-93, 1996-99, 2001-
George W. Wickersham	1921-36	Robert O. Anderson	1974-80	Robert D. Hormats	1991-2004
Allen W. Dulles	1927-69	Edward K. Hamilton	1974-83	John E. Bryson	1992-2002
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927-60	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974-77	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992-2002, 2004-
George O. May	1927-53	Elliot L. Richardson	1974-75	Karen N. Horn	1992-95
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927-34	Franklin Hall Williams	1975-83	James R. Houghton	1992-96
Owen D. Young	1927-40	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975-86	Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992-98
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	Paul A. Volcker	1975-79, 1988-99	Kenneth W. Dam	1992-2001
Charles P. Howland	1929-31	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976-85	Donna E. Shalala	1992-93
Walter Lippmann	1932-37	Lane Kirkland	1976-86	Alton Frye	1993
Clarence M. Woolley	1932-35	George H.W. Bush	1977-79	Richard N. Cooper	1993-94
Frank Altschul	1934-72	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977-79	Rita E. Hauser	1993-97
Philip C. Jessup	1934-42	Philip L. Geyelin	1977-87	E. Gerald Corrigan	1993-95
Harold W. Dodds	1935-43	Henry A. Kissinger	1977-81	Leslie H. Gelb	1993-2001, 2002-2003
Leon Fraser	1936-45	Winston Lord	1977-85	Paul A. Allaire	1993-2002
John H. Williams	1937-64	Stephen Stamas	1977-89	Robert E. Allen	1993-96
Lewis W. Douglas	1940-64	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-87	Theodore C. Sorensen	1993-2004
Edward Warner	1940-49	C. Peter McColough	1978-87	Garrick Utley	1993-2003
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-53	Richard L. Gelb	1979-88	Carla A. Hills	1994-
Myron C. Taylor	1943-59	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979-83	Helene L. Kaplan	1994-96
Henry M. Wriston	1943-67	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979-83	Frank G. Zarb	1994-96
Thomas K. Finletter	1944-67	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980-84	Robert B. Zoellick	1994-2001
William A.M. Burden	1945-74	George P. Shultz	1980-82	Les Aspin	1995
Walter H. Mallory	1945-68	William D. Rogers	1980-90	Mario L. Baeza	1995-2001
Philip D. Reed	1945-69	Walter B. Wriston	1981-87	Peggy Dulany	1995-2003
Winfield W. Riefler	1945-50	Lewis T. Preston	1981-88	Jessica P. Einhorn	1995-2005
David Rockefeller	1949-85	Warren Christopher	1982-91	William J. McDonough	1995-2004
W. Averell Harriman	1950-55	Alan Greenspan	1982-88	Frank Savage	1995-2002
Joseph E. Johnson	1950-74	Robert A. Scalapino	1982-89	George Soros	1995-2004
Grayson Kirk	1950-73	Harold Brown	1983-92	Hannah Holborn Gray	1995-98
Devereux C. Josephs	1951-58	Stanley Hoffmann	1983-92	George J. Mitchell	1995-2005
Elliott V. Bell	1953-66	Juanita M. Kreps	1983-89	Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995-2005
John J. McCloy	1953-72	Brent Scowcroft	1983-89	Lee Cullum	1996-
Arthur H. Dean	1955-72	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983-92	Vincent A. Mai	1997-2003
Charles M. Spofford	1955-72	Donald F. McHenry	1984-93	Warren B. Rudman	1997-2005
Adlai E. Stevenson	1958-62	B. R. Inman	1985-93	Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997-
William C. Foster	1959-72	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-94	Roone Arledge	1998-2002
Caryl P. Haskins	1961-75	Peter Tarnoff	1986-93	Diane Sawyer	1998-99
James A. Perkins	1963-79	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986-92	Martin S. Feldstein	1998-
William P. Bundy	1964-74	Ruben F. Mettler	1986-92	Bette Bao Lord	1998-2003
Gabriel Hauge	1964-81	James E. Burke	1987-95	Michael H. Moskow	1998-
Carroll L. Wilson	1964-79	Richard B. Cheney	1987-89, 1993-95	John Deutch	1999-2004
Douglas Dillon	1965-78				
Henry R. Labouisse	1965-74				
Robert V. Roosa	1966-81				
Lucian W. Pye	1966-82				



HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Robert E. Rubin	2000–	<b>PRESIDENT EMERITUS</b>		<b>SECRETARIES</b>	
Andrew Young	2000–2005	Leslie H. Gelb	2003–	Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Kenneth M. Duberstein	2001–			Allen W. Dulles	1933–44
Henry S. Bienen	2001–	<b>HONORARY PRESIDENTS</b>		Frank Altschul	1944–72
Joan E. Spero	2001–	Elihu Root	1921–37	John Temple Swing	1972–87
Vin Weber	2001–	Henry M. Wriston	1964–78	Judith Gustafson	1987–2000
Fouad Ajami	2002–			Lilita V. Gusts	2000–
Ronald L. Olson	2002–	<b>EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENTS</b>			
Thomas R. Pickering	2002–	John Temple Swing	1986–93	<b>HONORARY SECRETARY</b>	
Jeffrey L. Bewkes	2002–	Michael P. Peters	2002–2005	Frank Altschul	1972–1981
Helene D. Gayle	2003–				
Richard N. Haass	2003–	<b>SENIOR VICE PRESIDENTS</b>		<b>TREASURERS</b>	
Richard E. Salomon	2003–	Alton Frye	1993–98	Edwin F. Gay	1921–33
Anne-Marie Slaughter	2003–	Kenneth H. Keller	1993–95	Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42
Madeleine K. Albright	2004–	Larry L. Fabian	1994–95	Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51
Richard N. Foster	2004–	Michael P. Peters	1995–2002	Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
Joseph S. Nye Jr.	2004–	Paula Dobriansky	2001	Elliott V. Bell	1952–64
Fareed Zakaria	2004–	Charles G. Boyd	2001–2002	Gabriel Hauge	1964–81
Peter Ackerman	2005–	David Kellogg	2002–	Peter G. Peterson	1981–85
Charlene Barshefsky	2005–	Janice L. Murray	2002–	C. Peter McColough	1985–87
Stephen W. Bosworth	2005–			Lewis T. Preston	1987–88
Tom Brokaw	2005–	<b>VICE PRESIDENTS</b>		James E. Burke	1988–89
David M. Rubenstein	2005–	Paul D. Cravath	1921–33	David Woodbridge	1989–94
		Norman H. Davis	1933–36	Janice L. Murray	1994–
<b>CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD</b>		Edwin F. Gay	1933–40		
Russell C. Leffingwell	1946–53	Frank L. Polk	1940–43	<b>EDITORS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS</b>	
John J. McCloy	1953–70	Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44	Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–28
David Rockefeller	1970–85	Allen W. Dulles	1944–46	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928–72
Peter G. Peterson	1985–	Isaiah Bowman	1945–49	William P. Bundy	1972–84
		Henry M. Wriston	1950–51	William G. Hyland	1984–92
<b>HONORARY CHAIRMEN</b>		David Rockefeller	1950–70	James F. Hoge Jr.	1992–
John J. McCloy	1970–1989	Frank Altschul	1951–71		
David Rockefeller	1985–	Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52	<b>DIRECTORS OF STUDIES</b>	
		David W. MacEachron	1972–74	Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53
<b>VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD</b>		John Temple Swing	1972–86	Philip E. Mosely	1955–63
Grayson Kirk	1971–73	Alton Frye	1987–93	Richard H. Ullman	1973–76
Cyrus R. Vance	1973–76, 1985–87	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976–77
		John A. Millington	1987–96	John C. Campbell	1977–78
Douglas Dillon	1976–78	Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1987–93	Paul H. Kreisberg	1981–87
Carroll L. Wilson	1978–79	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89
Warren Christopher	1987–91	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94
Harold Brown	1991–92	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–2005	Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95
B. R. Inman	1992–93	Janice L. Murray	1995–2002	Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick	1993–94	David J. Vidal	1995–97	Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996
Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–2002	Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Carla A. Hills	2001–	Frederick C. Broda	1996–97	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–2002
William J. McDonough	2002–2003	Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996	Michael P. Peters	2002–2003
Robert E. Rubin	2003–	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98	James M. Lindsay	2003–
		David Kellogg	1997–2002		
<b>HONORARY VICE CHAIRMAN</b>		Paula J. Dobriansky	1997–2001	<b>DIRECTORS OF MEETINGS</b>	
Maurice R. Greenberg	2002–	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–	George S. Franklin	1949–50
		Lawrence J. Korb	1998–2002	William Henderson	1952–54, 1955–56
<b>PRESIDENTS</b>		Elise Carlson Lewis	1999–	Melvin Conant	1954–55,*
John W. Davis	1921–33	Robert C. Orr	2002–2003		1956–57,*
George W. Wickersham	1933–36	Irina A. Faskianos	2002–		1957–59
Norman H. Davis	1936–44	Lisa Shields	2003–	George V.H. Moseley III	1959–62
Russell C. Leffingwell	1944–46	James M. Lindsay	2003–	Harry Boardman	1962–69
Allen W. Dulles	1946–50	Nancy E. Roman	2004–	Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969–78
Henry M. Wriston	1951–64	Suzanne E. Helm	2005–	Marilyn Berger	1978–79
Grayson Kirk	1964–71			Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
Bayless Manning	1971–77	<b>EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS</b>		Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Winston Lord	1977–85	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922–28	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–2005
John Temple Swing*	1985–86	Malcolm W. Davis	1925–27	Nancy D. Bodurtha	2005–
Peter Tarnoff	1986–93	Walter H. Mallory	1927–59		
Alton Frye	1993	George S. Franklin	1953–71		
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2003				
Richard N. Haass	2003–				

\* *pro-tempore*

# BUDGET *and* FINANCE

The Council's finances continued to strengthen in fiscal year 2005, thanks to growth in the portfolio, which increased 11 percent over the prior fiscal year, and other major revenue streams, including membership, the corporate program, and annual giving (up 22 percent, 24 percent, and 15 percent, respectively, over fiscal year 2004).

We are grateful to the Council's investment subcommittee chaired by J. Tomilson Hill for its stewardship of the Council's

portfolio, and to the individuals, corporations, and foundations that helped the Council maintain a sound financial base. We also thank the Finance and Budget Committee, chaired by Michael Moskow, and the Audit Committee, chaired by John Biggs, for their oversight of the Council's finances.

*Janice L. Murray*  
Senior Vice President, Treasurer,  
and Chief Operating Officer

## STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

As of June 30, 2005 and 2004

	2005	2004
<b>Assets</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 3,572,300	\$ 3,431,700
Accounts receivable (net of allowance of \$238,600 in 2005 and \$0 in 2004) and prepaid expenses	1,140,100	1,427,500
Grants and contributions receivable ( <i>Note 5</i> )	2,219,800	3,366,800
Contributions receivable for endowment ( <i>Note 5</i> )	2,605,500	2,742,200
Inventories	246,600	98,500
Investments ( <i>Note 3</i> )	187,797,200	169,039,900
Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net ( <i>Note 6</i> )	24,478,800	25,069,500
Total	<u>\$ 222,060,300</u>	<u>\$ 205,176,100</u>
<b>Liabilities and Net Assets</b>		
<b>Liabilities:</b>		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 4,671,600	\$ 4,743,800
Deferred subscription revenue	2,563,300	2,315,000
Accrued postretirement benefits ( <i>Note 8</i> )	2,037,000	1,971,000
Total liabilities	<u>9,271,900</u>	<u>9,029,800</u>
<b>Net assets (<i>Notes 9 and 10</i>):</b>		
Unrestricted	102,460,900	88,378,200
Temporarily restricted	39,129,800	38,200,600
Permanently restricted	71,197,700	69,567,500
Total net assets	<u>212,788,400</u>	<u>196,146,300</u>
Total	<u>\$ 222,060,300</u>	<u>\$ 205,176,100</u>

See notes to financial statements.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

**STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES**

For the year ended June 30, 2005, with comparative totals for the year ended June 30, 2004

	Unrestricted	Restricted		2005 Total	2004 Total
		Temporarily	Permanently		
<b>Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications</b>					
Membership dues	\$ 4,396,700			\$ 4,396,700	\$ 3,612,200
Annual giving	4,277,000			4,277,000	3,720,300
Corporate memberships and related income	5,504,200			5,504,200	4,429,500
Meetings	4,300	110,000		114,300	154,300
International Affairs Fellowships		85,000		85,000	80,000
Grants and contributions for Studies	531,750	3,409,700		3,941,450	2,686,600
Other grants and contributions	96,200	490,100		586,300	302,000
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	6,329,100			6,329,100	6,605,800
Book publication	39,900			39,900	46,900
Investment return used for current operations (Note 4)	1,894,700	3,362,500		5,257,200	6,650,700
Rental income	1,324,500			1,324,500	794,500
Miscellaneous	89,050	95,400		184,450	212,300
Total operating revenue and support	24,487,400	7,552,700		32,040,100	29,295,100
Net assets released from restrictions (Note 9)	8,510,000	(8,510,000)		—	—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	32,997,400	(957,300)		32,040,100	29,295,100
<b>Operating expenses</b>					
Program expenses:					
Studies Program	11,000,600			11,000,600	11,560,400
Meetings Program	2,939,200			2,939,200	2,901,100
Special events	609,500			609,500	432,700
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	5,931,700			5,931,700	5,171,900
Book publication	383,200			383,200	407,300
National Program	882,500			882,500	775,300
Websites	1,042,500			1,042,500	651,200
International Affairs Fellowships	456,300			456,300	995,200
Communications	994,300			994,300	834,800
Total program expenses	24,239,800			24,239,800	23,729,900
Supporting services:					
Management and general	4,187,800			4,187,800	4,228,800
Membership	1,301,000			1,301,000	835,500
Fund-raising:					
Development	328,000			328,000	318,000
Corporate Program	1,224,300			1,224,300	826,300
Total fund-raising	1,552,300			1,552,300	1,144,300
Total supporting services	7,041,100			7,041,100	6,208,600
Total operating expenses	31,280,900			31,280,900	29,938,500
<b>Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over (under) operating expenses</b>	1,716,500	(957,300)		759,200	(643,400)
<b>Nonoperating revenue (Note 2)</b>					
Investment gain in excess of spending rate (Note 4)	10,380,400	2,463,500		12,843,900	11,791,900
Endowment contributions and reclassifications (Note 2)	1,985,800	(577,000)	1,630,200	3,039,000	3,178,800
Total nonoperating revenue	12,366,200	1,886,500	1,630,200	15,882,900	14,970,700
Change in net assets	14,082,700	929,200	1,630,200	16,642,100	14,327,300
Net assets, beginning of year	88,378,200	38,200,600	69,567,500	196,146,300	184,007,700
Prior period adjustments (Note 12)					(2,188,700)
Net assets, beginning of year as adjusted					181,819,000
Net assets, end of year	\$102,460,900	\$39,129,800	\$71,197,700	\$212,788,400	\$196,146,300

See notes to financial statements.

**STATEMENTS OF CASH FLOWS**

For the year ended June 30, 2005 and 2004

	2005	2004
<b>Cash flows from operating activities:</b>		
Change in net assets	\$ 16,642,100	\$ 14,327,300
Prior period adjustments		(2,188,700)
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash used in operating activities:		
Depreciation	1,555,300	1,677,600
Net realized and unrealized gain on investments	(18,210,800)	(17,964,000)
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	(1,630,200)	(3,178,800)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities:		
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	287,400	(397,200)
Grants and contributions receivable	1,147,000	3,575,400
Inventories	(148,100)	28,900
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	(72,200)	1,479,100
Deferred subscription revenue	248,300	(100,800)
Accrued postretirement benefits	66,000	113,000
Net cash used in operating activities	(115,200)	(2,628,200)
<b>Cash flows from investing activities:</b>		
Purchases of building improvements and equipment	(964,600)	(4,433,700)
Purchases of investments	(255,933,500)	(198,537,800)
Proceeds from sales of investments	255,387,000	197,596,600
Net cash used in investing activities	(1,511,100)	(5,374,900)
<b>Cash flows from financing activities:</b>		
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	1,766,900	1,739,600
Net increase (decrease) in cash and cash equivalents	140,600	(6,263,500)
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	3,431,700	9,695,200
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	\$ 3,572,300	\$ 3,431,700

See notes to financial statements.

**NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS**

As of and for the years ended June 30, 2005 and 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 in accordance with Statement of Financial Accounting Standards (“SFAS”) No. 117, *Financial Statements of Not-for-Profit Organizations*. Accordingly, net assets and revenue, expenses, gains, and losses are classified based on the existence or absence of donor-imposed restrictions. The Statement of Activities includes certain prior year summarized comparative information in total, but not by net asset class. Such information does not include sufficient detail to constitute a presentation in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America.

Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Council's financial statements for the year ended June 30, 2004, from which the summarized information was derived.

**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 in marketable debt and equity securities are classified as available for sale and are recorded at their fair values, which are based on quoted market prices. Interest income is recorded on an accrual basis and dividend income is recorded based on the ex-dividend date. The Council's investment in 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.

Investments, in general, are exposed to various risks, such as interest rate, credit, and overall market volatility. As such, it is reasonably possible that changes in the values of investments will occur in the near term and that such changes could materially affect the amounts reported in the statements of financial position and activities.

The fair value of certain of the Council's investments is determined by the investments managers. Because of the inherent uncertainty of valuation, the values determined by the investment managers may differ significantly from values that would have been used had a ready market for these investments existed, and the differences could be material. The Council has the ability to liquidate its investments in limited partnerships only periodically in accordance with the provisions of respective partnership agreements.

**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. Deferred compensation liabilities and accrued earnings are included in accounts payable and accrued expenses in the financial statements.

**Inventory**—Inventory consists of paper that is stored offsite and used in the printing of the bimonthly publication *Foreign Affairs*. Inventory is stated at the lower of cost (first in, first out method) or market.

**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 consist of 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 consist of 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.

During the year, it was discovered that certain endowment contributions received in a prior year that were recorded as both temporarily and permanently restricted net assets, were intended to be unrestricted contributions. These contributions have been reclassified to unrestricted net assets.

**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, using the estimated useful life of the asset.

Membership dues are recorded as membership dues revenue in the period that relates to the member's duration of membership.

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 statements 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 in fiscal June 2004 did not have a material effect on the Council's financial statements.

*Reclassifications*—Certain 2004 amounts have been reclassified to conform to the 2005 presentation. Such reclassifications did not affect total net assets.

### 3. INVESTMENTS

The components of the Council's long-term investments as of June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively, are as follows:

	2005		2004	
	Cost	Carrying Value	Cost	Carrying Value
Domestic equity securities	\$ 54,837,800	\$ 60,695,800	\$ 45,086,700	\$ 56,316,900
International equity securities	18,986,000	26,367,600	16,365,100	22,873,300
Foreign and corporate bonds	13,188,800	13,083,500	4,484,300	4,500,100
U.S. government agency obligations	13,087,900	13,019,800	22,654,700	22,644,400
Hedge funds	39,419,100	61,995,000	33,428,400	50,242,900
Money market funds	12,635,500	12,635,500	12,462,300	12,462,300
Total	<u>\$ 152,155,100</u>	<u>\$ 187,797,200</u>	<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 investments for the three previous years. Amounts allocated to the unrestricted net asset classes is at the discretion of the Council. Amounts allocated to the temporarily restricted net asset class are based on the donors' stipulations. As of June 30, 2005, and June 30, 2004 (with comparative totals), investment income has been reported as follows:

	Year Ended June 30, 2005			2004 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$2,182,600 (\$1,366,200 for 2004)	\$ (74,400)	\$ (35,300)	\$ (109,700)	\$ 478,600
Net realized and unrealized gain	12,349,500	5,861,300	18,210,800	17,964,000
Total return on investments	12,275,100	5,826,000	18,101,100	18,442,600
Investment return used for current operations	(1,894,700)	(3,362,500)	(5,257,200)	(6,650,700)
Investment gain in excess of spending rate	<u>\$ 10,380,400</u>	<u>\$ 2,463,500</u>	<u>\$ 12,843,900</u>	<u>\$ 11,791,900</u>

### 5. GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVABLE AND CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVABLE FOR ENDOWMENT

Receivables consist substantially of promises to give and are due from individuals, corporations, and foundations. As of June 30, 2005 and 2004, amounts for contributions receivable for endowments that are due within one year are \$2,434,500 and \$2,742,200, respectively. Grants and contributions receivable and contributions receivable for endowment as of June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively, are due to be collected as follows:

	2005	2004
Less than one year	\$ 3,876,900	\$ 4,247,100
One to five years	1,009,000	1,950,000
	<u>4,885,900</u>	<u>6,197,100</u>
Less discount (at rates varying from 1.5% to 3.8%)	(60,600)	(88,100)
Grants and contributions receivable, net	<u>\$ 4,825,300</u>	<u>\$ 6,109,000</u>

**6. LAND, BUILDINGS AND BUILDING IMPROVEMENTS, AND EQUIPMENT**

Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, at cost, as of June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively, are summarized as follows:

	2005	2004	Estimated Useful Life
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	30,828,600	30,516,800	10–55 years
Construction in progress	114,000		
Equipment	5,854,400	8,589,400	3–15 years
	<u>38,651,300</u>	<u>40,960,500</u>	
Less accumulated depreciation	(14,172,500)	(15,891,000)	
	<u>\$ 24,478,800</u>	<u>\$ 25,069,500</u>	

Depreciation expense was \$1,555,300 and \$1,677,600 for the years ended June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively. During 2005, assets fully depreciated were written off in the amount of \$3,273,859.

**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 Equities Fund to purchase individual annuities for plan members. The expense for the plan was \$977,400 for 2005 and \$921,800 for 2004, respectively. Participants must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.

**8. OTHER POSTRETIREMENT BENEFITS**

The Council provides certain health care and life insurance benefits for its 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:*

	2005	2004
Benefit obligation, end of year	\$(3,541,000)	\$(3,332,000)
Net amount recognized in the statements of financial position	<u>(2,037,000)</u>	<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 5.5% and 6.5% for the years ended June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively. The postretirement benefits paid during the years ended June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively, was \$228,000 and \$213,000.

The postretirement benefit cost for the years ended June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively, was \$66,000 and \$113,000 and was based on actuarial assumptions and a discount rate set as of the beginning of the year. The discount rate was 6.5% and 6.25% for the years ended June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively, and the projected credit unit method was used for determining benefits earned during the year.

*Assumed health care cost trend rates at June 30:*

	2005	2004
Health care cost trend rate assumed for next year	9%	10%
Rate to which the cost trend rate is assumed to decline	5%	5%
Year that the rate reaches the ultimate trend rate	2009	2009

Increasing the assumed medical care cost trend rates by 1% in each year would increase the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation at June 30, 2005, by \$31,000.

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

Year ending June 30,	
2006	\$ 233,000
2007	234,000
2008	236,000
2009	243,000
2010	247,000
2011–2015	1,223,000

**9. TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS**

Temporarily restricted net assets as of June 30, 2005, are restricted for the following purposes or time periods:

	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>
Studies	\$ 27,616,100	\$ 24,262,200
International Affairs Fellowships	4,391,800	4,200,500
Meetings	2,331,500	3,162,500
Capital expenditures	4,745,300	5,001,400
Other	45,100	1,574,000
	<u>\$ 39,129,800</u>	<u>\$ 38,200,600</u>

Temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for the fulfillment of the following purpose and time periods during the year ended June 30, 2005:

	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>
Studies	\$ 7,248,900	\$ 7,896,800
International Affairs Fellowships	474,800	537,400
Meetings	514,700	454,600
Capital expenditures	260,000	217,400
Other	11,600	277,700
	<u>\$ 8,510,000</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, 2005, income earned on permanently restricted net assets is available for the following purposes:

	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>
Studies	\$ 44,442,700	\$ 43,398,300
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,200	6,066,100
Meetings	4,681,800	4,096,100
Library	1,021,000	1,021,000
Unrestricted as to use	14,986,000	14,986,000
	<u>\$ 71,197,700</u>	<u>\$ 69,567,500</u>

**11. COMMITMENTS**

The Council leases certain office facilities and equipment under operating lease arrangements. These leases consist of the Washington, DC, office space and various office equipment rentals.

Future minimum payments for capital and noncancelable operating leases as of June 30, 2005, are as follows:

Year ending June 30,	
2006	\$299,400
2007	299,400
2008	286,700
2009	21,600
2010	<u>10,900</u>
Total	<u>\$918,000</u>

Rent expense under the operating leases was \$313,400 and \$324,772 for the years ended June 30, 2005 and 2004, respectively.

**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	(8,800)
Adjusted beginning unrestricted net assets at July 1, 2003	<u>\$77,025,500</u>

**Deloitte.**

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**INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT**

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

We have audited the accompanying statements of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (the "Council"), as of June 30, 2005 and 2004, the related statements of cash flows for the years then ended, and the statement of activities for the year ended June 30, 2005. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Council's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits. The prior year summarized comparative information has been derived from the Council's June 30, 2004, financial statements.

We conducted our audits in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States of America. 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 consideration of internal control over financial reporting as a basis for designing audit procedures that are appropriate in the circumstance, but not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the effectiveness of the Council's internal control over financial reporting. Accordingly, we express no such opinion. An audit also includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements, assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. at June 30, 2005 and 2004, its cash flows for the years then ended, and the changes in its net assets for the year then ended June 30, 2005, in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America.

*Deloitte & Touche LLP*

August 19, 2005

Member of  
Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu

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# STAFF

## EXECUTIVE OFFICE

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Janice L. Murray	<i>Senior Vice President, Treasurer, and Chief Operating Officer</i>
Eva Tatarczyk	<i>Executive Assistant to the President</i>
Siobhan Devine	<i>Special Assistant to the President</i>
Derek Berlin	<i>Research Associate</i>
Lilita V. Gusts	<i>Secretary of the Corporation</i>
Jeffrey A. Reinke	<i>Director of Member Relations (New York) and Special Projects</i>
Sharon Herbst	<i>Program Coordinator, Special Projects</i>
Leslie H. Gelb	<i>President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow</i>
Darren Geist	<i>Research Associate to the President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow</i>
Elva Murphy	<i>Assistant to the President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow</i>
Alton Frye	<i>Presidential Senior Fellow Emeritus</i>

## TASK FORCE PROGRAM

Lee Feinstein	<i>Executive Director</i>
Lindsay Workman	<i>Assistant Director</i>

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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Gideon Rose	<i>Managing Editor</i>
Jonathan D. Tepperman	<i>Deputy Managing Editor</i>
Stéphanie Giry	<i>Senior Editor</i>
Daniel Kurtz-Phelan	<i>Associate Editor</i>
Paul Musgrave	<i>Assistant Editor</i>
Ann Tappert	<i>Copy Editor</i>
Rosemary Hartman	<i>Assistant to the Editor</i>
Ann Hathaway Coleman	<i>Assistant to the Managing Editor</i>
Arisa Sidoti	<i>Editorial Assistant</i>

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Elizabeth Daly	<i>Special Assistant to the Publisher</i>
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Joshua Holmes	<i>Assistant Circulation Manager</i>
Lisa Lau	<i>Academic Publishing Coordinator</i>
Sacha Nana	<i>Advertising Sales and Production Assistant</i>

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## COUNCIL PUBLISHING AND WEBSITE

David Kellogg	<i>Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher</i>
Elizabeth Daly	<i>Special Assistant to the Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher</i>

## CFR.ORG

Bernard Gwertzman	<i>Consulting Editor</i>
Lionel Bechner	<i>Staff Writer</i>

Esther Pan	<i>Staff Writer</i>
Mary Crane	<i>Editorial Coordinator</i>
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Cree Frappier	<i>Manager of Web Design and Development</i>
Juan-Carlos Sobrino	<i>Web Producer</i>
Ian Crowther	<i>Assistant Web Producer</i>

## COUNCIL PUBLISHING

Patricia Lee Dorff	<i>Director of Publishing</i>
Rachel R. Rosner	<i>Assistant Editor and Outreach Coordinator</i>

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## STUDIES PROGRAM

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Lee Feinstein	<i>Deputy Director of Studies and Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law</i>
Janine Hill	<i>Associate Director</i>
Alicia Siebenaler	<i>Assistant Director</i>
Jean-Michel Oriol	<i>Budget Manager</i>
Avery Alpha	<i>Special Assistant to the Vice President and Director of Studies</i>

Robert D. Blackwill	<i>Counselor</i>
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### AFRICA

Princeton N. Lyman	<i>Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa</i>
Cheryl Igiri	<i>Policy Studies Research Associate</i>

### ASIA

Elizabeth C. Economy	<i>C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies</i>
Jerome A. Cohen	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow</i>
Eric Heginbotham	<i>Senior Fellow</i>
Mahnaz Ispahani	<i>Adjunct Senior Fellow</i>
Edward J. Lincoln	<i>Senior Fellow, Asia and Economic Studies</i>
Adam Segal	<i>Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies</i>
Emma Aller	<i>Research Associate</i>
R. Ashle Baxter	<i>Research Associate</i>
Mark Christopher	<i>Research Associate</i>
Cobb Mixer	<i>Research Associate</i>
Todd Robinson	<i>Research Associate</i>

### CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION

William L. Nash	<i>General John W. Vessey Senior Fellow for Conflict Prevention and Director of the Center for Preventive Action</i>
David L. Phillips	<i>Senior Fellow and Deputy Director</i>
Jamie Ekern	<i>Research Associate</i>

### MAURICE R. GREENBERG CENTER FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

Benn Steil	<i>Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and Senior Fellow in International Economics</i>
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Note: Staff shown as of August 31, 2005.

Caroline Atkinson *Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
 Jagdish N. Bhagwati *Senior Fellow in International Economics*  
 David Braunschvig *Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow for Business and Foreign Policy*

James P. Dougherty *Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
 Peter B. Kenen *Whitney H. Shepardson 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*

Ryann Manning *Research Associate, Center on Universal Education*

Howard Brown *Assistant to the Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education*

James Bergman *Research Associate*  
 Vanessa Buisson *Research Associate*  
 Nita Colaço *Research Associate*  
 Ian Cornwall *Research Associate*  
 Adam Fleisher *Research Associate*  
 Melanie Gervacio *Research Associate*  
 Lindsay Iversen *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*

Vanessa Buisson *Research Associate*  
 Daniel Keegan *Research Associate*  
 Joshua Marcuse *Research Associate*  
 Rositsa Petrova *Research Associate*

**GLOBAL HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT**

Laurie Garrett *Senior Fellow for Global Health*  
 Michelle T. McMurry *Adjunct Fellow*  
 David G. Victor *Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
 Vanessa Buisson *Research Associate*  
 Nita Colaço *Research Associate*  
 Lindsay Iversen *Research Associate*  
 Scott Rosenstein *Research Associate*

**LATIN AMERICA**

Julia E. Sweig *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies and Director of Latin America Studies*

Amanda Raymond *Research Associate*

**MIDDLE EAST**

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

Steven A. Cook *Douglas Dillon Fellow*  
 Judith Kipper *Director, Middle East Forum*  
 Henry Siegman *Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project*

Ray Takeyh *Senior Fellow, Middle Eastern Studies*  
 Gail Israelson *Executive Assistant to the Director, U.S./Middle East Project*

Meredith Angelson *Research Associate*  
 Kareem Idriss *Research Associate*  
 Brooke Lehman *Research Associate, Middle East Forum*  
 Sanam Vakil *Research Associate*

**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*

Ian Cornwall *Research Associate*  
 Andrea Walther *Research Associate*

**SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

Charles D. Ferguson II *Fellow*  
 David G. Victor *Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
 Nita Colaço *Research Associate*  
 Lindsay Iversen *Research Associate*  
 Todd Robinson *Research Associate*

**U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**

Isobel Coleman *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*  
 Lee Feinstein *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law*

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

Scott Erwin *Research Associate*  
 Bryan Gunderson *Research Associate*  
 Daniel Keegan *Research Associate*  
 Mehlaqa Samdani *Research Associate*

**VISITING FELLOWS, 2005–2006**

Colonel Mark A. Bucknam *USAF Military Fellow*

Colonel Peter R. Mansoor *USA Military Fellow*  
 Jane Arraf *Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow*  
 Nancy Bird *Intelligence Fellow*  
 Evans J.R. Revere *Cyrus R. Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies*

Stephanie Kleine-Ahlbrandt *International Affairs Fellow*  
 Saskia Reilly *International Affairs Fellow*  
 Isaiah Wilson *International Affairs Fellow*  
 Emma Aller *Research Associate*  
 Christine Quinn *Research Associate*

**MEETINGS**

Anne R. Luzzatto *Vice President, Meetings and Outreach*  
 Nancy D. Bodurtha *Director, Meetings*  
 Anastasia M. La Follette *Deputy Director, Meetings*  
 Francesco Barbacci *Assistant Director, Meetings*  
 Jennifer Berlin *Assistant to the Vice President, Meetings and Outreach*

Martina Donlon *Program Coordinator, Meetings*  
 Meaghan Mills *Program Associate, Meetings*  
 Vera Ranola *Program Associate, Outreach*  
 Monti Burnett *Administrative Assistant/ Database Coordinator*

**WASHINGTON PROGRAM**

Nancy E. Roman *Vice President and Director*

Jacqueline McLaren Miller *Deputy Director, Washington Program*  
 Jennifer Golden *Associate Director, Meetings and Outreach*  
 Linda Harsh *Associate Director, Washington Office*  
 Keri Nash *Assistant to the Vice President and Director*  
 Christine Zehender *Events Manager*  
 Sofia Mancheno *Program Coordinator*

Daniel Karl *Program Assistant*  
 Emily McLeod *Program Assistant*

**CONGRESS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAM**

Nancy E. Roman *Director*  
 Natalya Anfilofyeva *Assistant Director*  
 Michael Messmer *Assistant Director*

**NATIONAL PROGRAM AND ACADEMIC OUTREACH**

Irina A. Faskianos *Vice President, National Program and Academic Outreach*  
 Jennifer A. Curtis *Program Associate, National Program and Academic Outreach*  
 Mason C. Beard *Program Assistant, National Program and Academic Outreach*  
 Archana Bharathan *Program Assistant, National Program and Academic Outreach*

**CORPORATE AFFAIRS**

David Kellogg *Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher*  
 Elizabeth Daly *Special Assistant to the Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, and Publisher*  
 Jacqui Selbst Schein *Director*  
 Claire McClafferty *Associate Director*  
 Diane McMahon *Associate Director, DC Office*  
 Jana Gasn *Assistant Director*  
 Sue Fernando *Corporate Affairs Associate*  
 Tara Medeiros *Corporate Affairs Associate*

**MEMBERSHIP AND FELLOWSHIP AFFAIRS**

Elise Carlson Lewis *Vice President*  
 Bessie Skoures *Deputy Director, Term Member Program*  
 Katie Baldwin *Program Associate*  
 Nicole Bruno *Program Associate, Term Member Program*  
 Aysha Ghadiali *Program Associate*  
 Rita Perakis *Program Associate*  
 Valentina Barbacci *Program Assistant*

**COMMUNICATIONS**

Lisa Shields *Vice President*  
 Marie X. Strauss *Deputy Director*  
 Anya Schmemann *Communications Manager, DC Office*  
 Kathleen Zimmerman *Assistant Director*  
 Amy R. Gunning *Communications Coordinator*

**DEVELOPMENT**

Suzanne E. Helm *Vice President*  
 Betty Kurdys *Director of Annual and Planned Giving*  
 Lena Moy *Program Associate*  
 Jeffrey A. Reinke *Director of Member Relations (New York) and Special Projects*  
 Sharon Herbst *Program Coordinator, Special Projects*

**ADMINISTRATION**

Janice L. Murray *Senior Vice President, Treasurer, and Chief Operating Officer*

**FINANCE**

Peter Tyndale *Director*  
 J Joseph Maldonado *Accounting Manager*  
 Jennifer Perez *Senior Accountant*  
 Sigi Silvani *Senior Accountant*  
 Russell Mardonov *Senior Accounting Associate*  
 Linda Copeland *Accounting Associate*  
 Vera Langley *Accounting Associate*  
 Myrna Morris *Accounts Payable Associate*

**HUMAN RESOURCES**

Jan Mowder Hughes *Director and Deputy Chief Operating Officer*  
 Kerry N Kletter *Deputy Director*  
 Nicolle Cestero *Assistant Director*  
 Nikki Capellupo *Human Resources Associate*  
 Cambria Hamburg *Interdepartmental Program Associate*

**RECEPTION**

Cristy Lemperle *Reception Supervisor*  
 Susan Allred *Receptionist*

**LIBRARY AND RESEARCH SERVICES**

Lilita V. Gusts *Director and Secretary of the Corporation*  
 Marcia L. Sprules *Deputy Director*  
 Michelle Baute *Manager, Web Research Sources*  
 Connie M. Stagnaro *Research Intranet and Archives Coordinator*  
 Ming Er Qiu *Technical Services Coordinator*  
 Nicholaos Fokas *Library Assistant*  
 Barbara K. Miller *Consulting Archivist*

**INFORMATION SERVICES**

Charles Day *Chief Technology Officer*  
 Deepak Trivedi *Deputy Director*  
 Richard Wawzycki *Associate Director, and Manager, Website Administration*  
 Albert Andrade *Senior Help Desk Technician*  
 Alice McLoughlin *Assistant to the Chief Technology Officer*  
 Virginia Rolston Parrott *Database Manager and Technical Trainer*  
 Chris O. Sierra *LAN Administrator*  
 Roberto Osoria *Help Desk Technician*

**SPECIAL EVENTS**

Valerie Post *Director*  
 Kathryn Hannan *Special Events Coordinator*

**FACILITY OPERATIONS**

Neftali Frank Alvarez *Director*  
 Phil Falcon *Deputy Director*  
 Ian Noray *Facility Services Manager*  
 Howard Kelly *Supervisor, Facility Operations*  
 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*  
 William Cornell *Assistant Events Manager*  
 Glen Goldman *Audio Visual Technician*

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# 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 proposed for membership by current Council members. 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. Thus, it is inevitable that some nominations will appear before the committee on several occasions. Given the high level of the competition, some candidates may never be elected even though they may embody many of the individual qualifications outlined below.

## TERM MEMBERSHIP

In an effort to reach out to the next generation of leaders, the Board has established a separate Term Membership Committee. This committee meets annually in the spring to evaluate candidates between the ages of 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. Initiated more than thirty years ago, the program has grown to the point where the Board has decided to index the number of term members to no more than 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 a minimum of two other individuals. The seconding letters do not need to 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@cfr.org](mailto:membership@cfr.org). E-mailed letters must include an electronic

signature or letterhead or must be supplemented with a signed hard copy, sent via mail or fax.

## RULES AND REGULATIONS

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

- Council membership is restricted to citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.
- Members of the Council's Board of Directors and Membership Committee are precluded from nominating, seconding, or writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as 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 whom they know well. Additionally, members are encouraged to make comparative judgments about candidates, where appropriate. The committee also advises members to write no more than two letters per round (either one nominating letter 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. Thoughtful, candid, and succinct comments are far more important in nominating and seconding letters than formal endorsements of candidates. In seconding letters particularly, writers should express why a given candidate should be considered for Council membership for reasons beyond the basic criteria above.

Although only three seconding letters are required to complete the application, additional letters may be submitted. Such letters are particularly helpful to the Membership Committee when they add information or insights about a candidate not already contained in a previous letter. It is strongly recommended, however, that applications contain no more than four seconding letters.

All membership nominating and seconding letters should be e-mailed as text or Microsoft Word documents to [membership@cfr.org](mailto:membership@cfr.org).

#### DEADLINES

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

#### LIFE MEMBERSHIP

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

#### 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 new materials and secure additional letters of support. 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. The process is entirely one of affirmative selection—i.e., from the large and evolving pool of nominees, the committee and the Board choose a number of members without prejudice to the candidacies of those remaining in the pool.

#### PROFILE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
<b>Location</b>		
New York Area	1,394	32
Washington, DC, Area	1,311	31
National/International	1,569	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,274</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Profession</b>		
Business	1,343	31
Professors, Fellows, and Researchers	794	19
Nonprofit	642	15
Government	496	12
Lawyers	313	7
University and College Administrators	275	6
Journalists, Correspondents, and Editors	254	6
Other	157	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,274</b>	<b>100</b>

Contact for all membership matters and correspondence:

Elise Carlson Lewis  
Vice President, Membership and Fellowship Affairs  
Council on Foreign Relations  
58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021  
Telephone: (212) 434-9483 • Fax: (212) 434-9801  
E-mail: [membership@cfr.org](mailto:membership@cfr.org)

## MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

- 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.  
 Alterman, Jon B.  
 Altman, Roger C.  
 Altman, William C.  
 Altshuler, David  
 Alvarado, Donna Maria  
 Alvarez, Jose E.  
 Alvarez, Kira M.†  
 Alving, Amy E.  
 Amador, Angelo I.  
 Amanat, Omar S.  
 Amerine, Jason L.  
 Amlani, Ajay K.†  
 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  
 Apossey, Nancy A.  
 Apgar, David P.  
 Aponte, Mari Carmen  
 Appenteng, Kofi  
 Appiah, Kwame Anthony  
 Applebaum, Anne E.  
 Apter, David E.  
 Arcos, Cresencio S.  
 Arend, Anthony Clark\*  
 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  
 Arsht, 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.  
 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.  
 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  
 Balstad, Roberta  
 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.  
 Barnes, Harry G. Jr.  
 Barnes, Michael D.  
 Barnett, F. William  
 Barod, Raenu†  
 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, Gary J.†  
 Bass, Peter E.  
 Bass, Warren\*  
 Bates, Pamela M.  
 Batkin, Alan R.  
 Bator, Francis M.  
 Battaglia, Charles C.  
 Baumann, Carol Edler  
 Baxter, Randolph  
 Bayh, Evan  
 Bean, Frank D.  
 Bearg-Dyke, Nancy  
 Beattie, Richard I.  
 Beatty, Warren\*  
 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.  
 Belk, Peter I.†  
 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.  
 Benmosche, Robert H.  
 Bennet, Douglas J.  
 Bennett, Andrew Owen  
 Bennett, Christina A.  
 Bennett, Susan J.  
 Benschhof, Janet  
 Benson, Lucy Wilson  
 Bereuter, Douglas K.  
 Bergen, Peter Lampert  
 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.  
 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 N.  
 Billingsley, Lucy C.\*  
 Bindenagel, James D.

## MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

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  
 Blackburn, Leigh J. †  
 Blacker, Coit D.  
 Blackwell, J. Kenneth  
 Blackwill, Robert D.  
 Blake, Robert O.  
 Blank, Jonah\*  
 Blank, Stephen  
 Blechman, Barry M.  
 Bleich, Jeffrey L.\*  
 Bleier, Edward  
 Blendon, Robert Jay  
 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.  
 Bohlen, 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

Booker, Cory A. †  
 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.  
 Bowman, Bradley L. †  
 Bowman, Frank Lee  
 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, Lael  
 Bramwell, Elizabeth R.  
 Branch, Daniel H.  
 Branscomb, Lewis M.  
 Branson, Louise  
 Braswell, Kimberly G.\*  
 Brauchli, Marcus W.  
 Braunschvig, David  
 Brazeal, Aurelia E.  
 Breck, Henry R.  
 Breed, Henry Eltinge  
 Bremer, L. Paul III  
 Bremmer, Ian A. †  
 Breslauer, 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  
 Bronfman, Edgar M.  
 Bronner, Ethan S.  
 Bronson, Rachel\*  
 Brookins, Carole L.  
 Brooks, Karen B.  
 Brooks, Risa A.  
 Brooks, Rosa Ehrenreich  
 Brooks, Stephen G. †  
 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, Richard P. Jr.  
 Brown, Seyom  
 Browning, David S.  
 Bruce, Judith  
 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, Cody D. †  
 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.  
 Busby, Joshua W. †  
 Bush, Jonathan S.  
 Bush, Mary K.  
 Bushner, Rolland H.  
 Bussey, John C.  
 Butler, Paul W.\*  
 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.  
 Cahill, Kevin M.  
 Cahn, Anne Hessian  
 Calabria, Dawn T.  
 Calabria, F. Christopher  
 Calabresi, Massimo ET.\*  
 Calder, Kent Eyring  
 Caldera, Louis E.  
 Caldwell, Dan  
 Caldwell, Philip  
 Calhoun, Craig J.\*  
 Califano, Joseph A. Jr.  
 Calkins, Samuel L.  
 Callaghy, Thomas M.  
 Callander, Robert J.  
 Callen, Michael A.  
 Calleo, David Patrick  
 Cambria, Salvatore F.\*  
 Camner, Danielle D.  
 Camp, Roderic Ai\*  
 Campbell, Carolyn Margaret  
 Campbell, Colin G.  
 Campbell, David Arthur  
 Campbell, F. Gregory  
 Campbell, Kurt M.  
 Campbell, Thomas J.  
 Campbell, William  
 Cannella, Margaret  
 Capehart, Jonathan  
 Caperton, William Gaston III  
 Cappello, Juan Carlos  
 Caputo, David A.  
 Caputo, Lisa M.  
 Carbonell, Nestor T.  
 Cardenas, Jose A.\*  
 Carey, John  
 Carey, Sarah C.  
 Carey, Wm. Polk  
 Cari, Joseph A. Jr.\*  
 Carl, Maria L.  
 Carlos, Manuel Luis  
 Carlson, Scott A.  
 Carlucci, Frank C.

\* Elected to membership in 2005.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2005.



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- Carmel, David A.  
 Carmichael, William D.  
 Carnesale, Albert  
 Carone, Christa B.†  
 Carothers, Thomas  
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 Carrington, Walter C.  
 Carroll, J. Speed  
 Carroll, Katherine Mooney  
 Carruth, Reba Anne  
 Carson, Charles William Jr.  
 Carson, Johnnie\*  
 Carswell, Robert  
 Carter, Ashton B.  
 Carter, Barry E.  
 Carter, Hodding III  
 Carter, James Earl  
 Carter, James H.  
 Carter, Mark Andrew  
 Carter, Marshall Nichols  
 Casebeer, William David  
 Casper, Gerhard  
 Cassel, Douglass W. Jr.  
 Cattarulla, Elliot R.  
 Catto, Henry E.  
 Caulfield, Frank J.  
 Caulfield, Matthew P.  
 Cavanagh, Richard Edward  
 Cavanaugh, Carey  
 Cave, Ray Charles  
 Cebrowski, Arthur Karl  
 Celeste, Richard F.  
 Cerjan, Paul G.  
 Cha, Victor D.  
 Chacho, Tania Marie  
 Chadda, Maya  
 Challenor, Herschelle S.  
 Chambers, Anne Cox  
 Chambers, Liza B.†  
 Chamoun, Walid George  
 Chan, Gerald L.  
 Chan, Ronnie C.  
 Chandrasekaran, Rajiv A.  
 Chang, David C.  
 Chang, Gareth C.C.  
 Chang, Juju  
 Chang-Robbins, Joyce  
 Chanin, Clifford  
 Chanis, Jonathan A.  
 Chao, Amy L.  
 Chao, Elaine L.  
 Charles, Robert Bruce  
 Charnovitz, Steve  
 Charpie, Robert A.  
 Chartener, Robert  
 Chase, Anthony R.  
 Chatterjee, Purnendu  
 Chaves, Robert J.  
 Chavira, Ricardo  
 Chayes, Antonia Handler  
 Checki, Terrence J.  
 Chen, John S.  
 Chen, Kimball C.  
 Chen, Philip D.  
 Chenault, Kenneth I.  
 Cheney, Richard B.  
 Cheney, Stephen A.  
 Cherian, Saj  
 Cherry, Pedro P.  
 Chesler, Ellen\*  
 Cheston, Sheila C.  
 Chichester, Mark H.  
 Chickering, A. Lawrence  
 Choi, Audrey  
 Chollet, Derek H.  
 Cholmondeley, Paula H.J.  
 Chomiak, Theodora  
 Bohachevsky  
 Choucri, Nazli  
 Christensen, Aimée R.  
 Christensen, Guillermo S.  
 Christensen, Stan F.\*  
 Christensen, Thomas J.  
 Christianson, Geryld B.  
 Christie, Ronald Irvin  
 Christman, Daniel William  
 Christopher, Warren  
 Chung, Christine K.†  
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 Cirincione, Joseph  
 Clapp, Priscilla A.  
 Clarida, Richard H.  
 Clark, Dick  
 Clark, J. H. Cullum  
 Clark, Mark Edmond  
 Clark, Noreen M.  
 Clark, Vernon E.  
 Clark, Wesley K.  
 Clark, William Jr.  
 Clarke, Donald C.  
 Clarke, Jack G.  
 Clarke, Teresa Hillary  
 Clarkson, Lawrence W.  
 Claussen, Eileen B.  
 Clement, Peter A.  
 Clemetson, Lynette  
 Cleveland, Harlan  
 Cleveland, Peter Matthews  
 Clifford, Donald K. Jr.  
 Cline, William R.  
 Clinger, William F. Jr.  
 Clinton, William Jefferson  
 Cloherty, Patricia M.  
 Cloonan, Edward T.  
 Clough, Michael  
 Coatsworth, John H.  
 Cobb, Charles E. Jr.  
 Cobb, Sue M.  
 Cobb, Tyrus W.  
 Cochran, Barbara S.  
 Coffey, C. Shelby III  
 Coffey, Joseph I.  
 Cogan, Charles G.  
 Cogan, Jacob Katz  
 Cogbill, John P.†  
 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.  
 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.  
 Collins, Wayne Dale\*  
 Comstock, Philip E. Jr.  
 Conaton, Erin C.  
 Concepcion, Gina Celcis  
 Conde, Cesar R.  
 Condit, Philip M.  
 Cone, Sydney M. III  
 Conley, Dalton  
 Conley, Jill G.\*  
 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  
 Cousins, Elizabeth M.  
 Covey, Jock  
 Cowal, Sally Grooms  
 Cowan, Geoffrey  
 Cowan, L. Gray  
 Cowhey, Peter F.  
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 Cox, Howard E. Jr.  
 Coy, Craig P.\*  
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 Craner, Lorne W.  
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 Crawford, Timothy W.  
 Crebo-Rediker, Heidi E.  
 Creekmore, Marion V. Jr.  
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 Crile, George III  
 Crippen, Dan L.  
 Crittenden, Ann  
 Crocker, Bathsheba N.\*  
 Crocker, Chester A.  
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 Cross, Devon G.  
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 Cross, Mary S.  
 Cross, Sam Y.  
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 Crossette, Barbara  
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 Crowley, Monica Elizabeth  
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 Cumming, Christine M.  
 Cummings, Alexander B. Jr.  
 Cummings, Craig P.†  
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 Cunningham, James B.  
 Cunningham, Nelson W.  
 Curley, Walter J.P. Jr.  
 Curran, R. T.  
 Currie, Kelley E.  
 Curtis, Charles B.  
 Curtis, Gerald L.  
 Cutler, Walter L.  
 Cushman, Kenneth A.  
 Cutter, W. Bowman  
 Cyr, Arthur I.  
**D**  
 D'Amato, Alfonse M.  
 Daalder, Ivo H.  
 Dady, Teresa Gail  
 Dahm, Evelyn Pignatari  
 Dailey, Brian D.  
 Dajani, Omar M.†

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 Daley, William M.  
 Dallara, Charles H.  
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 Dalton, James E.  
 Dam, Kenneth W.  
 Dam, Marcia Wachs  
 Damrosch, Lori Fislser  
 Danforth, William H.  
 Daniel, D. Ronald  
 Daniel, Donald C.F.  
 Danilovich, John J.\*  
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 Danner, Mark D.  
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 Davidson, Ralph Parsons  
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 Davis, Florence A.  
 Davis, Jacquelyn K.  
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 Davis, Kathryn W.  
 Davis, Kim Gordon  
 Davis, Lynn E.  
 Davis, Nathaniel  
 Davis, Stephen B.  
 Davison, Kristina Perkin  
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 Dawkins, Peter M.  
 Dawson Carr, Marion M.  
 Dawson, Christine L.  
 Dawson, Horace G. Jr.  
 Day, Arthur R.  
 Days, Drew Saunders III  
 de Borchgrave, Arnaud  
 de Habsburgo, Inmaculada  
 de Janosi, Peter E.  
 de la Garza, Rodolfo O.  
 de Lasa, Jose M.\*  
 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.  
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 DeCrane, Alfred C. Jr.  
 Decyk, Roxanne J.  
 Dedrick, Fred T.  
 Deeks, Ashley S.†
- 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.  
 Dentzer, Susan\*  
 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.  
 Desai, Vishakha N.\*  
 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  
 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.  
 Dobbins, James F.  
 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.  
 Donohue, Douglas S.  
 Donohue, Laura K.  
 Donohue, Thomas J. Sr.  
 Doran, Charles F.  
 Dormandy, Xenia B.M.  
 Dorsen, Norman  
 Dory, Amanda Jean  
 Doty, Grant R.\*  
 Doty, Paul M. Jr.  
 Dougan, Diana Lady  
 Dougherty, James P.  
 Douglas, Michael\*  
 Douglass, Loren  
 Douglass, Robert R.  
 Dowling, John Nicholas  
 Doyle, Michael W.  
 Draper, William H. III  
 Drayton, William  
 Dreier, David T.  
 Drell, Sidney D.  
 Drew, Elizabeth  
 Dreyfuss, Joel  
 Dreyfuss, Richard S.\*  
 Drezner, Daniel W.  
 Drimmer, Jonathan  
 Drobnick, Richard Lee  
 Drozdak, William M.  
 Drucker, Joy E.  
 Drucker, Richard A.  
 Druyan, Ann  
 Dryden, Ray N. Jr.  
 Duberstein, Kenneth M.  
 Dubin, Seth H.  
 DuBrul, Stephen M. Jr.  
 Duelfer, Charles A.  
 Duersten, Althea L.  
 Duffey, Joseph D.  
 Duffie, David A.  
 Duffy, Gloria Charmian  
 Duffy, James H.  
 Duggan, Timothy E.†  
 Duke, Robin Chandler  
 Dulany, Peggy  
 Dunbar, Charles F.  
 Duncan, Charles  
     William Jr.  
 Duncan, Graham A.  
 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.  
 Dworkin, Douglas A.  
 Dyson, Esther
- E**
- Eagleburger, Lawrence S.  
 Earle, Ralph II  
 East, Maurice A.  
 Eastman, John Lindner  
 Eastman, Michael R.  
 Easum, Donald B.  
 Eberhart, Ralph E.  
 Eberle, William D.  
 Eberstadt, Nicholas  
 Echols, Marsha A.  
 Economy, Elizabeth C.  
 Ecton, Donna R.  
 Eddleman, Linda Hiniker  
 Eddy, Randolph P. III  
 Edelman, Gerald M.  
 Edelman, Marian Wright  
 Edelman, Richard Winston  
 Edelstein, Julius C.C.  
 Edington, Mark D.W.  
 Edley, Christopher Jr.  
 Edwards, George C. III  
 Edwards, Howard  
 Edwards, Mickey  
 Edwards, Robert H.  
 Edwards, Robert H. Jr.  
 Edwards, Tamala  
 Efron, Blair  
 Efos, 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.  
 Entwistle, L. Brooks\*  
 Epstein, Barbara

\* Elected to membership in 2005.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2005.

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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  
 Ervin, Clark Kent\*  
 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  
 Farer, Tom J.  
 Farkas, Evelyn N.\*  
 Farley, Maggie M.  
 Farman-Farmaian, Elizabeth  
 Worley  
 Farmer, Thomas L.  
 Farnsworth, Eric P.  
 Farrar, Jay C.  
 Farrar, Stephen Prescott  
 Fassler, Matthew J.†  
 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, Mark B.  
 Feldman, Noah R.  
 Feldman, Sandra  
 Feldstein, Martin S.  
 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 Küpçü, Maria C.  
 Filippone, Desiree Geneva  
 Filippone, Robert J.  
 Findakly, Hani K.  
 Fine, Joshua Adam†  
 Finelli, Francis A.  
 Finger, Seymour Maxwell  
 Fink, Sheri L.†  
 Finkelstein, Lawrence S.  
 Finley, Sonya L.  
 Finn, Edwin A. Jr.  
 Finnemore, Martha  
 Finney, Paul B.  
 Firestone, Charles M.  
 Firmage, Edwin B.  
 Fisch, Mark\*  
 Fischbach, Gerald D.  
 Fischer, Betsy  
 Fischer, Stanley  
 Fisher, Julie Ann  
 Fisher, Peter R.  
 Fisher, Richard W.  
 Fisher, Roger D.  
 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.  
 Flanigan, Peter M.  
 Fleischmann, Alan H.  
 Flom, Joseph H.  
 Flournoy, Michèle A.  
 Flynn, George J.  
 Flynn, Stephen E.  
 Fn'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  
 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  
 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, Adam B.†  
 Frankel, Francine R.  
 Frankel, Jeffrey A.  
 Franklin, Barbara Hackman  
 Franklin, William Emery  
 Fravel, M. Taylor  
 Frazier, Kenneth C.  
 Frazier, Myra M.  
 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, Bart  
 Friedman, Benjamin M.  
 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.  
 Frucher, Kate I.†  
 Fry, Earl H.  
 Frye, Alton  
 Fudge, Ann M.  
 Fuerth, Leon S.  
 Fukushima, Glen S.  
 Fukuyama, Francis  
 Fuld, Richard S. Jr.  
 Fuller, Jacquelline 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, John P.†  
 Gallagher, Lacey Wingham  
 Gallucci, Robert L.  
 Galper, Joshua P.  
 Galvis, Sergio J.  
 Ganguly, Sumit  
 Gann, Pamela B.  
 Gannon, John C.  
 Ganoe, Charles S.  
 Gantcher, Nathan  
 Garber, Larry A.\*  
 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

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 Gedmin, Jeffrey  
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 Geithner, Peter F.  
 Geithner, Timothy F.  
 Gelb, Bruce S.  
 Gelb, Leslie H.  
 Gell-Mann, Murray  
 Gellert, Michael E.  
 Gellman, Barton  
 Gelpern, 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  
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 Gerson, Elliot F.  
 Gerson, Ralph J.  
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 Geyer, Georgie Anne  
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 Gfoeller, Michael  
 Gfoeller, Tatiana C.  
 Ghiglione, Loren  
 Gholz, Charles Eugene  
 Giacomo, Carol Ann  
 Gibbons, John Howard  
 Gibney, Frank B.  
 Giffen, James Henry  
 Giffin, Gordon D.  
 Gilbert, Jackson B.  
 Gilbert, Steven J.  
 Gill, Bates  
 Gillette, Michael James  
 Gilmore, James S. III  
 Gilmore, 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, 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.  
 Goldsmith, Barbara  
 Goldsmith, Jack Landman III  
 Goldsmith, Russell D.  
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 Goldstein, Jeffrey A.  
 Goldstein, Morris  
 Goldwyn, David L.  
 Golob, Paul D.  
 Gomory, Ralph E.  
 Gompert, David C.  
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 Goodman, Sherri W.  
 Gordon, Albert H.  
 Gordon, John A.  
 Gordon, Lincoln  
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 Gordon, Philip H.  
 Gordon-Reed, Annette  
 Gorelick, Jamie S.  
 Gorman, Joseph T.  
 Gorsuch, Neil M.  
 Gotbaum, Victor  
 Gottmoeller, Rose E.  
 Gottfried, Kurt  
 Gottlieb, Gidon A.G.  
 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, Eric F.\*  
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 Green, Jerrold D.  
 Green, Michael J.  
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 Anton  
 Greenberg, Arthur N.  
 Greenberg, David\*  
 Greenberg, Evan G.  
 Greenberg, Glenn H.  
 Greenberg, Jeffrey W.  
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 Greenberg, Lawrence Scott  
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 Greenberg, Sanford D.  
 Greenberger, Robert Stephen  
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 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.  
 Grimes, Joseph Anthony Jr.  
 Grissom, Janet Mullins  
 Grondine, Robert F.  
 Grose, Peter  
 Gross, Martin J.  
 Gross, Patrick W.  
 Grossman, Daniel E.†  
 Grove, Brandon  
 Grover, Katherine Sye  
 Groves, Ray J.  
 Gudwin, Ella R.†  
 Guerra-Mondragon,  
 Gabriel  
 Guff, Andrew J.\*  
 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.  
 Hachigian, Nina L.  
 Hackett, Craig D.  
 Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck  
 Hadley, Stephen J.  
 Hafner, Joseph A. Jr.  
 Hagel, Chuck  
 Hagen, Katherine A.  
 Haggard, Stephan  
 Haider, D. Blake  
 Haig, Alexander M. Jr.  
 Hailston, Earl B.  
 Hajari, Nisid J.  
 Hakakian, Roya  
 Hakim, Peter  
 Hale, David D.  
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 Hall, C. Barrows  
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 Hall-Martinez, Katherine C.  
 Halper, James D.  
 Halperin, David R.  
 Halperin, Morton H.  
 Halsted, Thomas A.  
 Haltzel, Michael H.  
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 Hamburg, Margaret Ann  
 Hamel, Michael A.  
 Hamilton, Ann O.  
 Hamilton, Charles V.  
 Hamilton, Daniel  
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 Hand, Lloyd N.  
 Hand, Scott M.  
 Handelman, Stephen  
 Hansell, Herbert J.  
 Hansen, Carol Rae  
 Hanson, Carl Thor  
 Hantz, Giselle P.  
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 Harding, Deborah A.  
 Harding, Harry

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† Elected to five-year term membership in 2005.

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 Harris, David A.  
 Harris, Jay T.  
 Harris, Joseph E.  
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 Harris, Martha Caldwell  
 Harrison, Hope M.  
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 Hart, Bob  
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 Hathaway, Robert M.  
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 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  
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 Haynes, Ulric  
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 Hecker, Siegfried S.  
 Heckman, Leila\*  
 Hedges, Christopher Lynn  
 Hedstrom, Mitchell W.  
 Heep-Richter, Barbara D.  
 Heer, Paul  
 Heginbotham, Stanley J.  
 Hehir, J. Bryan  
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 Heimbald, Charles A. Jr.  
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 Heineman, Benjamin W. Jr.  
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 Helm, Robert W.  
 Helman, Robert A.  
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 Hendricks, Darryll E.  
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 Henry, Peter A.\*  
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 Hertzberg, Hendrik  
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 Herzfeld, Charles M.  
 Herzstein, Robert E.  
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 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  
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 Higgins, Neal L.  
 Higgins, Robert E.  
 Hight, B. Boyd  
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 Hill, J. Tomilson  
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 Hill, Raymond D.  
 Hillen, John  
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 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  
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 Hoch, Frank W.  
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 Hoeber, Amoretta M.  
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 Hoehn, William E. Jr.  
 Hoenlein, Malcolm I.  
 Hoffman, A. Michael  
 Hoffman, Bruce  
 Hoffmann, Stanley  
 Hofman, Steven I.  
 Hogan, Jeffrey N.  
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 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.  
 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.  
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 Horowitz, Irving Louis  
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 Horton, Robert Scott  
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 Hoston, Germaine A.  
 Hottelet, Richard C.  
 Houghton, Amory Jr.  
 Houghton, James R.  
 Houlihan, Kathleen  
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 Howard, A. E. Dick  
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 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.  
 Hulbauer, Gary C.  
 Huffington, Roy M.  
 Hughes, Lynn N.  
 Hughes, R. John  
 Hughes, Thomas Lowe  
 Huizenga, John W.  
 Hull, Edmund J.  
 Hulsman, John C.  
 Hultman, 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.  
 Hurowitz, Richard A.†  
 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.

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Inman, Bobby R.  
 Intriligator, Michael D.  
 Irish, Leon E.  
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 Irwin, David Wallace  
 Isaacs, Maxine  
 Isaacson, Walter S.  
 Iselin, John Jay  
 Iseman, Frederick J.\*  
 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 H.  
 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  
 Jensen, Kenneth M.\*  
 Jervis, Robert  
 Jessup, Alpheus 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.  
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 Johnson, Willene A.  
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 Jones, Anita K.  
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 Jones, David L.  
 Jones, Frederick L. II†  
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 Jones, James R.  
 Jones, Jeffrey B.  
 Jones, Kali Chantelle  
 Jones, Kerri-Ann  
 Jones, Nigel W.  
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 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, 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 D.  
 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.  
 Kaye, Charles R.  
 Kaye, David A.†  
 Kaysen, Carl  
 Kayyem, Juliette N.  
 Kazemi, Farhad  
 Kea, Charlotte G.  
 Kean, Thomas H.  
 Keel, Alton G. Jr.  
 Keene, Lonnie S.  
 Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr.  
 Kelleher, Catherine M.  
 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, Francis J.\*  
 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.  
 Kaplan, Stephen S.  
 Kennan, Kenneth  
 Kennan, Christopher J.  
 Kennan, Elizabeth T.  
 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.  
 Kifayat, Adnan†  
 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 Katherine  
 Kirkland, Richard I.  
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.  
 Kirkpatrick, Melanie M.  
 Kiser, Stephen D.  
 Kishkovsky, Leonid  
 Kissinger, Henry A.  
 Kittle, Orde F.  
 Kizer, Karin L.  
 Kladakis, Monica Vegas  
 Klein, David  
 Klein, Edward

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† Elected to five-year term membership in 2005.

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 Klein, Jacques Paul  
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 Klurfeld, James M.  
 Knell, Gary E.  
 Knight, Edward S.  
 Knight, Jessie J. Jr.  
 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.  
 Komisar, Lucy  
 Kondracke, Morton  
 Koonin, Steven E.  
 Korb, Lawrence J.  
 Korbonski, Andrzej  
 Kormos, Cyril Frederic  
 Kornblum, John C.  
 Kornblut, Anne E.†  
 Kostiw, Michael Vincent  
 Kotecha, Mahesh K.  
 Kotler, Steven  
 Kovner, Bruce S.\*  
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 Kraft, Robert K.\*  
 Kramek, Robert E.  
 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.  
 Kravis, Marie-Josée\*  
 Kreek, Mary Jeanne  
 Krens, Thomas  
 Krepinevich, Andrew F.  
 Krepon, Michael  
 Kriegel, Jay L.  
 Krikorian, Victoria Reznik  
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 Kristof, Nicholas D.  
 Kristoff, Sandra J.  
 Kroeger, Kate M.J.  
 Kronman, Anthony Townsend  
 Krueger, Anne O.  
 Krueger, Harvey  
 Krulak, Charles Chandler  
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 Kumar-Sinha, Punita  
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 Kunstadter, Geraldine S.  
 Kupchan, Charles A.  
 Kupchan, Clifford A.  
 Kupperman, Robert H.  
 Kurth, James R.  
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 Kwoh, Stewart  
  
**L**  
 Laber, Jeri L.  
 Ladd, Edward  
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 LaFleur, Vinca  
 Lagomasino, Maria Elena  
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 Lal, Venkateshwar  
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 Lambright, James H.  
 Lamont, Lansing  
 Lampton, David M.  
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 Landé, Jim Alfred  
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 Lane, Charles M.  
 Lane, David J.  
 Laney, James T.  
 Langlois, John D.  
 Langlois, Robert J.  
 Lanskoj, Miriam†  
 Lantz, Matthew P.  
 LaPalombara, Joseph  
 Lapenn, Jessica E.  
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 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.  
 Latif, S. Amer†  
 Lau, Edwin  
 Lauder, Leonard A.  
 Lauder, Ronald S.  
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 Lauinger, Philip C. Jr.  
 Laurenti, Jeffrey  
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 Lautz, Terrill E.\*  
 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  
 Lee, Chong-Moon  
 Lee, Ernest S.  
 Lee, Nancy  
 Lee, Thea Mei  
 Lee, William L.  
 Lee-Kung, Dinah  
 Leeborn, David W.  
 Leed, Maren  
 Leeds, Jeffrey T.\*  
 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 F.  
 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.  
 Lempert, Yael†  
 Lennon, Alexander T.J.\*  
 Lennox, William J. Jr.  
 Lenti, Sarah M.  
 Lenzen, Louis C.  
 LeoGrande, William M.  
 Leonard, James F.  
 Leone, Richard C.  
 Lesch, Ann Mosely  
 Leslie, John W. Jr.  
 Lesser, Ian O.  
 Lettre, Marcel J. II  
 Levensohn, Pascal N.\*  
 Leverett, Flynt L.  
 Levin, Gerald M.  
 Levin, Herbert  
 Levin, John A.  
 Levin, Michael Stuart  
 Levine, Irving R.  
 Levine, Mel  
 Levine, Susan B.  
 Levinson, Marc  
 Levitsky, Jonathan E.  
 Levitt, Arthur Jr.  
 Levitt, Jeremy I.  
 Levitt, Matthew A.†  
 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 Jr.  
 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.  
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 Lighthizer, Robert E.  
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 Lindsay, Beverly  
 Lindsay, Franklin A.  
 Lindsay, James M.  
 Linen, Jonathan S.  
 Ling, Lisa J.†  
 Link, Troland S.  
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 Lipper, Kenneth  
 Lipper, Tamara  
 Lippert, Mark W.  
 Lippey, Brian C.  
 Lippman, Thomas W.  
 Lipset, Seymour Martin  
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 Lipsky, John P.  
 Lipsky, Seth  
 Lissakers, Karin M.  
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 Lowry, Richard A.  
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 Lozano, Monica C.  
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 Lynn, James T.  
 Lynn, Laurence E. Jr.  
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 Lyons, James E.  
 Lyons, Richard Kent

## M

Ma, Christopher  
 Mabry, Marcus  
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MacDonald, Bruce Walter  
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 Maguire, John David  
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 Mahoney, Thomas H. IV  
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 Margolis, David I.  
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Marshall, Dale Rogers  
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 Martinez, Roman IV  
 Marton, Kati I.  
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 Massimino, Elisa C.  
 Mastanduno, Michael  
 Masters, Carlton A.  
 Matheson, Michael J.  
 Mathews, Jessica T.  
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 Mathias, Edward J.  
 Mathis, Brian Pierre  
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 Matsukata, Naotaka\*  
 Matteson, William B.  
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 Matthews, John Casley III  
 Mattox, Gale A.  
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 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.  
 McCain, John S. III  
 McCall, H. Carl  
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 McCartan, Patrick F.  
 McCarter, John W. Jr.  
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 McCarthy, Kathleen D.  
 McChrystal, Stanley A.  
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 McCloy, John J. II  
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 McDermott, Jim  
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 McDonald, Alonzo L.  
 McDonald, Tom  
 McDonough, William J.  
 McDougall, Gay J.  
 McEntee, Joan M.  
 McFarlane, Jennifer A.  
 McFarlane, Robert C.  
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 McFaul, Michael A.  
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 McNally, Thomas A.  
 McNamara, Dennis L.  
 McNamara, Kathleen R.\*  
 McNamara, Robert S.  
 McNamara, Thomas E.  
 McNaughter, Thomas L.  
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 McPeak, Merrill A.  
 McPherson, M. Peter  
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 McWade, Jessica C.  
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 Mehlman, Bruce Paul

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† Elected to five-year term membership in 2005.



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- Mehreteab, Ghebre Selassie  
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 Mejía, James E.  
 Melby, Eric D.K.  
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 Mendelson-Forman, Johanna  
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 Menges, Carl B.  
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 Meyer, Karl E.  
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 Mitchell, George J.  
 Mitchell, Patricia E.  
 Mitchell, Wandra G.  
 Mize, David M.  
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 Mochizuki, Mike M.  
 Moe, Sherwood G.  
 Moffett, George D.  
 Molano, Walter Thomas  
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 Moore, John M.  
 Moore, John Norton  
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 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  
 Morrison, J. Stephen  
 Morrissey, Arthur C.  
 Morse, Edward L.  
 Morse, Kenneth P.  
 Mortimer, David H.  
 Mosbacher, Robert A.  
 Moseley, Teed Michael  
 Moses, Alfred H.  
 Mosettig, Michael David  
 Moskow, Kenneth A.  
 Moskow, Michael H.  
 Moskowitz, James N.  
 Moss, Ambler H. Jr.  
 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  
 Mundie, Craig James  
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 Munger, Edwin S.  
 Muñoz, George  
 Munroe, George B.  
 Munsch, Stuart B.  
 Munyan, Winthrop R.  
 Murase, Emily Moto  
 Muravchik, Joshua  
 Murdoch, Rupert  
 Murdock, Dero  
 Murdy, William F.  
 Murillo, Maria Victoria  
 Murphy, Caryle Marie  
 Murphy, Ewell E. Jr.  
 Murphy, Richard W.  
 Murphy, Sean Patrick  
 Murphy, Thomas S.  
 Murray, Alan 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  
 Nasr, Vali R.\*  
 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, Diana Villiers\*  
 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 Hood, Alisa†  
 Newman, Jay H.  
 Newman, Pamela J.\*  
 Newman, Pauline  
 Newman, Priscilla A.  
 Newman, Richard T.  
 Newsom, David D.  
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 Newton, M. Diana Helweg\*  
 Ney, Edward N.  
 Nicholas, N. J. Jr.  
 Nichols, Mark Alexander†  
 Nichols, Rodney W.  
 Nicholson, Jan  
 Nides, Thomas R.  
 Niehuss, John M.  
 Niehuss, Rosemary Neaher  
 Nielsen, Nancy  
 Nilsson, A. Kenneth  
 Nilsson, Keith R.  
 Nimetz, Matthew  
 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  
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 Norton, Eleanor Holmes  
 Nossel, Suzanne F.

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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'Malley, Cormac K.H.  
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 O'Neil, Kathleen A.  
 O'Neil, Michael J.  
 O'Neill, Brian Deveraux  
 O'Neill, Louis F.†  
 O'Neill, Mark E.  
 O'Neill, Michael J.  
 O'Prey, Kevin P.  
 O'Rourke, Patrick J.  
 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  
 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.  
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 Oppenheimer, Michael F.  
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 Orlins, Stephen A.  
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 Osborne, Richard de J.  
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 Osnos, Susan Sherer  
 Ostrander, F. Taylor

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 Owens, James W.  
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 Oxman, Bernard H.  
 Oxman, Stephen A.  
 Oxnam, Robert B.  
 Oye, Kenneth A.

## P

Paal, Douglas Haines  
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 Pandith, Farah Anwar  
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 Pardew, James W. Jr.  
 Parekh, Sanjay M.  
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 Paris, Jonathan  
 Parker Feld, Karen  
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 Parker, Jay M.  
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 Parker, Richard B.  
 Parkinson, Roger P.  
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 Pastor, Robert A.  
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 Patricof, Alan Joel  
 Patrikis, Ernest T.  
 Patterson, Michael D.  
 Patterson, Patricia M.

Pattiz, Norman J.  
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 Paumgarten, Nicholas Biddle  
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 Pavlonis, Brigid Myers  
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 Perkovich, George R.  
 Perlman, Janice Elaine  
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 Perlmutter, Louis  
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 Peterson, Michael A.  
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 Petraeus, David H.  
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 Petree, Richard W.  
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 Peyronnin, Joseph F.  
 Pfaltzgraff, Robert L. Jr.  
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 Pfeiffer, Leon K.  
 Pfeiffer, Steven B.  
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 Phelan, John J. Jr.  
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 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  
 Piercy, Jan  
 Pierre, Andrew J.  
 Pigott, Charles M.  
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 Pilliod, Charles J. Jr.  
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 Pilon, Juliana Geran  
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 Pincus, Walter H.  
 Pinkerton, W. Stewart Jr.  
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 Pipes, Richard  
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 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 E.  
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 Pollack, Gerald A.  
 Pollack, Jonathan D.  
 Pollack, Kenneth M.  
 Pollack, Lester  
 Pollock, Robert Lansing  
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 Pond, Elizabeth  
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 Pool-Eckert, Marquita J.  
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 Popoff, Frank  
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 Portes, Richard D.  
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 Posen, Barry R.  
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 Postol, Theodore A.  
 Potter, William C.  
 Pottinger, Matthew F.  
 Powell, Colin L.  
 Powell, Dina Habib†  
 Powell, Jerome H.  
 Power, Philip H.  
 Powers, Averill L.

\* Elected to membership in 2005.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2005.

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 Powers, Timothy E.  
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 Pressman, Jeremy  
 Preston, Stephen W.  
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 Price, Daniel M.  
 Price, John R. Jr.  
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 Price, Steven\*  
 Prickett, Glenn T.  
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 Prieto, Daniel B. III  
 Prillaman, William C.  
 Prince, Charles O. III  
 Pritzker, Penny S.  
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 Proenza, Luis M.  
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 Pryce, Jeffrey F.  
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 Puckett, Allen E.  
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 Pulling, Thomas L.  
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 Pursley, Robert E.  
 Purvis, Nigel  
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 Putnam, Robert D.  
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 Pyle, Kenneth B.
- Q**
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 Quigley, Leonard V.  
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 Quinn, John M.
- R**
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 Rabinowitch, Alexander  
 Rabinowitch, Victor  
 Radtke, Robert W.  
 Raine, Fernande Scheid  
 Raines, Franklin D.  
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- Ramakrishna, Kilaparti  
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 Rattray, Gregory John  
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 Raul, Alan Charles  
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 Resor, Stanley R.  
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- Shattuck, John  
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 Shu, John  
 Shulman, Colette  
 Shulman, Marshall D.  
 Shultz, George P.  
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 Shuman, Stanley S.  
 Sick, Gary G.  
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 Sigal, Leon V.  
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 Sikkink, Kathryn A.  
 Silas, C. J.  
 Silber, Laura J.  
 Silberman, Laurence H.  
 Silberman, Robert S.  
 Silberstein, Alan M.  
 Silkenat, James R.  
 Silver, Allison

\* Elected to membership in 2005.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 2005.

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 Slaughter, Richard A.  
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 Sloane, Margaret  
 Slocombe, Walter B.  
 Small, Lawrence M.  
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 Smalley, Patricia T.  
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 Smeall, Christopher  
 Smith, Andrew F.  
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 Smith, Dane E. Jr.  
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 Smith, Winthrop H. Jr.  
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 Snowe, Olympia J.  
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 Snyder, Richard E.  
 Snyder, Timothy D.  
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 Soderberg, Nancy E.  
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 Solarz, Stephen J.  
 Solnick, Steven L.  
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 Solomon, Anne G.K.  
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 Solomon, Richard H.  
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 Sonenshine, Tara Diane  
 Song, Diana M.H.  
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 Sonnenfeldt, Richard W.  
 Sorensen, Gillian Martin  
 Sorensen, Juliet Suzanne  
 Sorensen, Theodore C.  
 Soros, George  
 Soros, Jonathan Allan  
 Soros, Paul  
 Soudriette, Richard W.  
 Sovern, Michael I.  
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 Spain, James W.  
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 Spero, Joshua B.  
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 Spiegel, John W.  
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 Sternberg, Marc S.  
 Sternberg, Seymour  
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**FRONT COVER PHOTOS (left to right)\***

A woman walks past campaign posters about the referendum on the European Union constitution in Aix-en-Provence, France (May 26, 2005).

A girl hands out water at a makeshift camp for internally displaced people near Seleah village in Sudan's West Darfur province (September 27, 2004).

An Iraqi woman shows a purple finger, indicating she has just voted, as she leaves a polling station in Az Zubayr, Iraq (January 30, 2005).

A protester waves the flag of Lebanon above thousands of Lebanese opposition protesters in Martyrs Square, Lebanon (March 14, 2005).

Supporters of opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko sing the Ukrainian national anthem during a mass rally in Kiev, Ukraine (December 2, 2004).

**BACK COVER PHOTOS (left to right)\***

Members of Force 17 Presidential Guard carry a coffin during a mock funeral for late Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat at his former headquarters in Gaza City (November 12, 2004).

S. Parameshwarie cries after returning to her destroyed home in Kalmunai, eastern Sri Lanka (January 16, 2005).

Democratic presidential candidate Senator John F. Kerry shakes hands with President George W. Bush after the third and final presidential debate in Tempe, Arizona (October 13, 2004).

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, who was later elected as Pope Benedict XVI, blesses the coffin of Pope John Paul II (April 8, 2005).

An indigenous demonstrator raises a stone as thousands march in La Paz, Bolivia (May 24, 2005).

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